

Growing Up Sexually

Volume I



World Reference Atlas

Supported by the Dr. Mr. Edward Brongersma Foundation
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

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Growing Up Sexually

Volume I *World Reference Atlas*

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Remarks to GUS PDF version 0.1 (2003)

~ A previous version of GUS Atlas (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/INDEXATLAS.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 Atlas was to rejoin PDFs (pseudoprints) of individual chapters filed as HTMLs (in .DOC layout), except for those two files for which this was not possible (*nonnative North America, North American Natives*); this produces footnote layout instead of an endnote layout. Software used included Microsoft Word XP in conjunction with Adobe PDFmaker 5.0/6.0 for Word.

~ Due to this process Atlas' *Ethno/Geographic Index* is not functional as such.

~ The reader will take note of the fact that the *New Guinea* chapter is more or less in its correct shape (other than in the web-edition).

~ No attempt was made to erase obsolete or non-functional features such as (unused) indications of last revision, 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>.

~ 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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Volume I: World Reference Atlas

PDF Version, v0.1

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¹ Adapted with kind permission of the Editor of *Ethnology*.

² Adapted with kind permission of the Editor of *World Cultures*.

Brief Guidelines to Volume I
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Growing Up Sexually: The Project

Project “*Growing Up Sexually*” (January-September 2002) originally was borne out of a literature review financially supported by the Dutch Dr. Mr. Edward Brongersma Foundation, Amsterdam. It comprises of a two-volume, bimodal overview of cross-cultural material relevant for the study of preadult sexual behaviour curricula and trajectories. The **first volume** (hereafter referred to as “*Atlas*”, Vol. I) consists of an annotated bibliography using a rough geo-/ ethnographical organisation. The outcome is a heterogenous collection of accounts of sexual behaviour trajectories that may be or have been typical for given communities within a given ethnohistorical space or time span. The **second volume** (hereafter referred to as “*Thematic Volume*”, Vol. II) tentatively elaborates on this collection, by (1) organising and challenging traditions, theoretical paradigms, and meta-scientific positionings pertaining to “sexual development” issues provided by anthropologists; which, together with (2) the influx of (non-) cross-culturalist sociological data and perspectives, is to accommodate (3) a cross-cultural presentation of *Atlas* data within a polythematic format.

Taken together, the Volumes provide a reference guide to ethnografia, historia, and sociologia not previously available. As such, it elaborates on and adds to specific sections of

such pioneering initiatives by Ploß¹ and Ford (1945, etc.; Ford and Beach, 1951)², the body of relevant data resulting from the numeric *cross-cultural method* (as reviewed in Vol. II, Appendix I), such recent projects as the [International Encyclopedia of Sexuality](#)³, and the range of authors that have provided limited and arbitrary colloquia of ethnographic accounts. The *Atlas* provides for a working database of materials which may be used in future ethnological, and ethnographic, efforts; it does not, at present, test hypotheses, contest or cross-analyse data, or introduce original field work (cf. *infra*). The collection is a working database in that it explicitly invites elaboration, and organises questions rather than answers.

Specifically, the scope here is wider than previous anthropological entries. The study of “cultural developmental sexology” embraces all instances of the potential “sexual” environment of the child, the factors that allegedly “benefit” or “corrupt” the child, as well as his/her own “healthy” and “pathological” pursuits in sexualibus. More of contemporary sexology, however legitimate in its existence, leaves a negativist afterimage that issues “abusive” interconnections of these allegedly separate worlds. However implicitly providing essential insights to sexual cultures, most of this literature, which is quite a distinct tradition, does not offer an integral interpretation of the “culture” it is embedded in (ethnocentrism). It is therefore underrepresented in the current phase of the project. Again, one must not imagine studying children’s sexual (sub)cultures, if any, by avoiding the boundaries of its working space; that boundaries are the central indicators of its identity and autonomy.

The project (January-October, 2002) was financially supported by the Dr. Mr. Edward Brongersma Foundation, Amsterdam. The Foundation supports the study of developmental sexualities from non judgmental, multi-disciplinary perspectives. A concurrent review project supported by the Foundation has been manufactured by the Dutch Institute for Socio-Sexological Research (formerly, NISSO)⁴.

The current publication is best regarded as an interim database of resources supporting ongoing interpretation efforts. It follows a preliminary webpublication at the website of the Magnus Hirschfeld Archive for Sexology, Berlin, following http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/GUS/GUS_AFS.HTM as of January 30, 2003. An update solution was instituted as of June 2, 2003, at <http://www.topica.com/lists/growingupsexually>. The present version incorporates some of the references gathered there.

¹ Ploß, H. H. ([1912]) *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*. 3rd rev. ed. by Ph. B. Renz. Leipzig: Th. Grieben. Esp. Vol. 2., p519-59

² Ford, C. S. (1945) *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1964 HRAF reprint, esp. p20-2; Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Paul J. Hoeber, Inc., esp. p167-98

³ Francoeur, R. T. (Ed., 1997-2001) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. 4 Vols. New York: Continuum

⁴ Graaf, H. de & Rademakers, J. (2003) *Seks in de Groei. Een verkennend onderzoek naar de (pre)seksuele ontwikkeling van kinderen en jeugdigen*. Delft: Eburon

Purpose

With both casuistic and theoretical materials, the author would like to identify basic entries to preadult sexualities as sensitive to ethnographic variation: as “development”, as “learned”, as “natural”, and as “problematic” categories. In tune with the chosen theoretical work-up, I have tried to centralise children’s narratives, though particularly 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 (protofunctional) and as prenormative. Author’s preliminary surveying specifically issued the following topics as sexological explananda:

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

Why Growing Up Sexually?

Major conceptual shifts in Western societies have in recent decades sensitised and reproblematised the concept of sex as “development”. A thesis I have found worthwhile to support (with little diversion from classics that shape modernist views), the frameworking of genital eroticism as “developing” human attribute has never been articulated in the *mainstream* industrial and post-industrial academic world, and this obscure status can readily be noted in various stages of its ethnographic output ⁵. The initial reception and digestion of Freudian arguments, of course, provides a thick, yet biased, exposé of negotiations that seem, by all means, progressively polarised.

But why “*Growing Up Sexually*”?

To some extent, the data speak for themselves as contesting archaic ways of cross-cultural schematisation, including such formulations as “sexual restraint”, “control”, or such obviously dissatisfying reversals as “nonrestraint”, “permissiveness” and “tolerance” ⁶; formulations, I reckon, that are concordant with a socio-economic background of forefront nationalist sexological cultures. These biases have halted statistically sophisticated images of an ethnographic range of “sexual socialisation” curricula as, say, promoting and truly preparatory rather than supportive, anti-interventionalist and circumstantial. Examples bring out most clearly sexual status categories alien to (and to variable extent, incompatible with) the contemporary post-industrial set of mind often circumscribed as “Western”: ceremonial inauguration, ritual liminality, age disparate patterning and recruitment, parenting customs, etc. The reader has to understand that any arm-chair ethnologist should

⁵ A brief historical appraisal of the academic analysis and use of ethnic developmental sexualities is offered in Vol. II

⁶ See Vol. II

carefully consider his/her own moral bias. My bias is that I gather data for colloquial consideration, and refrain from comments pertaining to applicability within particularist ethical systems. I do not, for instance, think of curricular (life phase-bound, e.g., “adolescent”) “homosexual” behaviour as part of any “developmental gay history” or as part of an imaged collective of “developmental homosexualities” in need of being “reclaimed”, or documented within some salvage project (**Vol. II, chapter 8**). I also reject the idea that equating all diversion from contemporary “American” ethics with “abuse” furthers understanding of processes within ethnohistorical or ethnopsychiatric terms. I do think, however, that some conceptual delineation of sex “development” issues is basic to any “ethnography”, as it is fundamental in identifying any society, and that it warrants both theory building and closer examination even if, and because, the field might contain messages contrary to contemporary ethical currents. As I have argued elsewhere⁷, basic theoretical concepts of agency and discourse are in danger of, I reckon, being crushed, as they have been in past (colonialism-borne, occidentalist) anthropology. As ethnographers no longer can imagine offering “complete” (or even global) ethnographies, they are no longer excused from imagining worlds where life begins with what is called “puberty” or marriage. Moreover, ethnographers surely have never been allowed to imagine that non-occurrence is a mirror image of not-doing. Becoming more urgent in postmodern ethics, children’s nonagency, and their not-doing, warrants serious and ongoing reappraisal, especially in terms of behaviour deemed “sexual”, “erotic” and amorous.

Another Sexological Atlas: Is Sexology Always Ethnocentric? Is it Always Exoculturalist?

Our “geographies of sexual development” would encompass “[...] how sexualities are lived out in particular places and spaces”⁸, knowing that “[g]eography remains a highly contested enterprise”. Aitken⁹, for instance, re-examines the “geographic child” and his sexuality (2001:p88-105). Yet what, in today’s post-modern, globalist and universalist context, would an “ethnohistorical atlas” mean? Surely it warrants an ideological basis for a discussion of “sexual developmental cultures” somehow to be pieced together from contemporary proliferating reflection on “sexual cultures”. To reiterate some of the most standardised arguments against it, culturalist or cross-culturalist views of “sex” tend to brush over internal variability, assume historical immutability, and equate cultural relativism with ethical relativism. In contemporary U.S. discourse, using academic input as a bias, “sexual” enculturation, if substantial, is heavily negotiated, the pedagogical view is largely uncontestable, and the cultural entry is progressively politicised within a global spectre. This last development facilitates nationalist, regionalist and continentalist¹⁰ articulation of sexual politics, but it has not been obvious how this would address early erotics, beside female

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Binnie, J. & Valentine, G. (1999) Geographies of sexuality- a review of progress, *Progress in Human Geography* 23,2:175-87

⁹ Aitken, S. C. (2001) *Geographies of Young People: The Morally Contested Spaces of Identity*. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge

¹⁰ See also introductory notes in the *Africa* chapter.

education and mobility, family planning, career building, AIDS prevention, abuse prevention, and the distribution of associated prestige factors. Post-modernists now consider “sexualities” as essentially plural, functional and embedded. This tradition, however, still appears to be informed by what may be a *horaiocentric* grasp of “culture”, or exclusive focus on adult categories, and, inescapably, diverse species of *developmentalism*, or the reductionism implied in such extrapolarising constructions as “adolescence”, or the even more revealing “pre-adolescence” (Lat., before becoming having grown). My entry is that “pre-adolescent sexuality” is a construction deeply rooted in operationalisations of age, including biologist and other Othering projects (Janssen, 2001a), to accommodate essentially socio-political conflicts of interest. This is not to say, of course, that there isn’t any meaningful biology to the case, as I have reviewed in detail elsewhere. Even the mere choice of organs, however, may be inspired by scientific, or ethical, traditions (is it “gonadocentrism”?)¹¹.

A first obvious legitimisation for an atlas, thus, is the historiography of “exocultural” sexology itself. How did and do anthropologists situate the erotic child/adolescent, and why do they at all? A preliminary view would further the argument that *exoculturalist* sexology serves particular activist, psychoanalytic, medical or other interventionist agenda. Some may argue, for instance, that the discipline has provided great instrumentality in sexual revolutionist, feminist, and queer theorist curricula, and less so in more eccentric ones, including that of Wilhelm Reich, advocacy for the “intergenerational” cause, and so on.

The project, however critically reviewing these agenda, rejects any absolutist activism in its presentation of data. Rather, I have argued for a tentative “post-developmental” reflection on erotic trajectories, which is to foster a scientific stance that operates from an evasion of positivist as well as negativist approaches, but nevertheless facilitates integration of both “the positive” and “the negative” in early sex. It specifically requires a position that is to augment on medical and protectionist curricula that have boomed in, roughly, the last two decades. The outcome, thus, is not an education or protection programme, but an index for understanding “cultural” processes, understanding the agents and agencies, and understanding the accomplishment of the everyday and the personal. Therefore, the post-developmental sexologist needs to draw from historical, ethnographic and sociological data at once. The running Atlas provides subsistence for this sexologist.

How “Growing Up Sexually”?

The Atlas embodies a geographically and ethnically organised reference archive. However specifying what information is found where, the Atlas does no more than that, and does so in spite of a number of limitations and biases (*vide infra*).

The current review purposefully rehearses much of the style, narrative and implicit doctrines involved in Western ethnographing of what it calls “early”, “developing”, “rehearsive”, “experimental” and “play” sexualities. Not fully apparent in the review, much of post-

¹¹ Having reviewed to some extent the relevant literature on “biological” representations of eroticism for the prepubertal case, I have found few arguments against an “adrenocentric” perspective.

Malinowski ethnography has (though with variable enthusiasm) issued “sexual play” as a third part of a classical Freudian trias including oral and anal “training” [note that Freud’s use of ethnography in his entire oeuvre is very meagre and unspecific]. I have refrained from a (historical) analysis that aims to juxtapose emic and etic concepts of the sexual behaviour curriculum and curricularised trajectory. Likewise, in my tentative cross-cultural exposé (**Vol. II**) I have evaded juxtaposition of sexual socialisation ‘cultures’ at the continental or transnational level, except where specific data or previous essays doing so were available. The reason for this lies in the hesitation the author feels for generalisation from tribal and subtribal specifics, or even from temporal and familial particulars, that have possibly informed much of the accounts here staged. “Cultures”, of course, are never static or isolated unities of ideology and praxis. The work, however bound to available materials, does try to bring out the particular emic whenever offered, and within the format it is offered in. In doing so, I aim to illustrate the phenomenological variety to be appreciated by further subculturalist, or more generally interactionist, or “performative”, accounts of doing sexual “developments”.

To issue “development” as an object for sexological reflection *per se*, I have adopted the terms “*behaviour trajectory*” to connote factual experiences and agenda from a child-centred perspective, and “*curricula*” covering (encultured) ethics and morals as proscribing behaviour sequences and chronologies. The latter view may be called “parent-centred” or cultural script. Critically, both tend to be operationalised by the degree in which they parallel the other, and by the conflict that arises when they do not. In this sense, one may analyse how trajectories may or may not be *curricularised* or emancipate from such interaction. Curricularisation is that realm of performance in which the “child” does, or is required to, redefine *operative* chronological scripts of so-defined “sexual” behaviour. These preliminary alternatives to terms as “development” or life “cycles” are to instrumentalise a rejection of absolutist notions of changing sexualities as progress or evolution *per se*; they also facilitate an emancipation from ethically biased biologist pollutions of *pleasure identity* concepts.

I have likewise refrained from contesting apparently ingrained ways of categorisation, and from introducing novel perspectives. The present atlas documents *geographies of sexology*, though necessarily with a definite thematic bias. Whether it, as such, provides a reasonable geography of sexuality as well, is a question I like to postpone at this time.

A Preliminary Critique

As will be noted, the data included so far allow a dissatisfactory impression for a number of reasons. The first reason is coverage and “uncoverage” bias. While so far the **Africa** chapter has produced the most comprehensive tribal data, resulting in an autonomous monograph, references for other continents are fewer in number. The reader will definitely note thematic bias, originating partly as a result of anthropologists’ shifting priority curricula, from resource availability, and partly from surveyor’s use of search engines and paper libraries. Secondly, maintaining (but also ignoring) original contextual and textual formats may have caused the atlas having become vulnerable for the same caveats introduced above in introducing sexual “culture” and “development” concepts. These issues being covered in

some detail in Vol. II, the regret is on my side in that for most cases, very few accessible qualitative accounts could be included to date.

To anticipate on feelings of dissatisfaction as pertains to the ways data have entered narratives, the reader is invited to correct any inconveniences encountered. The work, it needs to be argued, is not an academic work insofar as it does not defend a single thesis undefended by others. Apart from periodic colloquia with established academics/authors in the field, the project did not receive any university affiliation. The question is whether there are (Dutch) universities that would have supported this project. The result is that anyone who feels unjustly addressed by the image provoked by the selected data might argue against such image by reinterpretation, or by reference to alternative resources. The author regrets, however, that a cross-cultural platform that would accommodate such a discussion is not existent at present.

Methodological Brief

For more specific methodological, historical and other details concerning the project, the reader is referred to the second thematic volume (§0.6).

Paper HRAF references are tracked via category 864. Several websites were used¹². 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 *Psychinfo*, *ERIC*, *FRANCIS*, *Sociological Abstracts*, *Historical Abstracts*, *Anthropological Index Online* (AIO), *Medline*, *Historie in Titels* [Amsterdam], *RLG's Eureka® Anthropological Literature*, etc. The 125 page *Focused Ethnographic Bibliography for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample*¹³, offering pre-coded variables including childhood training (4th digit), was used as a starting bibliography for library searches. Another entry was provided by *The Dutch Central Catalogue* (NCC) using GOO code 73.44 (Cultural Anthropology, Sexuality), in combination with additional codes. Anthropological, sociological and other sources were especially searched using *JSTOR®* (fulltext basic, Boolean and proximity searches). Introductory data gathering has been effectuated, beside electronic searches, using a "shelf approach" in selected sections of Dutch University libraries¹⁴ and other specialized university-affiliated anthropological libraries¹⁵. Generally, a primary focus on paper sources, including classic and more peripheral

¹² Including: eHRAF (<http://ets.umdl.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's *International Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior* (Vol. 1-3, 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/>

¹³ Taken from D. R. White, in *World Cultures* 2,1. Version prepared by William Divale, 2000.

¹⁴ Particularly those in Amsterdam (UBA), Utrecht (UBU), and Nijmegen (UBN).

¹⁵ These include *Africa Studies Center* (Leiden); *Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology* (Leiden); *Dutch Institute for Near East Studies* (NINO, Leiden)

ethnographies was followed by a later concentration on Internet available papers. Special credits go to a number of Dutch sexological collections and libraries¹⁶.

A number of references to countries in the fourth volume of Francoeur's *International Encyclopaedia* are not included due to their unavailability at the time of writing¹⁷. Fulltext articles were obtained through many search engines, including JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org>), EBSCO Host Research Databases (<http://www.ebscohost.com/>), PCI Full Text (<http://pcift.chadwyck.co.uk>), the MUSE Project (<http://muse.jhu.edu/search/search.pl>), Sciencedirect (<http://www.sciencedirect.com>, including the use of "alert" functions during the project), SwetsWise (<http://www.swetswise.com>), Findarticles (<http://www.findarticles.com/PI/index.jhtml>), Google (<http://www.google.nl>), Education-Line (<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/>) and Springer Verlag (<http://link.springer.de/search.htm>). Selected works were obtained via *Blueribbon Books Reborn* (<http://blueribbon.books-reborn.org>). A number of authors provided drafts of their papers.

For a number of materials I had to rely on authorised abstracts. This may have resulted in inclusions being biased for specific formats of online (especially fulltext, fulltext search, abstract, and abstract search) availability. While a fair proportion of the materials is either derived from or double-checked using Internet, the author has largely refrained from hyperlinking to the online location of original materials as are concerned Conference papers, official reports and non-Web published materials. This anticipates on expiration problems and subscription privileges. The reader is invited to check contemporary availability of these items (for which *Google* search engine is recommended). More than of 1200 relevant online available items were secured on disk by the author for private use. This running electronic archive supplements a large amount of paper works as well as extensive digital "shadow archives" not currently appropriated for publication.

Atlas Volume

This volume consists of an interim ethnohistoriographic annotated *reference atlas* of the timing and developmental organisation of "early" sexual behaviour trajectories, with a focus on pre- and peripubescent sexuality, pre-formal and pre-institutional sexual expression, and with attention to native developmental sexologies. Partly due to the variety, selective paucity and variable quality of data, inclusions are variably limited, general and selected. The selections made for inclusions in the *Atlas* were not informed by any consistent theoretical or methodological format (in opposition to the *Thematic* volume), other than their immediate relevance within antemarital and premarital settings. In Volume II, sexuality was broadly operationalised within a symbolic constructionist / interactionist perspective, addressing the display, exchange and presumed modification of sets of behaviours and ideologies contextualising and relating to the genital body, the (pre-) marital dyad, and the cultural transmission of "sexual reference systems" in general. This degree of operational limitation setting corresponds to the exploratory, non-eurocentric and non-developmental nature of the current study.

¹⁶ 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).

¹⁷ Austria, Colombia, Croatia, Egypt, Iceland, Indonesia, Outer Space, Papua New Guinea, The Philippines, Portugal, Turkey, and Vietnam.

Encountered sources commenting on the timing and organisation of “sexarche” and “early” sexuality are listed under appropriate headings. Materials are organised hierarchically by continent, nationality, and by tribal (subtribal) entity. Specific attention is reserved for the chronological (curricular) question. This entails ideologies and practices referring to the biological body proper, as well as the socio-cultural body. No attempts were made to integrate interpretations of the “adult” case, with those of the “developmental” case, or to contrast the “child” with the “adolescent” case *per se*. Instead, the description of trajectories is informed by indices that describe (1) curricular categories (*nominal curricularisation*), specifically the sexological concept and application of “puberty”; (2) behavioural patterning; and (3) the salience of curricular hierarchies.

Given the limitations inherent to the methodological format (see **Volume II**), cited references were not as a rule cross-examined, analysed within a geo- or chronological scope, or, as a routine, challenged with theoretical data. As a result, the survey globally takes on a bibliographic character, primarily occupied with the identification of relevant literature pertaining to qualitative and descriptive sociological materials.

Inclusions are by all means fragmentary and incomplete. A special interest was exercised regarding (a) data covering earlier rather than later life phases; (b) non-Western rather than Western data; (c) qualitative rather than quantitative accounts; (d) cross-cultural rather than monocultural perspectives; (e) historical rather than contemporary data; (f) precolonial rather than colonial or postcolonial data. Emphasis is placed on social plurality (precolonial, rural and ethnic communities), although statements on any nationality and any period were included.

Possibly significant, yet unchecked, additional references are indicated in the texts at the closing of a corresponding paragraph. If available, a link is included to corresponding entries in the International *Encyclopedia of Sexuality* ([\[IES\]](#)).

How to Use the Atlas in Conjunction to the Thematic Volume

The references used in the *Thematic Volume* largely interdigitate with, and partly overlap, those of the *Atlas Volume* in a sense that the overlap is small for some chapters, though considerable for others. Broadly, this *Subject Volume* enumerates, identifies or refers to cases fully (page specifically) referenced in the *Atlas Volume*. Full duplicate and cross-referencing is kept to a minimum, though. In isolated cases, the first interim draft of the *Thematic Volume* is based on fully referenced preliminary drafts to be presented as appendices, or separate addenda, to this volume. Isolated references provided in the first interim *Thematic* volume draft are not included in the first interim *Atlas* draft due to their highly contextual specificity.

Presentation of Data: Structure, Cross-Referencing, eHRAF Coverage

Data are arranged within the following subparagraphs:

(1) **for separate chapters** (*global* geographic or ethnographic characterisations, including general statements, if relevant, regarding: morphology alteration practices (before puberty, with a reference to timing and sexual implications or sexological rationale); “genital reference” practices in infancy; “age-stratified same-gender patterns” (with a reference to timing); curricularly institutional “prostitution”; early / age-stratified betrothal; early / age-stratified marriage; formal laws concerning the timing of sexual behaviour (*current age of consent*); and general accounts of sexual behaviour “socialisation” practices (concepts, effectors, and effectiveness).

For a legitimisation of inclusions criteria, one is referred to the methodological section included in **Volume II**.

(2) **ethnographic particularities**: the formerly mentioned data specified for ethnic communities, variably broadened with the following focal items: sexual behaviour patterns (masturbation; cross-sex patterns; same-sex patterns; animal contacts); coitarche and formally recognised onset of courtship routines; formalised and informal curricular segregation by gender; formalised and informal sex education and “training” customs or institutions (effector, onset, mode, gender differences); formal and informal laws regarding sexual behaviour relevant for the socialisation process; sexologically relevant transitional rites; etc.

Ethnic communities are organised by (principal) nationality of residence. No attempt was made to arrange communities or nationalities in alphabetical order or geographical context. Collateral (topographic) data were drawn from *Encyclopædia Britannica* 2002 Deluxe Edition CD-ROM. **Cross-referencing** is variably effected using the symbol “→”, as in American Hmong (→Hmong), in which case the reader is referred to the **Index**.

A single tribe is predominantly covered under the heading of a single nationality (in sporadic cases, linguistic classifications may be used). If residential within the borders of, but not covered under, a given nationality, a tribe is referred to at the outset of that nationality; this cross-referencing, however, is incomplete. Tribes and subtribes covered under a given nationality are summed up at the outset of that nationality, whereas the principal (or relevant) nationality / nationalities of residence are reciprocally summed up at the outset of the particular tribe.

Example:

Atlas Ultrastructure**Africa***--Thematic Section*

[Generalia Africa, thematic]

[Additional references for Africa, thematic]

*--Geo/Ethnographic Section***Ghana** (Tallensi, Akan / Ashanti, Fanti, Kokomba, ...) [IES]*

[Generalia Ghana]

[Additional references for Ghana]

Akan (Ashanti, Shanti, Asante; Twi; Ghana)
(2,2+,3,3+,3+,4-,2,2;G3;AB)** (eHRAF)***

[Specifics for Akan]

[Additional references for Akan]

[...]

[Additional references for Africa, general]

* Covered by Francoeur, R. T. (Ed., 1997-2001) [The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality](#). 4 Vols. New York: Continuum. Currently linking to 3 web-published volumes

** SCCS and additional ratings for childhood. For (a,b,c,d,e,f;g,h,i;j): a=sexual restraint early childhood boys; b=sexual restraint early childhood girls; c=sexual restraint late childhood boys; d=sexual restraint late childhood girls; e=sexual restraint adolescence boys; f=sexual restraint adolescence girls; g=sexual expression adolescence boys; h=sexual expression adolescence girls; i=sexologically relevant initiation ceremony; j=relevant coding by DeLeeuwe as adapted from Ford and Beach. For references and specifics on i and j, see overview of SCCS codes.

*** When covered by the [eHRAF](#) during the project (Jan-Sept, 2002), an indication is made to identify that some or all references may have been searched, found and quoted full-text using this instrument.

Formative Aspects

Contrary to the original research proposal resp. perspectives, the present texts have not been edited by native speakers nor have they been co-authored by academic authorities. The reader will take note of the fact that the author has no formal schooling in social science, and no academic training in social anthropology. The author apologises for any errors, errata, reading inconveniences, or lack of coherence or consistency that may thus have resulted, and welcomes corrections. On the other hand, as a bibliography, it appears to be the most

voluminous yet offered starting point for informed interpretative tasks. As the material was intended to be used as a basis for further elaboration, I repeat that additional data, as well as more substantial elaboration efforts are invited and applauded.

As a matter of habit, I have employed unusual notation formats. For instance, I indicate whether in my quotations capitals are reproduced or inserted. An original capital may be uncapitalised “[a]” or the conserve may happen (“[A]”).

Indexing, SCCS Ratings, and Appendices

The *Atlas’ Index* includes entries on (sub)tribal name, nationalities and continents. Few tribal name synonyms were included. **Ratings** offered for communities included in the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (SCCS) on childhood and adolescent “sexual restraint”, adolescent sexual expression and additional relevant subjects, are indicated if available. An overview of these data is offered as **Appendix IV** of **Thematic Volume II**, and in **Table I** of the present **Atlas Volume**, together with additional ratings offered by Whiting and Child¹⁸ and De Leeuwe, as adapted from Ford and Beach. The time and geographic focus indicated for the SCCS are reprinted in **Appendix B**. In **Appendix C**, SCCS societies are presented by childhood sexual restraint “order”. For a reference to most original works, see also the *integral bibliography* to be integrated in GUS Volume III.

Availability, Citation and Continuity

Drafts of both Volumes are available in PDF format and html. Citation of the Volumes is allowed when using equivalent formulations of the following:

Janssen, D. F. (July, 2003). *Growing Up Sexually*. Volume I: *World Reference Atlas*. Nijmegen. Online interim version 0.1, at <http://www.books-reborn.org/janssen/>

To be webpublished shortly:

Janssen, D. F. (July, 2003). *Growing Up Sexually*. Volume II: *The Sexual Curriculum*. Nijmegen. Online interim version 0.1, at <http://www.books-reborn.org/janssen/>

Janssen, D. F. (2003). *Growing Up Sexually*. Volume III: *Bibliographies*. Nijmegen. Online interim edition at <http://www.books-reborn.org/janssen/>

To meet the longitudinal nature of the project, periodic updates will be scheduled. Omissions, specifications and corrections can be offered at Topica, at <http://www2.hu->

¹⁸ These ratings were left out in the present work.

berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/GUS/GUSCONTRIBUTORSWEB.HTM or at
guscontributor@yahoo.co.in.

The author, July 2003

PostScript¹

The “Sexual Curriculum”: Some Post Hoc Notes

Project GUS was intended to be elaborated upon as time rolled by; I also included an invitation page. Since exactly no one has to date contributed in any substantial way to the project, I have for the time being withdrawn the promise of a near-future update. For the time being my reading of the literature is currently being archived in **Topica**² to which individual subscriptions are possible, as well as readers’ own input and reflection (depending on public animus). This solution provides a more dynamic and (potentially) more interactive forum, not as yet available in another form as far as the author is concerned.

Another point I hinted at briefly, the concept of a sexological “atlas” articulates rather poorly with ‘postmodern’ sentiments against authoritative grids. The interim **Atlas** material is ‘raw’ to some extent, in the sense of its cross-cutting, often in the rudest sense possible, whatever theoretical and paradigmatic realms the data surfaced in. Of course, the anthropology student (like myself) will feel challenged to sort this out a bit, and then find that this produces rather interesting preliminaries for further inquiry. Thus, respected ‘holistic’ traditions may prove unreceptive for the mere concept of people “developing” “sexual”.

In the section below I would like to make a number of ‘post hoc’ notes pertaining to the discursive localisation of project GUS in its ‘interim’ appearance.

1. By the phrase ‘**sexual curriculum**’ I have tried to address the trichotomous (by that I mean *culturally trisected*) academic discursive space that is ‘sexuality development’. In this space, the historical trichomotisation in question has entailed the separation of three concurrent “developmental” themes which I ethnocentrically address as (1) the **gender curriculum**; (2) the **reproductive curriculum**; and (3) the **pleasure /erotic curriculum**. With GUS, the project I had only vaguely in mind was, according to

¹ This section is due to be added to GUS HTML version 0.0 in July, 2003. It reflects *post hoc* on Project GUS as a whole.

² <http://www.topica.com/lists/growingupsexually>

Foucault's understanding of genealogy/archaeology of knowledge³, a comparative ethno-historiography of sexology, more specifically of the ontogenetic question within this 'sexological' stage: how does sexuality "develop"? That is: I am not consenting to any 'trichotomisation' (gender/reproduction/pleasure), the trichotomisation is the starting point of a discourse analysis and deconstruction as reviewed *infra*.

Generally, I guess sexologists would want to study sexual histories according to an Foucaultian axiom: "Let us give the term 'genealogy' to the union of erudite knowledge and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today" (1980 [1994:p42])⁴. That is, if our reality is to be our "history", then our history be our sexual trajectories, and sexologists be genealogists. Beausang⁵ calls these 'personal narratives'.

2. I further distinguished two collateral (still, reciprocal) discursive realms named "**curriculum**", which denotes individuals' *normative* discourse, and "**trajectory**" which denotes individuals' (auto)biographical discourse. By this bipolar understanding of sexological praxis I wished to potentialise the ways these fields have become evaluated, produced, measured and controlled by means of instrumental constructs such as "development", "normality", "transgression", "perversion", and so on. This is an essentially historiographic project, which would embody, at the discursive level, the processes of discourse formation and object formation in the West-European setting (cf. Foucault). That is, it leaves aside whatever realm of determination ('biological' or such) is 'behind' individuals' autobiographical processes, or the moral universe that would be 'beyond' them. This should be clear: I am not challenging any mode of 'biological' representation of processes.
3. Now the project delineated above, one of Foucault's major unfinished agenda, has not been actualised as I write. What has to some extent come to the fore in GUS, was the academic performance of sexology, which is interesting in itself but it also competes with an anthropologist's concern with 'local' sexologies. Apparently, what should be on the agenda are emerging global/local/'glocal' developmental sexologies as they are practised where the 'sexuality' is, or rather where it is ordered, governed, issued, etc. At this point I came to regard '**sexological**' and '**sexual**' praxis as collateral *if not identical* realms (obviously *contra* the historically rooted dichotomy in which they appear to be *ordered*). So as I see it, sexological hierarchies function to control and order both 'sexologies' (according to traditional meaning) as 'sexualities' (according to conventional meaning), archaically and typically within a medical and medicalising concept of social reality. In the 1970s, the Western world briefly

³ Foucault, M. (1970). *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences*. (trans anonymous) London: Tavistock

⁴ Foucault, M. (C. Gordon, Ed.; 1980) *Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. Brighton: Harvester / New York: Pantheon Books. Section reprinted as "Genealogy and Social Criticism" in Seidman, S. (Ed., 1994) *The Postmodern Turn: New Perspectives on Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press

⁵ Beausang, C. C. (2000) Personal Stories of Growing up Sexually, *Issues in Comprehensive Pediatric Nursing* 23,3:175-92

experienced relief from this order. Today, without a youth movement, and with distressing liberties and possibilities such as internet communication, we find it harder again. We “Americans” are hyperconsumers of our moral notions, and have these steadily reproduced by our institutions. These institutes (school, the psychiatrist’s office, the home) run our world; we sit back and enjoy the scene, the violence, the scandal, the excitement.

4. The study of ‘sexual development’ discourses, according to Foucaultian guidelines, would include the following elements:
 1. statements about sexuality “developing”, “being developed”, “having developed”, “not having developed”, and so forth;
 2. rules which prescribe certain ways of talking about these topics while excluding others (rules of *inclusion and exclusion*);
 3. how knowledge about the topic acquires *authority* (embodiment of ‘truth’);
 4. ‘subjects’ who in some manner *personify* the discourse (currently, the a/pre/subsexual or “normative” child, the ‘sexually aggressive child’, the ‘sexually reactive child’, the ‘sexually abused child’, the ‘predator’, the ‘survivor’, ...);
 5. *practices* associated with the *institutionalisation* of dealing with the subjects (e.g., scholastic “sex education” programmes);
 6. *discursive (trans)formation* (the emergence of a new discourse, and decline old ones).

I again recall that Foucault himself left some work to be done here.

5. A recent off-shoot paper of GUS⁶ might, *inter alia*, give rise to the idea that the project was born out of an anti-protectionist, perhaps even ‘neoliberalist’ view of child rearing. Personally, I have to say I am interested in Germanic interpretations of *Geschlechtswissenschaft*, *anti-authoritäre Erziehung*, *Frei-Körper Kultur*, *Psychoanalyse*, *Sexualerziehung*, etc., from a historical and epistemological point of view. As for ‘abuse’ according to contemporary Americanist discourse, I guess it is, eventually, an understandable paradigmatic peculiarity of postfeminist societies (which I called “paedocentric”) as well as of self-sustaining ‘bureaucracies’. Possibly not something to be focussing on, with other issues pressing (cf. Kincaid, 1998)⁷. Project GUS itself hardly addressed the issue in other than oblique fashions, for a number of reasons, one prominent of these being the inability of the contemporary globalist psycho/socio/pedagogical constellation to address these matters in an unbiased way; this being my personal reflection. Generally, the anthropological niche has failed to commit itself in establishing a curriculum of ‘thick’ descriptions addressing processes

⁶ Janssen, D. F. (2003). Enculturation Curricula, Abuse Categorisation and the Globalist/Culturalist Project: The Genital Reference. *Issues in Child Abuse Accusations* 13. Online at http://www.ipt-forensics.com/journal/volume13/j13_1_2.htm

⁷ Kincaid, J. (1998). *Erotic Innocence: The Culture of Child Molesting*. London: Duke University Press

of sexual “development”. By this I think of in-depth semi-structured interviews, discursive analysis, and then a relativist synthetic project ready to incorporate future modifications. I daresay we don’t need any more *Child Sexual Behaviour Inventories* of the sort that we now judge issues with. However, I gather there’s little room for a radical anthropology of early sexuality either; those Bornemannian days seem to be over.

6. The project gave rise to a reflection on the legitimacy of developing sexualities to be studied in ‘cultural’ terms, and on such level. Today, I am rather sceptical of any level of analysis given the hegemony of a number of mainstreamed absolutisms and dichotomies in casu, in an age so obviously and proudly “past it all” on the academic level. This surely makes for a peculiar vacuum. I might agree with project supervisor and former-president of the then Dutch Social Sexological Research Institute [formerly NISSO] Dr. Jur. Cees J. Straver sexuality and associated physical affinity are best described in terms of “emotions”; on the other hand, an anthropologist can deal with emotions only when symptomatised by stories, by actions. That is, I am perfectly content to study stories, featuring “emotions” as such (words, stories), not as probable ‘root realities’ nor as smallest undividable “sexual” particles.

As for ‘emotions’, I maintain there is a strong case for what I nicked “proto-erotic” currents as a go-between of predominantly adrenergically mediated biopsychological processes, and predominantly gonadally mediated processes. To exclusively reserve the term “eroticism” for the latter would be akin to ruling out a fading out/fading in scheme in the effectuation of attractions in general, and also the probable tight curricular interdigitation of both processual “generations” as is concerned the “erotic” appeal.

As for ‘cultures’, it seems obvious the “individual” is not of an anthropologist’s prime interest, while the interactive, institutional and eventual counter-institutional is. That is, anthropologists will (and probably should) primarily commit themselves to studies and theories of “curricula” rather than the more hypothetical, more problematic, and more recalcitrant “trajectories” that might prove symptomatic of them. The Curriculum in terms of Biopower, then, is hegemonic Discourse in need of exploration; trajectories, on the other hand, should be expressions of the enforcement and formation of Curricular processes. Might they prove subverting any Curricular principle, then they should not. I would say that these subversions are the salt and pepper of developmental sexology.

Taking the “paedophilic” encounter as a too-easy and too-cheap index of contemporary parenting and moral globalism, the sexologist would have to resist being institutionalised⁸ into the kind of ethnographies to perform, be it ethnocriminologies/-victimologies (focussing on active of passive deviations from institutionalised regulation of social behaviour) or ethnopsychiatries (focussing on deviations from public conventions on mental process and productivity, as contributing to such social behaviour), rather than biologies (focussing on deviations from neuro-endocrinological homeostasis, such according to contemporary clinical

⁸ Taking into account the necessary work of Zijderfeld, A. C. (2000) *The Institutional Imperative*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press

consensus). I am not advocating any type of “integrative approach” either. Let the facts (stories, rather) speak, not the institutions (I am a freshman student, maybe I am too optimistic).

7. In discussing sexual education of the blind, Patrick White recently expressed the “hope that in the future blind people will wrest control of the story of their own sexuality from the hands of the sighted, for the available material, painfully limited though it is, constitutes the totality of our cultural inheritance of official information on the subject”⁹. I subscribe to such hope, impolitely lumping blindnesses into what may be a universal threat, and corresponding sightednesses somewhere near to such.
8. Lastly, I want to express my hope that “sexology” even when a peculiar ethnohistorical niche will be able to succeed in subverting and deconstructing today’s multidisciplinary (in the Foucaultian sense) dichotomies, of which there too many. But let’s try and invent constructive alternatives to the boring anti-Americanisms here. Of many ethnographies entries in “sexological” “atlases”, mine for one, there’s a skeleton without the flesh, there’s no interstitium, no connective tissue, no organicity. We simply can not afford dealing with bones while ignoring the organism they may erect.

The author, June 2003

⁹ White, P. (2003) Sex Education; Or, How The Blind Became Heterosexual, *GLQ* 9,1–2:133–47, at p134

Sub-Saharan Africa

Chapter separately published as

**Janssen, D. F. (Oct., 2002). *Growing Up Sexually. Volume I: World Reference Atlas.*
Interim report. Amsterdam, The Netherlands**

Minor adjustments having been made, the present monograph is digitally available at
<http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/GUS/AFRICAWEB.HTM>
as of Januari 30th, 2003

“Easy, easy, many women will weep if you err”

“Now unfold your scrotums and sleep in it”

“Nyina owe, nyina owe, mayo wandi fuma ingawile nyina owe,
nyina owe, nalete cisungu candi, nyina owe, nyina owe”¹

¹ Rasing (2001:p282), *cit. infra*, song 194: “Please mother, come out and ulululate for me, I have brought my maturity”.

*Geographic Index*²

Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central Africa, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, **Nigeria**, Rhodesia. *See* Zambia, Zimbabwe; Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Chad, Togo, Uganda, Upper Volta. *See* Burkina Faso; Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

² The arrangement within the chapter roughly reads from the east to west, and from the north to south.

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Additional Reading: Africa

[Table 1](#) *Phase- and Gender Specific Sexual Restraint and Other Sexological Measures for the SCCS: Subsaharan Africa (SCCS 1-41)*

SCCS Time/Space Specifications

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Introduction: Is There an “African” Sexual Socialisation?

Contemporary African sexual behaviour, particularly in adolescence, is exceedingly well studied. Previous material was collected by Barton (1991)³, in a 2065 item review of works on African sexuality, particularly from a biomedical perspective. Other useful works include those presented by Standing and Kisekka (1989)⁴ and Beck (1979)⁵ and further by Molnos (1973, III)⁶. The present overview does not purport to present an analysis of “African sexuality” or its legitimacy. Some incidental authors have provided generals (consider Ayisi⁷, Cudjoe⁸), but these accounts brush over most of the salience of African sexual socialisation patterns. Whereas Caldwell et al.’s⁹ “distinct and internally coherent African system” (as characterized by the scene of decent and the maintenance of the lineage; lineal inheritance systems; female dominated agriculture; and fertility) left “a fair degree of permissiveness towards premarital relations”, Le Blanc et al.¹⁰, Ahlberg¹¹, Savage and Tchombe¹² as well as Taylor¹³ and Heald (1999:p128-45)¹⁴ opposed this view as generalist, selective and even moralistic. The minor controversy, originating from a discussion on HIV transmission patterns, has drawn some attention of historians.

In search of a regionalist view of sexual socialisation, Delius and Glaser¹⁵ broadly argue that:

³ Barton, Th. G. (1991) *Sexuality and Health in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Annotated Bibliography*. Nairobi, Kenya: African Medical and Research Foundation

⁴ Standing, H. & Kisekka, M. N. (1989) *Sexual Behavior in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review and Annotated Bibliography*. London: Overseas Development Administration

⁵ Beck, R. B. (1979) *A Bibliography of Africana in the Institute for Sex Research, Indiana University*. African Studies Program, Indiana University

⁶ Molnos, A. (Ed., 1973) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Esp. Vol. 3

⁷ Ayisi, E. O. (1979) *An Introduction to the Study of African Culture*. 2nd ed. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, see p6-12

⁸ Cudjoe, S. D. (1965) Sex and human relations: African pattern, in Sex and Human Relations. Proceedings of the 4th Conference of the Region Europe, Near East and Africa of the International Parenthood Federation, London, 8-11th June, 1964. Amsterdam [etc.]: Excerpta Medica, p31-3

⁹ Caldwell, J. C., Caldwell, P. & Quiggin, P. (1989) The Social Context of AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, *Populat & Developm Rev* 15,2:185-234; Caldwell, J. C., Caldwell, P. & Quiggin, P. (1991) The African Sexual System: A Reply to Le Blanc et al., *Populat & Developm Rev* 17,3:506-15

¹⁰ Le Blanc, M. N., Meintel, D. & Piche, V. (1991) The African Sexual System: Comment on Caldwell et al., *Populat & Developm Rev* 17,3:497-505. See further Heald, S. (1995) The power of sex: some reflections on the Caldwell’s “African sexuality” thesis, *Africa* 65,4:489-505

¹¹ Ahlberg, B. M. (1994) Is there a distinct African sexuality? A critical response to Caldwell, *Africa* 64,2:220-42

¹² Savage, O. M. & Tchombe, T. M. (1994) Anthropological perspectives on sexual behaviour in Africa, *Ann Rev Sex Res* 5:50-72. the authors point to problems including 1) an inability to reflect differences between and within regions, 2) the potential trap for researchers of moralizing and applying pejorative stereotypes, and 3) the contradictory nature of the results of modeling attempts that call the very research methodologies used into question.

¹³ Taylor, T. N. (nd) *African Sexual Culture, AIDS and Anthropology*. Online paper at <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/~tonyat/SexualCulture.html>

¹⁴ Cit. *infra*

¹⁵ Delius, P. & Glaser, C. (2001) *Sexual Socialisation in Historical Perspective*. Paper presented at the conference *Aids in Context*, University of the Witwatersrand. From online draft abstract

“Some commentators have suggested that a promiscuous and violent sexual culture is primordial in Africa. But if one turns to the literature on many pre-colonial and early colonial African societies in this region there is evidence which suggests high degrees of sexual education and regulation. These forms of control took place particularly through peer group forms of socialisation and the practice of male and female initiation which limited the form and incidence of pre-marital sex and the levels of sexual violence. There is of course the danger of notions of a lost golden age colouring this characterisation and the evidence for it needs to be critically assessed. The perception and practice of gender relations that reigned at this time also need further scrutiny. But even if this portrait is only partly true it does suggest that a more dynamic and periodised understanding is required of sexual culture. We believe that in order to achieve this it is necessary to examine the impact of Christianity, migrancy, urbanisation, and youth led popular revolt on forms of sexual socialisation”.

Mcfadden¹⁶ further believes that

“Africans foster heterosexuality through socialization from early childhood and discourage any sign of sexual stimulation in their children. After teaching that humans are “naturally” heterosexual, Africans teach their children that marriage is essential for the moral uprightness of society, although most Africans are, in fact, raised in many types of alternative families”.

In Africa, the concept of “traditional” sexual socialisation is voiced in various ways, most arguments being based on a sense of loss and deficiency, particularly in facing HIV. It has been claimed, for instance, that “[t]he incidence of sexual activity before marriage provides an indication of the extent of erosion in traditional practices and in family control of young women’s behavior in urban areas”¹⁷. Thus, “[i]n the light of civilization that has come to erode some of the sexual constraints in the traditional African society’s openness today toward sexuality and sexual expression, adolescents commence sexual activity at an increasing earlier age and the average marriage come much later. It is therefore not surprising that an increasing proportion of adolescents in Nigeria are engaging in teenage prostitution”¹⁸. Dossou-yovo¹⁹ argues that “[i]n traditional Africa, sex education was diffuse and was implicit at the family and society levels; simply stated, there was no fooling around before marriage of any kind. When traditions collapsed after west African colonization and liberation, parents in francophone Africa turned to the school system for help. But, until the last decade, the schools have failed to coordinate a sex education program backed by a stable philosophy [which] is in great contrast to anglophone Africa”. Others have more neutrally argued that “[a]s traditional cultural influences on adolescent sexuality in Africa have diminished, peer interaction and modern influences have gained importance”²⁰. In this context, Renne²¹ notes that for those educators, “[...] neither an unmitigated return to the “traditional,” nor a wholehearted embrace of a “modern” way of life offers unambiguous answers for those who yearn to protect the younger generation from harm”.

¹⁶ Mcfadden, P. (1994) African female sexuality and the heterosexual form, *South Afr Polit Econ Mon* 7,6:56-8

¹⁷ Feyisetan, B. & Pebley, A. R. (1989) Premarital sexuality in urban Nigeria, *Stud Fam Plann* 20,6 Pt 1:343-54

¹⁸ Adedoyin, M. & Adegoke, A. A. (1995) Teenage prostitution--child abuse: a survey of the Ilorin situation, *Afr J Med & Med Sci* 24,1:27-31

¹⁹ Dossou-yovo, N. (1980) Sex and family-life education in Francophone West Africa, *Afr Link*, Dec.:6-10

²⁰ Barker, G. K. & Rich, S. (1992) Influences on adolescent sexuality in Nigeria and Kenya: findings from recent focus-group discussions, *Stud Fam Plann* 23,3:199-210

²¹ Renne, E. P. (2000) Introduction to Special Issue: Sexuality and Generational Identities in Sub-Saharan Africa, *Africa Today* 47,3-4:vii-xii

"In African cultures, the discussion of sexual issues is generally considered a sensitive subject. Parents cannot directly discuss sexual matters with their children. Studies found that rural and urban parents, and even the professional community, feel that sexuality can only be discussed through a third party, who might be an aunt, an uncle or a grandparent (Meursuing, 1993; Loewenson & Chikamba, 1994)^[22]. Due to the breakdown of tradition and the extended family structures, effects of urbanization and migration of people from the rural to urban areas, the role taken by such family members in educating children about sex is diminishing. Uncles, aunts and grandparents now tend to live far away and this makes it impossible for them to provide sex education. Their role has been taken over by the teachers in schools and parents in the home. However, some children such as street children are neither at home nor in an institution such as the school in which they might receive education on sexuality. Even those children at home or attending school do not receive adequate and realistic information about sex, because it is viewed as embarrassing. As a result children get too little or no meaningful information at all about sexuality and tend to experiment with sex, based on the little sexual information they come across in books, on television and from their peers"²³.

For African males,

"[...] sexual access came with complex directives. Although many African societies allowed and even encouraged young men to be sexually expressive, they were not necessarily entitled yet to procreate. Sexual expression might precede marriage, but it was held in check by various means until reproduction could legitimately ensue. Barriers sharply separated sexuality from legitimate reproduction even in practices involving women of low status"²⁴.

General statements on African sexual development include the (overtly antioccidental) one of Guyon (1929)²⁵ where he notes 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". A further rough, antioccidental sketch of sexual development provided by Edwardes and Masters (1963)²⁶ agrees with that of De Rachewiltz (1963 [1964:ch.5])²⁷ in that children were raised in comparative liberty. Thus, authors have offered the generalising view that "[i]n traditional African culture, parents taught their children about sex starting from the age of six to eight [...]" (Mungazi, 1996:p56)²⁸.

The "African" concept of childhood and the value of children being discussed in several writings²⁹, a distinct ethnohistorical juxtaposition of "African" versus "Western" sexual upbringing has not been forwarded. In the mean time, Knapen³⁰'s early schematic cultural

²² These references were identified as Mersuing, K. (1993) *Child Sexual Abuse in Matabeleland*. Matabeleland AIDS Council; and Chikamba & Loewenson, R. (1994) *Sexual Abuse of Children in Zimbabwe*. Report on an Action Research Project, Redd Barna-Zimbabwe, Harare

²³ Chinyangara, I., Chokuwenga, I., Dete, R. G., Dube, L., Kembo, J., Moyo, P. & Nkomo, R. Sh. (1997) *Indicators For Children's Rights: Zimbabwe Country Case Study*. http://www.childwatch.uio.no/cwi/projects/indicators/Zimbabwe/ind_zim_ch4.html#6

²⁴ Bledsoe, C. H. & Cohen, B. (Eds. 1993) *Social Dynamics of Adolescent Fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, p77

²⁵ Guyon, R. (1929) *La Légitimité des Actes Sexuels*. Saint-Denis: Dardaillon

²⁶ Edwardes, A. & Masters, R. E. L. (1962/3) *The Cradle of Erotica*. New York: The Julian Press. See also p136, 290

²⁷ De Rachewiltz, B. (1963) *Eros Nero*. Milan: Longanesi & Co. Translated by P. Whigham, (1964) *Black Eros*. Milan: Allen & Unwin

²⁸ Mungazi, D. A. (1996) *Gathering under the Mango Tree*. New York: P. Lang

²⁹ E.g., Adler, B. & Harrington, H. (Eds., 1971) *Growing Up African*. New York: Morrow; Erny, P. (1991) *L'Enfant dans la Pensée Traditionnelle de l'Afrique Noire*. Éditions l'Harmattan

³⁰ Knapen, M. Th. (1958) Some results of an enquiry into the influence of child-training practices on the development of personality in a Baongo society (Belgian Congo), *J Soc Psychol* 47,2:223-9

opposition of “Western” vs. “African” socialisation characteristics (p228-9) offers the tentative, and very global, portrayal of sexual socialisation as being (a, f) more of a social than an individual discourse, by stressing collectivism rather than independence and individualism; (b) more ‘realistic’ and applied; (c) appealing to communal duty rather than to personal inclination; (d) entailing the promotion of certainties “that nature looks after normal growth” rather than “encouragement of the wish to grow up”; and (e) encouraging the normal rather than managing and policing the exceptional.

Not covering sex behaviour socialisation, Welch³¹ argued that “our knowledge of African socialization practices is rather limited and, therefore, much more research is needed before we will be able to understand these value transmission processes in any detailed way” (p15). Generally, authors agree on the traditional sexual liberty of children in Africa, but unusual restriction is also noted. To instil shame, for instance, boys could be apparently be punished by slaps on the penis with a twig³². African childhood sexual learning depends in crucial ways on the dripping down of data through adult folklore (Lallemand, 1985)³³, children incorporating the way of things by observation, but certainly by overhearing. [Some adolescent folklore (love declarations) were collected in Leopoldville by Raymaekers³⁴ 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).]

[Additional refs.: Sonnabend, H. (1932) Note preliminari di demographia africana, *Metron* 10: 93-129; Hambly, W. D. (1961) Sex life of Africans, in Ellis, A. & Abarbanel, A. (Eds.) *The Encyclopaedia of Sexual Behavior*, Volume 1. London: W. Heinemann, p69-74; Staples, R. (1972) Research on Black Sexuality: Its Implications for Family Life, Sex Education, and Public Policy, *Fam Coordinator* 21,2:183-8; Dougall, J. W. C. (Ed., 1937) *Christianity and the Sex-Education of the African*. London: S.P.C.K; We Must Teach Children About Sexuality Or They Learn the Wrong Way - NERDC Boss, *Africa News Service* July 1, 2002; Parents Should Not Be Uptight About Their Children's Sexuality, *Africa News Service* June 2, 2003;]

Ratings and Tabularisation

As indicated in [Table 1](#), forty-three African SCCS societies are coded by Barry III, Josephson et al. (1976)³⁵. The **Thonga**, **Bemba** and **Tiv** remained entirely unrated for childhood, while three societies are only partially coded for childhood (**Suku**, **Azande**, **Teda**). One or both of adolescent ratings³⁶ are missing for SCCS Tiv, Ibo, Shilluk, Mao, Masai, and Bogo. Further

³¹ Welch, M. R., (1978) Childhood socialization differences in African and non-African societies, *J Social Psychol* 106,1:11-5

³² Illustrated in Castiglioni, A. & Castiglioni, A. ([1977]) *Adams Schwartze Kinder*. Zürich: Schweizer Verlagshaus. Translated from Italian

³³ Lallemand, S. (1985) *L'Apprentissage de la Sexualité dans les Contes d'Afrique de l'Ouest*. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan

³⁴ Raymaekers, R. (1960) *Materiaux pour une Étude Sociologique de la Jeunesse Africaine du Milieu Coutumier de Leopoldville*. Leopoldville: Université Lovanium

³⁵ Barry, H. III, Josephson, E. et al. (1976) Traits inculcated in childhood: cross-cultural codes 5, *Ethnology* 15:83-114

³⁶ Barry, H. III & Schlegel, A. (1984) Measurements of adolescent sexual behavior in the standard sample of societies, *Ethnology* 23,4:315-29

ratings are indicated for SCCS tribes with initiations characterised by an apparent sexological relevance³⁷, Deleeuwe's abstract from Ford and Beach³⁸, etc.

*Current Age of Consent*³⁹

Graupner (2000)⁴⁰ is remarkably silent about consent ages, offering data only for South Africa. Legal matters pertaining to "Sexual Offenses Against Minors", and civil marriage ages, are collected by the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy (CRLP)⁴¹ and by ECPAT⁴² (see further Smyth⁴³).

The following ages are given by the ILGA (2000)⁴⁴: in Burkina Faso it is 13 (het)/ 21 (hom). In South Africa, it is 16 (het)/ 19 (hom).

In **Swaziland**, the age of consent is currently 18. As in **South-Africa**⁴⁵, in **Namibia**, a girl under the age of twelve years can not legally consent to sexual intercourse. While the legal age of consent for a boy is seven and older (no child under the age of seven can be convicted of a crime under any circumstances), even if the girl has in fact given consent for sexual intercourse, the act is considered rape. If a girl aged between twelve and sixteen consents to sexual intercourse, the accused is not guilty of rape, but guilty of an offence described in Section 14. A recent draft rape statute proposed by the government would make the age of consent 12 for both boys and girls, provided that the perpetrator is at least three years older. This provision would be supplemented by the lesser offence of "statutory rape", which makes it illegal for males to engage in sexual activity with girls under the age of 16, regardless of consent.

Similarly, in **Zimbabwe**, the common-law age of consent for rape is 12, but is supplemented by "statutory rape" which covers persons under the age of 16.

In **Botswana**, "[a]ny person who unlawfully and carnally knows any girl under the age of sixteen (16) years is guilty of an offence and is liable to imprisonment for life, with or without corporal punishment" (Defilement of girls under sixteen (16) years of age', Section 147, Penal Code). Meanwhile, "[a]ny person who unlawfully and indecently assaults a boy under the age of fourteen (14) is guilty of an offence and is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding seven years" (Section 166). According to the **Ivory Coast** Penal Code, a sexual exploiter; owner, operator, or proprietor of a place of prostitution; and anyone who traffics, seduces or leads another to prostitution is subject to loss of rights if the victim is under 15 years of age. In **Kenya**, "[a] male person under the age of twelve (12) years is presumed to be incapable of having carnal knowledge" (Section 14, Paragraph 3 of the Penal Code CAP. 63). Also, "[i]t shall be no defence to a charge for an indecent assault on a girl under the age of fourteen (14) years to prove that she consented to the act of indecency" (Section 144, 2). "Any person who unlawfully and carnally knows any girl under the age of fourteen (14) years is guilty of a felony and is liable to

³⁷ Schlegel, A. & Barry III, H. (1979) Adolescent initiation ceremonies: a cross-cultural code, *Ethnology* 18,2:199-210, column I

³⁸ De Leeuwe, J. (1970) Society system and sexual life, *Bijdr Taal- Land- & Volkenk* 126:1-36, see p28-32; Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Row

³⁹ <http://www.ageofconsent.com/ageofconsent.htm>, Nov. 2001. Also http://www.ilga.org/Information/Legal_survey/Africa/1world_legal_survey_africa.htm, idem

⁴⁰ Graupner, H. (2000) Sexual consent: The criminal law in Europe and overseas, *Arch Sex Behav* 29,5:415-61

⁴¹ CRLP (2001) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives*: Anglophone Africa. Progress Report [Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe]; CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives*: Francophone Africa. Progress Report [Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, and Senegal]

⁴² http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/online_database/index.asp, under "protection" subchapters

⁴³ Smyth, B. (nd) *The [Commercial] Sexual Exploitation of [Children] in Southern Africa*. ECPAT International

⁴⁴ International Lesbian and Gay Association, online data updated 2000

⁴⁵ "It was not until 1988 in South Africa that the age limit for sexual relations between women and boys has been raised from 7 (!) to 16 (and the one for lesbians from 12 to 19)" (Graupner).

imprisonment with hard labour for fourteen years together with corporal punishment" (Section 145, 1), unless the girl is his wife. "Any person who unlawfully and indecently assault a boy under the age of fourteen (14) years is guilty of a felony and is liable to imprisonment for seven years, with or without corporal punishment" (Section 164). In **Liberia**, penal law stipulates that sexual intercourse with a girl below 16 years is "statutory" rape. In **Nigeria**, where female coitarche occurs on average at 13 years, "[s]exual intercourse by a man with his own wife is not rape, if she has attained to puberty". In addition, the Criminal Code provides for life imprisonment for any person who has unlawful "carnal knowledge" of a girl under the age of 13".

*Contrasexual Genital Morphology Alterating Practices, Female Genitalia*⁴⁶

*Sunna, Female Circumcision*⁴⁷

On discussing early sexual behaviours, one cannot escape the practice of genital surgery of girls, often before or at pubescence. The matter is severely condemned by individualist and collective feminist projects under the terms "mutilation", regardless of its alleged "emic" significance.

Clitoral amputation is customarily done very early in age; the term, however, is applied to circumcision (Sunna), partial and total removal of clitoral tissue. A report⁴⁸ from Nigeria in 1983 indicated that from children under five years of age (96.5%), two in three had been clitoridectomised. By one month and three months of age 75.5 per cent and 89 per cent, respectively had been operated upon. (82% of the mothers believed that (later) promiscuity was less likely in the operated, although only 2.4% volunteered this as a reason for the surgery⁴⁹.)

Sunna (removal of the clitoral prepuce and the tip of the clitoris) was practiced in Egypt, Sudan and Somalia (Abdalla, 1982; Hosken, 1982; Koso-Thomas, 1987)⁵⁰. Excision or clitoridectomy (removal of the entire clitoris, usually together with the adjacent parts of the labia minora and sometimes all of the external genitalia, except parts of the labia majora) is practiced widely in Somalia, Chad, Central Africa, Northern regions of Cameroon, and Zaire, Niger, Togo, Benin, Ghana⁵¹, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Upper Volta, Senegal, the Gambia, Southern regions of Mauritania, and Northern parts of Nigeria (Abdalla, 1982; Hosken, 1982)⁵². Infibulation or Pharaonic circumcision is widely practiced in Somalia, Northern parts

⁴⁶ → vol.II, chapter 12,13.

⁴⁷ Most medical and legal activity is geared toward various bloody practices, with little comment on nonbloody practices. For a recent note on legal policies, the reader is referred to Toubia, N. & Rahman, A. (2000) *Female Genital Mutilation: A Guide to Laws and Policies Worldwide*. London [etc.]: Zed Books

⁴⁸ Olamijulo, S. K. et al. (1983) Female circumcision in Ilesha, Nigeria, *Clin Pediatr* 22,8:580-1

⁴⁹ See also Onadeko, M. O. (1985) Female circumcision in Nigeria: a fact or a farce? *J Trop Pediatr* 31:180-4

⁵⁰ Abdalla, R. H. D. (1982) *Sisters in Affliction. Circumcision and Infibulation of Women in Africa*, London: Zed Press; Hosken, F. P. (1982) The Hosken Report: Genital and Sexual Mutilation of Females. Women's International Network News; Koso-Thomas, O. (1987) The Circumcision of Women: A Strategy for Eradication. London: Dotesios Ltd. It was also practised in parts of Indonesia and Malaysia.

⁵¹ Odoi, A., Brody, S. P. & Elkins, T. E. (1997) Female genital mutilation in rural Ghana, West Africa, *Int J Gynaecol & Obstet* 56,2:179-80

⁵² *Op.cit*

of Kenya, Djibouti, Eastern part of Ethiopia (Ogaden), Eritrea, Sudan, Mali, Upper Egypt and isolated areas of Nigeria (Hosken, 1982; Gallo Grassivaro, 1985)⁵³.

Female "circumcision" is frequently ascribed an anti-aphrodisiac intent. A study⁵⁴ of 859 rural women in 16 semipastoralist and semiagricultural villages in Southern Somalia reaffirmed the special significance of female circumcision as "a source of full womanhood and an instrument for the control of female sexuality" in Somalia. Bryk (1928:p55) remarks:

"Vom achten Jahre an ist des Mädchen Gemeingut. Jeder, der nur über wenig männliche Überredungskunst verfügt, kann es bekommen. Die ganz kleinen Mädchen schlafen mit gleichaltrigen Buben, die älteren etwa zwölfjährigen und darüber hinaus, werden selbst von verheirateten Kriegern nicht verschmäht. Die Eltern mischen sich in diese Liebeleien nicht ein; sie haben auch keine Gelegenheit, darüber etwas zu erfahren, da Mädchen wie Buben nicht zu Hause schlafen und bei der herrschenden Prüderie, die streng verbietet, in Gegenwart der Älteren etwas Anstößiges oder Unanständiges nur anzudeuten, ihnen niemand etwas hierüber mitteilt. [...] Die Beschneidung [...] setzt dem tollen Treiben der Mädchen Schranken. Aus Gemeingut wird es Privateigentum".

Clitoridectomy thus was argued to enable enforcement of monogamy, or rather, the production of a monogamous wife.

[Additional refs.: Duncan, B. & Hernlund, Y. (2000) *Female Circumcision in Africa: Culture, Controversy and Change*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers]

***Female Infibulation, With a Special Attention to Its Prepubertal Timing*⁵⁵ (→Vol. II, §13.2.2)**

Some African tribes took or take considerable measures to preserve chastity even before puberty. De Cardi (1899:p59-60)⁵⁶ mentions the practice of "scraping the labia pudendi externa until a raw surface is formed; then the two parts are brought together and kept in that position until the labia grow together, thus completely closing up the opening into the vagina. When the female thus operated upon draws near the age of puberty, she [...] undergoes a second operation which consists of this false hymen being perforated by one of the old women of the tribe by the insertion of an ivory probe about the thickness of a lead pencil, this being done to allow the free passage of the menses".

The most obvious case of contrasexual morphology alteration is female infibulation, which may include clitoral amputation. Buschan (1912:p235-6)⁵⁷ dates the practice at age 7 to 8, Widstrand (1964)⁵⁸ at ages 6-8. Worsley (1938)⁵⁹ indicates that infibulation was done eighth

⁵³ *Op.cit.*; Gallo Grassivaro, P. (1985) Female Circumcision in Somalia: Some Psychological Aspects, *Genus* 41,1-2:133-47

⁵⁴ Ntiri, D. W. (1993) Circumcision and health among rural women of southern Somalia as part of a family life survey, *Health Care Women Int* 14,3:215-26

⁵⁵ For more information see Seligmann, C. G. (1913) Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 43:593-705, see p639-46;

⁵⁶ De Cardi, C. N. (1899) Ju-Ju Laws and Customs in the Niger Delta, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 29,1/2:51-64

⁵⁷ Buschan, S. (1912), in Moll, A. (Ed.) *Handbuch Der Sexualwissenschaften*. Berlin. Quoted by Bryk (1931:p244-5)

⁵⁸ Widstrand, C. G. (1964) Female infibulation, *Studia Ethnogr Upsal* 20,Varia 1:95-124

day after birth among the **Abyssinia**; a few weeks after birth in Arabia; at 3 to 8 years among the Copts; at 6 to 7 years in Sudan⁶⁰ and “modern” Egypt (though this may be much later⁶¹); at 8 to 10 years among the Somalis; at 9 to 10 years in Upper Egypt; and at age 10 years in Peru. Among the reasons listed were the reduction [prevention?] of sexual passion, and the prevention of labial hypertrophy said to be caused by prolonged masturbation. Another source⁶² gives the following age estimates: 3 years (Senaar, South of Nubia; Danakil), 6 years (Sudan), 7 years (Harrar), 8 years (Malayan Mohammedans, Kordofan) and from 8 to 9 years (Massawa; Beja; Galas; Somalia). Concluding, it is said that 80-90% of Somalian and Sudanese girls are infibulated by age seven or eight (Hicks, 1986, 1993; Hosken, 1982; Lightfoot-Klein, 1989; Van der Kwaak, 1992)⁶³. Lowenfels and Pieters (1977)⁶⁴ state that in Somaliland and the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula, “the procedure has been freely performed on prepubertal girls [...]”. According to data collected by Gallo and Abdisamed (1985)⁶⁵ Somalian infibulation was only carried out between the age of 2 and 15, and the mode was 7 years old; Melly (1935)⁶⁶ also noted an average of age 7. Many of the attenuated forms were carried out at birth (7.8 %) or in the first year (2.3 %).

Infibulation are frequently legitimised as prophylactic sexologically, as opposed to curative (e.g., Nubia).

Nonbloody Prosexual Morphology Alteration Practices: Cunnus

Rarely addressed by anti-mutilationists, nonbloody techniques are noted occasionally in Africa, as reviewed in full elsewhere⁶⁷ (cf. for cunnus preparation, *Growing Up Sexually*, **Vol. II**, §13.1.2). Cosmetic or functional preparation in some way of another is practised in a large number of African (and Oceanic) societies⁶⁸. The technique of preparing the nymphae is

⁵⁹ Worseley, A. (1938) Infibulation and Female Circumcision: A Study of a Little-known Custom, *J Obstet & Gynecol* 45:686-91

⁶⁰ Montagu (1945) noted the age of 7-8. See Montagu, M. F. A. (1945) Infibulation and defibulation in the Old and New Worlds, *Am Anthropol* 47,3:464-7. Mustafa (1966) states 3-10 as the timing of genital operations. See Mustafa, A. Z. (1966) Female circumcision and infibulation in the Sudan, *J Obstet & Gynaecol Brit Commonw* 73:302-6

⁶¹ El-Gibaly, O., Ibrahim, B., Mensch, B. S. & Clark, W. H. (2002) The decline of female circumcision in Egypt: evidence and interpretation, *Soc Sci & Med* 54,2:205-220

⁶² Gray, L.H. ([1958]) Circumcision, in Hastings, J. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. New York: International Universities Press

⁶³ Hicks, E. K. (1986) *Infibulation: Status through Mutilation*. Dissertation, Rotterdam, The Netherlands. Alblasterdam: Kanters; Hicks, E. K. (1993) *Infibulation: Female Mutilation in Islamic Northeastern Africa*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publication; Lightfoot-Klein, H. (Ed.) (1989) *Prisoners of Ritual: An Odyssey into Female Genital Circumcision in Africa*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press; Van der Kwaak, A. (1992) Female circumcision and gender identity: A questionable alliance? *Soc Sci & Med* 35:777-87

⁶⁴ Lowenfels, A. B. & Pieters, G. (1977) Infibulation in the Horn of Africa, *New York State J Med* 77,6:729-31

⁶⁵ Gallo, P. G. & Abdisamed, M. (1985) Female Circumcision in Somalia: Anthropological Traits, *Anthropologischer Anzeiger*, 43,4:311-26

⁶⁶ Melly, J. M. (1935) Infibulation, *Lancet* ii:1272, Nov.30

⁶⁷ Preliminary shadow draft.

⁶⁸ 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

taught or performed by the mother (Nkundo, Luba, Hottentot, Zimbabwe [vaRemba]), or 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 complementary⁶⁹.

The artificiality of the so-called *tablier* is widely disputed in the past, although many sources have argued for this explanation (e.g., in the Gisu, Ganda, Nandi, Venda, etc.). In Zimbabwe (Hansson, 1996:p101-2)⁷⁰, “[t]he mother soon after birth began to pull the labia minora of the little girl, to lengthen them to around two centimeters at the time of menarche. They should not be too long, it was said. The function aims at giving the husband a better feeling [...]”. 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 [...]”. In the *sikuradzi rungombe* ritual, a girl of two or three years is given the vagina of a cow to eat. “Among some women it is believed that it prepares the reproductive system of the girl [...]”. Bourgeois (1954, [I]:p67-70)⁷¹ also speaks of “l’allongement des petites lèvres” (*ugukuna*) from early age until menses; the practice may be mutual.

Stephens (1971:p407)⁷² mentions “special genital doctoring to enlarge [girls’] genitalia” as occurring among the Dahomey⁷³, Ila, and Thonga⁷⁴. Childhood elongation of the labia majora was also practised among the Nyakyusa (Wilson, 1957:p87)⁷⁵, and the Nama (Schapera, 1930:p243)⁷⁶. The Betchuans (South Africa) were known to elongate the labia minora (Ploß

⁶⁹ 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).

⁷⁰ Hansson, G. (1996) *Mnana Ndi Mai*. Doctoral Dissertation, Uppsala University. More information is found in Mabuwa, C. (1993) *The Komba Ritual of the VaRemba Tribe of Mberengwa*. Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, p25-6; and Afschwanden, H. (1982) *Symbols of Life*. Gweru: Mambo Press, p77-8

⁷¹ Bourgeois, R. (1954) *Banyarwanda et Barundi*. Brussel: [s.n.]

⁷² 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. Data originally published in Stephens, W. N. (1968) *A Cross-Cultural Study of Modesty and Obscenity*. Halifax: Dalhousie University Press

⁷³ Herskovits, M. (1938) *Dahomey: An Ancient West-African Kingdom*. Vol. 1. Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin

⁷⁴ Junod, H. I. (1912, 1927 [1962]) *The Life of a South African Tribe*. Hyde Park, New York: University Books

⁷⁵ Wilson, M. (1957) *Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

⁷⁶ Schapera, I. (1930) *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, Bushmen and Hottentots*. London: Routledge

and Bartels, [1905, I:p240-1, 244]⁷⁷; Merensky, 1875:[p22]⁷⁸; Stoll, 1908:p546⁷⁹) almost from birth on, a chore⁸⁰ done by older girls on the younger, “[...] whenever they are alone, which is often the case when they collect wood or search for fruit. The mentioned parts [labia minora] are pulled and rolled on pieces of wood”. De Rachewiltz (1963[1964:p152]) further adds that “[a]mong the Luba and Nkundo, mothers instruct their daughters, while still very young, in the methods of extending the labia and enlarging the vagina, preparatory to marriage. The girls meet in the forest and perform the necessary acts on one another. The Zimba girls use spikes, corn cobs, or animal horns wrapped in cloth. Hottentot mothers tell their daughters, before their first menstruation, to “Go and make yourself a mfuli [artificially extended labia] [...]”. Speaking of the Lenda, a female Canadian anthropologist, writing under the name of Manda Cesara, writes in a letter dated July 20, 1973, to her mother: “From the age of three, girls lengthen their labia minora. They are very proud of it” (Cesara, 1982:p147)⁸¹.

According to an Azande informant for Evans-Pritchard (1937:p457)⁸²:

“Another medicine is a riverside shrub called *nganza*. They dig it up and dry it in the sun. They then take it and make a paste from it and pinch the eleusine with it in the early morning. They take a little girl and rub the paste on her vulva and then pinch the eleusine 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”. The spell is finished”.

Blacking⁸³ observed that the among the Venda of the Sibasa district of the Northern Transvaal (South Africa) a woman’s labia minora must be lengthened by manipulation. “This operation is begun often long before puberty, its importance is emphasised at vhusha [puberty school], and it must be stopped after a girl has attended tshikanda [intermediary initiation school between vhusha and pre-marital schools]”. A nonsexual motive for testicular elevation was reported by Johnston et al. (1913:p373n2)⁸⁴: “The practice of pushing up the testicles when the child was young, so that the growth of a pendant scrotum might be avoided as much as possible, least it impeded flight, was not peculiar to the Bushmen and Hottentots, but was recorded by Greek geographers as among the practices of the Hamatic tribes of the Red Sea littoral”.

⁷⁷ Ploß, H. H. & Bartels, M. ([1905]) *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*, Vol. 1. Rev. ed. Leipzig: Th. Grieben

⁷⁸ Merensky, A. (1875) Die Hottentotten (Vortrag), *Zeitschr Ethnol* 7, Verhandlungen, [18-23]

⁷⁹ Stoll, O. (1908) Das Geschlechtsleben in die Völkerpsychologie. Leipzig: Veit

⁸⁰ Its masturbatory significance may be disputed. See Karsch-Haack, F. (1911) *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker*. München: E. Reinhardt, p474-5

⁸¹ Cesara, M. (1982) *Reflections of a Woman Anthropologist: No Hiding Place*. London [etc.]: Academic Press

⁸² Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1937) *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

⁸³ Blacking, J. ([1998]) *Venda Girls’ Initiation Schools*. Unpublished field data edited by Michael Fischer and David Zeitlyn, Department of Social Anthropology, Queen’s University of Belfast. See also Blacking, J. (1967) *Venda Children’s Songs*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, with interpretations of children’s songs. See esp. 83-4

⁸⁴ Johnston, H. H., Torday, E., Joyce, T. & Seligmann, C. G. (1913) A Survey of the Ethnography of Africa: And the Former Racial and Tribal Migrations in That Continent, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 43:375-421

Infant “Genital Parenting”

As ventured elsewhere (**Vol.II, ch. 9**)⁸⁵, it was assumed that the parental reference to infant genitalia provides an early yet significant index to sexual cultures. The African case was specifically tied to a concern for fecundity.

In Dahomey (Kossodo, 1978:p113)⁸⁶, **Fan** mothers practice clitoral masturbation, pull labia, stroke the anus and use water beams for then minutes on the vulva. This continues until age four. The practice is said to induce frigidity and cause childlessness. Ashton (1952 [1955:p38])⁸⁷: “Some [**Basuto**] mothers try to promote the development of his sex organs by fondling the child’s penis and encouraging him to do so himself, though others disapprove of this, saying it makes the child too interested in sex”. According to Schenkel (1971:p322-7)⁸⁸ **Senegalese** mothers are “obsessed with the virile potency of her infant”, and eager to watch his erection. Male but not female stimulation occurred among the **Kpelle** (Gibbs, 1965:p209)⁸⁹. Among the Zaire **Baushi**, the maternal task of manual preputial adhaesiolysis in infants is institutional, since the condition of permanent fixation is considered *kameme*, a defect. However, when the prepuce is so forcefully retracted that it it gets stuck permanently under the corona glandis [?], the boy is *lufunu* (boy with nude glans), and might not get married or have satisfactory sexual relations. As in the Senegalese, erections are provoked, and medicines are used to combat assumed impotence when the penis remains flaccid (Kokonge and Erny, 1976:p7-27)⁹⁰. In Zaire, **Bakwa-Luntu** and **Bakongo** boy infants’ virility greatly pleases his mother (Enry, 1971:p92). **!Ko** parents try to enlarge the boy’s penis by pulling and sucking it (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1972:p59, 63; p58, ill.)⁹¹. Similar to the Basuto case,

“Tanten küssen oft die Scham weiblicher und den Penis männlicher Säuglinge, wenn sie diese erheitern wollen [...]. Man lutscht und saugt an der Haut des Säuglings und mitunter auch an seinen Geschlechtsteilen [...]. Babies erheitert man durch streicheln der Geschlechtsteile und durch Kitzeln. Ich filmte, wie ein Mann oftmals den Penis eines etwa 8 Monate alten Säuglings berührte. Als das Kind dann selbst danach griff, nahm er achtsam dessen Hand und führte sie weg, dann spielte er weiter, und zwar in Gegenwart vieler anderer Buschleute, mit der gleichen Selbstverständlichkeit, mit der Buschleute vor allen anderen die Geschlechtsteile eines Säuglings küssen”.

A boy may be punished in this way (Sbrzesny, [1975] 1976:p237)⁹². When the boy infant touches his member himself, he is prevented to do so (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, p153; 158, ill.). Konner

⁸⁵ 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]

⁸⁶ Kossodo, B. L. (1978) *Die Frau in Afrika*. München: List. Translated from the English

⁸⁷ Ashton (1952) *The Basuto*. London [etc.]: Oxford University Press. See also Erny (1980:p180)

⁸⁸ Schenkel, R. (1971) Le vécu de la vie sexuelle chez les Africains accultures du Senegal, a partir des notions d’impuissance et de puissance sexuelle, *Psychopathol Afr* 7,3:313-88

⁸⁹ Gibbs, J. L. (1965) *The Kpelle of Liberia*, in Gibbs, J.L. (Ed.) *Peoples of Africa*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p199-240, at p209; Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilizationprocess*. 2nd ed., p201/416n25

⁹⁰ Kokonge, M. & Erny, P. (1976) Comportements sexuels chez les Baushi Kinama (Shaba, Zaire), *Psychopathol Afr* 12, 1:5-33

⁹¹ Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I. (1972) *Die !Ko-Buschmann-Gesellschaft*. München: Piper. Also cited by Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilizationprocess*. 2nd ed., p201

⁹² Sbrzesny, H. (1976) *Die Spiele der !Ko-Buschleute*. München: Piper

(1972:p292)⁹³ observed that among the north-western Botswana **!Kung** (Zhun/ tsasi) , infants are kissed on “faces, bellies, genitals”. Wembah-Rashid (1994)⁹⁴ states that **Tanzanian** mothers were encouraged to carry babies on their back to feel its erection when he needed to urinate.

“As boys and girls develop and manifest sexual growth, parents and society show appreciation of such developments because they point to sexual potency, hence fertility. Grandparents often examine boys’ and girls’ sexual parts without necessarily directly showing that they are ascertaining fertility characteristics. A grandparent can handle a boy’s genitals pretending “to seek snuff” from the phallus or wanting to use the whole apparatus as “bellows” (the testicles) and “tuyere” (the phallus). If fact, he or she want to establish the reaction of the boy: whether the testicles are developing, whether pubic hair is growing, or whether the grandparent can trigger an erection. Grandparents would do the same for girls. When a grandmother would go so far as to check on the genitals, a grandfather would only play with breasts. He would teasingly demand to suckle from the girl” (p51-2).

In **Zimbabwe**, the custom of “Chiramu” or “Sibale” was described as “aimed at socialising children that induced touching young girls, leading to touching of young girls private parts” (Loewenson et al., 1997:p11)⁹⁵. In **Ghana**, (Kaye, 1960:p381, 388; 1962:p116-22)⁹⁶, mothers stimulated infants’ genitalia⁹⁷. Regarding the people of **Ruanda** and **Burundi**, Vincent (1954)⁹⁸ describes maternal genital pacification as a first stage of sexual development. On the **Mossi**, it is stated (Erny, 1988:p179-80) that: “Les mères prennent [...] l’habitude de surveiller très tôt les érections de leurs garçons. On caresse les organes génitaux surtout pour apaiser l’enfant. Des ablutions à l’eau froide visent parfois à rendre le futur homme sexuellement plus puissant. Au Katanga, “les parents se soucient très tôt de la bonne formation des organes génitaux chez leurs enfants. Il suffit de féliciter une mère pour son dernier-né en disant qu’il est *muzima* (plein de vie) pour qu’elle fasse constater aussitôt le bon état de ses organes génitaux, surtout s’il s’agit d’un garçon [Leblanc, 1960:p44]⁹⁹”. Ackerman quotes a passage in Allen (1903)¹⁰⁰ which reads that a **Swahili** boy may be “told by his 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.” If there are four or five women, they all sniff and are pleased and laugh a lot”.

⁹³ Konner, M. J. (1972) Aspects of the developmental ethology of a foraging people, in Jones, N. B. (Ed.) *Ethological Studies of Child Behaviour*. London: Cambridge University Press, p285-304

⁹⁴ Wembah-Rashid (1994) Traditional fertility regulation and child-spacing practice: a Tanzanian matrilineal tradition of child spacing, *Afr Anthropol* 1,1 /2:49-58

⁹⁵ Loewenson, R. et al. (1997) *Sexual Abuse of Children in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Training and Research Support Centre

⁹⁶ Kaye, B. (1960) *Child Training in Ghana*. Institute of Education, Child Development Monographs 1; Kaye, B. (1962) *Bringing Up Children in Ghana*. London

⁹⁷ Among 21 sites studied, in 2 it was said that a majority did it, a few do not; in 7 some do, some don’t, in 4 nobody did, and in one there is insufficient data. In Banko, “some mothers stroke little babies’ penises and make them stiff and laugh at the boys”. At the same time, they did not allow masturbation. In sixteen sites, it was said that everyone gives special attention to genitals when bathing.

⁹⁸ Vincent, M. (1954) *L’Enfant au Ruanda-Uruundi*. Brussels: IRCB. Also cited by Erny (1972 [1981:p60]). See Erny, P. (1972) *L’Enfant et son Milieu en Afrique Noire*. Paris: Bibliothèque Scientifique. Abridged and adapted by Wanjohi, G. J. (1981) as *The Child and his Environment in Black Africa*.

⁹⁹ Leblanc, M. (1960) *Personnalité de la Femme Katangaise*. Paris, Louvain, Publ. Universitaires

¹⁰⁰ Ackerman, D. A. (1990) *Natural History of the Senses*. New York: Random House, p111-2; Mtoro, Bin M. Bakari (tr. J.W.T. Allen) *Desturi Za Waswahili: The Customs of the Swahili People*. California, USA: University of California Press, 1981 [1903]

Masturbation and Self-Preparation (→Vol. II, §13.1.4.2/13.1.5)

Childhood masturbation would have been frequent among the African “primitives” (e.g., Van der Burgt, 1903:p381 and 1904:p90)¹⁰¹. Bryk (1928:p117-9)¹⁰² noted that in some tribe, female practice is followed by coitus when stumbled upon by boys (“Werden sie von den Jungen überrascht, so werden sie ohne weiteres koitiert”). De Rachewiltz (1963 [1964:p151]) stated that “[a]mong the Barue, Gisu, Nandi and Sabey, boys become addicted to masturbation, either solitary or collective, when they are about nine years old”. Masturbation would be prohibited by the Ashanti, Chagga and Dahomey. Specifically, a taboo on sexual manifestations is cancelled after circumcision in the Masai, Pedi, Swazi, Chagga, Thonga and Wolof¹⁰³. Tolerance is said to characterise the Bena, Ila, Lango, Mbundu, Venda, Zande and Zulu tribes. “The Luba, Nkudu and Zimba girls [...] are given to early masturbation with maize cobs, which automatically leads to a loss of virginity” (p258).

A factor also noted in the Pacifics, masturbation may have been used in preparation of the prepuce. Bryk (1928:p117-9)¹⁰⁴; recited in Bryk (1931 [1934:p200])¹⁰⁵, noted that genital manipulation occurred as a means of self-directed preparation:

“Among the Semi-hamites it (masturbation) occurs more from the desire to have the foreskin drawn back as early as possible, in order thus to resemble the older folks more, than to satisfy awakening desires. It is common practice among the Nandi for the boys to smear sticky, milky juice of the euphorbiaceous plant *yeptiringuet* on the glans and to masturbate (*lat pertit*) with it. The juice of this plant is quite caustic and causes the glans to swell up strongly, so that the foreskin can easily be drawn back; which is what is wanted. During the process the 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 (1931 [1934:p201]) adds (but also refutes this observation) that an equivalent of this attitude was the case among the Masai:

“Merker (p345) writes the following on “*ol jogi*”, (*Euphorbia spec.*): “In order to appear circumcised, the children smear the juice of the Euphorbia on the glans, which then swells up and holds back the prepuce”. P. 63 (note) tells us the same thing in Latin: “*Ut decisi (circumcisi videantur pueri interdum glandem succu herbae Euphorbiae genere, nomine “ol jogi”, oblinunt. Glans tumescens prohibet, ne praeputium prolabatur*””¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰¹ Van der Burgt, J. M. M. (1903) *Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi* [etc.]. Bois-le-Duc : Societ  L’Illustration Catholique ; Van der Burgt, J. M. M. (1904) *Un Grand Peuple de l’Afrique Equatoriale*. Bois-le-Duc : Societ  L’Illustration Catholique

¹⁰² Remarkably, the male practice, which is typical for its kneeling position, is illustrated photographically (p118).

¹⁰³ Cf. De Leeuwe (1970)

¹⁰⁴ Bryk, F. (1928) *Neger-Eros: Ethnologische Studien  ber das Sexualleben bei Negern*. Berlin & K ln: A. Marcus & E. Weber’s Verlag. Translated as *Voodoo-Eros*. New York: United Book Guild (1964)

¹⁰⁵ Bryk, F. (1931) *Die Beschneidung bei Mann und Weib*. New Brandenburg: Gustav Feller. English translation by David Berger, MA (1934) *Circumcision in Man and Woman*. New York: American Ethnological Press, and AMS Press (1974)

¹⁰⁶ Merker (1910:p65n) remarks that “[b]oys and girls already begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight to ten”.

[Hargraves (1978)¹⁰⁷ relays Bryk's statement of this use of plant.] **Luo** boys are said to practice a preputial conditioning at the age of 10 to 12 (Parkin). **Shona** boys perform the same operation with a bull's hair to "free the foreskin" to win urination games, and because of "its association with the passage of semen in adulthood" (Shire). The act of circumcision, "a ritual preparation for its legitimate use in reproductive activities", was anticipated by **Zulu** herdboys who cut the frenum (Raum). Thomas (1899:p254)¹⁰⁸ assumed that circumcision "[...] is sometimes preformed by the boy himself, sometimes by a friend [...]". 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.

Childhood Sexual Behaviour: Ethnohistoric Impression

Older sources unanimously lament on the precocity of the African child, (e.g., early observations on [Madagascar](#)). Ploß¹⁰⁹ has offered an early "lateral" impression of sex *per exemplum*, from which it appears that, as is childhood concerned, tolerance discourses as encountered in the 20th century may have characterised at least some of the societies in premodern eras. In the 18th century Antilles, for instance,

"[...] übten sich Sklavenkinder spielend auf das Eheleben ein, und als Labat sie dafür durchprügeln ließ, warf sich ein alter Neger als Verteidiger auf. Die Kinder seien nicht strafbar, meinte er, man müsse doch in der Kindheit lernen, was man in der Ehe als Pflicht zu vollziehen habe" (Ploß / Renz, 1912:p543).

Potentially *koitomimic* games of childhood have specific names in several societies¹¹⁰. One variety is especially well described as being played by Bantu speaking children (e.g., Venda, Bemba)¹¹¹.

Curricular Aphrodisiaca, Love Magic, etc.

Love magic is not commonly employed in association with puberty, but where it is, it happens typically in Africa¹¹². Among the Zaire **Baushi** (Kokonge and Erny) boys use love cosmetics. Aphrodisiacs are used among **Batetela** and **Mongo** boys. According to Schapera, the **Kgatla** employed magic is to facilitate artificial labial extension as in the Venda, the

¹⁰⁷ Hargraves, B. J. (1978) Killing and curing: succulent use in Chipita, *Soc Malawi J* 31,2:21-30

¹⁰⁸ Thomas, Th. I. (1899) The Psychology of Modesty and Clothing, *Am J Sociol* 5,2:246-62

¹⁰⁹ Ploß, H. H. / Renz, B. (1912) *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*. 3rd enl. & rev. ed. Leipzig: Th. Grieben. Vol. II. See p535-44

¹¹⁰ 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

¹¹¹ *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).

¹¹² Zaire (Baushi, Batetela, Mongo), Zambia (Luvale), Botswana (Kgatla), Zimbabwe (Shona), Uganda (Acholi).

powder of a bat's wings is used. "In this way the labia will grow long like the wings of the bat". The purpose is aphrodisiacal: "To excite the bull". **Chaga** girls "use wish-magic to make their breasts grow" (Raum). Among the **Luvala** of Zambia, pubertal preparations include the administration of aphrodisiac herbs, intravaginal medicines, steaming of the vagina, and love potions. **Shona** boys "learnt about a masculinity whose discourse centered on giving pleasure to women", including knowledge about "medicinal plants" and "ideas about sexual prowess" (Shire). 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).

Precolonial Coitarche : Ethnohistoric Impression

Coitarche among traditional Africans is commonly surveyed as being timed before puberty. De Rachewiltz (1963 [1964:p152]):

"Among the Rega, Ababua, Kuku, and various Bantu peoples, sexual relationships regularly take place before puberty. The Fan of Gabon practise coition as soon as they are physically capable of it [¹¹³]. The [Mangbetu] children meet in a hut at night and, if they are not yet able to have intercourse, they imitate the act with each other. One should remember 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".

Speaking of child betrothal, Mair (1953:p87)¹¹⁴ states: "The cohabitation of young girls with their future husbands occurs in a number of other tribes beside the Bemba, including Bisa, Lala, and Lunda". Pedrals (1950:p16-8)¹¹⁵ mentions a dozen observations of early coitarche in "Dark" Africa. Margold (1926:p644-5)¹¹⁶ sums up [*orig. footnotes*]:

"Among [aforementioned African] tribes children for the most part begin their sexual practices long before puberty¹¹⁷, girls and boys being encouraged in their mwaygini kwayta as the Melanesians call their "copulation amusement"¹¹⁸, from the earliest age. Among the Pangwe negroes north and west of the Ivindo River, West Africa, children only five and six years old, without any condemnation

¹¹³ "The Babwa, Fan, Kuku and Rega practise intercourse as soon as they are capable of it" (p229).

¹¹⁴ Mair, L. P. (1953) African marriage and social change, in Phillips, A. (Ed.) *Survey of African Marriage and Family Life*. Londond [etc.]: Oxford University Press, p1-171

¹¹⁵ Pedrals, D. (1950) *La Vie Sexuelle en Afrique Noire*. Paris: Payot

¹¹⁶ 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

¹¹⁷ Angus, H. C., [The initiation ceremonies of girls as performed in Azimba Land, Central Africa], *Zeitschr Ethnol* 30:[480]; Stannus, H. S. (1910) Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 40, Jul-Dec.:285-335, see p309, Murdock, J. (1892)

Ethnological results of the Point Barrow expedition, in the *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1887-88. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, p418; Malinowski, "Psychoanalysis and Anthropology", in *Psyche* 4:[318]; Jochelson, W. (1926) The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungas, in Boas, F. (Ed.) *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*. Leiden & New York: Brill / Stechart. Vol. 9, part I:p68]; Smith, E. W. & Dale, A. M. (1920) *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*. London: Macmillan. 2 vols. See Vol. I, p38; Johnston, H. (1902) *The Uganda Protectorate*. London: Hutchinson. Vol. II, p824

¹¹⁸ Malinowski, *loc.cit.*

whatsoever, already imitate the sexual life of their parents and play “intercourse”¹¹⁹. Among the Boloki “it is impossible to find a virgin above five years of age”¹²⁰. Azimba Land children play “keeping house” before puberty¹²¹. Lake Nyasa boys and girls play at being man and wife before puberty¹²². 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”¹²³, 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”¹²⁴.

Sex life for a multitude of tribes commenced before pubescence, as examples demonstrate.

Hustaert (1938)¹²⁵ noted games of “mari et femmes” “d’une façon qui les dispose bien souvent à des embrassements sans innocence”. Among the Yahgan, little girls are betrothed to adult men; sometimes parents agree to unions between little boys and girls¹²⁶. Girls of ten to twelve are found to be no longer virgin¹²⁷. Culwick (1939:p425)¹²⁸ observed that Bantu girls had practiced the procreative act seven years before their puberty. Trézenem (1936)¹²⁹ on the Fan (Gabon) speaks of coitus from the age of capacity. Prepubertal coitus was common among the **Ababoua** (Périn, 1991)¹³⁰. Precocity was also noted in the Bayamwezi (Bösch, 1930)¹³¹. Abbadie¹³² found that men bought Nuba girls and sleep with them “long before menstruation”. The Urhobo and Isoko of the Niger Delta begin sexual intercourse “very early in life”¹³³. Colle (1913, I:p279)¹³⁴ on the *Baluba*: “Même avant la puberté, garçons et filles se fixent des rendez-vous secrets, dans les herbes ou sur le bord de la rivière”. Vanden Plas (1910:p215)¹³⁵, on the **Kuku**: “Les enfants de sexe différente, se recherchent très jeunes et s’essayent à mettre en pratique les

¹¹⁹ Tessmann, [1913, II], p252

¹²⁰ Weeks, J. H. (1911) *Among Congo Cannibals*. London: Seeley, Service & Co, p127. Weeks stated: “Above the age of five years it is impossible to find a girl who is a virgin, and it has been difficult to find a word for virgin in the Congo languages”. Also note Weeks (1910:p416) in Upper Congo: “Boys and girls from an early age until puberty have free intercourse with each other, and I believe that later there is no public condemnation if the girls are not betrothed. [...] Premenstrual connection is desired by men because they like it, and also because they can indulge freely and there is no palaver, and it is not until the beginning of the periods that girls are guarded from promiscuous intercourse”. See Weeks, J. H. (1910) *Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River. (Part III)*, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 40:360-427]. Among the Congo Ba-huana, sexual indulgence is not checked (Torday, E. & Joyce, T. A. (1906) *Notes on the ethnography of the Ba-huana*, *J Anthropol Institut* 36:[235 et seq.]).

¹²¹ Angus, *op.cit.*, p480

¹²² Stannus, *loc.cit.*

¹²³ Weeks, J. H. (1914) *Among the Primitive Bakongo*. London: Seeley [etc.], p172. Weeks stated: “The unbetrothed girls from an early age up to puberty had free ingress to these houses [adolescent bachelors’ 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””. Access to the bachelor’s huts is customary for boys aged 12.

¹²⁴ *Op.cit.*, Smith & Dale, II, p38

¹²⁵ Hustaert, R. P. G. (1938) *Le Mariage chez les Nkoundo*. Bruxelles, as cited by Pedrals (1950:p17), *op.cit.*

¹²⁶ Hyades & Deniker (1891) *Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn, 1882-1883*. Paris. Vol. 7, p171;

Parsons, E. C. (1906) *The Family*. New York & London: Putman, p69

¹²⁷ Hyades & Deniker (1891:p188); Parsons (1906:p122), *op.cit.*

¹²⁸ Culwick, G. M. (1939) New ways for old in the treatment of adolescent African girls, *Africa* 12:425-32, as cited by Pedrals (1950:p17), *op.cit.*, and by Reuter, A. (1963) *Native Marriages in South Africa According to Law and Custom*. Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, p111. See also Schapera, I. (1933) Premarital pregnancy and native opinions, *Africa* 6:59-89[68-70]

¹²⁹ Trézenem, E. (1936) Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué, *J Soc Afric* 6, as cited by Pedrals (1950:p17), *op.cit.*

¹³⁰ Halkin, J. & Viaene, E. (1911) *Les Ababua*. Bruxelles: Dewit, p265, as cited by Pedrals (1950:p17), *op.cit.*

¹³¹ Bösch, R. P. (1930) Les Banyamwezi, *Anthropos* 3,2:[p538], as cited by Pedrals (1950:p17), *op.cit.*

¹³² Metschnikof, E. ([1910]) *Studien über die Natur des Menschen*. Leipzig: Von Veit & Co., p117

¹³³ Welch as cited by Bradbury, R. E. (1957) *The Benin Kingdom and the Edo-Speaking Peoples of Southwestern Nigeria*. International African Institution, p154

¹³⁴ Colle, R. P. (1913) *Les Baluba (Congo Belge)*. Bruxelles: A de Wit, Vol.1

¹³⁵ Vanden Plas, J. (1910) *Les Kuku*. Bruxelles: A de Wit

enseignements que leur a procurés leur promiscuité sur un même lit avec leurs parents”. Bruneel (Van Overbergh, 1909:p309)¹³⁶: “J’ai constaté souvent que des enfants se réunissaient la nuit; et s’ils ne pouvaient consommer l’acte charnel, tout au moins en faisaient-ils le simulacre”. Hanolet (*ibid.*) agrees: “Comme, chez les filles, l’âge de la puberté n’est même pas atteint, les mœurs indigènes ne s’opposent à ces pratiques [relations sexuelles]; ces relations restent cachées toutefois”. Schmitz (Van Overbergh, 1908:p253)¹³⁷, on the *Basonge*: “Bien avant leur puberté, tout gosses encore, négrillons et négrillonnes se roulent dans les coins, en quête de voluptés. “Ils ne peuvent pas encore, mais ils essayent”. Delhaise (1909:p167)¹³⁸, on the *Warega*: “Les rapports sexuels se pratiquent entre gens de sexe différent non mariés, même avant l’âge de puberté”. Schultze (1907:p298, 309)¹³⁹ noted the precocity of the Hottentots. “Bei der sinnlichen Frühreife des Volkes haben Knaben oft schon Geschlechtsverkehr, ehe sie den Kinderspielen entwachsen sind” (Karsch-Haack, 1911:p132). According to Freimark (1911:p163)¹⁴⁰, it was not uncommon among the Senegalese *Wolof* to find premenarchal coitus¹⁴¹.

As further ventured in **Vol. II, ch. 6** (esp. §6.1.3.1), African coitarche age may be estimated higher because of respondents misinterpreting questions on first sexual intercourse and reporting their age at the onset of intercourse with either their first or current husband rather than their age at intromission (cf. Meekers, 1995)¹⁴².

Pseudo-Coitarchal and Pseudo-Coital Forms

“Before marriage, in general, adolescents were permitted varied sexual experiences, although completion of the sex act was to be avoided and was often condemned”¹⁴³. Ericksen (1989)¹⁴⁴ found 24 out of 115 African societies where tests were present in some form¹⁴⁵. It seems to have survived modernity at least in South Africa¹⁴⁶. A number of African societies¹⁴⁷ practice nonpenetrative coitus as a means of preserving premarital virginity, customs at times acquiring a (semi-)institutional status, and a specific name¹⁴⁸.

¹³⁶ Van Overbergh, C., *Les Manbetu*. Bruxelles: A. de Wit

¹³⁷ In Van Overbergh, C. (1908) *Les Basonge*. Bruxelles: A. de Wit

¹³⁸ Delhaise (1909) *Les Warega*. Bruxelles: A. de Wit

¹³⁹ Schultze, L. (1907) *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*. Jena: Fischer

¹⁴⁰ Freimark (1911), *op.cit.*

¹⁴¹ See also Ames, D. W. (1953) *Plural Marriage among the Wolof in the Gambia*. PhD Thesis, Northwestern University, p140: “Young people, including the boys who attend the bush circumcision school, are given no instruction in sexual techniques. They learn by experimentation beginning in childhood”.

¹⁴² 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

¹⁴³ 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

¹⁴⁴ Ericksen, K. P. (1989) Female genital mutilations in Africa, *Behav Sci Res* 23,1:182-204

¹⁴⁵ 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

¹⁴⁶ Reuters, J. (2001) Virginity Tests on Comeback Trail in South Africa, *Jenda* 1,1:1-3

¹⁴⁷ See Chaga, Kikuyu, Hausa, Dakarkaki, Nyakyusa, Xhosa, Tebu, Swazi, N’Jemp, Amazulu, Kipsigis, Venda, Pedi (debated), Bemba

¹⁴⁸ 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).

Early and Age-Stratified Betrothal

Both horizontal and age stratified betrothal was extremely common in pre- and early colonial Africa. Rohlfs reported mothers of ten or twelve at fesan (cited by Sumner, 1906:p382)¹⁴⁹. The Akan custom of “Asiwa”¹⁵⁰ (infant betrothal) had almost become the principal form of getting married until it was abolished, in 1918, by the Okyeman Council¹⁵¹. (“A few child betrothals and maternal cross-cousin marriages are still made but they are increasingly difficult to enforce among the younger generation which prefers more freedom in the selection of a mate” (Warren, 1975:p33)¹⁵²).

Among the **Fanti**, children could be betrothed before they were mature. The **Masai** practiced fetal and infant betrothal. Infant betrothal was further said to be practiced by the **Azande**, and **Mbuti**. Childhood betrothal was practised among the **Dogon**. **Yao** girls would be betrothed as infants or small children. Betrothal before birth or in early infancy was usual among the Kuranko. Among the Ewe, children would be betrothed in childhood or before birth. Among the **Tshi-speaking** people, a girl was publicly advertised for marriage at puberty (age 11-12) by being paraded through the streets decked out in ornaments. Lateral betrothals frequently took place before puberty and sometimes before birth. Among the **Yoruba-speaking** peoples, girls of better class were almost always betrothed when children, frequently when infants, the husband *in futuro* being sometimes an adult, sometimes a boy. Among the **Konkomba**, a girl was betrothed to a man of more than twenty years of age, sometimes to an elder who may give her away for marriage. Among the Ethiopian **Galla**, marriages were often arranged by betrothal at a very young age. In the **Uganda protectorate**, “[a]t any stage of its infant life a child may be betrothed to some other infant or to one many years older than itself”. Among the **Somali**, infant betrothal may have been common in the past. Among the **Mambwe** / Amambwe (Zambia), betrothal was common in childhood. Among the **Yahgan**, little girls were betrothed to adult men; sometimes parents agree to unions between little boys and girls. The Ila child was sometimes betrothed at age four, or even earlier. Among the **Mouktélé** (Northern Cameroon), children were betrothed in infancy, somewhere around age six. Among the **Bangwa** (Western Cameroon), a baby was betrothed at birth, or in infancy. Among the **Bali** (Western Cameroon), betrothal, but not marriage, of children could take place before menarche or puberty. The **Fang** were sometimes married before birth. **Koalib** girls were betrothed at eight or nine years of age, and at twelve or thirteen the marriage was consummated. **Nuba** men begin courting at age twenty and generally get betrothed to a girl child. Among the **Azande**, infant betrothal was the rule. As for the **Tshidi Barolong** (South Africa), infant betrothal is practiced. Among the nomadic Fulani children were betrothed at ages seven to ten in the case of girls, and from three to ten in the case of boys. The **Shuwalbe Fulani** practiced infant betrothal between boy and girl. Infant betrothal and adoption marriage among the **Mbaise Igbo**. Traditionally, betrothal in infancy or childhood was customary in Benin Kingdom and among the **Northern Edo**. In case of the **Igbira** of Northern Nigeria, betrothal often took place in childhood. Among the **Igala**, betrothal could occur at age four to five. Among the **Utonkon-Effium Orri**, betrothal of girls occurred at birth. Among the **Luo**, child betrothal or marriage could take place. Childhood betrothal was noted for the **Shambala**. The **Nkundo** girl could be betrothed in infancy. In **Tanzania**, immature girls could also be betrothed, but infant betrothal occurred only in mock fashion.

¹⁴⁹ Sumner, W. G. (1906) *Folkways*. Boston [etc.]: Ginn & Co. Citing *Peterm Mittlgen Erg* 25:9

¹⁵⁰ “Although now rare, child bethrothal [sic] (*yere akoda, asiwa*) was once very common, especially for cross-cousins. Marriage is considered more a group union, rather than an individual bond”. Warren, D. M. (1986) *The Akan of Ghana: An Overview of the Ethnographic Literature*. Accra: Pointer Ltd.

¹⁵¹ Danquah, J. B. (1928) *Gold Coast: Akan Laws and Customs and the Akim Abuakwa Constitution*. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. Cf. Rattray (1927:p76-7)

¹⁵² Warren, D. M. (1975) *The Techiman-Bobo of Ghana: An Ethnography of an Akan Society*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Pub. Co.

Early and Age-Stratified Marriage

“Child marriage” in Africa has been widespread in pre-colonial Africa. As Westermarck ([1901:p213-4)¹⁵³ surveyed (*orig. footnotes*):

“Among the African Marutze, the children “are often affianced at an early age, and the marriage is consummated as soon as the girl arrives at maturity¹⁵⁴. The Negroes of the Gold Coast, according to Bosman, often arranged for the marriage of infants directly after birth¹⁵⁵; whilst among the Bushmans, Bechuanas, and Ashantees, children are engaged when they are still in the womb, in the event of their proving to be girls¹⁵⁶”.

In the Sahel, where the Islamic pattern of marriage shortly after menarche is traditional, the custom of early marriage is still observed (Zabin and Kiragu, 1998:p213)¹⁵⁷. In Oman, marriage at age 11 ranged from 9% (Soher community) to 27% (Nizwa community)¹⁵⁸.

In **Ethiopia**, marriage occurs between age 12 and 15. **Hausa** women were married just before puberty (villages) or after (rural dwellers), to adolescents some seven years older. A **Tuareg** girl may have been married by age seven or eight. **Fang** children were sometimes married before birth. In pre-1900 Nubia, girls were married at the age of from eight to ten years. **G/wi** girls were married at age 7-9, boys at about 14-15. Among the **!Kung**, eight and nine-year-old brides would be married to teenaged husbands. **Bela** would have been married before puberty. Among the **Kabyles**, a father could marry his daughter before she has reached puberty. Among the **Igala** (Northern Nigeria), the marriageable age was eight to ten for girls, and sixteen to eighteen for boys. A very rare custom, the marriage of an immature boy (barely ten) to a grown woman was considered as a sign of prosperity, and occurred not seldom- especially in former days.

Today¹⁵⁹, “very little country data exist about marriages under the age of 14, even less about those below age 10”. In Ethiopia and in parts of West Africa, marriage at age seven or eight is not uncommon. In Kebbi State, Northern Nigeria, the average age of marriage for girls is just over 11 years, against a national average of 17¹⁶⁰. A 1991 UN Population Cart indicates legal ages of marriage of 9 in Morocco (males, with parental consent, compared to 21 for females) and 6 for Ghana (both sexes, with or without consent)¹⁶¹.

[Additional refs.: Neyn, P. de (1697) *Lusthof der Huwelyken* [...]. Amsterdam: Lamsveldt. Fasc.repr. 1966. Leiden [Holland]: A. W. Sijthoff, p171-230]

¹⁵³ Westermarck, E. ([1901]) *The History of Human Marriage*. Third Edition. London: MacMillan

¹⁵⁴ Holub (II, 314)

¹⁵⁵ Bosman, p424

¹⁵⁶ Burchell, (II, p58, 564); Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*, p126

¹⁵⁷ Zabin, L. S. & Kiragu, K. (1998) The Health Consequences of Adolescent Sexual and Fertility Behavior in Sub-Saharan Africa, *Stud Fam Plann* 29,2:210-32

¹⁵⁸ *Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children*. WHO/ EMRO Technical Publication No. 2. Alexandria. Report of a Seminar, Khartoum, 10-15 Febr., 1979. Vol. 1:p132-47; Vol. 2

¹⁵⁹ Early Marriage, Child Spouses, *Innocenti Digest* 7, March 2001

¹⁶⁰ Final Report on National Baseline Survey of Positive and Harmful Traditional Practices Affecting Women and Girls in Nigeria (1998) Centre for Gender and Social Policy Studies, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife

¹⁶¹ As reprinted in Ocholla-Ayayo, A. B. C. (1994) Sociocultural influence on family-planning acceptance in Africa: special reference to Kenya, *Afr Anthropol* 31-48, see p42-3

Girl Meets Boy: Chronological Aspects

A reflection on the variety of courtship scenes may be appreciated by a selection of examples:

“Play courtship” in childhood (**Bantu, Zulu**); “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**).

Animal Contacts (→Vol. II, §8.2.3)

In a few societies, copulation with animals is reported for African boys, among the Tswana, Riffian, and Masai (Ford and Beach, 1951:p147, 148). Particularly herding boys may be more intimate with cattle than with the opposite sex. Nomad and Nuer herdboys are seen to drink milk straight from camel’s udders (e.g., Pavitt, 1997:p147, ill.; Akalu, 1985:p46, ill.)¹⁶². Young boys are seen performing cunnilingus on cattle to stimulate the motivation to mate (e.g., Nomachi, 1989 [1990:p45, ill.])¹⁶³. “The shepherd-boys of the Tswana frequently have intercourse with their flocks, but are punished if caught in the act” (De Rachewiltz (1963 [1964:p283]). “Riffian youths who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and to make the penis grow (Ford, 1945 [1964:p20]).

¹⁶² Pavitt, N. (1997) *Turkana: Kenya’s Nomads of the Jade Sea*. London: Harvill; Akalu, A. (1985) *Beyond Morals?* Lund: Gleerup

¹⁶³ Nomachi, A. K. (phot., 1989) *The Nile*. Hong Kong: Odyssey. 1990 Dutch translation, *Langs de Oevers van de Nijl*

“Sexual” Initiation: Ceremonial and Pubertal License

Reviews of circumcision and initiation rites are provided in three German works: Jensen¹⁶⁴, Zeller¹⁶⁵ and Ploß¹⁶⁶. Most pre-industrial African societies were clearly age graded, usually into three distinct phases¹⁶⁷. It is commonly known that African sexual license is organised by ceremonial grant, which in turn is, although often loosely, connected to pubertal stigmata. It is also commonly known that Christian morality ended sex teachings essential in traditional initiation trajectories (e.g., Read, 1955 [1970:p275])¹⁶⁸. “Obscenity” would be a part of initiation activities among many tribes, including the Ila, Thonga, Kamba, Lango, Didinga, Lugbwara, and Inggassana (Bertling, 1934:p97-8)¹⁶⁹. Crawley (1929:p17-8) relates: “In certain central African tribes both boys and girls after initiation must as soon as possible have intercourse, the belief being that, if they do not, they will die¹⁷⁰. [...] After the seclusion of a Kafir girl at puberty she is allowed to cohabit with anyone during the festivals which follow¹⁷¹; Kafir boys after being circumcised may have connexion with any unmarried females they can persuade¹⁷². Similar practices are found on the Senegal¹⁷³ and Congo¹⁷⁴”. Seligman and Seligman (1928:p447)¹⁷⁵ mentioned a pubertal requirement for intercourse among the Bari. Ford and Beach (1951:p182)¹⁷⁶ stated that intercourse before puberty ceremonies are strictly forbidden in “most of the African societies” in their sample (Chagga, Masai, Pedi, Swazi, Thonga [inferred] and Wolof). “African Chagga, Thonga, Kikui, Wolof are strictly forbidden copulation before circumcision”¹⁷⁷.

Sexual license of circumcision is also noted for many tribes, for instance the *Amwimbe* (Browne, 1913:p140)¹⁷⁸ and *Tiriki* (Sangree, 1966; Kertzer, 1978:p1092)¹⁷⁹. 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, 1921:p421)¹⁸⁰.

¹⁶⁴ Jensen, A. E. (1933) *Beschneidung und Reifezeremonien bei Naturvölkern*. Frankfurt am Main: Strecker & Schröder, p20-73

¹⁶⁵ Zeller, M. (1923) *Die Knabenweißen*. Bern: Paul Haupt, p2-40

¹⁶⁶ *Op.cit.*, Vol. II, p169-89

¹⁶⁷ E.g., Glaser, C. (1998) Swines, Hazels and the Dirty Dozen: Masculinity, Territoriality and the Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1960-1976, *J Southern Afr Stud* 24,4:719-36, p722

¹⁶⁸ Read, M. (1955) Education in Africa: its pattern and role in social change, *Ann Am Acad Polit & Soc Sci* 298:170-9. Reprinted in Middleton, J. (Ed., 1970) *From Child to Adult*. New York: Natural History Press, p272-86

¹⁶⁹ Bertling, C. T. (1934) *Magie en Phallisme*. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris [Dutch]

¹⁷⁰ Macdonald, D. (1882) *Africana*. London. Vol.1, p126 [orig. footnote]

¹⁷¹ MacDonald, J. (189[1]) Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 20:113-40. [Macdonald, however, writes that actual sexual intercourse is prohibited]

¹⁷² Maclean, J. (1858) *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*. Mount Coke, p98, 101[orig. footnote]

¹⁷³ Reade, W. W. (1863) *Savage Africa*. London, p451[orig. footnote]

¹⁷⁴ MacDonald, J. (1893) East Central African Customs, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 22:99-122 [orig. footnote]. This reference also proved incorrect.

¹⁷⁵ Seligman, C. G. & Seligman, B. Z. (1928) The Bari, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 58,Jul-Dec:409-79

¹⁷⁶ *Op.cit.*

¹⁷⁷ Cakravarti, C. (1963) *Sex Life in Ancient India*. Calcutta, p144

¹⁷⁸ Browne, G. (1913) Circumcision Ceremonies Among the Amwimbe, *Man* 13:137-40

¹⁷⁹ Sangree, W. H. (1966) *Age, Prayer, and Politics in Tiriki, Kenya*. New York: Oxford University Press; Kertzer, A. F. (1978) Transitions Over the Life Course: Lessons from Age-Set Societies, *Am J Sociol* 83,5:1081-104

¹⁸⁰ Brown, J. T. (1921) Circumcision Rites of the Becwana Tribes, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 51:419-27

Among the *Tiv* (Bohannon, 1954:p2)¹⁸¹, women “say that the idea of sexual relations with an uncircumcised man is repugnant”, expressing their distaste in terms of cleanliness and, mostly, fastidiousness” (Circumcision was said to take place at age 7 to pubescence). The Bakuria, who practice a form of preteen-teen going-steady [*Kisassi*], also shy for the *precircumcision taboo*. “*Kisassi* companions do not indulge in intercourse which is forbidden to both sexes before circumcision. This rule is seldom broken, for it is believed that were a girl to indulge in sexual intercourse before she was circumcised, or were she to receive an uncircumcised man after she was circumcised, she would become sterile” (Baker, 1927:p223)¹⁸². The puberty rite may take on itself overt references to sexual practices. Among the **Basala** (Bantu, Northern Rhodesia), the Chingande represents a dance performed by youths and young girls at the beginning and end of the ceremony. “Lewd sexual actions are performed, the youth usually clasping the girl from behind” (Brelsford, 1935:p215)¹⁸³.

African woman-pubescenta initiation systems, known for their “practical and theoretical instruction in sexual life” (Róheim, 1929:p189)¹⁸⁴, are often characterised by secrecy, resulting in the ethnologists’ apology of his/her ignorance on the practice. The custom of Kyiribra¹⁸⁶, 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 sacrilege¹⁸⁷.

Contemporary Coitarche

The norms regarding premarital sexual activity in African societies vary strongly in different societies¹⁸⁸. Contrary to the belief that teenage premarital sexual activity is a new phenomenon caused by socio-economic development in Africa, particularly Western education, data¹⁸⁹ show that sexual activity among unmarried adolescents was also common in the past, and that increases across cohorts have occurred mostly in countries where the prevalence was already high. Surveys¹⁹⁰ further suggest that median female coitarche ages in

¹⁸¹ Bohannon, P. (1954) Circumcision Among the Tiv, *Man* 54:2-6

¹⁸² Baker, E. C. (1927) Age-Grades in Musoma District, Tanganyika Territory, *Man* 27:221-4

¹⁸³ Brelsford, V. (1935) History and Customs of the Basala, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 65:205-15

¹⁸⁴ 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*. London, p126; Weiß, M. (1910) *Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch Ost-Afrikas*. Berlin: Marschner, p299, 300

¹⁸⁵ Róheim, G. (1929) Dying Gods and Puberty Ceremonies, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 59:181-97

¹⁸⁶ Banuaku, A. F. (1976) “Kyiribra”: Tradition, Change and Anomie in Puberty Rites, *West-African J Sociol & Polit Sci* 1,2:169-76

¹⁸⁷ 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.

¹⁸⁸ Meekers, D. (1994) Sexual initiation and premarital childbearing in sub-Saharan Africa, *Population Studies* 48,1:47-64

¹⁸⁹ Gage, A. J. & Meekers, D. (1994) Sexual activity before marriage in sub-Saharan Africa, *Social Biol* 41,1-2: 44-60

¹⁹⁰ Cauley, A. P. et al. (October, 1995) *Meeting the Needs of Young Adults*. Population Reports 23,3. Population Information Program, Center for Communication Programs, The Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, Baltimore, Maryland, table 2

Africa of the late 1980s/begin 1990s lie between 14.9 (Niger, 1992, women 45-49y) and 20.1 (Namibia, 1992, women 45-49y).

In an adolescent clinic population in Ethiopia, premenarche sexual initiation [coitarche] was noted to occur in 40% of the girls (Duncan et al., 1994)¹⁹¹. In rural Tanzania, coitarche occurs at 13.8 among 15-19-year-olds (Stewart, 1995)¹⁹². [Varkevisser (1969:p74-5)¹⁹³ noted that the freedom associated with the traditional rural house-keeping game *mbuliya*, wherein “[e]ven the more intimate aspects of married life were not forgotten”¹⁹⁴ was almost vanished, an influence attributable at least in part to Christianity.]

*Age-Stratified Love of Boys; Prostitution*¹⁹⁵

Describing explicitly a sexual encounter between a young boy and his significantly older choirmaster, Behr¹⁹⁶ said to have “juxtaposed homosexual pedophilia with brutalities in the text, which, I hope, raised the question of our society’s obsession with childhood sexuality”. While such claims have been posed for other continents, boy prostitution was said to have been very common (Drew and Drake, 1969:p54-69). In Northern Africa, this seemed to be influenced by Arab and Turkish rule, and pederasty would have been “virtually pandemic”¹⁹⁷. In Algeria, the youngest boys cost 10 cents an hour, the price declining with age. In Morocco, a boy might be had right on the sidewalk but more frequently a cafe was visited. “Nearly every traveller and writer on Morocco in the last century reported on the near universal practice of Greek Love and boy prostitution”. For sub-Saharan Africa, they are less precise: “[a]ll sorts of sex play among children and adults seem perfectly natural in many situations”. A scene of boy prostitution seemed to have existed in early 20th century Johannesburg, including (a few) little boys up to men in their twenties (Junod, I, p492-5); the natives “speak of it with laughter”.

A boy–wife system seems to have been customary among the Azande (→[Azande](#)). Another report of boy-wife system comes from Moodie et al. (1988, 1989; 1994; etc.)¹⁹⁸, and apparently

¹⁹¹ Duncan, M.E., Tibaux, G. et al. (1994) Teenage obstetric and gynaecological problems in an African city, *Centr African J Med* 49,9:234-44

¹⁹² Stewart, M. (1995) Rural Tanzanian Youths’ First Intercourse Is Early, Number of Partners High (in Digests), *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 21,1:42-3

¹⁹³ Varkevisser, C. M. (1969) Growing up in Sukumaland, in *Primary Education in Sukumaland (Tanzania)*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, p42-82

¹⁹⁴ “For this reason girls were generally forbidden to play this game when they had become physically mature”.

¹⁹⁵ See also author’s separate paper entitled “Age Disparate Homoeroticism: *Annotated Ethnohistorical Bibliography*”.

¹⁹⁶ Mobayen, L. (2001) ‘Embrace’ explores sexuality, identity in apartheid society, *Daily Bruin Online*, February 15; Behr, M. (2000) *Embrace*. London: Little, Brown

¹⁹⁷ Puterbaugh, G. (1990) Africa, North, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol. I, p19-22. See also Murray, S. O. (1990) Africa, Sub-Saharan, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol. I, p22-4

¹⁹⁸ Moodie, T. D. et al. (1988) Migrancy and male sexuality on the South Africa Gold mines, *J Southern Afr Stud* 14,2:228-56; Moodie, T. D. et al. (1989) Migrancy and male sexuality on the South Africa Gold mines, in Duberman, M. et al. (Eds.) *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*. New York: New American Library, p411-25; Moodie, T. D. with Ndatshe, V. (1994) *Going for Gold*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, chapter 4: Sexualities. See Murray and Roscoe (1998:p178-82)

independently, from Harries (1990)¹⁹⁹. Among South African male immigrant miners there was a well-established system known as “wives of the mines”, (or *bukhontxana*, mariage entre mineurs), young boys providing domestic and sexual services (intercultural intercourse, alike Xhosa *ukumetsha*), one to each man, in return for remuneration.

Among the Muslim Mombasa **Swahili**, boys beginning at the age of twelve as they start to move into all-male social contexts have age-stratified sexual relationships with older men (Shepherd, 1987)²⁰⁰. The junior is called *shoga*, the senior is known as *pasha*. Anal intercourse appears to be the accepted practice (Standing and Kisekka, 1989:p107-8).

Age-stratified homosexuality would be common among the Herero and Hottentots. Among the **Wawihé** (Angola), boys are loved from age 12 to 18. Falk (1925/6 [1998:p188])²⁰¹ noted that among the **Ovambos**, “kitchen boys” aged 10-12 were given by their wives or their betrothed for pederastic purposes “to keep the men faithful” during their service at the minefields. Among the **Hereros**, apparently prepubertal boys form an *oupanga* (mutual bond?) in a homosexual relation until after marriage “at quite an early age” ([1998:p191-2]), yet it may continue after circumcision. The boys might also be used by men, as is indicated by the term *okutunduka vanena* (“mounts boys”). The adults regard it as child’s play, and deny its later continuation. The practice is allowed but not to be spoken of. Among the **Hottentots**, also, two boys “often unite themselves and watch each other jealously” (p193). Among the **Mossi** (Moose) royal court in what is now Burkina Faso, pages of ages 7-15 were selected for their beauty in the early 20th century. These *soronés* were to play female roles and serve men on Fridays when sexual intercourse with women was prohibited (Tauxier, 1912:p569-70)²⁰². The boys were given a wife when reaching sexual maturity; their sons would become *soronés*. Annual tests were to certify their *heterosexual* virginity. Further age stratified homosexual patterns are noted for the Nkundo (Hulstaert, 1938:p86-7), Bangala /

for a detailed account. Another reference is given by Breckenridge, K. (1998) The Allure of Violence: Men, Race and Masculinity on the South African Goldmines, 1900-1950, *J Southern Afr Stud* 24,4:669-93, at p676. Also Levine, S. (1996) “Picannin” Wages and Child Labor in the South African Agriculture, Mining, and Domestic Service Industries: 1658 to the Present, *Anthropol Work Rev* 17,1-2:42-50. The practice would have diminished: Campbell, C. (1997) Migrancy, masculine identities and aids: the psychosocial context of HIV transmission on the South African gold mines, *Soc Sci & Med* 45, Issue 2:273-81, at p279n

¹⁹⁹ Harries, P. (1990) La symbolique du sexe: l’identité culturelle au début de l’exploitation des mines d’or du Witwatersrand, *Cah d’Étud Afr* 30, ch.120:451-74; Harries, P. (1994) *Work, Culture, and Identity*. London: Currey, p200-8, 219; Harries, P. (1990) Symbols and Sexuality: Culture and Identity on the Early Witwatersrand Gold Mines, *Gender & History* [Great Britain] 2,3:318-36. Cf. Grier, B. (1994) Invisible Hands: The Political Economy of Child Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1930, *J Southern Afr Stud* 20,1:27-52, at p39, citing Van Onselen, C. (1976) *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1933*. London: Pluto Press, p124. The “Piccanins” performed “[...] a type of surrogate female role [...]. This, together with the socially designed shortage of women in the compounds, partly explains the high incidence of sodomy involving young boys [...] vulnerable to the demands of adult men who were denied their normal sexual outlets by the compound system”.

²⁰⁰ Shepherd, G. (1987) Rank, Gender, and Homosexuality: Mombasa as a key to understanding sexual options, in Caplan, P. (Ed.) *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*. London: Tavistock Publ., p240-70

²⁰¹ Falk, K (1925/6) Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika, *Arch Menschk* 1:202-14; Italiaander, R. (1969) Beobachtungen bei den Negeren, in Italiaander, R. (Ed.) *Weder Krankheit Noch Verbrechen*. Hamburg: Gala, p100-27. Reprinted and translated in Murray, S. O. & Roscoe, W. (Eds.) *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands. Studies on African Homosexualities*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, p187-96

²⁰² Tauxier, L. (1912) *Les Noirs du Soudan: Pays Mossi et Gourounni*. Paris: Émile LaRose. Cited in Murray, S. O. & Roscoe, W. (Eds.) *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands. Studies on African Homosexualities*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, p92-3

Mbangala (Soyaux, 1879, II:p59)²⁰³, and Zulu (Krige, 1965:p276-7; Morris, 1965:p36, 52; Van Onselen, 1984:p15)²⁰⁴.

Some case material points to incidental “paedosexual” practices. Anyi informants in the Ivory Coast (**Akan**), told Parin that “in every village there are some men who, for neurotic reasons, do not have sexual relations with women. A number of them are known to practice occasional reciprocal masturbation with boys” (Parin et al., 1980:p204)²⁰⁵. Among the **Pangwe**, Tessmann (1904 [I]:p131)²⁰⁶ 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”.

Falk (1923 [1998:p168])²⁰⁷ states that “[s]ame-sex activity today is today practiced mostly by the younger generation: by boys from seven until eighteen years and by girls of the same age”. Boys deny their share. An eighteen-year-old youth may sleep alternately with a twelve-year-old boy *katakuma* (lover, girl) and with his wife.

African female boarding school life was typified by an age-stratified homoeroticism (see **Vol. II, §III.3.1** for refs). Omari (1963:p152-3)²⁰⁸ relates the following:

“In some of the more established girls’ secondary schools in Ghana, as even in Nigeria and in other West African countries, it is an internally accepted practice for a senior girl to have a “my dear”. The junior “my dear” is supposed to (and generally does) provide the senior one with the services of a lover short of the sex act itself. These include washing of clothing, making of the bed, running errands, making “love” to and sharing beds with her when the senior partner wants the junior one to do so. 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”.

The comprehensive overview offered by Murray and Roscoe²⁰⁹ was criticised by Brockman²¹⁰ who argues for an interpretation within the context of African age classifications.

²⁰³ Soyiaux, H. (1879) *Aus West-Afrika, 1873-1876*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. Vol. II

²⁰⁴ Morris, D. R. (1965) *The Washing of the Spears*. New York: Simon & Schuster; Van Onselen, Ch. (1984) *The Small Matter of a Horse*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press; Murray and Roscoe (1998:p176, 177), *op.cit.*

²⁰⁵ Parin, P., Morgenthaler, F. & Parin-Metthey, G. (1980) *Fear thy Neighbour as Thyself*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

²⁰⁶ Tessmann, G. (1904) *Die Pangwe*. Berlin: E Wasmuth. Vol. I; Murray and Roscoe (1998:p142), *op.cit.*

²⁰⁷ Falk, K (1923) Gleichgeschlechtliches Leben bei einigen Negerstämme Angolas, *Arch Anthropol* 20:42-5. Reprinted and translated in Murray, S. O. & Roscoe, W. (Eds.) *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands. Studies on African Homosexualities*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, p167-70

²⁰⁸ Omari, T. P. (1963) Role Expectation in the Courtship Situation in Ghana, *Social Forces* 42,2:147-56

²⁰⁹ Murray, S. O. & Roscoe, W. (Eds., 1998) *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands. Studies on African Homosexualities*. New York: St. Martin’s Press

²¹⁰ “The absence of reflection [...] on same-sex behavior in what Africans mean by “age sets”—initiation groups and circumcision classes—is particularly unfortunate, given their significance in African societies. Unlike the comparisons [with ancient Greece and Latino and Arab cultures], these are peer groups that are bound, not differentiated, by age. Extended periods of shared rites and experiences often permit same-sex exploration, and sometimes lead to longterm pair bonding”. Brockman, N. C., *Africa Today* 47(2000),1:153-5

Sugar Daddies (=Vol. II, §14.2.1.1)

Typical of Sub-Saharan Africa (Uganda, Malawi, Kenya, Ethiopia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Tanzania²¹¹, South Africa) and the Caribbean (Jamaica), the “sugar daddy”²¹² syndrome, refers to older, relatively wealthy men who engage adolescents in sexual relationships. Schoolgirls find *sugar daddies* to pay school fees, etc. (Van Haren, 1999²¹³; Sellix, 1996²¹⁴; Bledsoe 1990²¹⁵; Meekers and Calvès, 1997²¹⁶ and refs.).

Authors²¹⁷ have argued against an essentialist concept of “sugared” relationships as unilateral and coercive. Silberschmidt and Rasch (2001)²¹⁸ observed that older adolescent girls are 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”, Johnson²¹⁹ recently argued 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”.

²¹¹ 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).

²¹² The literature is unclear about the existence of “sugar mommies”.

²¹³ 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

²¹⁴ Sellix, T. (1996) *An Investigation into the Relationship between Older Males and Adolescents Females in Africa: Deconstructing the “Sugar Daddy”*. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Master of Arts in International Development. Washington, DC: American University

²¹⁵ 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

²¹⁶ 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

²¹⁷ 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 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”.

²¹⁸ 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

²¹⁹ Davidson, J. O. (2001) *The Sex Exploiter*. Theme paper for the Second World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

Ba (1981)²²⁰ suggests that early sexual experience is common among urbanised youth, using data from French West Africa. Sexual games played in childhood rapidly change into monetarised relationships, which would be tacitly accepted by society.

Virgin Cleansing Myth

This myth would be encountered in **Zimbabwe** and **South Africa**; unconfirmed sources suggest the virgin myth exists in **Botswana**, **Swaziland** and other countries. The South African case (e.g., Hinfelaar, 1994), tipped to be the place of origin²²¹ was recently denied by Jewkes et al.²²² who could cite only one possible case.

[Additional refs.: 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; Millner, C. (2002) South Africa’s Shame, *Essence* 33,4:114-7; Maxwell, J. (2000) Africa’s lost generation, *CNN.com*; Keeton, C. (2001) Infant’s gang rape spurs outrage across South Africa, *Nando Times*, Nov. 10th; In South Africa: Girl Babies Raped, *Women’s Int Network News*, Winter 2002; 28,1:56; Groenink, E. (1995) Seks met kinderen als medicijn tegen AIDS, *Opzij* [Dutch] 23,9:41; Jewkes, R., Matubutuba, C., Metsing, D. et al. (Jan., 2000) *Stepping Stones: Feedback from the Field*. Online article, <http://www.actionaid.org/stratshope/ssjewkes.html>; Meel, B. L. (2003) The myth of child rape as a cure for HIV/AIDS in Transkei: a case report, *Med Sci Law* 43,1:85-8]

Initiation and Instruction

As Beidelman (1997:p265, n1) points out, beside Ottenberg (1989), who adopts a psychodynamic narrative, few authors have considered the transmission of sexual information before initiation. This leaves the impression that, with the ritualisation of sex instructions, a tight social and legal stratification could be effected. This fits well the observation that tribal education measures were generally prosexual in a narrow sense of *promarital*²²³. It is the decay of this system that most critically announces Westernisation curricula, leaving matters to the (incompetent, it is said) authority of schooling environments. As can be further anticipated, the sexological implications of initiations (→**Table, column “I”**) could be detailed only in selected cases.

²²⁰ Ba, Y. (1981) Some elements for a debate on juvenile “prostitution” and its suppression, *African Environm* 114-15-16, ENDA Dakar, Senegal

²²¹ 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

²²² 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. Reply by Bowley, D. M. & Pitcher, G. J. (2002) Motivation behind infant rape in South Africa, *Lancet*, 4/13/2002; 359,9314:1352

²²³ Lalla Diallo, S. (1980) Études pour un projet d’éducation sexuelle adaptée à la République du Mali, *Rev Belge Psychol & Pedagog* 42(170): 53-68

The Instructrix/-Tor (cf. GUS Vol. II, §7.2.5)

African woman-pubescenta initiation systems, known for their “practical and theoretical instruction in sexual life” (Róheim, 1929:p189²²⁴), 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. African girlhood sex instruction may be provided by mothers²²⁵, older sisters²²⁶, an instructress²²⁷ or “some older woman”²²⁸, grandmothers²²⁹, and aunts²³⁰. 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.

The detail of African sex education is unparalleled in other continents, except perhaps in parts of Oceania. The technique of coitus is covered in detail in the sexual education curricula of a number of African societies²³¹. Sometimes, coitus is graphically demonstrated, using models or animals²³². That most traditional African instruction has been technically explicit needs no reserve. In many cases, details of coital techniques are part of the agenda²³³. Girls, particularly, are instructed with songs of an explicit character²³⁴, the transmission of data being regarded as a most central part of the rite, both the identity of the teacher and the curriculum being formalised. It includes such techniques as cunnilingus, orgasm timing, culturally prescribed coital positions, etc.

Although perhaps unnecessary, Northern Zambia Bemba matrilinear 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:

“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

²²⁴ 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-Ostafrikas*, p299, 300

²²⁵ Luba, Nkundo, Kamba, Dogon, Ewe, Amhara, Valenge, Mbuti, Schwalbe Fulani, Ivory Coast, Sukuma, Tetela

²²⁶ Xhosa

²²⁷ Mbuti, Nkoya, Makonde, Ndembu, Zulu, Pedi, Tanzania

²²⁸ Kuranko, Mambwe, Maka, Nambyans, Zulu, Mbuti, Yoruba, Chewa, Ovimbundu, Tiv

²²⁹ 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.

²³⁰ Zimbabwe, Shona, Keffi Yegomawa Fulani, Alur, Baganda, Karanga

²³¹ E.g., Bemba, Chewa, Yao, Nambyans, Basoko, Tetela, Sukuma, Bantu (Tanzania), Karugu, Makonde, Tswana

²³² Bantu (clay or wood model), Makonde (clay figurines), Valenge (dolls), Luguru (chickens), Bena (sticks and stones)

²³³ E.g., Yao, Nambyans, Basoko, Tetela, Sukuma, etc.

²³⁴ Kikuyu, Zulu, Matabele, Makonde, Hehe, Kaguru, Bena, Subiya

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?²³⁵”.

This type of education is largely abandoned today²³⁶.

²³⁵ Ms Lilian Wamulume, “Some traditions corrupt” in *Search News Magazine*, Vol. 2(1), Jan. 1992

²³⁶ E.g., Stewart, K. A. (2000) 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

Ethnographic Atlas

Mauritania

[no data available]

Mali (Bambara, Dogons)

Miner (1953:p176)²³⁷ stated: "Sex play begins well before [adolescence] but it is said that immature girls can rarely be sufficiently aroused to submit to intercourse". Weddings are postponed until adolescence. Thus (p182), Songhoi girls married shortly after puberty and Bela may be married before puberty, as coitus is delayed until sexual maturity.

[Additional refs: CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives*: Francophone Africa. Progress Report, p133-54]

Bambara (Mali) (2,2,3-,3+,2,2;8,8;D1)

At the end of girl's initiation, girls are told by the initiators about types of husbands, how to behave with their husband's friends, how to secure marriage, and how to resist advances of men who might court them²³⁸. Zahan (1960:p48)²³⁹ [?] relates about the institution called "woman-friend". Being liaisons hidden from adults, the boy watches her virginity, and she prepares the meals of the initiates.

[Additional refs.: Couloubaly (1984-5)²⁴⁰].

Dogons (Mali) (eHRAF) (→Dogons of Sudan)

Calame-Griaule (1986:p359)²⁴¹ noted a reverse circumcision license in the *Dogons* (Mali):

"During early childhood, the engaged children play together. They know nothing of the bond which unites them; moreover, society looks upon them as "fish", beings of no social consequence. Small children do sometimes play sexual games; they are beaten for it if they are caught, but very little attention is actually paid to the misdemeanor. It is after circumcision and excision that the children, who will thereafter wear loincloths covering their sexual parts, must cease these diversions".

Another significant idea on 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 [²⁴²] is if

²³⁷ Miner, H. (1953) *The Primitive City of Timbuctoo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

²³⁸ Thiam, A. (1978) *La Parole aux Néggresses*. Paris: Éditions Denoël. English translation, 1986, p101-2

²³⁹ Zahan, D. (1960) *Sociétés d'Initiation Bambara, le Ndomo, le Koré*. Paris: Mouton [?]. Also cited by Erny (1972 [1981:p61])

²⁴⁰ Couloubaly, P. (1984-5) L'enfance Bambara, *Bull Instit Fondament d'Afr Noire* 46,1/2:137-85

²⁴¹ Calame-Griaule, G. (1986) *Words and the Dogon World*. Translated from the French by Deirdre LaPin. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues

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" (p363-4)²⁴³. As the author points out, "[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".

On the instruction of girls, the following is noted:

"Women and girls spinning cotton will whisper tales to one another about men or masks and secrets they have come upon unexpectedly. This is why it is especially important for men not to hear. A mother, again while spinning or perhaps cooking, will teach her daughter what she must know about marriage and sexual relations. Here, too, are private matters that should not be overheard; A little girl learns everything from her mother. From the time she can walk she follows her everywhere. First she receives a practical education about housekeeping and women's farming. At the approach of puberty and marriage this is followed by more secret information concerning female physiology, marriage, and childbearing. The name given to this education is "hidden speech" [...] or "speech of the bedroom" [...]. The father does not involve himself in any way in her upbringing. Later, when she goes to the "house of the old woman", the girl receives another education called "outside speech" [...], which concentrates on the proper behavior she must show her husband and in-laws. The old woman also offers practical advice about the initial period of marriage, but she does not bring up such subjects as menstruation or personal hygiene except with her own daughter's daughter".

Parin et al. (1963:p46)²⁴⁴:

"Mothers are not concerned about the sexual parts of their children and do not prevent them from playing with these. One often sees a boy holding his sexual part in his hand. This offends no one. When children among themselves carry on all kinds of sexual play openly, adults will tell them that this is not done in public. Between children of the same age or a little older, talk about sex will be quite open; in front of adults it is considered unseemly. It is not regarded as fitting for children to be present when parents are having sexual intercourse, because they would be disturbing. However, nothing is concealed. Children six or seven years old know all about sex²⁴⁵ and will answer without embarrassment if they are asked about it. When they grow older they will know that one should talk about it only with one's age group, and they will be somewhat more self-conscious".

²⁴² "The girls are often promised in marriage from the day of their birth". See also Griaule, M. (1938) *Dogon Games*. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, p125n

²⁴³ Defloration should occur before menarche; "[i]n fact, no blood at all is to issue from her body before that of the deflowering". "If through lack of watchfulness becomes mature before marriage, nothing is said about it to the boy's family because it is believed that this would cause the death of the couple's first child. This is why careful watch is kept on the formation of the breasts and the first signs of sexual maturity in the young girl".

²⁴⁴ Parin, P., Morgenthaler, F. & Parin-Matthey, G. (1963) *The Whites Think Too Much*. Zurich: Atlantis Verlag

²⁴⁵ See also Paulme, D. (1940) *Social Organization of the Dogon (French Sudan)*. Paris: Éditions Domat-Montchrestien, F. Loviton et Cie, p439-40: "There is no subject of conversation among adults which the presence of children puts a stop to approaching freely; no one would dream of controlling his language upon seeing at his side a little boy or little girl whom he might regard as too young to listen to certain information. Thus the children very early acquire precise sexual knowledge — boys and girls of six or eight seem perfectly familiar with these questions — without their ever having been given any enlightenment in this matter. The children asked about this subject all replied "that they have always known this".

“Sexual intercourse is tried out even in childhood. People say that this really does not matter because, of course, there can be no offspring” (p34). About the sexual identity of circumcision (p52-3):

“Among the Dogon, circumcision means the end of childhood. Yet it is only one of the steps that must be taken to achieve the dignity of the adult. For their entrance into social and religious life the Dogon seem to place more stress on the health and physical development of the young than do other peoples. Here, further circumstances decrease the importance of circumcision: Most children return to their parents’ house after the ceremony and will not move to the boys’ or girls’ house until a few years later. Here they will only sleep and will return to their parents’ house for meals. The 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”.

Although reserved for initiated adolescents, “boys and girls sleep in their respective *duñe* very often before having been initiated. [...] It is likewise to be noted that though initiation marks the moment when the adolescent is able to carry on sexual relations with a young partner of the opposite sex, one very often finds young boys not yet circumcised who have not waited for this time to carry on sexual relations with young girls not yet excised themselves” (Palau Martí, 1957)²⁴⁶.

²⁴⁶ Palau Martí, M. (1957) *The Dogon*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France

Niger (\rightarrow *Tebu*)

[no data available]

Chad (Sara; →Teda, →Tebu)

“Most marriages in Chad are customary, and the primary objective of these marriages is to have children. In practice, the age at the time of customary marriage for girls varies between 10 and 12 years old. Generally, the girl’s consent is not required; she is educated to submit to her parent’s decisions and those her future husband. [...] Marital rape is punished only in cases of girls under the age of 13²⁴⁷”²⁴⁸.

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Most women are being circumcised between ages 8 and 12²⁴⁹ (ref. p256) or 10-15 (results, p260). “The relative focus on sexuality, whether on a conscious or symbolic level, during the initiation period and via the circumcision ritual remains unclear and merits further investigation. [...] [c]ircumcision is not solely about preserving women’s chastity or regulating their sexual behavior” (p262).

²⁴⁷ Penal Code, Title VI, Chapter I, Arts. 277

²⁴⁸ CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Francophone Africa*. Progress Report, p89-110

²⁴⁹ Leonard, L. (1982) Female circumcision in southern Chad: origins, meaning, and current practice, *Soc Sci & Med* 43,2:255-63

Sudan (Nuba, Shilluk, Bari, Dinka, Baja, Dogons, Yoruba, Mandari; →Zande)

In Sudan off the late sixties, most children overheard and saw parental intercourse by the nature of the small dwellings in which they reside (Elsarrag, 1968)²⁵⁰. Formerly, twelve was considered a suitable age for marriage (Zenkovsky, 1945)²⁵¹, two years after circumcision. Pfeiffer (1963:p310)²⁵²: “Knaben und Mädchen haben, solange sie noch wirklich Kinder sind, freien Umgang, und es kommt häufig zu sexuellen Spielereien”.

Though not mentioned in the Qur'an, and outlawed by both Islamic and Sudanese law, Pharaonic type circumcision is said to be practised, sometimes at an age of seven days, for the Islamic argument of “protecting female modesty and chastity” (e.g., House, 1988:p299)²⁵³. It should nevertheless be observed that medieval Muslims who practised female excision “perceived the custom as one that had religious sanction” (Berkey, 1996)²⁵⁴.

[Additional refs.: Otor, 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]

Nuba (Otoro Nuba: 2+,2+,3,3,2+,3;4,2;D2) (Sudan)

Abbadie²⁵⁵ found that men bought Nuba girls and sleep with them “long before menstruation”. According to Nadel (1947)²⁵⁶, Koalib girls were betrothed at eight or nine years of age, and at twelve or thirteen the marriage was consummated. It was said that they slept together without having intercourse. She removed her bangles and necklaces before sleeping, but did not remove her pubic bracelets. Her 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. There was no waiting for first menstruation or other signs of sexual maturity but many brides refused intercourse to her future husband until he paid the bride price in full.

Among Otoro and Heiben communities, girls at the age of puberty (and before, should they wish so) went to a girl's hut (*kur, luru*). Nadel (*ibid.*): “The prospect of receiving these visits and indulging in sexual play which forms part of courtship is indeed the acknowledged

²⁵⁰ Elsarrag, M. E. (1968) Psychiatry in the Northern Sudan: a study of comparative psychiatry, *Br J Psychia* 114,513:945-8

²⁵¹ Zenkovsky, S. (1945) Marriage customs in Omdurman, *Sudan Notes & Records* 26,2:241-55

²⁵² Pfeiffer, W. M. (1963) Die Kindheit bei den Sudanesen, *Prax Kinderpsychol Kinderpsychia* 12:308-11

²⁵³ House, W. J. (1988) The Status of Women in the Sudan, *J Modern Afr Stud* 26,2:277-302

²⁵⁴ Berkey, J. P. (1996) Circumcision Circumscribed: Female Excision and Cultural Accommodation in the Medieval near East, *Int J Middle East Stud* 28,1:19-38

²⁵⁵ Metschnikoff ([1910:p117]), *op.cit.*

²⁵⁶ Nadel, S.F. (1947) The Nuba: An Anthropological Study of the Hill Tribes in Kordofan. London: Oxford University Press

reason for this segregation of girls. Shame forbade them to receive their lovers in the parents' house, while in the kur they were free from all supervision". Boys of thirteen to fifteen looked around for a bride among the eight to twelve years old girls. They got to know one another out on the fields or at the various dances and ceremonies that united people of different communities. When the couple found one another they kept the arrangement private for a couple of months. The boy visited his girl at night in the girls' hut where she slept for chatting and sex play. The conventional petting included squeezing the breasts, even when undeveloped, of the girl, and what the Otoro call "petting of the pubic apron". Hawkesworth (1932)²⁵⁷ stated that the various groups of Nuba were divided by their attitude on intercourse before circumcision. Men begin courting at age twenty and generally get betrothed to a girl child²⁵⁸, in which case sexual intercourse awaits puberty.

"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, 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, 1942 [1970:p204])²⁵⁹.

Shilluk (Sudan) (2,2,2,2,-,-;-,-,-)

"Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact [...]" (Seligman and Seligman, 1932:p73)²⁶⁰. In childhood, "[t]here is no segregation of the sexes [or kin]".

Bari (Southern Sudan)

Seligman and Seligman (1928:p447)²⁶¹: "A man will sometimes engage to marry a child unborn if it should be a girl. If the girl dies another girl-child may be substituted [...]" "When the bride price has been paid [...] the man can have intercourse with his future wife, but only in the father's house which the young man visits daily; this is not allowed unless the girl has passed the age of puberty".

²⁵⁷ Hawkesworth, D. (1932) The Nuba of southern Kordofan, *Sudan Notes & Records* 15,2:159-99

²⁵⁸ Cf. Faris, J. (1972) Southeastern Nuba Age organization, in Cunnison, I. & Wendy J. (Eds.) *Essays in Sudan Ethnography presented to Sir Edward Evans-Pritchard*. London: C. Hurst & Company, p

²⁵⁹ 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

²⁶⁰ Pagan Tribes, *op.cit.*

²⁶¹ Seligman, C. G. & Seligman, B. Z. (1928) The Bari, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 58,Jul-Dec:409-479.

Kuku (Bari-Speaking) (Sudan/Uganda?)

Vanden Plas (1910:p215)²⁶², on the Kuku: “Les enfants de sexe différente, se recherchent très jeunes et s’essayent à mettre en pratique les enseignements que leur a procurés leur promiscuité sur un même lit avec leurs parents”. Seligman and Seligman (1932:p299)²⁶³ cite Capt. Yunis (1924) in that among the Kuku “lower incisors and canines are removed from both sexes for “the purpose of mutual sex attraction”, this being done at ten to twelve years of age.

Dinka (Sudan)

Play at marriage does not involve “any physical relationship” (Deng, 1972:p64)²⁶⁴. Children’s socialisation is segregated after weaning, although “[t]here are many things they do together, with or without significance attached to sex”. No claims are made on sexual behaviour socialisation. Courtship seems to begin in “youth” (p86-92). The Dinka strongly object to premarital pregnancy.

Baja (Sudan)

Tessmann (1934b, I:p204)²⁶⁵ did not note the “Mann-und-Frau-Spiel” in *Baja* children. Instead, they play in separation and boys are noticed, when the sexes do meet, to haunt and trash the girls. The Baja tend to regard children as innocent (ignorant), probably much contrary to facts (1937, II:p112)²⁶⁶.

Dogons (Sudan) (eHRAF) (→Dogons of Mali)

According to Paulme (1940:p439-40)²⁶⁷, the Sudanese Dogon

“child will be present at long conversations between men, some seated on the ground against the posts of the *toguna*, others stretched out in the shade of the thick layers of millet stalks which form the roof of the shelter. The children remain very quiet there; some of them as early as the age of four or five even seem to follow the conversation with interest and sometimes ask their elders questions which the latter gravely answer. There is no subject of conversation among adults which the presence of children puts a stop to approaching freely; no one would dream of controlling his language upon seeing at his side a little boy or little girl whom he might regard as too young to listen to certain information. Thus the children very early acquire precise sexual knowledge -- boys and girls of six or eight seem perfectly

²⁶² Vanden Plas, J. (1910) *Les Kuku*. Bruxelles: A de Wit

²⁶³ Pagan Tribes, *op.cit.*

²⁶⁴ Deng, F. M. (1972) *The Dinka of the Sudan*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

²⁶⁵ Tessmann, G. (1934b/1937) *Die Baja: Ein Negerstamm im Mittleren Sudan: Materielle und Seelische Kultur*. Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder. 2 vols.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷ *Op.cit.*

familiar with these questions -- without their ever having been given any enlightenment in this matter. The children asked about this subject all replied "that they have always known this".

Yoruba (Sudan)

Among the Yoruba-speaking peoples, girls of better class were almost always betrothed when children, frequently when infants, the husband *in futuro* being sometimes an adult, sometimes a boy²⁶⁸. Virginity in the bride is only of paramount importance when the girl has been betrothed in childhood; but many girls have lovers in secret²⁶⁹. Girls were often betrothed from infancy or birth (Caldwell et al., 1991:p239, 242-3)²⁷⁰, "often at five years of age" (Bascom, 1969:p61)²⁷¹. Marriage was often delayed until two or three years after puberty (Bascom, 1969:p64). Sources on premarital sexuality (Caldwell et al., 1991:p243-4; Le Blanc et al., 1991:p502)²⁷² are ambiguous. One 1993 study²⁷³ found that for 3.6 per cent of school students, coitus was experienced at "about ten years old" and for 36.4 per cent not until the age of 15 and 16 years. For the majority of those who had had sexual relations, love and fun were the most frequently provided reasons for involvement. In another study on unmarried female trade apprentices in Ikorodu, however, the lowest age would be 11²⁷⁴.

Yoruba mothers who would kiss her infant below the umbilicus, would be committing incest (Staewen and Schönberg, 1970:p222)²⁷⁵. Traditionally, sexual education came from selected same-gender elders, often the oldest of such persons in the village, offered at the puberty rites (Demehin, 1983-4)²⁷⁶. With colonisation, Victorian repression condemned sex education, which was found to be rare in association with the absence of puberty rituals (Dehemin, 1983)²⁷⁷. Female excision was explained in terms of reducing sexual enjoyment. Virginity was prized; elders generally married off their children soon after puberty to avoid problems. Male children are not punished for public masturbation (LeVine, 1963)²⁷⁸.

²⁶⁸ Ellis, A. B. (1890) *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*. London: International African Institute, p183; Parsons (1906:p73), *op.cit.*. Talbot (1969 [III]:p431) mentions prenatal betrothal.

²⁶⁹ Ellis (1890:p154; 183, 184, 185), *op.cit.*; Parsons (1906:p129), *op.cit.*; Benedict, R. ([1948]) Child marriage, in Seligman, E. R. A. & Johnson, A. (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. New York: MacMillan. Vol.III, p396

²⁷⁰ Caldwell, J. C., Orubuloye, I. O. & Caldwell, P. (1991) The Destabilization of the Traditional Yoruba Sexual System, *Populat & Developm Rev* 17,2:229-62

²⁷¹ Bascom, W. (1962) *The Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria*. London: Oxford University Press

²⁷² Le Blanc, M., Meintel, D. & Piche, V. (1991) The African Sexual System: Comment on Caldwell et al., *Populat & Developm Rev* 17,3:497-505

²⁷³ Oloko, B. A. & Omoboye, A. O. (1993) Sexual networking among some Lagos State adolescent Yoruba students, *Health Transition Rev* 3, Suppl. Issue:77-82

²⁷⁴ Dada, J. O., Olaseha, I. O., Ajuwon, A. J. (1997-8) Sexual Behavior and Knowledge of AIDS among Female Trade Apprentices in a Yoruba Town in South-Western Nigeria, *Int Quart Community Health Educ* 17,3:255-70

²⁷⁵ Staewen, C. & Schönberg, F. (1970) *Kulturwandel und Angstentwicklung bei den Yoruba Westafrikas*. München: Weltforum Verlag

²⁷⁶ Demehin, A. O. (1983-4) Sexual attitudes in traditional and modern Yoruba society, *Int Quart Commun Health Educ* 4,3:231-8

²⁷⁷ Demehin, A. O. (1983) Sex education in Nigeria: problems and proposals, *Public Health* [London] 97:228-399

²⁷⁸ LeVine, R. A. (1963) Child rearing practices in sub-Saharan Africa: an interim report, *Bull Menn Clin* 27,5:245-56

“Up to the age of six the children of both sexes are allowed by the parents to mix freely and to play their little games. But from six onward there is a tendency for a girl to go with the group of girls and for the boy to go with his. After puberty there is definite taboo, which is rigorously enforced by the parents, against the mingling of the sexes in public or private”²⁷⁹.

Mandari (Sudan)

As described by Buxton (1963)²⁸⁰, 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, ten in one hut, where “parents as a whole do not interfere with the flirtations of their daughters. [...] There may be affectionate petting- stroking and caressing- but sexual intercourse does not take place. [...] huts are not places for affairs or sexual licence”.

²⁷⁹ Ward, E. (1936) The parent-child relationship among the Yoruba, *Anthropol Quart* 9,1/4:56-63, at p63

²⁸⁰ Buxton, J. (1963) Girls’ Courting Huts in Western Mandari, *Man* 63:49-51

Ethiopia (**Kaffa**, **Udhuk**, **Nuer**, **Majangir**, **Afar**, **Amhara**, **Qemant**)

"[...] the Civil Code prohibits marriage of men under the age of 18 years and women under the age of 15 years²⁸¹. Early marriage, however, is pervasive in Ethiopia, with girls often marrying at the age of 14 or younger²⁸². These marriages, generally arranged by a couple's parents in conformity with tradition, are motivated in part by the need to ensure a girl's virginity at the time of marriage^{283/284}.

Among the Ethiopian Galla, marriages are arranged, often with betrothal at a very young age (Holcomb, 1973)²⁸⁵. In Ethiopia, the marriage age for females is 12-15, to prevent pre-marital pregnancy (Beddada)²⁸⁶. Among the [Abessinier], clitoridectomy and male circumcision are performed seven days after puberty (Bieber, 1908:p49-99)²⁸⁷. Girls may be married from age ten upward, in which case consummation is delayed (p54). Among the Islamic Galla, infibulation is performed at age eight to ten (p76). Marriage of girls may be as early as age ten, boys marry at 15 (p77). Among the [Kaffitscho], the girl's clitoris is extirpated at the age of 4 months to 1 year (p84). After menarche, as early as age nine or ten, she is ready for marriage (p85); a premarital sex life is not considered possible. Among the Ometi, girls marry at age 13-15, "before menarche" [although this commonly occurs at age 12], and boys at age 14-16; circumcision and clitoral extirpation take place before marriage (p95-6). Among the Amhara, sex education of boys is not commonplace; girls are instructed by the mother before menarche / marriage (Bieber, 1911:p189-90)²⁸⁸. Among the Galla and [Kaffitscho], mutual masturbation of boys and girls, as well as bestiality with horses and donkeys among herd boys is common (p192, 193).

According to a study on rural adolescent girls in the Fitch district of Ethiopia²⁸⁹, it was found that, although girls learned how to do domestic tasks from their mothers, they had little knowledge of menses or proper hygiene during menstruation. Parents expressed little interest in educating their girls about puberty, menses, or sexuality. Virginity is of prime importance in this community, and girls are often circumcised. However, because girls are strictly isolated from boys, kidnapping and rape are not uncommon.

Data suggest that ethnic groups "**Adere** and the **Oromo** used FGM [female genital mutilation] on women aged from 4 years to puberty, and the **Amhara** on the 8th day of birth. [...] Women believed the practice to be fully supported by men. Men preferred marrying

²⁸¹ Civ.Code Art. 581

²⁸² Hawkins, K. et al., (1993) Review of the Youth Programme of the Family Guidance Association of Ethiopia

²⁸³ Dagne, H. G. (1994) Early Marriage in Northern Ethiopia, *Reproductive Health Matters* 4:35-8

²⁸⁴ As cited by CRLP (2001) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives*: Anglophone Africa. Progress Report, p13-29, at p26

²⁸⁵ Holcomb, B. K. (1973) Oromo marriage in Wallaga Province, Ethiopia, *J Ethiopian Stud* 11,1:107-42

²⁸⁶ *Traditional Practices affecting the Health of Women and Children*. WHO/EMRO Technical Report No. 2, Vol. 1. Report of a Seminar, Khartoum, 10-15 February, 1979, p138

²⁸⁷ Bieber, F. J. (1908) Geschlechtsleben in Äthiopien, *Anthropophyteia* 5:45-99

²⁸⁸ Bieber, F. J. (1911) Neue Forschungen über das Geschlechtsleben in Äthiopien, *Anthropophyteia* 8:184-93

²⁸⁹ Afework, K. et al. (1997) Preparation of Rural Adolescent Girls to Adulthood in Fitch District, Ethiopia, *Curare* 11, Special:13-20

women subjected to FGM, because the women would then not be sexually overactive and unfaithful”²⁹⁰.

***Kaffa / Kafa* (2+,3,3,54,4;4,4) (Ethiopia)**

According to Bieber (1920, I:p269)²⁹¹, boys masturbate *et se ipsi et inter se*. Girls practice tribadism. Bestiality is practised by older and younger boys (horses, donkeys).

***Udhuk* (Ethiopia)**

According to Cerulli (1956:p23²⁹²; Mbiti, [1990:p133])²⁹³ courtship and marriage takes place “at an early age” since no payment or gifts are given or expected. This possibly begins when children leave the parents home and village at puberty to go to the village of the maternal uncle, to safeguard them from a polygamous system (Cerulli, p22, 23-4).

***Nuer* (Ethiopia) (eHRAF)**

Evans-Pritchard (1951:p56)²⁹⁴, along with Huffman (1931:p36)²⁹⁵ observed that children grow up within a marital paradigm.

“Sexual activities are from their earliest manifestations given the stamp of cultural values. They are from the first associated with marriage, which is the final goal of the sex life of men and women. Even the very poor and the disabled form domestic establishments of some kind and talk proudly of 'my father-in-law' and 'my mother-in-law'. It is the chief ambition of a youth to marry and have a home (gol) of his own, for when Nuer speak of marriage they speak of a home. They say of a youth: 'He is married -- he has a gol.' Even in childhood it is clear to Nuer that marriage and the birth of children are the ultimate purpose of the sexual functions to which all earlier activities of a sexual kind-play, love-making, and courtship-are a prelude, a preparation, and a means.

So long as there is no erotic behaviour in public, no inhibitions attach to sexual interests and their expression, and no one tries to hide from children the facts of sexual life, which they can learn by observing their elders and the flocks and herds among which childhood is spent. A boy who is seen by his elders in sexual play with a girl of his own age will merely be told not to act as though he had been initiated -- he can do what he likes then -- and at the most might receive a cut with a grass switch. No one considers his conduct immoral, and the older people will joke about such things among themselves.

²⁹⁰ Missailidis, K. & Gebre- Medhin, M. (2000) Female genital mutilation in eastern Ethiopia, *Lancet*, 07/08/2000;356(9224):137-8

²⁹¹ Bieber, F. J. (1920) *Kaffa*. Vol. I. München i. W.:Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchshandlung

²⁹² Cerulli, E. (1956) *Peoples of South-West Ethiopia and its Borderland*. London: International African Institute

²⁹³ Referring to MS notes by Meadows. *Op.cit.*

²⁹⁴ Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1951) *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

²⁹⁵ Huffman, R. (1931) *Nuer Customs and Folk-Lore*. London: Oxford University Press. 1970 impression. The Nuer girl's thoughts, “even when a child, are upon her future husband, who he may be, what he may pay as the marriage price”.

Children start playing at marriage from the time they begin to walk, at first as uncomprehending observers of the games of older children and then as participants in them. They make cattle byres and huts of sand, and mud oxen and cows, and with these conduct bridewealth negotiations and perform marriage ceremonies, and they play at domestic and conjugal life, including sometimes in the game, I was told, imitation of coitus. In its earliest expression, therefore, sex is associated with marriage, and the first sexual play occurs in imitation of one of the domestic routines of married life. It occurs in response to a cultural, and not to an instinctive, urge.

Girls and boys, the girls rather earlier than the boys, begin to perform the simpler and lighter tasks of household and kraal from about the age of seven. From then onwards till they are about fourteen, marriage games continue when the children are by themselves, and though within them sexual play begins to be indulged in for its own sake and not merely in imitation of adult behaviour, it is subordinate to the whole make-believe relationship of conjugality of which it forms a part. During the rainy months the girls visit the boys in the grazing grounds, bringing them balls of porridge as presents, which each gives to the boy she has chosen as her 'husband'. She also milks the goats for her 'husband' and may even bring him a gourdful of cow's milk from the kraal. The boys cut millet stalks in the gardens and after roasting and eating the immature grain send the sweet stalks with their outer husks removed to their 'brides'. Older boys also send their juniors with mud oxen and cows to one of the senior girls, who plays the part of mother-in-law. I was told that in these games sexual intercourse may take place, but is neither a usual nor a prominent feature.

Girls witness serious love-making and courtship earlier than boys. At dances small 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. When a girl is about twelve or thirteen initiated boys begin to court her, and when she is about fifteen or sixteen she has at least one lover and probably one in each of the villages neighbouring her own. She passes through a succession of love affairs, besides more casual affairs. I doubt whether any girl in Nuerland goes to her husband a virgin".

The same was observed by MacDermott (1972:p101)²⁹⁶: "Children may be strictly controlled in some ways but they have a freedom in their games that might shock the modern world. One day I saw a boy and girl aged about seven or eight playing at marriage in front of her elders. They disappeared to the grass where they attempted to make love; seeing my surprise, the elders asked: "What harm can they do? No babies will result!" ". Seligman and Seligman (1932:p223)²⁹⁷:

"Boys and girls play at marriage together, choosing partners and mimicking all activities, even sending clay oxen as bride-wealth. The sexual act has its place in this play, although it is by no means the only interest. It is, however, at this age that children are taught the meaning of incest, and that play marriages with relatives are not permitted, though it is not until puberty that they will learn from the parents the full range of their relatives".

"There is a considerable amount of pre-marital freedom. [...] An unmarried girl should never have a child [...]. It is only after initiation that courtship is socially recognized as a serious matter. A girl may be courted by several boys at the same time as long as they do not come from the same hamlet; likewise, a lad may pay court to two or three girls" (p226). Evans-Pritchard (1947)²⁹⁸ stated that children sleep in the same room as their parents until age five to six, with no efforts to hide parental sexuality. Children may be observed playing at marriage including mock coitus. Girls are courted beginning at ages twelve to thirteen, and will have a series of lovers by age fifteen to sixteen. Males are said to practice penile self-

²⁹⁶ MacDermott, B. H. (1972) *Cult of the Sacred Spear*. London: R. Hale

²⁹⁷ Seligman, C. G. & Seligman, B. Z. (1932) *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*. London: Routledge & Sons

²⁹⁸ Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1947) A note on courtship among the Nuer, *Sudan Notes & Records* 28:115-26

mutilation beginning at age twelve, which appears to be a gradual autocircumcision by causing atrophy of the subcutaneous tissue. Contrary to Evans-Pritchard, Akalu (1989:p27)²⁹⁹ stated that there are no observations on parents' sex life, and no questions asked. "They seem to carry with them so many questions until they reach the age of around 10 to 12 when they take up discussion about their interests in their age-group". Sexual intercourse may, however, be observed in the forest or savannah. "From their early years [children] are treated as responsible beings. No instructions and no reprimands are given to them. The children simply and without being told imitate the conduct of the adults. [...] imitating without request and without approval or disapproval" (Akalu, 1985:p56)³⁰⁰. Boys are initiated (ages 9-15) by horizontal incisions on the forehead, girls are not. Youths have considerable sexual freedom. The girl is nude until marriage (Beidelman, 1968)³⁰¹. Hutchinson (1996:p291)³⁰² stated that the age range of initiation was lowered for a number of reasons.

"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" ".

Evans-Pritchard comes to

"[...] two conclusions: that there is wide sexual freedom before marriage, and that sex life is from the beginning stamped by cultural interests. Apart from rules of incest, adultery, and good form, there are no checks placed on the expression of sex from its earliest manifestations. Nevertheless, even at the outset the compass is set towards marriage and children. Simulated coitus between children is part of a game of domestic and marital relationships. After initiation, young men make love to girls as much as they can, but though there is much casual intercourse it is considered rather gross, and the aim of both youths and girls is to form attachments of the lover-sweetheart kind, in which coitus, when it takes place at all, is only part of a more complex relationship. The lover-sweetheart relationship has within it the purpose or pretence of marriage. [...] So strong is the cultural idea of marriage that, though devoid of irksome restraint and inhibitions, the path of sex life runs from childhood towards that of union and, though circuitous, leads always to marriage, home, and family. Marriage is the end of a full sex life".

"Parents teach their sons at an early age the rules of sex: to avoid the wives of others and those who *teke mar*, have kinship"³⁰³. However, "[...] it is not thought that children will fall

²⁹⁹ Akalu, A. (1989) *The Nuer View of Biological Life: Nature and Sexuality in the Experience of the Ethiopian*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell

³⁰⁰ *Op.cit.*

³⁰¹ Beidelman, T. O. (1968) Some Nuer notions of nakedness, nudity, and sexuality, *Africa* 38,2:113-32

³⁰² Hutchinson, Sh. E. (1996) *Nuer Dilemmas*. Berkeley: University of California Press

³⁰³ Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1949) Nuer rules of exogamy and incest, in Fortes, M. (Ed.) *Social Structure. Studies Presented to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p85-103

sick if they have incestuous relations in their play 'because the children are ignorant of having done wrong'. They know no better"³⁰⁴.

Majangir (Ethiopia)

Stauder (1971:p77, 86-7)³⁰⁵ observed that little children are considered "stupid" and unobservant in observing marital liberties, whereas older children are made to go sleep outside.

Afar (Ethiopia)

Afar girls used to be eligible for marriage from their tenth year (Licata, 1885:p254)³⁰⁶.

Amhara (Ethiopia) (2,2,3+, 4-2,2;6,1) (eHRAF)

Around 1950, Messing and Bender ([1985:p208])³⁰⁷ note on the Amhara:

"When sex differentiation becomes more emphasized in the culture, at about seven³⁰⁸, sex talk and sex play goes on primarily within the peer group of the same sex. The invitation to do this is [...] (lit. take this-insult). They play hide and seek, whisper, reenact what they have observed their parents do at night in the hut, and fantasize experimenting with sexual possibilities. Children observe much in the quiet of the night in the hut, but are careful not to be seen watching. They misunderstand and are greatly puzzled, since no elder will explain "impolite matters" to them. It 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 church school, boys are puzzled by overt references to "Mary's wom" and "God's seed", but questions are rejected as "rudeness". Youngsters in town have broader information, because there they hear "rude" talk more often among adults".

The authors ([1985:p264, 439]) further note: "When no adults are present, boys play games imitating the sex life of animals, sometimes highly imaginary, e.g. the "coitus of baboons"³⁰⁹ [...]: seated and facing each other with their feet and rock back and forth. This is largely their own mental projection of human activities, for they have all seen actual sexual intercourse among domestic animals".

³⁰⁴ Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1956) *Nuer Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p19

³⁰⁵ Stauder, J. (1971) *The Majangir: Ecology and Society of a Southwest Ethiopian People*. London: Cambridge University Press

³⁰⁶ Licata, G. B. (1885) *Assab e i Danachili*. Milan

³⁰⁷ Messing, S. D. & Bender, M. L. (1985) *Highland Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia*. New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files. Edited by M. Lionel Bender of a 1957 PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania

³⁰⁸ Late childhood commences approximately at age seven

³⁰⁹ Also note the Congo game of *yembankongo*, indecent ape imitation described by Hulstaert ([1937:p81]) and cited by Pedrals (1950:p16), *op.cit.*. See also Werner (1986), as cited by Frayser (1994:p206).

“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 virgin! Whereupon the *mize* [vide infra] are feted”.

Opposing the Sinhalese, who ritualise menarche, “[...] the Amhara female’s rite of passage (which may be formalized and public or casual and secret) is her introduction to adult heterosexual intercourse”. Sex and marriage are closely related in idiom, premarital virginity renders marriage legitimate, and the nuptial defloration is ceremonial (Reminick)³¹⁰. Levine (1965)³¹¹:

“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”.

“Still another type of marriage is that known as [...](“ten beds”) in which the boy goes to live with the girl’s family while both are quite young. In this case the boy has his work apprenticeship under the girl’s father. After several years, when the girl reaches puberty, a second wedding ceremony will take place—this time at the home of the groom’s parents—and the union will be consummated. This type of arrangement tends to be made when the boy’s family is too poor to provide enough to get him started on his own, or if the girl’s father has no son to help him with the work”.

***Qemant* (Ethiopia)**

Gamst (1969:p103)³¹²: “Young boys are not segregated. Tadassa [a 4-y-old] plays and fights with girls as well as boys, but sexual play between them is not permitted; in older children it is punished. After puberty, boys and girls no longer sleep together. Boys usually gain sexual knowledge gradually from listening to conversations of young men. Talking about sex in the house or at mixed gatherings is considered improper”.

³¹⁰ Reminick, R. A. (1975) The symbolic significance of ceremonial defloration among the Amhara of Ethiopia, *Am Ethnol* 3:751-63

³¹¹ Levine, D. N. (1965) *Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

³¹² Gamst, F. C. (1969) *The Qemant*. New York [etc.]: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Djibouti, Republic of Djibouti

[no data available]

Somalia (Somali, Darod)

In Somalia urban areas, child marriage (sometimes at age 12) was rare; in agricultural areas, it was about age 15 (Warsame, Ismail)³¹³. A law passed on January 11th, 1975, forbids marriage of females below age 16, and of males below 18.

Puccioni (1936:p90)³¹⁴:

“Infibulation is regularly practiced on young girls. Ferrandi tells us that at Lugh the operation is performed at the age of seven or eight (³¹⁵), while Zoli reports that it is done at the age of twelve or thirteen by the natives of the area beyond the Juba (³¹⁶)”.

Somali (3,3+,3,4,4,4;1,1) (Somalia) (eHRAF)

“There is some indication that infant betrothal may have been common in the past, but whether this is true or not, it is certainly not the general practice now (Lewis, 1962:p16³¹⁷; Lewis, 1994:p33³¹⁸). According to Grassivaro and Abdisamed (1985)³¹⁹, the practice of female circumcision was universal in Somalia; the percentage of circumcised women was 99.3%. Infibulation is the commonest type of circumcision used (75.7%). The age of circumcision varies from birth to 15; the average being 7.5. The type of circumcision does not seem to be influenced by some environmental variables (e.g. birth place of parents or place of circumcision), it is primarily determined by the population of the individual region. Infibulation is accepted to the greatest extent by the pastoral populations of the middle/northern regions, principally in Ogaden and in the 4 Somalian regions on which it borders: Togdheer, Nugal, Muddug, Galgadud. In the southern regions (Upper, Middle, Lower Giuba) amongst rural populations or populations with a cattle/cultivation economy, there are also attenuated types of circumcision: sunna and clitoridectomy (20 to 30%). In precapitalist northern pastoral Somali, the following was noted:

³¹³ *Traditional Practices affecting the Health of Women and Children*. WHO/EMRO Technical Report No. 2, Vol. 1. Report of a Seminar, Khartoum, 10-15 February, 1979, p139-40, 141-2; Warsame, M. (1982) Early marriage and teenage deliveries in Somalia, in Baasher, T. et al. (Eds.) *Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children*. WHO/EMRO Technical Report No. 2, Vol. 2, p134-7; Ismail, E. A. (1982) Child marriage in Somalia, in Baasher, T. et al. (Eds.) *Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children*. WHO/EMRO Technical Report No. 2, Vol. 2, p130-3

³¹⁴ Puccioni, N. (1936) *Anthropology and Ethnography of the Peoples of Somalia*. Bologna, Italy: Nicola Zanichelli. HRAF Ms

³¹⁵ U. Ferrandi, Lugh, cit., p419-20 [orig.footnote]

³¹⁶ C. Zoli, Notizie sul territorio [...], cit., p290 [orig.footnote]

³¹⁷ Lewis, I. M. (1962) *Marriage and the Family in Northern Somaliland*. Kampala, Uganda: East African Institute of Social Research. “Premarital relations are extremely formal and love-play and sexual intercourse before marriage generally regarded with abhorrence. A high value is placed on virginity in women at marriage, and the practice of female infibulation is specifically designed to protect maidenhood” (p17).

³¹⁸ Lewis, I. M. (1994) *Blood and Bone*. Lawrenceville, N.J.: Red Sea Press

³¹⁹ Grassivaro, G. P. & Abdisamed, M. (1985) Female circumcision in Somalia: anthropological traits, *Anthropol Anz* 43,4:311-26

“As soon as she learned to walk and talk, [a girl] was to acquire the skills of women’s work and to imitate, even in play, the child care, matweaving, buttermaking and cooking tasks of the women of her household and camp. From such a young age too a young girl was learned about the central value of her sexual organs and the need to hide and protect them; the genital operation which she underwent before she was nine or ten years drove these points home. By the time a girl reached puberty and became nubile, she had mastered all women’s work skills. While north Islamic and customary law prescribed that she continue to guard her virginity, she was at this age allowed to participate in customary courtship practices, or attract a husband and thus find her niche as a wife in a new productive and reproductive unit: the household” (Kapteijns, 1995:p249)³²⁰.

Darod (Somalia)

The majority of girls between the ages of 6 and 12 undergo infibulation (Abdalla, 1982:p12). Islam requires virginity before marriage, fidelity after marriage, and seclusion of the women from the men (p30), but since seclusion is not possible in a nomadic society, female circumcision is seen as way of protecting women’s chastity in the presence of any man and of reducing a woman's sexual desires (p35-6).

³²⁰ Kapteijns, L. (1995) Gender Relations and the Transformation of the Northern Somali Pastoral Tradition, *Int J Afr Hist Stud* 28,2:241-59

The Gambia, Republic of the Gambia (→Wolof)

Among all ever sexually active single men, 33% reported that they were aged 14 or younger at first sexual intercourse, and among all ever sexually active women, 20% did so (Kane et al., 1993)³²¹.

³²¹ Kane, Th. T., De Buysscher, R., Taylor-Thomas, T., Smith, T. & Jeng, M. (1993) Sexual Activity, Family Life Education, and Contraceptive Practice Among Young Adults in Banjul, The Gambia, *Stud Fam Plann* 24,1:50-61

Senegal (Toucouleur, Wolof)

Among the Senegalese Serer, marriage takes place usually shortly after puberty (Cantrelle and Leridon, 1971)³²². “Chez les femmes Oucloves du Sénégal, [...] [l]a cohabitation avant la venue des règles [age 11 or 12] est un acte fréquent chez les jeunes filles, on n’y voit aucun scandale, dans la majorité des cas [...]”³²³.

[Additional refs.: Delaunay (1994)³²⁴; CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives*: Francophone Africa. Progress Report, p155-75 ; Hüskens, S. (Nov., 2002) Young people make the difference ! Peer-influence on reproductive health of young people in Dakar, Senegal. Nijmegen, CIDIN,. MA thesis [<http://www.socsci.kun.nl/maw/cidin/publications/papers/op111.pdf>]]

Toucouleur (Senegal)

“Sans doute, durant la période pré-pubertaire, les enfants toucouleur sont généralement tenus pour asexués” (Wane, 1971:p223)³²⁵. Children observe parental intercourse and animals but might they imitate any act they are immediately given a memorable correction. There is a strict obedience to Islamic teachings. *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 (p225).

Schenkel (1971:p322-7)³²⁶ has some notes on Senegalese sexuality in childhood. Mothers are “obsessed with the virile potency of her infant”, and eager to watch his erection. Childhood “impotence” is thought by the Serer to be caused by the spilling of milk on the boy’s penis³²⁷. Enuresis is thought to be associated with impotence. Automanipulation of the penis is discouraged by threats of castration and circumcision. If anything, people say it “resembles the sexual act”. “Numerous informants” declared that during boy’s circumcision the first sexual interactions are had.

Generally,

“[l]’enfant est très vite en contact avec la vie sexuelle de l’adulte, la promiscuité étant très grande. On considère ici que l’enfant de 5 ans a pris connaissance de l’acte sexuelle, et qu’il essaye d’imiter les grands en invitant une petite amie. Situation que nous avons pu d’ailleurs observer plusieurs fois. De nombreux

³²² Cantrelle, P. & Leridon, H. (1971) Breast feeding, mortality in childhood and fertility in a rural zone of Senegal, *Popul Stud* 25,3:505-33

³²³ Caufeynon (1920) *L’Œuvre de Chair et l’Enfantement dans l’Humanité*. Paris: Bibliothèque Populaire des Sciences Médicales, p51-2

³²⁴ Delaunay, V. (1994) *L’Entrée en Vie Féconde*. Paris: Centre Français sur la Population et le Développement

³²⁵ Wane, Y. (1971) Sexualité et continence preuptiale chez les toucouleur du Senegal, *Africa* 41,3:223-7

³²⁶ Schenkel, R. (1971) Le vecu de la vie sexuelle chez les Africains accultures du Senegal, a partir des notions d’impuissance et de puissance sexuelle, *Psychopathol Afr* 7,3:313-88

³²⁷ The same is noted for the Fulani. See Johnson, M. C. (2000) The view from the Wuro: a guide to child rearing for Fulani parents, in DeLoache, J. & Gottlieb, A. (Eds.) *A World of Babies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p175-98, at p188

billets circulent entre élèves de 8 à 12 ans, invitant à accomplir l'acte sexuel, dessins très précis à l'appui".

17.6% of men and 7.4% of women had their first sexual experience between ages five and ten (p360). 19.6% of men and none of females would have learned about impotence between ages five to ten (p346f), generally from age mates. A strict rule forbids sexual communication between age segments.

Wolof (3,3,3,3+,4,4;2,2;C) (Senegal) (eHRAF)

Data are somewhat contradictory. Ford and Beach (1951:p182)³²⁸ stated that intercourse before puberty ceremonies are strictly forbidden to boys. However, according to Freimark (1911:p163)³²⁹, it was not uncommon among the Senegalese Wolof to find premenarchal coitus³³⁰. Ames (1953:p140): "Young people, including the boys who attend the bush circumcision school, are given no instruction in sexual techniques. They learn by experimentation beginning in childhood". However, Faladé ([1960] 1963:p220)³³¹ observed that girls entering marriage (at 16 or after, but certainly after menarche) are "quite ignorant" of sexual matters. A marriage has to be annulled on account of the impotence of the husband. "This 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, 1963:p222; also p220).

Diop (1982:p190-8)³³² found that only 29 in 100 Dakar girls had been sexually educated before puberty, another 56 after. Senghor and Sow (1975:p237)³³³ argue that "[...] l'éducation sexuelle est à peu près inexistente chez les Sérères, **Walaf** et **Lébou** car elle est réduite au comportement que la fillette devra plus tard adopter en tant qu'épouse".

Chabas ([c1960]:p11-2)³³⁴:

"Today [ca 1960, DJ] this age is set by the decree of June 15, 1939, at 14 years for women and at 16 years for men. Previously, Ouolof custom set the age of the girl at 14 years, but some exemptions were admitted with the precaution that the marriage would not be consummated until the girl was nubile. The age of the man was generally set at more than 16 years with a range between 18 and 22 years. Since the rule is legally established today, it no longer gives rise to discussion. Nevertheless, practices which run contrary to the provisions of the public order of the decree continue to be followed".

³²⁸ *Op.cit.*

³²⁹ Freimark (1911), *op.cit.*

³³⁰ Ames, D. W. (1953) *Plural Marriage among the Wolof in the Gambia*. PhD Thesis, Northwestern University. See p140

³³¹ Faladé, S. ([1960] 1963) Women of Dakar and the Surrounding Urban Area, in Paulme, D. (Ed.) *Women of Africa*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p217-29

³³² Diop, A. B. (1982) Jeunes filles et femmes de Dakar, *Bull Instit Fondament Afr Noire* 44,1/2:163-212

³³³ Senghor, R. & Sow, A. (1975) Le rôle d'éducatrice de la femme Africaine dans la civilisation traditionnelle, in *La Civilisation de la Femme dans la Tradition Africaine: rencontre / organisée par la Société Africaine de Culture*, Abidjan, 3-8 juillet 1972. Paris: Présence Africaine, p232-41

³³⁴ Chabas, J. ([c1960]) *Marriage and Divorce in the Customs of the Ouolof Inhabiting Large Towns in Senegal*. [New Haven, Conn.: HRAF]

In one case the marriage of a fourteen year old girl was to be annulled by the application of the provisions of the decree of June 15, 1939, but in order to sustain the validity of the marriage, the defence invoked the fact that the marriage had not yet been consummated and would not be until the girl reached the age of puberty. The Court of Dakar nevertheless annulled the marriage by citing verbatim the provisions of the 1939 decree which prescribes the annulment of any matrimonial agreement concerning a girl who has not reached puberty, whether she consents or not. It concludes: "Consequently, the marriage of a girl who has not reached puberty is declared null in the full legal sense". Faladé, however, stated that premenarchal consummation was infrequently present.

Guinea Bissau (Manjak)

Manjak (Guinea Bissau)

Marriage was contracted before or very early after birth (Diop, 1984:p12)³³⁵.

³³⁵ Diop, A. M. (1984) Rites de passage et systeme religieux chez les Manjak (Guinee-Bissau), *Notes Afr* 181:9-16

Guinea

Henry (1970)³³⁶ found that Guinea sexarche generally took place between ages 12 and 17.

“On note cependant un assez grand nombre d’expériences enfantines: 12% de jeunes gens avaient, à leur première expérience, moins de 12 ans [³³⁷] et 11% de leurs partenaires” (p88). Three in 24 had coitus between ages eight and ten. Masturbation was said to be followed by threats to psychic and physical health (p84), and nearly half of boys did not answer the question.

Reporting on a 1995 survey (Gorgen et al., 1998)³³⁸, the average age of first sexual intercourse was 16.3 for young women and 15.6 for males. The sexual partner is typically a peer.

For another report on adolescent sexuality, see [³³⁹].

Social status is established through an informally consensus relative to life phases (*kare*)³⁴⁰:

“Although the *kare* can be defined relatively easily using biological markers such as puberty and fertility, in practice the definitions become more difficult and less precise. Identifying the moment of puberty, for example, is complicated, because it can be at the time of menarche, or when a girl’s breasts begin to develop. Although some families marry off their daughters at the first sign of maturation, others prefer to wait until several years after menarche, when a pregnancy is more likely to be successful”.

³³⁶ Henry, P. (1970) *Érotisme Africain*. Paris: Payot

³³⁷ Divided by religion, Muslims had coitarche before 12 in 15%, Christians in 7%, and atheists in 19% (p100). Urban adolescents indicated that coitarche began before 12 in 14.5%, while in rural areas, the figure was 9.5% (p102)

³³⁸ Gorgen, R., Yansane, M. L., Marx, M. & Millimounou, D. (1998) Sexual Behavior and Attitudes Among Unmarried Urban Youths in Guinea, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 24,2:65-71

³³⁹ *Guinée: La Sexualité des Adolescents dans les Régions Administratives de Faranah, Kankan et N’Zérékoré*. Résultats d’une Recherche Narrative. Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs, Management Sciences for Health, PRISM. Nov. 2000

³⁴⁰ Levin, E. C. (2000) Women’s Childbearing Decisions in Guinea: Life Course Perspectives and Historical Change, *Africa Today* 47,3-4:63-81, at p68

Sierra Leone (Kuranko, Mende, Poro)

Kuranko, Koranko (Sierra Leone, Guinea)

According to Jackson (1977:p95)³⁴¹, betrothal before birth or in early infancy was usual. The girls wear a red thread around their waist to signify this status. Marriage follows immediately after initiation after puberty (Jackson, 1975:p395)³⁴². During the seclusion after girls' initiation ceremony (*dimusu biriye*), the end of childhood, they receive instruction on "domestic, sexual and moral matters" from older women while waiting for their clitoridectomy scars to heal (Jackson, 1983:p330)³⁴³.

"[...] most marriages are based on infant betrothal and there is usually a great age difference between a man and his junior wives [...]. Infant betrothal was traditionally the most usual kind of marriage among the Kuranko. In the years immediately before her initiation, a betrothed girl spends brief periods in her prospective husband's household to become accustomed to the people among whom she will pass the early years of her married life. But adjustment to married life is not easy. A young bride may occupy a subordinate position in her husband's household, under the supervision of her mother-in-law or senior co-wife, and her husband may be old and quite indifferent to her. I was often told that some girls cry and hang back when the time comes for the formalities of the marriage to be concluded. The transfer of rights in genetricem and in uxorem is regarded as absolute and in perpetuity, and a young bride must face the prospect of severing many sentimental as well as formal ties with her natal family" (Jackson, 1982:p14, 145)³⁴⁴.

Mende (Sierra Leone) (3,3,3,3,2,4-;5,2;D4,1)

The *Humui*, or medicine society, forbids sexual intercourse with a girl under the age of puberty (Little, 1951 [1967:p147]; 1954:p131)³⁴⁵. Sex matters are taught to initiates in the privacy of the *kpanguima*, or Sande [women's society] initiation enclosure (Boone, 1986:p52)³⁴⁶. In older days, children would be severely chastised for the most innocent curiosity or questioning (p78, n2). Girls are instructed during the Sande society ceremony, which is to transform her from child into adult (Jedrej, 1980)³⁴⁷. During this, "[t]hey are subject of [*sic*] lewd speculation by the men and there is no doubt about their sexuality" (p136).

³⁴¹ Jackson, M. (1940) *The Kuranko*. London: Hurst

³⁴² Jackson, M. D. (1975) Structure and Event: Witchcraft Confession Among the Kuranko, *Man*, New Series 10,3:387-403

³⁴³ Jackson, M. (1983) Knowledge of the Body, *Man*, New Series 18, 2:327-45

³⁴⁴ Jackson, M. (1982) *Allegories of the Wilderness: Ethics and Ambiguity in Kuranko Narratives*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

³⁴⁵ Little, K. L. (1951) *The Mende of Sierra Leone*. 1967 repr., New York: Humanities Press; Little, K. L. (1954) The Mende in Sierra Leone, in Forde, D. (Ed.) *African Worlds*. London: Oxford University Press, p111-37. Critical passages reprinted in Middleton, J. (Ed., 1970) *From Child to Adult*. New York: Natural History Press, p207-25

³⁴⁶ Boone, S. A. (1986) *Radiance from the Waters*. New Haven [etc.]: Yale University Press

³⁴⁷ Jedrej, M. C. (1980) Structural aspects of a West African secret society, *Ethol Zeitsch Zürich* 1:133-41

Poro (Sierra Leone, Liberia)

On the West Coast, Poro [secret society associated with the Kpelle and Mende, Mano, Gola] schools, four years of duration, were to instruct the boy on matters related to “the traditional rules which govern religious, intellectual, social, economic and sexual life” (Torday, 1931:p111)³⁴⁸.

According to Brongersma’s resources (1987:p115) Poro children have sexual intercourse from an early age. Initiation requires abstinence; ejaculation may be arrived at by whipping, thus, without using the hand. Liberia Poro novices eat each the other sex’s genital parts after circumcision and clitoridectomy (Bettelheim, 1962:p94)³⁴⁹.

[Additional refs.: Gervis (1957 :p90, 101, 112, 252)³⁵⁰]

³⁴⁸ Torday, E. (1931) The Things That Matter to the West African, *Man* 31:110-3

³⁴⁹ Bettelheim, B. (1962) *Symbolic Wounds*. New York: Collier

³⁵⁰ Gervis, P. (1957) *C’est Arrivé dans la Sierra Leone*. Paris: Albin Michel

Liberia (Kpelle; →Poro)

Kpelle (Liberia)

Gibbs (1965:p209)³⁵¹ found that Kpelle parents fondle the genitals of their infants.

³⁵¹ Gibbs, J. L. (1965) The Kpelle of Liberia, in Gibbs, J. L. (Ed.) *Peoples of Africa*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p199-240

Côte d'Ivoire, Ivory Coast (Senoufo, Guro)

The mother generally takes care of sexual instructions at girl's puberty rites (Aka-Anghui et al., 1972)³⁵². One study examined the sexual behaviour of pre-adolescents (aged 9 to 14) in schools in Abidjan (Aonon, 1993)³⁵³. In a concurrent study on their parents³⁵⁴, the following was observed:

"There is a strong influence of what we might call the "traditional model" (mimicry and things left unsaid) on the parents' conception of sexuality. They have lived in a context where there was a family taboo on the subject of sexuality, hence it was never spoken of. Even when sex could be alluded to indirectly, in terms that the children might be able to understand, they were always left in ignorance by the parents, and by the extended family too (by all the preceding generation, in fact). The parents realize that they must speak to the children about sex, but do not know how to bring the subject up. They believe that sex education is the responsibility of the family (93%) but they do not talk much about sexuality with their children, and leave it to the school to teach them (54%), giving priority to the "moral" aspects of the question (they hope that the children will be taught a code of good conduct and that teachers will speak about fidelity or abstinence, rather than contraception)".

Clitoridectomy "includes sexual education by means of sensuous dances and songs [in which] sexual liberty is accorded the youth of both sexes"³⁵⁵.

In a recent study³⁵⁶ on students, the average age of the first sex was 14.3 and 15.6 years in males and females, respectively. According to another study: "En Côte d'Ivoire, la moyenne d'âge d'entrée en activité sexuelle est de 15,48 ans dans la population adolescente. Cependant, les filles entrent en activité sexuelle en moyenne beaucoup plus tôt que les garçons (15,38 ans contre 15,91 ans). Par ailleurs, tandis qu'à 16,47 ans la moitié des filles a déjà eu un premier rapport sexuel, cet âge se situe à 17,19 ans pour les garçons"³⁵⁷.

[Additional refs: CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives*: Francophone Africa. Progress Report, p111-32; Holas, B. (1957) L'Evolution du Schéma Initiatique Chez les Femmes Oubi (Région de Tai, Côte d'Ivoire), *Africa* 27,3: 241-50] Adams, M. J. (1991) Celebrating Women: Girls' Initiation in Canton Boo, Wè/Guéré Region, Côte d'Ivoire, *L'Ethnographie* 86,2:81-115]

³⁵² Aka-Anghui et al. (1972) La femme et l'éducation dans les sociétés traditionnelles, exemple Cote-D'Ivoire, in *La Civilisation de la Femme dans la Tradition Africaine*. Paris: Présence Africaine, p182-96

³⁵³ Aonon, A. A. (1993) Comportements Sexuels en Milieu Scolaire. Étude des Attitudes et Opinions des Jeunes de 9 à 14 Ans face aux MST et au SIDA à Abidjan. Orstom: Centre de Petit-Bassam

³⁵⁴ Aonon, A. A. (1996) Family environments and social logics in sexual conduct and AIDS in Abidjan, *Newsletter of the Sociétés d'Afrique & Sida Network*, April

³⁵⁵ Aka-Anghui et al. (1975) La femme et l'éducation dans les sociétés traditionnelles exemple de Cote-d'Ivoire, in *La Civilisation de la Femme dans la Tradition Africaine*: rencontre / organisée par la Société Africaine de Culture, Abidjan, 3-8 juillet 1972. Paris: Présence Africaine, p182-96, at p183, 195

³⁵⁶ Kobayashi, M., Murakami, Y. & Yoshidome, A. (2001) [Knowledge, behavior, and attitudes toward sex among adolescent students at a junior/high school in Cote d'Ivoire], *Nippon Koshu Eisei Zasshi [Jap J Public Health]* 48,2:132-41

³⁵⁷ Akoto, E. M., Tambashe, B. O., Amouzou, J. A. & Djangone, A. M. R. (Sept., 2000) *Sexualité, Contraception et Fécondité des Adolescents en Cote d'Ivoire*. Projet Régional Santé Familiale et Prévention du Sida (SFPS), p4

Senoufo (Ivory Coast)

One of the main acts of male initiation ceremonies to the Poro is a ritual intercourse between the neophytes and their symbolic mother who has just given birth to them. This rite “materializes the initiatic axiom: Senoufo men reproduce themselves by incest” (Zempleni, 1990)³⁵⁸.

Guro (Ivory Coast)

The Kne initiation is to prepare girls for sexual life (Deluz, 1987)³⁵⁹, taking place at puberty, and rather before than after (p123). Clitoridectomy is part of the rite.

³⁵⁸ Zempleni, A. (1990) How do societies and “corporate” groups delimit themselves? A puzzle common to social and medical anthropology, *Cult Med Psychia* 14,2:201-11

³⁵⁹ Deluz, A. (1987) Social and symbolic values of feminine “kne” initiation among the Guro of the Ivory Coast, in Parkin, D. & Nyamwaya, D. (Eds.) *Transformations of African Marriage*. Manchester [etc.]: Manchester University Press, p113-35

Burkina Faso [formerly Republic of Upper Volta] (Bobo, Mossi)

[Additional refs: CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives*: Francophone Africa. Progress Report, p44-65]

Bobo (Upper Volta)

Montjoie et al. (1967:p85)³⁶⁰ noted: “Les jeux sexuels des enfants sont très fréquents à cet âge [until puberty], mais se font la plupart du temps dans des endroits cachés et inconnus des parents”. From puberty to marriage (p88), “[l]es relations sexuelles sont assez difficiles à décrire. Certains affirment que, comme l’âge du mariage est précoce, il y a peu de relations sexuelles avant ce dernier. Ils ajoutent que l’acte sexuel entre les petits enfants n’est qu’un acte mimé et qu’ils l’abandonnent très vite. D’autres sources donnent des avis très différents”.

Mossi (Burkina Faso)

Among the Mossi of Burkina Faso, girls are married shortly after puberty (Hammond, 1966)³⁶¹. Some adolescent bestiality occurs, also because of the late circumcision, which is necessary for access to women.

On the Mossi, it is stated (Erny, 1988:p179-80)³⁶² that: “Les mères prennent [...] l’habitude de surveiller très tôt les érections de leurs garçons. On caresse les organes génitaux surtout pour apaiser l’enfant. Des ablutions à l’eau froide visent parfois à rendre le futur homme sexuellement plus puissant. Au Katanga, “les parents se soucient très tôt de la bonne formation des organes génitaux chez leurs enfants. Il suffit de féliciter une mère pour son dernier-né en disant qu’il est muzima (plein de vie) pour qu’elle fasse constater aussitôt le bon état de ses organes génitaux, surtout s’il s’agit d’un garçon” [Leblanc, 1960:p44]³⁶³.

³⁶⁰ Montjoie, E. et al. (1967) *Contribution à l’Étude des Rites de Passage et des Techniques des Bobo*. Tervuren, Belgium: Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Africa

³⁶¹ Hammond, P. B. (1966) *Yatenga*. New York: The Free Press

³⁶² Erny, P. (1988) *Les Premiers Pas dans la Vie de l’Enfant d’Afrique Noire*. Paris: L’Harmattan

³⁶³ Leblanc, M. (1960) *Personnalité de la Femme Katangaise*. Paris, Louvain, Publ. Universitaires

Ghana (Thsi-Speakers, Tallensi, Akan, / Ashanti, Fanti, Kokomba, (S)Isala, Ga, Ewe, Vagla, Krobo)

A most detailed poly-ethnography of childhood sexual socialisation is offered by Kaye (1960:p374-408; 1962:p116-29)³⁶⁴, who collected attitudes, behaviour and counterbehaviours on 21 sites in Ghana, and on different linguistic groups; numeric data were collected by means of questionnaires. Parents fondled infants' genitalia. Kaye (1960:p388-94; 1962:p125) found that children were punished harshly for masturbation (14 of 21 sites), notably with red pepper or ginger applied on several orifices (penis, vagina, anus, nostrils, eyes). Masturbation was nevertheless practised almost universally (1962:p124) in several Akan towns. Heterosexual games (1960:p94-7) where on the whole common, including prepubertal sexual intercourse³⁶⁵, but punished frequently. Attitudes toward children's nakedness vary considerably according to the degree of urbanisation.

Bleek (1976:p36-51)³⁶⁶ also gives a detailed account of Ghana childhood by interviewing adolescents in schools, did not find much punishment mentioned. "Children start experimenting with sex at an early age. One secondary school boy claims that he made his first attempt at the age of four, another boy when he was seven. From eight onwards it becomes more frequent". Coitarche occurred at age 12.1 (M) and 14.2 (F), but was as low as 11.7 for a Kwahu secondary school. Still later, "[s]ex games in which children play the role of mothers and fathers are commonly practiced in Ghana. The games are not forbidden, but sexual exploration in the form of mutual examination of genitals may not go unpunished. Until puberty, boys and girls play together freely, and in towns and villages, especially in moonlit nights, clandestine affairs are sometimes reported" (Ankomah, 1997)³⁶⁷.

"In practice few schools have a comprehensive program on family life education".

³⁶⁴ Kaye, B. (1960) *Child Training in Ghana*. [Child Development Monographs / Institute of Education, no. 1]; Kaye, B. (1962) *Bringing Up Children in Ghana*. London

³⁶⁵ "Pretended intercourse" (N=21): 2 all, 2 majority, 6 some, 5 few, 5 none, 1: ?; "real intercourse" of "older children": 4 majority; 5 some, 3 few, 7 none, 2: ?.

³⁶⁶ Bleek, W. (1976) *Sexual Relationships and Birth Control in Ghana*. Dissertation, University of Amsterdam

³⁶⁷ Ankomah, Au. (1997) Ghana, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 2. Quoted from the online edition. Specifically: "In Ghana, traditional norms involving attitudes to and acceptance of premarital sexual relationships differ from society to society. Among the Kwahu (a subgroup of the Akan), girls were not to engage in sex before they were married, and certainly not before their first menstruation. Rattray, who wrote in the 1920s, also stated that among the Ashanti, premarital coitus was forbidden. The official code on prepuberty sexuality was rather strict. In olden times among the Akan, a girl was killed, or both parties banished, when she engaged in sexual intercourse prior to her puberty and initiation. In most societies in southern Ghana, since girls were usually married shortly after their initiation, many entered the conjugal union as virgins.

Among the communities in northern Ghana, the situation was different. Prenuptial chastity was not particularly valued. It is reported that among the Kokomba, for example, many women were already pregnant before marriage. The Tallensi, also of northern Ghana, explain that copulation and marriage are not the same thing. It can be said that while premarital sexual relationships have been permitted in most societies in northern Ghana, it arrived in the south as an influence of modernization. Chastity can mean two things in Ghanaian sexual mores: chastity before puberty rites and chastity after initiation, but before marriage. In olden days, both were thought important among most ethnic groups of southern Ghana. The attitude towards postpubertal but premarital chastity, however, has undergone substantial changes in many parts of Ghana".

“Rapid urbanization, increased mobility, education, and other agents of change have together undermined the traditional channels of sex education. With very limited access to sex education both at home and in the schools, coupled with long periods of schooling in an unmarried state, the gap between sexual and social adulthood has widened, and the modern Ghanaian adolescent faces a sexual dilemma. When in 1991, students in two secondary schools in Accra were asked to state their sources of knowledge on reproduction, the most frequently mentioned source was teachers - apparently as part of biology lessons. On the broad issue of sexual knowledge, students most frequently get their first information on sex from friends, and further from their teachers and relatives. According to Bleek’s study in 1976 [368], girls more than boys tend to rely on relatives, especially their mothers, for their first knowledge on sex education. Boys generally receive this information from male friends. The role of teachers appears to be equal for both sexes. In the urban centers, students also report magazines and books as an important source of sex information”.

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)³⁶⁹. Anarfi and Awusabo-Asare (1993:p8³⁷⁰; cf. Arnafi, 1993:p9³⁷¹):

“There seem to be no traditions, customs or beliefs prohibiting premarital sex in the societies studied. Over half of the sample, of both sexes and in rural and urban areas, were unaware of any prohibition on premarital sex: what was consistently mentioned was prohibition of sex before a girl underwent puberty rites. For girls, reaching physical maturity, signalled by menarche, was marked with extensive rituals: it symbolized a woman’s ability to become a wife and mother. Sexual activity before puberty rites were performed was considered a criminal offence: punishments ranged from ritual cleansing to ostracism of the couple, particularly if the girl became pregnant before the ceremony was performed (Banuako, 1975)[372]”.

Age at first marriage among the sample population was very low, with some marrying as early as 14. Age at first sexual relations ranged between 13 and 26 years for males and 10 and 26 years for females in the rural areas, giving median ages of 19 and 18 years respectively. An ethnogeographic account of female circumcision was offered by Knudsen (1994)³⁷³. Today, with the ban on female circumcision, “parents and older people in the Kassena-Nankana District tend to trace changes in their children’s sexual behavior to invasive forces-money, media, “white men’s values”, and family planning” (Mensch et al., 1999)³⁷⁴. Field (1970)³⁷⁵ remarked: “Young girls are usually married and become pregnant within a month or two of their first menstruation [...]”. Recent studies³⁷⁶ have argued that “[...] the expansion of formal education for females, urbanization and migration, have changed the traditional system of social and sexual

³⁶⁸ Bleek, W. (1976) *Sexual Relationships and Birth Control in Ghana: A Case Study of a Rural Town*. Amsterdam: Centre for Social Anthropology, University of Amsterdam

³⁶⁹ Vervoorn, J. D. (1958) Obstetrics in Afaho, Ghana, *Trop & Geogr Med* 10:309-15

³⁷⁰ Anarfi, J. K. & Awusabo-Asare, K. (1993) Experimental research on sexual networking in some selected areas of Ghana, *Health Transition Rev* 3(Suppl.):1-15. Cf. Awusabo-Asare, K. & Anarfi, J. K. (1999) Rethinking the circumstances surrounding the first sexual experience in the era of AIDS in Ghana, in Caldwell, J. C., Orubuloye, I. O. & Ntozi, J. P. M. (Eds.) *The Continuing African HIV/AIDS Epidemic*. Canberra: Health Transition Centre, p9-18 [nceph.anu.edu.au/htc/pdfs/ContinuingHIV/Awusabo-Asare2.pdf]

³⁷¹ Anarfi, J. K. (1993) Sexuality, migration and AIDS in Ghana- A socio-behavioural study, *Health Transition Rev* 3(Suppl.):1-22

³⁷² *Op.cit.*

³⁷³ Knudsen, Ch. O. (1994) *The Falling Dawadawa Tree*. Højbjerg, Denmark: Intervention Press

³⁷⁴ 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

³⁷⁵ Field, M. J. (1970) *Search for Security: An Ethno-Psychiatric Study of Rural Ghana*. New York, N.Y.: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

maturity. Girls no longer marry at puberty, at least in urban areas, a situation that increases the gap between physical maturity and age at first marriage. This gap creates conditions for premarital sex". According to one study³⁷⁷, subjects became sexually experienced at a mean age of 15.5 years for males and 16.2 years for females. Among street children the mean age of sexarche is 14.5 for both sexes³⁷⁸; between 4 and 5 per cent of the children had experienced sexual intercourse for the first time below age ten and another 39 per cent by age 14.

Anti³⁷⁹:

"In Ghana, the most well-preserved female puberty rites are the Dipo of the Krobo, and the Bragoro of the Asante. So important were the ideals of these rites that its violation in former times constituted a crime. A girl who became pregnant before the performance of the puberty rites was banished together with the man who was responsible for it. Purification rites were performed to rid the society of its evil consequences. It must be noted that not only did the puberty rites prepare the young for marriage, it also prepared them for procreation without which marriage was incomplete. The ceremonies therefore, marked the entry of young girls into adulthood. During the period of their ritual seclusion the young girls are taught the secrets of the society and also brought closely to the supernatural forces which are supposed to ensure their protection, blessing and fertility during their period of motherhood. Mothers of such concerned girls usually pray that their daughters grow to full maturity and bear children".

[Additional refs: CRLP (2001) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives*: Anglophone Africa. Progress Report, p30-52]

Tshi-Speaking People (Gold Coast; Ghana)

Among the Tshi-speaking people, a girl was publicly advertised for marriage at puberty (age 11-12) by being paraded through the streets decked out in ornaments. Lateral betrothals frequently take place before puberty and sometimes before birth³⁸⁰.

According to Ellis (1887:p128)³⁸¹, the violation of children by men is only too common on the Gold Coast. 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.*).

Tallensi (2,2,2+,2+,2,3-;8,8) (Northern Ghana)

³⁷⁶ Awusabo-Asarea, K. & Anarfib, J. K. (1999) Rethinking the circumstances surrounding the first sexual experience in the era of AIDS in Ghana, *The Continuing African HIV/AIDS Epidemic*, 9-18

³⁷⁷ Agyei, W., Biritwum, R. et al. (2000) Sexual behaviour and contraception among unmarried adolescents and young adults in greater Accra and Eastern regions of Ghana, *J Biosoc Sci* 32,4:495-512

³⁷⁸ Anarfi, J. K. (1997) Vulnerability to sexually transmitted disease: street children in Accra, *Health Transition Rev*, Suppl. to 7:281-306, at p297

³⁷⁹ Anti, K. K. (nd) *Women in African Traditional Religions*. Presentation prepared for the Women's Center Eastern Washington University

³⁸⁰ Ellis, A. B. (1887) *The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*. London: International African Institute, p235-7, 282. Cited by Parsons (1906:p72), *op.cit.*

³⁸¹ *Op.cit.* Cited by Parsons (1906:p128), *op.cit.*

Fortes (1938:p36, 56; 1970:p251)³⁸²:

“Children of opposite sexes play at husband and wife and sleep together on the same mat. When children are caught at such practices, the male child is given a good beating and never allowed to remain with the females alone anywhere in the compound. The female child is rather treated cruelly by the mother. She grinds pepper and applies it to the child’s vagina. The other children in the family ridicule the unfortunate pair and the treatment becomes a warning to the other boys and girls against similar practices. [...] It is said [...] that housekeeping play sometimes branches into sexual play, little boys pretending to be husband and wife and trying to copulate. Detailed inquiry shows that this is not uncommon. The usual method of sexual experimentation at this stage of development follows the pattern of adolescence. Small boys “woo sweet-hearts” with little gifts, and sexual experiments occur in connexion with dancing or by chance opportunities”³⁸³.

Masturbation is “overt until puberty in boys”. Parents take it for granted that children will indulge in sexual play (Fortes, 1949:p100)³⁸⁴. Fortes added that the 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” ([1970:p223, 239-40]).

Fanti, Fante (Ghana)

According to Fanti customs, “[s]ometimes it happened, for personal reasons, that children were betrothed before they were mature; in such cases the boy’s parent maintained the girl in her father’s house and watched her, and was entitled to satisfaction if she were tampered with. When both had reached puberty the marriage was completed by cohabitation”(Ffoulkes, 1909)³⁸⁵. Christensen (1954:p99)³⁸⁶ says that among the Fanti, the boy is censured for masturbation. Possibly as a result, in Apam, “masturbation among children is thought to be very rare, and believed to have no effect”. Girls are initiated at menarche³⁸⁷, afterwards, the girl is “sold” into marriage, with no love involved.

Ewe (Ghana)

³⁸² Fortes, M. (1939) *Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Fortes, M. (1970) Social and psychological aspects of education in Taleland, in *Time and Social Structure and Other Essays*. London: Athlone, p201-59; Fortes, M. (1938) Social and psychological aspects of education in Taleland, *Africa*, Suppl., 11,4:1-64. Reprinted in Middleton, J. (Ed., 1970) *From Child to Adult*. New York: Natural History Press, p14-74, Bruner, J. S., Jolly, A. & Sylva, K. (Eds.) *Play: Its Role in Development and Evolution*. Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin, p474-83

³⁸³ See also Fortes, M. (1936) Kinship, incest and exogamy in the Northern territories of the Gold Coast, in Buxton, L. H. (Ed.) *Custom Is King*. London: Hutchinson’s Scientific & Technical Publications
³⁸⁴ Fortes, M. (1949) *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*. London: Oxford University Press. See also Fox, J. R. (1962) Sibling incest, *J Sociol* 13:128-50, p139-40

³⁸⁵ Ffoulkes, A. (1909) *Fanti Marriage Customs*. London: New York: MacMillan & Co., Ltd

³⁸⁶ Christensen, J. B. (1954) *Double Descent among the Fanti*. New Haven: HRAF

³⁸⁷ Connolly, R. M. (1897) Social Life in Fanti-Land, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 26:128-53, at p143

Among the Ewe-speaking peoples, children may be betrothed in childhood or before birth³⁸⁸. In Dahomi, girls aged ten to twelve, in every town, are married to Gods. They remain three years in religion institutions prostituting themselves to priests and inmates of male seminaries, at the end becoming “secular” prostitutes³⁸⁹. 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 (Dovlo, 1995)³⁹⁰. “These prohibitions were traditionally taught from childhood on, though not always in a formal manner”. “Children were severely punished for such acts as masturbation and sodomy and childhood play activities that [may] lead to sexual contact”. Sexual instruction was carried out by the same-sex parent, for girls formalised in the premarital seclusion (p32). In a more recent study³⁹¹ (data gathered 1971-3), first sexual experiences were found to occur at age 18-19 (boys) and 17-18 (girls). Though a changing pattern, girls could be betrothed before puberty, and are paraded around the village to announce their nuptial status at pubescence (Nukunya, 1969:p77-9)³⁹².

In Goviefe, “masturbation in children is recognized as being common. Masturbation will make the child grow into a highly-sexed personality and it will lead to the development of premature, or precocious, sex appetites and, therefore, immorality” (Kaye). In Vakpo, “it is thought that no children masturbate over the age of three”. In Gblede, “mother-and-father make-believe games are not encouraged but are viewed with suspicion by parents who think that they might lead to sexual play”.

Akan (Ashanti, Shanti, Asante; Twi; Ghana) (2,2+,3,3+,3+,4-;2,2;G3;AB) (eHRAF)

The practice of early betrothal has been mentioned. 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, 1997). These nubility rites “are considered as preliminary to marriage; indeed many Ashanti girls are betrothed before they enter them” (Sarpong, 1977)³⁹³. Nubility chants “make blunt, almost obscene, allusions to sex and love”. To assess a nubile 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 (p30-1). After the rites, a girl “has now access to the sexual life which previously was absolutely forbidden her”³⁹⁴. Sexual intercourse under the age of puberty “[...] is an abominable crime. Girls must refrain from it at all costs” (p82).

³⁸⁸ Ellis, A. B. (1890) *The Ewe-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*. London: International African Institute, p199; Parsons (1906:p71), *op.cit.*

³⁸⁹ Ellis (1890:p139-41), *op.cit.*; Parsons (1906:p127-8), *op.cit.*

³⁹⁰ Dovlo, E. (1995) Traditional sexual norms of the Anlo Ewe, *Africana Marburgensia* 28,1/2:32-45

³⁹¹ Verdon, M. (1982) Divorce in Abutia, *Africa* 52,4:48-65

³⁹² Nukunya, G. K. (1969) *Kinship and Marriage among the Anlo Ewe*. [University of] London: The Athlone Press

³⁹³ Sarpong, P. (1977) *Girl’s Nubility Rites on Ashanti*. Tema, Ghana: Ghana Publ. Co.

³⁹⁴ “In times not so very remote, any moral laxity prior to a girl’s attainment of puberty was punished by death or expulsion of the two guilty parties from their matrilineages. Sexual intercourse by a girl before the inception of her first period was considered to be “blood-shedding” and therefore as an offence affecting the community³⁹⁴”. “[...] sexual intercourse by a girl under the age of puberty is an

Boys are refrained from masturbation and sex play by paternal prohibition (Rattray, 1927:p69³⁹⁵; Rattray, 1929:p13³⁹⁶; Ford and Beach, 1951:p180³⁹⁷). However, infant's buttocks and penises are tickled (Kaye). Rattray (1932:p137)³⁹⁸ quoted a Gurensi informant as saying that, formerly, there was much rivalry between lads who acted as cattle herds, who competed in wrestling and archery, and "youths who attempted early sexual intercourse or masturbation, lost their prowess and skill, and were derided". Lystad (1958:p57)³⁹⁹ states that girls and boys approaching their teens "are kept pretty well separated in their play, so as to avoid both the temptation and the appearance of wrong [...]" (see also Fortes, 1949:p251). Akan boys would think that salt, milk, coffee and spirits increased penile size (Bleek, 1976)⁴⁰⁰. Children use everyday terms for genitalia (Kaye). In Benim, "small boys who hold or play with their genitals are often threatened with castration". In Bompata, "only a few parents were aware that their children masturbate. [...] Parents believe that masturbation in children leads to a bad life, and boys are punished by being beaten, girls by having pepper rubbed in their genitals and sometimes in their eyes". In Jakabo, "masturbation, by boys and girls, is said to be common". In Bosofo, "children often play such games [fathers and mothers] when they are left alone, involving mutual masturbation and actual sexual intercourse. The investigator cites a case of a girl of seven who had sexual intercourse with a boy of two and a half years of age by directing his actions". In Jaisi, "sex games are common and frequent among children", involving mutual examination of genitals". The Shanti practised prenatal/ infant betrothal (McCaskie, 1981:p491-2)⁴⁰¹. The betrothal was normally solemnised following the nubility rites that marked the girl's passage through menarche. Puberty was awaited for the consummation of a betrothal.

"The actual ceremonies on the day prior to the consummation of marriage seem few, simple, and unostentatious. The following is an account of a wedding of a girl to a man to whom she had been betrothed since infancy. On the sixth day after she has menstruated for the second time, the bride, dressed in her best clothes and gold ornaments, is led by her mother to the bridegroom's hut, where he is sitting ready to receive them. The bride and her mother thank him for all his gifts; after which she and her mother again return home. After dark the bride is again escorted by her mother to the man's house. They all sit on a mat and converse, and the man gives his mother-in-law some tobacco. Then the mother-in-law departs, leaving the young couple alone together" (Rattray).

abominable crime. Girls must refrain from it at all costs". "With adulthood comes access to sexuality, and this is brought home forcefully, especially during the women's dances. The orgiastic movements of their bodies sometimes reach a point quite out of keeping with the normal Ashanti standards of propriety. Many of the songs, Ashanti would agree, would, in the normal circumstances, be intolerable on account of their blunt reference to matters intimately concerned with sex [...] Children who make a habit of mentioning the reproductive organs by name are punished. During the nubility rites, however, both young and old mention sexual intercourse and the sex organs without the slightest qualms of conscience or shame".

³⁹⁵ Rattray, R. S. (1927) *Religion and Art in Ashanti*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. "I have never been able to discover any analogous rites for boys who have reached adolescence. A father will, however, instruct his son in sex matters and warn him not to masturbate".

³⁹⁶ Rattray, R. S. (1929) *Ashanti Law and Constitution*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. "A son is warned by his father against the evils of masturbation, *owo ne kote afeko* (making a pestle of his penis) [...]".

³⁹⁷ *Op.cit.*

³⁹⁸ Rattray, R. S. (1932) *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press

³⁹⁹ Lystad, R. A. (1958) *The Ashanti*. New York: Rutgers University Press

⁴⁰⁰ Bleek, W. (1976) *Birth Control and Sexual Relationships in Ghana*. Amsterdam: Antropologisch-Sociologisch Centrum

⁴⁰¹ Bowdich, T. E. (1819) *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Shantee*. London, p302, 383. Quoted by McCaskie, T. C. (1981) State and Society, Marriage and Adultery: Some Considerations Towards a Social History of Pre-Colonial Asante, *J African Hist* 22,4:477-94

"The Asante believe that by the time of puberty men and women, but especially the latter, should ideally develop a neck with a series of rings or folds running around it. These are a mark of beauty and sexually exciting" (McLeod, 1981:p173)⁴⁰².

"If a girl is not already betrothed she is expected to become so after this ceremony. If she has been "married", i.e. is a "child wife", the husband is immediately informed. 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).

"Quite little girls are married and go to live with their husbands, cooking and engaging in the household work, though the man does not usually have sexual intercourse till she "grows up" (Rattray, 1916)⁴⁰³. Sexual connection with a girl before she had reached puberty would fall under the category of "murder"⁴⁰⁴.

Debrunner (1961)⁴⁰⁵ speaks of "[...] the fact that the impact of Western culture, far from imposing asceticism, has gone a good way towards breaking down the still existing rules of partial sex-restraint and control through tribal religion, e.g. the customs of puberty rites, before which a girl had to be chaste, are no longer considered of such importance".

Kokomba (Northern Ghana)

According to Tait (1961)⁴⁰⁶, a girl is betrothed to a man of more than twenty years of age (p108), sometimes to an elder who may give her away for marriage (p84). Boys carry on love affairs from adolescence onward, girls have full sexual freedom until marriage (p96).

Sisala, Isala (Northern Ghana)

Children play husband and wife but when six to ten years old, "if this activity leads to sex play, corporal punishment is severe since any kind of sexual expression among "siblings" of the minor lineage is regarded as incestuous", and only the "purely economic aspects of these roles" as rehearsed (Grindal, 1972:p25)⁴⁰⁷. Among the Isalas, "masturbation in children is recognized as exceptional. Parents are of the opinion that their children do not practice it" (Kaye).

Ga (Ghana)

⁴⁰² McLeod, M. D. (1981) *The Asante*. London: British Museum Publications

⁴⁰³ Rattray, R. S. (1916) *Ashanti Proverbs*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press

⁴⁰⁴ Busia, K. A. (1951) *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of the Ashanti*. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute

⁴⁰⁵ Debrunner, H. W. (1961) *Witchcraft in Ghana: A Study on the Belief in Destructive Witches and its Effect on the Akan Tribes*. Accra: Presbyterian Book Depot Ltd.

⁴⁰⁶ Tait, D. (1961) *The Konkomba of Northern Ghana*. London [etc.]: Oxford University Press

⁴⁰⁷ Grindal, B. T. (1972) *Growing up in Two Worlds*. New York [etc.]: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Among the Ga in Accra, Jahoda (1956:p126)⁴⁰⁸ “occasionally observed sex-play among small children; adults who discover it happening will discourage this, not without any obvious signs of disgust and moral indignation”. During the seclusion associated with female puberty rite, “some” families would take the opportunity to provide sex education (Otoo, 1973)⁴⁰⁹. In Tema, boy infant’s penises are fondled, allegedly to produce a smile (Kaye). In Teshie, “the attitude of parents towards young children who masturbate is one of indifference, though if the child is a boy he may be told that his penis will be cut off if he holds it again. Some parents may scold or slap their children for masturbating”. Also, “make-believe games of husband and wife often lead to attempts at sexual intercourse. “More often than not, parents take a serious view of such actions”. They are punished in many cases with red pepper on the genitals. While such organised games are not common, boys of eight, nine and above sometimes have sexual intercourse with the girls in the room during the night. When children sleep in the same room, boys on one side, girls on the other, “this usually leads to sexual activities during the night”. In Christiansborg, “children play sex games which are severely disapproved of by their parents. If they are caught doing so, red pepper is put in their genitals. “It usually happens that there is always a very old woman in every house whose official duty is to deal with such cases”.

Krobo (Ghana)

In Agomanya, it is said of masturbation that “the freedom enjoyed in the love life of the young makes the practice of it unnecessary” (Kaye). Steegstra (1996, 2002)⁴¹⁰ studied the interplay of Christian values and Krobo female initiations called *dipo*. “In female initiation ceremonies the sexual attractiveness and health of initiates are key themes (e.g. Lutkehaus 1995: 20), and *dipo* is no exception. That after *dipo* a girl is allowed to enter into sexual relationships goes against Christian morality, which situates such relationships within marriage. Therefore, many Christian Krobo see the rites as the catalyst of teenage pregnancies, prostitution, and further ‘immoral behaviour’ (2002:p201). In 1873, Schönfeld marks:

“The five-year-old girl is aware of all the mess of the sins and shame of the mother. Living in the same rooms of immorality with the adults, she hears everything, imitates the mother. My report would become filthy in its expressions if I were to go into details. When the child with an already spoilt mind, and most of the time an already defiled body, enters the twelfth year, then it is taken to the Mountain. There it is carefully instructed into all the filthy sexual secrets (as we would say in Europe; here people don’t know secrets in this respect), initiated, seduced, shown how to disturb the fruit of the sin, and above all the Krobo woman there becomes the bearer of the fetish veneration and corrupt customs. When the girl, who has grown up in the meantime, comes from the Mountain, she is fully uncommitted in all her movements” (translated by Steegstra, 2002:p212)

⁴⁰⁸ Jahoda, G. (1956) Sex differences in preferences for shapes: a cross-cultural replication, *Br J Psychol* 47:126-32

⁴⁰⁹ Otoo, S. N. (1973) The traditional management of puberty and childbirth among the Ga people, Ghana, *Trop & Geogr Med* 25:88-94

⁴¹⁰ Steegstra, M. (1996) *Dipo in Discussie. Christelijke Visies op Initiatieriten voor Krobo Meisjes (Zuid-Ghana)*. Unpublished MA, University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands; Steegstra, M. (2002) ‘A Mighty Obstacle to the Gospel’: Basel Missionaries, Krobo Women, and Conflicting Ideas of Gender and Sexuality, *J Religion in Africa* 32,2:200-30

“A fiancé was allowed to visit his future wife from time to time when she was still ‘under custom’. Sexual play between them was condoned, but full intercourse was strictly forbidden” (Huber 1993 [1963]:98-100, as cited by Steegstra, 2002:p212).

Cheperon (Ghana)

In Apirede, “it is though that a child who masturbates will be spoiled, and it is beaten and red pepper is applied to its genitals and anus and sometimes rubbed on its face” (Kaye).

Guang (Ghana)

In Larteh Kubeasi, “masturbation is said to be rare among girls. Boys 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?” (Kaye).

Akwapim (Ghana)

A child is warned and, if ineffective, beaten if it mentions genital terminology (Kaye). In Tutu,

“[...] masturbation “is very common among infants and toddlers, and more among children between the ages of two and six years. Children beyond six years of age and under sixteen do secretly practice masturbation in pairs, usually at night, when two friends of the same sex sleep together; it is practised more often by girls than boys. It is believed that if masturbation is practised in excess the inevitable result is sterility and madness”. Young children who masturbate are scolded or slapped; older children are beaten, or have red pepper smeared on their genitals”.

Further, “make-believe games are approved by parents, but sexual activities are forbidden”.

Vagla (Ghana)

“Betrothal to a big man (naboma) or a great hunter can involve baby girls as young as three or four. The naboma thus becomes the sponsor of the girl’s growth”. The girl is “declared ready” after the (quite late) first menstruations; then she is “claimed as a wife” or “given” away (Poppi, 1986:p40)⁴¹¹.

⁴¹¹ Poppi, C. (1986) The Vagla of Northern Ghana: notes towards an ethnography, *Cambridge Anthropol* 11,2:40-69

Togo

[Additional refs.: Froelich, J. C. (1949) Les Sociétés d'Initiation Chez les Moba et les Gourma du Nord-Togo, *J Soc Africanistes* 19,2:99-141; Akoto E. M., Tambashe B. O., Amouzou J. A. & Ntsame O. N. (Sept., 2000) *Sexualité, Contraception et Fécondité des Adolescents au Togo*. Projet Régional Santé Familiale et Prévention du Sida (SFPS), p4-7]

Benin (formerly Dahomey) (Dahomey /Fon; → Urhobo and Isoko)

[Additional refs: CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives*: Francophone Africa. Progress Report, p24-43]

Fon, Dahomey (2,2,3-,3,4,4;5,5) (Benin)

“Formal sex instruction” may precede puberty initiation (Stephens, 1971:p407)⁴¹². Herskovitz (1938)⁴¹³ describes genital doctoring. Homosexuality is seen as an adolescent phase (*ibid.*, p289)⁴¹⁴. Dahomey adolescents enlarge their labia pudenda and occasional mutual masturbation would occur (Carrier, 1980)⁴¹⁵. In Dahomey (Kossodo, 1978:p113)⁴¹⁶, Fan mothers practice clitoral masturbation, pull labia, stroke the anus and use water beams for then minutes on the vulva. This continues until age four. The practice is said to induce frigidity and cause childlessness⁴¹⁷. Sexual education is given to the girls in their period of seclusion, who later pass on their knowledge to the boys (Herskovits, 1932)⁴¹⁸. Coitus is not supposed to start until the passage of 48 menstrual cycles. Boys have homosexual liaisons in early adolescence when girls are unavailable. In Dahomey, “[...] the fact that in early puberty groups of boys build and live in houses of their own, electing their own leaders and carrying on much in the fashion of adults, is [...] regarded by Dahomeans as educational. Especially important are the recognized mechanism of sexual experimentation, while perhaps not less significant is the withdrawal of nubile girls from contact with boys who might cause them to become pregnant. This creates a situation which leads either to further training of young men in sex through illicit relations with older women, or to indulgence in homosexual experience, which is sanctioned for this period” (Herskovits, 1943:p743-4)⁴¹⁹.

⁴¹² *Op.cit.*

⁴¹³ Herskovits (1938), *op.cit.*

⁴¹⁴ See also Murray and Roscoe (1998:p104-5), *op.cit.*

⁴¹⁵ Carrier, J. (1980) Some comments on marriage in Africa, *ARGOH Newsl* 2,3:2-4

⁴¹⁶ Kossodo, B. L. (1978) *Die Frau in Afrika*. München: List. Translated from the English

⁴¹⁷ Cf. Duerr (1988, I:p202), *op.cit.*

⁴¹⁸ Herskovits, M. J. (1932) Some aspects of Dahomean ethnology, *Africa* 5,3:266-96

⁴¹⁹ Herskovits, M. J. (1943) Education and Cultural Dynamics, *Am J Sociol* 48, 6:737-49

Nigeria (Badjju, Nupe, Hausa, Kadara, Karogo, Efik, Tiv, Kanuri, Ijaw/ Ijo, Bini, Marghi, Jekri, Lala, Kofjar, Ibibio, Woodabe Fulani, Borroro Fulani, Ibo [Afikpo Igbo, Asaba Ibo], Rukuba, Irigwe, Yakoe, Igbara, Igala, Orri, Dakarkaki)

“The average age at first marriage in Nigeria is 16⁴²⁰ Child marriage is particularly common in the north, where the majority of girls are married between the ages of 12 and 15⁴²¹. The National Policy on Population discourages early marriage and states that parents should not arrange marriages for girls below the age of 18⁴²²”⁴²³. “Child marriage is practiced with the belief that it reduces promiscuity among young girls and because of the importance attached to virginity”⁴²⁴. Traditional requirements for premarital virginity vary across tribal communities (Feyisetan and Pebley, 1989)⁴²⁵. The demise of arranged marriage is evidenced by the present-day disregard for premarital virginity (Renne 1993, 1996a, 1996b:p178-81)⁴²⁶. This change is related to beliefs about the relationship between virginity and fertility, which in turn reflect ideas about paternal control of women’s bodies and marriage. In traditional Southern Nigeria, “[b]etrothal takes place at all ages, even from before conception in the womb-on the chance of the infant being a female- until the girl has reached marriageable age; it usually, however, occurs when the child is a few years old (Talbot, 1969 [III]:p425)⁴²⁷. This is noted for the Edo, Sobo (p437), Ijaw (p438), eastern Ika (p442), at Awka (p445), Degama Division (*ibid.*), Owerri Division (p447), and further at least among the Abadja, Amarisi, Iji, Ezza, Aro, Ihe, Ututu, semi-Bantu, Ibibio, Orri, Yachi, Ukelle, Ekuri Akunakuna, Mbembe, Ekoi, Etung, Olulumaw, Nde, Afitopp, and northern Nkumm. Later (childhood, pubescence) betrothals are noted for the Iyala, Atamm, and southern Nkumm. Age stratified betrothals of at least a generation are the rule. See further Olatubosun (2001)⁴²⁸.

⁴²⁰ Akumadu, Th. (nd) Data on the Nigerian Chapter of the Anglophone Africa Report 1 (unpublished paper, on file with The Center for Reproductive Law and Policy), p13

⁴²¹ International Reproductive Rights Research Action Group-Nigeria (Irrrag) (1995) *Voices: Findings of a Research into Reproductive Rights of Women in Nigeria*, p118

⁴²² Federal Republic of Nigeria (1988) *National Policy on Population for Development, Unity, Progress and Self-Reliance*, p14

⁴²³ CRLP (2001) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Anglophone Africa*. Progress Report, p75-89, at p85

⁴²⁴ Nigeria: Harmful traditional practices among adolescents, *Women's Int Network News*, Summer 1998; 24,3:28 et seq.

⁴²⁵ Feyisetan, B. & Pebley, A. R. (1989) Premarital Sexuality in Urban Nigeria, *Studies in Fam Plann* 20,6:343-54

⁴²⁶ Renne, E. P. (1993) Changes in adolescent sexuality and the perception of virginity in a southwestern Nigerian village, *Health Transition Series* 3, suppl.:121-33; Renne, E. P. (1996a) Virginity cloths and vaginal coverings in Ekiti, in Hendrickson, H. (Ed.) *Cloth and Difference: Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*. Durham NC: Duke University Press; Renne, E. P. (1996b) Shifting Boundaries of Fertility Change in Southwest Nigeria. The Shaping of Fertility and Mortality Declines, *Health Transition Rev* 6(suppl):169-90

⁴²⁷ Talbot, P. A. (1969) *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*. Vol. 3. London: Frank Cass & Co.

⁴²⁸ Olatubosun, A. (2001) Addressing the phenomenon of child marriage in Nigeria, *IFE-Psychologia* 9,2:159-69. Argues that “that child marriage is a class phenomenon which is rooted in culture and religion. It is often based on the belief that virginity can only be guaranteed between the ages of 8-10 yrs. The author contends that it also serves as a means of forestalling promiscuity in young girls, prevent any mischief and to protect family honor by preventing prostitution”.

In 1950, the legalised age of marriage was 13, while menarche occurred past age 14 (Ellis, 1950)⁴²⁹. In Ibadan, Nigeria, a local myth would state that STDs are cured by intercourse with young virgins (Sogbetun et al., 1977)⁴³⁰. Adegoke (1993)⁴³¹ revealed that the Nigerian experience of spermarche was not particularly negative, and that the level of anticipation was not associated with attitudinal negativism.

Children would not be allowed to mention the names of sex organs (Uka, 1966:p79)⁴³². Only 7.6%, more among urban, schoolgirls were told about menarche and pre-marital pregnancy (Osujih, 1986)⁴³³, and parents were not involved with issues of sexuality in cases of adolescent pregnancy, unlike friends (Oronsaye et al., 1982)⁴³⁴. According to a 1990 survey (Turner, 1992)⁴³⁵, median age of first sexual intercourse was just above 16 years for females, three-quarters of a year earlier than the median age at first marriage. Among senior secondary school girls from Port Harcourt (mean age 16.32 years), the mean, modal and youngest ages of initiation into sexual activity were 15.04, 15 and 12 years respectively (Okpani and Okpani, 2000)⁴³⁶.

Demehin (1983)⁴³⁷ observed that colonisation has removed the traditional forms of sex education through initiation rites and pre-marital counselling by the elders so that young people nowadays rely mostly on peer information or erotic movies and publications. It seems to the author that the only avenue left open is to teach sex education through the school systems. A systematic review of the provisions for sex education in primary and secondary schools as well as teacher's training colleges bring the author to the conclusion that although the sex education curriculum seems comprehensive on paper, they are mere copies of similar American or Canadian programmes with very little attempt at indigenising them.

Hake (1972:p53-8)⁴³⁸ stated that it was rare to find villages where puberty rites were still celebrated. This may have caused the following situation:

"Sex training is almost non-existent in many Northern Nigerian families. It is considered to be sinful or "corrupting" to speak about such matters candidly between parents and children. Adolescent boys especially are given little or no information about the sexual changes taking place in their bodies. Nearly 80 per cent of the male respondents stated that no one in their family told them about sex and its proper use in their lives. However, only about 50 per cent of the female subjects said they were not given proper sex information. Those male subjects who were told about sexual matters, were given this informat[io]n primarily by older brothers, rather than by their mothers or fathers. In these case of the females, their mothers were listed as the main informants in sexual matters. Older sister, aunts, house-mothers in boarding schools, female principals and grandmothers also helped some of the female subjects in this matter".

⁴²⁹ Ellis, R. W. B. (1950) Age of puberty in the tropics, *Br Med J*, Jan.14:85-9

⁴³⁰ Sogbetun, A. O. et al. (1977) Sexually transmitted diseases in Ibadan, Nigeria, *Br J Ven Dis* 53:155-60

⁴³¹ 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

⁴³² Uka, N. (1966) *Growing Up in Nigerian Culture*. University of Ibadan, Institute of Education

⁴³³ Osujih, M. (1986) Menstruation problems in Nigerian students and sex education, *J Royal Soc Health* 106,6:219-21

⁴³⁴ Oronsaye, A. U. et al. (1982) Pregnancy among schoolgirls in Nigeria, *Int J Gynaecol & Obstet* 20:409-12

⁴³⁵ Turner, R. (1992) Marriages, First Births Occur Early in Nigeria; High TFR Appears Firm, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 18,4:154-6

⁴³⁶ Okpani, A. O. & Okpani, J. U. (2000) Sexual activity and contraceptive use among female adolescents--a report from Port Harcourt, Nigeria, *Afr J Reprod Health* 4,1:40-7

⁴³⁷ Demehin, A. O. (1983) Au Nigéria: laxisme et education sexuelle, *Hygie* 2,2:39-45

⁴³⁸ Hake, J. M. (1972) *Child-Rearing Practices in Northern Nigeria*. Ibadan University Press

In a large scale study between 1993 and 1995, Obisesan and Adeymo (1999)⁴³⁹ found that 5% of respondents admitted sexual intercourse between ages 6 and 10. The finding was not associated with gender or tribe (5.4% Yorubas, 4.9% Hausa, 3.7% Igbos, 3.3% other tribes). This compares well to findings by Oloko and Omoboye (1993)⁴⁴⁰ that 3.6% of Yoruba adolescent school students had their first sexual intercourse around age 10.

[Additional refs:]

-- Akinboye (1984)⁴⁴¹

-- Araoye and Adegoke (1996)⁴⁴²

-- Esiet, U. E. et al. (2001) Nigeria, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.in chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. IV. New York: Continuum. Online ed.

Badju (southern Zaria, Nigeria)

McKinney (1987; 1992)⁴⁴³ details the following three of five marriage arrangement patterns:

"a. Infant betrothal. If a man happened to visit a compound when a daughter was born or where the mother was expectant, he could give the infant's parents a ring, string of beads, or other token gift as a sign of the betrothal of the baby girl to his son. He could also place a penny in the hand of the infant, and state, "You are my daughter-in-law" (Asake 1991:14)[⁴⁴⁴]. Alternatively, if the father of a boy heard of the birth of a baby girl, he could send a token gift, such as two hens and a cock, through an intermediary to the father of the infant in order to betroth her to his son. This was termed "setting the girl apart" (hwun kaneyang)[note: a represents a achwa in Jju] and this commitment was never broken by either the parents or the individuals promised in marriage.

b. Child betrothal. This arrangement between the respective families could occur anytime during a girl's childhood. A token gift such as three chickens given to the girl's parents served to seal the agreement (Kunhiyop 1984:34-35)[⁴⁴⁵]. As the children matured, their parents informed them of the betrothal and encouraged visitation. The future son-in-law might also help his prospective in-laws in farming.

c. Betrothal of youths before or soon after puberty. This occurred when the young people themselves made their choice and informed their parents, who then completed the necessary marital negotiations. The young man would visit the girl together with a friend, and the friend did all of the talking. Continued visits could follow, though the couple was not allowed to be alone together as premarital sex was forbidden. The brideprice consisted of money, a hoe, and some chickens or a goat (Asake 1991:15)[op.cit.]. The gifts and especially the hoe, a valuable item in farming, as part of the brideprice helped give stability to the marriage" (McK., 1992).

⁴³⁹ Obisesan, K. A. & Adeymo, A. A. (1999) Childhood sexuality and child sexual abuse in southwest Nigeria, *J Obstet & Gynaecol* 19,6:624-6

⁴⁴⁰ Oloko, B. A. & Omboye, A. O. (1993) Sexual Networking among some Lagos State adolescent Yoruba students, *Health Transition Rev* 3, Suppl.:151-7

⁴⁴¹ Akinboye, J. O. (1984) Secondary sexual characteristics and normal puberty in Nigerian and Zimbabwean adolescents, *Adolesc* 19, 74:483-92

⁴⁴² Araoye, M. & Adegoke, A. (1996) AIDS-related knowledge, attitude and behaviour among selected adolescents in Nigeria, *J Adolesc* 19,2:179-81

⁴⁴³ McKinney, C. (Nov., 1987) Wives and Sisters, Bajju Marital Patterns. Paper presented at the meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, IL; McKinney, C. (1992) Wives and Sisters, Bajju Marital Patterns, *Ethnology* 31,1:75-87

⁴⁴⁴ Asake, M. N. (1991) *An Evaluation of the Historical Development of Christianity Among the Bajju of Northern Nigeria with Special Emphasis on Selected Ethical-Doctrinal Tensions*. MA. thesis Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas

⁴⁴⁵ Kunhiyop, S. W. (1984) *An Analysis of the Continuity of Traditional Values in Christian Life and Practice Among Kaje (Bajju) Christians*. BA thesis, Evangelical Churches of West Africa Theological Seminary, Jos

Nupe (West-Central Nigeria)

Among the Nupe, betrothal may have been “as early as five to seven years for girls, and ten to twelve for a boy, but this is not usual”, the usual age for girls being fifteen to seventeen (Temple and Temple, 1919:p322)⁴⁴⁶.

Nadel’s (1954:p57)⁴⁴⁷ informants denied boyhood masturbation; however, “[...] when confronted with incontrovertible evidence they admitted that parents did sometimes observe this kind of “play” and would warn their boys that it was a “bad thing” “. At the initiation festival adolescents have ritualised sexual licence, and children are allowed to sing obscene songs, and discuss ribald matters (Nadel, 1949)⁴⁴⁸. Nadel (1952)⁴⁴⁹ noted that Gwari (Nupe) children are familiar with cohabitation from earliest age, taking place in the wife’s hut. This contrasts with the attitude of the Nupe wife leaving her children behind when going to the men’s hut. The first sexual experiences occurred at ages thirteen to sixteen; later men claim that sexual activities are weakening and should be more restrained.

Hausa (2,2,2+,3-,4+,4+,4,4) (eHRAF) (Northern Nigeria, northwestern Niger)

Dry (1956)⁴⁵⁰ only refers to modesty codes. Faulkingham ([1972:p163])⁴⁵¹: “Boys and girls freely play with one another; sexual experimentation is condoned”.

⁴⁴⁶ Temple, O. & Temple, C. L. (1919) *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*. Cape Town: The Argus Printing & Publishing Co.

⁴⁴⁷ Nadel, S. F. (1954) Morality and Language Among the Nupe, *Man* 54:55-7

⁴⁴⁸ Nadel, S. F. (1949) The Gani ritual of Nupe: a study oin social symbiosis, *Africa* 19,3:177-86

⁴⁴⁹ Nadel, S. F. (1952) Witchcraft in four African societies: an essay in comparison, *Am Anthropol* 54,1:18-29

⁴⁵⁰ Dry, E. A. (1949) The social development of the Hausa child, *Int West Afr Conf, Proc* 3:164-70, see p167, 169. “The beginning of this period is marked for the girl by the introduction of the idea of modesty. She is a girl and therefore her genitals must not be seen. She will be given a short overlapping underskirt, which is kept in place by two long ends like apron-strings which wind round twice and then tie. This underskirt is worn by all Hausa women in this area, and the small girl is immensely proud of it. Unfortunately she is usually so potbellied that twenty minutes is about the maximum time that it will stay in place, and most small girls therefore have a short frock which they wear normally, adding the underskirt on special occasions. Even more important than the skirt, however, is the art of disposing the legs so that the genitals remain hidden. Whenever the child sits down someone will notice her and a female, even another child, will come and arrange her legs for her. Occasionally someone who is too busy to come will call out and remind her, but broadly speaking the method of instruction is always the concrete one of putting her in the proper position and adding verbally the positive injunction to keep herself covered [...].The boy, [...] ceased at circumcision to be a small child and is now properly a boy, and he will remain a boy until about the age of fifteen, when he will become a youth with many adult responsibilities and an adult’s share of the work. After circumcision a boy will never go without his loin-cloth and he will now be as circumspect as a girl about hiding his genitals. He will also, if it is at all possible, wear clothes to cover his whole body and a small fez-like white cap, but these, though very desirable, are not absolutely essential. (A girl, of course, never goes out without a wrap and a head-cloth.)”

⁴⁵¹ Faulkingham, R. H. (1971 [1972]) *Political Support in a Hausa Village*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms

““As a yaaròo [child] begins to purchase his own clothes with money he has earned and when he works in earnest on his father’s farms, he comes to be considered a sarmàyi. He comes under the charge of the Sarkin Sàamàarii (pl. of sarmàyi) who may recruit the youth’s labor at the command of the Sarkin Noomaa. The youth generally builds his own sleeping hut near the entrance to his father’s gida . Throughout this period until the birth of his second child, the youth is expected to engage in courtship and sexual play with many girls younger than he; this does not cease at marriage”(p163).

Prepubertal girls flirted with and accepted gifts from young men as they wandered around the villages and markets hawking goods for their secluded mothers. Hausa women are married just before puberty (villages) or after (rural dwellers), to adolescents some seven years older (Barkow, 1972)⁴⁵². “Youngsters” may have “inconclusive” [nonpenetrative] sexual interactions. In some area, Hausa boys and girls may be married as early as age 12-13 (Rehan and Abashiya, 1981)⁴⁵³. As Baba of Karo⁴⁵⁴ points out, “A girl’s first marriage is established by a *rite de passage*, and this is also carried out for a man’s first marriage. By means of this rite, an individual exchanges the status of a youth or girl for that of an adult. To be an adult, it is therefore necessary to have been married”. Smith (1955)⁴⁵⁵ stated that “[m]arriages between pre-adolescent children [...] are permitted, but the marriage of a pre-adolescent girl to an [...] is, in theory, regarded as undesirable. In the past, and to some [...] still, these marriages were frequent among the important aristocracy, [...] family providing her with an elderly chaperone until her first [...]”.

Thus, Hausa girls were traditionally expected to marry at puberty, and thereafter were considered adults. The widespread introduction of western schooling in 1976, especially universal primary education, began to postpone marriage for girls (Callaway, 1984:p438)⁴⁵⁶. “In most parts of Hausaland, child marriage is the rule; both boys and girls are married by age 12 or 13 years in the large towns, and at even younger ages in the villages⁴⁵⁷. Girls may be married before they reach puberty⁴⁵⁸ [...]” (Rehan and Abashiya, 1981:p233)⁴⁵⁹. Despite this betrothal in Muslim Hausa, “[...] the lengthening of the period of social adolescence as a result of the increasing number of years young women spend in formal schooling creates amply opportunity for sexual experimentation among the relatively better educated and Christian Yoruba and Igbo youths in Southern Nigeria (Makinwa-Adebusoye, 1992:p68)⁴⁶⁰. In the early fifties Hassan (1952) reported on this degeneration of the betrothal system, and the emergence of a sexually free adolescence⁴⁶¹.

⁴⁵² Barkow, J. H. (1972) Hausa women and Islam, *Can J Afr Stud* 6,2:317-28; Barkow, J. H. (1971) The institution of courtesanship in the northwestern states of Nigeria, *Geneva-Afr* 10,1:58-73

⁴⁵³ Rehan, N. & Abashiya, A. K. (1981) Breastfeeding and abstinence among Hausa women, *Stud Fam Plann* 12,5:233-7

⁴⁵⁴ Baba of Karo (1954) *Baba of Karo, A Woman of the Muslim Hausa*. London: Farber & Farber

⁴⁵⁵ Smith, M. G. (1955) *The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria*. London: H. M. Stationery Off. for the Colonial Office

⁴⁵⁶ Callaway, B. J. (1984) Ambiguous Consequences of the Socialisation and Seclusion of Hausa Women, *J Modern African Stud* 22,3:429-50

⁴⁵⁷ Madauci, I., Isa, Y. & Daura, B. (1968) *Hausa Customs*. Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publication Comp.

⁴⁵⁸ Harrison, K. A. (1978) Child-bearing in Zaria, *New Nigerian* 3870:28

⁴⁵⁹ *Op.cit.*

⁴⁶⁰ Makinwa-Adebusoye, P. (1992) Sexual Behavior, Reproductive Knowledge and Contraceptive Use Among Young Urban Nigerians, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 18,2:66-70

⁴⁶¹ Hassan, M. (1952) *A Chronicle of Abuja*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press. Adolescents sought frequent get-togethers. “This sleeping together was not a prelude to marriage between the pair, for they would normally have been promised to some friend of the family long before, so that we think the reason for this custom may have been to allow boys and girls to learn something of the ways of the other sex before the time came for them to be married; but when it came, these two would part, and have no more to do with each other ever again, unless perhaps they might happen to meet by chance and be reminded of their former friendship [...] the majority of girls go and sleep with anyone they

Kleiner-Bossaller (1992)⁴⁶² states that marriage occurred preferably before menarche, to a man not uncommonly 20 years older than she.

“No sex-education is provided to girls. Sex-related subjects are tabu and are not touched upon in discussions between parents and children. Young girls marry and are brought to their husband’s house often before they have reached the menarche and they are therefore unprepared for marriage both with regard to their own physical development and to the knowledge of the sexual expectations of their husbands”.

“Although 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 developed are subjected to intercourse with their husbands long before they attain maturity” (Uzedike, 1990:p88)⁴⁶³. This intercourse may be forced, and aided with a so-called *gishiri* cut. Callaway (1987:p35)⁴⁶⁴ speaks of “forced sexual cohabitation at puberty regardless of mental and emotional development”. One author (Holthouse, 1969:p111, 117)⁴⁶⁵ states that the apparent lack of sexual inhibition in Hausa may partially result from the practice of *tsarance*, group visits of children to other wards than their own. “During these visits, the boys and girls sleep together. They stroke each other, talk and tell stories; rarely do they have sexual intercourse even after they reach puberty. *Tsarance* is continued until the girl marries, at puberty or “almost always by the age of 14”. Girls do not marry their *tsarance* partners, and couples whose marriages have been arranged from their infancy do not practise *tsarance* together [a footnote here in the original text was not printed]. “Also, children wear little clothing for their first few years and have ample opportunity to satisfy their curiosity about sexual differences. This permissive attitude toward childhood sexual experiences continues into adulthood and into marriage”. The Hausas “almost eliminate adolescence” by early marriage.

Salamone (1974)⁴⁶⁶:

fancy for as long as they fancy him, and some will go to four or five different youths in the same night, so that no-one knows where they may be sleeping. Nor do they tie up their bodies or practise any restraint so that nowadays few girls come to marriage as virgins, and the old word for a virgin in Hausa has come to mean only “an unmarried girl”. If therefore the parents are not watchful, and do not do their utmost to prevent it, they will find that their daughter is with child. When this happens, an evil thing is done in secret, for they find medicine which they give her to drink so that she may miscarry before her condition is seen. Some parents, in order to forestall such misfortune, marry their daughters before they reach puberty, in which case the girl is taken to the house of her husband’s parents who will see that nothing happens to spoil her. Or if the parents find no opportunity to marry the girl whilst she is still quite young, they may keep her strictly to the house and compound, and forbid her to wander about at large”.

⁴⁶² Kleiner-Bossaller, A. (1992) No youth for Hausa women?, in D’Almeida-Topor, H. Et al. (Eds.) *Les Jeunes en Afrique*. Paris: L’Harmattan. Vol. 1, p116-29

⁴⁶³ Uzedike, Eu. (1990) Child abuse and neglect in Nigeria- sociological aspects, *Int J Law & Fam* 4:83-96

⁴⁶⁴ Callaway, B. J. (1987) *Muslim Hausa Women in Nigeria: Tradition and Change*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press

⁴⁶⁵ Holthouse, K. M. W. (1969) A study of the influence of culture on the personality development of the hausas of kano city, *Int J Soc Psychia* 15,2:107-19

⁴⁶⁶ Salamone, F. A. (1974) *Gods and Goods in Africa: Persistence and Change in Ethnic and Religious Identity in Yauri Emirate, North-Western State, Nigeria*. New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, Inc.

“The Hausa permitted a form of sex play they called *tsarance*, which stopped short of full intercourse. Furthermore, *tsarance* partners were forbidden to marry. Occasionally, partners broke the rule regarding sexual intercourse but only at the risk of tremendous shame. A pregnant girl brought a small bride-price. However, it seems likely that some *tsarance* partners who wished to marry attempted to do so through having children (Hassan and Shuaibu 1962).[...] There is a very strong double standard explicit in the Islamic view regarding non-marital coitus. While both young men and women are encouraged to have premarital sexual knowledge, young women are culturally expected to be virgins at marriage. The *tsarance* relationship was a socially sanctioned means of obtaining sexual knowledge while safeguarding a girl’s virginity [...]. Barkow (1971) writes that the relationship is called *tada* or *hira* among the Hausa of Zaria, and that premarital sex is often a part of the relationship. In Yauri, the premarital petting between a boy and girl follows the more traditional *tsarance* relationship. Where *tada* or *hira* (literally, chatting) is supposed to end in marriage, *tsarance* was not. The *tsarance* relationship prevails in Yauri, and a young boy and the girl of his choice have little to do with one another until they are ready to make marriage arrangements”.

Authors, however, blur the terminological difference between *Tsarance*—“sleeping together, cuddling, etc., of unmarried youths and girls” and *Tsaranci*—sexual intercourse between them.

Concluding, unmarried girls are courted privately and at public ceremonial give-aways, over which certain praise-singers and drummers preside, both with a view to marriage and the institutionalised premarital love-making known as *tsarance*. Girls are married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen, and probably re-marry two or three times, on average, afterwards.

***Kadara* (Nigeria)**

Infant betrothal is one of three marriage forms (Smith, 1953 [1968:p112])⁴⁶⁷. Premarital chastity is not valued, and out-of-betrothal impregnation would be common.

***Kagoro* (Nigeria)**

In the case of primary marriage, it is usually preceded by betrothal arrangements during the infancy or early childhood of the spouses by their parents through intermediaries (Smith, 1953 [1968:p120])⁴⁶⁸.

***Efik* (Nigeria)**

⁴⁶⁷ Smith, M. G. (1953) Secondary marriage in Northern Nigeria, *Africa* 23,4:298-323. Reprinted in Bohannan, P. & Middleton, J. (Eds., 1968) *Marriage, Family and Residence*. New York: Natural History Press, p109-30

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

Simmons (1960)⁴⁶⁹ states that, apart from neonatal circumcision on boys, the Efik practice hymenectomy and clitoridectomy on seclusion, or in later days, at age 3-6. Girls are secluded at age 9, in former days even 3 years. During this period, she is to refrain from sexual intercourse with her intended spouse, or else bear the title ebua, "dog". At the time of writing, marriage was taken over by European style.

Tiv (Nigeria) (-,-,-,-,-,-,-,-) (eHRAF)

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. Bohannan (1954:p2)⁴⁷⁰ states that women "say that the idea of sexual relations with an uncircumcised man is repugnant", expressing their distaste in terms of cleanliness and, mostly, fastidiousness" (Circumcision was said to take place at age 7 to pubescence). At circumcision, an eight-year-old boy would agree: "Easy, easy, many women will weep if you err". In the past mothers would tie a shell threaded onto a piece of cotton around the girl's neck to insure she would come to full puberty without any boy touching her (East, 1939 [1965:p309])⁴⁷¹. Puberty does not seem to be associated with transition rites, and proved altogether inconspicuous (Bohannan, 1958:p382-3)⁴⁷². "When a girl first reaches puberty she will menstruate. The blood of the first menstruation is called *iyoukyon*. Some girls will go hide so that the other women will not know, though sometimes her mother knows. But there is little blood. Another girl will sleep with a man before the *iyoukyon* has occurred, and if her luck (*ikôr*) has not closed she will become pregnant. Other girls don't sleep with men until they have passed blood" (Bohannan, 1969⁴⁷³: [p71]).

Kanuri (Nigeria) (eHRAF)

The Kanuri share Islamic conceptions on sex. On male formal sexarche, Cohen (1967:p160)⁴⁷⁴ remarks: "Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves". However, considerable protosexuality is noted:

"Sometimes play takes in both sexes and is more complex than simple imitation [...]. Thus for several days a large group of young children from the age of five through ten may organize a "wedding". The "bride" and "groom" are chosen as are the various kindred, the best man, the leading woman, etc. Care is taken to practice as many of the details of the adult virgin wedding ceremony as they can manage including even a mock impregnation, in this case with a small doll. Wedding foods in miniature are passed around to the adults who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness although they may

⁴⁶⁹ Simmons, D. C. (1960) Sexual life, Marriage and childhood among the Efik, *Africa* 30,1:153-65

⁴⁷⁰ Bohannan, P. (1954) Circumcision Among the Tiv, *Man* 54:2-6

⁴⁷¹ East, R. (1939) *Akiga's Story*. 1965 ed., London [etc.]: Oxford University Press

⁴⁷² Bohannan, P. (1958) *Three Source Notebooks in Tiv Ethnography*. New Haven, Conn.: HRAF

⁴⁷³ Bohannan, P. (1969) *A Source Book on Tiv Religion in 5 Volumes*. New Haven, Conn.: HRAF

⁴⁷⁴ Cohen, R. (1967) *The Kanuri of Bornu*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc.

comment on or question some detail of the ceremony carried out mistakenly or omitted by the children. Adults expressed satisfaction with this type of play and remarked on its instructive value for the children. Such play is related to an even more complex form called *mai-mai*, which is no longer practiced in Bornu. In playing *mai-mai* the young children in a village put on a pageant. They chose a king, nobles, servants, slaves, wives, gave titles to everyone, and behaved for several days in the guise of these socio-political roles. Mock battles were fought, slaves taken and justice meted out in a mock court. Seniority was established by age and consent. The organization was temporary like the "wedding" and disbanded after a few days. During periods when adults are out of the compound, away at a market, or working in the fields during the growing season, children often play house. The group gets together and appoints "fathers", "wives", and "children". The little children may actually cook for their "husbands" on such occasions and the couples go into a hut in the compound where sexual play is carried on. They are, however, soon called back to the larger group where it has been declared "morning" by another child who has announced the "morning prayers" signifying that night has passed. Boys are aware that such play should stop when they can ejaculate. From then on they are men; sex is a serious affair and unmarried girls are illegitimate objects of sexual intercourse. However such prepubescent sex derived from playing "house" is widespread, or to paraphrase one young informant, "Everyone does such things when they are young" ⁴⁷⁵.

"The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a woman older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group" (Cohen, 1960)⁴⁷⁶. Cohen also speaks of the following:

"Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional practice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circumcision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded)".

On marriage, Cohen (p161-2) states:

"By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply differentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male informants feel that it is better if a girl is married before she menstruates and claim that religion prescribes this as the best kind of first marriage for a girl. Exceptions are, of course, quite common and not regarded as very bad as long as the girl is a "virgin" (i.e. proven so on her wedding night). When she marries for the first time a girl does not automatically change her status. She is still considered a *fero gana* (a small girl) just as she was before marriage, and for some little time continues to wear her hair in the young girl style. As one informant put it: She 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. When the first blood comes the girl will feel shame and tell no one, only her close friends, who will tell her mother. Her mother will come and gather together her friends and relatives (female) and cook food and give *sada'a* (offerings to the poor)".

⁴⁷⁵ Cohen noted this play in 1960: "Sometimes imitative play is more organized. A large group of children between the age of six to ten may organize a "wedding". One of the young boys is the groom and a bride is chosen, as are inlaws, best man, lead woman, etc. Every detail of the adult virgin marriage ceremony is carried out, even to a mock impregnation, in this case a small doll. The wedding foods, in miniature, are passed around to the proper people, who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness. Adults thought this play was instructive and remarked that it was a good way for the children to learn the customs of the people" (p61).

⁴⁷⁶ Cohen, R. (1960) *The Structure of Kanuri Society*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms

“Some informants believe it is proper for a girl to marry before her first menstruation so she may learn to become a woman in the household of her husband. Certainly there is general agreement that all girls should be married as soon after the onset of puberty as possible” (Cohen, 1971)⁴⁷⁷.

Cross River Natives (Nigeria)

According to Partridge (1905:p254)⁴⁷⁸, “[g]irls are betrothed by her parents to her future husband when she is only a few years old. [...] Until she reach [sic] the age of puberty, a girl is permitted by her parents and by her betrothed to go about freely and have as many lovers as she pleases. She may not, however, bring a lover into her father’s compound.

Ijaw (Nigeria)

Betrothal takes place at age 3-4 (Talbot (1969 [III]:p438). Three days after “Genital Painting Day” (Kunju Mie Ene), the girls are free to take a lover, but to have intercourse before the Iria ceremony is considered a disgrace never quite wiped out (Talbot (1969 [II]:p402). Before menarche, girls are not allowed to wear anything until a short loin-cloth.

Elam (1998)⁴⁷⁹ remarks on *Iria*:

“For the **Okrika** tribe, who lives on the island of Ogoloma in the river district of southern Nigeria, the Iria is the traditional coming- of-age ceremony for pubescent girls. This ceremony contains all four of the factors found in ritual coming-of-age ceremonies; isolation, instruction, transition, and celebration. However, two interesting factors distinguish this ceremony from many others: it is performed when a girl has reached a relatively mature age (about seventeen), not at the onset of menarche [sic], and it is a group initiation. Years ago, girls were expected to marry immediately after completing Iria, but today finishing an education and starting a career is considered acceptable. Basically, Iria is a way of proclaiming a girl’s womanhood, beauty, and marriageability”.

During the ceremony, wise women inspect their breasts *mammae*, in order to detect pregnancy, and therefore unchastity (Gardner, 1993)⁴⁸⁰. To fail this chastity test would bring great dishonour and shame on their families and the offending girl would be seen as both loose and a prostitute.

Ijo (Nigeria)

⁴⁷⁷ Cohen, R. (1971) *Dominance and Defiance: A Study of Marital Instability in an Islamic African Society*. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association

⁴⁷⁸ Partridge, C. (1905) *Cross River Natives*. Nendeln: Kraus. 1973 reprint

⁴⁷⁹ Elam, J. (1998) A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Puberty Rites and Ceremonies for Females, *Oxford Rev*

⁴⁸⁰ Gardner, L. (Producer) & Onwurah, N. (Director) (1993) *Monday’s Girls*. [Film], as cited by Elam

Hollis and Leis (1989:p117[-26])⁴⁸¹: “There is no prohibition of sexual play in this age group [4-6y], and informants recount tales of games in which little boys compare penis lengths and examine the anatomical difference in little girls”. Adult sex is not to be observed, but nonetheless, “when a four-year-old imitates the movements he saw his father performing the night before, adults shriek with laughter. Sex for the Ijo does not appear to be hedged with guilt and sin, compared to the dictates of the Judaeo-Christian heritage”. Parents, however, do not approve of adolescents’ petting, which appear to arise at age 15 or 16 for both sexes, since they fear pregnancy (cf. Hollis and Leis, 1986)⁴⁸². Leis (1972:p55-6)⁴⁸³: “Parents 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”. Later, the children are placed in separate beds out of fear for intercourse.

Bini (Edo; Nigeria)

“There appear to be two kinds of marriages among the Bini. Among the upper classes the children are betrothed by their parents from infancy. The present may be a nominal one, such as four kolas, three cowries, and some palm wine, or it may be more. The man is supposed to keep on giving the child betrothed to him presents until she is grown up; he also makes her parents gifts. The seduction of such a betrothed girl is heavily punished. On the other hand, among the poor the girl is not necessarily betrothed, and a man may seduce her without legal punishment. [...] The girl may not refuse to marry the man to whom she is betrothed, or his chosen representative; but the father may at any time refuse to give his daughter to her betrothed, when he has to refund to him all the presents the would-be husband has given to her and her parents”⁴⁸⁴.

“A Bini girl is sometimes affianced when she is a few years old” (Talbot (1969 [III]:p433). Onibere (1984:p103)⁴⁸⁵ states that among the Bini, lacking a puberty rite, “[...] sex is sacred and mysterious and it is taboo for parents and children to discuss it”. Unmarried boys are less well off than girls, since they spend more time with the same-gender older generation (Mbiti, 1969:p135 / 1989:p132)⁴⁸⁶. Thus,

“Much of the sex information is gathered from a mixture of truth, myth, ignorance, guesswork and jokes. Formal schools and universities in modern Africa are often the centres of even greater ignorance of these matters, so that young people go through them knowing, perhaps, how to dissect a frog but nothing about either their own procreation system and mechanism, or how to establish family life. In this respect, surely traditional methods of preparing young people for marriage and procreation are obviously superior to what schools and universities are doing for our young people”.

⁴⁸¹ Hollis, M. & Leis, Ph. E. (1989) *Becoming Nigerian in Ijo Society*. New Brunswick (etc.): Rutgers University Press

⁴⁸² Hollis, M. & Leis, Ph. E. (1986) Descent and permissive adolescent sexuality in two Ijo communities, *Ethos* 14, 4:395-408

⁴⁸³ Leis, Ph. E. (1972) *Enculturation and Socialization in an Ijaw Village*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

⁴⁸⁴ Dennett, R. E. (1906) *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*. London [etc.]: Macmillan

⁴⁸⁵ Onibere, S. G. A. (1984) The supernatural triad in Bini morality: a case of unchastity, *Cah Relig Afr* 18,35:99-121

⁴⁸⁶ Mbiti, J. S. (1969) *African Religions and Philosophy*. London [etc.]: Heinemann. Second ed., 1990

Marghi (Nigeria)

Among the southern Marghi (e.g., Womdi) the bride is barely pubescent, and the groom will not have sexual intercourse with her, though he has general licence to have relations with older girls in the neighbourhood [...]. When the bride becomes old enough to have sexual relations the groom may come to her compound and spend the night with her", but she, too, may have relations with village boys at that time (Vaughan, 1962:p51-2)⁴⁸⁷.

Jekri (Niger Delta, Nigeria)

"The 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. Free girls are not given in marriage until arrived at the age of nominal puberty, *i.e.*, when the pubic hair begins to grow [⁴⁸⁸]. [...] A girl child can be kept for a man to be his wife when grown up; juju [⁴⁸⁹] is made to keep her virtuous, but as a rule women are not chaste until married" (Granville and Roth, 1899:p107)⁴⁹⁰.

Lala (Eastern Nigeria)

With the *zane*, or incision of the final tribal markings, the girl is considered eligible for marriage, one year after the second, pubertal scarification rite (Kirk-Greene, 1957)⁴⁹¹. She does not marry a boy until he has undergone his *Hono* initiation rites (which includes endurance, but not circumcision).

Karogo, Moroa, Kajji (Nigeria)

"The Karogo and Moroa girls marry later than the Kajji, whose brides can hardly average ten years of age. There is, however, no age limit, for no one counts the number of years he or she has lived, and even seasons are not noted for the purpose of reckoning ages [...]. With the Karogo or Moroa the first menstruation [age 11 or 12] appears and the mammae develop, and after that the marriage will be soon or late according to the needs of the girl's father. With a boy, the test seems to be whether he can get an erection or not, but, of course, he must

⁴⁸⁷ Vaughan, H. Jr. (1962) Rock Paintings and Rock Gongs Among the Marghi of Nigeria, *Man* 62:49-52

⁴⁸⁸ There was no nominal time reckoning.

⁴⁸⁹ Medicines, charms.

⁴⁹⁰ Granville, R. K. & Roth, F. N. (1899) Notes on the Jekris, Sobos and Ijos of the Warri District of the Niger Coast Protectorate, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 28,1/2:104-26

⁴⁹¹ Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. (1957) A Lala Initiation Ceremony, *Man* 57:9-11

also produce the necessary presents [...]; he would be sixteen to eighteen years of age (Tremearne, 1912:p169)⁴⁹².

Anaguta (Jos Plateau, Nigeria)

“An Anaguta couple were [*sic*] betrothed in childhood; the marriage was solemnized when the woman was pregnant” (Isichei, 1991:p523)⁴⁹³.

Kofjar (Jos Plateau, Nigeria)

Men are married in their early 20s, women after menarche (Netting, 1969)⁴⁹⁴. Divorce and adultery regulations are rather loose.

Ibibio (Nigeria)

Pre-initiation (female circumcision, age 17, or after puberty) sex is common, but supposed to be reserved for the premarital pair (Jeffreys, 1956)⁴⁹⁵. Infant marriage was not uncommon, the bride taken to her husband's home; at least betrothal took place when girls were 2 to six years of age (Talbot, 1969 [III]:p451). Intercourse before maturity is forbidden: if its occurrence was proved, the family could claim her back without returning the dowry (Talbot, 1915:p88)⁴⁹⁶.

“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” (p76). “Among the Efiks, and those Ibibios rich enough to bear the expense, free-born girls of good family go twice, and sometimes even thrice, into the Fatting-house before the full marriage ceremony is performed. As already mentioned, the first occasion is called Mbobi, “The Coming of Small Breasts”. This usually lasts for three months, during which time the girl undergoes circumcision” (p82-3). “According to Ibibio ideas the actual marriage tie is entered upon after the payment by the groom to the bride's parents of the major portion of the so-called “dowry money”. The first instalment of this constitutes betrothal, and is often paid when the little maid is still very young. Infant betrothal and marriage are not uncommon. In the latter case the baby bride usually lives with her husband's family; but, save in very rare instances, her youth is respected by him. Should the contrary be proved against a man his conduct is regarded as reprehensible, and the girl's family can claim her back without returning the dowry. In many cases child betrothal and marriage inflict undoubted hardships upon the unfortunate bride, who thus has no word to say as to her own fate. At the present day many

⁴⁹² Tremearne, A. J. N. (1912) Notes on the Kagoro and Other Nigerian Head-Hunters, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 42:136-199

⁴⁹³ Isichei, E. (1991) On Being Invisible: An Historical Perspective of the Anaguta and Their Neighbors, *Int J Afr Hist Stud* 24,3:513-56

⁴⁹⁴ Netting, R. McC. (1969) Marital relations in the Jos Plateau of Nigeria, *Am Anthropol* 71,6:1037-46

⁴⁹⁵ Jeffreys, M. D. W. (1956) The Nyama society of the Ibibio women, *Afr Stud* 15,1:15-28

⁴⁹⁶ Talbot, D. Au. (1915) *Women's Mysteries of a Primitive People*. London: Cassell; Benedict ([1948:p396]), *op.cit.*

such youthful spouses, on reaching years of discretion, claim the protection of Government to free them from an arrangement in which they had no choice" (p88).

Schwalbe / Schuwable Pastoral Fulani / Peul / Fulbe (Woodabe F.: 1,1,3-,3,2-,2-;8,8) (Nigeria)

The ratings for earliest childhood suggest the most permissive attitude regarding sex in the SCCS. The Shuwalbe Fulani practice infant betrothal between boy and girl (Wilson-Haffenden, 1927:p281-2; 1930:p129)⁴⁹⁷; the timing of consummation, does not become apparent, although there is "no subsequent ceremony". Webster⁴⁹⁸ argues:

"It is true that marriages are often arranged between cousins in infancy, or even before birth, and cousin marriages are preferred among many clans for reasons connected to property. [...] On attainment of puberty, however, the girl can make her own choice- preferably among cousins, or at least within the clan. [...] The consummation of marriages previously arranged usually takes place after the annual *sharo* or test of manhood, but marriages may take place at any time. Girls marry late, usually between eighteen and twenty-two".

For the Schwalbe, "moral" instruction of boys is effected by the father (in contrast to the Keffi Yegomawa (settled) Fulani, where it is by the paternal uncle), and that of girls by mother (resp., paternal aunt). Stenning (1959:p148-9)⁴⁹⁹ assumes a menarchal age of 16, the ideal age of marriage of 16, and the ideal age of first pregnancy of 17. Boys, who play freely with girls, leave their childhood behind at circumcision, scheduled at ages 9-10 (p156). After puberty (age 14) he learns about the flirtations of girls, and enters the *gerewol* courtship dance, in which his participation is "the index of his virility". Eguchi (1973:69)⁵⁰⁰ states that girls are usually married at ages 12 to 14; preparations, including instructions, take place at the *soro* initiation. For the Schwalbe, "moral" instruction of boys is effected by the father (in contrast to the Keffi Yegomawa (settled) Fulani, where it is by the paternal uncle), and that of girls by mother (resp., paternal aunt). Riesman (1974)⁵⁰¹ sketched the principles of Fulani freedom but is hardly specific about sexual liberties for children. Dupire (1962:p184)⁵⁰²: "Frères et soeurs donnent libre course dans leurs amusements aux parodies et aux moqueries, mais vers l'âge de six ans ils apprennent que les jeux sexuels autorisés avec d'autres enfants sont "honteux" entre eux". Dupire (1960:p58)⁵⁰³ further notes that social morality is instilled in girls from age four to five, including incest taboo in sex play. Hopen (1958:p71)⁵⁰⁴ indicated that, although girls and women expected to adhere to a stricter code of sexual morality than men and boys,

⁴⁹⁷ Wilson-Haffenden, J. R. (1927) Ethnological Notes on the Shuwalbe Group of the Borroro Fulani in the Kurafi District of Keffi Emirate, Northern Nigeria, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 57:275-93

⁴⁹⁸ Webster, G. W. (1931) Customs and Beliefs of the Fulani: Notes Collected During 24 Years' Residence in Northern Nigeria, *Man* 31:238-44

⁴⁹⁹ Stenning, D. J. (1959) *Savannah Nomads*. London: Oxford University Press

⁵⁰⁰ Eguchi, M. J. (1973) Aspects of the life style and culture of women in the Fulbe districts of Maroua, *Kyoto Univ Afr Stud* 8:17-92

⁵⁰¹ Riesman, P. (1974) *Société et Liberté chez les Peul Djelgobe de Haute-Volta*. Paris: Mouton

⁵⁰² Dupire, M. (1962) *Peuls Nomades*. Doct. Diss., Paris

⁵⁰³ Dupire, M. (1960) Situation de la femme dans une société pastorale (Peul woDaBe, nomades du Niger), in Paulme, D. Ed.) *Femmes d'Afrique Noire*. Paris : Mouton & Co, p51-91

⁵⁰⁴ Hopen, C. E. (1958) *The Pastoral Fulbe Family in Gwandu*. London: Oxford University Press

case histories make it clear that “a girl is permitted, without loss of status, to engage in sexual play in which she hopes to maintain technical virginity”, perhaps in contrast to earlier days. Even boys of 5 and 6 are “quite aware, owing to the influence of youths and adults”, that they will one day marry”; they also build camps and play marriage.

***Borroro Fulani* (Nigeria)**

Wilson-Haffenden on the Shuwalbe group of the Borroro Fulani, in Northern Nigeria (1927:p287)⁵⁰⁵: “Adulterous intercourse with a married woman, other than a fellow age-mate still within the years of childhood, is usually not condoned [...]. Sexual relations between age-mates (married or not), however, are condoned provided the parties are still within the years of childhood, which are regarded as terminated in the case of a girl about one year from the date of reaching marriageable age, or, roughly, from the date on which members of her age-class start to give birth”. Wilson-Haffenden (1930:p114, 116)⁵⁰⁶: “[a] custom of permitting an element of sexual laxity, or in other words condoning sexual “play” or intercourse, between age-mates still within the years of childhood-whether betrothed or not-at certain festivals exists at the present day among the pagan Borroros, but not among the Muslim Fulani”. Among the nomadic Fulani children are betrothed at ages seven to ten in the case of girls, and from three to ten in the case of boys (De Sainte Croix, 1945/1972:p38-9)⁵⁰⁷, a practice named *koggal*. Marriage follows at ages fourteen, or at puberty (girls), and seventeen (boys), with a preferred age differences of three years.

***Ibo / Igbo* (Nigeria) (2,2,2,3,-,4,-,2)**

O'Donnell⁵⁰⁸: “There is no particular sex instruction [at the *Okolobia*, where “the young man comes” “seemingly no moral instruction if given”], but also there is no particular hiding. The facts are learned by the young just naturally. [...] Among the unmarried pagan young, sex conditions seem to be fairly good [?], though by no means ideal. Among the Christianized youth of both sexes, conditions are quite good” (p58). Thomas (1913 [1969, I:p70])⁵⁰⁹ stated that for the unmarried, whether betrothed or not, “regular relations begin at the age of 13 or 14; if her suitor has paid the whole of the bride price, she may go to his house earlier. A girl begins her sexual life with a boy of 15 or 16, who takes two shillings to her mother and says he wants to be friends with her [...]”. “Girls are generally married soon after their first menstruation, but if they are not fully or well developed it is postponed” (Talbot (1969

⁵⁰⁵ Wilson-Haffenden, J. R. (1927) Ethnological Notes on the Shuwalbe Group of the Borroro Fulani in the Kurafi District of Keffi Emirate, Northern Nigeria, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 57:275-93

⁵⁰⁶ Wilson-Haffenden, J. R. (1930) *The Red Men of Nigeria*. London: Seeley, Service & Co.

⁵⁰⁷ Sainte Croix, F. W. de (1945) *The Fulani of Northern Nigeria*. Lagos: Government Printer. Also 1972 ed., Westmead: Gregg

⁵⁰⁸ O'Donnell, W. E. (1931) Religion and morality among the Ibo of Southern Nigeria, *Anthropol Quart* 4,1/4:54-60

⁵⁰⁹ Thomas, N. W. ([1969]) *Anthropological Report on the Ibo-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*. New York: Negro Universities Press. Vol. I, orig. 1913

[III]:p441). Basden (1921 [1966:p67])⁵¹⁰ states that Ibo laxity in child discipline “does not improve their morals, and there are incidents of child life which are said to contemplate”. Thus, little attempt is made to correct the children and it is quite a new experience for them to come under school discipline. Nzimiro (1962:p254-5)⁵¹¹ noted separation at puberty, and sexual knowledge being acquired informally.

Afikpo Igbo (Nigeria) (2,2,2,3)

The first sexual experience for Igbo girls is generally after menarche (Ogbalu, 1979)⁵¹². According to Ottenberg (1989)⁵¹³, who presents a most detailed study of gender role development, Afikpo boys are prohibited to have intercourse before circumcision, a reason to perform the operation early (p38). When violating the rule, boys are thought to be weakened by the act. Most of the sexual behaviour, which would be surprisingly modest, seem to occur in a sort of unsupervised annual children’s orgy called *egwu* [mirrored c]*nwa* (Moonlight Dancing, p109-12). It does not involve more than a petting courtship. In the adult equivalent, this type of bonding is 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. A recent update on sexual socialisation by Ogbu (1996)⁵¹⁴ found that authority has shifted to Afikpo mothers who are unprepared to assume the responsibility. “In traditional Afikpo culture mothers were not responsible and did not function as the principal agents of sexual socialization. Hence, with the shift of responsibility they are unable to function as agents of sexual socialization. Traditionally, sexual socialization was managed through socially orchestrated rituals, such as initiation”.

Agbasiere (2000:p97-101)⁵¹⁵ relates that Igbo girls’ coming-of-age begins at age seven, with the teachings of household, proceeding until the menarchal nubility ritual, at about age 14. During the seclusion, the girl is introduced to the “female secrets” of married life, including “formal lessons in the major vales associated with successful conjugal relationships”. This entails wifely subjection and restriction on sexuality, including pre-marital chastity and fidelity within marriage.

Anyanwu (1973)⁵¹⁶ speaks of infant betrothal and adoption marriage among the Mbaise Igbo.

Asaba Ibo (Southern Nigeria)

⁵¹⁰ Basden, G. T. ([1966]) *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*. London: Cass. Orig. ed. 1921

⁵¹¹ Nzimiro, I. (1962) *Family and Kinship in Ibo Land*. Köln: Wasmund. Dissertation

⁵¹² Ogbalu, Ch. (1979) *Igbo Attitude to Sex, Containing over 1,000 Proverbs on Sex*. Onitsha: University Publishing Co.

⁵¹³ Ottenberg, S. (1989) *Boyhood Rituals in an African Society: An Interpretation*. Seattle & London: University of Washington Press

⁵¹⁴ Ogbu, M. A. (1996) Girl to woman in a changing African society: The impact of modernization and development on sexual socialization of adolescents, DAI-B 57(3-B):1740

⁵¹⁵ Agbasiere, J. Th. & Ardener, Sh. (2000) *Women in Igbo Life and Thought*. London [etc.]: Routledge

⁵¹⁶ Anyanwu, C. N. (1973) Traditional procedure and systems of marriage among the Mbaise Igbo, *African Notes* 7,2:62-8

Isichei (1970; 1973:p682-5)⁵¹⁷ dwells at length on Asaba childhood sexuality. In theory the child before puberty was not to know anything about sex. 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 (one boy claimed to be initiated by a widow at age ten). 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. “A few of them even tried to use this knowledge to imitate the sexual act. But as often as they were caught in this imitation, the punishment inflicted on them knew hardly any limits”. Parents “preferred to think that children under eight years could not know any undesirable significance of their sexual differences, and for them, they did not consider it necessary to insist on their being segregated [...]. For those above eight years old segregation was the rule until after puberty”.

[Additonal refs: Smith, D. J. (2000) “These Girls Today *Na War-O*”: Premarital Sexuality and Modern Identity in Southeastern Nigeria, *Africa Today* 47,3-4:99-120]

Tuareg / Ahaggaren (2,2,2+,2+,2,2;5,5) (Niger, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Mali)

Nicolaisen and Nicolaisen (1997, II)⁵¹⁸ state:

“There is considerable individual variation as to when young Tuareg first engage in sexual activities. From the age of seven to ten years children may sometimes copulate, though this is not typical. We noticed among the Kel Tahabamat, however, that some children were apparently sexually active or at least allowed to publicly fantasize about sex. A girl of about eleven years told us that she slept with boys of about her own age, and nobody reacted against this. Ida [Nicolaisen] observed two adult men laughing heartily at the five year old son of one of them, as he demonstrated how he copulated at night with a somewhat older girl. It may also happen that a girl of no more than seven or eight gets married, in which case she will have intercourse with her husband though she is not yet sexually mature. This, however, seems to be quite rare. In general, Tuareg do not have sexual intercourse until they are physically grown up, which is marked by initiation rites”.

An institutional periodic meeting of teenage sexes (*ahal*) provides occasion for nose-rubbing and further liberties (Patai, 1962:p123). “As a result of this institution, pre-Islamic in its origin, both girls and young men begin their sex life as soon as they reach maturity, and no value whatsoever is placed on virginity”.

⁵¹⁷ 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

⁵¹⁸ Nicolaisen, J. & Nicolaisen, I. (1997) *The Pastoral Tuareg: Ecology, Culture, and Society*. New York: Thames & Hudson. Vol. 2

Urhobo and Isoko (Niger Delta)

The **Urhobo** and **Isoko** of the Niger Delta begin sexual intercourse “very early in life”⁵¹⁹. Traditionally, betrothal in infancy or childhood was customary in Benin Kingdom (p48) and among the Northern Edo (p121). Among the **Isoko**, ritual sexuality is expected of the girl with her husband within one week of her circumcision, practised generally at menarche or within one year of that event (Welch, 1934)⁵²⁰.

Rukuba (Nigeria)

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)⁵²¹. The experience may be awkward:

“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”.

Irigwe (Nigeria)

Education about proper marital behaviour is part of the initiation rites for pubescent boys; a ritual sexual experience with a pregnant woman is also part of the initiation period (Muller & Sangree, 1973)⁵²².

Yakoe (Nigeria)

Forde (1941 [1951:p13])⁵²³ states that the night party, attended from ages 11 to 12 is a recognised setting for a “first phase” of sexual experience. States Forde (1940:p57)⁵²⁴, “[a] period of sexual play begins early in adolescence, for girls sometimes before menstruation begins, and occurs in parties of girls and boys, usually differing little in age. Parents exert little overt influence on the selection of partners by their sons and daughters. Between the ages of 14 and 16 most girls have established a stable relation with one lover, who at harvest time undertakes to make the customary gifts and services [...] to her and her parents during

⁵¹⁹ Welch as cited by Bradbury, R. E. (1957) *The Benin Kingdom and the Edo-Speaking Peoples of Southwestern Nigeria*. International African Institution, p154

⁵²⁰ Welch, J. W. (1934) The Isoko tribe, *Africa* 7,2:160-73

⁵²¹ Muller, J. C. (1972) Ritual marriage, symbolic fatherhood and initiation among the Rukuba, Plateau-Benue State, Nigeria, *Man* 7,2:283-95

⁵²² Muller, J. C. & Sangree, W. H. (1973) Irigwe and Rukuba marriage: a comparison, *Canad J Afr Stud* 7,1:27-57

⁵²³ Forde, D. (1941[1951]) *Marriage and the Family among the Yakoe in South-Eastern Nigeria*. 2nd ed. London: P. L. Humphries

⁵²⁴ Forde, D. (1940) Yako Marriage, *Man* 40:Apr.:57-8

the ensuing year. These, if acceptable to the parents, signify betrothal'. Clitoridectomy is arranged at this or the next harvest, if she has not yet become pregnant.

Igbira (Northern Nigeria)

Betrothal often took place in childhood (Brown, 1955:p67)⁵²⁵.

Igala (Northern Nigeria)

The marriageable age was eight to ten for girls, and sixteen to eighteen for boys (Seton, 1930)⁵²⁶. Betrothal may occur at age four to five.

Orri (Nigeria)

Among the Utonkon-Effium Orri (Armstrong, 1955:p151⁵²⁷; Talbot (1969 [III]:p452), betrothal of girls occurred at birth. She joins her fiancée freely although "too early intercourse" is thought to "cause her breasts to dry up and may render her sterile".

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 just short of penetration". "Some girls may have as many as ten lovers in this way before marriage or cohabitation with their betrothed husband, and a young woman who was popular with the opposite sex before marriage wears, after marriage, a cock's womb of white metal in her hair in commemoration of her pre-marital success" (Harris, 1938:p137-8)⁵²⁸. "Girls are married both before and after puberty [...]. They have strict sexual taboos and the boys and unmarried men sleep together in a Bachelor's hall [...]"⁵²⁹.

⁵²⁵ Brown, P. (1955) The Igbira, in Forde, C. D., Brown, P. & Armstrong, R. G. (Eds.) *Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence*. London: International African Institute, p55-74

⁵²⁶ Seton, R. S. (1930) Notes on the Igala tribe, Northern Nigeria, *J Afric Soc* 29:42-52

⁵²⁷ Armstrong, R. G. (1955) The Idoma-Speaking Peoples, in Forde, C. D., Brown, P. & Armstrong, R. G. (Eds.) *Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence*. London: International African Institute, p91-152

⁵²⁸ Harris, P. G. (1938) Notes on the Dakarkari Peoples of Sokoto Province, Nigeria, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 68:113-52

⁵²⁹ Macfarlane, Ei. J. (1935) Hill Tribes and Fisherfolk of Travancore, *Man* 35:43-4, at p44

Cameroon (Nso', Beti, Maka, Etap, Pangwe / Fan, Banen / Bafia, Fali, Mouktélé, Bangwa, Bali)

Almeida (1987)⁵³⁰ found that 5% of teachers taught sex, and most comes from parents who thought it normal that sexual activity began at age 17 or 18 before marriage. The mean age of sexual relations, however, was 14. In another study on pregnant teenagers (Gwan, 1987)⁵³¹, many girls started sex at age ten, stating it was an imitation of their mothers or sisters. By age 16, 69% was regularly sexually active. According to a 1995 survey (Rwenge, 2000)⁵³², 3/5 of young people stated they had discussed sexual matters with peers, while fewer than 2/5 did so in a family setting. According to these respondents, the ideal age of starting sex education was 13.8 years for girls and 15.0 for boys. Age of first sexual intercourse was slightly lower for males than for females (15.6 vs 15.8); the ideal age was perceived to be 18. However, 28.0% of males and 18.7% of females indicated have had coitus at or before age 14. A 1987 Catholic Health Service program started sex education "among 9- and 10-year-olds, before sexual activities begin"⁵³³.

"[...] health educators in Nigeria and Cameroon, as elsewhere, report that many girls find out about menstruation only after discovering with horror that they are bleeding. Parents' discomfort is communicated very early in life and discourages children from asking questions. The implicit messages children are given about sexuality are often negative, distorted by myths, and harmful. When adolescent sexuality becomes undeniable, parents typically resort to vague threats or warnings, such as "stay away from boys." Those who recognize their children's need for accurate information often lack such knowledge themselves. Thus the cycle of ignorance and embarrassment continues" (Irvine, 2000:p3)⁵³⁴.

"In Cameroon, very early marriage still occurs in certain tribes (in **Adamaoua** and the Northwest, and in the Extreme-North between eight and nine years of age)⁵³⁵. Some customs call for pre-pubescent girls to leave their homes and live with their husbands. Most of the time, the husband is a friend of the girl's father, and the marriage has been arranged without her being consulted⁵³⁶. It is in the house of this "stranger-husband" that she will experience her entire sexual and domestic life"⁵³⁷.

⁵³⁰ Almeida, J. (1987) *Methods for Starting Discussions with School-Age (11-16) Cameroon Teenagers on Sex and STDs*. MSc, Institute for Child Health, London

⁵³¹ Gwan, E. (1987) *Which Children Bear Children in Cameroon and Why?* MSc, Institute for Child Health, London

⁵³² Rwenge, M. (2000) Sexual Risk Behaviors among Young People in Bamenda, Cameroon, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 26,3:118-23+130

⁵³³ *Exchange* 3 (1996), p9

⁵³⁴ Irvin, A. (2000) *Taking Steps of Courage: Teaching Adolescents about Sexuality and Gender in Nigeria and Cameroon*. International Women's Health Coalition

⁵³⁵ ACAFEM (1992) *Manuel Pour la Dissémination des Résultats Recherche Sur les Pratiques Traditionnelles Bénéfiques et Néfastes Quiaffectent la Santé Reproductive de la Femme au Cameroun*, at p14

⁵³⁶ *Id.*

⁵³⁷ CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Francophone Africa*. Progress Report, p66-88

[Additional refs: Abega and Tamba (1995)⁵³⁸; Akoto, E. M., Tambahshe, B. O., Amouzou, J. A. & Tameko, D. T. (Sept., 2000) *Sexualité, Contraception et Fécondité des Adolescents au Cameroun*. Projet Régional Santé Familiale et Prévention du Sida (SFPS), p4-7]

Nso' (Cameroon)

A woman is regarded sexually mature after menarche, but a usual delay of two to three years until marriage is customary (Paul, 1996:p43)⁵³⁹. "Pre-puberty marriages for girls were common, but when such did take place, the future husband was regarded as a *liiwan* or guardian of the child until maturity when the girl was taken back to her parents who then formally handed her back as a *jin* (bride) to the husband. Until this was done, the marriage could not be consummated even when all outstanding premarital issues had been settled and all obligations discharged".

Beti, Eton (Cameroon)

Ombolo (1990)⁵⁴⁰ has offered a detailed psychoanalytic account of beti sexuality, the prime tribe analysed was Eton (South central Cameroon). In infancy, the labia are stretched and the vaginal canal is conditioned (p190), leading to the artificial rupture of the hymen. The infant's life is free of trauma in a sense that he "prend connaissance en douceur, progressivement et naturellement, des réalités génitales et il ne nous semble pas par conséquent possible de définir, par rapport aux Beti, un stade phallique spécifique pendant lequel l'enfant investit dans l'érotisme génital par la masturbation infantile". The latter would not be punished. Parental nudity is observed by infants. Until their separate socialisation from age 5, the sexes live together "dans la promiscuité"; thereafter, they might still meet for play. At puberty, a complete course in Beti sociology is to ensure a successful integration in adult society (see also Ngoa, 1975)⁵⁴¹. This includes a preparation for sexual life during various rites (Ombolo, p218-25).

It seems remarkable that this almost 400-page psychoanalytic discussion on African sexuality has no arguments, outside a general lecture in Freudian theory, on sexual expressions in the "latent" child.

Maka (Cameroon)

⁵³⁸ Abega, S. C. & Tamba, L. M. (1995) *Contes d'Initiation Sexuelle*. Yaounde: Éditions CLE

⁵³⁹ Paul, M. N. (1996) *Rituals of Initiation in the Western Grassfields of Cameroon: The Nso' Case*. Bamenda: Kaberry Research Centre

⁵⁴⁰ Ombolo, J. (1990) *Sexe et Société en Afrique Noire*. Paris: Éditions l'Harmattan

⁵⁴¹ Ngoa, H. (1975) Les rites féminins chez les Beti region du centre-sud au Cameroun, in *La Civilisation de la Femme dans la Tradition Africaine: rencontre / organisée par la Société Africaine de Culture*, Abidjan, 3-8 juillet 1972. Paris: Présence Africaine, p242-55

A “very old woman”, also a circumciser, would “instruct the girls as soon as they see their first menstruation cycle about the mystery of procreation, the duties and sanctity of motherhood” (Nkwi, 1981:p850)⁵⁴².

Etap (Cameroon)

Premarital chastity was strictly enforced for girls between puberty and marriage; if caught, lovers were flogged (Malcolm, 1923)⁵⁴³. This did not last long, usually a few months (age of “puberty” seemed to occur at about age 11-15 in girls, and 13 for boys).

Pangwe / Fan (Cameroon)

Pangwe children (Tessmann, 1911:p250⁵⁴⁴; Tessmann, 1913, II:p252-3)⁵⁴⁵ 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, und das meistens am Vormittag in den Wohnhäusern vor sich geht, wenn die Eltern auf den Pflanzungen oder sonst abwesend sind. Die Partner sind dabei nicht bloß Knaben und Mädchen, sondern auch Knaben unter sich”. This boyhood homosexual variant becomes customary in ages 8 to 10. Pangwe children played a coital puppet game (Tessmann, 1911:p265)⁵⁴⁶.

Banen / Bafia (Cameroon) (2-,2-,2+,2+,3+,4;4,1)

Tessmann (1921 [1998:p151-2]⁵⁴⁷; 1934a, [I]:p226-7)⁵⁴⁸ observed that *Baifa* boyhood sexual life develops in two stages: one, as in the Pangwe) of general promiscuity (“Bei den Baifa heißen

⁵⁴² Nkwi, P. N. (1981) The Maka life cycle, *Anthropos* 72:288-99

⁵⁴³ Malcolm, L. W. G. (1923) Notes on birth, marriage and death ceremonies of the Etap tribe, central Cameroon, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 53:388-401

⁵⁴⁴ Tessmann, G. (1911) Die Kinderspiele der Pangwe, *Bäessler-Archiv* 2:250-80. “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”.

⁵⁴⁵ Tessmann, G. (1913) *Die Pangwe: Völkerkundliche Monographie eines West Afrikanischen Negerstammes*. Berlin: E Wasmuth. Vol. II; Röheim, G. (1952) The anthropological evidence and the Oedipus complex, *Psychoanal Quart* 21:537-42, p541; Italiaander, R. (1969) Beobachtungen bei den Negeren, in Italiaander, R. (Ed.) *Weder Krankheit Noch Verbrechen*. Hamburg: Gala, p100-27, see p 113

⁵⁴⁶ See also Trapp, K. (1960) *Bantu-Spiele*. Thesis, Bonn, p66

⁵⁴⁷ Tessmann, G. (1921) Die Homosexualität bei den Negeren Kameruns, *Jahrb f Sex Zwischenst* 21:121-38. Reprinted and translated by Bradley Rose, in Murray, S. O. & Roscoe, W. (Eds.) *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands. Studies on African Homosexualities*. New York: St. Martin's Press, p149-61. See also *ibid.*, p141-2

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!” “Abgesehen von den [...] Vermischungen der Knaben mit Knaben im frühesten Alter spielt der Bafia-Knabe von fünf, sechs Jahren an die passive Rolle bei einem älteren Bruder, um dann selbst durch den dadurch auf seinen Geschlechtstrieb ausgeübten Reiz zur aktiven Ausübung an seinem Bruder oder Genossen überzugehen” (1921). Bafia children also played a coital puppet game (1934a, [I]:p164).

Other tribes in East-Cameroon were covered by Tessmann (1928)⁵⁴⁹ on his 1913/1914 field work. Among the Mbaka-Limba (p319), masturbation was said to be common; sexual intercourse among boys and young people occurs, though infrequently; the boys beaten with a stick by their fathers might they find out, and pepper in applied *per anum*. 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 [→Pangwe] und anderen Negeren auch, beim “Familienspiel”, und zwar im Busch oder, während der Abwesenheit der Eltern, in den Häusern”. At puberty, there is an increase of maternal surveillance. Among the Mbum and Lakka (p350) sexual acts among boys and youths, “who sleep in very small huts”, are common.

Fali (North Cameroon)

Gauthier (1969:p130)⁵⁵⁰ stated that in childhood, “[i]ls sont très vite intéressés par leurs dissemblances physiques et ne tardent guère à en réaliser l’utilisation possible en des jeux hétérosexuels. Quoique jugeant ces derniers nécessaires, les parents les considèrent avec une indulgence mitigée, reprochant au garçon de se livrer à la fillette les graves conséquences que de tels actes peuvent avoir sur sa conduite future”. More or less formal courtship starts after puberty (p139-40) .

Mouktélé (Nord-Cameroon)

Children are betrothed in infancy, somewhere around age six (Juillerat, 1971:p175-6)⁵⁵¹.

Bangwa (Western Cameroon)

⁵⁴⁸ Tessmann, G. (1934a) *Die Bafia und die Kultur der Mittelkamerun-Bantu*. Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder;

⁵⁴⁹ Tessmann, G. (1928) Die Mbaka-Limba, Mbum und Lakka, *Zeitschr Ethnol* 60, 4:305-52. Also cited by Lembezat, B. (1961) *Les Populations Paiennes du Nord-Cameroun et de l’Adamoua*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, p211

⁵⁵⁰ Gauthier, J. G. (1969) *Les Fali, Hou et Tsalo*. Oosterhout: Anthropological Publications

⁵⁵¹ Juillerat, B. (1971) *Les Bases de l’Organisation Sociale chez les Mouktélé (Nord-Cameroun)*. Paris: Institut d’Ethnologie

A baby is betrothed at birth, or in infancy (Brain, 1972:p114-8)⁵⁵², a custom “fast changing today”. She invites her fiancée from early age on, and lives with him permanently at the approach of marriage. The age difference is sometimes fifteen to twenty years. 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.

Bali (Western Cameroon)

Betrothal, but not marriage, of children could take place before menarche or puberty (Rubin, 1970:p71)⁵⁵³.

Mvae (Betu-Fang; Cameroon)

Among the Mvae, prepubescents engaging in sexual behaviour will meet less the physical rebuttal attributed to the practice than in their seniors (for example, abdominal pains); instead they might experience somnolence (De Lesdain, 1998:p141)⁵⁵⁴.

⁵⁵² Brain, R. (1972) *Bangwa Kinship and Marriage*. London: Cambridge University Press

⁵⁵³ Rubin, N. N. (1970) Matrimonial law among the Bali of West Cameroon: a restatement, *J Afric Law* 14, 2:69-97

⁵⁵⁴ De Lesdain, S. L. (1998) Sexualité et procreation chez les Mvae (Cameroun), *Autrepart* 7:139-52

Equatorial Guinea (Bubi)

Bubi (Bioko Island, [Equatorial Guinea](#))

Tessmann (1923:p166-7)⁵⁵⁵ noted that the Bubi regarded the child as innocent until age 7. Later, the children would be separated at play, and the girls are chaperoned.

⁵⁵⁵ Tessmann, G. (1923) *Die Bubi auf Fernando Poo*. Hagen i.W.: Folkwang

Gabon (Fang, →Mvae)

Fang (Gabon)

The Fang are sometimes married before birth. Complete sexual licence exists before and after betrothal (Balandier, 1955 [1970:p123])⁵⁵⁶. Trézenem (1936)⁵⁵⁷ on the Fan (Gabon) speaks of coitus from the age of capacity. "Before marriage a girl can do nearly as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age", according to Bennett⁵⁵⁸.

Bwiti (religious movement among the Fang of Gabon)

Fernandez (1982:p145-6)⁵⁵⁹ noted coital doll play (*bidzang*) in the Bwiti. Another game called *shale* (p628n8) 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. 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".

⁵⁵⁶ Balandier, G. (1955 [1970]) *The Sociology of Black Africa*. London: Deutsch

⁵⁵⁷ Trézenem, E. (1936) Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué, *J Soc Afric* 6, as cited by Pedrals (1950:p17), *op.cit.*

⁵⁵⁸ Bennett, A. L. (1899) Ethnographical Notes on the Fang, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 29,1/2:66-98

⁵⁵⁹ Fernandez, J. W. (1982) *Bwiti, An Ethnography of the Religious Imagination in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Colonial Congo and Democratic Republic of the Congo (→Zaire)
(Mangbetu, Lalia-Ngolu, Bahuana, Batetela, Nkundo Mongo, Mbuti, Bala, Lele, Bangala)

Investigations of adolescent sexuality in Congo in the last ten years “do not exist”⁵⁶⁰. Marriage in some Congolese tribes has been early, ranging from puberty (Balebi), or “au moment du seins qui poussent” (Bashila), ages 10-12 (Mangbetu), or ages 12-13 (Bahutu) to later ages (Sohier, 1943:p103-7)⁵⁶¹.

Lega (Balega, Warega) (Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zaire)

Delhaise (1909:p167)⁵⁶²: “Les rapports sexuels se pratiquent entre gens de sexe différent nonmariés, même avant l’âge de puberté” (cf. Rachewiltz).

Mangbetu (Northern Congo; Zaire)

“The [Mangbetu] children meet in a hut at night and, if they are not yet able to have intercourse, they imitate the act with each other”. Marriage around age 10-12 (Sohier).

Bambala, etc. (Congo)

Torday and Joyce (1922:p269)⁵⁶³ speak of two marriage forms: between children and adults. The same pattern is seen for the **Bankutu** (p172). Among the **Tofoke**, “[l]es relations sexuelles avant l’époque de la menstruation sont absolument interdits. Elles sont sanctionnées par une amende payable par l’homme au père de la jeune fille. Les mères qui suspectent leurs filles vérifient leurs soupçons par l’introduction de leur doigt ou d’une tige de bananier” (Torday and Joyce, 1922:p205).

Torday and Joyce (1910:p110, 113)⁵⁶⁴ remark: “Les relations entre les sexes ont lieu de très bonne heure, à quatorze ans environ pour les garçons et à dix ans pour les filles. [...] Après que la menstruation a commencé, une fille est supposée ne plus avoir de relations sexuelles jusqu’à l’époque de son mariage; cependant la réalité il arrive bien rarement qu’il en soit

⁵⁶⁰ Courtois, R. et al. (2001) Approche de la sexualité au Congo dans le contexte du sida, *Santé* 11,1:43-8

⁵⁶¹ Sohier, A. (1943) *Le Mariage en Droit Coutumier Congolais*. Bruxelles: Institut Royal Colonial Belge

⁵⁶² Delhaise (1909) *Les Warega*. Bruxelles: A. de Wit

⁵⁶³ Torday, E. & Joyce, T. A. (1922) *Notes Ethnographiques sur des Populations Habitant les Bassins du Kasai et du Kwango Oriental*. Bruxelles: Ministère des Colonies

⁵⁶⁴ Torday, E. & Joyce, T. A. (1910) *Notes Ethnographiques sur les Peuples Communément Appelés Bakuba, ainsi que sur les Peuplades Apparentées, Les Bushongo*. Bruxelles: Ministère des Colonies

ainsi, bien qu'un homme ayant séduit une fille dans de telles conditions soit passible d'une amende. [...] La masturbation est très fréquente à partir d'un âge très tendre, elle a été observée sur des enfants de trois ans; elle est personnelle ou mutuelle dans l'ouest, et plutôt personnelle dans l'est. On ne trouve aucune forme d'inversion sexuelle".

Lalia-Ngolu (Congo)

De Ryck (1937:p48-9)⁵⁶⁵ noted: "Les filles sont précoces; pour hâter leurs rapports avec les hommes, elles se dilatent le vagin avec le fruit "ndeke" de la plante besomboko ou avec les racines d'une plante appelée "mokombe" ou encore avec un morceau de anioc. La plus grande liberté est laissée aux jeunes filles. Avec ou sans l'autorisation de leurs parents, elles ont de nombreux amants. L'Accord des parents est très souvent tacite, car ils n'hésitent pas à profiter des libéralités de ces derniers". In the case of prepubertal or even neonatal "marriage", the girl is to live with the husband from age 3-6 onward, "[...] mais celui-ci n'en use que lorsqu'elle est devenue nubile" (p50).

Bahuana (Congo)

Torday and Joyce (1922:p270)⁵⁶⁶ remark: "La morale sexuelle des Bahuana est inexsistante. Des individus non mariés des deux sexes se livrent au plaisir dès le plus jeune âge, les filles même, avant d'avoir atteint l'âge de la puberté". Parents do nothing to prevent this. The same is said of the **Akela** (p185-6).

Nkundo Mongo (2,2,2,2,3-,2;8,8) (Congo)

Hulstaert (1937:p232-3)⁵⁶⁷ stated: "Aucune date, aucun âge n'est fixé pour le commencement de la cohabitation. Cela s'arrange entre le mari et ses beaux parents. Ceux-ci n'ont pas le droit d'en retarder le moment, même si leur grande influence sur le gendre. La génération moderne n'est pas choquée par les relations entre un adultère et une impubère. D'ailleurs, du point de vue juridique, tout est régulier". The fact that his wife is prepubertal "ne met pas obstacle à la cohabitation". The girl was betrothed in infancy, would live in her future husband's house at age seven or eight to be taught the ways of life by a co-wife, or pays regular visits until age 12 or 15. The majority of girls would be married "avant la nubilité physique. Mais elles n'étaient pas molestées par leurs maris avant qu'elles atteignent le développement normal" (p81).

⁵⁶⁵ De Ryck, F. (1937) *Les Lalia-Ngolu*. Antwerpen: Association des Étudiants de l'Université Coloniale de Belgique

⁵⁶⁶ Torday, E. & Joyce, T. A. (1922) *Notes Ethnographiques sur des Populations Habitant les Bassins du Kasai et du Kwango Oriental*. Bruxelles: Ministère des Colonies

⁵⁶⁷ Hulstaert, G. (1937) *Le Mariage des Nkundó*. Bruxelles: Hayes. See also Mair (1953:p87-8), *op.cit.*

In the past, the Nkundo would teach children that sexual activity by immature persons caused them to contract the fatal disease called *ndota* believed to visit many forms of sexual transgression ([1937:p80-2]). Hulstaert (p80, 95)⁵⁶⁸ noted games of “mari et femmes” “d’une façon qui les dispose bien souvent à des embrassements sans innocence”. Beside this game there are *ioto* (“kitchen”) played primarily by girls, and *yembankongo*, boyhood imitation of monkeys done to give occasion for « des scènes répréhensibles ». Girls operate on themselves in order to “ouvrir la voie”, practices in the woods, and without exceptions (p64-6). This practice is anticipated by the mother : “Pendant la toute première jeunesse, dès la période consacrée à l’allaitement, la mère prévoyante travaille à donner aux organes de sa fillette le plus de perfection possible. Par des pressions réitérées et longtemps continuées, elle en modèle-pour ainsi dire- la face externe, afin d’en obtenir le rétrécissement, qualité fort prisee par nos gens”. The mother prepares the girl for married life, which may be anticipated by a “playful” intergenerational quasi-marriage (p65-6) between men and girls, and between women and little boys, which might include “ [des] caresses intimes”.

Mbuti, BaMbuti (2,2,2,2,2,2;8,8) (eHRAF) (Eastern Congo)

Specific prohibitions on prepubertal coitus are noted by Schebesta (II, p345)⁵⁶⁹ in his study on the *Bambuti* Pygmies: “Magutu, die geweckte Mombutin vom Oruendu, sagte aus, dass den Mädchen der Geschlechtsverkehr vor der ersten Menstruation verboten sei, doch kümmerten sich die Kinder wenig darum, wenn nicht die Mütter auf die Töchter achten würden”. He communicated this before (1936:p97)⁵⁷⁰: “Magutu versicherte, daß das “Urobo” [free premarital intercourse] unter Kindern (vor den Pubertät) verpönt wäre, und geandet were, leider trieben auch solche Kinder ohne Wissen der Mutter Unzug”.

Turnbull (1965:p134)⁵⁷¹ on the West Central African Mbuti:

“[...] the *bamelima* spend most of their time either inside the hut or else off with an instructress, in the forest. Inside the hut they are taught the songs of the *elima* by any older women who care to take part in the instruction. In the forest, I was told by a number of women, young and old, the girls are instructed in the arts of motherhood. This presumably includes such aspects of sexual life as are still unknown to them, which are probably few, but also use of the various herbs and treatments that a woman must know to insure fertility, an abundance of milk, easy childbirth, and abortion if necessary”.

Mbuti children play house, wherein “[...] the young couple lie [sic] down together and pretend to make love”. In the *bopi* (children’s territory) (Turnbull, [1961] 1962:p128-30)⁵⁷², Mbuti children explore every possibility of adult social organisation. “Adult activities are learned from an early age by observation and imitation, for the Pygmies live an open life. Their life is as open inside their tiny one-room leaf huts as it is in the middle of a forest clearing, and so the children have no need of the sex instruction which forms so large a part

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, as cited by Pedrals (1950 :p17), *op.cit.*

⁵⁶⁹ Schebesta, P. (1938-1950) *Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri*. Bruxelles: Librairie Falk & Fils. Vol. 2

⁵⁷⁰ Schebesta, P. (1936) *Die Urwald Ruft Wieder: Meine Zweite Forschungsreise zu den Ituri-Zwergen*. Salzburg: A. Pustest

⁵⁷¹ Turnbull, C. M. (1965) *Wayward Servants: The Two Worlds of the African Pygmies*. Garden City, N.Y.: The Natural History Press

⁵⁷² Turnbull, C. M. (1962) *The Forest People*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday. New ed.

of the teaching given to village boys during the nkumbi" (p226). "They do not merely confine themselves, dutifully, to building miniature *endu* and "playing house", nor does imitating adult activities such as the hunt or the gathering of nuts and roots and berries, or the making of bark-cloth, or even copulation, interest them long. These are mere techniques [...]. More fascinating, as pastimes, are imitations of how the wide diversity of territorial, kinship, age, and sex roles are played" (Turnbull, 1978:p185)⁵⁷³. Thus, "[a]lready in the *bopi* they will be aware of the nature of sexual relationships between boys and girls and will have imitated and ridiculed an extraordinary number of variations on this theme, working their way through every kind of interhuman relationship [...]" (p189). At menarche the girl may have intercourse in the *elima* or *Alima* hut (1965:p132-40; 1957:p208; for a specific note on the *elima*, see Turnbull, 1960)⁵⁷⁴. "Sexual experimentation is certainly a major element in the *elima*, but it is combined with a very definite move to widen the social horizons of the girls, and to redirect their attentions into what the parental and grandparental generations consider proper horizons. There are also certain rules about intercourse in the *elima* hut. The senior girls, or instructors, and the "mother" guide the *bamelima* in all this".

"Parents were constantly complaining of the noise their children made while engaged upon amorous expeditions; they preferred being able to turn a deaf ear. One youth went too far when he called out from inside his girl friend's hut to the group outside (which included her parents), and begged them to continue singing because "it is so sweet to [make love] to song, just like in the *elima* hut". His phrase for lovemaking was somewhat intimately descriptive, and brought cries of protest and his immediate ejection from the hut. [...] By and large all that the parents can complain about in the sexual life of their children is the noise. If the noise becomes too much, however, it then becomes a matter for the band" (W.S., p203, 204).

To legitimise adolescent freedom, "[...] the Mbuti simply denied the fact and said that although youths could have sex whenever they wanted (within minimal bounds of privacy and respect for others) children would never be born until the youths were married" (1983:p43)⁵⁷⁵. According to Putnam, this would actually be true.

During boy's initiation rites (*nkumbi*), "[s]ex instruction takes place spasmodically, but at no time is it either given or taken seriously" (Turnbull, 1957:p199)⁵⁷⁶. Boys aged two to eight play *nkumbi*, coached by their theoretically ignorant mothers (p202). Mbuti practised infant betrothal⁵⁷⁷.

[Additional refs.:

♦ Hallet, J.P. & Relle, A. (1973) *Pygmy Kitabu*. New York: Random House;

♦ Heymer, A (1979) [Bayaka-Pygmyes (central Africa) - hetero-sexual social grooming (delousing) between adolescent girls and boys], *Homo* 30,3:202-11]

⁵⁷³ Turnbull, C. M. (1978) The politics of non-aggression, in Montagu, A. (Ed.) *Learning Non-Aggression*. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press, p161-221

⁵⁷⁴ Turnbull, C. M. (1960) The *Elima*, *Zaire* 14:175-92

⁵⁷⁵ Turnbull, C. M. (1983) *The Mbuti Pygmies: Change and Adaptation*. Orlando, Fla.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers

⁵⁷⁶ Turnbull, C. M. (1957) Initiation among the BaMbuti Pygmies of the Central Ituri, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 87,2:191-216

⁵⁷⁷ Schebesta (1952:p233), *op.cit.*

Bala / Basonge / Basongo (Congo)

Schmitz (Van Overbergh, 1908:p253)⁵⁷⁸, on the *Basonge*: “Bien avant leur puberté, tout gosses encore, négrillons et négrillonnes se roulent dans les coins, en quête de voluptés. “Ils ne peuvent pas encore, mais ils essayent”.” Further, “[a]s to crimes against nature, instances are few and far between, exclusively among young boys”. Merriam (1971:p78)⁵⁷⁹ states:

“For the Bala, autoeroticism among children is considered normal although continuation of it is thought to lead to difficulty. Boys play with their genitals “from the time they are very young”, but they cannot ejaculate “until they are 10 years old”. During the evening, when boys get together, they may masturbate (*kwasa*, “play”), and there is also group masturbation. Adults consider the latter shameful and break it up whenever possible. It is said that the result of persistent masturbation, whether individually or in a group, will be subsequent lack of interest in women. Little girls also masturbate, first with their fingers, and later with a dildo (*kankondenkonde*, pl. *tunkondekkonde*) made of manioc root. [...] In addition to this preadolescent sex play, all young boys, it is said, spy on women when they are bathing. As a result they know something of female anatomy and the sexually connected keloid markings at an early age”.

Boys and girls may sing obscene songs (p99). Girls and boys play love games (Torday, Joyce and Hardy, 1922:p21), choosing lovers and ridiculing those not chosen. Further, Torday and Joyce (1910:p272) note that “Il est permis à ceux qui ne sont pas mariés d’avoir des relations sexuelles et ils en ont dès un très jeune âge”. Merriam (1974:p226)⁵⁸⁰ stated: “Young men and women engage in heterosexual activities before marriage, and in the case of girls, often before puberty”. Intercourse is freely practised during more or less informal arrangements referred to as engagements. 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”. Marriages can be arranged at age 13-15 (girls) and 15-17 (boys). Children may also be affianced at an age as early as eight years, but this is not considered special or different from ordinary betrothal (p233). 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 sex relations (p263). “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*”. Beaucorps (1941:p106)⁵⁸¹ would argue that among the Songo of the past, a man who consented to live maritally with an immature girl would have been despised. “This vice has only been introduced to the Basongo by civilization”.

⁵⁷⁸ In Van Overbergh, C. (1908) *Les Basonge*. Bruxelles: A. de Wit

⁵⁷⁹ Merriam, A. M. (1971) Aspects of sexual behavior among the Bala (Basongye), in Marshall, D. S. (Eds.) *Human Sexual Behavior*. New Jersey: E. Cliffs. 1972 Prism Paperback ed., p71-102

⁵⁸⁰ Merriam, A. P. (1974) *An African World: The Basongye Village of Lupupa Ngye*. Bloomington [etc.]: Indiana University Press

⁵⁸¹ Beaucorps, R. de (1941) *Les Basongo de la Luniungu et de la Gobari*. Brussels; Mair (1953:p88), *op.cit.*

Lele (Congo)

Betrothal from birth was observed (Douglas, 1960:p17)⁵⁸².

Bangala, Boloki (Congo)

Weeks (1910:p416)⁵⁸³ in Upper Congo: "Boys and girls from an early age until puberty have free intercourse with each other, and I believe that later there is no public condemnation if the girls are not betrothed. [...] Premenstrual connection is desired by men because they like it, and also because they can indulge freely and there is no palaver, and it is not until the beginning of the periods that girls are guarded from promiscuous intercourse". After puberty, restrictions were placed on the girl, and the act was regarded as adultery. Weeks (1909:p442)⁵⁸⁴ claimed there were no virgins beyond the age of five years, and after puberty. Among the Boloki "it is impossible to find a virgin above five years of age" (Weeks, 1911:p127)⁵⁸⁵.

⁵⁸² Douglas, M. (1960) Blood-Debts and Clientship Among the Lele, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 90,1:1-28

⁵⁸³ Weeks, J. H. (1910) Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River. (Part III), *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 40:360-427

⁵⁸⁴ Weeks, J. H. (1910) Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River. (Part II), *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 39:416-59. "Above the age of five years it would be impossible to find a girl who is a virgin".

⁵⁸⁵ Weeks, J. H. (1911) *Among Congo Cannibals*. London: Seeley, Service & Co

Zaire (→Colonial Congo) (Mbo, Bwela, Ngwana, Mukete, Basoko, Bahemba, Azande, Bakongo, Bakwa-Luntu, Tetela, Muyaka, Alur, Baluba, Baushi, Wagenia)

“Ethnic group and religion are also significant influences on the timing of early life course transitions. As the magnitudes of the estimated coefficients in the different tables indicate, there are substantial differences by ethnic group in age at entry into sexual activity and motherhood, and somewhat smaller differences in age at entry into marriage. The differences by religion tend to be smaller than those by ethnic group for initiation of sexual activity and childbearing, but they are as large or larger for entry into marriage. These results indicate that cultural and religious differences among women in Kinshasa are important determinants of differences in the timing of these life course transitions”⁵⁸⁶.

Among the Kongo *kanda*, marriages were arranged by parents. This arrangement was most usual when a man sought to secure a right to an infant. He would then co-habit with her when she reached the age of thirteen or fourteen” (Hilton, 1983:p192)⁵⁸⁷.

Based on autobiographical material, Erny (1971; 1977:p331-65)⁵⁸⁸ dwells at length about childhood and adolescent sexual development, giving a poly-ethnic survey including data on the Batetela, Bapende, Bakwa-Luntu, Bakongo, Mongo, Bapende, Babembe, Baluba, Lulua, Bayombe, Mbanza, Bambala, Bayanzi, Basuku, Bahungana, Bayansi, Luntu, Muyaka, Zande, and Alur. Preparation of the female genital (vaginal and hymenal distension, elongation of labia majora) are noted for the Bapende (in groups, with the use of herbs), Babembe, Batetela, and Baluba. Andropoetica (phallopoetica, aphrodisiacs) are used among Batetela and Mongo boys. Questions about sexuality are generally met with evasion among the Baluba, Bambala, Bayanzi, Basuku (particularly true for father-son conversations); some parental sex education is noted for the Mongo, as well as grandparental education among the Mongo, Baluba and Bahungana.

In a 1988 study (Rind, 1991)⁵⁸⁹, mean age of first sexual intercourse was 17 for men and 16 for women. In a later study, mean age at first sexual intercourse was 17.1 for males, and 16.8 for females (Magnani et al., 1995)⁵⁹⁰. In a further study⁵⁹¹ among 1198 students from six rural and two urban schools in Zaire in 1990, the average age at first sexual intercourse was 11 years for boys, 13 years for girls.

⁵⁸⁶ Shapiro, D. & Tambashe, O. (1996) Family Background and Early Life Course Transitions in Kinshasa, *J Marriage & Fam* 58,4:1029-37

⁵⁸⁷ Hilton, A. (1983) Family and Kinship among the Kongo South of the Zaire River from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries, *J African Hist* 24,2:189-206

⁵⁸⁸ 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 Zaïrois*. Paris: La Pensée Universelle

⁵⁸⁹ Bertrand, J. T. et al. (1991) AIDS-related knowledge, sexual behavior, and condom use among men and women in Kinshasa, Zaire, *Am J Public Health* 81:35; Rind, P. (1991) Misconceptions About HIV Transmission Are Common in Kinshasa, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 17,2:78-9

⁵⁹⁰ Magnani, R. J., Bertrand, J. T., Makani, B. & McDonald, S. W. (1995) Men, Marriage and Fatherhood in Kinshasa, Zaire, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 21,1:19-25+47

⁵⁹¹ Tshimika, P. K. (1991) *Predictors of HIV-Related High Risk Sexual Behaviors among Adolescents from Church-Related High Schools in the Bandundu Province-Zaire*. Diss., Loma Linda University

Mbo (Zaire)

The major initiation rite is called *nkumbi* (cf. →[Mbuti](#)) as described by Towles (1993)⁵⁹².

Bwela (Zaire)

Sexual education takes place within the context of the initiation rite called *enjáni*, carried out by the *njáni*, when girls have had, or are about to have, their menarche (Monongo and Akanga, 1987)⁵⁹³.

Ngwana (Zaire)

The sexual instruction of the girl takes place within the institution of the *Unwali* (Ngozi, 1976)⁵⁹⁴.

Basoko (Zaire)

In the bush school associated with circumcision, matrimonial issues are raised, including the technique of the act of procreation (Erny (1972 [1981:p82-3])⁵⁹⁵.

Kuba (Zaire)

According to Bitota (1987-9)⁵⁹⁶ prenatal and prepubertal betrothal are in regression.

Bahemba (Zaire)

According to Katahwa (1978)⁵⁹⁷, pubertal girls practise elongation of the labia minora and hymenal distension (p243-6). The mother never takes part in sexual education, which is

⁵⁹² Towles, J. A. (1993) *Nkumbi Initiation: Ritual and Structure among the Mbo of Zaire*. Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika 137

⁵⁹³ Monongo, E. & Akanga, Ng. (1987) L'éducation sexuelle chez les Bwela, *Ann Aequatoria* 8:131-41

⁵⁹⁴ Ngozi, I. (1976) Unwali, l'éducation sexuelle de la jeune fille Ngwana avant le mariage, *Cah Rel Afr* 10,20:309-20

⁵⁹⁵ Erny, P. (1972) *L'Enfant et son Milieu en Afrique Noire*. Paris: Bibliotheque Scientifique. Abridged and adapted by

Wanjohi, G. J. (1981) as *The Child and his Environment in Black Africa*.

⁵⁹⁶ Bitota, Tch. Nk. (1987-9) Les fiancailles chez les Kuba, *Rev Jurid Zaire* 63,1/3:52-6; 65, 1/3:19-26

reserved for the age class (p236). The girl is informed on sexual hygiene and habits before and after matrimonial acts (p246).

Azande, Zande (Zaire, Sudan, Congo) (2,-,2+,3+,2-,2-;7,7;B?) (eHRAF)

“Intercourse takes place before the girl’s first menstruation, because the Azande believe that early intercourse accelerates the beginning of puberty” (Czekanowski, 1924). Infant betrothal is the rule (Seligman, 1932:p511-2)⁵⁹⁸. “After circumcision a boy is recognised as a person old enough to have sexual intercourse [...]” (Baxter and Butt, 1953:p74)⁵⁹⁹; this, however, occurs at an age variable from early postnatally to age 18. “Zande children were taught that, properly, sexual intercourse should take place only between married couples, but extra-marital intercourse was not regarded as an offence if indulged in discreetly” (B&B, p71). Communications on behaviour are sparse. “In Africa, according to information communicated by Professor Evans-Pritchard⁶⁰⁰, quite young children among the Azande or Nuer begin to play at house-keeping and marriage, and it is then that they receive their first lesson in social morality, the adults interfering to impress upon them that these games must not be played between brothers and sisters” (Seligman, 1932:p213)⁶⁰¹. Thus, “[c]hildren are not taught that sexual indulgence is wrong, but that its only legitimate place is within marriage” (Seligman and Seligman, 1932:p514).

“As children grow up into boys and girls they will never miss a dance. To both sexes it is a means of display which becomes intensified at puberty. The dance is one of those cultural milieux in which sexual display takes place and selection is encouraged. The sexual situations of the dance are not very obvious to the observer. Boys and girls come to the dance to flirt, and flirtation often leads to sexual connexion, but society insists that neither the one nor the other shall be indulged in blatantly. At the same time society permits these sexual incidents so long as they occur with discretion and moderate concealment. A boy who openly approached a girl would be reprimanded and abused, but if he catches her attention whilst she is dancing with her friends, gives her a little nudge perhaps, and when he sees that his advances are reciprocated says *mu je gude* (come on kid!) no one will interfere. They go quietly into the bush or into a neighbouring hut and have intercourse (Evans-Pritchard, 1928:p457-8)⁶⁰²”.

According to an oral history (Evans-Pritchard) there was copulatory “play”. Thus, “[...] small boys for their part- one will take hold of another to press on him in boys’ play, but this is what he has seen his father doing, his father copulating with his mother – so he goes after little girls whom he knows to try to copulate with them. So when a little boy mounts a little girl the grown-ups just laugh, just laugh quietly and then pretend to be angry, saying to him ‘eh child, from whom did you get that idea? Who told you to do that sort of thing in front of people. It is just a child’s behavior”.

⁵⁹⁷ Katahwa, Ng. (1978) De l’initiation traditionnelle des jeunes chez les Bahemba du Shaba au Zaire, *Africa* 33,2 :217-48

⁵⁹⁸ Seligman, Ch. G. & Seligman, B. Z. (1932) *The Azande*. London: George Routledge & Sons / *Pagan Tribes, op.cit.*

⁵⁹⁹ Baxter, P.T.W. & Butt, Au. (1953) *The Azande, and Related Peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Belgian Congo*. London: International African Institute. See also Lagae, C. R. (1926) *Les Azande ou Niam-Niam*. Bruxelles: Bibliothèque Congo

⁶⁰⁰ [?]

⁶⁰¹ Seligman, C. G. (1932) Anthropological Perspective and Psychological Theory, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 62:193-228

⁶⁰² Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1928) The dance, *Africa* 1:446-62

According to Enry (1971:p11-2; 1977:p339-41)⁶⁰³, no formal sex education is given to either child or adolescent. "At nine or ten, he will help in the crops, collect firewood, and generally change from a child into a boy. He will no longer be sleeping with his parents, but in a little hut built apart, either by himself or with his brothers if he has any, but never with his sisters, for to do so would be considered very shameful, as in Zande eyes to sleep in a house with a woman is tantamount to lying with her" (Larken, 1926-7)⁶⁰⁴.

Evans-Pritchard's⁶⁰⁵ account of Azande ejacularche:

"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 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 mbisimo gude; at about 17 years of age they contain mbisimo gude⁶⁰⁶. A man considers himself capable of procreating children so long as he is able to ejaculate sperm" (1932). "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 [...]" (1974).

Azande Boy-Wives and Princelings

A now defunct homosexual boy-wife system was practised by unmarried Azande, as described by the Seligmans (1932:p506-7)⁶⁰⁷:

"Part of the male population between the ages of 20 and 35 was organized into *vura*, called *aparanga* for the unmarried and *abakumba* for the married. While the members of the *vura* were at court they lived in large houses outside the chief's enclosures, and near them, in smaller isolated huts, lived the chiefs' sons or near male relatives. The *aparanga* worked on the chiefs' cultivation in time of peace, organized under leaders, in units ready for military service when required. Some of these young men brought with them boys. These boys were sometimes spoken of as women, and were even addressed as such: the seniors might in jest call a particular boy *diare*, "my wife", and be addressed by him as "husband". The young men paid spears for their boy "wives", and the bond between the two was publicly acknowledged. The boys behaved as women in that they ate out of sight of their "husbands" and performed numerous minor duties for them, though they did not cook for them but fetched them cooked food. At night they slept beside them, and with these youths the elders satisfied their sexual desires. The custom was definitely recognized as a substitute for normal heterosexual union. Now that military service has been discontinued the practice is no longer necessary, nor does there exist any desire to continue it; it might

⁶⁰³ *Op.cit.*

⁶⁰⁴ Larken, P. M. ([1926-7]) *An Account of the Zande*. Khartoum: [s.n.], eHRAF. Reprinted from *Sudan Notes & Records* 9:1-55; 10:85-135. See p11

⁶⁰⁵ Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1932) *Heredity and gestation, as the Azande see them*, [eHRAF]. Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, p400-14, p401. Cf. Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1974) *Man and Woman among the Azande*. London: Faber & Faber, p19

⁶⁰⁶ 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]

⁶⁰⁷ *Op.cit.*

be said that homosexuality is no longer fashionable, indeed homosexual practices between men seem non-existent at the present day, though when referring to the subject the Azande generally express no shame or disgust. It should, however, be noted that penetration was never practised”.

The custom was also described by Evans-Pritchard (1957, 1970, 1971)⁶⁰⁸. Evans-Pritchard (1957:p379-80; 1971:p182, 183) also comments on Azande Princelings. “All Zande princes were (and still are) accompanied by a number of these small boys to attend them wherever they went. [...] Azande do not regard it as at all improper, indeed as very sensible, for a man to sleep with boys when women are not available or are taboo, and, as we shall see later, in the past this was a regular practice at court. Some princes may even have preferred boys to women, when both were available. This is not a question I can enter into further here beyond saying I was told that some princes sleep with boys before consulting the poison oracle, women being then taboo, and also that they sometimes do so on other occasions, just because they like them”.

Further, “Many of the young warriors married boys, and a commander might have more than one boy-wife. [...] The two slept together at nights, the husband satisfying his desires between the boy’s thighs (p199-200). Evans-Pritchard (1970:p170 [1992:p170]), although too late to observe the practice himself, notes that the word “boy” (kumba gunde) “must, it would appear, be interpreted liberally, for as far as I could judge from what I was told the lads might have been anywhere between about twelve and twenty years of age”.

Bakongo (Zaire)

Weeks (1914:p172)⁶⁰⁹ stated: “The unbetrothed girls from an early age up to puberty had free ingress to these houses [adolescent bachelor’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””. Access to the bachelor’s huts is customary for boys aged 12. Boy infants’ potency is greatly valued by his mother (Enry, 1971:p92). Van Wing (1959:p29)⁶¹⁰ relates how pubescents discover that one day he has to become a mbuta, an elder, a man capable of procreating. This makes him happy and proud, and the novum is rapidly spread among his comrades.

Bakwa-Luntu (Zaire)

Boy infants’ virility greatly pleases his mother (Enry, 1971:p92).

⁶⁰⁸ Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1957) *The Zande Royal Court, Zaire* [microform] Vol. 11. Bruxelles: Éditions Universitaires, p361-389, 493-511, 687-713; Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1970) Sexual Inversion among the Azande, *Am Anthropol* 72:1428-34; Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1971) *The Azande: History and Political Institutions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reprinted in Dynes, W. R. & Donaldson, S. (Eds., 1992) *Ethnographic Studies of Homosexuality*. New York: Garland, p168-74. See also Czekanowski, J. (1924) *Research in the Nile-Congo Region*. Leipzig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, p56; Murray (1998); Patron, Eu. J. (1995) Heart of Lavender: In Search of Gay Africa, *Harvard Gay and Lesbian Review*, Fall

⁶⁰⁹ Weeks, J. H. (1914) *Among the Primitive Bakongo*. London: Secley [etc.]; Margold (1926)

⁶¹⁰ Van Wing, J. (1959) *Études Bakongo*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer [?]. Also cited by Erny (1972 [1981;p60])

Batetela, Tetela, Atetela (Zaire)

Regarding the Batetela, “[i]nfant betrothal is found among the various sections of the tribe, but the habit of engaging a new-born female child to a small boy by throwing an iron bracelet into the water in which the baby has been first washed is only practiced by Sungu mothers” (Torday, 1921:p375)⁶¹¹.

Milk must not fall on the infant’s penis or vagina, for it will cause impotence or hypersecretion⁶¹² (Enry, 1971:p92; 1977:p341-55). Girls 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” (cf., Torday, Joyce and Hardy, 1922:p71). Girls touch each other’s mammellae to ensure its future ability to produce milk. The vaginal canal is dilated digitally, or with a manioc dildo. Boys of this age apply manioc powder of the penis to prepare the organ for circumcision (*ibid.*, p93-4). A multitude of sexual taboos exists (1971:p96-7; 1977:p349-50), including genital automanipulation, on the threat of impotence. Children observe parental nudity, and “hear every anecdote”. 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 (p101-2). Both children (about 8-9) and adolescents practice house/marriage play (by one informant named *Asanga*), including coital play (p105-6)⁶¹³. Children are sometimes betrothed by parents (p106). Children married at age 10-12, boys at 15 (Torday, Joyce and Hardy, 1922:p68).

Muyaka (Zaire)

Information is provided by Enry (1971:p108-11; 1977:p336-9). No systematic sexual education until two or three months before marriage. Heterosexual play is reprimanded. Despite all precautions, “[...] on trouve des petits de six ou sept ans qui simulent les relations sexuelles ou cherchent à se séduire mutuellement”. Children are not noted to play homosexually, but hut/marriage play in mixed groups includes sex play: “Les premiers se livrent à des jeux sexuels tandis que les seconds “ronflent” dans leur coin. On interdit sévèrement aux petits de raconter au village ce qui s’est passé”. One boy is to play the rooster and wakes the couple. The games continue until boys enter the circumcision camp and girls are engaged.

Alur (North-East Zaire)

⁶¹¹ Torday, E. (1921) Culture and Environment: Cultural Differences Among the Various Branches of the Batetela, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 51:370-84

⁶¹² See also Enry, P.(1971) *Les Premiers Pas dans la Vie de l’Enfant d’Afrique Noire*. Paris: Le Livre Africain

⁶¹³ Among the Bayombe (p106), imitated sexual behaviour during hut play would be rare; “on s’intéresse surtout aux travaux quotidiens”. However, sexual games are prevalent (p105).

Two-versions of Alur sexual development are provided by Enry (1971:p112-7; 1977:p355-61). Sexuality should serve procreation, and discussion of sexual matters is considered a sign of bad education. Children and adolescents are not to know anything, and are to grow up “dans une innocence absolue”. Sexual games are at least feared by parents who shield pubertal children from younger ones, lest they partake in outlawed amusements called *tuko cung'kol*, so to speak, “le jeu dans les déchets de millet”. Sex education is not offered, and libidinous or obscene tendencies are not tolerated. Some clues to marital life are finally offered by the paternal aunt (to girls) past the age of twenty, and to boys. Genital touching is forbidden from infancy on. Children might join the bachelor's hut (*od ubire*) from age 6-7.

***Baluba, Luba* (Kasai, [Zaire](#); South-Central Congo)**

Colle (1913, I:p279)⁶¹⁴ on the *Baluba*: “Même avant la puberté, garçons et filles se fixent des rendez-vous secrets, dans les herbes ou sur le bord de la rivière”. Potions may be used in the intention of altering the course of a slow or accelerated puberty (Enry, 1971:p94). Boys organise masturbation contests to prove their virility.

Burton (1930)⁶¹⁵ notes that marriage is enacted at age ten to eleven for girls, compared to later ages in the past. The genitals of little girls (seven to eight onward) are rubbed internally and externally by themselves with a pepper called *kiulamulundu*, the juice of which makes the flesh swell. Pieces of wood were inserted and occasionally the girls resort also to bleeding and cupping. For this, they would be sent out in the forests by parents for secret rendezvous known by the term *kwikana*.

***Mukete* ([Zaire](#))**

Sex is a matter only shared between members of the same gender (Erny, 1977:p331-3). Many games with a sexual character exist between young and old children.

***Baushi* ([Zaire](#))**

Kokonge and Erny (1976:7-27)⁶¹⁶ discuss at length the development of sexual behaviour. The maternal task of manual preputial adhaesiolysis in infants is institutional, since the condition of permanent fixation is considered *kameme*, a defect. When the prepuce is so forcefully retracted that it gets stuck permanently under the corona glandis [?], the boy is *lufunu* (boy with nude glans), and might not get married or have satisfactory sexual relations. As in the Senegalese (→[Senegal](#)), erections are provoked, and medicines are used to combat assumed impotence when the penis remains flaccid. Children sleep with parents, but “à partir du moment où il osera se tenir éveillé au moment où Vénus couvre ses parent de son étreinte,

⁶¹⁴ Colle, R. P. (1913) *Les Baluba (Congo Belge)*. Bruxelles: A de Wit, Vol.1

⁶¹⁵ Burton, W. F. P. (1930) The secret societies of Lubaland, Congo Belge, *Bantu Studies* 4,4:217-50

⁶¹⁶ Kokonge, M. & Erny, P. (1976) Comportements sexuels chez les Baushi Kinama (Shaba, Zaire), *Psychopathol Afr* 12, 1:5-33

on l'estimera devenu trop grand pour rester avec eux"; the child is then to sleep with his grandparents. Genitals are involved in verbal play with adults. From age five or six until age 11 or 12, children play "kitchen" with coitus: "Parfois on les surprend, derrière la maison, imitant innocemment la copulation adulte... En règle générale, les parents s'amuse de ces jeux enfantins. [...] L'attitude des parents est tolérante, permissive. Bien plus, ils n'hésiteront pas à y inciter, le moment venu, ceux de leurs enfants qui sembleraient manifester peu d'enthousiasme ou une certaine inhibition" (p9, 24). Various games include sexual elements: *Nambushi* (Mother of Goats), *Mwingilo wa nsenshi*, and *Sale sale kinkamba* (Everyone is to Choose whom he Pleases). The classic marital game, in the form of play villages, is called *mansansa* (p26); there they may "[...] imitent la vie conjugale sous le regard lointain, mais amusé des parents".

At puberty, boys use numerous plants to prepare genitals to insure glandular function, provocation of spermatogenesis, penile enlargement, and erectile potency. Implicitly, masturbation is involved, and contests are held. Boys also use love cosmetics, practice voyeuristic acts, and "attack girls" whom they are not to deflower. Girls practice artificial elongation of the minor labia (*kukuna*), and enlargement of the aditus vaginae to the size of a normal penis, sometimes using a dildo. Mutual masturbation may be involved, and practices are done *en groupe*. She must not overdo this, for else she will experience marital difficulties. During the *Kisungu* ritual, further pharmacology is practised to ensure fertility. In the early forties, 12 to 15-year-olds invented a secret language to exchange vulgarities and to practice coprolalia.

Yombe, BaYombe (Zaire)

Anecdotal material was collected by (Erny, 1977:p333-6).

Wagenia (Zaire)

Drooges (1974:p60)⁶¹⁷ observed boys aged 5 to 7 performing coitus with girls, demonstrating a wealth of experience:

"Van de jongens boven de tien kan men zeggen dat zij steeds minder met meisjes speelden, maar op andere wijze contact zochten. De eerste vrijages en homakerij, waarvan sommigen hoog opgaven, vonden plaats of deze leeftijd. Al veel eerder waren jongens op de hoogte van de betekenis van hun sexe. Zij wisten feilloos waarvoor de sexeverschillen bedoeld waren en toonden zich geheel vertrouwd met hun toekomstige rol. Twee novieten van vijf en zeven jaar gaven eens een demonstratie van geslachtsgemeenschap die een grondige kennis verried. Een jongen van drie jaar riep bij het aanschouwen van de ronde vormen van een speelgoedzwaan van onze zoon: "Kijk eens, zij is zwanger!"⁶¹⁸.

⁶¹⁷ Drooges, A. (1974) *De Gevaarlijke Reis: Jongensinitiatie bij de Wagenia van Kisangani (Zaire)*. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit [Dutch]. Revised as *The Dangerous Journey* (1980). The Hague: Mouton. Also cited by Brongersma, E. (1987) *Jongensliefde*, Deel 1. Amsterdam: SUA, p124

⁶¹⁸ "One might argue that the boys older than ten years of age progressively less associated themselves with girls, yet sought contact in another way. The first courtship behaviours, of which the boys

boasted, occurred at this age. Already at an earlier age the boys where acquainted with the meaning of their sex. They knew unmistakably the purpose of sexual difference and appeared entirely at ease with their future role. Two novices aged five and seven years staged a demonstration of sexual intercourse suggestive of a thorough knowledgeability. Observing the curvaceous contours of our son's toy swan, one three-year-old boy called out: "Look, she's pregnant!" (transl., DJ).

Uganda (Ik, Gisu, Acholi, Sebei, Bahima/Bahuma [Hima, Bahuma Bajoro], Bachiga, Lango, Nkole, Ganda, Kiziba, Lugbara, Jie, Iteso, Bwamba, Baamba, So, Guang)

In the Uganda protectorate, “[a]t any stage of its infant life a child may be betrothed to some other infant or to one many years older than itself” (Kitching, 1912:p173)⁶¹⁹.

In one study, coitarche occurred at age seven to nine in 23% of boys and 8% of girls; by age twelve, 64% of boys and 76% of girls had had intercourse. Another study⁶²⁰ among school students found that “[a]mong girls, the earliest reported age for initiation of sexual intercourse was eight years, but the mean age for first sexual intercourse was 16.1 years for boys and 16.6 years for girls”.

Fifteen percent practised labial elongation, while about a quarter indicated they had not heard about it at all (Kisekka, 1976)⁶²¹. In one study (Turyasingura, 1989)⁶²², coitarche occurred at age 15. In another (Kahazura, 1991)⁶²³, coitarche occurred at age 13.6 (non-school group), and 14.4 (students); the lowest age encountered was nine. A 1988/9 survey among 15-24-year-old Ugandans found that the mean age of first coitus was 15.1 among males and 15.5 among females (Agyei and Epema, 1992)⁶²⁴.

In one study of 86 patients with acute PID (Grech et al., 1973)⁶²⁵, 48% claimed to have begun sexual intercourse at age fourteen or earlier. In a study reported by Arya and Bennett (1968)⁶²⁶, the first sexual experience occurred before age ten in 8% of Uganda college students. In a recent study (Stewart, 2000)⁶²⁷, first penetrative coitus was to occur at ages 15.4 (girls) and 15.0 (boys).

Among the Uganda Bamba (Bundibugyo district), a boy is not allowed to engage in sex before circumcision (Standing and Kisekka, 1989:p218).

Parikh⁶²⁸ notes:

⁶¹⁹ Kitching, A. L. (1912) *On the Backwaters of the Nile*. London

⁶²⁰ Twa-Twa, J. M. (1997) The role of the environment in the sexual activity of school students in Tororo and Pallisa districts of Uganda, *Health Transition Rev*, Suppl. to Vol. 7:67-81

⁶²¹ Kisekka, M. N. (1976) Sexual attitudes and behavior among students in Uganda, *J Sex Res* 12,2:104-16

⁶²² Turyasingura, G. B. (1989) *Sexual Behavior and Contraception Knowledge, Attitudes and Practice among Youth of Jinja District in Uganda*. Dissertation, Makerere

⁶²³ Kahazura, F. (1991) *The Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices of Contraception and Sexuality of Adolescents of Kampala, Uganda*. Dissertation, Makerere

⁶²⁴ Agyei, W. K. A. & Epema, E. J. (1992) Sexual Behavior and Contraceptive Use Among 15-24-Year-Olds in Uganda, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 18,1:13-7

⁶²⁵ Grech, E. S. et al. (1973) Epidemiology of acute pelvic inflammatory disease in Uganda, *Tropical Doctor* 3:123-7

⁶²⁶ Arya, O. P. & Bennett, F. J. (1968) Attitudes of college students in East Africa to sexual activity and venereal disease, *Br J Ven Dis* 44:160-6

⁶²⁷ Stewart, K. A. (2000) Toward a historical perspective on sexuality in Uganda, *Africa Today* 47,3/4:123-48

⁶²⁸ 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

“The effect of the mass-mediated technologies is a breakdown and rearrangement of social categories, or as Lawrence Birken (1988)^[629] observes a “democratization of sexual information”, in which a genderless and ageless public consumes an abundance of images. In Uganda, this has meant that sexual learning, which was provided by the paternal aunt and uncle, shifted from the kin networks to the public sphere, causing further stain on an already fading system of sex education of youth”.

In a study (Bohmer and Kirumira, 2000)⁶³⁰ among out of school 12-19 year olds, it was found that sexual information may be derived from a multitude of sources, including overhearing adult conversation or activities.

“Older females (14-16 years) and males (17-19 years) said that sexual activity begins between ages 12-16, males (17-19 years) reported that younger boys these days start earlier (i.e., age 12) than they themselves did (average of 14.5). Younger boys (12-13) expressed the view that sexual activity begins much earlier (ages ranged from 4 to 18), although they often spoke about both sexual play that occurs among children in addition to full sexual intercourse. Some boys believe that sexual intercourse takes place as early as 6-10 years, while others said that mature sexual relationships for males occur between 15-17 years when one is capable of sexually satisfying his partner. Thus, some males make a distinction between full sexual intercourse and less mature relationships where a boy is not yet capable of satisfying his partner [...]. With regard to ages of sexual initiation for females, a third of boys in the 12-13 year group believed that females begin having sex as young as 4-6 years, although they felt that waiting until 13 years would be more appropriate. Males from both older and younger age groups felt that partnerships with younger girls are best as one does not need to worry about satisfying them sexually and as an older female may “lure them into sex” ”.

“Girls in the 12-13 year group said that most often money or clothes entice girls to have sex with “big men”. A married woman would argue: “And once the breasts come, she catches a boss. She does not go in for her age mates”. Boys were ambivalent to age disparate contacts with adult females. The actual incidence does not become apparent.

[Additional refs.: Nyanzi, S., Pool, R. & Kinsman, J. (2001) The negotiation of sexual relationships among school pupils in south-western Uganda, *AIDS-Care* 13,1:83-98]

Ik (Uganda)

“Usually marriage negotiations are entered into only when all the parents concerned have indicated their approval. Already when she is between seven and ten years a girl may be given a bracelet as a sign of engagement. From then onwards she is watched by her future husband, e.g., to prevent her from meeting other boys” (Heine, 1985:p11)⁶³¹.

Gisu (Uganda)

⁶²⁹ Birken, L. (1988) *Consuming Desire: Sexual Science and the Emergence of a Culture of Abundance 1871-1914*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press

⁶³⁰ 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

⁶³¹ Heine, B. (1985) The Mountain People: some notes on the Ik of north-eastern Uganda, *Africa* 55,1:3-16

“The sexual activities of members of proximate generations, particularly kin and affines, must not be brought into contact. Household arrangements bring this out clearly; there is no extended domestic group. No Gisu may sleep in the paternal hut after puberty”⁶³². Heald (1999)⁶³³ provides a psychoanalytic perspective on Gisu initiation. As excerpted:

“At circumcision, the boys first ‘spoils’ the millet before himself becoming ‘spoilt’ and both acts carry the implications of sexuality. Indeed, the act of making beer is directly linked to sexuality and circumcision is the first time in which a boy participates in the task. Thereafter, when he marries, he will help his wife with the making of beer and when they do this they must abstain from sexual intercourse for the three days of the final fermentation lest the beer become ‘too strong’. Beer-brewing and sexuality are thus seen to positively interact as processes” (p57). “Of the ‘spoiling’ at circumcision it may thus be said that the boy has been made useless and will not be able to engage in sexual intercourse or indeed in any normal life until he is finally cured” (p56). “Boys [...] differentiate and achieve autonomy in a three-stage move: weaning, extrusion from the parental home and lastly circumcision” (p61) “After circumcision, when the boy is in a contrasting ritual phase, devoid of *lirima*, both sexual intercourse and pregnancy alike are believed to pose a direct danger to him. Then he must be protected from any such excitation in his immediate environment lest his curing be retarded” (p169n23).

Acholi (Uganda)

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, 1989:p213).

P’Bitek (1964/1997)⁶³⁴ provides a discussion of the love trajectories of Acholi 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 bachelors’ 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.

Sebei (Uganda)

“Girls of about eight cut scars on their bodies in rows extending from just below the ribs to the abdomen and raise keloids, which are considered sexually exciting to their lovers later on (Goldschmidt, 1976:p264)⁶³⁵. Fantasy play of children indicates the early adaptation of sex-related social roles; “they also indulge in sex play” (p265). After 1930, sex was a “major

⁶³² La Fontaine, J. S. (1967) Parricide in Bugisu: A Study in Inter-Generational Conflict, *Man*, N. S. 2, 2:249-59, at p251

⁶³³ Heald, S. (1999) *Manhood and Morality: Sex, Violence and Ritual in Gisu Society*. London & New York: Routledge

⁶³⁴ P’Bitek, O. (1964) Acholi Love, *Transition* 17:28-33. Reprinted in *Transition* 75/76 (1997):182-90

⁶³⁵ Goldschmidt, W. R.. (1976) *Culture and Behavior of the Sebei*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press

occupation" for adolescents, although pregnancy before circumcision is still considered very bad (p204).

Bahima, Hima (Hamites, Uganda)

According to Roscoe (1907:p104)⁶³⁶, both sexes of the Bahima tribe are betrothed "whilst they are quite young; the mother has the care of the girls and keeps strict watch over them so that they may grow up pure. Girls are therefore in constant attendance upon their mother; is she goes away from home to visit relations, the daughter goes too". Consummation occurs three days after marriage, the date of which is not elaborated upon (p105).

"Hima girls are kept very strictly chaste until marriage [...]", although until age six the sexes are free to mix (Elam, 1973:p54, 84-7)⁶³⁷, and "[...] from her first infant steps a Hima girl is oriented toward marriage".

Bahuma Banjoro (Uganda Protectorate) (eHRAF)

Frazer (1920)⁶³⁸: "Among the ordinary Bahuma or pastoral people children are usually betrothed in infancy. They may be neighbours and play together without any knowledge of their future relation to each other until they are old enough to marry". At marriage, the date of which is not elaborated upon, the girl "is accompanied by a paternal aunt, who stays with the newly-married couple any time from two days to a month and shares their bed; may, if the bride is young and timid, it is their aunt's duty to supply her place in the arms of the bridegroom. [...] Among the agricultural people the practice of betrothal in infancy appears not to be in vogue". The bride's sister remains with her for a month after marriage "and often sleeps on the same bed" (p184-5).

According to Roscoe (1923:p258-9)⁶³⁹:

"Until they married, both boys and girls lived in their parents' house. The girls slept in a small enclosed space at the head of the parents' bed, which could only be entered by passing the bed, while the boys slept on the other side of the house, sometimes on a bed but in their early years on the floor. Children received little moral training or discipline and were free to do much as they liked until they were old enough to be of some use. Respect for their parents was insisted upon and a child telling lies or using obscene language was rebuked, but no punishment was administered beyond a scolding or a slap on the arm if the child refused to drink its proper amount of milk.

⁶³⁶ Roscoe, J. (1907) The Bahima: A Cow Tribe of Enkole in the Uganda Protectorate, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 37:93-118

⁶³⁷ Elam, Y. (1973) *The Social and Sexual Roles of Hima Women: A Study of Nomadic Cattle Breeders in Nyabushozi County, Ankole, Uganda*. Manchester

⁶³⁸ Frazer, J. G. (1920) The Mackie Ethnological Expedition to Central Africa, *Man* 20:181-88

⁶³⁹ Roscoe, J. (1923) *The Bakitara or Bunyoro: the first part of the report of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition to Central Africa*. Cambridge [Eng.]: The University Press

There was no reticence before children on matters of sexual relations and birth, but their open discussion apparently awakened no sense of curiosity and the early separation of the girls from the boys, combined with early marriages, prevented the growth of sexual desires. It was customary during childhood to wear no clothes at all, but children were provided with amulets which were hung in numbers round neck, waist, and ankles. At about the age of six a boy of the cow people would wear a calf-skin or a scrap of cow-hide over his shoulders, tied on the right shoulder, and later on he might wear two skins. When he had been initiated he wore a skin round his loins. A pastoral girl wore nothing until she was quite big, when she might wear a small apron or a skin as a loin-cloth and sometimes also a skin over her shoulders, but girls often went naked until they were married, even when full-grown. The serfs wore even less: at about the age of six boys wore a scrap of skin round their loins and a full-grown girl would wear one or two goat-skins tied together to form a loin-cloth”.

On menarche (p263):

“When she had her first menses her mother concealed the fact from everyone, sometimes even from her husband. [...] After the first menses the fact was not kept secret and the girl might be claimed by the man to whom she had been promised”.

Betrothal (p266):

“[a] well-to-do cow-man and his wife would take care to seek out a wife for their son while he was yet an infant. [...] The children were allowed to grow up without knowing anything of this arrangement. They might know each other and, if they happened to be neighbours, they might play together in childhood, but as a general rule they never met until they married. When the boy was old enough to understand what marriage meant, his parents told him what they had arranged and informed him who the girl was and where she lived. He then had to make the acquaintance of her parents, though he was not supposed to see the girl herself. He showed his interest and satisfaction by sending gifts, however trifling, from time to time to his future parents-in-law, while he waited for the girl to grow old enough to marry”.

Further (p272):

“The bride’s aunt “[...] slept on the same bed as the newly married couple and on the second or third night directed them how to consummate the marriage. Should the bride be afraid and resist the bridegroom’s advances or leave the bed, it was the duty of the aunt to instruct her by giving her the example of sexual intercourse with the bridegroom”.

Bachiga (**Uganda**)

“No specific training or instruction is given children, except in manners. A little girl is taught how to sit modestly [...]. A girl’s sex attitudes are developed quite early. Her first lesson is in sitting modestly. She is forced to change many of her ways with the approach of puberty. [...] Her father and brothers chaperon her rigidly. All this in preparation for marriage to a total stranger, involving a disagreeable, lengthy, and very trying ceremony culminating in institutionalized rape. The boys’ introduction to sex is quite different. It is casual and gradual” (Edel, 1937:p148, 151)⁶⁴⁰. However, children’s play activities are not interfered with.

Lango (Uganda)

Mean age of marriage is 18 for men, after puberty for women. Pregnancy is expected within one year of the marriage ceremony (Okello, 1951)⁶⁴¹.

Nkole (Uganda)

Mushanga (1973:p181)⁶⁴²: “Mothers 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. [...] Young boys of twelve begin to acquire sexual experiences as they begin to associate with their older siblings or friends. Play begins with imitating marriage arrangements when boys are out in the bush herding goats or cows with girls”.

Bwamba (Uganda)

Bwamba boys were not allowed to engage in sex before circumcision (Kissekka, 1973)⁶⁴³.

Baamba (Uganda)

Wayland⁶⁴⁴ observes that “[...] wives are usually obtained by exchanging the girls of three or four years of age of one family for those of another” (p522). The girl is chosen, but effects some influence in mate selection. When married, “[f]ree sexual intercourse is a very

⁶⁴⁰ Edel, M. M. (1937) The Bachiga of East Africa, in Mead, M. (Ed.) *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*. New York & London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., p127-52

⁶⁴¹ Okello, Y. K. (1951) Lango marriage, *Uganda J* 15,1:65-73

⁶⁴² Mushanga, M. T. (1973) The Nkole of South-Western Uganda, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p174-86

⁶⁴³ Kissekka, M. N. (1973) Bamba / Babwisi- Bundibugyo district, in Standing, H. & Kissekka, M. N. (Eds.) *Sexual Behaviour in Subsaharan Africa*. Overseas Development Administration

⁶⁴⁴ Wayland, E. J. Notes on the Baamba, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 59:517-24

common occurrence" ("men seize young girls and drag them off to their huts where they stay for three or four days, after which they return" as "temporary wives") provided that the female is willing. "It is said that fathers urge their girls to seek intercourse with men when a proper opportunity presents itself. If as a result of such intercourse a child is born, the man must make a present to the girl's father, thus buying the child, and the girl must return to her father as soon as the child can be left" (p523).

So (Uganda)

Laughlin and Laughlin (1973:p353)⁶⁴⁵ state: "Children engage in sex play from an early age". Girls learn about menarche from peers, or from their mothers (only one in five).

Ganda (Baganda, Kiganda, Buganda; Uganda) (3-,3-,3-,3-,2,3;5,5;F) (eHRAF)

"Ganda mothers discourage infantile masturbation, if indeed they notice it and acknowledge its occurrence. All the mothers of babies who were reported to have masturbated took action to stop it, although only two "beat" the baby" (see Ainsworth, 1967:p113-4)⁶⁴⁶. This was also noted in case studies (Juko, Muhamidi). 14/21 mothers denied even mere genital touching in their infants. The child, however young, should not witness sexual relations between his parents.

"The small Uganda boys display their sexual curiosity in a popular song they sing at passing girls: "I'd like your vagina, A shilling for a vagina!" (De Rachewiltz (1963 [1964:p230])).

Southwold (1973:p165)⁶⁴⁷: "People said that many girls start having sexual relations as soon as they are capable". Also, "[b]oys are not explicitly allowed to have sexual intercourse at any particular age [...]. So far as I know all [...] boys [other than the very devout Christians] try to have sexual relations as soon as they are physically able, and to judge from what most people say, most of them succeed". There is no male initiation or circumcision. Premarital chastity (marriage for girls at age 15) was becoming less common at the time of writing, found Nsimbi (1956)⁶⁴⁸. Male youths dwell in separate residences, and girls receive sexual instruction from the father's sister (Weeks, 1973)⁶⁴⁹. In a study of 177 school boys aged 14-17, 43% of Baganda boys had had sexual intercourse⁶⁵⁰. "The age of [Baganda] girls and young women is told by the size of the breasts; after attaining their full growth they begin to hang

⁶⁴⁵ Laughlin, Ch. D. & Laughlin, E. R. (1973) The So of Karamoja District, Eastern Uganda, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p352-64

⁶⁴⁶ Ainsworth, M. D. (1967) *Infancy in Uganda: Infant Care and the Growth of Love*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press

⁶⁴⁷ Southwold, M. (1973) The Baganda of Central Uganda, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p163-73

⁶⁴⁸ Nsimbi, M. B. (1956) Village life and customs in Buganda, *Uganda J* 20,1:27-36

⁶⁴⁹ Weeks, S. G. (1973) Youth and transition to adult status: Uganda, *J Youth & Adol* 2,3:259-70

⁶⁵⁰ Taylor, J. V. (1958) *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*. London: SCM Press, p281

down; this is considered most becoming by young women, and to attain this end they often tie them down to hasten natural development” (Roscoe, 1902:p72)⁶⁵¹.

Kinsman et al. (2000)⁶⁵² 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”.

Sex, however, is rarely discussed by parents, and peers provide the main source of intelligence. The paternal aunt (*ssenga, senga*) traditionally provided information on female hygiene and sexual submission (cf. Kisekka, 1973:p45⁶⁵³; Davis, 2000:p35-6, 49-50⁶⁵⁴; also Muyinda et al., 2001⁶⁵⁵; and others⁶⁵⁶). The *ssenga* oversaw labial elongation (*okusika enfuli*) in “early adolescence”, aimed to enhance attractiveness and coital pleasure⁶⁵⁷. A woman not “elongated” (*kiwowongole; kifufunkuli, funkuli muwompogoma*) was sent back to her parents with disgrace, when about to be married. *Ssenga*’s instruction is declining and would come too late nowadays, according to girls. A positive attitude towards nonvirgins opposes a negative attitude towards virgins. Illustratively, a girl’s magazine is called *Ssenga*. Older men or teachers have previously been noted to initiate some adolescent girls in “early” sexual activity” (Twa-Twa[a], 1997:p68, Kinsman et al., 1999:p598)⁶⁵⁸.

[Additional refs. : Roscoe (1911)⁶⁵⁹].

⁶⁵¹ Roscoe, J. (1902) Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 32:25-80

⁶⁵² 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

⁶⁵³ Kisekka, M. N. (1973) *Heterosexual Relations in Uganda*. PhD Diss., University of Missouri. Cited by Kinsman et al. (2000), *op.cit.*

⁶⁵⁴ Davis, P. J. (2000) On the Sexuality of “Town Women” in Kampala, *Africa Today* 47,3-4:29-60

⁶⁵⁵ Muyinda, H., Kengeya, J., Pool, R. & Whitworth, J. (2001) Traditional sex counselling and STI/HIV prevention among young women in rural Uganda, *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 3,3:353-61

⁶⁵⁶ McGrath J. et al. (1990) *Cultural Determinants of Sexual Risk Behaviour for AIDS among Baganda Women*. Paper presented at American Anthropological Association Meetings, Washington. Cf. McGrath, J. W. et al. (1992) Cultural determinants of sexual risk behaviour for AIDS among Baganda women,

Med Anthropol Quart 6,2:153-61, and McGrath, J.W. et al. (1993) Anthropology and AIDS: The Cultural Context of Sexual Risk Behaviour Among Urban Baganda Women in Kampala, Uganda, *Soc Sci & Med* 36,4:429-39; Sengendo, J. & Sekatawa, E. K. (1999) *A Cultural Approach to Hiv/Aids Prevention and Care: Uganda’s Experience*. Unesco, Studies and Reports, Special Series, Issue No. 1. Cultural Policies for Development Unit, p15, 47, 49; [Miriam Tomusange interviewed by Gilbert Awekofua], *Orbit* 73, Summer 1999 [<http://www.vso.org.uk/publications/orbit/73/dayswork.htm>]

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. Sengendo and Sekatawa (1999:p14, 49-50), *op.cit.*; Sengendo, J., et. al (1998) *Inter-Linkage between Culture, Traditions and HIV/AIDS in Uganda: A Research Report on the Districts of Mpigi, Hoima and Kumi*. Submitted to The Unaid – Uganda Theme Group, p31; Sengendo, J. (nd) *A Cultural Approach to HIV/AIDS Prevention and Care: The Kawempe, Pilot Project, Uganda*. Online paper at <http://www.unesco.org/culture/aids/images/PilotProjWeb-Uganda.rtf>, p2, 6; Twa-Twa, J. M., Nakanaabi, I. & Sekimpi, D. (1997) Underlying factors in female sexual partner instability in Kampala, *Health Transition Rev* 7:83-8, at p84

⁶⁵⁸ Twa-Twa[a], J. (1997) The role of the environment in the sexual activity of school students in Toronto and Pallisa Districts of Uganda, *Health Transit Rev*, Suppl. 7:67-82; Kinsman, J. et al. (1999) Implementation of a comprehensive AIDS education programme for schools in Masaka District, Uganda, *AIDS Care* 11:591-601

⁶⁵⁹ Roscoe, J. (1911) *The Baganda*. London: MacMillan

Kiziba (Uganda)

Rehse (1910:p114)⁶⁶⁰ stated that family, and sexual, matters were dealt with naturally, so that the children became acquainted with these phenomena at an early age. "Fünffährige Jungen haben mir die Inhaltreichsten Märchen geschriben- leider folgt auf diese vorzeitige Entwicklung im zwölften oder dreizehnten Lebensjahre ein vollkommener Stillstand, herbeigeführt durch Genuss geistiger Getränke und frühe Ausübung geschlechtliche Verkehres".

Lugbara (Lugbari, Lugwari, Laccara, Logbwari, Lugbwara, Louagonare, Lubare, Lugori, Lugwaret) (Uganda)

Middleton (1973:p292, 294-5)⁶⁶¹: "Groups of sisters begin to accept lovers from about the age of 10 until their marriages three or four years later. They sleep at night in a special girls' hut under the care of an old widow and receive boys for whom they "place their arms" ". Intercourse is formally forbidden.

"Boys marry, if rich, at puberty; if poor, later. Girls may be pledged (betrothed before puberty in respect of a debt which the father has contracted, in which case if she is willing, on reaching a marriageable age he gives her to the creditor's son". Before marriage, "[...] there is some looseness amongst themselves, though there is a fine of a goat or a hen for any lapse discovered" (McConnell, 1925)⁶⁶².

Jie (Uganda)

"Jie boys seem to begin having sexual relations in their teens" (Lamphear, 1973:p370)⁶⁶³. No data on childhood.

Iteso (Uganda/Kenya)

"At present, a boy's heterosexual activities begin at the age of 12 to 15 when he builds a bachelor hut [...]. Until this time, sexual activities will consist primarily of masturbation,

⁶⁶⁰ Rehse, H. (1910) *Kiziba, Land und Leute*. Stuttgart: Stuttgart, Strecker & Schröder

⁶⁶¹ Middleton, J. F. (1973) The Lugbara of North-Western Uganda, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p289-98

⁶⁶² McConnell, R. E. (1925) Notes on the Lugwari Tribe of Central Africa, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 55:439-67

⁶⁶³ Lamphear, J. E. (1973) The Jie of North-Eastern Uganda, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p365-72

practised either singly or in groups, but we have no information on its frequency” (Karp and Karp, 1973:p392-3)⁶⁶⁴. The hut is shared with younger brothers and sisters, which “may very well constitute a learning experience for them”.

⁶⁶⁴ Karp, I. & Karp, P. (1973) The Iteso of the Kenya-Uganda border, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p385-98

Kenya (Pokomo, Amwimbe, Kore, Kuria, Masai, N'Jemp, Ariaal Rendille, Kamba, Tiriki, Chuka, Maragoli, Kikuyu, Kipsigis, Gusii, Luo, Meru, Samburu, Tuken, Nandi; →Iteso) [IES]

Kenya: "The degree to which an older boy may "play sex," as youth slang puts it, depends upon social custom. An uncircumcized Nandi boy rarely has an opportunity for intercourse, due to the strict controls of the warrior age set. Maragoli girls often participate in sex play with boys, although intercourse does not take place until after puberty. 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, 1997)⁶⁶⁵. "Western influences have rendered many of these customs invalid". Also, "[c]ertain types of same-sex activity were tolerated in tribal tradition, but only as childish behaviors unworthy of an initiate".

In Kenya (Ajayi et al., 1991)⁶⁶⁶, the mean age of coitarche for student males aged 12-15 is 12.1; for female students, it is 11.6. According to a 1989 study⁶⁶⁷, mean age of first "sex" was 13 years among sexually experienced males, compared with almost 16 years among females⁶⁶⁸. Another study found that a majority sexually experienced girls (some quarter of secondary school girls aged 12 to 19) had started coitus within one to two years of attaining menarche or having a boyfriend.⁶⁶⁹

Female circumcision is still practised among the Kuria, Suba, Meru and Abagusii (Gwako, 1995)⁶⁷⁰. Administrators in the politically peripheral area of Meru vitiated the policy of criminalising clitoridectomy by enforcing initiation at an earlier age in order to combat abortion. European officers believed that in transforming the prenuptial process of female initiation into a prepubescent rite, they could eradicate unwanted pregnancies and abortions by eliminating the period when sexually mature (but unexcised) girls were "customarily" prohibited from conceiving and giving birth (Thomas, 1998)⁶⁷¹. In April 1956 the *Njuri Ncheke*, a council of male elders officially recognised by the colonial administrators in the Meru district of Kenya, banned clitoridectomy. In response to "this novel intrusion of men into female initiation ceremonies" customarily in women's hands, Meru girls participated in *Ngaitana*, self-circumcision groups (Thomas, 1996)⁶⁷². Based on oral interviews, it was

⁶⁶⁵ Brockman, N. (1997) Kenya, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 2. Quoted from the online edition

⁶⁶⁶ Ajayi, A. A., Marangu, L. T., Miller, J. & Paxman, J. M. (1991) Adolescent Sexuality and Fertility in Kenya: A Survey of Knowledge, Perceptions, and Practices, *Stud Fam Plann* 22,4:205-16

⁶⁶⁷ Kiragu, K. & Zabin, L. S. (1995) Contraceptive Use Among High School Students in Kenya, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 21,3:108-13

⁶⁶⁸ See also Ezech, A. Ch. (1997) Polygyny and Reproductive Behavior in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Contextual Analysis, *Demography* 34,3:355-68

⁶⁶⁹ Lema, V. M. (1990) The determinants of sexuality among adolescent school girls in Kenya, *East Afr Med J* 67,3: 191-200

⁶⁷⁰ Gwako, E. (1995) Continuity and Change in the Practice of Clitoridectomy in Kenya: A Case-Study of the Abagusii, *J Modern Afr Stud* 33,2:333-7

⁶⁷¹ Thomas, L. M. (1998) Imperial concerns and "women's affairs": state efforts to regulate clitoridectomy and eradicate abortion in Meru, Kenya, C. 1910-1950, *J Afr Hist* 39,1:121-45

⁶⁷² Thomas, L. M. (1996) "Ngaitana (i will circumcise myself)": the gender and generational politics of the 1956 ban on clitoridectomy in Meru, Kenya, *Gender & History* 8,3:338-63

determined that as late as 1972 60% of the girls in one area had undergone circumcision (Murray, 1976)⁶⁷³. "Many communities also believe that circumcision helps girls to remain virgins. Often men who support the idea say the practice represses, the sexual desire of women and is a way of curbing promiscuity. [...] Research carried out by the Programs for Appropriate Technology in Health says the practice gives some Kenyan girls the courage to have early sex as a test of their womanhood"⁶⁷⁴.

Among the Abagusii, the 19th century scheduling of the operation at age 10-11 has been revised, presumably in regard to the (rare) practice of pubescent marriage; it is now practised at age 6-8.

For an overview of boy's initiation ceremonies, see De Wolf (1973)⁶⁷⁵.

"None of the customary laws in Kenya specify a minimum age at which persons become legally capable of entering into marriage. In general, however, female genital mutilation is a prerequisite to marriage, although many ethnic groups no longer apply this requirement. Certain ethnic groups, including the Kikuyu, also require women to have passed their first menstrual period before marriage"⁶⁷⁶.

Kiragu and Zabin (1993)⁶⁷⁷ found mean ages for sexual intercourse of 11.9 (Ms) and 12.5 (Fs) among [sexually experienced] primary school students (mean ages 14.6/F to 15.0/M). In Nairobi, the median age at first intercourse was 15 years for slum residents and 18 years for non-slum residents⁶⁷⁸. "Cramped living quarters in slums expose children to the sexual behavior of their parents at an early age. Many people in focus groups identified this early sexual socialization as a cause for relatively early sexual initiation. A female service provider stated, "You see, these houses of ours are small and children see a lot of wonders. That is why you see a child of 13 years pregnant. It is because the parent [had sex]. She saw, and went and tried it with a boy" ". According to Mbevi⁶⁷⁹, child marriage was once customary in Kenya, though dying out at the time of writing.

Polyethnic data on the sexual education of girls in Kenya were collected by Wamahiu et al. (1992)⁶⁸⁰ using unstructured interviews with boys and girls aged 12-18. In Mombasa, "[k]nowledge about physical maturity, sex and cleanliness are generally picked up from older siblings and friends"; in school, the subject would be too academically approached. Brockman (1997)⁶⁸¹ observes that

"[...] there is no [school-based] curriculum for sex education. [...] Sex instruction does not often come from parents. In the presence of their children, they are expected to avoid any words, acts, or gestures of a sexual nature. The rules of shame might allow openness about sexual matters with a grandparent,

⁶⁷³ Murray, J. (1976) The church missionary society and the "female circumcision" issue in Kenya, 1929-1932, *J Religion in Africa* [Netherlands] 8,2:92-104

⁶⁷⁴ Mwaura, J. (2000) Female circumcision still prevalent in Kenya, *New York Amsterdam News*, 04/06/2000; 91,14:2

⁶⁷⁵ De Wolf, J. J. (1973) Circumcision and initiation in Western Kenya and Eastern Uganda, *Anthropos* 78:369-410

⁶⁷⁶ Cotran, Eu. (1968), *Restatement of African Law I: The Law of Marriage and Divorce: Kenya.*, p10. As cited by CRLP (2001) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Anglophone Africa*. Progress Report, p43-74, at p70

⁶⁷⁷ Kiragu, K. & Zabin, L. S. (1993) The Correlates of Premarital Sexual Activity Among School-Age Adolescents in Kenya, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 19,3:92-7+109

⁶⁷⁸ Slum Residence and Adverse Health Consequences Linked in Kenya, *Population Briefs* 6,3(2000)

⁶⁷⁹ *Traditional Practices affecting the Health of Women and Children*. WHO/EMRO Technical Report No. 2, Vol. 1. Report of a Seminar, Khartoum, 10-15 February, 1979, p138-9

⁶⁸⁰ Wamahiu, Sh. et al. (1992) *Educational Situation of the Kenyan Girl Child*.

⁶⁸¹ *Op.cit.*

however, and among the Kisii a grandmother could be the confidant of her grandchildren on their sexual experiences. A small child will remain with its mother until about age 7. At this point, in some tribes, boys move in with their father or older boys. In other groups (Maragoli and Luo) both boys and girls go into separate huts with older children or into the homes of an elderly couple. These village dormitories provide socialization, sex education, and opportunities for sexual experimentation. The last is conducted in secret, although girls often “fail to notice” a youth visiting in the girls’ dormitory. Two lovers might also go into the bush. A father and older sons might build a private hut for a son who reached puberty, especially since initiation ceremonies might be held only every few years. Under these circumstances, young men have free rein to engage in sexual activities. In slang, these huts are sometimes referred to as “the office,” and “going to the office” means having a girl over for sex.

These patterns of sex education have continued into present-day society, where studies show that parents are a negligible source of information, while 31 percent of girls and 38 percent of boys indicate teachers as the most important source. This does not reflect organized sex education in the schools, but the influence of proctors and teachers in boarding-school settings”.

Two 1987 studies reported age at first sexual intercourse to be 14 in the cities, and 13.7 for boys and 14.8 for girls in the rural areas. About homosexuality, it is stated:

“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. Oral or anal intercourse can, however, result in expulsion from the age set, severe beatings, and disgrace. One finds some nonpenetrative homosexual behavior among Maasai *askaris* (guards) who have migrated to Nairobi or the coast. Urban poverty has created an underclass of abandoned street youth, almost all male, ranging in age from 7 to late teens. These “parking boys” survive by protecting parking spots, begging, petty crime, and scrounging for garbage. Though the older protect the younger, situational homosexuality is normative”.

Girls children of Islamic or customary marriages in Kenya can be legally married off by their guardian before puberty (Mucai-Kattambo, et al., 1995)⁶⁸². The girl then has the right to repudiate the marriage upon reaching puberty; the practice is diminishing.

[Additional refs.: Mensch, B. S. & Lloyd, C. B. (1998) Gender Differences in the Schooling Experiences of Adolescents in Low-Income Countries: The Case of Kenya, *Stud Fam Plann* 29,2:167-84; Toroitich-Ruto, C. (1997) The Determinants of Teenage Sexuality and their Understanding of STDs/HIV/AIDS in Kenya, *UAPS J* 12,2 at <http://www.uaps.org/journal/journal12v2/The%20Determinants%20of%20Teenage%20Sexuality.htm>]

Pokomo (Bantu, Kenya)

Betrothal takes place in childhood, marriage is to await puberty and initiation (Prins, 1952:p23⁶⁸³). Sexual relations are sanctioned before payment, but apparently not between future spouses. “Promiscuous intercourse of the sexes while immature is said to be

⁶⁸² Mucai-Kattambo, V. W., Kabeberi-Macharia, J. W. & Kamari-Mbote, P. (1995) Law and the Status of Women in Kenya, in Kabeberi-Macharia, J. W. (Ed.) *Women, Laws, Customs and Practices in East Africa: Laying the Foundation*. Nairobi: Women and Law in East Africa

⁶⁸³ Prins, A. H. J. (1952) *The Coastal Tribes of the North-Eastern Bantu*. London: International African Institute

disapproved of" (*ibid.*, referring to Fischer, 1878-9:p27)⁶⁸⁴. Bunker (1973:p87)⁶⁸⁵ speaks of the decline of the *rigi* initiation for males (average 14/15, with a wide range), including "basic sexual lore", and courting of girls according to a set of rigid rules, including coital taboo. A woman would be married within a year or two of her reaching puberty, lest "her blood may dry"; virginity was valued (p102).

Amwimbe (Kenya District, British East Africa)

The age of sexual operations varied considerably, but usually occurred between 12 and 16 for boys, a little later for girls (Browne, 1913:p137)⁶⁸⁶. "Considerable, if not complete, sexual licence" is allowed after circumcision and labiectomy (p140). Before the operation a charm protected girls from pregnancy, which after the ceremony is replaced by a fertility charm.

Kore, etc. (Lamu Island, Kenya)

"In Lamu, marriages among the Afro-Arabs, Hadrami, Bohra Indians, and ex-slaves are arranged by their parents. Afro-Arab, Hadrami, and Indian girls are kept in seclusion after they reach puberty, and when they go out they wear a builbui (chador-like black garment that covers their entire body and includes a veil which they hold over their faces" (Curtin, 1985:p463)⁶⁸⁷. The Kore were not veiled, and courtship was a matter of the lovers. "The Kore perform clitoridectomy on their girls at an early age- between one and three years" (p467).

Kuria, Bakuria (Kenya, Tanzania)

Today, no sexual instruction is given to girls prior to marriage⁶⁸⁸.

"Girls learn details of what happens between a man and a woman from a classmate who is already married and experiencing the range of marital relations. Though I have not been personally privy to these conversations, as adolescents respected me, I am told that this is often the most detailed and graphic description of sexual activity girls are given. From any other quarter (e.g., grandparents, sisters-in-law, brother's wives, and so on) the discussion of sexual activity happens after a girl is married and sexually active, rather than before, in preparation. For boys, the most frequent mentors regarding sexual behavior are peers, and reportedly, their interaction regarding these matters is primarily based on hearsay, as is the sex talk among adolescents everywhere. But as Kuria adolescents are increasingly exposed to information about sexual activity from authorities such as radio, newspapers, and political and civic leaders, sex talk increasingly involves the hazards of promiscuous sexuality and the spread of

⁶⁸⁴ Fischer

⁶⁸⁵ Bunker, R. L. (1973) *Islamization among the Upper Pokomo*. Syracuse, NY: Program of Eastern African Studies, Syracuse University

⁶⁸⁶ Browne, G. (1913) Circumcision Ceremonies Among the Amwimbe, *Man* 13:137-40

⁶⁸⁷ Curtin, P. R. (1985) Generations of Strangers: The Kore of Lamu, *Int J Afr Hist Studies* 18,3:455-72

⁶⁸⁸ Prazak, M. (2000) Talking about Sex: Contemporary Construction of Sexuality in Rural Kenya, *Africa Today* 47,3-4:83-97, at p89

disease, particularly of HIV-AIDS, although other sexually transmitted diseases, such as gonorrhea, are significant ingredients of the local sexual scene”.

“Parents have their daughters circumcised when they are still premenstrual because they fear their daughters becoming pregnant before circumcision, an unhappy circumstance that led in the past to the girl’s lifelong expulsion from the community. Though no one interviewed remembered this actually happening, the reason was given repeatedly, maybe because parents know that young people are sexually active before they marry” [...] An interesting caveat to the information regarding sexual practices is that, though most women say they were not sexually active until their marriage and that their marriage took place at the age of eighteen, when asked at what age young women begin to have sex these days, the modal answer was at twelve years (20% gave this age, 17% each gave fourteen and fifteen each, with thirteen being the fourth most frequently given response at 15%)”.

Masai/ Maasai (2,2,2,2,-,-,-;B5;CE) (eHRAF) (Kenya, Tanzania)

Though not an obvious inclusion, Ford and Beach (1951:p188) listed the Masai as “permissive”. They (p182) state also that intercourse is forbidden until puberty ceremonies. As excepted from Saitoti⁶⁸⁹:

“ “Are you orkirekenyi?” one of my brothers asked. I quickly replied no, and there was laughter. Orkirekenyi is a person who has transgressed sexually. For you must not have sexual intercourse with any circumcised woman before you yourself are circumcised. You must wait until you are circumcised. If you have not waited, you will be fined. Your father, mother, and the circumciser will take a cow from you as punishment”.

Jacobs (1973:p402, 404)⁶⁹⁰ agrees that, as for boys, “female children are prohibited from engaging in sexual intercourse, and it is not until a girl completes her tribal initiation ceremony (clitoris sub-incision) ceremony that she can marry and have intercourse with her husband or his age mates”. However, the Tanzania Parakuyo are said to believe that the breasts of a girl can only develop when a man has had sex with her (Von Mitzlaff, 1988 [1994:p80])⁶⁹¹.

The exception seemed to have confirmed the rule. Also, Hollis (1910:p479)⁶⁹² referred to “the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls [*ditos*]”, in which the rules of consanguinity and affinity that regulate marriage are equally observed. This is also noted by Hinde and Hinde (1901:p68, 73)⁶⁹³. A warrior chooses a *dito* he fancies, and makes her mother a great many presents, but since it is not a marriage he gives neither cattle or goats. Equally, Johnston (1902, II:p824)⁶⁹⁴ wrote that Masai girls aged 8 to 13 are picked out by young warriors, after which they have intercourse, “which is considered in no way to be immoral

⁶⁸⁹ Saitoti, T. O. (19?) *My Life as a Masai Warrior*. Also under the title *The worlds of a Maasai Warrior: An Autobiography* (1987). London: Deutsch

⁶⁹⁰ 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

⁶⁹¹ Von Mitzlaff, U. (1988) *Maasai Frauen*. Translated as *Masaai Women*. Trickster: Tanzania Publishing House, 1994

⁶⁹² 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

⁶⁹³ Hinde, S. L. & Hinde, H. (1901) *The Last of the Masai*. London: William Heinemann

⁶⁹⁴ *Op.cit.*

[⁶⁹⁵], because the girls are under age, and therefore cannot conceive". A contemporary source similarly relates that

"[t]he entito, between approximately 10-12 years and puberty associates and lives with the ilmuran [warriors, from circumcision to well beyond marriageable age of 20-25] in their settlements. She lives a rather free life sexually, living with the warriors as sweethearts. Virginity is neither socially or culturally valued. A Maasai girl's sexual activity begins long before she is clitoridectomized; nevertheless she should not become pregnant prior to the operation. Usually girls are operated on before their first menstruation. Maasai women are then ready to marry after their clitoridectomy, but the ilmuran are debarred from access to these women who are their contemporaries. These young women are married off to men who are in the "elder" age group"⁶⁹⁶.

Also, "[g]irls are often promised in marriage at a young age, even before their birth!". Leakey (1930:p197-8)⁶⁹⁷ writes that Kenyan *Masai* girls of brothers living in *manyattas* sleep "from a very early age- long before puberty- on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep in their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect any young girls who are not already attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated". Thus, Masai coitarche seems to be early⁶⁹⁸. Merker ([1910:p65, n])⁶⁹⁹ briefly states: "Boys and girls already begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight to ten".

Whereas Fosbrooke (1948)⁷⁰⁰ noted that "prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to", Fox (1930:p448)⁷⁰¹ 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". Bagge (1904:p169)⁷⁰² confirms what is suspected: "No circumcised youth is permitted to have connection with a circumcised woman, but no objection exists to his having connection with any uncircumcised girl".

⁶⁹⁵ Which is contrary to Julien, P. (ca1930) *Zonen van Cham*. Amsterdam: Scheltens & Giltay, p23-4

⁶⁹⁶ Sr. Mary Vertucci, Maasai Girls' Centre for the Education of Rural Women of the Maasai Tribe, Arusha, Tanzania. From <http://news.op.org/features/emusoi/emusoiprop.html>

⁶⁹⁷ 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

⁶⁹⁸ Hollis, A. C. (1905) *The Masai*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, page xvi: The warriors "do not live with the married people, but is separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely". See also Fischer, H. Th. (19) *Huwelijk en Huwelijksmoraal bij Vreemde Volken*. Utrecht [Holland]: De Haan, p110

⁶⁹⁹ 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*

⁷⁰⁰ 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, *Annali Lateranensi* XVIII:257-318, at p282n

⁷⁰¹ Fox, D. S. (1930) Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 60:447-65

⁷⁰² Bagge, S. (1904) The circumcision ceremony among the Naivasha Masai, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 34, Jan-Jul:167-9

Huntingford (1953:p113)⁷⁰³ noted: “A man’s sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl’s when she reaches puberty”. However, “[i]nitiation 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. They may do as they like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan, and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior classes. That these young uninitiated lads even try to have intercourse with married women is certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase themselves” (Leakey, 1930:p187-8). Uncircumcised boys are not permitted to have sexual relationships with the opposite sex in spite of the fact that many of them reach sexual maturity well ahead of their circumcision. But uncircumcised girls of similar ages are at the disposal of warriors who associate sexually with premature girls from ten years upwards (Talle, 1983)⁷⁰⁴. It is believed that the semen of the warrior helps and “is in fact almost a prerequisite for the development of a girl’s breasts” (*ibid.*). Mann et al. (1966)⁷⁰⁵ also state that pre-initiation intercourse was not allowed, the ceremonies being held at age 8-12 (girls) and 12-15 (boys). In the former report, the age of marriage for girls was given at 10-14, but males do not get married until age 30 (cf. Weiß, *op.cit.*, p382). Thus, an extreme stratification by age dominated Masai sexarche. The Masai practiced foetal and infant betrothal⁷⁰⁶.

[Additional refs.: Bergsjö (1994)⁷⁰⁷; Morley, D. (1991) Kenya: Maasai warriors and their sexual partners, *Lancet*, 3/16/91; 337(8742):667; Kenya: Boarding School Offers New Life for Masai Child Brides, *Women’s International Network News*, Winter 2001; 27,1:64; Pratt, B. A. (2003) Childhood, space and children 'out of place': Versions of Maasai childhood in Monduli Juu, Tanzania. PhD Diss., Boston University [p127-30[1] contain a section on children’s sexuality]]

N’Jemp (Kenya)

An “off-shoot” of the Masai, among the N’Jemp, as observed by Denis (1967 [1966:p166-71]⁷⁰⁸), children “lead an almost idyllic life”, “free to play whatever sexual games they please among themselves, and it is not until the age of twelve or thereabouts that life starts in earnest”, at which age he is made a *moran*, junior warrior. As the Masai, these 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

⁷⁰³ Huntingford, G. W. (1953) *The Southern Nilo-Hamites*. London: International African Institute

⁷⁰⁴ 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

⁷⁰⁵ Mann, G. V. et al. (1966) Survey of serologic evidence for syphilis among the Masai of Tanzania, *Public Health Reports* 81,6:513-8

⁷⁰⁶ Merker (1910:p58); Leakey (1930); Spencer, P. (1988) *The Maasai of Matapato: A Study of Rituals of Rebellion*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press

⁷⁰⁷ Bergsjö, P. (1994) African rites. Sexual initiation of Maasai girl, *Acta Obstet Gynecol Scand* 73,4:279

⁷⁰⁸ Denis, A. (1967) *Taboo*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons

and psychic maladjustments” “. The permissiveness only applies within the same age group, married women being taboo for the juniors.

Ariaal Rendille (Kenya)

Ariaal culture is regulated by an elaborate age-set system (Roth et al., 2001)⁷⁰⁹. Marriage occurs after an 11-year period of warriorhood, which starts with circumcision. Warriors and “beaded” (unmarried) girls engage in long-term sexual relationships (*nkeryi*), marriage does not usually follow, procreation is severely discouraged, but full intercourse is expected. “In Ariaal culture, sexual imbalances begin with the *nkeryi* tradition, as very young girls (our survey includes girls as young as 10-12) are beaded to and begin sexual relationships with much older warriors. In addition, informants stated that warriors frequently have sex with their age-mates’ *nkeryi*, and that such sexual sharing is culturally condoned” (p39). The age of being beaded was lower for uneducated as opposed to educated girls. Peers, and not parents, were sources of sexological knowledge.

Kamba, Akamba, Wakamba (Bantu; Kenya)

Lindblom (1920:p419)⁷¹⁰: “The boys and girls play “father, mother and children” together. They build small huts of grass and imitate grown-ups, an imitation which is sometimes so carefully done that not even the sexual part of marriage is omitted. As is well known, such things cease to be a mystery to children of primitive people at a very early age”. Ndeti (1973:p109)⁷¹¹ adds that the “period before puberty is characterized by very little sex education and sexual differentiation. Perhaps there is no need for this because sex roles are defined fairly early in life”. Girls are instructed at menarche by the mother or, in most cases, the grandmother. At this time, they may be ritually deflowered by a stick, while boys receive additional genital surgery beyond the circumcision they had at a younger age (Nida, 1962)⁷¹². Muthiani (1973:p55)⁷¹³ notes that “[s]ex education was the responsibility of the parents and, [in the case of girls,] the mothers. Girls had to be brought up to know not only what kind of people they should refrain from on the basis of sexual relations, but also when and where not to have sexual contact. With their little biological knowledge, they managed to train their girls to the best of their limited ability; thereby training them for avoidance (breaking of sexual mores). As a result, cases of incest and premarital births or even pregnancies were very, very rare”. The same could be true for boys. A girl was not desirable in marriage until she has conceived (Eliot, 1905:p125)⁷¹⁴. During the second of puberty rites (age 15 or so), boys perform symbolic sexual acts on girls with special sticks (Mbiti, [1990:p121]). Marriage does

⁷⁰⁹ Roth, E. A. et al. (2001) Female education, adolescent sexuality and the risk of sexually transmitted infection in Ariaal Rendille culture, *Culture, Health & Sex* 3,1:35-47

⁷¹⁰ Lindblom, G. (1920) *The Akamba in British East Africa*. Second edition, Uppsala: Appelbergs

⁷¹¹ Ndeti, K. (1973) The Kamba of Central Kenya, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p106-113

⁷¹² Nida, E. A. (1962) Akamba initiation rites and culture themes, *Pract Anthropol* 9,4:145-55

⁷¹³ Muthiani, J. (1973) *Akamba From Within*. Jericho, New York: Exposition Press

⁷¹⁴ Eliot, C. N. E. ([1905]) *The East Africa Protectorate*. London: Frank Cass

not take place after circumcision or menarche (Kyewalyanga, 1977:p42). Clitoridectomy is practiced at ages unassociated with puberty, sometimes at age 4 or 5 (Middleton and Kershaw, 1965:p80)⁷¹⁵. A man is not punished if he fornicates with a girl past puberty, even if part of the bride price has been paid, provided no pregnancy results; if she is prepubertal, he pays a goat. If he commits “unnatural” behaviour with a boy, a rare thing among the Kamba, he pays a goat and a bull (Penwill, 1951:p73, 74, 76)⁷¹⁶.

Tiriki (Bantu, Kenya)

Sexual intercourse before circumcision is prohibited (Wagner, 1949;⁷¹⁷ Sangree, 1966; Kertzer, 1978:p1092)⁷¹⁸. At the night before circumcision, held every five years, the initiate “is questioned in detail about any sexual activity he may have either with other people or with animals. Sodomy and sexual connexions with children animals are stringently forbidden everyone, while only males who have been circumcised are permitted to have sexual intercourse with mature females”. When he confesses, he must pay a fine, under the threat that he would bleed to death when circumcised if he had not done so (Sangree). The taboo is not paralleled for females. “[...] the prevalent Tikiri view vis-à-vis females on this score is comparable to that held in some of the rural and isolated regions of the United States, which American wags have summed up as, “If they’re big enough, they’re old enough”. Intercourse with a girl who has not started to menstruate or who has not yet developed her secondary sexual characteristics is considered a serious and dangerous deviation from the natural (luswa), and the man involved is regarded as the one primarily at fault. Other than this no regularly maintained sanctions exist regulating the time of a female’s introduction to active heterosexuality” (p65).

Chuka (Kenya)

The age of circumcision and labiotomy varies greatly, but may be said to take place at about age 16 for both sexes. Specific data on “instructions” are not given (Browne, 1915)⁷¹⁹.

Maragoli (Kenya)

⁷¹⁵ Middleton, J. & Keshaw, G. (1965) *The Kikuyu and Kamba of Kenya*. Rev. ed. London: International African Institute

⁷¹⁶ Penwill, D. J. (1951) *Kamba Customary Law*. London: MacMillan

⁷¹⁷ Wagner, G. (1949) *The Bantu of North Kavirondo*. Vol.1. London: Oxford University Press

⁷¹⁸ Sangree, W. H. (1966) *Age, Prayer, and Politics in Tiriki, Kenya*. New York: Oxford University Press; Kertzer, A. F. (1978) Transitions Over the Life Course: Lessons from Age-Set Societies, *Am J Sociol* 83,5:1081-104

⁷¹⁹ Browne, G. (1915) The circumcision ceremony in Chuka, *Man* 15,39:65-8

“Maragoli girls often participate in sex play with boys, although intercourse does not take place until after puberty” (Brockman, 1997)⁷²⁰. “Bei den Margoli heißt das Onanieren der Mädchen “Kuikunda kitere” (d.h. Koitieren mit dem Finger), im Gegensatz zu dem der Knaben “Kuueniola”. In dieser Bezeichnung des Verbuns ist die Technik der weiblichen Masturbation angegeben” (Bryk, 1928:p118). Maragoli children sleep separated from the age of seven, boys in a hut, girls with an elderly couple or widow/widower (Lukalo, 1973:p141)⁷²¹. From the age of eight, girls and boys may sleep in a dormitory. “The age when a girl starts sexual relations is undefined. A girl was exposed to it the moment spending the night in the dormitory with the others. Playing with boys of the same age after dark (on the way to the dormitory) could have been the starting point”. “As in the case of girls, sexual relations for a boy could start during puberty and, in some cases, even before, part of the impulse stemming from the fact that today children share sleeping accommodation with parents”⁷²². Sex was to be kept secret, and done in the bush or girl’s dormitory. The boy is circumcised just after puberty, but has to await the “circle”.

Kikuyu, Akikuyu, Wakikuyu, Gikuyu (Kenya) (2+,3,3,4-, 4,4;5,5)

Female circumcision marked the cut-off point between child and woman, signifying the transition from the state of ignorance, inactivity, impotence, and asexuality into one of activity, knowledge and reproduction (Mbiti, 1969:p123; Nelson, 1987:p221)⁷²³. Kenyatta (1939 [1961:p159, 161])⁷²⁴: “[...] a Gikuyu man has been taught from childhood to develop the technique of self-control in the matter of sex [...] During early childhood parents talk freely to their children explaining all matters connected with sexual taboos”. Pre-initiation masturbation is considered “right and proper”; afterwards, it is said to be abandoned and referred to as a babyish habit. Girls are told it is “wrong” (p162). Formalised sex instruction is offered to girls in an initiation ceremony including circumcision (Leakey, 1931)⁷²⁵. Occasional infant and child betrothal was noted by (Routledge, 1910: p124-5)⁷²⁶. Dundas (1915:p284)⁷²⁷ stated that infant betrothal was common. Usually, however, the betrothal is a girl’s own affair.

The Pre-Colonial Kikuyu were said to practice “incomplete sex play” known as *ngwiko* after initiation at puberty (Ahlberg, 1991:p61)⁷²⁸. Sexual intercourse is part of initiation ceremonies

⁷²⁰ *Op.cit.*

⁷²¹ Lukalo, R. S. (1973) The Maragoli of Western Kenya, , Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p139-47

⁷²² Cf. Kiragu & Zabin (1995:p108), *op.cit.*

⁷²³ Mbiti, J. (1969) *Concepts of God in Africa*. London: SPCK; Nelson, N. (1987) “Selling her kiosk”: Kikuyu notions of sexuality and sex for sale in Mathare Valley, Kenya, in Caplan, P. (Ed.) *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*. London & New York: Tavistock Publ., p217-39

⁷²⁴ Kenyatta, J. (1939) *Facing Mount Kenya*. London: Secker & Warburg. 1961, Mercury edition

⁷²⁵ Leakey, L. S. B. (1931) The Kikuyu problem of the initiation of girls, , *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 61:277-85. Also cited in Nalder, L. F. (Ed., 1937) *A Tribal Survey of Mongalla Province*. London: Oxford University Press, p48

⁷²⁶ Routledge, W. S. & Routledge, K. (1910) *With a Prehistoric People: the Akikuyu of British East Africa*. London: F. Cass & Co.

⁷²⁷ Dundas, Ch. (1915) The organization and Laws of Some Bantu Tribes of East Africa, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 45:234-306: “Often girls are bespoken while they are children [...]”. Cited by Middleton and Kershaw (1965:p59)

of both boys and girls (Lambert, 1956:p54-5; see also p34-5)⁷²⁹. For girls, it required full intercourse before nuptial age, “to be wiped clean from the soot of the knife” (*kuhuuruo mbiro ya ruenji*). It would take place before menarche (to avoid pregnancy)⁷³⁰, and should lead to defloration (but not wholly, since virginity was valued [!]). Elders say that 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”.

During the *irua* ceremony, relatives and friends of the novice sing about sexual knowledge and the rules governing social relationships between men and women to acquaint the initiates with their future adult roles (Kenyatta, 1938:p141)⁷³¹. For the ceremony, girls must be menarchal, and must not have had sexual intercourse or experience with masturbation (Bunche, 1941:p)⁷³². The songs at the *mugumo* tree impart knowledge about sexuality and how to comport oneself in sexual relationships.

Consummation of marriage was a recognised event (Leakey, 1977 [II]:p381-3)⁷³³, and there were routine instructions for brides and grooms (p786-8). Sexual intercourse before initiation was strictly forbidden, and it was said it would show after operation: the wounds would not heal properly (I, p398, 410). Taking advantage of the few opportunities for breaking the rule we met by severe beatings. Initiation age was lowered with the arrival of Europeans, from 17/18 to 14/15 (II, p587-8); girls were initiated at age 12 (“when their breasts were only partially formed”), though elders indicated menarche age was lowered compared to the old days. Ritual sexual intercourse is witnessed by the initiates at various occasions.

Boys up to ages 14/15 were allowed to play at mutual masturbation and sexual intercourse with girls (II, p584); afterwards, it was forbidden out of fear that they would abuse little girls. Big boys would have to settle with masturbation, sex with barren married women, or with goats or sheep, the latter both being tabooed. Most 14/15 year olds build huts proudly announced as their *thingira* (men’s hut), inviting boys and girls to

“play sexually in imitation of their initiated brothers and sisters. As the parents were fully aware of what went on and knew that these boys and girls would lie together, they constantly warned them that in no circumstance were they to attempt to have actual sexual intercourse, and that they had to content themselves with fondling and cuddling each other. Occasionally a boy and girl would disobey this rule, and because of this many mothers would regularly examine their daughters’ genitalia. Knowledge that there would be this examination from time to time was usually enough to make the little girls careful to obey the rules laid down for them. They knew that if they allowed the bigger boys to have full intercourse they would be found out and severely punished. For their part the boys were constantly warned that if they did more than simply play at sex, they would do themselves harm, and that when they were circumcised they would not heal quickly. Naturally, both boys and girls grew up with a considerable knowledge of sex, for in addition to what they heard and saw of the behaviour of the grown-ups, they were also taught a great deal by their parents when being told of the prohibition against full intercourse” (II, p584-5).

⁷²⁸ Alhlberg, B. M. (1991) *Women, Sexuality and the Changing Social Order*. Philadelphia (etc.): Gordon & Breach

⁷²⁹ Lambert, H. E. (1956) *Kikuyu, Political and Social Institutions*. London [etc.]: Oxford University Press

⁷³⁰ Medicines were supposed to delay menarche.

⁷³¹ Kenyatta, J. (1938) *Facing Mount Kenya*. London: Secker & Warburg

⁷³² Bunche, R. J. (1941) The Irua Ceremony Among the Kikuyu of Kiambu District, Kenya, *J Negro Hist* 26,1:46-65

⁷³³ Leakey, L. S. B. (1977) *The Southern Kikuyu before 1903*. Vol. II. London [etc.]: Academic Press

Decline of the age-set system, schooling, the *gweko* custom, and the delay of integration of sex education has changed recent matters (Worthman and Whiting, 1987)⁷³⁴. Today, Ahlberg et al.⁷³⁵ argue, circumcision still symbolises becoming a Kikuyu adult, it is now performed in a clinic and no longer includes the ceremonies and open discourse that formerly conveyed sexual knowledge combined with strict social controls regulating sexual behaviour. The changes have resulted in “numerous discrepancies between cognition and practice”: although parents believe sexual intercourse should be restricted to marriage, they have employed “a prohibitive silence” that is misinterpreted by youth who have little reliable knowledge about sexual matters.

Kipsigis (Kenya)

Peristany (1939:p47-8)⁷³⁶ states that boys of about 15 (after initiation) and girls of 12 will be preoccupied with seeking a mate. Premarital courtship results in the adolescents sleeping together every night in the *singroina*, or men’s club. They may sleep in their sibling’s presence, but no intercourse is to take place (p50). A virgin at initiation (variably scheduled at ages 14-20, but in former years it could be as late as 30 for both sexes) is honoured; it was estimated that half were indeed *pergeyat* (virgin) at this time. Boys and girls practice an external form of intercourse (p51). At initiation the boy is required to admit or deny repeatedly his coital experiences, “[...] since an uncircumcised boy is said to soil all women with whom he has had sexual intercourse, and to make them barren” (the *Arap Mogoss* trial, p10-2).

In times of famine, an infant girl may be betrothed to a grown man (*Kabwatereret*, p64-5). The children learn by imitation (p94), and most commonly play at house building (p95-6), but no associations are made. “When they are old enough to take interest in love-making [?], they are all seen together at their meeting-places [...]” (p96). “Brothers and sisters, before having sweethearts, sleep naked and close to each other in their own hut, away from any supervision”. No clear pictures arises from this: “La faim, l’occasion, l’herbe tendre et, je pense, quelque diable aussi le poussant”. Orchardson (1930/1:p101)⁷³⁷ states that the girl marries immediately after her circumcision⁷³⁸, and that the institution is consummated only when her mother has decided that she is ready to cook for her husband.

Samburu (Kenya)

⁷³⁴ 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

⁷³⁵ Ahlberg, B. M., Kimani, V. N., Kirumbi, L. W., Kaara, M. W. & Krantz, I. (1997) The Mwomboko Research Project: The Practice of Male Circumcision in Central Kenya and Its Implications for the Transmission and Prevention of STD/HIV, *Afr Sociol Rev / Rev Afr Sociol* 1,1:66-81

⁷³⁶ Persitany, J. G. (1939) *The Social Institutions of the Kipsigis*. London: G. Routledge & Sons

⁷³⁷ Orchardson, I. Q. (1930/1) Notes on the marriage customs of the Kipsigis, *J East Afr & Uganda Nat Hist Soc* 40/1:99-112. Cited in Kyewalyanga (1977:p42)

⁷³⁸ See also Borgerhoff Mulder, M. (1989) Menarche, menopause and reproduction in the Kipsigis of Kenya, *J Biosoc Sci* 21,2:179-92

Subincision is performed by Samburu herdboys around age seven to ten (Margetts, 1960)⁷³⁹. 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. Later, circumcision follows. According to Spencer (1965)⁷⁴⁰, 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. Adolescent *morans* [warriors] have mistresses who are invited to their clubs. A very strict intergenerational avoidance is requested of the girl.

Gusii, Kisii, Abagusii (Kenya)

“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, 1997)⁷⁴¹. LeVine and LeVine (1963:p492)⁷⁴² noted the following verbalisation of Gusii parental conflict on boy’s heterosexual play: “I would cane him very badly; thinking, “After all, it is the natural thing to do”, but since I found them at it, I must cane severely”. Parental intercourse occurs only when children are supposed to sleep⁷⁴³. LeVine and LeVine (1981)⁷⁴⁴ mentioned rape of prepubescent girls by adult men “who in many instances are the classificatory parents”. Mayer (1973:p132)⁷⁴⁵ wrote: “Even little boys would play at “pretending to catch little girls”. Decency required that from about the age of seven they should not play sexually in front of parents, or other *abansoni* (respected people). They would have witnessed copulation of animals, if not humans, and would have slept in the mother’s bed until decency required them to move to the grandmother’s, or a saiga (boy’s hut). Circumcision took place in early puberty (13 to 15)⁷⁴⁶, whereby the novices may be teased by girls exposing their genitals, causing painful erections. The first formal sexual experience is usually after initiation (girls: 8 to nine years; Boys: 10 to 12 years). Earlier intercourse would be forbidden and punished (LeVine, 1959). Initiated girls, “as young as they are, begin grooming themselves for marriage” (LeVine, 1959:p117)⁷⁴⁷. The Gusii practice clitoridectomy and excision of the labia minora (Meschig et al., 1983)⁷⁴⁸.

⁷³⁹ Margetts, E. L. (1960) Sub-incision of the urethra in the Samburu of Kenya, *East Afr Med J* 37,2:105-8

⁷⁴⁰ Spencer, P. (1965) *The Samburu: A Study of Gerontocracy in a Nomadic Tribe*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Also cited by Michl (2002:p251-2)

⁷⁴¹ *Op.cit.*

⁷⁴² LeVine, R. A. & LeVine, B. B. (1963) Nyansongo: a Gusii community in Kenya, in Whiting, B. B. (Ed.) *Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing*. New York: Wiley, p19-202

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.* Also Esman (p67)

⁷⁴⁴ LeVine, S. & LeVine, R. (1981) Child abuse and neglect in Sub-Saharan Africa, in Korbin, J. (Ed.) *Child Abuse and Neglect: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, p35-55

⁷⁴⁵ Mayer, I. (1973) The Gusii of Western Kenya, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p122-38

⁷⁴⁶ Mayer (1923) states it occurred at an average age of 11-12. Female circumcision was done around 10-11, ideally before menarche. See Mayer, P. (1923) Gusii initiation ceremonies, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 81,1/2:9-36

⁷⁴⁷ LeVine, R. A. (1959) An attempt to change the Gusii initiation cycle, *Man* 59:117-20; Gusii sex offences, *Am Anthropol* 61:965-90. Reprinted in Lieberman, B. (Ed., 1971) *Human Sexual Behavior: A Book of Readings*. New York [etc.]: J. Wiley & Sons, p336-57

⁷⁴⁸ Meschig, R., Sundhaussen, E. & Schadewaldt, H. (1983) [Clitoridectomy and excision of the labia minora among the Kisii (Gusii) in western Kenya], *Med Welt* 13;34,19:579-83

Marriage does not take place after circumcision or menarche (Kyewalyanga, 1977:p42).

Minturn and Lambert (1964:p247-8)⁷⁴⁹:

“One of the most serious offences is for a boy to attack a girl who is not his sibling. Such attacks are regarded as sexual in motivation even among young children. Preadolescent boys and girls do indulge in sex play when adults are not around. When the girls approach initiation they begin to spurn the advances of their male playmates, who are still several years away of their initiation. The attacks of herd boys on these girls are evidently the result, in part, of this rejection. One of the reasons given by the girls for desiring to be initiated was to avoid these attacks, since parents take strong action to stop attacks of uninitiated boys on initiated girls”.

[Additional refs:

-- LeVine, R. A. (1963) Child rearing practices in sub-Saharan Africa: an interim report, *Bull Menn Clin* 27,5:245-56

-- Schaeffner, A. (1953) Les rites de circonsion en pays kissi, *Étud Guinéennes* 12 [?]. Also cited by Erny (1972 [1981:p61])]

Luo, Nilotic Kavirondo, Jaluo (British East Africa; Kenya)

“[...] among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband”⁷⁵⁰.

Blount (1973:p325)⁷⁵¹: “Young Luo boys begin to experiment with sex when they are four to six years of age, but their behaviour is severely criticized and restricted. As mobility is limited, boys are first interested in girls who reside in the immediate vicinity, and due to residential patterns, these girls are close relatives. Sexual relations with them are incestuous and although this concept is not immediately understood by a young boy, he quickly learns that they are not “available sex playmates”. If need be, a young boy will be sent to stay with a relative to remove him from temptation of nearby female cousins or sisters. Only after a boy becomes a youth, at the approximate age of 13 to 15 years, is there opportunity for considerable contact with members of the opposite sex”. Luo boys are said to practice a preputial conditioning at the age of 10 to 12 (Parkin, 1973:p335-6)⁷⁵². Schoolgirls begin to take a great interest in romantic aspirations, and eagerly await thelarche (Ominde, 1952)⁷⁵³. The marital cycle “proceeding” to the act of childbearing, is imitated (p31). Genitals are compared, and “something approaching a crude sexual intercourse” takes place when older members of the family are absent. During the period when the crops are ripening these older children, sometimes accompanied by younger ones who act as sentries, disappear into the cornfields to carry out this practice”. The parental reaction is one of reproach and restriction.

⁷⁴⁹ Minturn, L. & Lambert, W. W. (1964) *Mothers of Six Cultures*. New York [etc.]: J. Wiley & Sons

⁷⁵⁰ Northcote, G. A. S. (1907) The Nilotic Kavirondo, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 37:58-66, at p65

⁷⁵¹ Blount, B. G. (1973) The Luo of South Nyanza, western Kenya, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p318-29

⁷⁵² 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

⁷⁵³ Ominde, S. H. (1952) *The Luo Girl, From Infancy to Marriage*. London: Macmillan

Before age eleven, restrictions of exogamy are suggested to the girls. The girls learn from the coquetry and customs of more mature girls with whom they sleep. Sexual instruction for girls took place within the *swindhe*, a form of communal living (Cohen and Odhiambo, 1989)⁷⁵⁴.

Child betrothal (p92) or marriage (p117) may take place (Wilson, 1961)⁷⁵⁵, but this seems a peripheral custom. Child marriage (*nyar osiep*) includes marriage ceremonies without consummation (cf., Kyewalyanga, 1977:p24)⁷⁵⁶.

Nandi (Kenya)

An uncircumcised Nandi boy rarely has an opportunity for intercourse, due to the strict controls of the warrior age set (Huntingford, 1973:p410⁷⁵⁷; Brockman, 1997)⁷⁵⁸. Nandi boys thus practice masturbation (De Rachewiltz (1963 [1964:p151]). Bryk (1928:p118)⁷⁵⁹:

“It is common practice among the Nandi for the boys to smear sticky, milky juice of the euphorbiaceous plant *yeptiringuet* on the glans and to masturbate (*lat pertit*) with it. The juice of this plant is quite caustic and causes the glans to swell up strongly, so that the foreskin can easily be drawn back; which is what is wanted. During the process the 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”.

Huntingford (1972:p789-91)⁷⁶⁰ states that “a boy’s sex life begins as soon as he has emerged from the seclusion of circumcision (*kakoman tum*) and a girl’s when she reaches the age of puberty, i.e. about twelve. Girls do not normally begin younger; but boys, who sometimes may not be circumcised until they have reached the age of 17, 18, or even 20, often do, though they are not supposed to do so, and must make love in secret, risking punishment from the warriors if caught”. A favourite game played by small 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 and play with each other, imitating as far as they can the actions they have seen and heard performed in their parent’s hut at night. The parents of course know that such things are done, but they do not seek for offenders, and only if actually caught would a boy be slapped by his parent, with an admonition to mind what he did or he would have the warriors after him”. A circumcised boy may have intercourse with uninitiated girls, who form lasting couples (*mureret-sandet*, beloved-lover). The boy may, first at age 7 or 8, find himself in various configurations of sleeping naked in the same bed as naked girls their age. The close and unfair competition for girls is illustrated

⁷⁵⁴ Cohen, D. & Atieno Odhiambo, E. S. (1989) *Siaya. The Historical Anthropology of an African Landscape*. London: James Curry

⁷⁵⁵ Wilson, G. (1961) *Luo Customary Law and Marriage Laws Customs*. Nairobi: Govt. Printer

⁷⁵⁶ Kyewalyanga, F. (1977) *Marriage Customs in East Africa*. Hohenschäftlarn: Renner

⁷⁵⁷ Huntingford, G. W. B. (1973) The Nandi of the western Kenya highlands, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p406-14

⁷⁵⁸ Op.cit.

⁷⁵⁹ Bryk, F. (1928) *Neger-Eros: Ethnologische Studien über das Sexualleben bei Negeren*. Berlin & Köln: A. Marcus & E. Weber’s Verlag

⁷⁶⁰ Huntingford, G. W. B. (1972) Nandi kinship and clans (Kenya), *Anthropos* 67:771-821

when a warrior is also present, and the boy may attempt to *cor tipik* “steal girls” by pressing himself as close to the girl’s back as he can when the warrior is asleep.

“The girl often allows this, though she dare not turn toward the boy for fear of disturbing the warrior. The warriors of course know that this goes on, since they have all done it themselves, but as long as they do not actually see or feel anything they take no notice. But if the boy should forget himself and move too much, he is likely to pay for his fun with a sore back”.

Langley (1979:p46, 71)⁷⁶¹ states that in former days a boy’s sex life began at the end of initiation (circumcision), which may be as late as at age 25. At the time of writing, boys were entitled to sexual (intercruel) intercourse with uncircumcised girls at age 15. Thus, “[s]eduction of an uninitiated girl was not a tort provided pregnancy did not ensue [...]” (Snell, 1954:p31)⁷⁶².

Long before initiation (about age 14), and beginning when the girls are about ten years old, they must obligatory live in a mixed gender places called *sikiroino*, an institution meant “to teach the girls how to behave towards men and how to control their sexual desires. No sexual intercourse is permitted when the boys and girls sleep in this way. At a later stage the girls would be examined for virginity, and it is great shame and anger to the girls and their parents if any are found to have lost their virginity. In some cases such girls would be speared to death; while virgin ones would receive gifts of cows and sheep” (Cherotich, 1967⁷⁶³; Mbiti, [1990:p124]). After clitoridectomy, during seclusion, sexual instruction takes place, including “how to sleep with their husbands, when to refrain from sexual intercourse during pregnancy and up to the time the child begins to walk, how to be attractive wives, and how to bring up children”.

Child marriage (Huntingford, 1953:p29)⁷⁶⁴ may have been no more in 1973 (Langley, p72). A prepubertal girl could be tied to a rich man; consummation is delayed until she is grown up (Huntingford, 1923/3:p53; 1927:p434)⁷⁶⁵.

Among the Nandi and Masai of the Uganda Protectorate, the younger professional warriors, who live with immature girls as a regular and sanctioned practice, can do so only until the girls attain the age of puberty. After puberty the girls must either be married or sent home to their mothers” (Margold, 1922/3:p50-1)⁷⁶⁶.

“At ten years old, girls begin [to] sleep in a house (*sikiroino*) built for this purpose with boys of their age or slightly older. This obligatory practice is meant to teach the girls how to control their sexual desires. No sexual intercourse is permitted, as the girls are examined for virginity just before circumcision. To refuse to sleep in the *sikiroino* would earn a girl a beating from boys without any interventions from her parents. Loss of virginity could earn her death by a spear. [...] They are also told that the removal of the clitoris is important because if not removed it could make their husbands impotent when it touches the penis. They are also told that a girl who refuses to be circumcised will have her clitoris grow very long

⁷⁶¹ Langley, M. S.. (1979) *The Nandi of Kenya*. London: Hurst

⁷⁶² Snell, G. S. (1954) *Nandi Customary Law*. London: MacMillan & Co.

⁷⁶³ Cherotich, S. (1967) The Nandi female initiation and marriage and Christian impact upon it, in *Dini na Mila*, Kampala 2,2/3:62-77

⁷⁶⁴ Huntingford, G. W. B. (1953) *The Southern Nilo-Hamites*. London: International African Institute

⁷⁶⁵ Huntingford, G. W. B. (1932/3) The significance of the bride-price with special reference to the Nandi, *J East Afr & Uganda Nat Hist Soc* 45/6:51-5; Huntingford, G. W. B. (1927) Miscellaneous Records Relating to the Nandi and Kony Tribes, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 57:417-61; Kyewalyanga (1977:p24)

⁷⁶⁶ Margold (1922/3) Racial factors in desertion, *Family* 3, Oct/Jan. Quoted by Frazier, E. F. (1930) The Negro Slave Family, *J Negro Hist* 15,2:198-259, see p201

and develop branches. [...] They were also taught to refrain from sexual intercourse during pregnancy until the baby is able to walk. They were also taught how to be attractive wives and how to raise children. [...] Sexually, it [circumcision] is meant to control female sexuality by enhancing marital chastity. It thus limits possible enjoyment of sex for women. Traditionally it was explained that while men were allowed to have as many women as they could afford, women are not expected to be wayward. This practice was expected to help control their sexual desire. Some women approve of this practice since in deadening sexual desire they have no problem even when they are frustrated with their husbands. [note omitted] It served as a source of implanting fear of pain and promotion of virginity among girls and chastity in women"⁷⁶⁷.

[Additional refs.: Hollis (1909:p16, 58)⁷⁶⁸; Cherotich, S. (1967) The Nandi female initiation and marriage and christian impact on it, *Dina Na Mila* 2,2/3:67-77]

Tuken (Kenya)

Kettel and Kettel (1973:p420)⁷⁶⁹: "Uncircumcized boys should not engage in sexual intercourse, but they do so frequently, usually from the age of 10 to 12, and there seems to be no effective means of curtailing this activity, although those who are caught are beaten". Uncircumcised boys are avoided by the women.

Meru (Kenya)

Njeru (1973:p71)⁷⁷⁰ states that the Meru girl is taught about sex by her mother when young, and is instructed about sex conduct when approaching puberty by her grandmother. "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". Sex life among boys and girls is regarded as normal so long as they do not do it openly. Girls dance in the evening with boys, they go to fetch firewood where they know boys are grazing the herds, and each chooses the boy to "give her tobacco". Usually these boys are too young to have ejaculation, and so do not have to worry about any pregnancy". A man is not supposed to have an uncircumcised girl experience the pleasure of ejaculation, and is urged to practice coitus interruptus. Boys aged 5 to 7 sleep with their grandfathers or in the junior boy's hut (*gam ya ncuna*); later they live in the boy's hut (*gam ya runge*). Senior boys (before circumcision) "have some sexual relation with young girls, usually the ones who have not reached puberty", as determined by menarche. Older girls were also on their agenda, but not without the competition of the circumcised.

⁷⁶⁷ Nyangweso, M. (2002) Christ's salvific message and the Nandi ritual of female circumcision, *Theolog Studies* 63,3:579-600

⁷⁶⁸ Hollis, A. C. (1909) *The Nandi*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

⁷⁶⁹ Kettel, B. L. & Kettel, D. W. (1973) The Tuken of the western Kenya highlands, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p415-27

⁷⁷⁰ Njeru, B. K. (1973) The Egoji clan of Meru, Central Kenya, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p68-78

Ruanda, Rwanda

Father Arnoux (1931:p348)⁷⁷¹ noted that due to the unclothed state of being, children “[...] se permettent toute sorte de jeux indécents avec camarades des deux sexes, sans ressentir le moindre remords”. Maquet (1961:p78)⁷⁷²: “The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and flogged. Others were more permissive [Vincent]. Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts”.

De Smedt (1998)⁷⁷³ speaks of “child” marriage in Ruanda refugee camps but implies early adolescent marriage (girls: 13, boys: 14). Enry (1981, I:p35-7)⁷⁷⁴ relates that boys in their “second childhood” [of three] are made to live with aunts or grandparents in order to prevent the sighting of parental intimacies. Nevertheless, “les conversations et les jeux avec les aînés les instruisent sans retard”. Many forms of sexual games exist, including the Bantu “jeu des huttes”, and even a secret language exists to escape the surveillance of authorities. After menarche, which may be as late as 17 or 18 (p37, n1), a stricter regimen is practised. Rather than by parents, the age group assures sex communications. Some autobiographies shed some light on these arguments (II, p409-18).

Mayr and Mayr-Knochel (1996:p29-30)⁷⁷⁵ state that grandmothers may tease the little boy with his masculinity. Sexual acts are free, when not compromising parents or overt masturbation. Children build huts, and play husband and wife.

In a recent study⁷⁷⁶ of Kigali street children (N=238, ages 6-20, median age 13 years, mostly males), “a full 35 percent of those under 10 were found to be sexually active”.

⁷⁷¹ Arnoux, A. (1931) Quelques notes sur les enfants au Ruanda et à l'Urundi, *Anthropos* 26,3/4:341-51

⁷⁷² Maquet, J. J. (1961) *The Premise of Inequality in Ruanda*. London [etc.]: Oxford University Press

⁷⁷³ Smedt, J. de (1998) Child marriages in Rwandan refugee camps, *Africa* 68,2:211-37

⁷⁷⁴ Enry, P. J. P. (1981) *De l'Education Traditionnelle a l'Enseignement Moderne au Rwanda*. Vol. 1. Based on the author's 1978 Thesis, Université de Lille

⁷⁷⁵ Mayr, Th. M. & Mayr-Knochel, H. (1996) Frühe Kindheit in Ruanda, in Gottschalk-Batschkus, Ch. E. & Schuler, J. (Eds.) *Ethnomedizinische Perspektiven zur Frühen Kindheit*. Berlin: VWB, Verlag für Wissenschaft & Bildung, p21-30. The authors draw from Vincent, M. (1954) *L'Enfant au Ruanda-Urundi*. Brussels: IRCB, esp. p167-71; and Gakumba, B. (1983) *L'Éducation Sexuelle de l'Adolescent Rwandais Scolarisé*. National University of Rwanda

⁷⁷⁶ Rwanda: Sexual activity among street children in Kigali, *IRINNews Org*, 13 Mar 2002, <http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=25086>

Burundi (Republic of Burundi)

Albert (1963; see p195)⁷⁷⁷ noted that prepubertal sex play, even between siblings is not considered a moral transgression, unlike premarital postpubertal play. Prepubertally, girls mutually practice macronymphia. With the people of Rwanda and Burundi, Vincent (1954)⁷⁷⁸ describes the following four stages of the evolution of infantile sexuality: (1) maternal genital pacification; (2) the start of sexual games after the discontinuation of primal scene exposure; (3) these games develop in sexual relations of shepherd boys; and (4) an evolution toward masturbation and homosexuality just before adolescence. Among 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". Nobody worries about the sexual conduct of prepubertal girls, but she is no longer considered free to go with the boys after menarche. 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. The practice is seemingly fused with labial elongation, considered necessary for enhancing sexual pleasure of her future husband, and vaginal dilation facilitating delivery.

Barundi (Burundi)

Meyer (1916:p106)⁷⁷⁹ states that marriage occurred for girls at age 12 "or even younger, when they attain puberty at an earlier date"; boys marry when they can pay the bride price.

⁷⁷⁷ Albert, E. M. (1963) Women of Burundi: a study of social values, in Paulme, D. (Ed.) *Women of Tropical Africa*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p179-216

⁷⁷⁸ *Op.cit.*, as cited by Erny (1981:p60)

⁷⁷⁹ Meyer, H. (1916) *Die Barundi*. Leipzig: O. Spamer

Tanzania (Swahili, Wanguru, Turu, Kwere, Shambala, Ngindo, Chagga, Bena, Nyamwezi, Luguru, Kaguru, Sukuma, Subiya, Ngulu, Hehe, Barabaig, Nyakyusa, Gogo, Baraguyu; → Kuria, → Masai)

Formerly, women were married at or near the age of puberty, or three years before reproductive age (Geiger, 1987:p14)⁷⁸⁰. In the highlands of Buha (Tanzania), virginity is highly appreciated, and girls were well guarded by parents (Scherer, 1965:p41)⁷⁸¹. Boys secretly have coitus with widows, divorcees, and even married women, no excluding the wives of brothers and fathers. Although girls do not marry until puberty, menarche is not the main indicator for nuptial status: the appearance of breasts and the competence in household duties are. Giving in marriage of an immature girl (*ukwenzeraza*) is considered a sign of extreme poverty and does not add to one's status in the community. Immature girls could also be betrothed, but infant betrothal occurred only in mock fashion. The marriage of an immature boy (barely ten) to a grown woman was considered as a sign of prosperity, and occurred not seldom- especially in former days- and was said to "make the boy grow up quickly".

In a study on medical students, covering 15 ethnic groups, Swift and Pendaeli (1974)⁷⁸² noted that formal instruction in sexual matters was reportedly uncommon for males, with most of the information learned from peers or older siblings. Girls were more likely to receive some formal teaching from older adult women, often as part of a puberty ritual.

Traditional Tanzanian sex education was reserved for the *somo*, ceremonial leader, during the *Unyago* ritual (Fuglesang, 1997:p1248-9/1999)⁷⁸³. It is observed within three ethnic groups in Tanzania (Wapare, Wamera, Wakaguru) and was said to include instruction of sexual, maternal and reproductive matters.

This takes place at puberty, but the customary three-month duration would not be compatible with scholastic regulations and thus lead to prepubertal scheduling of the rite (age 7-8), at least in one Town (Lindi). "What impact this may have is unclear, but it is obvious that the girls are too young to comprehend much of the meaning of initiation, and it may prematurely encourage them to take an interest in sexual activity". Where the rites have withered away, "girls do not receive any systematic instruction from reliable adult", although incidental initiatives are noted. A detailed analysis of Tanzanian traditional sex education is offered by Allen (2000)⁷⁸⁴, additional to a survey of *rites de passage* by Swantz (1966 [1969])⁷⁸⁵.

⁷⁸⁰ Geiger, S. (1987) Women in Nationalist Struggle: Tanu Activists in Dar es Salaam, *Int J Afr Hist Stud* 20,1:1-26

⁷⁸¹ Scherer, J. H. (1965) *Marriage and Bride-Wealth in the Highlands Buha (Tanganyika)*. Groningen [Holland]: R. V. B. Kleine

⁷⁸² Swift & Pendaeli (1974) Child rearing practices in Tanzania, *East Afr J Med Res* 1,1:24-34

⁷⁸³ Fuglesang, M. (1997) Lessons for life - Past and present modes of sexuality education in Tanzanian society, *Soc Sci & Med* 44,8:1245-54. Reprinted in Rivers, K. & P. Aggleton (Eds., 1999) *Adolescent Sexuality, Gender and the HIV Epidemic*. New York: UNDP HIV & Development Programme

⁷⁸⁴ Allen, D. R. (2000) Learning the Facts of Life: Past and Present Experiences in a Rural Tanzanian Community, *Africa Today* 47,3-4:3-27

⁷⁸⁵ Swantz, M. (1966 [1969]) *The Religious and Magical Rites Connected with the Life Cycle of the Woman in Some Bantu Ethnic Groups of Tanzania*. M. A. Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Teachings would include the idea that female sexual pleasure is something that is given to males, in return for which she should be paid something, so that young girls extramaritally exchanging sexual services for a wage traditionally fell outside the locus of patriarchal control (Mbilinyi, 1985:p115-6)⁷⁸⁶.

Vriesendorp (1980)⁷⁸⁷ noted that, through foreign institutions, “[f]amily life suddenly became some sort of holy institution in which reproduction was to take place in the strict intimacy of the conjugal bed, not to be discussed outside the bed. [...] A distance was being created between parents and children based on the philosophy that children are innocent creatures not to be spoiled by the knowledge of the “facts of life” and who should certainly not to be bothered with the hard realities and responsibilities of married life before it was considered their time. [...] Family life education (including sex education) gradually disappearing from the scene as something unnatural and unnecessary”, a void not initially filled by school education (Batwa, 1986)⁷⁸⁸.

Rajani and Kudrati (1994, 1996)⁷⁸⁹ found that at Kuleana Tanzania street adolescents experienced very low percentage of overt prostitution. Less than five percent, six cases, are reported to have agreed to have sex with an adult with whom they were staying the night. The children placed rape amongst manifestations of violence like beatings, fights, being locked-up, and “never in the same cluster as expressions of wanted sex”. Anal sex, *kunyenga*, among boys was often practised as an “initiation rite” (cf. Lockhart, 2002)⁷⁹⁰. Anal sex also took place with younger boys to relieve “sexual tensions” by playing with each other at night. Older boys, 14 - 17, engaged in vaginal sex with street girls, this often represented power or being a “real man”.

Median age at first sexual intercourse for men aged 25-49 is 17.5; for females it is 16.8 (Klitsch, 1994)⁷⁹¹.

Silberschmidt and Rasch (2001)⁷⁹² observed that older adolescent girls are normally seen as victims and easy preys of (often 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*).

In a study on 657 Tanzanian students, one out of every four girls conceptualised menarche as a sign of injury or disease while 10% of boys had similar feelings about spermarche⁷⁹³.

⁷⁸⁶ Mbilinyi, M. (1985) Struggles concerning sexuality among female youth, *J East Afr Res & Developm* 15::111-23

⁷⁸⁷ Vriesendorp, S. (1980) Family Life Education in Africa, in *Population Education and Curriculum Changes*, Dar es Salaam

⁷⁸⁸ Batwa, Y. D. M. (1986) The role of parents in family and sex education for development: with a special reference to Tanzania, *Utafiti* 8,1:13-26

⁷⁸⁹ 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

⁷⁹⁰ 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

⁷⁹¹ Klitsch, M. (1994) In Tanzania, Women’s Fertility, Ideal Family Size Both Surpass Six Births, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 20,1:38-9

⁷⁹² 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

⁷⁹³ Leshabari, M.T. (1988) Adolescent Fertility in Tanzania - A Case Study of Dar es Salaam Region. Earlier spermarche was associated with earlier age at dating women, more girlfriends, more likelihood of having had

In Islamic Pangani District, there is no courting of unmarried women, and premarital sexuality is entirely banned (Tanner, 1962)⁷⁹⁴.

[Additional refs: Lugoe et al. (1996)⁷⁹⁵; Matasha et al. (1998)⁷⁹⁶; CRLP (2001) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Anglophone Africa. Progress Report*, p113-29; Haren. J. van (Aug., 1999) *Pamenzi na Pesa. Girls in search for love, sex and money. A Study on adolescent sexuality in an urban Tanzanian neighbourhood*. Nijmegen University Occasional paper

Swahili (Tanzania; Kenya, Mozambique)

Among the Washirazii / Wambwera Swahili in Tanzania, sex education is given after menarche by the instructress (Caplan, 1976)⁷⁹⁷, as to boys (p23, 25). Boy's circumcision (occurring anywhere between one year and puberty) is considered necessary to allow the boy to eventually have coitus. Premarital virginity is valued.

Among the Mombasa Swahili (Muslims), boys beginning at the age of twelve as they start to move into all-male social contexts have age-stratified sexual relationships with older men (Shepherd, 1987)⁷⁹⁸. The junior is called *shoga*, the senior is known as *pasha*. Anal intercourse appears to be the accepted practice (Standing and Kisekka, 1989:p107-8).

Wanguru (Bantu; Tanzania)

Dooley⁷⁹⁹: "Vigoli (girls who have not yet arrived at puberty) and young boys before they reach the age of puberty are more or less free from all sexual taboos with one another. When a boy reaches puberty he is forbidden to play any more with *vigoli*" (p2-3). During the *ngoma*, *Wali* (girls who have reached puberty), are "taught all matters of sex. [...] During the *ngoma* the *makungwi* and all other visitors to the *lago*, the large grass initiation hut built outside the village, have full permission to discuss sexual matters with the *wali*. Matters concerning marriage with birth, wives and concubines, and in general all the *wali* wish to know, are part

intercourse, and more intercourse partners. See Kim, K. Smith, P.K. & Palermi, A.L. (1997) Conflict in

childhood and reproductive development, *Evol & Hum Behav* 18,2:109-42

⁷⁹⁴ Tanner, R. E. S. (1962) The relationship between the sexes in a coastal Islamic society: Pangani District, Tanganyika, *Afr Stud* 21,2:70-82

⁷⁹⁵ Lugoe, W., Klepp, K. & Skutle, A. (1996) Sexual debut and predictors of condom use among secondary students in Arusha, Tanzania, *AIDS Care* 8,4:443-52

⁷⁹⁶ Matasha, E. et al. (1998) Sexual and reproductive health among primary and secondary school pupils in Mwanza, Tanzania: need for prevention, *AIDS Care* 10,5:571-82

⁷⁹⁷ Caplan, A. P. (1976) Boy's circumcision and girl's puberty rites among the Swahili of Mafia Island, Tanzania, *Africa* 46,1:21-33

⁷⁹⁸ Shepherd, G. (1987) Rank, Gender, and Homosexuality: Mombasa as a key to understanding sexual options, in Caplan, P. (Ed.) *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*. London: Tavistock Publ., p240-70

⁷⁹⁹ Dooley, C.T. (1936) Child-training among the Wanguru. III. Moral education, *Anthropol Quart* 9,1/4:1-12

of the instruction" (p2, 6). Male circumcision at age 8 or 9. MacVigar⁸⁰⁰: "Instructions are given to boys and girls during the respective puberty rites. These rites for the boy generally take place before puberty; for the girl they begin the day first menstruation starts".

Turu (Tanzania)

"The Turu of Tanzania enjoy sexual license during the puberty ceremony of their teenage boys. On the first day's festivities, extramarital lovers dance to imitate intercourse and sing songs extolling the penis, vagina, and copulation. If these dances are not "hot", or full of sexual passion, as the Turu say, the celebration will be a failure. That evening sweethearts consummate what they have suggested all day"⁸⁰¹.

Kwere, Wakwere (Tanzania)

Beidelman (1967:p25)⁸⁰² states that boys are "circumcized in the bush at the ages of five to seven". Not mentioning initiation schools, it is also stated that "Grandparents instruct persons in sexual relations".

Denis⁸⁰³ details the *ngoma* initiation rites for both sexes (p18-35). Boys' and girls' secondary hair is epilated, and the initiandi are instructed in reproductive physiology. A girl is apparently not instructed in menarche matters, since on its occurrence, she runs away in fright until she drops from exhaustion (p28). During the rites there is a taboo on coitus (p29).

Shambala (Bantu; north-eastern Tanganyika, Tanzania)

At the time of writing, childhood betrothal (Winans, 1964:p47)⁸⁰⁴ was giving way to having the boy discover his own preferences.

Ngindo (Tanzania)

Traditional education was tied to circumcision, scheduled in adulthood, or at least "past puberty"(Crosse-Upcott, 1959:p169, 184)⁸⁰⁵. "Now on the contrary the initiates are mere

⁸⁰⁰ McVicar, T. (1934) The relations between religion and morality among the Wanguru, *Anthropol Quart* 7,1/4:1-5, at p4

⁸⁰¹ Fisher, H. E. (1992) *Anatomy of Love*. New York: Norton, p78; Schneider, H. K. (1971) Romantic Love Among the Turu, in Marshal, D. S. & Suggs, R. C. (Eds.) *Human Sexual Behavior*. New York: Basic Books, p55-70

⁸⁰² Beidelman, T. O. (1967) *The Matrilineal Peoples of Eastern Tanzania*. London: International African Institute. Cited by Marck, J. (1997) Aspects of male circumcision in subequatorial African culture history, *Health Transition Rev*, Suppl. to 7:337-59, at p354t

⁸⁰³ Denis, H. (1978) *Wakwere Zeden en Gewoonten*. Berg en Dal [Holland]: Afrika Museum

⁸⁰⁴ Winans, E.V. (1964) The Shambala family, in Gray R. F. & Gulliver, P. H. (Eds.) *The Family Estate in Africa*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, p35-62

children on whom many of the ritual lessons, and in particular the formal instruction in such matters as sex, are altogether lost”.

Great Lakes

Kashamura (1973)⁸⁰⁶ on the peoples of the *Grand Lacs*: The *kukuna* represents the initiation into sexual life for both sexes. By mutual manipulation of the labia pudenda and vagina, the sexual apparatus is prepared for coitus. Progress is checked digitally on a routine basis by the initiatrix. The custom, along with sexological discussions is performed in the night, in the *bios sacré*. “Les garçons très jeunes, qui n’ont pas encore de sperme, sont encouvertement admis au bois sacré: ils participent aux excercices des filles, à la fois comme partenaires et comme élèves. Le plus souvent, c’est auprès de sa grande sœur qu’un jeune garçon fait son apprentissage, ou avec l’amie de celle-ci. Le principe de cette coéducation est excellent non seulement pour le jeune garçon, mais aussi pour la fille, qui, s’exerçant à faire l’amour avec un garçon impubère, ne court pas le risque de se trouver enceinte. Quand un garçon prend de plus en plus conscience de sa maturité sexuelle, il se voit exclu du groupe des adolescents admis à suivre les filles dans le bios sacré” (p81-4).

Chaga, Chagga, Wachagga (Tanzania)

Chaga children are told that babies come from the forest (Raum, 1940)⁸⁰⁷. Precircumcision intercourse is forbidden and punished by staking the lovers to the ground in the forbidden position (*ibid.*, p182; Dundas, 1924:p296⁸⁰⁸). The operation took place nominally at puberty, or rather, together with the chief’s son’s puberty; so some were operated upon at a younger age. Childhood family or house games provide opportunities for sexually tinged games (Raum, Raum, 1938:p219⁸⁰⁹; 1940 [1967:p252]; 1973:p35)⁸¹⁰. Sibling marriage play in huts is met with prohibitions referring to the incest taboo (1940:p180-1; cf. Raum 1938 [1954:708]⁸¹¹). Night time sex instruction (menstruation, interfemoral intercourse, contraception) for girls occurs in the initiation period (Raum, 1939)⁸¹². Although girls are told to “watch their bodies” and

⁸⁰⁵ Crosse-Upcott, A. R. W. Male Circumcision Among the Ngindo, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 89,2:169-89

⁸⁰⁶ Kashamura, A. (1973) *Famille, Sexualité et Culture*. Paris: Payot

⁸⁰⁷ Raum, O. F. (1940) *Chaga Childhood*. London: Oxford University Press. Also cited by Ford and Beach (1951:p180), *op.cit.*

⁸⁰⁸ Dundas, Ch. (1924) *Kilimanjaro and Its People*. London: Witherby. “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.

⁸⁰⁹ “[...] the element of secrecy which attaches to the copying of the more intimate scenes from the life of the parents and the political authorities draws the boys into a close social unit with a sense of common interests and needs”.

⁸¹⁰ Raum, O. F. (1973) The Chaga of North-Eastern Tanzania, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. University of Nairobi, Institute of African Studies. Vol. 3, p27-46

⁸¹¹ Raum, O. F. (1938) Some aspects of indigenous education among the Chaga, *J Roy Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 68:209-21. Reprinted in Haring, D. G. (Ed., 1956) *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press. 3rd. Ed., p703-17

⁸¹² Raum, O. F. (1939) Female initiation among the Chaga, *Am Anthropol* 41,4:554-65

not to lie with their boyfriends, they are actually encouraged to “laugh, be happy, make yourself pleasant! If you withdraw into yourself, you will not get a husband!” Extensive education in sexual mores was given at pubertal rites (Raum, 1940:p330; Moore, 1977:p62⁸¹³; Gutmann, 1932 [I]:p44-54⁸¹⁴ [see also p24-5]; Swantz, 1966:p150ff). The use of riddles in this respect is noteworthy (e.g., Kamera, 1990)⁸¹⁵. Girls “use wish-magic to make their breasts grow [...]” (R., 1938:p221).

Nyamwezi (Tanzania)

Blohm (1931:p96)⁸¹⁶ speaks of rearing marriage. Betrothal could take place at a “very young” age or before birth (p192). Similar to the Sukuma, boys and girls moved out of their parents’ hut any time after the age of 6 and 10 years and lived in girls’ and boys’ dormitories (about ten girls together (Swantz, 1966:p118)⁸¹⁷. The girls had considerable freedom and the boys could enter into their hut, called *maji* (cf. →Basukuma) and vice versa, not needing anyone’s permission. No one was to see them entering, though. As (Blohm, 1933:p25)⁸¹⁸ remarks, “[e]he Mädchen zur Frau reifen können, meinen viele, daß ein Mädchen erst bei einem Mann liegen muß, ehe ihr erster “Monat” kommt. Deswegen tun sie es auch”. Children play marriage, but no sexuality was connected to this play by the author (p21, 22).

Bantu (Tanzania) (→Bantu)

Wembah-Rashid (1994)⁸¹⁹ states that mothers were encouraged to carry babies on their back to feel its erection when he needed to urinate.

“As boys and girls develop and manifest sexual growth, parents and society show appreciation of such developments because they point to sexual potency, hence fertility. Grandparents often examine boys’ and girls’ sexual parts without necessarily directly showing that they are ascertaining fertility characteristics. A grandparent can handle a boy’s genitals pretending “to seek snuff” from the phallus or wanting to use the whole apparatus as “bellows” (the testicles) and “tuyere” (the phallus). If fact, he or she want to establish the reaction of the boy: whether the testicles are developing, whether pubic hair is growing, or whether the grandparent can trigger an erection. Grandparents would do the same for girls. When a grandmother would go so far as to check on the genitals, a grandfather would only play with breasts. He would teasingly demand to suckle from the girl” (p51-2).

⁸¹³ Moore, S. F. (1977) The Chagga of Kilimanjaro, in *The Chagga and Meru of Tanzania*. London: International African Institute, p1-85

⁸¹⁴ Gutmann, B. (1932) *Die Stammeslehren der Dschagga*. München: Beck. Vol. I. [Cf. 1932 HRAF translation as *Tribal Teachings of the Chagga*]

⁸¹⁵ Kamera, W. D. (1990) Pedagogy and education for the unlettered: a case for Chagga riddles, *Afr Marburg* 23,1:23-35

⁸¹⁶ Blohm, W. (1931) *Die Nyamwezi, Land und Wirtschaft*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter & Co.

⁸¹⁷ Swantz, M. (1966) The Religious and Magical Rites Connected with the Life Cycle of the Women in Some Bantu Ethnic Groups of Tanzania. Thesis, Dar Es Salaam

⁸¹⁸ Blohm, W. (1933) *Die Nyamwezi, Gesellschaft und Weltbild*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter & Co.

⁸¹⁹ Wembah-Rashid (1994) Traditional fertility regulation and child-spacing practices: a Tanzanian matrilineal tradition of child spacing, *Afr Anthropol* 1,1/2:49-58

Dolls and playing marriage were encouraged as “fecundity-generating” activities. Boys receive sex instruction on the day they moved into circumcision camp prior to entering it (sexual function, female genitalia, incest and menstruation taboos). “Sex outside appropriate circumstances was seen as a resulting in, among other things, impotency, i.e., the loss of fertility”. Clitoris and labia were manipulated. After seclusion, they were brought to a secret place for a rite called *nk mango* (Wamakonde), *nkamako* (Wamakua), or *nkooli* (Rufiji-Pangani languages), where the focus is on coitus:

“The message is that sexual congress within its appropriate context is a healthy act and therefore desirable. A copy of the male organ carved from wood or moulded in clay is produced for the initiates to see, handle and feel. They are also shown where in their own body it should go and how. As at this stage they would have reached puberty, they would be told that they were physically capable of accommodating any male organ, whatever the size” (p52-3).

Conform Arab-Persian custom, the mentor would be present at the consummation of marriage.

Luguru, Zaramo, Wazaramo (Tanzania) (2,2,2,2,2;5,5;d2)

Among the Tanzanian Luguru, boys may be given a demonstration of sexual intercourse using a hen during the *ng'hula* initiation stage, at age 8 to 9 (Brain, 1980:p377)⁸²⁰. Four terms are used for periods up to *mwali* (maidenhood), the use of which is considered offensive after a next had been appointed (Brain, 1978:pp179)⁸²¹. 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”. After the seclusion of the Mwali rite (held “when a girl reaches puberty”, and to shield her from sexual relations), the girl is instructed at a ceremony called *kucheza mkole* (the dance at the tree of maturity), by the *muhunga*, according to Von Waldow (1935)⁸²² the maternal grandmother, but never the mother. According to Swantz (1965:p45-6)⁸²³ 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*; 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”.

⁸²⁰ Brain, J. L. (1980) Boys' initiation rites among the Luguru of Eastern Tanzania, *Anthropos* 75:369-82

⁸²¹ Brain, J. L. (1980) Symbolic rebirth: the *mwali* rite among the Luguru of Eastern Tanzania, *Africa* 48,2:177-88

⁸²² Von Waldow, A. (1935) *The Mwali Custom of the Zaramo*. Cited by Brain

⁸²³ Swantz, L. W. (1965) *The Zaramo of Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: Nordic Project Tanganyika, mimeographed

The mwali ceremony, also practised by neighbouring Kwere and Kami tribes, is aided by the use of dolls (Harding)⁸²⁴ maintained by the candidate during her seclusion.

Most *wali* (sing. Mwali) are engaged before or during seclusion. “Although Muslims and Christians go through the wedding ceremonies of those religions, a wedding, as such, was not part of Luguru custom; the bride went from her *début* to her husband’s bed” (p182-3), where after the final instructions, the grandmother expects to find coins on the bed corners as a sign of mutual satisfaction.

Thus, “[t]he Zaramo girl at the onset of menstruation is secluded for a lengthy period of time, in order, it is said, to make her submissive, as well as to educate her for her future adult role” (Swantz, paraphrased by Mbilinyi)⁸²⁵.

[Additional refs: Mluanda, M. (1971) The Luguru traditional moral schools, *Rev Ethnol* 3,8:57-62]

Kaguru, Wakaguru (Tanzania)

During rituals of sexual initiation practised by the Kaguru of Kilosa district in the Morogoro region of Tanzania, “[e]nactments are performed that instruct on the physiological nature of the woman and its relation to reproduction process, marriage life, parenthood and the obligations and responsibilities of women in the society” (Mlama, 1990:p166)⁸²⁶. *Digubi* songs and performances instruct girls between puberty and marriage on sexual hygiene, and details of the sexual act (Van de Walle and Franklin, 1996)⁸²⁷. The girl is taught “various riddles, sayings and songs with double meaning relating to proper sexual conduct and sexual hygiene” (Beidelman, 1973:p264)⁸²⁸. “Kaguru girls are (or were in the past) subjected to labiadectomy. This is said to “soften” the girl and thereby make her better able to bear children. At present this operation is not practised on all Kaguru girls [...]”.

Beidelman (1997:p109-30)⁸²⁹; cf. Beidelman, 1980)⁸³⁰ gives a detailed account of Kaguru sexual development. Children learn about sexuality and initiation long before they are eligible for the latter. 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*) and transmitted during initiation, and also informally through storytelling heard before initiation: “Sexuality truly is the single most important factor lying behind most Kaguru stories”, at least communicating the “dangerous, difficult and tricky” side of it, and

⁸²⁴ Harding, J. R. (1961) ‘Mwali’ Dolls of the Wazaramo, *Man* 61:72-3 [ill.]

⁸²⁵ Mbilinyi, M. J. (1972) The “New Woman” and Traditional Norms in Tanzania, *J Modern African Studies* 10,1:57-72, at p66

⁸²⁶ Mlama, P. (1990) Tanzanian Traditional Theatre as a Pedagogical Institution: The Kaguru as a Case Study. PhD Diss., University of Dar es Salaam

⁸²⁷ Van de Walle, E. & Franklin, N. (1996) Sexual initiation and the transmission of reproductive knowledge, *Health Transition Rev*, Suppl. 6:61-8

⁸²⁸ In Molnos, A. (1973) Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa. Vol. 3. Nairobi: Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi Press

⁸²⁹ Beidelman, T. O. (1997) The Cool Knife: Imagery of Gender, Sexuality and Moral Education in Kaguru Initiation Ritual. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press

⁸³⁰ Beidelman, T. O. (1980) Man and woman in two East African societies, in Karp, I. & Bird, Ch. (Eds.) *Explorations in African Systems of Thought*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p143-64

sometimes the “amusing and ridiculous”. Sexual allusions are strictly forbidden between adjacent generations (at least among direct kin), which leaves room for same-sex grandparent-grandchild and unrelated peer communications on the matter (cf. p128, 185). Boys’ maturity is expressed through his no longer being allowed to eat food in the back of the house with his family⁸³¹. Little children sleep with parents, though sexual activity is carefully shielded from them, and “even before initiation”, or age 9-10, some older children are transferred to a neighbouring dwelling for unmarried men and women. Pubescence announces a new era of social control (p123-4).

Initiation songs and riddles cover a wide range of sexological statements by metaphor, including circumcision, sexual practices and meanings, menstruation, pregnancy and childbirth (p186-229). Girls are initiated after menarche, and initiation is said to “cool” (imhosa) the girls, subduing and controlling their new sexuality (p163). Boys’ masculinity seems to be tied to a circumcised penis. Songs seem to imply that circumcision is done to facilitate coitus.

Apparently little is said about sexual behaviour development.

Baraguyu (East-Central Tanzania)

It is stated that “[l]ong before puberty, girls commence sexual play with men, usually unmarried warriors. In all of this, female lives do not undergo profound changes in terms of daily routine. The relations of female with males change, however, from child, to Lolita-like lover, to wife, to mother, to mother-in-law, and grandmother”. They are initiated usually before menarche, and are forbidden to conceive before marriage, which does not preclude “a wide variety of sexual play with the warriors, often much older than these girls” (Beidelman, 1980:p155)⁸³². Girls leave home soon after puberty “if not before”. There is much rivalry for the sexual favours of girls among adjacent age-sets (following the →[Masai](#) system). “For Baraguyu, age is profoundly important for both men’s and women’s sexuality, yet since men buy a womb and need not even be the actual genitors of the children they control, their sexuality may be ideologically manipulated to a considerable extent. Warriorhood serves a necessary function in distracting attention and providing vicarious, transitory rewards for those at their sexual peak who are denied formal realization of their energies”. An uncircumcised youth is not allowed to sleep with circumcised girls, while junior warriors have access to all unmarried circumcised girls (Beidelman, 1960:p273)⁸³³.

Basukuma, Sukuma (Tanzania)

Tanner (1955a:p124)⁸³⁴ remarks:

⁸³¹ Beidelman, T. O. (1971) Some Kaguru notions about incest and other sexual prohibitions, in Needham, R. (Ed.) *Rethinking Kinship and Marriage*. London [etc.]: Tavistock, p181-201, at p190

⁸³² Beidelman, T. O. (1980) Man and woman in two East African societies, in Karp, I. & Bird, Ch. (Eds.) *Explorations in African Systems of Thought*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p143-64

⁸³³ Beidelman, T. O. (1960) The Baraguyu, *Tanganyika Notes & Rec* 55:244-78

⁸³⁴ Tanner, R. E. S. (1955a) Maturity and marriage among the Northern Basukuma of Tanganyika, *Afr Stud* 14,3:123-33; 159-70

"In Sukuma life there is no clearly prescribed sexual role because children and young boys (*bayanda*) and girls (*baniki*) play together without restriction, in the course of which there is bound to be a increasing amount of sex play. Children thus behaving would get a sound beating from their parents or neighbours catching them, but nevertheless such play is universal and forms a gradual and informal education into life which is denied to more withdrawn communities. [...] Both sexes from about the age of eight years until round about the time of puberty, play at building small houses and setting up families therein. This game (*bulya*) consists of cooking grain that they have gleaned away from the fields at harvest, the inevitable sexual play between the children acting as mother and father, and the caring for imitation cattle [...]. Thus from an early age both boys and girls are conditioned into their future roles as husbands and wives with their sexual activity taken for granted with the only restriction that it should be carried on discreetly so that the older generation should not notice and of course that unmarried girls should not bear children".

In the *maji* (*ibanza* is the boy's equivalent; cf. →[Nyamwezi](#)), which is established in the house of an old married couple of the village and entered after menarche, or even before, no formal sex education takes place. However:

"The inhabitants of a *maji* are free to leave it at night, and not only the young men of the village, but married men also call at the house and frequently invite the young girls to dances (*mbina*). It is not good form for a man to enter the *maji* at night, but the evenings are spent in conversation and flirting [...] The *maji* time, especially during the first few years, is a very happy phase, but sexual intercourse is in no way its sole purpose. In many cases the state of semi-virginity is retained for a long time. The behavior of the girls is not criticized by the community as long as they observe the conventions of their position which demand not chastity but discretion [...] The ideal behavior for a girl while living in the *maji* is to have a few lovers, so as to gain sufficient experience for a good wife, and to marry at the age of about 18 to 20 years" (Cory, 1953 [1970:p39-40])⁸³⁵.

In fact, "so long as no one sees, all the numberless devices of illicit love are used" (Tanner, p125).

Tanner (1955b:p239)⁸³⁶:

"There is no formal sexual instruction given to either sex prior to marriage probably owing to the absence of initiation rites, although a certain amount of general knowledge is picked up from their contemporaries in the dormitories and fields; however, mothers usually give some instruction on sexual techniques to daughters about to marry as a means to satisfying their husbands and thus preventing them from wandering off elsewhere to find pleasure, as well as in other aspects of married life".

As in the Nyamwezi, it is stated that "elders considered it a necessary practice for a girl to have had sexual intercourse before her first menstruation" (Swantz, 1966:p118). However, Tanner (1955a:p127) argues that, although, as among the Haya, Bena, Nyakyusa, Nyamwezi and Zamaro, betrothal could take place at any time after age 5, and marriage is celebrated when the outward signs of puberty arise, "there seems to be a genuine and almost universal reluctance to have intercourse with immature girls for fear of damaging them for childbearing". Lang and Lang (1973)⁸³⁷ have noted that the influence of Christian missionaries led to the decline of the *maji* house in contemporary society.

⁸³⁵ Cory, H. (1953 [1970]) *Sukuma Law and Custom*. Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press

⁸³⁶ Tanner, R. E. S. (1955b) The sexual mores of the Basukuma, Tanganyika, *Int J Sexol* 8:238-41

⁸³⁷ Lang, G. O. & Lang, M. B. (1973) The Sukuma of Northern Tanzania, in Molnos, A. (Ed.) *Cultural Source Materials for Population Planning in East Africa*. Vol. 3. Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, p224-233

Bena, Ubena, Wabena, Mbena (Tanzania)

Bena children of both sexes freely mix and play games together, based on imitating adult life (Culwick and Culwick, 1935:p339)⁸³⁸. From about the age of 9-10, children sleep in separate quarters away from the parents, and a relative separation of sexes is noted. "At the first manifestations of puberty [polluarche], 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". The instruction takes place using sticks and stones as graphical support, and the boy is warned against puberty. At girl's menarche⁸³⁹ but also from age nine, girls are instructed in male sexual anatomy (choosing healthy ones from deformed) and sexual intercourse at a second initiation ceremony called *kwiwindi* (p349), along with maternal duties, etc. After menarche, and, if betrothed, her marriage ceremony, there is again sexual instruction by songs and dances, but never by the mother (p355). Unmarried boys and girls passing puberty are "far from likely to live celibate" (p360), connected to the fact that the "Wabena quite frankly regard sexual pleasures as the normal hobby of every normal man and woman [...]. It [sex] is a great interest, a good sport, a constant adventure, and it causes him no devastating moral conflicts" (p361, 414). Betrothal could take place in girls' childhood (p309). A house was built close by to have the girl visit the husband taking him food her mother had cooked. "She at first, she would after a little while stay chatting and playing, and as she began to develop he would lead her on to greater intimacies, even before she actually reached puberty; for Bena girls are precocious misses and conscious of the promptings of sex before they reach adolescence". She would return home at night until reaching puberty.

Subiya (Tanzania, Botswana)

Among the Zambia Subiya, initiation and sexual instruction begin at the time of menarche (Crowther, 1964:p53)⁸⁴⁰, during *Sikenge*. "After [the subsequent cleansing ceremony of two months], the girl is considered mature and ready to be married. In some cases, her family would have arranged her marriage" (Ndana, 1999:p130)⁸⁴¹. Via a nuptial song, the couple is invited to have their first coitus (*ibid.*), which may be interpreted as a learning experience.

⁸³⁸ Culwick, A. T. & Culwick, G. M. (1935) *Ubena of the Rivers*. London: G. Allen & Unwin

⁸³⁹ Note the authors' description of this period: "They [girls] very soon become aware of an awakening interest in sex and the art of coquetry, and at puberty burst into full womanhood with astonishing suddenness, changing almost beyond recognition in the space of a few months, without the gawky awkward stage we associate with adolescence".

⁸⁴⁰ Crowther, I. A. (1964) Female initiation ceremonies (Sikenge) as practised by the Subiya of Barotseland, Northern Rhodesia, *NADA* 9,1:52-4

⁸⁴¹ Ndana, N. (1999) To "insult" or to "teach"? *Botswana Notes & Rec* 31:129-34

Ngulu (Tanzania)

At menarche, girls undergo seclusion, sexual instruction and labiadectomy (Beidelman, 1964)⁸⁴². “Ngulu boys are initiated some time between the ages of about 12 and 16; they undergo circumcision and some hazing, and are taught various songs and riddles providing traditional lore not only about sexual relations, the nature of the sexes and the problem of birth, but also about other values and traditions not directly associated with these. [...] Although they may be initiated either before or after they show signs of puberty, today, at least, most boys are circumcised before they have reached sexual maturity. I was told that a sexually mature youth who was not circumcised would be refused by women” (Beidelman, 1965:p143)⁸⁴³. As to the format of instruction, the candidates “[...] are posed various riddles (mizimu) and mechanical puzzles (kihili, pl. Vihili) which they are later taught to understand and which are related to the sexual lore they must learn in order to conduct themselves as proper lovers and husbands” (p144). As for the regulations covered, these include avoidance of “incest and other forbidden sexual relations” (p145 *et seq.*).

Hehe, Wahehe (Bantu; Southern Tanzania)

At puberty, but before menarche, the girls receive genital surgery, possibly hymenectomy, but perhaps labial (Brown, 1935:p92-3)⁸⁴⁴. At the same ceremony, a collection of songs (*misimu*) and accompanying dances are to introduce the girls with “facts of life, things to do or to avoid doing during pregnancy and menstruation and the rules which should guide girls in their marital relations, their relations with co-wives, mothers-in-law, etc.”. Not only does a mother not participate in the sex instruction of her daughter, “custom also decrees that she must be careful about enquiring into her daughter’s love affairs”. The ceremonies are held under direction of her grandmother (p95-6). Hodgson (1926)⁸⁴⁵: “After the age of three or four years [boys] were not allowed to play with small girls, and though considerable laxity has crept in of late years, it was formerly the custom to take great care of the morals of the young. They were supposed to know nothing until puberty, and were not allowed to associate with strangers who might corrupt them. Sexual matters were never mentioned in their presence; their elders would even refrain from making such a remark as “So-and-so is pregnant”, and when a child was born they were told that it had been caught with a fish-hook in the river, and if anyone died that he had been taken away by birds” (p50). At puberty, the 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”. Girls appear to be married at puberty (although “[f]ormerly the Wahehe never married till several years after puberty”), and coitus interruptus is practised institutionally at the conclusion of the wedding feast. The girls

⁸⁴² Beidelman, T. O. (1964) Pig (Guluwe): an essay on Ngulu sexual symbolism and ceremony, *Southwest J Anthropol* 20,4:359-92

⁸⁴³ Beidelman, T. O. (1965) Notes on Boys’ Initiation Among the Ngulu of East Africa, *Man* 65:143-7

⁸⁴⁴ Brown, E. F. (1935) Hehe Grandmothers, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 65:83-96

⁸⁴⁵ Hodgson, A. G. O. (1926) Some notes on the Wahehe of Mahenge District, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 56:37-58

receive instructions on “manners” and “duties” at the two-stage genital surgery on the labia minora and majora.

Barabaig (Tanzania)

Klima (1970:p54-5)⁸⁴⁶:

“Between the ages of four and six, boys and girls engage in sex play, imitating their parents, who do not take any precautions to prevent the children from witnessing their sex act. Since children sleep with the mother and observe the father visiting her, sex education starts early in a Barabaig household. Boys and girls six years of age build a small hut of sticks and grass a short distance from the kraal and engage in juvenile sex play. If they are discovered by either parent, the children will not be admonished or made to feel ashamed, although the girl will be called away to run an errand. It is a short transitional step from the sex play of children to the sexual liaisons of adolescent boys and girls”.

Nyakyusa , Nkonde, Ngonde (Bantu; Tanzania, Malawi) (2+, 2+, 2, 3-,3,3;5,5;G3)

Wilson (1951a [1963])⁸⁴⁷: “It is in conversation and play with village contemporaries that some knowledge of sex is acquired” (p88). “[...] [I]n spite of her mother’s responsibility for her [virginity], a girl learns nothing positive from her mother about sex, but from her own slightly older friends; with them she discusses the technique of love-making in detail, but never with her mother” (1936:p264). More clarity is gained at puberty initiations, although “[f]ormal sex instruction” may precede puberty initiation (cf. Stephens, 1971:p407)⁸⁴⁸. The basis of Nyakyusa sexual morality is the separation of the sexual activities of successive generations (particularly mother-son), hence the so-called age-villages, where age-segregated groups of the same gender live together. Adults rationalise this with the danger of a growing boy hearing lewd talk between parents or seeing parental nudity (Wilson, 1949:p22, 24-5⁸⁴⁹; Wilson [1964:p82-3, 159]). In line with this organisation, “[t]he Nyakyusa believe that the sexual fluids are extremely dangerous to children [⁸⁵⁰], hence (they say) the restrictions on the parents of a young child sleeping together [*sic*]” (Wilson, 1936:p262 / 1951b:p262; 1950:p126-7⁸⁵¹). “Except in some wealthy Christian families, men rarely marry before 25, and commonly not until nearer 30, while the girls are betrothed [at] about [age] eight, and go finally to their husbands when they reach puberty”; the men also marry junior wives. Hut building is practised by small boys, but this becomes serious business among herdboys at age 10 or 11.

⁸⁴⁶ Klima, G. J. (1970) *Barabaig: East African Cattle-Herders*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

⁸⁴⁷ Wilson, M. (1951) *Good Company*. Boston: Beacon. 1963 reprint. See also Bullough, V. L. (1976) *Sexual Variance in Society and History*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, p29.

⁸⁴⁸ Op.cit.

⁸⁴⁹ Wilson, M. (1949) Nyakyusa Age-Villages, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 79,1/2:21-5

⁸⁵⁰ “Early Spanish accounts also documented the Nahua practice of bathing children at birth to remove the contamination of their parents’ sexual activity, since it was believed that sexual fluids could pollute the child (Burkhart 1989:p113; López Austin 1980, I:p326, 336; Sullivan 1966:p83)”.

Monaghan, J. (1996/2001) Physiology, Production, and Gendered Difference: The Evidence from Mixtec and Other Mesoamerican Societies, in Klein, C. F. (Ed.) *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*.

Dumbarton Oaks Center Studies, p285-304, at p209

⁸⁵¹ Wilson, M. (1950) Nyakyusa kinship, in Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. & Forde, D. (Eds.) *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. London: Oxford University Press, p111-39

Homosexual play is common among boys herding cows, beginning at age 10 to 14 (1951a:p196⁸⁵²; [1964:p87-8, 196-7]). According to “an exceptionally reliable informant”, the older ones may “persuade the little ones to lie down with them and to do that which is forbidden with them between the legs”. “Contrary to general belief about “primitive” societies, homosexual intercourse is common in the boys’ villages, between close friends, but there is no real perversion; homosexuality is said to be always *faute de mieux*. The older men in discussion dismiss it with the tolerant word “adolescence”, it is never continued after marriage, and all except the feeble-minded get married sooner or later” (1936:p273). Indeed, *later*, because the older men are polygynists so that the younger age group cannot marry (Wilson, 1959:p197)⁸⁵³. In the boy’s village, sexual matters are freely discussed and the younger ones listen to older ones (1936:p272-3): “[...] that is how children grow up”. Affairs with girls begin before puberty. Childhood elongation of the labia majora is practised (Wilson, 1957:p87)⁸⁵⁴. Girls may be betrothed well before puberty (8 years, opposing an average age of “puberty” of 15-16; or even in infancy; Wilson, 1936:p257)⁸⁵⁵, and they may live with their “husbands” for some time before they grow up,

“for the view of most Nyakyusa is that a girl should become accustomed to her husband gradually and that it is good for her to visit him from time to time, sweeping his house, cleaning the byre, drawing water and cooking for him, and learning the art of love-making with him and no one else. While she is still very immature it is insisted that he should only have intercourse with her *inter crura*, but when she is approaching puberty he often has full intercourse with her. No legal case can be brought against him in court if he does so, provided that he has not forced or frightened her, but his friends may tell him he is foolish, and is “teaching his wife adultery”, since now he can have no proof, in the physical examination at puberty, that she has not slept with other men”⁸⁵⁶ (for an historical analysis, see also Wilson, 1977:p111-8)⁸⁵⁷.

In the seclusion hut/ bride’s hut, 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”. The girl receive advise on sexual mores and menses, and are examined for virginity (p96-9). Wilson (1936:p258) states that in some families the girl’s mother inspects the hymen after each visit. If she is found to be deflowered, a father may do nothing at all, or sends her off to her husband: “You have made her a woman yourself, you must pay the rest of the marriage-cattle quickly”.

Ngonde boys from age 10 to marriage live in separate villages, and homosexuality was condoned provided it was mutually agreeable; polygyny would have facilitated the practice, and there are no observations on the equivalent in girls, who marry early (Wilson, 1957).

⁸⁵² See also Murray and Roscoe (1998:p174-6), *op.cit.*

⁸⁵³ Wilson, M. (1959) *Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa*. London: Oxford University Press

⁸⁵⁴ Wilson, M. (1957) *Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. See also 88, 97-8

⁸⁵⁵ Wilson, G. (1936) An Introduction to Nyakyusa Society, *Bantu Studies* 10:253-92, see p264, 272-3. Reprinted, with certain amendments as Wilson, G. (1951b) The Nyakyusa of South-Western Tanganyika, in Colson, E. & Gluckman, M. (Eds.) *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, p253-91

⁸⁵⁶ “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”. But some girls dislike the particular men to whom they are betrothed” (1936:p258).

⁸⁵⁷ Wilson, M. (1977) For Men and Elders: Change in the Relations of a Generations and of Men and Women among the Nyakyusa-Ngonde People 1875-1971. London: International African Institute

Gogo (Tanzania)

Youth are not supposed to be sexually active until after the ritual and circumcision after pubescence (Rigby, 1967)⁸⁵⁸. Girls are marriageable after the puberty ritual, including instruction in sexual matters from a woman of her grandmother's generation. "Children before puberty and initiation play at being married. Young boys build tiny "homesteads" and "cattle byres" and clay cattle, and the girls help them in this and play at being wives. Sexual play among children is condoned as simply the result of childish ignorance. But sexual segregation in work and play takes place at an early age (Rigby, 1969:p205)⁸⁵⁹. "It is virtually impossible for uncircumcised boys to have heterosexual relationships, as it is indeed for uncircumcised adults from areas who have come to live in Ugogo; the girls and women just laugh at them"; circumcision takes place at age 11-14, "or even younger". A girl is initiated at age 8-11, before puberty, and the initiation does not signify her immediate marriageability (this is attained at menarche). Betrothals rarely occur before puberty, or in infancy (p209). Instruction may be given by any married woman.

⁸⁵⁸ Rigby, P. (1967) The structural context of girls' puberty rites, *Man* 2,3:434-44

⁸⁵⁹ Rigby, P. (1967) *Cattle and Kinship among the Gogo*. Ithaca [etc.]: Cornell University Press

Angola (*Babunda*, *Luimi*, *Umbundu*, *Bajok / Badjok*, *Wahiwé*)

Whether the speech in boy's initiation ceremonies includes sexologia was not clarified by Hambly (1935:p39)⁸⁶⁰. However:

"Traditionally, the Angolan youth, particularly from rural areas, has practised rites of initiation. These rites introduce young men and women to sexual issues. The main objective of this ritual learning process is to prepare the youth for marriage and their individual and social roles as procreators. For example, the initiated boy shall have his first sexual experience with an adult woman (generally, a maternal or paternal aunt) who could explain to him the most adequate attitude to fulfil his role as a father and to inhibit distress (Altuna, 1993)[⁸⁶¹]. These pre-marital relations are considered as an important psychological preparation and acquisition of skills for the exercise of a man's primordial role in society. Society, therefore, recognises these rites as rehearsals and a proof of his ability to be married. Although society exerts a strong control on youth, particularly, regarding sexual life, this sexual education might be at the origin of certain abuses and sexual freedoms. Thus, initiated youths could take a lover in secret. In some cases, young women who have been initiated and are no longer virgin feel freer to maintain hidden sexual relations. Circumcision has the following objectives: to prepare the young man for physiological roles of fatherhood and to define his sexual role regarding marriage. This could be practised as part of rites of initiation into puberty (Altuna, 1993)"⁸⁶².

Further (*ibid.*),

"The family education particularly regarding sex exerts an influence on behaviour of young people. However, considering the Angola case study, its discussion between parents and offspring is very rare in so far as sex is considered a "*taboo*" subject. The results of the study carried out in Luanda among teenagers between 14-20 years old show that most of the teenagers do not talk about sex with their parents. Generally, this subject is tackled among friends, school acquaintances or girlfriend/boyfriend (Leitão, Ana, 1997). According to some authors, parents avoid talking about these issues for it is considered a motivation to the early practice of early sexual experiences" (p40). "Within the traditional societies, the beginning of sexual life is very early, but it is regulated and reproduction oriented. In this way, the youth begins their sexual life within a framework of a formal union. Today, the practice of sex addresses pleasure, as well as the learning of sex addresses the duties of a husband" (p54).

Babunda (*Kimbundu*, *Angola*)

Torday⁸⁶³ details institutional child prostitution of a rare species:

"Virginity cannot be expected in the bride as girls are allowed to indulge freely up to the age of puberty. It is the custom of the country that about the period when the millet ripens (May) the young men of each village should club together to obtain a *Mombanda*. The *Mombanda* has to be a girl under the age of

⁸⁶⁰ Hambly, W. D. (1935) Tribal initiation of boys in Angola, *Am Anthropol* 37:36-40

⁸⁶¹ Altuna, P. R. (1993) *Cultura Tradicional Banto*, 2nd ed., Luanda; Secretariado Arquidiocesano Pastoral

⁸⁶² Castelo, M. A., Gaspan, M. & Félix, B. V. (1999) *A Cultural Approach to Hiv/Aids Prevention and Care: Angola's Experience*. Unesco, Studies and Reports, Special Series, Issue No. 4. Cultural Policies for Development Unit, p35-6. Cf. 47-50

⁸⁶³ Torday, E. (1919) The Northern Babunda, *Man* 19:49-55, at p53

puberty, a stranger to the village, and she has to prostitute herself with all the young men in turns, but there are days when orgies take place and all the men have intercourse with her. On these special days the *Mombanda's* mother provides food and palm wine for the young men; it is she who receives the payment, which consists for the term of its duration (two lunar months), of fifty "salts" per man. Not all young men contribute, as they are some who cannot afford it; only contributors enjoy the privileges, and it is "good form" to belong to this set. Not only does a fact that a girl has been a *Mombanda* not prejudice her chances of marriage, but it is considered a distinction; no girl can be *Mombanda* more than once. Should she die while she is in this position, her village is entitled to heavy damages".

Luimi (Angola)

Sexual instruction formed a portion of boy's ritual education at about age 12 (Tucker, 1949)⁸⁶⁴.

Umbundu, Mbundu, Ovimbundu (Angola) (eHRAF) (3+,3+,3+,3+,3+,3+; 5,5)

Girls are warned for boys. An Ovimbundu mother "[...] will teach her daughter saying, A girl does not play with boys, for boys are sharp ones⁸⁶⁵. 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. A good deal of knowledge is "incidentally" learned from adults and children, though "[l]ittle direct sex teaching is attempted". Parental sexual intercourse might be observed, though prevented. McCullouch (1952:p42)⁸⁶⁶: "Little direct sex teaching is attempted, and adults are reticent in speaking of sexual matters in the presence of children. But since children live with their parents in one-room houses, it is inevitable that children should sometimes observe intercourse". "Hetero-sexual play is not in vogue" (Childs, 1949:p103-4)⁸⁶⁷. No speculations are made for possible instructions at the onjango (men's club), an institution in decline where boys learned "to know his social status and all the etiquette pertains to it", or at the initiation. The Ovimbundu education is said to be generally casual. With puberty (about 14-16 for girls, 15-17 for boys), "girls congregate in kitchens and each boy builds himself a house". Late teens may have a trial marriage (oku tumisa), but are warned for intimacy. Premarital virginity is highly prized, although no periodic tests take place (cf., Erny (1972 [1981:p61])). Three females "act as instructors for the girls during isolation in the bush where they receive sexual and domestic instruction"⁸⁶⁸.

⁸⁶⁴ Tucker, J. T. (1949) Initiation ceremonies for Luimi boys, *Africa* 19,1:53-9

⁸⁶⁵ *Imel'el'e*, lit. sharpened stakes such as those used at the bottom of a pit-fall to trap game. [orig. footnote]

⁸⁶⁶ McCullouch, M. (1952) *The Ovimbundu of Angola*. London: International African Institute

⁸⁶⁷ Childs, G. M. (1949) *Umbundu Kinship and Character*. London

⁸⁶⁸ Hambly, W. D. (1934) *The Ovimbundu of Angola*. Chicago: [eHRAF]

Bajok / Badjok (Angola)

Boys get sexual instructions and ritual intercourse in the seclusion accompanying the puberty ritual. Girls have a ritual with the same elements (Holdredge and Young, 1927)⁸⁶⁹.

Wahiwé (Angola)

Among the Wahiwé described by Falk (1925)⁸⁷⁰ solitary masturbation is regarded as suspicious, though homosexual acts occur in both sexes from age 7 to 18. There is also age-stratified male homosexuality with boys 12 to 15 years old.

⁸⁶⁹ Holdredge, C. P. & Young, K. (1927) Circumcision rites among the Bajok, *Am Anthropol* 29,4:661-9

⁸⁷⁰ Falk, K. (1925) Gleichgeschlechtliches Leben bei einigen Negerstämme, *Archiv f Anthropol* 20:42-5; Italiaander, R. (1969) Beobachtungen bei den Neger, in Italiaander, R. (Ed.) *Weder Krankheit Noch Verbrechen*. Hamburg: Gala, p100-27

Zambia (Kaonde, Nkoya, Tonga, Ila, Bemba, Ndembu, Mambwe / Amambwe, Luvale, Lozi)

"In Zambia, the timing of sexual activity initiation, and the societal control of sexual relations among adolescents, varies across ethnic groups. The Bemba, for example, expect teenage females to be chaste before marriage. The Cewa, on the other hand, tolerate limited and discrete sexual relations among the young. [...] One of the most common traditional methods of imparting family life education among Zambian ethnic groups is through initiation ceremonies. The Bemba, a large Zambian ethnic group, seclude the teenage woman for a few days to a month at the commencement of her first menstruation. Elderly women, chosen by the initiatee's parents, instruct and test the ability of the teenager to perform the Cimwangelala dance. This is a dance every Bemba woman is expected to know. In addition, they instruct the young woman on many familial and personal matters such as sexual hygiene and child rearing. These ceremonies provide young Bemba women with sexual knowledge and the ability to make decisions in the interests of the self and the family (Barnes, 1970; Jules-Rosette, 1980; Mair, 1969). [...] The results of this study underscore the importance of traditional institutions such as initiation ceremonies on sexual activity levels of teenagers"⁸⁷¹.

In a 1973 study by Bahl et al. (1975)⁸⁷², the commonest age of first sexual experience in Zambia was about thirteen. In a study among 64 mostly male university students by Bloom (1972)⁸⁷³, first sexual experiences were indicated to occur at a range of 8-17 (p295). About 1/5 claimed to be seduced by older girls, and about 1/5 found their early sexual experiences so traumatic "that they had abandoned overt sexual behaviour until recently". According to one study⁸⁷⁴, indicate that traditional courtship forms are slowly being replaced by modern patterns of courtship behaviour.

According to clinical admissions⁸⁷⁵, most STD's in children are due to a vertical transmission by adults to "promiscuous" adolescents to passive yet curious children.

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 practising them "in public and in full view of annoyed adults" (Geisler, 1997:p96-7). As for initiation:

"The process of initiating a girl [...] plays a crucial role in shaping a girl's perception of sex and sexuality" (Mlay, 2000:p79-80)⁸⁷⁶: "In Zambian families it is a taboo for parents to discuss matters relating to sex and sexuality with their children as only grandparents are supposed to do so. [...] Depending on the subject, demonstrations would have to be carried out. This particularly happened during lessons on love-making during which an old woman would lay on top of her for therapeutic (?) demonstrations.

⁸⁷¹ Pillai, V. K. & Barton, Th. R. (1998) Modernization and teenage sexual activity in Zambia, *Youth & Society* 29,3:293-310

⁸⁷² Bahl, V. et al. (1975) Nephrotic syndrome and secondary syphilis, *East Afr Med J* 52,4:172-5

⁸⁷³ Bloom, L. (1972) Some values and attitudes of young Zambians, studied through spontaneous autobiographies, *Afr Soc Res* 14:288-300

⁸⁷⁴ Pillai, V. K., Barton, Th. R. & Benefo, K. (1997) Sexual activity among junior secondary school girls in Zambia, *J Biosoc Sci* 29,3:297-301. See also Pillai, V. K. & Barton, Th. R. (1999) Sexual activity among Zambian female teenagers: the role of inter personal skills, *Adolescence* 34(134):381-8

⁸⁷⁵ Ratnam, A. V. et al. (1983) Sexually transmitted disease (STD) in children, *East Afr Med J* 60,9:637-9

⁸⁷⁶ Mlay, M. (2000) The impact of negative cultural practices on the spread of HIV/AIDS in Zambia, in Kwame Boafo, S.T. & Arnaldo, C. A. (Eds.) *Media & HIV/AIDS in East and Southern Africa: A Resource Book*. Paris: UNESCO, p75-82

[...] [According to an informant,] “During all this time the emphasis was on how to please your husband in bed and being submissive to him at all times including making love to him whenever he demands” [...].”

[Additional refs.: Peltzer and Likwa (1991)⁸⁷⁷]

Kaonde, Kahonde, BaKaonde (Bantu; Zambia)

“The marriage of immature girls is so customary among the Ba Kaonde that a Government inquiry was made into the matter; it was found that girls “are courted and wed between the ages of eight and thirteen, always before they have attained puberty... It is not uncommon for them to be wives three or four years before they are even capable of coitus” (Melland, as cited by Seligman)⁸⁷⁸.

Nkoya (Central Western Zambia)

Van Binsbergen ([1987])⁸⁷⁹ related that Nkoya girl’s initiation rite “[...] is the celebration through which she shall finally become a woman, after months of seclusion in which the only manner she could set a step out of doors was in a stooping position and covered by a blanket; after months of rough sexual and social teachings from the part of her mentrix and other elderly women in the evenings”.

“Great emphasis lies on the acquisition of an adult female sexual role. The girl is taught to enlarge her vagina till three fingers can go in; she is taught to wiggle and incline her pelvis during the coitus; and acquires knowledge about secret herbs that (unfortunately at the cost of damage to her fertility) prevent vaginal secretion — to serve the Nkoya male ideal: penetration in a bone-dry vagina. She has already been setting herself to make her labia larger than nature provides: starting in her ninth or tenth year up until her coming-out ceremony, the girl spends hundreds of hours, by herself or in company of girl-friends, indoors or somewhere in an open spot in the woods, stretching these parts of her body until they have reached an extra length of some centimetres [note: Could not this custom, which in Bantu-speaking Africa seems by no means unique to the Nkoya, again be interpreted as an attempt to imitate another physical feature of the pre-Bantu Khoisan inhabitants: their enlarged labia? Cf. van Binsbergen, in press]”.

⁸⁷⁷ Peltzer, K. & Likwa, R. (1991) Attitude towards sexual behaviour and sex education among primary school children in Lusaka, Zambia, *J Psychol in Africa* 1,4:65-71

⁸⁷⁸ Melland, F. (1923) *In Witch-Bound Africa*. London: Seeley, Service & Co., p66; Seligman, B. Z. (1924) Marital Gerontocracy in Africa, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 54:231-50, at p241

⁸⁷⁹ Van Binsbergen, W. (1987) De schaduw waar je niet overheen mag stappen: Een westers onderzoeker op het Nkoja meisjesfeest, in Van Binsbergen, W. & Doornbos, M. (Eds) *Afrika in Spiegelbeeld*. Haarlem [Holland]: In de Knipscheer, p139-82 [Dutch]. Translated as “The shadown you shall not step upon: A Western researcher at the girl’s coming-out ceremony of the Nkoya” at <http://binsbergen.bravepages.com/girls.htm>

Atonga, Tonga (Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana)

Johnston (1897:p408, n1)⁸⁸⁰, a medically trained missionary informing Johnston about the “depravity prevalent among the young boys in the Atonga tribe” rated their behaviour as defying description even in “obscure Latin”. As for the opposite sex, “scarcely any girl remains a virgin after about five years of age” in nearly the whole of British Central Africa (p409, n) “except perhaps among the A-nyanja” due to officious coitus after betrothal. Later, Roberts (1964)⁸⁸¹ would note that girls are considered marriageable after menarche, and marriage at 15-17 was common. Sexual instruction is part of the wedding night ceremonies. Among the Gwembe Valley Tonga, traditional “marriage was based on childhood betrothal. Since the outlawing of the practice by the colonial administration in the early 1950s (Keller, 1979: 576; Colson, 1980: 367)⁸⁸² most marriages are initiated through elopement, whereby the young Gwembe woman leaves her natal homestead and moves to that of her ‘husband’, ‘without prior negotiations between the two families concerned and without the knowledge or consent of the woman’s parents’ (Keller, 1979: 565)”⁸⁸³.

Ila-Speaking Peoples (Rhodesia, Zambia)

Smith and Dale (1920, II:p38)⁸⁸⁴ observed Ila children playing *mantombwa* (“harvest festival”) with house-playing and going to bed in separate huts. This is seen in the light of *chikunku* (childishness). Sexual interaction with an immature girl is *tonda* (taboo) but, according to leading men in the tribe, it occurs. They probably practice kuchompa (“external” intercourse), after which the girl may be rebuked by her elders. “Owing to these things, it is doubtful whether any girls who could be called chaste are discoverable over ten years of age”. Thus, “It is reported that there are no virgins among these people after the age of ten” (Ford and Beach, 1951:p191). “Formal sex instruction” may precede puberty initiation (Stephens, 1971:p407)⁸⁸⁵. The Ila child was sometimes betrothed at age four, or even earlier. At age ten, she was taken to her future spouse’s hut to perform domestic chores⁸⁸⁶.

Bemba (Northern Zambia) (-,-,-,2,2;5,5) (eHRAF) (→Vol.II, §5.3.2.1)

⁸⁸⁰ Johnston, H. H. (1897) British Central Africa. An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambezi. London: Methuen & Co.; Benedict ([1948:p396]), op.cit.

⁸⁸¹ Roberts, S. (1964) A comparison of the family law and custom of two matrilineal systems in Nyasaland, *Nyasaland J* 17,1:24-41

⁸⁸² Under the betrothal system a marriage was created over an extended period of time, the girl taking up residence with her husband at puberty, and some years later, when bridewealth was fully paid, the marriage would be legal (Keller, 1979: 575; Colson, 1960: 211). Nowadays the ceremony on which the bride formally joins her husband's household (i.e. after agreement on the amount of the bridewealth) defines the transition from single to full married state [orig. footnote]

⁸⁸³ Price, N. & Thomas, N. (1999) Continuity and Change in the Gwembe Valley Tonga Family and their Relevance to Demography's Nucleation Thesis (with N Thomas), *Africa* 69,4:510-34

⁸⁸⁴ *Op.cit.*

⁸⁸⁵ *Op.cit.*

⁸⁸⁶ S&D, II, p47-8. See also Mair (1953:p88), *op.cit.*

The Bemba are known for their detailed sex instructions, as described by Hinfelaar (1994:p186-7)⁸⁸⁷. Bemba matrilinear 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”. A female journalist was quoted by Hinfelaar (p186) as complaining:

“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?⁸⁸⁸”.

Richards (1956:p126-7)⁸⁸⁹, however, wrote that Bemba “instruction, in the European sense, was quite unnecessary” in such subjects as bringing up children, cooking, and acting as a housewife. “In the same way, Bemba girls are not ignorant of the nature of sex since many of them have been given to their husbands before puberty and some form of intercourse, usually incomplete, has taken place”. Sexually mature people are considered “hot” and as such dangerous for infants and young children. Hinfelaar notes in this respect:

“Traditionally children were regarded as cold, that is as sexually neutral, almost genderless. It was normal for boys and girls to play together and even their imitations of parental and conjugal life was regarded as innocent”. Coitarche after initiation is considered dangerous, and not to be carried out without ritual precautions. As Maxwell (1983:p31)⁸⁹⁰ points out: “Children can “play at sex” (*Masansa*). However, as soon as a girl’s periods begin, there is danger that sex and blood would mix to produce a “child of ill-omen” (*Wa mputula*), born outside socially and ritually sanctioned precincts. In this case, the young parents would be driven into the bush away from their community”.

“*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).

Girls’ puberty rite is called *chisungu* (kisungu). Betrothal takes place before this. The rites are disappearing or abbreviated (Mair, 1969:p104; Jules-Rosette, 1980:p394)⁸⁹¹, “with the consequent omission of moral and magical instruction”. The first of three phases of the rite are occupied with marital instructions, “obviously belonging to Christian sex education” (Hinfelaar). “The mother and daughter cannot easily talk of sex matters together, but the grandmother [...] or some non-related midwife is not limited in this way” (Richards). A detailed description of contemporary rites is offered by Rasing (1995)⁸⁹². She writes that the rites take place some years after menarche. “The girl is supposed to know nothing about

⁸⁸⁷ Hinfelaar, H. F. (1994) *Bemba-Speaking Women of Zambia in a Century of Religious Change* (1892-1992). Leiden, New York & Köln: E. J. Brill

⁸⁸⁸ Ms Lilian Wamulume, “Some traditions corrupt” in *Search News Magazine*, Vol. 2(1), Jan. 1992

⁸⁸⁹ Richards, Au. I. (1956) *Chisungu: A Girls’ Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia*. London, England: Faber & Faber

⁸⁹⁰ Maxwell, K. B. (1983) *Bemba Myth and Ritual*. New York: P. Lang

⁸⁹¹ Jules-Rosette, B. (1980) Changing aspects of women’s initiation in southern Africa: an explanatory study, *Can J Afr Stud* 13,3:389-405

⁸⁹² Rasing, Th. (1995) *Passing on the Rites of Passage*. Amsterdam [etc.]: African Studies Centre

sexuality, which is nowadays hardly ever the case. At school she learns about sexuality and many girls have sexual relationships. When girls are about ten years old, they are supposed to extend their labia [minora]. In this way they have some sexual experiences but the main thing is that they have not had sexual intercourse" (p44). "Parents and children would never speak of sexual matters in front of each other and children above the age of weaning are not allowed to share the sleeping hut of their parents, although now required to do so by almost all the schemes of urban housing. Women frankly discuss sexual matters, but are careful of referring to these when members of different age groups are present" (p27). In a later dissertation (2001)⁸⁹³ the author further details the sexual significance of the rites (e.g., p121-2, 185, 248-50) in contemporary urban context. A further listing of songs is provided by Verbeek⁸⁹⁴.

As in other Bantu tribes, small girls and boys play at marriage, building huts, cooking, "and sometimes imitating the sex act" (Richards, 1940:p15⁸⁹⁵; Rasing, p31). The sexes are separated at play and work and the "sex play allowed between adolescent boys and girls in a number of other Bantu societies is not permitted in this tribe". "There is nevertheless a constant emphasis on the coming of sex maturity. Young girls sometimes join up in pairs and refer to each other as husband and wife [a footnote reads: "I have some evidence that a certain amount of homosexuality, usually mutual masturbation, occurs among the adolescent boys at this time, but my information on the up-bringing of girls is naturally fuller than that of boys"]]; and from twelve or fifteen onwards they meet together in small groups in the bush to practice the custom known as *ukukuna* [labial stretching, as in the →[Chewa](#)]. They 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. Bemba parents give their daughters to their husbands before puberty (cf. p64) a custom also practiced by kindred tribes such as the Bisa and Kaonde. [...] most girls have prenuptial intercourse with their future husbands, and it must be rare for them to reach puberty without the knowledge or practice of sex relations" (p16). 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. 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" (p18, cf. 25) and "to an extent unknown in modern society". However, "[t]he rape of a girl who has not reached puberty is a matter of little importance, while heavy damages may be exacted for the rape or seduction of an initiated girl".

Labia are lengthened at age 12-13, boys masturbate in groups (Raum, 1986:p38)⁸⁹⁶.

[Additional refs: Hoch, E. (1968) *Mbusa: A Contribution to the Study of Bemba Initiation Rites and Those of Neighbouring Tribes*. Chinsali: Ilondola Language Centre]

⁸⁹³ Rasing, Th. (2001) *The Bush Burnt, the Stones Remain: Female Initiation Rites in Urban Zambia*. Leiden, The Netherlands: African Studies Centre

⁸⁹⁴ Verbeek, L. (1993) *Initiation et Marriage dans la Chanson Populaire des Bemba du Zaïre*. Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika, Tervuren, Belgium. Girls' songs at p125ff, boys' songs at p161ff

⁸⁹⁵ Richards, Au. I. (1940) *Bemba Marriage and Present Economic Conditions*. Rhodes Livingstone Institute, Northern Rhodesia

⁸⁹⁶ Raum, O. F. (1986) Sozialgeschichte des Kindes in Ost- und Südafrika, in Martin, J. & Nitschke, Au. (Eds.) *Zur Sozialgeschichte der Kindheit*. München: Verlag K. Alber, p33-73

M'wemba (Northern Rhodesia, Zambia)

Clarke (1931:p274)⁸⁹⁷ states on the **M'wemba** of Rhodesia that

“[g]irls when they have their first menstruation are taken to a hut in the village, where they are instructed as to how to best please their husbands, and they are told all about childbirth, which is demonstrated to them by old women. Their sexual organ is enlarged either with an artificial penis cut from the Mulombwa tree or from a tree called Mutimbwambusa, or with an artificial penis made from the leaves of Itchifumbi”.

Marital sexarche is preceded by ritual.

Ndembu (Zambia)

Sex instruction is given by an instructress (Turner, 1968:p246, 247f)⁸⁹⁸. At circumcision, novices are given tortoise (*mbachi*) meat to eat “to give them a strong penis” (p254), and there is mimicry of coitus (see also Turner, 1967)⁸⁹⁹.

Mambwe / Amambwe (Zambia)

Betrothal is common in childhood, but no cohabitation occurs until the marriage ceremonies after puberty (Mors, 1946-9)⁹⁰⁰. At menarche, sexual instructions are had from some old woman, a *nacimbusa* (Mors; Willis, 1966:p51)⁹⁰¹.

Luvale, Lwena, Luena (Zambia)

In an effort to delay menarche, girls are told not to run around the village or lie down on their stomachs (White, 1953)⁹⁰². Premarital virginity is not expected of girls and many have sexual relations prior to puberty (White, 1962)⁹⁰³. Unlike the Bemba, there is an obvious association of detailed sexual instruction and the puberty rituals. If not betrothed by the time

⁸⁹⁷ Clarke, H. S. (1931) Rough Notes on M'wemba Customs, *Man* 31:274-5

⁸⁹⁸ Turner, V. (1968) *The Drums of Affliction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

⁸⁹⁹ Turner, V. W. (1967) *Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

⁹⁰⁰ Mors, O. (1946-9) Some notes on marriage among the Amambwe, *Anthropos* 41-4 (1-3):346-8

⁹⁰¹ Willis, R. G. (1966) The Fipa and Related Peoples of South-West Tanzania and North-East Zambia. London:

International African Institute

⁹⁰² White, C. M. N. (1953) Conservatism and modern adaptation in luvale female puberty ritual, *Africa* 23,1:15-23

⁹⁰³ White, C. M. N. (1962) *Tradition and Change in Luvale Marriage*. Rhodes-Livingstone Papers no. 34. Manchester: MUP

of the ceremony, a young man has to be found who will have sexual intercourse with her as a finale “to remove the taint of growing up” (1962:p14) (cf. [Kikuyu](#)). Ritual intercourse is important at the end of both boy’s and girl’s ceremonies (White et al., 1958)⁹⁰⁴. Additional preparations include the administration of aphrodisiac herbs, intravaginal medicines, steaming of the vagina, and love potions. During seclusion, defloration (if necessary) and macronymphia is practised (White, 1953).

Prepubertal marriage is less common than in the past. When it does happen, in contrast to the past, the girls will have prepubertal intercourse with their husband.

Lozi, Marutse, Barotse (Northern Rhodesia; [Zambia](#)) (3-,3-,3-,3-,2,2;6,4;G3)

In Northern Rhodesia, infant betrothal was opposed by Lozi law as established by King Lewanika (d. 1916)⁹⁰⁵. According to Stirke (1922)⁹⁰⁶, girls were betrothed in childhood, and married after *mwalianjo* (initiation); there were no boys’ initiation ceremonies (cited by Turner, 1952:p45)⁹⁰⁷. Gluckman (1951:p84/1967:p122)⁹⁰⁸ was told by men that the girl “enlarges her vagina with a hoe-handle, and enlarges her labia minora”. Women artificially deflower girls at puberty, so that most men denied knowledge of the hymen, and do not speak in terms of defloration.

Holub (1881:p314)⁹⁰⁹ remarked that children “are often affianced at an early age, and the marriage is consummated as soon as the girl arrives at puberty”.

⁹⁰⁴ White, C. M. N., Chinjavata, J. & Mukwato, L. E. (1958) Comparative aspects of Luvalé female puberty ritual, *Afr Stud* 17,4:204-20

⁹⁰⁵ Gluckman, M. (1967) *The Judicial Process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, published on behalf of the Institute for Social Research, University of Zambia

⁹⁰⁶ Stirke, D. E. C. (1922) *Barotseland: Eight Years among the Barotse*. London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson

⁹⁰⁷ Turner, V. W. (1952) *The Lozi Peoples of Northwestern Rhodesia*. London: International African Institute

⁹⁰⁸ Gluckman, M. (1951) The Lozi of Barotseland, in Colson, E. & Gluckman, M. (Eds.) *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, 1-93

⁹⁰⁹ Holub, E. (1881) *Seven Years in South Africa*. London: Sampson Law et al. Vol. II

Malawi (Lake Nyasa, Chewa, Yao, Ngoni; → Nyakyusa)

In Malawi, female sexual activity is actively promoted through initiation rites that teach girls about sex and encourage experimentation (cf. Horne, 2001)⁹¹⁰.

“In some of the districts, especially those dominated by the Yao tribe, a young girl is told to become ‘intimate’ with a man after initiation... Among other things girls are taught how to satisfy a man sexually. This encourages unsafe sex. ‘These young girls are not ready for sex, either physically and mentally. [...] During initiations the boys too are taught about sex and are [...] encouraged to have sex after initiation. Quite often these youngsters do not use condoms because they know very little about it. Despite all this it is still a taboo in Malawi for parents to talk to their children openly about sex. As a result they learn about it from initiation ceremonies in rural areas and from magazines and from their peers. [...] The Malawian cultural values regarding sex and sexuality tend to emphasise and strengthen the dominance of boys and men and subservience of women and girls’⁹¹¹.

Thus,

“Initiation ceremonies [...] are intended to train boys and girls in acceptable behaviour but are also loaded with lessons on theory and practice of sex, the latter before marriage. [...] Traditional initiation is the counseling of boys and girls by elders on acceptable code of behaviour. This marks the end of childhood and the beginning of adolescence or, in some cases, adulthood. The practice is common in most parts of Malawi except in the Northern Region where the patrilineal family system predominates. In some cases the initiates are encouraged to have sex upon graduation as a way of putting into practice the knowledge they have acquired’⁹¹².

“In some of the districts, especially those dominated by the Yao tribe, a young girl is told to become ‘intimate’ with a man after initiation... Among other things girls are taught how to satisfy a man sexually. This encourages unsafe sex. ‘These young girls are not ready for sex, either physically and mentally. It is against this background that responsible leaders must have the courage to change some of these harmful cultural norms’, says the [UNICEF] report. [...] During initiations the boys too are taught about sex and are also encouraged to have sex after initiation. Quite often these youngsters do not use condoms because they know very little about it. Despite all this it is still a taboo in Malawi for parents to talk to their children openly about sex. As a result they learn about it from initiation ceremonies in rural areas and from magazines and from their peers’⁹¹³.

For a Nyasaland boy’s coming of age, Young (1933:p16)⁹¹⁴ observes, “[t]he decisive sign is the erotic dream, and it is only then that the lad reports to a village elder (never to his own father), and the preparations are made for a quite simple ceremony that marks his passage into manhood”. This would happen between age 15 and 18. “The next step is marriage, and while a girl could be selected and negotiated for while still immature, the boy had to be proven man before negotiation for him began”. [Young contests qualifications such as “obscurity” and “indecent” as applied to sexual instructions.]

⁹¹⁰ Horne, Ch. (2001) Sex and Sanctioning: Evaluating Two Theories of Norm Emergence, in Hechter, M. & Opp, K. (Eds.) *Social Norms*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, p305-24

⁹¹¹ Inter-Church Coalition of Africa (ICCAF)

⁹¹² Kondowe, E. B. Z. & Mulera, D. (1999) *A Cultural Approach to Hiv/Aids Prevention and Care: Malawi’s Experience*. Unesco, Studies and Reports, Special Series, Issue No. 5. Cultural Policies for Development Unit, p6, 11

⁹¹³ Malawi: Cultural Practices Responsible for Spreading Hiv/Aids, *Women’s Int Network News* 27,2:78

⁹¹⁴ Young, T. C. (1933) Tribal Intermixture in Northern Nyasaland, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 63:1-18

Lake Nyasa (Mainly Malawi)

Lake Nyasa boys and girls play at being man and wife before puberty⁹¹⁵. "As children, boys and girls play at being man and wife, building little houses in the bush and sleeping together; this is known as masanje. Promiscuous sexual intercourse among girls before puberty is common; in this way the vagina is usually dilated and no operation for so doing is performed. A virgin on her marriage is "broken" by a friend of the bridegroom before the latter cohabits with her. The friend is said "to eat new things" - *Kudia ujobvu*. A 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" (p309-10). Curiously: "A certain degree of precocity is apparent at least in young boys, and is noticeably lost when they arrive at the age of puberty, when sexual excess seems to reduce them to a state of, in many cases, semi-imbecility. From this they may recover, or on the other hand they may remain certainly not so bright as when they were boys" (p295). Seduction of a virgin requires a payment of the equivalent of 2 dollars, "unless he marry her immediately". "Young girls by constant pulling on the labia minora and enclosed clitoris try to cause elongation, as such is said to be admired" (p317).

Chewa / Cewa (Bantu, Malawi)

Boys and girls play at husband and wife outside the village, including trial matings. The Chewa "believe that unless children begin to exercise themselves sexually early in life they will never beget offspring" (Ford and Beach, 1951:p190). Hodgson (1933:p138)⁹¹⁶, on the Chewa: "[...] the marriage may be contracted long before the girl is old enough for consummation, and in such a case she must abstain from intercourse with any other man, just as though the marriage had been consummated. If, however, she is married before she can know her mind, and subsequently refuses to have intercourse with the husband when approaching puberty, she is not held to the contract". Winterbott and Lancaster (1965)⁹¹⁷ mention sexual teachings by an older woman during the seclusion period after menarche. Traditionally, Chewa girls were generally married "within a few months of reaching puberty (i.e., between twelve and fourteen years of age)" (Phiri, 1983:p260)⁹¹⁸. The breaking of the hymen is an integral part of the puberty ceremonies of a Chewa girl (Hodgson; Gordon and Brelsford, 1950:p219⁹¹⁹; Phiri, 1998:p131)⁹²⁰. The ritual intercourse was performed by an

⁹¹⁵ Stannus, *loc.cit.*

⁹¹⁶ Hodgson, A. G. O. (1933) Notes on the Achewa and Angoni of the Dowa District of the Nyasaland Protectorate, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 63, Jan.-Jun.:123-64

⁹¹⁷ Winterbottom, J. M. & Lancaster, D. G. (1965) The Chewa female initiation ceremony, *Zambia (Northern Rhodesia)* 6,1:347-50

⁹¹⁸ Phiri, K. M. (1983) Some Changes in the Matrilineal Family System among the Chewa of Malawi since the Nineteenth Century, *J Afr Hist* 24,2:257-74

⁹¹⁹ Lancaster, D. G. & Brelsford, W. V. (1950) Hymen and semen ritual among the Chewa, *Int J Sexol* 3,4:219-24

⁹²⁰ Phiri, I. A. (1998) The initiation of Chewa women of Malawi: a Presbyterian woman's perspective, in Cox, J. L. (Ed.) *Rites of Passage in Contemporary Africa*. Fairwater: Cardiff Academic Press, p129-45

unknown man, or, if married, by her husband. After marriage, specific sex instructions were given, emphasising techniques “for pleasuring her future husband”. Kaspin⁹²¹:

“The purpose of male initiation is to turn boys into sexual men and predatory members of Nyau [secret society, religious / moral universe], a simultaneous transformation that takes place when they are led for the first time into the Nyau meeting place [...]. Female initiation is the complement of male initiation, for its purpose is to turn girls into succulent meat. This takes place at the “tree of maidenhood” (mtnego wa namwali), synonymous with the bush, where girls receive instruction on the protocols of womanhood” (p43).

Gregersen (1983:p199)⁹²² states: “The Cewa believe that if a girl does not copulate before she starts to menstruate she will die. Cewa specifically encourage childhood copulation when children are playing house. If by misfortune a girl has not been deflowered by puberty, her hymen was forcibly ruptured in a prescribed way”. As with other Central Bantu tribes, it was customary in the past for girls to be betrothed before puberty, from which date only “limited sex relations were permitted between the couple, but the girl must not be deflowered until the initiation ceremony, which was held as soon as possible after her first menstruation” (Rangeley, 1948:p41; Mair, 1951:p106; 1953:p88)⁹²³. Mission teachings condemned early betrothal, sex play before marriage, and the initiation ceremony, and fixed at minimum age for sexual intercourse (p107). This would coincide with a belief that full intercourse with an uninitiated girl led to sickness of a supernatural origin.

Yao (Malawi)

According to Mitchell⁹²⁴, though he recorded no actual instances, Yao girls would still “quite frequently” be betrothed as infants or small children. The husband may also be a child. Cohabitation would not occur until the girl reaches puberty. Female puberty rites, at which sex education is given, may, in the past, have included ritual defloration (Mair, 1951)⁹²⁵. A comparable liaison of sex education and instruction with initiation (during seclusion period) is described for boys (Stannus and Davey, 1913)⁹²⁶. Bride and groom are formally instructed at the time of the wedding rituals (Ngwane, 1959)⁹²⁷. In *Msondo* (Nsondo), the Islamic version of the former *Chiputu*, girls of age ten were given sexual education to prepare her for married life (Msiska, 1995:p72)⁹²⁸. During *Jando*, the Islam substitute for the former *Lupanda*, boys

⁹²¹ Kaspin, D. (1993) Chewa Visions and Revisions of Power: Transformation of the Nyau Dance in Central Malawi, in Comaroff, J. C. & Comaroff, J. L. (Eds.) *Modernity and its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa*. Chicago, Ill. [etc.]: The University of Chicago Press, p34-57

⁹²² Gregersen, E. (1983) *Sexual Practices: The Story of Human Sexuality*. New York: Franklin Watts

⁹²³ Rangeley, W. (1948) Notes on Cewa tribal law, *Nyasaland J* 1,4; Mair, L. P. (1951) Marriage and Family in the Dedza District of Nyasaland, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 8,1/2:103-19; Mair (1953), *op.cit.*

⁹²⁴ Mitchell, J. C., Marriage among the Machinga Yao of Southern Nyasaland. Ref. by Mair (1953:p88), *op.cit.*

⁹²⁵ Mair, L. (1951) A Yao girl's initiation, *Man* 51(98):60-3

⁹²⁶ Stannus, H. S. & Davey, J. B. (1913) The initiation ceremony for boys among the Yao of Nyasaland, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 43:119-23

⁹²⁷ Ngwane, H. D. (1959) Some aspects of marriage in peri-urban villages: Blanyre-Limbe, *Rhodes-Livingstone Instit Commun* 17:23-33

⁹²⁸ Msiska, Au. (1995) The spread of Islam in Malawi and its impact on Yao rites of passage, 1870-1960, *Soc Malawi J* 48,1:49-86

were said to be “thoroughly enlightened as to sexual relations” (Johnston, 1897:p409, as cited by Msiska, p77). According to the latter, this “included not only sexual techniques, but also instructions to be followed, for example, when a woman is menstruating”.

Ngoni (Malawi)

Read (1959:p40)⁹²⁹ found that all physical acts connected to sex are met with “extreme prudishness”, demanding correct behaviour from early life. Children’s house-playing is not noted to be sexual, but the children might play “Choosing a Lover”, etc. (p41, 43).

“The most stringent [of prohibitions] was on any form of sex play between boys and girls. To avoid any likelihood of this, little boys and girls were early encouraged to form separate play groups. The elders kept an eye particularly on the boys, and if they showed any inquisitiveness in their play about the private parts of a girl playmate, they were beaten and reproved and told: “If you do this again, I shall tell your father” (p80, 81).

At adolescence, sex instructions are given at “puberty school”. Macronymphia is practised in prepuberty, and in pairs (Read, 1938)⁹³⁰. Among the Chewa, childhood sexuality is common (p8, 12), and known by the name of *ukusewera*. Ngoni condoned partial intercourse prior to marriage. Upper class girls would be examined once a month by older women to monitor chastity. Sexual instruction is part of the puberty rites, and is performed by same-sex adults.

[Additional refs: LeVine, R. A. (1963) Child rearing practices in sub-Saharan Africa: an interim report, *Bull Menn Clin* 27,5:245-56]

⁹²⁹ Read, M. (1959) *Children of their Fathers*. London: Methuen. Also cited by Erny (1972 [1981:p62])

⁹³⁰ Read, M. (1938) The moral code of the Ngoni and their former military state, *Africa* 11,1:1-24

Namibia (Bergdama, Nama, !Ko, !Kung, Herero)

Bergdama, Damara (Central Namibia)

Vedder (1928 [1966:p49])⁹³¹ states that the development of breasts of girls was the sign for the first physical preparation for marriage. At menstruation, she is “instructed in the manner of her conduct towards young men and brothers [including a strict incest avoidance], and in her later station as a married woman towards her husband”. She is now considered “adult”. Marriage may be arranged in childhood (p52) but this is not the sole way. Premarital pregnancy is regarded a disgrace.

KhoeKhoe, Hottentots, Nama Hottentot / Naman, Namakwa, Namaqua, Khoikhoi (2,2,3-,3-3,3; 8,5; d5,3; E) (southern Namibia; South Africa) (→San)

H. v. François noted that “[d]er Verkehr der Geschlechter ist vom Eintritt der Rife an völlig ungehindert [...]” (cited by Ploß / Renz, 1912:p544). No secret is made of early childhood masturbation, which takes place with “considerable” frequency (Ford, 1945 [1964:p20]; Ford and Beach, 1951)⁹³². Mantegazza⁹³³ stated that it was so frequent, one might call it a “natural vice”. There is mention of childhood elongation of the labia majora (Schapera, 1930:p243)⁹³⁴. Hottentot mothers would tell their daughters, before their first menstruation, to “Go and make yourself a mfuli [artificially extended labia] [...]” (De Rachewiltz, 1963[1964:p152]). Schultze (1907:p298, 309)⁹³⁵ noted the precocity of the Hottentots. “Bei der sinnlichen Frühreife des Volkes haben Knaben oft schon Geschlechtsverkehr, ehe sie den Kinderspielen entwachsen sind” (Karsch-Haack, 1911:p132). The tribadie of Hottentot girls was discussed by Karsch-Haack (1901 [1983:p241-2])⁹³⁶ quoting Gustav Fritsch on the matter. The Nama were said to “encourage sexual relationships between adults and children” (Eskapa, 1987:p154), but this remains unconfirmed.

Indicative of the “love-play”, or “sex-play” hinted at by Nama dances as encountered among the Korana people by Kirby⁹³⁷ was the suggestion that “[...] no boy was even taught how to play until he had been through the *doro* or puberty ceremony. The significance of this limitation”, the author argues, “is obvious”.

[Additional refs.: Hoff, A. (1995) Puberty rite of a Khoekhoe girl], *South Afr J Ethnol* 18,1:29-41]

⁹³¹ Vedder, H. (1928) The Berg Damara, in Hahn, C. H. L., Vedder, H. & Fourie, L. (Eds.) *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*. London: Frank Cass & Co., p39-78

⁹³² *Op.cit.*

⁹³³ Dutch transl., 2nd ed., p106

⁹³⁴ Schapera, I. (1930) The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, Bushmen and Hottentots. London: Routledge

⁹³⁵ Schultze, L. (1907) *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*. Jena: Fischer

⁹³⁶ Karsch-Haack, F. (1901) Uranismus oder Päderastie und Tribadie bei den Naturvölkern, *Jb Sex Zwischenst* 3:72ff. Reprinted in 1983 (Schmidt, W. J. (Ed.), Vol.1:p229-96

⁹³⁷ Kirby, P. R. (1933) The Reed-Flute Ensembles of South Africa: A Study in South African Native Music, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 63:313-88

!Ko, !Xo (Khoe Bushman, Khoisan, San) (central Kalahari)

!Ko parents try to enlarge the boy's penis by pulling and sucking it (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1972:p59, 63; p58, ill.)⁹³⁸. A boy may be punished in this way (Sbrzesny, [1975] 1976:p237)⁹³⁹. When the boy infant touches his member himself, he is prevented to do so (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, p153; 158, ill.). Girls mockingly "present" themselves ventrally and dorsally (p128-40, ill.; cf. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1976 [1982:p142-7, ill.]⁹⁴⁰), but no further observations on sexual behaviour are communicated. "Although the Bushmen are fairly liberal in sexual matters, open promiscuity is not tolerated" (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1978:p136)⁹⁴¹. Children play in groups and imitate incipient life events such as initiation rituals (Sbrzesny, 1973)⁹⁴²; sexual games were not noted in this article.

A menstruating girl is to marry an initiated boy, there are no child marriages⁹⁴³ (Heinz, 1994:p131, 175-6)⁹⁴⁴, and the !Ko frown upon it; rape of immature girls is considered particularly bad (p120). Boys and girls play together until they informally separate at age 8; "[g]irls have generally less freedom than boys".

"At the age of about 12 boys begin to experiment with girls. They go into the bushes with them, fondle them, and try intercourse *ante portas* [*sic*], but no defloration appears to occur at this stage. Sometimes because older ones are not available the girls are still quite young and cry during these advances. Usually they are seen by someone in the village who reports the matter to the parents, who will reprimand them, telling them to grow up before they do this sort of thing; but these scoldings seem to lack conviction- grow-ups have told me about them without evincing the slightest sign of annoyance. When the girl reaches puberty she is no longer required by public opinion to abstain from sexual activities. Virginity on marriage is neither essential not common" (p118-9).

Girls are extensively instructed on marital life after menarche, emphasising passiveness when courted and during marital intimacy (p124); boys are not instructed on sexual matters (p129).

⁹³⁸ Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I. (1972) *Die !Ko-Buschmann-Gesellschaft*. München: Piper. "Tanten küssen oft die Scham weiblicher und den Penis männlicher Säuglinge, wenn sie diese erheitern wollen [...]. Man lutscht und saugt an der Haut des Säuglings und mitunter auch an seinen Geschlechtsteilen [...]. Babies erheitert man durch streicheln der Geschlechtsteile und durch Kitzeln. Ich filmte, wie ein Mann oftmals den Penis eines etwa 8 Monate alten Säuglings berührte. Als das Kind dann selbst danach griff, nahm er achtsam dessen Hand und führte sie weg, dann spielte er weiter, und zwar in Gegenwart vieler anderer Buschleute, mit der gleichen Selbstverständlichkeit, mit der Buschleute vor allen anderen die Geschlechtsteile eines Säuglings küssen".

⁹³⁹ Sbrzesny, H. (1976) *Die Spiele der !Ko-Buschleute*. München: Piper

⁹⁴⁰ Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I. (1975) *Der Vorprogrammierte Mensch*. 1982 4th ed. Vienna [etc.]: F. Molden

⁹⁴¹ Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I (1978) Early socialization in the !xö bushmen, in Thobias, Ph. V. & Bieseke, M. (Eds.) *The Bushmen: San Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa*. Cape Town [etc.]: Human & Rousseau, p130-6

⁹⁴² Sbrzesny, H (1973) !Ko-Buschleute (Kalahari)- Der Elandtanz. Kinder spielen das Mädchen-Initiationsritual, *Homo* 24,3/4:233-44

⁹⁴³ According to Heinz (n.d.), among the G/andakhoe, considered a branch of the Bugakhoe, children are sometimes betrothed in infancy. The first two months after marriage, at puberty, during residence in the bride's camp, there is no sexual intercourse. See Barnard, A. (1992) *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa*. Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, p127

⁹⁴⁴ Heinz, H. / Keuthmann, K. (1994) *Social Organization of the !Kö Bushmen*. Köln: Köppe. Based on Heinz's 1966 MA thesis.

Heinz and Lee (1978:p41)⁹⁴⁵ state that “[...] most children start early, and go into the bush to indulge in sexual experimentation. When a girl reaches puberty she is not by conviction required to show avoidance of sexual activities, but while having full licence in sex matters girls do come across practical obstacles to their indulgence: there are usually people about, especially younger children, who play around in the same house without respect for privacy”. The only other limitations to sex are “the taboos on sex before puberty and incest”.

!Kung San / Bushmen (northern Kalahari; Namibia, Botswana, Angola) (3+, 3+, 3+, 3+, 4, 4; 2, 2) (→G/wi)

Lee (1985:p27)⁹⁴⁶ states that before 1960, most !Kung girls were married between 12 and 15, or as is said, “the girls of Nyae Nyae go from their mother’s breast to their husband’s on one day”. Marriage sometimes takes place five to six years before menarche (*N!ai*⁹⁴⁷; Marshall, 1965:p261⁹⁴⁸; Marshall 1959:p350)⁹⁴⁹, the latter occurring as late as 15.5 (Kalota, 1974)⁹⁵⁰. This would be so in former generations, says Shostak (1981:p127). Howell (1979:p174, 178)⁹⁵¹ found that 65% of Dobe !Kung women were married before menarche, occurring on average at age 16.6 (*SD*=1.3, median age=17.1). The mean age of marriage for girls is 16.9 (median 17.4) compared to 26.7 for males, median 25.5 (p175, 260). “Marriage need not be equated with the first experience of sexual intercourse, since the !Kung do not see to place any value on virginity and sex play among children is said to be common”.

Eight and nine-year-old brides would be married to teenaged husbands. Sexual intercourse does not take place until the girl is “ready”. However, no definite age requirement exists for marriage, and physical signs of puberty are not required (Marshall, 1976:p269)⁹⁵². “The young couple are expected not to have sexual intercourse until the girls are “big enough”, informants said [...]”, although nothing was learned about the actual sexual experiences of young couples.

Marshall did no observations on the early marital couple. The girls should be “big enough” for sexual intercourse; a “gentle old man” said, “They enjoy their youth together”. Young children may be instructed by sexual joking in their presence.

!Kung childhood was studied by Draper (1972)⁹⁵³; infancy was studied by Konner (1973)⁹⁵⁴. !Kung are known for their tolerance in child rearing matters; children of both sexes play

⁹⁴⁵ Heinz, H. & Lee, M. (1978) *Namkwa*. London: J. Cape

⁹⁴⁶ Lee, R. B. (1985) Work, sexuality, and ageing among !Kung women, in Brown, J. K. & Kerns, V. (Eds.) *In Her Prime*. Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey

⁹⁴⁷ *N!ai* (1980). Shot, 1951-78. John Marshall and Adrienne Miesmer; Michael Ambrosino, Executive Producer, PBS

⁹⁴⁸ Marshall, L. J. (1965) The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari desert, in Gibbs, J. L. (Ed.) *Peoples of Africa*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p241-78

⁹⁴⁹ Marshall, L. (1959) Marriage among the !Kung Bushmen, *Africa* 29:335-64

⁹⁵⁰ Kalota, G. B. (1974) !Kung hunter-gatherers: feminism, diet, and birth control, *Science* 185, Sept.13:932-4

⁹⁵¹ Howell, N. (1979) *Demography of the Dobe !Kung*. New York: Academic Press

⁹⁵² Marshall, L. J. (1976) *The !Kung of Nyae Nyae*. Cambridge, Mass. [etc.]: Harvard University Press

⁹⁵³ Draper, P. (1972) *!Kung Bushman Childhood*. PhD Diss., Harvard

⁹⁵⁴ Konner, M. J. (1973) *Infants of a Foraging People*. PhD Diss., Harvard

together, and both parents take part in socialisation (Barnard, 1992:p53). Children freely play games such as “Ostrich’s Courtship”⁹⁵⁵. Shostak (1976; 1981:p18-9, 30-1, 104-24)⁹⁵⁶ gives a rather detailed first-hand account of !Kung childhood sex play. Sexual intercourse is shielded from the eyes of the children, but apparently not in a serious fashion. “All the women I interviewed said their childhood sex play included sexual intercourse”. Children are not prevented if such play is done away from adults, although they “do not approve” of it. The girls are “as free and unfettered as boys”. The interviewees reveal a great deal of pressure from the part of the boys, who even played within a co-wife scenario. An “old” woman is interviewed:

“That’s what an older boy does. He waits until he is with a little girl and lies down with her. He takes some saliva, rubs it on her genital, gets on top and pokes around with his semi-erection, as though he were actually having intercourse, but he is not. Because even though young boys can get hard, they don’t really enter little girls. Nor do they yet know about ejaculation. Only when a boy is almost a young man does he start to have sex like an adult” (1981:p112).

Michl (1986; 2002:p248-52)⁹⁵⁷ seems to have little to add to this story. A distinction is seen between premarital and marital pressures:

“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 shows clear signs of sexual development she is generally pressured to accept her husband’s sexual advances” (p147-8).

Herero (Bantu; Central Namibia)

The Herero are engaged in childhood (Dannert, 1906:p24)⁹⁵⁸. At any rate, the engagement is a paternal matter (see also Vedder, 1928:p178⁹⁵⁹; Luttig, 1933 :p89)⁹⁶⁰. Sometimes prepubertal marriage of girls occurred (Gibson, 1958)⁹⁶¹. Irle (1906:p58-9) ⁹⁶² commented on the “absence” of childhood education, leading to *Unkeuschheit* (p100-2).

⁹⁵⁵ *At Play in the Fields of the Lord*.

⁹⁵⁶ Shostak, M. (1976) A !Kung woman’s memories of childhood, in Lee, R. B. & DeVore, I. (Eds.) *Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers: Studies of the !Kung San and their Neighbors*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p246-78; Shostak, M. (1981) *Nisa: Life and Words of a !Kung Woman*. New York: Vintage Books. See also Fisher, H. E. (1992) *Anatomy of Love*. New York & London: W. W. Norton & Co., p260-1. Also Shostak, M. (1993) A !Kung woman’s memories of childhood, in Suggs, D. N. & Miracle, A. W. (Eds.) *Culture and Human Sexuality: A Reader*. Pacific Grove, CA: Cole. Cf. Blackwood, E. (2000) Culture and Women’s Sexualities, *J Soc Iss* 65,2:223-38

⁹⁵⁷ Michl, W. (1986) *Die Beitrag der Kinderspielgruppe zu Erziehung und Sozialisation in afrikanischen Stammesgesellschaften*. München: Minerva. Critical data reprinted in Michl, W. (2002) *Die Kinderspielgruppe in Afrikanischen Stammesgesellschaften*, in Müller, K. E. & Treml, A. K. (Eds.) *Wie Man zum Wilden Wird*. Berlin: D. Reimer, p239-56

⁹⁵⁸ Vedder, H. (1928) *Native Tribes of South West Africa*. Cape Town; Dannert, E. (1906) *Zum Rechte der Herero*. Berlin

⁹⁵⁹ Vedder, H. (1928) (1928) The Ovambo, in Hahn, C. H. L., Vedder, H. & Fourie, L. (Eds.) *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*. London: Frank Cass & Co., p154-211

⁹⁶⁰ Luttig, H. G. (1933) The Religious System and Social Organization of the Herero. Utrecht: Kemink

⁹⁶¹ Gibson, G. D. (1958) Herero marriage, *Rhodes-Livinst J* 24:1-37

⁹⁶² Irle, J. (1906) *Die Herero*. Gütersloh: Bertelsman. Quoted by Murray, S. O. (1998) Homosexuality in “Traditional” Sub-Saharan Africa and Contemporary South Africa. An overview, in Murray, S. O. &

Roscoe, W. (Eds.) *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands. Studies on African Homosexualities*. New York: St. Martin's Press, p1-18

Botswana (G/wi, Hambukushu, Kgalagari, Nharo, Dobe Ju/'Hoansi, (Ba)katla / (Ba)kgatla;; also →Subiya, →Tswana, →Atonga)

Using data from the 1995 Botswana Adolescent Reproductive Health Survey in conjunction with data from focus group discussions, Meekers and Ahmed (2000)⁹⁶³ suggest that adolescents become sexually active at an “early” age, and that many of them, males and females alike, have multiple sex partners, facts implying that adolescent reproductive health programmes should target youths aged 13 or younger. According to a 1988 study⁹⁶⁴, the median age of female first sexual intercourse was just above 17.

Livingston (2003)⁹⁶⁵:

“In bogwera and bojale youth received instruction about sexual activity, sexual taboos, and sociocultural rules during their stays in the initiation camps. In passing through these rites, they were ritually reborn as adult members of society [...] Since breast development is still generally assumed by young and older people alike to be a necessary precursor to sexual activity, girls who want to date resist attempts to slow the growth of their breasts [...] While changes in dress and diet have allegedly impeded the regular purification and strengthening of children's bodies, early sexual activity is seen as simultaneously depleting youth of their vitality”.

G/wi, Gcwi (G//Wikhwe, G//Wi, G/Wi, Gcwi, G!Wikwe, G/Wikhwe, Dcui)
(Botswana)

G/wi girls are married at age 7-9, boys at about 14-15 (Silberbauer, 1963⁹⁶⁶; Singer, 1978:p126-7⁹⁶⁷; Campbell, 1967:p42⁹⁶⁸). Coitus does not begin until the girl is 11 or 12, when her breasts begin to develop, i.e., prior to menarche. Prior to this time, a husband may, although rarely so, be sexually active with an unattached older woman. The Bushchildren play house (Silberbauer, 1965:p79)⁹⁶⁹, though no sexual implications are indicated. From age 5 or 6 on, the girl is exposed to the conversation of adult women during food gathering, which is “far

⁹⁶³ Meekers, D. & Ahmed, G. (2000) Contemporary patterns of adolescent sexuality in urban Botswana, *J Biosoc Sci* 32,4:467-85

⁹⁶⁴ Women in Botswana Use The Pill to Space Births, But Want Large Families, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 16,1:30-2; Botswana 1988: Results from the Demographic and Health Survey, *Stud in Fam Plann* 21,5:293-7

⁹⁶⁵ Livingston J. (2003) Pregnant Children and Half-Dead Adults: Modern Living and the Quickening Life Cycle in Botswana, *Bull Hist Med* 77,1:133-62

⁹⁶⁶ Silberbauer, G. B. (1963) Marriage and the girl's puberty ceremony of the G/wi Bushmen, *Africa* 33,1:12-23

⁹⁶⁷ Singer, R. (1978) The biology of the San, in Tobias, Ph. V. & Bieseles, M. (Eds.) *The Bushmen: San Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa*. Cape Town [etc.]: Human & Rousseau, p115-29

⁹⁶⁸ Campbell, A. C. (1964) A few notes on the Gcwi Bushmen of the central Kalahari Desert Bechuanaland, *NADA* 9,1:39-47. Campbell notes that “puberty” in girls occurs at age 15 or 16, and that boys have intercourse “as soon as they reach the age of puberty” (*ibid.*).

⁹⁶⁹ Silberbauer, G. B. (1965) *Bushman Survey*. Gaberones: Bechuanaland Govt.

from inhibited". Girls marry at age 7 to 9, to boys aged seven years more (p81), and without much of a ceremony. "Sexual intercourse commences only after the first couple of years of marriage, when the girl's breasts begin to develop"; if she is slow to mature, "her husband rather coyly admits his impatience" (p83). There is no special recognition of defloration.

Hambukushu (Northern Botswana)

Sex education for girls is part of the postmenarchal initiation rite (Larson, 1979)⁹⁷⁰. Pubescent girls would practice a kind of genital modification used for "enlargement of the genital orifice". Girls were married before (those born between 1920 and 1930) or after *ghudyaho* (girls' puberty ceremony), either by *kushesha* (man chooses a young girl) or *kwandekera* (infant betrothal) (Unzicker, 1996:p98)⁹⁷¹. In the past, in both methods marriage partners were selected before menstruation, and often the girl was married before puberty (i.e., at ages 8-11), "though most said the couple was forbidden to have sexual relations until after the puberty ceremony. The girl is said "to sleep at the back" of her husband before her first menstruation but is able to lie in front of him after her *ghudyaho*" (p99). For the grandparental generation, marriage was consummated at the first day (*wenga*); at *wenga* the bride's grandmother (*thitongwa*, teacher) was present to instruct the couple about living and sleeping together.

Both marriage patterns were quite rare in the late eighties, and girls are married a year or more after menarche. *Ghudyaho* is no longer in vogue, and girls hide their menarche.

Kgalagari (Botswana)

Sexual activity prior to the payment which gives the right of a man to sexual intercourse with his fiancée is punished by a fine (Kuper, 1970)⁹⁷².

Nharo Bushmen (Botswana)

Marriage and sexual activity becomes possible after the puberty ceremony at menarche (Barnard, 1980:p118)⁹⁷³. [Kaufman⁹⁷⁴ (for the **≠Auin Bushmen**) reports that 13 to 14 year old girls (or before puberty) were married to 16 to 20-year-olds (cf. Lebzelter, 1934:p71⁹⁷⁵)]. The game of "Getting Married" played by "young" girls includes a marriage by capture, with

⁹⁷⁰ Larson, T. J. (1979) Hambukushu girls' puberty rites, *Botswana Notes & Records* 11:33-6

⁹⁷¹ Unzicker, A. B. (1996) Hambukushu marriage traditions: past and present, *Botswana Notes & Records* 28:97-106

⁹⁷² Kuper, A. (1970) The Kgalagari and the jural consequences of marriage, *Man* 5:466-82

⁹⁷³ Barnard, A. (1980) Sex roles among the Nharo Bushmen of Botswana, *Africa* 50,2:115-24

⁹⁷⁴ Kaufmann, H. (1910) *Die Auin*. Mitt. A.d. D. Schutzgebieten, p156; Crul, Th. W. (1942) *Het Huwelijk bij de "Ethnologische Oervolken"*. Dissertation. Leiden [Holland]: A. W. Sijthoff, p110

⁹⁷⁵ Lebzelter, V. (1934) *Eingeborenenkulturen in Südwest- und Südafrika*. Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann

dragging away of the screaming bride (Bleek, 1928:p20⁹⁷⁶; Lebzelter, 1934:p69)⁹⁷⁷. Children spend their days “wandering in the open” or helping collecting. 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. All that is required for her to become a woman and ready for marriage is to undergo her [...] puberty initiation” (Guenther, 1986:p211)⁹⁷⁸. Dances at girls menarchal rites are “frenzied and replete with erotic gestures” (p280). Afterwards, “[s]he was now [...] eligible for serious courtship or marriage. In the event that the initiand was already married, she would now change her status from child wife to true wife and would consummate her marriage”.

***Dobe Ju/'Hoansi* (Botswana)**

Lee (1993:p90-1)⁹⁷⁹ quotes a 50-year-old woman on her childhood experiences, probably characteristic of the *Dobe Ju*:

“When a child sleeps beside his mother, in front, and his father sleeps behind and makes love to her, the child watches. Perhaps this is the way the child learns [...]. Then, when he and the other children are playing, if he is a little boy he takes his younger sister and pretends to have sex with her. As he grows, he lives in the bush and continues to play, now with other children, and they have sex with each other and play and play and play [...]. Some days I went with them. Sometimes I refused to play, other times I agreed. The little boys entered into the play huts where we were playing and then they lay down with us. My boyfriend came to see me and we lived like that and played. We would lie down together and they would have sex with us”.

***Bakatla / Bakgatla / Kgatla* (Botswana)**

Seligman (1932:p213-4)⁹⁸⁰ quotes an observation on the *Bakatla*, communicated by Dr. Schapera [1930]⁹⁸¹, Capetown University:

“The small children of these ages (6-12), boys and girls, play together, and one of their games, called *mantlwane* (“little houses”) consists of erecting miniature household enclosures; then they pair off, boys and girls, in couples and celebrate mock weddings, which end with each couple going to its little enclosure and lying down together. Occasionally they both remove their loin-girdles and rub together

⁹⁷⁶ Bleek, D. F. (1928) *The Naron*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Also quoted in Barnard (1992:p145), *op.cit.*

⁹⁷⁷ *Op.cit.*

⁹⁷⁸ Guenther, M. (1986) *The Nharo Bushmen of Botswana: Tradition and Change*. Hamburg: Buske

⁹⁷⁹ Lee, R. B. (1993) *The Dobe Ju/'hoansi*. New York: Harcourt Brace College Publishers

⁹⁸⁰ Seligman, C. G. (1932) Anthropological Perspective and Psychological Theory, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 62:193-228. “Children of both sexes play together freely up to six or seven years of age, and imitation of the sexual act finds a place in their games, but the first stage in the boys’ initiation, when the lads begin to wear leaf hats, marks their strict separation from all female society, women and children, both related and unrelated. This separation lasts about ten years and may begin as young as seven or eight; lads of this age wearing the leaf hat may be seen together, indulging quite openly in games of a mildly erotic nature [note: “communicated”]” (p213).

⁹⁸¹ Schapera, I. (1930) Premarital pregnancy and native opinion, *Africa* 6,1:59-89

their genitals, without of course achieving penetration. This game is played at night, when the parents can't see them. One of my informants, a young man, told me that when he was a child of about 9 or so his older brother, together with boys and girls of his age (13-15) used to get the smaller children at night, pair off the boys and girls, make the little boys lie on top of the girls, and then shout, *e tsenye! e tsenye!* [encouraging the children to mimic performance of the act].

Schapera (1930) points out that circumcision had been abandoned, and that the sex education associated with its ceremony had not been substituted. Traditionally, boys were "taught various rules of sexual conduct, "because in the old days boys grew up at the cattleposts and knew nothing of women" " (Schapera, 1978:p13-4)⁹⁸². Instructions included avoidance of coitus during menstruation, after recent abortion, and with much older women.

Schapera (1940)⁹⁸³, on the Kgatla: "From an early age children are familiar with the nature of copulation, and much of their play consists of games with a definitively sexual character" ([161]). Girls start pulling their labia at puberty, "sometimes a little later", sometimes mutual. If the labia do not stretch fast enough, magic is employed: as in the Venda, the powder of a bat's wings is used. "In this way the labia will grow long like the wings of the bat". The purpose is aphrodisiacal: "To excite the bull" ([p40, 168]). Boys use love medicines (*meratisô*) ([p42]). Girls from the age of 16 also dilate the vaginal canal ([p166]). Schapera speaks of betrothal in early childhood or before birth in the past ([33, 37]). At the time of writing, "[s]exual adventure not only enters largely into the lives of the young Kgatla, but strongly affects modern courtship".

At a later date, Suggs⁹⁸⁴ (p108) notes that "[w]hen a girl attains menarche, she may already have learned of its significance from friends. [...] the Kgatla value age-specific knowledge greatly and, while matters dealing with sexuality may be spoken about among peers, such topics are rarely and only situationally discussed between generations". This renders menarche a horror. Menerchal girls are told that "if you now play with boys you will get a baby".

⁹⁸² Schapera, I. (1978) *Bogwera: Kgatla Initiation*. Mochudi: Phuthadiko Museum

⁹⁸³ Schapera, I. (1940) *Married Life in an African Society*. London: Faber & Faber. 1971 Penguin ed.

⁹⁸⁴ Suggs, D. N. (1987) Female Status and Role Transition in the Tswana Life Cycle, *Ethnology* 26,2:107-20

Zimbabwe (Karanga, Matabele, Shona; → Lemba, → Atonga)

In Zimbabwe, Symington (1972)⁹⁸⁵ found a mean age of male coitarche of 18, earliest at age seven. In another study, the median age of first sexual intercourse was 19 for females aged 14-24, and 18 for males aged 14-21 (Boohene et al., 1991)⁹⁸⁶.

Twenty one per cent of rural and urban secondary school boys aged 12 years reported having had intercourse (Campbell and Mbizvo, 1994)⁹⁸⁷. According to another study, children might initiate sex, at an earliest age at eight, "although some indicated body experiments between children as early as four years (Loewenson et al., 1997:p11)⁹⁸⁸. Youths found themselves "able to decide about sex" at age 14.0 (rural boys), 17.0 (urban boys), 13.9 (rural girls), and 16.6 (urban girls) (p10). Some customs were recognised that might lead to sexual abuse of children (p29): "Chiramu" or "Sibale" ("a custom aimed at socialising children that induced touching young girls, leading to touching of young girls private parts"); "kuzvarira" ("young girls pledged in marriage"); "ngozi" ("young girls handed over as compensation to an injured family"); "chikwambo" (visible or invisible objects are "instructed to have sex with children").

The Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture has introduced sex education in primary schools in spite of the controversy that still surrounds it (Mapfumo, 1999)⁹⁸⁹. The author comments on the breakdown of sex education roles for aunts and uncles as a result of contact with the European family system. The study demonstrated that most of the sixth and seventh grade pupils felt comfortable to discuss sex with their teachers, while most did not with their parents, although 82% felt their parents had positive attitudes toward sex education.

In pre-colonial days, homosexuality was disapproved of "at least beyond adolescence" (Epprecht)⁹⁹⁰.

[Additional refs.: Center for Reproductive Law & Policy, (CRLP) and Child Law Foundation, (CLF) (2002) *State of Denial: Adolescent Reproductive Rights in Zimbabwe*. Research Report, p18-9; CRLP (2001) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives*: Anglophone Africa. Progress Report, p130-52]

Karanga (Zimbabwe)

Girls are given "sex instructions" at puberty by her father's sister (Aquina, 1967:p36)⁹⁹¹.

⁹⁸⁵ Symington. R. B. (1972) Sexual behavior of Rhodesian Africans, *J Biosoc Sci* 4,3:263-75

⁹⁸⁶ Boohene, E., Tsodzai, J., Hardee-Cleaveland, K., Weir, Sh. & Janowitz, B. (1991) Fertility and Contraceptive Use Among Young Adults in Harare, Zimbabwe, *Stud in Fam Plann* 22,4:264-71

⁹⁸⁷ Campbell, B. & Mbizvo, M. T. (1994) Sexual behaviour and HIV knowledge among adolescent boys in Zimbabwe, *Cent Afr J Med* 40,9:245-50

⁹⁸⁸ *Op.cit.*

⁹⁸⁹ Mapfumo, Ph. (1999) Sex education in Zimbabwean schools: a case study of Houghton Park primary school, *Zimbabwe J Educ Res* 11,2:57-81

⁹⁹⁰ 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

⁹⁹¹ Aquina, S. M. (1967) The group aspect of Karanga marriage, *NADA* 9,4:28-38

Matabele (Zimbabwe)

Girls are “not so free in their childhood than boys” (Carnegie et al., 1894:p88)⁹⁹², but no statements are made on sexual life.

According to Jones (1921)⁹⁹³, the *ugutomba* (girl’s initiation) includes songs “of the lewdest description”; the author subjoins one example but does not translate it⁹⁹⁴. Female informants assured that “there where no immoral practices in connection with the ceremony of *ogutomba* in the days of Mzilikazi”, or rather, it would be punished by the chief. Later, rules would be relaxed “and a good deal of immorality was connived at, if not actually permitted”. The *intombi* (initiated) girl is placed in the charge of “a woman, who is responsible for her moral behavior during a period of generally about two years, the intention being to preserve the purity of the girl until she is married”.

At least in a rural district of Matabeleland, traditional sex education no longer takes place (Vos, 1994)⁹⁹⁵.

Shona (Southern Rhodesia; Zimbabwe)

Shona practice of labial elongation is called *kusenga* (Gelfand, 1973b⁹⁹⁶; 1973a⁹⁹⁷). It is generally done at age eleven before the onset of menarche, sometimes mutual, and particularly in rural areas (1979b:p19-20): “from at least the time of menstruation, sometimes even from a year or two before”. It is taught to girls by older cousins and neighbours “at the first signs of puberty” (Williams, 1969)⁹⁹⁸, but it may also started before menarche ([1967a]⁹⁹⁹). In one study ([1967a]) it was done by 13 of 29 girls. In the harvest season, adolescents would be allowed a one-month period of play marriage in early “adolescence”; supposedly, this does not include full intercourse (Gelfand, 1963¹⁰⁰⁰; Gelfand, 1967b¹⁰⁰¹), and is actually “conducted on strict moral standards”. It is called *muhumbwe* (or *mahungwe*) and takes place in shelters (Gelfand, 1959:p183¹⁰⁰²; [1973c:p172]¹⁰⁰³). The pairing off is supervised by parents, and occurs at about age ten (1967a:p105-6; 1967b:62-3). In the formerly mentioned study, 9 of 21 boys and 23 of 29 girls said they played at this pretence marriage (p101).

⁹⁹² Carnegie, D., Elliott, W. A. & Cousins, G. (1894) Among the Matabele. London: Religious Tract Society. 2nd ed.

⁹⁹³ Jones, N. (1921) Initiation Rites Among the Matabele, *Man* 21:147-50

⁹⁹⁴ “No useful purpose will be served by translating them, but they ought to be placed on record, and they will be readily understood by those who are familiar with the language” (p148).

⁹⁹⁵ Vos, T. (1994) Attitudes to sex and sexual behaviour in rural Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, *AIDS Care* 6,2:193-203

⁹⁹⁶ Gelfand, M. (1973b) Gross enlargement of the labia minora in an African female, *Centr Afr J Med* 19,5:101

⁹⁹⁷ Gelfand, M. (1973a) The Shona woman, *NADA* 10,5:41-50

⁹⁹⁸ Williams, J. (1969) Labial elongation in the Shona, *Centr Afr J Med* 15,7:165-6

⁹⁹⁹ Gelfand, M. ([1967a]) *African Crudible*. Cape Town: Juta

¹⁰⁰⁰ Gelfand, M. (1963) The Shona mother and child, *Centr Afr J Med* 9:116-9

¹⁰⁰¹ Gelfand, M. (1967b) The Shona attitude to sex behavior, *NADA* 9,4:61-4

¹⁰⁰² Gelfand, M. (1959) *Shona Ritual*. Cape Town: Juta

¹⁰⁰³ Gelfand, M. ([1973c]) *The Genuine Shona*. [Salisbury]: Mambo Press. See p39, 167-73

Children sleep in the parental bedroom until ages eight or nine. Sexual instruction of girls is provided by the grandmother or parental aunt (Gelfand, [1973c]). From age fourteen on, the girl is examined for virginity biannually (Gelfand, 1973a; 1979b:p19; [1967a:p100]), a custom called *kuenda kurukova*. A pubertal boy was warned for sex by his grandfather. His urine and semen was examined to assess his potency, and to assess the necessity of special foods (Gelfand, 1979a, 1985)¹⁰⁰⁴. Herding the cattle, boys “may mimic” their act (Gelfand, 1979b:p17, 18)¹⁰⁰⁵. Masturbation occurred in variable number of boys, but is discouraged. Procreative heterosexuality is strongly emphasised in both sexes from “very early age”, and theirs is “safeguarded” by seniors.

“There is no attempt to deny knowledge, but this knowledge is only given at an age when the boy or girl can appreciate it. Neither is told very much about the sexual act until about 14. Before that in the early ages they are taught cleanliness and modesty by their mothers and are encouraged to keep to their own sex. As the child becomes a little older the grandfather tells the boy that he will marry someday, but in the meantime he must not interfere with any girl and the girl is taught similarly by her grandmother. The grandparents and youngest aunt talk to the children freely on these matters. But even before puberty stress is laid on the importance of marriage” (1967b:p62).

Shire (1994:p154-6)¹⁰⁰⁶ observed that boys learn sex from the paternal aunt, *vatete*. That is, “[...] about practical matters such as contraception and also about sex: about what kinds of character to marry, the kinds of pleasure which would stop women from leaving, and ways in which women could be handled or controlled”. From the maternal aunts, Shona boys “learnt about a masculinity whose discourse centred on giving pleasure to women”, including knowledge about “medicinal plants” and “ideas about sexual prowess”.

“From an early age, boys engaged in games which were concerned with ensuring procreation in adulthood. Certain fruits and pods signified potency and formed the basis for activities which centred on notions of sexual competence. For example, the *mumveva* (*Kigelia pinnata*) fruit was regarded as signifying this kind of 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”.

Boys do pissing games, and operate on themselves to “free the foreskin” to win games, and because of “its association with the passage of semen in adulthood. Boys who did not want to have this operation were teased and laughed at; they were called “chickens”, told that they were not really boys and that all they wanted to do was to stay home and look after chickens”. The homosexual games are discontinued around pubescence, after which it becomes a sign of homosexuality. Those who continued “were called names alluding to bullocks with only one testicle, which are unable to fend off other bulls that mount cows, and which were only able to mount oxen”. As boys were becoming of topic, girls faded in as long as they were still allowed to swim together (thelarche). Pretence marriage (*mahumbwe*) “could at times end up provoking jealousies as it became obvious that people were not just playing, but that something else was going on”. Biting beetles were used to promote thelopoesis.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Gelfand, M. (1979a) The infrequency of homosexuality in traditional Shona society, *Centr Afr J Med* 25,9:201-2; Gelfand, M. (1985) Apparent absence of homosexuality and lesbianism in traditional Zimbabweans, *Centr Afr J Med* 31,7:137-8

¹⁰⁰⁵ Gelfand, M. (1979b) *Growing Up in Shona Society*. Gwelo: Mambo

¹⁰⁰⁶ Shire, Ch. (1994) Men don't go to the moon, in Cornwall, A. & Lindisfarne, N. (Eds.) *Dislocating Masculinity*. London & New York: Routledge, p147-58

Nambyans (Shona; Rhodesia, Zimbabwe)

According to Kitembo et al. (1977:p125-6¹⁰⁰⁷; Onibere, 1984:p103)¹⁰⁰⁸, the only Shona-speaking people in Rhodesia who still practise traditional sex education are the Nambyans. Women are known for their expertise on giving sexual pleasure, and grandmothers together with “another old woman” instruct the girl in coital techniques after menarche, which she is to imitate. Medicines are given to regulate menses and to make her more attractive. “She is instructed to abstain from sexual contact during her menstruations and she is sent back home. There she begins tying beads around her waist for attraction. Sex-education for Nambyan boys begins with their first wet dream”. The boy eats a cock with his grandfather, who tells him to refrain from sexual intercourse over a period of four months, to allow medicines that are to make him “more virile” to do their duty. If his grandfather is a medicine man, he might give him more medicines for “sexual prowess” should he need it later in life (Aquina, 1975, II:p11-3).

¹⁰⁰⁷ Kitembo, B., Magesa, L. & Shorter, A. (1977) *African Christian Marriage*. London [etc.]: Chapman

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Op.cit.*

Mozambique (Makonde, Valenge; →Swazi, →Thonga)

In colonial rural Mozambique, “[w]omen were often promised in marriage in infancy and in some tribes child marriage was common” (Kruks and Wisner, 1984:p112)¹⁰⁰⁹.

“In northern Mozambique as elsewhere in Southern Africa, the elongation of the small vaginal lips that used to make or break a girl’s initiation, was started when the girl was 8 or 9 years old (Geisler, 1997:p96)¹⁰¹⁰.

Makonde / Maconde, Wamakonde (Bantu; Mozambique, Tanzania)

Harries (1944 [1970])¹⁰¹¹ gives a detailed account of Makonde initiation rites known as *Jando* (also *Unyago*). Without initiation, a woman is believed to be deprived of the good prospect of a fruitful marriage, unclean. In the case of pregnancy before initiation, occurring sometimes, she is deprived of the privilege of initiation (p77), and forever known as *anahaku* (a term for girls before initiation), and not classed with people of her own age-grade. Ciputu (first phase of female initiation) takes place usually before menarche. A chief instructress (*Bimkubwa*, grandmother) supervises preparations for vaginal distension in the first night (p30). Sexual instructions are given (p35-6) and obscene songs are practised. “Vaginal” distension (second night) is practised as in other Bantu (Bemba, Yao, Makua), and is said to include the labia minora. The hymen is not ruptured. If this is already the case, the Bimkubwa calls her mother and enquiries are made as to the girl’s conduct. Girls are told to manipulate themselves at home. More complete “distension” takes place on the night of the *mhyako*. During *Kulunda Inole*, water is poured over the pudenda (*kukalawile*, p38-9), accompanied with songs. The meaning of vaginal distension is emphasised once more (p41-2). At *mhyako*, “girls are made familiar with the facts of sexual intercourse by the application of an egg [?]. They are taught the motions of the sexual act. With red inumbati [...] powder they are taught about the menses [...]”. She is told about pubic shaving. The egg is later broken on the forehead and the yolk is to run down via the nose, not into the eyes for this would be indicative of her “future bad character or of incontinence on the part of her relations during the conduct of the rites” (p43). A month after the rites further sexual instructions are given (p44) using symbolic representations. Afterwards, they are adults: “What remains for tomorrow now is for you to be sought in marriage by a man. That’s all” (p46)¹⁰¹². Boys are circumcised, and a taboo on sexual intercourse rests upon the boys until they are healed (p7, 18). At the rite, boys are told about sexual purity, sexual disease through impurity and about menstruation using symbolism (p27). This would occur at ages nine to sixteen.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Kruks, S. & Wisner, B. (1984) The State, the Party and the Female Peasantry in Mozambique, *J Southern African Stud* 11,1:106-27

¹⁰¹⁰ Arnfred, S. (1989) *Notes on Gender and Modernization*. Paper presented at ROAPE conference, Warwick, p3. Cited by Geisler, G. (1997) Women are women or how to please your husband: initiation ceremonies and the politics of “tradition” in southern Africa, *Afr Anthropol* 4,1:92-128

¹⁰¹¹ Harries, L. P. (1944) *The Initiation Rites of the Makonde Tribe*. Communications of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute 3. Reprinted 1970, Lusaka, Institute for Social Research

¹⁰¹² Betrothal may also occur.

In a note on the decursus of Jando, it is mentioned that the “Christianised” Jando is “devoid of explicit sexual instruction” (p135-6) (→[Yao](#)).

Contrary to Harries, Dias (1961)¹⁰¹³ mentions that a clay phallic object is used in defloration at the end of *chiputu*. Instructions are given by means of song and explicit clay figurines (see Cory, 1948:p84-9, ill.)¹⁰¹⁴, including themes of defloration, conception, orgasmic timing, and intercourse taboos.

Valenge ([Mozambique](#))

In Mozambique VaLenge, sexual instruction was given by the mother, with assistance by the ritual leader (Earthy, 1925)¹⁰¹⁵. Dolls were used to illustrate topics such as physiology and sexuality. Ritual defloration was carried out with a sacred horn. Earthy (1933 [1968:p150])¹⁰¹⁶: “[...] 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”.

¹⁰¹³ Dias, M. (1961) Makonde-Topferei, *Baessler-Archiv*, ns IX; [105]; Harries (1944 [1970:p50, n9])

¹⁰¹⁴ Cory, H. (1948) Jando: Part II: The Ceremonies and Teachings of the Jando, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 78,1/2:81-94

¹⁰¹⁵ Earthy, E. D. (1925) Initiation of girls in the Masiyeni District, Portuguese East Africa, *Ann Transvaal Mus* 11,2:103-17

¹⁰¹⁶ Earthy, E. D. (1933) *Valenge Women*. London: Oxford University Press. 1968 edition, London: Cass

Bantu Tribes (Bakene, Bageshu, Teita, Makonde, Luba, Cewa, Lobedu / Lovedu, Tebu, Herero, Hehe; →Tikiri, Tanzania [Wanguru], →Chewa)

The many Bantu languages¹⁰¹⁷ are spoken in Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Central African Republic, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Comoro Islands, Angola, Namibia, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, and South Africa¹⁰¹⁸. Ethnologists have provided general remarks (*vide infra*) on the early sexual life of Bantu speakers. For this reason some tribes were tentatively arranged according to linguistic (rather than geographic) classification. The choice and argument involved have proved to be arbitrary, though, historically speaking, perhaps not more arbitrary than a nationalist arrangement.

Generalia

Bantu tribes are noted for their nonbloody genital manipulations. Some girls try to widen [the vagina], for instance, by introducing a sweet potato or a piece of cassava (Pelt, [1982:p183])¹⁰¹⁹. A note on traditional age of consent:

“If the woman whom the man desires to marry is past the age of puberty and is able to judge for herself as to a man's parts, the man will first address himself to her. If the girl is still a child he goes to her father and mother in the first place. The proposal made, the father and mother discuss the matter. [...] The “Bundle” [bride-price] having been given to the assenting parents, when the time comes or the girl arrives at the age of puberty, the bridegroom sends money to the parents so that the girl may be placed in the “paint house”, where she undergoes certain rites of purification. [...] When a man sleeps with a child not yet arrived at the age of puberty (Xina Xinselo) and so causes the wrath of God and a drought and consequent famine.”¹⁰²⁰.

Dundas (1921:p42)¹⁰²¹ briefly notes on the East African *Bantu* tribes: “Curiously enough, several tribes permit sexual intercourse between immature children and regard it in the light of play”. Torday and Joyce (1905:p410, 420)¹⁰²² state that in the Ba-Mbala (Bantu) tribe, “[m]orality, in our sense of the word, can scarcely be said to exist; virginity is not considered of the slightest importance, consequently unmarried women indulge freely from a very early age, even before they have reached maturity; one result of this is that solitary and unnatural vices and prostitution are unknown; but, on the other hand, sexual excess is having an evil effect upon the mental and physical characters of the race. [...] Males have intercourse at the age of about ten years, the age of puberty; girls, from the age of six or seven, before menstruation; the position adopted is usually side by side”. Culwick (1939:p425-6)¹⁰²³ wrote: “It is common knowledge that in Bantu tribes sexual experience in one form or another

¹⁰¹⁷ Cf. <http://www.linguistics.berkeley.edu/CBOLD/Lgs/LgsbyGN.html>

¹⁰¹⁸ <http://www.bantu.ovh.org/cgi-bin/faq.cgi>

¹⁰¹⁹ Pelt, P. van (1982) *Bantu Customs in Mainland Tanzania*. Tabora: TMP Book Dept. 4th ed.

¹⁰²⁰ Dennett, R. E. (1906) *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*. London: Macmillan

¹⁰²¹ Dundas, Ch. (1921) Native Laws of Some Bantu Tribes of East Africa, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 51, Jan-Jun.:217-78

¹⁰²² Torday, E. & Joyce, T. A. (1905) Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 35, Jul.- Dec.:398-426

¹⁰²³ Culwick, G. M. (1939) New ways for old in the treatment of adolescent African girls, *Africa* 12:425-32, as cited by Pedrals (1950:p17), *op.cit.*

begins for the great majority of children before ever puberty is reached, and certainly in some places it is, and has been for at least as long as any can now remember, accepted practice for girls to have full sexual intercourse for several years before their first menstruation. Yet some of those self-same people will shut the girl away in rigorous confinement the moment she reaches puberty". De Rachewiltz (1963[1964:p229]): "The Bantu boys have sexual experience while still very young, and the girls also have usually had experiences before adolescence".

Around Johannesburg, Longmore (1959:p173-5)¹⁰²⁴ found that

"[c]hildren play at marriage from very early years. I have seen children in Eastern Native Township from five years of age playing as bride and bridegroom, who must always be members of the opposite sex. They dress up and build rude shelters as houses and then play at sleeping together. Older children who are also playing with them will tell the very young ones to play sexually because they are man and wife. The reason that children understand about sex at such early ages in urban areas is on account of severe overcrowding. [...] They immediately copy their elders and parents, who seem surprised that children can be so precocious, and fail to realize that the fault lies with them. Whenever the children in the township play "housey-housey", they always imitate the sex act. From information given me by teachers and parents, 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, which come to their notice in the overcrowded township at a very early age. One teacher told me that at Eastern native Township every evening he chases children away from the trees in front of his house, his reasons being that they are too young to have sex relations".

Other teachers, however, would deflower premenstrual girls. Krige (1937:p109)¹⁰²⁵ stated: "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". Again, "[...] sex play among small children [is] connived at [...]" (Krige and Krige, 1954:p79)¹⁰²⁶.

Van der Vliet (1974:p223)¹⁰²⁷ notes that house playing among Bantu children is common, and in case of the **Lobedu**, **Venda** and **Pedi** leads to highly formalised imitation of marital life, in miniature villages. Sexual intercourse would be rigidly forbidden in the **Pedi** "village" (p242n11), but Krige and Krige (1947:p109)¹⁰²⁸ mention "play intercourse" among the **Lobedu**. Hunter (1953 [1960:p180-4])¹⁰²⁹ relates that a girl would be ridiculed if she did not have lovers, and is taught how to avoid defloration. Periodical examination is performed by old women. Paradoxically, girls' seclusion hut becomes an attractant for youth of both sexes. Steyn and Rip (1968:p511)¹⁰³⁰ found that among urban South African Bantu families, very few parents provided any sex education for their children. Most girls had sexual experiences before age 15, and multiple partners were common for both sexes.

¹⁰²⁴ Longmore, L. (1959) *The Dispossessed*. London: J. Cape

¹⁰²⁵ Krige, Ei. J. (1937) Individual development, in Schapera, I. (Ed.) *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South-Africa*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p95-118

¹⁰²⁶ Krige, J. D. & Krige, Ei. J. (1954) The Lovedu of the Transvaal, in Forde, D. (Ed.) *African Worlds*. London: Oxford University Press, p55-82

¹⁰²⁷ Vliet, V. van der (1974) Growing up in traditional society, in Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (Ed.) *The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa*. p211-45

¹⁰²⁸ Krige, E. J. & Krige, J. D. (1947) *The Realm of a Rain-Queen*. London: International Institute of African Languages and Cultures

¹⁰²⁹ Hunter, M. (1953 [1960]) *Reaction to Conquest*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Also cited by

Erny (1972 [1981;p60-1])

¹⁰³⁰ Steyn, A. F. & Rip, C. M. (1968) The changing urban Bantu family, *J Marr & Fam* 30,3:499-517

Bakene (Bantu)

Roscoe¹⁰³¹ implies that a boy may (want to) marry when he “comes to puberty”. Although “guided” by friends and family, the choice is free on both sides.

Bageshu (Bantu; Uganda Protectorate)

According to Roscoe¹⁰³², “[t]here are no [marriage] arrangements between the young people until after puberty; the advances are made by the men, who approach the women, though there is no notion of love between the parties. It is purely a financial transaction between the elders or parents of the couple, though a man seeks to find a woman who is strong and able to work to be his partner” (p182-3). Boys and girls are initiated with genital operations (circumcision, labiotomy); after the evening dances that follow “[...] there is the fullest license given to both sexes, men and women have promiscuous intercourse without any restraint” (p187). Boys and girls are nude until the initiation/puberty.

Teita (Bantu)

Betrothal takes place in childhood, marriage is to await puberty and initiation (Prins, 1952:p123¹⁰³³; Kyewalyanga, 1977:p43). The girl is not informed, and she is kidnapped by four men, bridegroom included, who are all allowed to cohabit with her. “This will be the first time the future husband is allowed to do so, as he has had to avoid her until then, though premarital intercourse is always allowed between members of corresponding age groups of opposite sex”.

Tebu (Bantu) (South Eastern Cape; Chad, Niger, Libya)

Laubscher (1937:p76, 77-8, 79-80)¹⁰³⁴ states that boys of twelve begin to decorate the sex organs, which is to draw attention to it. No sexual instructions are given to boys. “They roam about in association with the animals they herd and learn their lessons from these sources and companions. In fact, unnatural sex relations with animals are not at all uncommon at this period [adolescence]. If a boy is observed in such an act, he is punished by corporal punishment. [sic] [...] Masturbatory manipulations of the penis are quite common and may receive a playful rebuke, but are not viewed at all seriously. They are merely considered as playful activities of children. At the age of fifteen and when nearing the age period (usually eighteen years) for the *Abakweta* ceremony, masturbation in the youngster will create concern

¹⁰³¹ Roscoe, J. (1909) Brief Notes on the Bakene, *Man* 9:116-21, at p117

¹⁰³² Roscoe, J. (1909) Notes on the Bageshu, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 39:181-95

¹⁰³³ *Op.cit.*

¹⁰³⁴ Laubscher, B.J.F. (1937) *Sex, Custom and Psychopathology: A Study of South African Pagan Natives*. London: Routledge

if it comes to the notice of the elders, because it is considered as evidence of immaturity and hence unfitness for the *Abakweta* ceremony". Girls are not instructed in sexual matters, but are frequently warned against sexual relations. Customary examination of the female sex organs is instituted "from about the age of twelve years, even before the onset of menstruation" or "since early girlhood", for which phenomenon the girls are instructed. Examination occurs every three days (p78, 80), later by a specially appointed female at significant events. *Metsha*, intercrural intercourse, "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. Parents prevent children observing their intercourse, because they "must never have reason to think that sexual relations occur between the parents".

South Africa (Kaffir, Zulu, Basuto, Swasi, Bovale, Pedi, Lemba, Xhosa Xesibe, Tshidi Barolong, Venda, Fingo, Lobedu; → KhoeKhoe) [IES]

In a black township near Pretoria, of 105 pre-marital mothers it was established that 20 per cent had engaged in sexual relationships before “puberty”; of these 105, 90% were forbidden to go out alone with boys, 82% were forbidden to go out alone in the evenings, 89% were forbidden to receive boys at home, and 51% were forbidden to go out in a group, *all before puberty* (Rip and Schmidt, 1977:p21)¹⁰³⁵. Attitudes on premarital sexuality were quite evenly divided. In one study (Du Toit, 1987)¹⁰³⁶, the youngest age of coitarche was nine, and about two in three black schoolgirls had had coitus by age 15. In a study among rural Transkei adolescents (Buga et al., 1996)¹⁰³⁷, boys initiated sexual activity at an earlier age than girls (13.43 vs 14.86 years, $p=0.0000$). To put these figures in perspective, menarche and semenarche occurred at 13.90 +/- 1.23 and 15.12 +/- 1.58 years. In a later survey among female university students (Buga, 1998)¹⁰³⁸, subjects indicated having initiated sexual activity [intercourse] at a mean age of 17.27 +/- 2.18 years. A 1999 survey in South Africa among 796 adolescent girls in KwaZulu Natal, first sexual intercourse took place at a mean age of 16 (Manzini, 2001)¹⁰³⁹. Among 1063 sixth-grade students (average age: 13.6 years), 17% initiated sexual intercourse during the previous year (Klepp et al., 1997)¹⁰⁴⁰. According to a recent study¹⁰⁴¹, girls were generally thought to have sex at an earlier age than boys, although the estimated average age for them was only slightly lower than for boys (15.3 years for girls, compared to 15.7 years for boys). The lowest age was 7; 1% had their “first sexual encounter” under age 10, which paralleled expectations. However, a considerable expectation for sexarche at ages 11-12 (11% boys, 17% girls) was not met with indications about personal pasts (only 2% indicated sexarche in both categories). Only 1% indicated receiving information about “sexual health issues” from a “traditional practitioner”. Girls in Johannesburg had only minimal sex education from their mother at menarche (Hellmann, 1935)¹⁰⁴². This may not have changed much, as cited by Morrell¹⁰⁴³:

“There is little talk about sex between parents and children - and children fear beatings if they admit to being sexually active (Unicef/NPPCHN, 1997, 27)[¹⁰⁴⁴]. There is very little communication between

¹⁰³⁵ Rip, C. M. & Schmidt, J. J. (1977) *Black Pre-Marital Illegitimacy in Pretoria*. Pretoria: South African Human Sciences Research Council. Research Report 100

¹⁰³⁶ Du Toit, B. M. (1987) Menarche and sexuality among a sample of Black South African schoolgirls, *Soc Sci & Med* 24,7:561-71

¹⁰³⁷ Buga, G. A., Amoko, D. H. & Ncayiyana, D. J. (1996) Sexual behaviour, contraceptive practice and reproductive health among school adolescents in rural Transkei, *South Afr Med J* 86(5):523-7

¹⁰³⁸ Buga, G. A. (1998) Cervical cancer awareness and risk factors among female university students, *East Afr Med J* 75,7:411-6

¹⁰³⁹ Manzini, N. (2001) Sexual initiation and childbearing among adolescent girls in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa, *Reprod Health Matters* 9,17:44-52

¹⁰⁴⁰ Klepp, K. I., Ndeki, S. S., Leshabari, M. T., Hannan, P. J. & Lyimo, B. A. (1997) AIDS education in Tanzania: promoting risk reduction among primary school children, *Am J Public Health* 87,12:1931-6

¹⁰⁴¹ Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE, South Africa) (2001) *Youth 2000 Report: A Study of Youth in South Africa*. Ch.8 at <http://www.case.org.za/htm/yo8.htm#sex>, Oct. 24, 2002

¹⁰⁴² Hellmann, E. (1935) Native life in a Johannesburg slum yard, *Africa* 8,1:34-61

¹⁰⁴³ Morrell, R. (2001) *Silence, Sexuality and HIV/AIDS in South Africa*. Paper for the International Conference Gender, Sexuality and HIV/AIDS: Research and Intervention in Africa, University of Copenhagen, April 23-24

¹⁰⁴⁴ NPPHCN/UNICEF, *Youth Speak Out ... A Study on Youth Sexuality* (Braamfontein, c1997)

parents and children. Mothers assume that when girls have boyfriends, they will be engaging in sex and send them to the clinic for contraception. But there is no talking about this (Unicef/NPPHCN, 1997, 74)".

Chastity and modesty would be the highlights of Hindu children's moral upbringing in South Africa (Kuper, 1960:p155-6)¹⁰⁴⁵.

Pre-initiation sex and marriage are more punished than premarital sex and marriage (Jules-Rosette, 1980)¹⁰⁴⁶. In the past, "sex play without penetration (ukumetfha) 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, however, as has the custom of including an additional beast among the marriage cattle in respect of a bride whose virginity was intact" (Wilson, 1952:p95)¹⁰⁴⁷.

In adolescent sexual learning, an important role is reserved for mass media, especially TV and magazines, although friends also constituted a significant source of information¹⁰⁴⁸.

Henderson (1994)¹⁰⁴⁹, drawing from informal colloquia with Cape Town adolescents, found that parents generally do not welcome other-sex visits or stays at home, and sexual discussions with parents are avoided as a form of "respect". Nevertheless, "[g]irls are sexually active, often from the age of thirteen" (p38).

Some data on childhood sexual experiences are collected in Gevisser and Cameron's *Defiant Desire*¹⁰⁵⁰ on gay and lesbian lives in South Africa.

A 1992 survey of 7,000 adolescents found that 17 percent had engaged in sexual intercourse, with a median age of 15 years at first intercourse (Cooper et al. 1994)¹⁰⁵¹. According to a study of first intercourse and contraceptive experiences of 1,737 black South Africans conducted during their first year in a university (Nicholas, 1994)¹⁰⁵², male respondents' mean age at first intercourse was 15.5 years and their partners' age was 14.5 years old.

Hurwitz (1997)¹⁰⁵³ argued that "[t]here is no literature or data pertaining to autoerotic behavior and patterns in South African children, adolescents, or adults".

Focusing on adolescent black children and teenagers, Preston-Whyte and Zondi found that both boys and girls admitted experiencing sex before their 12th or 13th year¹⁰⁵⁴. Some had experienced penetration before they reached physical maturity. By age 13, most had been

¹⁰⁴⁵ Kuper, H. (1960) *Indian People in Natal*. Natal: Natal University Press

¹⁰⁴⁶ Jules-Rosette, B. (1980) Changing aspects of women's initiation in Southern Africa: an exploratory study, *Can J Afric Stud* 13,3:389-405

¹⁰⁴⁷ Wilson, M. (1952) *Social Structure*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter. This would be true for the Xhosa and Mfengu.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Kaya, H. & Mabetoa, Ph. (1997) Knowledge and Attitudes towards Sexuality among Black Youth in South Africa, *Educ & Soc* 15,1:81-7

¹⁰⁴⁹ Henderson, P. (1994) Silence, sex and Authority: the contradictions of young girls' sexuality in New Crossroads, Cape Town, *VENA J* 6,2:33-9

¹⁰⁵⁰ Gevisser, M. & Cameron, E. (Eds., 1994) *Defiant Desires*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press. See especially Zackie Achmat's *My Childhood as an Adult Molester* (p325-41). Other clues to South African male homosexual development are found in Isaacs, G. & McKendrick, B. (1992) *Male Homosexuality in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press

¹⁰⁵¹ [?]♦

¹⁰⁵² [?]♦

¹⁰⁵³ Hurwitz, M. B. (1997) South Africa: another perspective, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Quoted from the online edition

¹⁰⁵⁴ Preston-Whyte, E. & Zondi, M. (1991) Adolescent Sexuality and Its Implications for Teenage Pregnancy and AIDS, *South Africa's Continuing Med Educ Monthly* 9,11:1389-94

sexually active, if not regularly, then at least on a number of occasions. Full penetration was the rule.

The following findings regarding intrafamilial communication about sex in South Africa were obtained in 1990 from 1,902 black first-year students at a South African university (Nicholas 1991)¹⁰⁵⁵. Thirty-eight percent of respondents indicated that they had received no sex information from their mothers; 8.2 percent of females and only 3.8 percent of males indicated that they received much information from mothers. As expected, 65.5 percent of respondents indicated that fathers had given no sex information; 4.5 percent, 3.1 percent of males and 1.4 percent of females, reported their fathers provided much sex information. Sixty-two percent of respondents indicated that they received no sex information at primary school, whereas only 10.9 percent indicated that they received no sex information at high school. Guidance teachers seem to provide much of the sex information at school, with 30.3 percent of respondents indicating that they received much information from guidance teachers.

Late 19th century South-African boarding school experienced the problems with this type of scholastic system as anywhere. "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. Masturbation and homosexuality were common, while fagging, a common boarding school phenomenon, also appears to have been in practice [...]" (Chisholm, 1986:p490)¹⁰⁵⁶.

Despite the "repressive puritan stance towards adolescent sexuality" that came with the advent of Bantu Education in 1953, "[f]ormer primary school pupils claimed that their sexual biographies began fairly early in their lives. 'Many primary school boys had sex', I was told. 'They were above thirteen and had already been circumcised. The girls agreed. They also enjoyed sex' " (Niehaus)¹⁰⁵⁷.

[Additional refs: Swart-Kruger and Richter (1997)¹⁰⁵⁸; CRLP (2001) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives*: Anglophone Africa. Progress Report, p90-112]

"Kaffir" / Kafir (Bantu; South Africa; that is, AmaZulu, Ama-Swazi, Ama-Tonga, and Kafilirs proper, represented by Ama-Xosa, Tembu, Pondo)

¹⁰⁵⁵ See Nicholas, L. J. (1993) *A Profile of 1,500 UWC First Year Students: Career Interest, Guidance Experiences, Knowledge and Attitudes towards AIDS and Sexuality and Religiosity*. Unpublished report: Centre of Student Counselling, University of the Western Cape; Nicholas, L. J. & Daniels, P. S. (1997) South Africa, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 3. Quoted from the online edition

¹⁰⁵⁶ 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

¹⁰⁵⁷ Niehaus, I. (2000) Towards a Dubious Liberation: Masculinity, Sexuality and Power in South African Lowveld Schools, 1953-1999, *J Southern African Studies* 26,3:387-407, at p391

¹⁰⁵⁸ Swart-Kruger, J. & Richter, L.M. (1997) AIDS-related knowledge, attitudes and behaviour among South African youth: reflections on power, sexuality and the autonomous self, *Soc Sci & Med* 45,6:957-66

After the seclusion of a Kafir girl at puberty she is allowed to cohabit with anyone during the festivals that follow¹⁰⁵⁹; Kafir boys after being circumcised may have connection with any unmarried females they can persuade¹⁰⁶⁰. Kidd's (1906)¹⁰⁶¹ work on "Kafir" (**Pondo**) childhood appears void of sex.

Zulu (South Africa)

Zulu childhood heterosexual masturbation was said to be encouraged in the late nineteenth-century (e.g., Eskapa, 1987:p45). Krige (1936 [1950:p78])¹⁰⁶²: "[...] Zulu children at an early age not only know a good deal about sex, but themselves indulge in playful sexual intercourse (*ukwenza isiNcogolo*)¹⁰⁶³. Small girls when out alone, on seeing a boy often call out to him in a singing manner words intended as an enticement to him for sexual purposes". Unwin (1934:p153)¹⁰⁶⁴, 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". Reader (1966:p138-9)¹⁰⁶⁵ only speaks of sex instruction, "when the time for lovemaking came". The Zulu valued hymenal virginity, and puberty songs were to instruct the girl (Krige, 1968)¹⁰⁶⁶. The established form of external intercourse with a single lover was called *ukusoma*. Songs and dances in girls' initiation refer to sexual acts, menstruation, and premarital morality. The traditional form of sexual instruction for young girls was, until recently, carried out by a designated female elder, but the subject may have been taboo at home (Loening, 1981)¹⁰⁶⁷. Spermatheca and menarche are considered significant events, requiring special hygienic measures (Lugg, 1907:p116)¹⁰⁶⁸. Lautenschlager (1963:p66)¹⁰⁶⁹: "Verbreiten waren [...] sexuellen Spielereien. Die Zulu kannten in geschlechtlichen Dingen wenig Zurückhaltung, so daß die Kinder schon früh darüber Bescheid wußten und sich im Spiel nachzuahmen. Der Umstand, daß die Erwachsenen nur einen kleinen Lendenschurz und die Kinder gar nichts oder nur eine Perlenschnur um die Lenden trugen, begünstigte diese Spielereien".

Bryant (1949:p562-4)¹⁰⁷⁰ sketches the following "development":

¹⁰⁵⁹ MacDonald, J. (189[1]) Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 20:113-40. [Macdonald, however, writes that actual sexual intercourse is prohibited]

¹⁰⁶⁰ Maclean, J. (1858) *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*. Mount Coke, p98, 101[orig. footnote]

¹⁰⁶¹ Kidd, D. (1906) *Savage Childhood*. London: Adam & Charles Black

¹⁰⁶² Krige, E. J. (1936) *The Social System of the Zulus*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter. Second edition, 1950

¹⁰⁶³ *The Collector*, No.755 [orig. footn.]

¹⁰⁶⁴ Unwin, J. D. (1934) *Sex and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

¹⁰⁶⁵ Reader, D. H. (1966) *Zulu Tribe in Transition: The Makhanya of Southern Natal*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

¹⁰⁶⁶ Krige, E. J. (1968) Girl's puberty songs and their relation to fertility, health, morality and religion among the Zulu, *Africa* 38,2:173-97

¹⁰⁶⁷ Loening, W. E. K. (1981) Child abuse among the Zulu, *Child Abuse & Negl* 5:3-7

¹⁰⁶⁸ Lugg, H. C. (1907) Notes on Some Puberty and Other Customs of the Natives of Natal and Zululand, *Man* 7:115-9

¹⁰⁶⁹ Lautenschlager, P. G. (1963) *Die Sozialen Ordnungen bei den Zulu und die Mariannhiller Mission 1882-1909*. Reimlingen: St. Josefs Verlag

¹⁰⁷⁰ Bryant, A. T. (1949) *The Zulu People: As they Were Before the White Man Came*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter

“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 eighth 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”.

The Zulu instructress is a girl of nineteen or twenty years old and supervises the ritual seclusion (Cheetam et al., 1974)¹⁰⁷¹. Adolescent girls are periodically examined for virginity. In a study on urban Zulu schoolchildren by Graig and Richter-Strydom (1983)¹⁰⁷², the earliest coital experience occurred at age twelve. Two in three had had coitus before age sixteen. 82% of pregnant girls had not known anything about menstruation at the time of onset. “As the age of onset of sexual intercourse roughly paralleled the onset of menstruation, one can assume that the majority of the young girls who later became pregnant had little sexual knowledge by the time they first had intercourse” (p242-3). Zulu children and adolescents were said to be engaged in external intercourse (*ukuhlobongo*), but were punished if the girl was deflowered (Rip and Schmidt, 1977:p21).

The act of circumcision, “a ritual preparation for its legitimate use in reproductive activities”, was anticipated by Zulu herdboys who cut the frenum (Raum, 1973:p277)¹⁰⁷³. Boys’ puberty ritual (*ukuthomba*), after ejacularche, implies a plethora of sexual restraints (p278); the same for girls (p281, 282). Initial courtship routines are strictly regulated (p284-9). Girls may play games such as choosing a lover (*ukumema injenga*)¹⁰⁷⁴. “In Zulu communities, as accurate accounts show, sexual intercourse is not uncommon among children under the age of puberty” (Schoeman, 1975:p33)¹⁰⁷⁵.

Basuto, southern Sotho, Suto (South Africa)

Grützner (Ploß and Bartels, I:p392; Bloch, 1902, I:p254)¹⁰⁷⁶ 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”.

Ashton (1952[1955:p38])¹⁰⁷⁷: “[...] [i]n early youth, no notice is taken of a boy playing with his penis; this they do quite openly and unself-consciously. They also play a game of “cows”, in which one boy chases, rounds up and rides another one, who runs on all fours, and then having “kraaled” him, milks him by pulling his penis as though it were a teat. This game is played by children from one and a half years old to anything up to about ten, and is rarely

¹⁰⁷¹ Cheetam, R. W. S. et al. (1974) Psychiatric problems encountered in urban Zulu adolescents with special reference to changes in sex education, *Austr & New Zeal J Psychia* 8,1:41-8

¹⁰⁷² Graig, A. P. & Richter-Strydom, L. M. (1983) Unplanned pregnancies among urban Zulu schoolchildren, *J Soc Psychol* 121:239-46

¹⁰⁷³ Raum, O. F. (1973) *The Social Functions of Avoidances and Taboos among the Zulu*. Berlin: De Gruyter

¹⁰⁷⁴ Cf. Lebzelter (1934:p280-1), *op.cit.*

¹⁰⁷⁵ Mertens, A. (phot.) & Schoeman, H. (1975) *The Zulu*. London: MacDonald & Janes

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Op.cit.*

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ashton (1952) *The Basuto*. London [etc.]: Oxford University Press. See also Erny (1980:p180)

interrupted by adults. Some mothers try to promote the development of his sex organs by fondling the child's penis and encouraging him to do so himself, though others disapprove of this, saying it makes the child too interested in sex". The girls are reared more strictly. "Ordinarily they do not take any obvious notice of the sexual organs of the boys playing around them, but a small girl of about five or six got exceedingly embarrassed when a naked boy of about two reversed up to her on all fours and asked her to "milk" him [...]" . Despite a code against premarital liberties, "[...] there is good evidence that some children's sexual experience begins even before puberty" (p40). "Formal sex instruction" may precede puberty initiation (Stephens, 1971:p407)¹⁰⁷⁸.

"Girls of Basutoland, South Africa, are expected to attire themselves with rings of braided grass and cowhide, and white clay rubbed on their bodies and legs. These young girls are first instructed for a period of some weeks in the details of sexual intercourse, after which they are circumcised--that is, the clitoris is amputated. This is done to prevent them from engaging in promiscuous sexual activity when they are married. As part of this rite, they act out coital positions with each other"¹⁰⁷⁹.

Tswana [formerly spelled Bechuana, Becwana] (South Africa, Botswana)

Tournas¹⁰⁸⁰:

"Girls were given instruction in matters concerning womanhood, domestic and agricultural activities, reproduction and behaviour towards men (Parsons, 1984)^[1081]. Although female circumcision was not practised, ritual defloration and scarring along the inside of the thigh with a hot stick served to declare the women 'ready' for responsible procreation (Comaroff, 1985)^[1082]. It seems as if the Tswana cosmology views all persons as both incomplete and female at birth, with boys becoming men and therefore 'complete', while girls remaining 'incomplete' even as women. While the male foreskin resembles a vagina before circumcision and a placenta when it is removed, the girls are already 'finished' in their comparative incompleteness as females, with little technological, i.e. surgical, alteration applied to make them 'women'. The ceremonial acquisition of domestic wisdom was tied directly to responsible sexual behaviour and physical maturity".

Schapera (1955:p128-9)¹⁰⁸³ found that the former custom of prenatal betrothal of girls was replaced by marriage based on mutual consent. "The shepherd-boys of the Tswana frequently have intercourse with their flocks, but are punished if caught in the act" (De Rachewiltz (1963 [1964:p283]). Girls received "extensive sex role training" (particularly

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Op.cit.*

¹⁰⁷⁹ "Curiosities", *Sexology*, 30, Feb. 1964, p466. Ref. Martinson, F. M. (1973) *Infant and Child Sexuality: A Sociological Perspective*. St. Peter, MN: Book Mark, p112

¹⁰⁸⁰ Tournas, S. A. (1996) From Sacred Initiation to Bureaucratic Apostasy: Junior Secondary School-Leavers and the Secularisation of Education in Southern Africa, *Comparative Educ* 32,1

¹⁰⁸¹ Parsons, Q. N. (1984) Education and development in pre-colonial and colonial Botswana to 1965, in Crowder, M. (Ed.) *Education for Development: proceedings of a symposium held by the Botswana Society at the National Museum and Art Gallery, Gaborone, 15-19 August, 1983*, p22 (Gaborone, Macmillan Botswana Publishing Co. (Pty) Ltd for The Botswana Society

¹⁰⁸² Comaroff, J. (1985) *Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press

¹⁰⁸³ Schapera, I. (1955) *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*. 2nd ed. London: Oxford University Press. Cited by Hannigan, A. St. J. (1961) The Imposition of Western Law Forms upon Primitive Societies, *Comparat Stud Soc & Hist* 4,1:1-9, see p2

including “passive obedience”) at ages 10-13 when they attended initiation (*boyale*) (Kinsman, 1983:p48-9)¹⁰⁸⁴. The girl was internally inspected, after which her hymen was pierced with a tuber¹⁰⁸⁵. Thereafter, the initiates were “explicitly taught about sex by their tutor-by custom a widow¹⁰⁸⁶. The girls learned “licentious” songs, which missionaries believed were corrupting the soul. Boys of the age-group after 8 are “allowed considerable freedom in conduct, especially in matters of sex” (Schapera, [1991:p32]¹⁰⁸⁷).

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, 1921:p421)¹⁰⁸⁸. Willoughby (1909) stated that, for boys and girls, one of the requirements for officiating in the initiation ceremony was chastity for the previous four years; also, they had to adhere to a four-year period of chastity after the rites.

Swasi, Swazi (Swaziland, South Africa, Mozambique)

Kuper (1973:p351)¹⁰⁸⁹ observed how clothing provides “a visible mode of social control outlining sexual morality”:

“[c]hildren until weaned (in the third year) have their bodies most fully exposed. Recognized as sexually innocent, they have nothing to hide. Their nakedness reveals their purity at the same time that grown men and women are permitted to comment on both the physical beauty and sexual potential. When slightly older (approximately 3-6) sex differentiation is made culturally conspicuous. Little girls may continue to wear only a string of beads around the hips and little boys may be given a *lijobo*, a garment of two triangular flaps, one before and one aft[er], cut from the pelt of a specific wild animal. [...] From before puberty the genitals are conspicuously hidden”.

In Swasiland, “[t]here are overlapping stages and categories of sexual relationships, which often begin with traditional puberty rites that may be regarded as legitimizing sexual activity, and are often followed by several subsequent stages of pre-marital relations¹⁰⁹⁰. Barker (1965:p94-5)¹⁰⁹¹ notes:

“Since he slept in the same hut as his parents, Manjenga knew as a child what was meant by sexual love-making. When he reached the age of puberty he moved from his mother’s into the bachelor’s hut on the outskirts of the kraal, and was permitted-indeed, encouraged- to start love-making himself, within certain limits. Swazi parents instruct 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”.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Kinsman, M. (1983) “Beasts of burden”: the subordination of southern Tswana women, ca. 1800-1840, *J Southern Afr Stud* 10,1:39-54

¹⁰⁸⁵ Jennings, A. E. (1933) *Bogadi*. Tigerkloof: London Missionary Society, p18

¹⁰⁸⁶ Smith, A. (1939) *The Diary of Andrew Smith*. Vol. I. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, p400

¹⁰⁸⁷ Schapera, I. & Comaroff, J. L. ([1991]) *The Tswana*. Rev.ed. London & New York: Kegan Paul Int.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Brown, J. T. (1921) Circumcision Rites of the Becwana Tribes, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 51:419-27

¹⁰⁸⁹ Kuper, H. (1973) Costume and identity, *Comparat Stud in Soc & Hist* 15:348-67

¹⁰⁹⁰ Warren, Ch. W., Johnson, J. T., Gule, G., Hlophe, E. & Kraushaar, D. (1992) The Determinants of Fertility in Swaziland, *Populat Stud* 46,1:5-17, at p6

¹⁰⁹¹ Barker, D. (1965) *Swaziland*. London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office

Mndebele (1998)¹⁰⁹² provided some data concerning the age of first homosexual experience and age of homosexual partner.

***Bovale* (South Africa)**

Circumcision rituals take place at age eight to ten, rarely over 14 or 15 (White, 1983)¹⁰⁹³. Ritual non-penetrative homosexual play is expected of the novices with the genitals of the ceremonial officials. Sexual instruction and obscenity occur in the ceremonial lodge.

***Pedi, Bapedi, Transvaal Sotho, Northern Sotho* (Bantu; South Africa)**

Pedi parents speak freely about and perform sex before their children until they reach the age of three years, when "the child cannot be influenced (*xa a bone*) (Pitje, 1951)¹⁰⁹⁴. Infant masturbation is verbally discouraged. "Childish" sex play is viewed tolerantly but, after age six, boys and girls are informally separated although the "occasional promiscuity" is taken for granted by adults unless pregnancy occurs. Like among the →[Trobrianders](#), children form "juvenile communities" where "nurses usually make the boys and girls in their care to have sexual intercourse while they hysterically laugh at the process. Some nurses allow the small boys to practice on themselves. The only sexual taboo that exists among them is that between brother and sister. [...] Adults are not unaware of these juvenile experiments, but they generally look upon them as a harmless pastime, "so long as discipline is enforced upon them when the time comes" ". The games are called *Mokutelano* (Hide-and-Seek), and *Mantlantlwane* (cf. K&K, 1947:p109, *Mandlwane*), which includes wife-exchange in anticipation of the adult custom. When puberty is attained, total abstinence from intercourse is the proscribed rule¹⁰⁹⁵, and the girl is to withstand the male's natural inclination to sex. To insure chastity, parents may make the boy eat a herb causing painful haematuria. Nevertheless, seduction is common with any resulting pregnancy bringing social stigma and censure upon the girl and her parents. "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. Sexual intercourse is rigidly forbidden in the Pedi play village (Van der Vliet, 1974:p242, n11)¹⁰⁹⁶. Ford and Beach (1951:p182) state that intercourse before puberty

¹⁰⁹² Mndebele, N. E. (1998) *Swaziland Secondary/ High School Students' Risks That May Promote HIV Infection and the Spread of AIDS*. National Curriculum Centre

¹⁰⁹³ White, C. M. N. (1983) Notes on the circumcision rites of the Bovale tribes, *Afr Stud* 12,2:42-56; Murray and Roscoe (1998:p143), *op.cit.*

¹⁰⁹⁴ Pitje, G. M. (1951) Sex education among the Pedi, *Int J Sexol* 4:212-6

¹⁰⁹⁵ See also De Rachewiltz (1963 [1964:p151]), *op.cit.*

¹⁰⁹⁶ Vliet, V. van der (1974) Growing up in traditional society, in Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (Ed.) *The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p211-45

ceremonies is strictly forbidden. Mönning (1967:p110-1)¹⁰⁹⁷ states that the Pedi, as do the →Zulu and →Venda, practice external intercourse, a matter denied by Harries (1929:p7)¹⁰⁹⁸. Children are betrothed in infancy, and joined at girl's age of 12, a matter of which she is frequently reminded. Marriage takes place after the one-year native school. If by then a boy is not old enough to take her as a wife, she is "looked after" by his maternal uncle until he is (*hlapetsha*). In the girls' school, a matron instructs the girls on matrimonial morality (or rather, principles "hardly fit for publication") (p77). On boys' initiation, it is stated: "It is generally understood that all manner of lewd instruction, pertaining to sexual matters, is given at the *bodikane* [¹⁰⁹⁹], but this has been emphatically denied, and the assurance given that the opposite sex may never be mentioned by or to the initiates" (p71); anyhow, the rite would have been threatened through contact with Europeans (p65).

Thonga / (-,-,-,3,3;5,5;G2;C) Plateau Tonga, Tsonga (South Africa; Mozambique)

As with the Bemba, it is considered disgraceful for a girl to be impregnated before the puberty ceremony, and if this occurs she has difficulty in finding a desirable husband, and may have to marry an old man or a foreigner¹¹⁰⁰. The Tonga have a female but no male initiation (Colson, 1958:p181-9)¹¹⁰¹; the anatomical indicators are thelarche or menarche (and contemporarily, school schedules), no instruction takes place, and the girl is thereafter considered adult ("Now you are grown we want you to stop using obscenity and abusing people").

"No specific instruction on sexual matters is given in a normal [sic] fashion by older people to children, at least as far as I could learn. Instead, they are expected to acquire such information by casual observation in a community where little attempt is made to hide from them any of this side of life. Children sleep in their parents' hut, and small children may share the family bed. Boys commonly move out at about the age of seven or eight, either to the kitchen or to join older boys in the huts they have built for themselves. Girls either remain with their parents until marriage, or they go to sleep in the house of some old woman. [...] Children not barred from sexual experimentation. Small boys and girls masturbate without any notice being taken of it by older people, and small boys occasionally engage in mutual masturbation in public. That some stigma may attach to the practice, however, is suggested by the reaction of a child if someone comments on the matter. Two little girls giggled when they saw a four-year-old masturbating and announced, "John pulls himself (*ku-li-kwela*)". At this the child set up a howl and rushed off in tears, while the two imps giggled with delight at the uproar they had caused. Heterosexual play also occurs, though I do not know how prevalent it is. Children from four or five on tease one another about their lovers. [...] There may have been some disapproval in the past of serious sexual play if this came to light at the time when the child had to face the rite in which the front upper teeth were removed shortly before puberty. If the operator found that the teeth did not come out cleanly with a single blow of the chisel, he would announce that the child had been indulging in sexual intercourse and make it announce the name of its lover, whereupon the recalcitrant teeth were expected to give to the chisel. The operator then presented himself to the child's guardians with a demand for

¹⁰⁹⁷ Mönning, H. O. (1967) *The Pedi*. Pretoria: Van Schaik

¹⁰⁹⁸ Harries, C. L. (1927) *The Laws and Customs of the Bapedi and Cognate Tribes of the Transvaal*. Johannesburg: Horters

¹⁰⁹⁹ Circumcision lodge, formerly held after attaining the age of puberty, "but nowadays they are initiated even before reaching this state" (p65).

¹¹⁰⁰ Colson, E., *Marriage among the Plateau Tonga*. As cited by Mair (1953:p89), *op.cit.*

¹¹⁰¹ Colson, E. (1958) *Marriage and the Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Cf. Vuyk, G. M. (1991) *Children of One Womb*. Diss., Leiden: Centre of Non-Western Studies, p139

payment of damages for having had to deal with a troublesome subject. [...] Full sexual life [...] should not begin for girls until after their puberty ceremony. A child conceived before this time was *malweza*, and formerly destroyed. [...] After puberty, sexual experimentation continues, though now very often with full adults" (p271-5).

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. Girls begin to enlarge the labia majora before puberty, and continue till after. [Among the Tsonga tribe of Mozambique and northern Transvaal, the female puberty initiation rite involves "having the girls pair up to stretch each others labias, performing tasks symbolizing women's horticultural duties, and ritual defloration with a musical kudu horn"¹¹⁰². The Tsonga *Musevhetho* initiation includes the rite 'u kwevha' (cf. →[Bemba](#)), which involves elongation of the girls' labia minora, which is referred to as 'milevhe'. The role of this initiation school according to Xitlhabana in Milubi (2000:p59-60)¹¹⁰³ is to gratify men's unsatiable sexual appetite: the longer the size of the elongation, the better wives¹¹⁰⁴.] Girls eagerly await thelarche, but disclaim using medicines. Ciccatrizations, considered erotogenic and included in foreplay, is prohibited below the age of puberty. The children use beautifying medicines, as do adults, and with their silent approval. According to Kisémbó et al. (1977:p126¹¹⁰⁵; Aquina, 1975, II:p24), "[...] Tonga youths do not receive any sex instruction at all. Fathers merely tell their sons about the responsibilities of a husband and father around a fire at night and that is all! No direct sex-instructions are given. 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. No sex-instruction is given to the girl either. At her first menstruation she is considered of marriageable age". Marriage negotiations may begin well before the girl's puberty.

Infants are welcomed into the family by tying a string around his waist smeared with his father's semen¹¹⁰⁶. Following circumcision (ages 10-16), boys enter the *sungi* seclusion, where sexual intercourse is forbidden, but obscenities are recommended (Junod, I, 1962:p80; see also [1927:p172-3])¹¹⁰⁷. Among the western Tonga, a boy could be initiated into sexual intercourse by a paid "experienced" woman (Colson, p275). The Ngoma (circumcision school), however, does not relate to sexual life (p94). After boy's polluarche, a man 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; p95). After the puberty rites, boys and girls, who live in separate huts, play Gangisa, a marriage game including hut-building, and play "in a less platonic fashion" (p97-9), which may be intercrural intercourse (Harries, 1990:p459-60; 1994:p200-1). A girl may solicit for intercourse. "A boy how has no such flirt, no shigango [¹¹⁰⁸], is laughed at as a coward; a girl who refuses to accept such

¹¹⁰² Johnston, cited by Stuart, R., Hallucinogen Use by Juveniles in Cross-Cultural Perspective. Online article at www.maps.org/ritesofpassage/rstuart.pdf

¹¹⁰³ Milubi, N. A. (2000) Sexual Images: Essence of Presence, *South African J Folklore Studies* 20,2. Sovenga: Unin Press

¹¹⁰⁴ Cited by L. N. Maqubela and M. M. Malatjie (2002) *Redressing Patriarchy and Sexism In African Lore: Is Patriarchy and Sexism Still Relevant?* Rand Afrikaans University Sociology Seminars, at <http://general.rau.ac.za/sociology/Maqubela&MalatjiPaper.htm>

¹¹⁰⁵ *Op.cit.*

¹¹⁰⁶ Among the Ba-Ronga, the father ties the string by touching "the bottom of the boy's body from the front and from behind with his penis" (p516). The placements of this note (in Latin [translated in 1962 ed.] "for medical men and ethnographers") suggests that Junod interpreted this variation as obscene. The rite (boha nshale for the Ba-Ronga) concludes the postpartum taboo.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Op.cit.*

¹¹⁰⁸ Cf. Junod, H. (1898) *Les Ba-Rongo*. Neuchatel: Attinger Frères. The term chigango here implies premarital liberty

advances is accused of being malformed". In fact, "If a boy has not been successful in his "gangisa", if he is despised by the girls and has no chance of being accepted", special rite is needed to help him find a wife. The girl is passed from asexuality to sexuality by the Khomba nubility rite, when she "comes of age" (I, p176-8). "They are also instructed in sexual matters, and told that they must never reveal anything about the blood of the menses to a man". The girls make an apron (p182).

A scene of boy prostitution seemed to have existed in early 20th century Johannesburg, including (a few) little boys to men in their twenties (Junod, I, p492-5); the natives "speak of it with laughter".

Fingo (South Africa)

Males are circumcised, the age is not exactly given (Brownlee, 1931)¹¹⁰⁹. "I cannot say more of their motions in dancing than that they were suggestive of procreative ability; this idea, indeed, might be applied to the movements of all the dancers, male and female, throughout the ceremony". In Fingoland, Brownlee (1935:p8)¹¹¹⁰ was informed that during the seclusion at the menarchal/thelarchal initiation rite (often performed later), a girl's hymen "is perforated by means of an ox horn, and that the same instrument is used for extending the *labia majora*, the idea being by this means to make intercourse more pleasurable, and fruitfulness more certain".

Xhosa, Red Xhosa (South Africa) (→Vol. II, §6.1.3.1)

"Teenagers reported that their first sexual encounters occurred at a young age, usually around 13 or 14 years (but as young as 11). In the majority of cases male partners (the first and subsequent) were said to be older than the girls by about five years [...]"¹¹¹¹. Mayer and Mayer (1970:p175)¹¹¹² stated: "Early sex play is regarded indulgently by adults, including the play of children out herding who "learn" by seeing animals mate and "may try to copy them". "All this is only childishness". The boy is rather a "bull" (unsocialised) than an "ox" (socialised sexuality) (Mayer and Mayer, 1990:p37)¹¹¹³. In an illustrative paper by Ntlabati et

¹¹⁰⁹ Brownlee, F. (1931) The Circumcision Ceremony in Fingoland, Transkeian Territories, South Africa. *Man* 31:251-4

¹¹¹⁰ Brownlee, F. (1935) The In-Tonjane Ceremony, as Observed in Fingoland, *Man* 35:8-9

¹¹¹¹ Wood, K., Maforah, F. & Jewkes, R. (1998) "He forced me to love him": putting violence on adolescent sexual health agendas, *Soc Sci & Med* 47,2,16:233-42

¹¹¹² Mayer, Ph. & Mayer, I. (1970) Socialization by peers: the youth organization of the Red Xhosa, in Mayer, Ph. (Ed.) *Socialization: The Approach from Anthropology*. London [etc.]: Tavistock, p159-89

¹¹¹³ 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. See also Wood, K. & R. Jewkes, R. (2001) 'Dangerous Love': Reflections on Violence among Xhosa Township Youth, in Morrell, R. (Ed.) *Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies*. Durban: University of Natal, and *ibid.*, in Morrell, R. (Ed., 2001) *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press / London: Zed Press, p317-36

al¹¹¹⁴ (cf. Kelly and Parker, 2000:p31-3)¹¹¹⁵ adolescents construe their coitarche in contradistinction to sexual games, including *undize*, or coital “hide-and-seek” (cf. **Vol. II, §6.1.3.1**). 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; note how *Undize*, hide-and-seek¹¹¹⁶, as traditionally played in a deep rural area of the Eastern Cape in South Africa by children aged 7 to the early teens, acquired a coital, as well as a more invariably sexual, level over the past 50 years. This has strained the definition of curricular categories¹¹¹⁷:

“[...] 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 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 do not define their measure of “*sexual debut*”).

Another account of Xhosa coitarche performances and negotiations leaves out games entirely, instead identifying intercourse as a performance 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

¹¹¹⁴ 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

¹¹¹⁵ 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

¹¹¹⁶ *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”.

¹¹¹⁷ 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

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"¹¹¹⁸.

However, the researchers (1997)¹¹¹⁹ 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"¹¹²⁰ by girls in their love trajectories.

With puberty the children must learn to refrain from any mention or hint of sexual things in their parents' presence [...] it is merely the *hlonipha* (respect behaviour) due to parents. Girls in the *intutu* grades- pre-adolescent or barely adolescent- are already learning about the permissibility of *metsha*, external sexual intercourse. Invariably this instruction is said to be given by the older girls and never on any account by the mother, for *hlonipha* reasons". Until marriage, keeping to *metsha* is a cardinal rule of youthful sex "play" (p175-8). Among the Xhosa, children are never told about conception, and only seldom witness parental coitus. Males are circumcised at ages 18-22, after which they are told "the laws" (incl. adultery prohibition) by "the old men" (Laidler, 1922)¹¹²¹. Premarital virginity is important, marriage occurs at about age 15. Girls must not eat eggs for it would lead to promiscuity (Ames and Daynes, 1974)¹¹²². "Children were never told about contraception. They seldom witnessed parental intercourse and if they did so inadvertently, they were frightened by the "fighting". When children asked where the baby came from, they were told that it was bought from the shop or the hospital, "because you should not each a child bad things. If the child is clever and not satisfied with this answer, or has seen sheep giving birth, we tell him that children are born from the knees of the mother because we don't want them to think that giving birth and going to the toilet are the same thing. The difference between the sexes that is clear to all semi-naked toddlers is usually "explained" by the older children to the younger, the penis often being referred to as *ncolosi* (the Xhosa name for St. Lucy's Hospital). A girl may take hold of a boy's penis, saying she would like to have it. "This is how intercourse begins". Girls are seldom told about menstruation before the menarche", and interpret it as traumatic. Girls are not usually told about menstruation until it occurs (age 14). Indeed, only 2 of 30 rural schoolgirls (mean age 17.8) claimed to have had any sex education at school

¹¹¹⁸ 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

¹¹¹⁹ 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

¹¹²⁰ 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

¹¹²¹ Laidler, P. W. (1922) Bantu Ritual Circumcision, *Man* 22:13-4

¹¹²² Ames, F. R. & Daynes, W. G. (1974) Some impressions of family life in Tsolo (Transkei), *South Afr Med J* 48:1961-4

(O'Mahony, 1987)¹¹²³. The earliest admitted "sexual experience" was 14, mean age of first 16.4.

[Additional refs.: 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. Cf. Ibid, *J Anthropologues* [Montrouge] 82-83:325-37]

Urbanised Xhosa (South Africa)

Pauw (1963:p111-3, 114, 115, 116)¹¹²⁴ states that in East London "[s]exual activity commonly starts at an early age, long before marriage". Intercrural intercourse was permitted to unmarried people to avoid premarital pregnancy. However, the majority of town Bantu accept full sexual intercourse as a normal feature of premarital relations. The majority of girls was not prepared for menstruation. After menarche 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". One girl was told that babies are bought at the market. "Sex instruction was not discussed in detail with boys, but it is our impression that in the home they get even less of this than girls. Admonitions during initiation may include warnings against making girls pregnant, and immodesty (e.g., not to embrace a girl in view of older people), but there is no evidence of any instruction in sexual technique as part of the initiation ceremonies in town. This the boys [...] learned from the older ones". "Children 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").

Xesibe (South Africa)

¹¹²³ O'Mahony, D. (1987) Schoolgirl pregnancies in Libode, Transkei, *South Afr Med J* 71,12:771-3

¹¹²⁴ Pauw, B. A. (1963) *The Second Generation: A Study of the Family among Urbanized Bantu in East London*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. Chapter six, p108-23, deals with pre-marital sexuality.

A girl may marry at puberty, but usually this is delayed until age 15-18 (O'Connell, 1982)¹¹²⁵. Not having a boy- or girlfriend is ridiculed.

***Tshidi Barolong* (South Africa)**

Infant betrothal is practised but marriage is delayed until puberty. Premarital sexuality is unusual, and if it occurs, linked to marital plans (Mathews, 1940)¹¹²⁶.

***Lemba* (South Africa, Zimbabwe)**

Sex education was offered to girls at marriageable age by older girls. Prenuptial examinations of the girls by old women (Jaques, 1931)¹¹²⁷.

***Venda; Bawenda* (South Africa)**

Gottschling¹¹²⁸ speaks of girl betrothal when “very little” and prenatal; but this is not standard. Blacking¹¹²⁹ observed that the among the Venda of the Sibasa district of the Northern Transvaal (South Africa) a woman's labia minora must be lengthened by manipulation. “This operation is begun often long before puberty¹¹³⁰, its importance is emphasised at vhusha [puberty school], and it must be stopped after a girl has attended tshikanda [intermediary initiation school between vhusha and pre-marital schools]”. “By the time they attend domba, girls are supposed to have given up the practice of lengthening the labia minora and to have turned their minds to the serious matters of marriage and child-birth. These words of criticism are said by youths who laugh at big girls who still practice kwevha [elongation]” (→[Tsonga](#)):

Musidzana a songo tamba,
U mona na nnu a lila,
A tshi elelwa zwo ita vhawe.
Makwevho ndi mavhulaise,
Vhasidzana vha litshe u kwevha! (Vhasidzana litshani u kwevha!)
Zwi ea vhuhole shangoni.
Zwi dina nga u holefhadza.

¹¹²⁵ O'Connell, M. C. (1982) Spirit possession and role stress among the Xesibe of Eastern Transkei, *Ethnology* 21:21-37

¹¹²⁶ Mathews, Z. K. (1940) Marriage customs among the Barolong, *Africa* 13,1:1-23

¹¹²⁷ Jaques, A. A. (1931) Notes on the Lemba tribe of the northern Transvaal, *Anthropos* 26,1/2:245-51

¹¹²⁸ Gottschling, E. (1905) The Bawenda: A Sketch of Their History and Customs, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 35:365-86, at p

¹¹²⁹ John Blacking, J. (1998) *Venda Girls' Initiation Schools*. Unpublished field data edited by Michael Fischer and David Zeitlyn, Department of Social Anthropology, Queen's University of Belfast

¹¹³⁰ De Rachewiltz (1963[1964:p152]) states “the girls are encouraged to begin extending their labia minora at the age of ten or twelve”.

When a girl has not yet played with a boy,
 She goes behind the hut and weeps,
 Thinking of what others have done.
 Playing at kwevha will be the death of you,
 Stop lengthening your labia, girls!
 It cripples the country.
 It causes trouble by making cripples.

Blacking¹¹³¹:

"From the beginning of *vhusha* to the end of *domba*, we move from the initial climaxes of individual girls experiencing the first signs of sexual maturity through a series of measured stages, to a final, massive climax in which the community participated in the symbolic rebirth of itself through the corporate rebirth of the novices. [...] The initiation cycle was a system of formal education designed to follow the informal education of childhood (Blacking 1964b). But it was also a sensuous bodily experience that was considered essential for the well-being of each individual body and the whole human and natural environment. It was a productive technique of the body (cf. Marcel Mauss) for the purpose of reproduction. But although there was much explanation of sexual matters, it was not a system of education primarily concerned with the actual techniques of reproduction. The most important lesson of *domba* and of the other initiation schools was the instruction about the institutions and responsibilities of motherhood, fatherhood, and marriage. Thus, if a girl became pregnant during *domba*, she was not praised for succeeding in what the school might have seemed to be teaching: she was thrown out in disgrace! [...] Girls undoubtedly express a desire for esoteric knowledge when they say "we go to *domba* [or *vhusha* etc.] because we want to 'learn the laws' " (*u guda milayo*): and indeed they learn much about etiquette and the correct social and sexual behaviour of married women, although in many cases the instruction confirms what has already been learnt informally from older girls and women".

Blacking¹¹³² details the dances that are attached to the instructions. There is also extensive use of humanoid sculptures by the Venda in female initiation rites (Nettleton, 1992)¹¹³³. Puberty rites (including immersion in icy water) are performed soon after the first signs of physiological puberty. "At the conclusion of the rites, sexual activity is permitted on the strict condition that the girl is not deflowered [...]" (Saucier, 1972:p240)¹¹³⁴. This is called *hlobongo*, according to Harries (1929:p7), and would be taboo for the one who has been bespoken for him or her. Blacking (1959, 1978)¹¹³⁵ observed that a traditional "mother-child" custom attached to the *vhusha* is mimicked by pubescent and prepubescent girls. The "play

¹¹³¹ Blacking, J. (1985) Movement, Dance, Music and the Venda Girls' Initiation Cycle, in Spencer, P. (Ed.) *Society and the Dance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p64-91

¹¹³² Blacking, J. A. R. (1969a-d) Songs, Dances, Mimes and Symbolism of Venda Girls' Initiation Schools [in 4 parts], *African Stud* 28,1-4:3-35, 69-118, 149-99, 215-66. These and other illustrated articles were reproduced on the web by Suzel Ana Reily & Lev Weinstock as part of the ERA Project, Department of Social Anthropology, The Queen's University of Belfast, March 1998
http://www.era.anthropology.ac.uk/Era_Resources

¹¹³³ Nettleton, A. (1992) Ethnic and Gender Identities in Venda Domba Statues, *Afr Stud* 51,2:203-30. See also Reily, S. A. (1998) The ethnographic enterprise: Venda girls' initiation schools revisited, *Br J Ethnomusicol* 7:45-68

¹¹³⁴ Saucier, J. (1972) Correlates of the Long Postpartum Taboo: A Cross-Cultural Study (in Anthropology and Population Problems), *Curr Anthropol* 13,2:238-58

¹¹³⁵ 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

mother” and “play child” declare their love to each other, and the mother may help the child in her first amorous approaches. It is unclear whether sexual behaviour is involved¹¹³⁶.

Stayt (1931 [1968:p99-100])¹¹³⁷ refers to Venda children aged 12 to 15 years playing *mahundwanu* (miniature village), but nothing is said of sexual contacts. In the vhusa (p108), sex education is given, and “[q]uite tiny girls are often shown, by an old woman of their kraal, how to stretch the labia minora”. A stone is tied to the parts, and the juice of a cooked bat is rubbed onto the vulva to arrive at the desired anatomical state. The traditional age of Bavenda circumcision is not given by Wheelwright (1905)¹¹³⁸. In the circumcision lodge, the songs initiands are taught are “obscene and lewd, bearing entirely on sexual matters” (p254).

[Additional refs: Jeannerat (1997)¹¹³⁹].

Lobedu / Lovedu (Bantu; Northern South Africa)

Krige and Krige (1947:p109)¹¹⁴⁰ mentioned “play intercourse”. Among the Lobedu, play villages are erected called *mandwane*. 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. Now, “[t]he game is confined to children under the age of puberty”. “[...] [M]asturbation 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 (p290).

Lesotho / Kingdom of Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) (→Basuto)

In Lesotho (Gay, 1979, 1985)¹¹⁴¹, a system of “mummies” and “babies” prevails in which young girls in the modern schools develop close relationships, with slightly older girls. Sexual intimacy is an important aspect of these relationships. This was previously described

¹¹³⁶ “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).

¹¹³⁷ Stayt, H. A. (1968) *The Bavenda*. Frank Cass & Co, Ltd, London

¹¹³⁸ Wheelwright, C. A. (1905) Native Circumcision Lodges in the Zoutpansberg District, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 35:251-55

¹¹³⁹ Jeannerat, C. (1997) Invoking the female vusha ceremony and the struggle for identity and security in Tshiendeulu, Venda, *J Contemp Afr Stud* 15,1:87-106

¹¹⁴⁰ Krige, E. J. & Krige, J. D. (1947) *The Realm of a Rain-Queen*. London: International Institute of African languages and cultures

¹¹⁴¹ 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., 1986) *The Many Faces of Homosexuality: Anthropological Approaches to Homosexual Behavior*. Harrington Park Press, New York. Reprinted in, Suggs, D. N. & Miracle, A. W. (Eds., 1993) *Culture and Human Sexuality*. Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., p341-55. Murray and Roscoe (1998:p183), *op.cit.* 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; Blackwood, E. (2001) Women’s intimate friendships and other affairs: an ethnographic overview, in Brettel, C. & Sargent, C. (Eds.) *Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, p237-47

by Mueller and Hopkins (1979)¹¹⁴². According to these authors, girls of about 9-12 would play the baby of adolescent girls, and according to a limited number of informants, their interaction included hugging, kissing, or genital play. Premarital sex with boys is strictly tabooed (cf. Omari on →[Ghana](#)).

[Additional refs.: Mturi, A.J. (2001) *Parents' Attitudes to Adolescent Sexual Behaviour in Lesotho*. Paper presented to IUSSP XXIV General Conference, August 2001. Brazil]

Lambas (Northern Rhodesia)

The Lambas marry at age 14, and have no word for virginity (Doke, 1931)¹¹⁴³. Children practise three types of hut building: one for childhood, boyhood and girlhood (p143-6), although no observations were made on sex play. In the children's hut, girls may use obscene language ("Now unfold your scrotums and sleep in it"). In the boy's hut, boys practice phallopoesis by heating a root and pressing it on the penis, "to enlarge and harden the organ" (p145). Girls practice vaginal distension. Christian influence would have begun to have a deterrent effect on both practices.

Ambo, Ovambo (Rhodesia)

Stefaniszyn (1964:p99)¹¹⁴⁴ observed that Ambo "children and adolescents gain their sexual experience only occasionally and furtively. There is extensive phallo- and andropoetic pharmacology (p98), but the age of application is unclear (probably at pubescence). Hahn (1928 [1966:p32])¹¹⁴⁵ states that girls are married "when quite young", but not until after the *ohango* ceremony. "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".

Kua Bushmen (Kalahari)

Valiente-Noailles (1993)¹¹⁴⁶ states that boys are taught sexual matters by their fathers and girls by their mothers, although much teaching is not necessary because "children, when we think they are asleep, see many things". In addition, girls are *formally* taught during the pubertal ritual. "The important rule is that no sex is allowed before the girls have reached

¹¹⁴² Mueller, M. & Hopkins, L. (1979) Momma-baby relationships: female bonding in Lesotho, *Women's Studies Int Quart* 2:439-47

¹¹⁴³ Doke, C. M. (1931) *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia*. London [etc.]: Harrap

¹¹⁴⁴ Stefaniszyn, D. (1964) *Social and Ritual Life of the Ambo of Northern Rhodesia*. London: International African Institute

¹¹⁴⁵ Hahn, C. H. L. (1928) The Ovambo, in Hahn, C. H. L., Vedder, H. & Fourie, L. (Eds.) *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*. London: Frank Cass & Co., p1-36

¹¹⁴⁶ Valiente-Noailles, C. (1993) *The Kua*. Rotterdam [etc.] [Holland]: Balkema

puberty [¹¹⁴⁷]. From then on it does not matter if she has sexual intercourse “with whoever she loves”. The loss of virginity has no special significance” (p98). Much openness in sexual discussions is noted by Dornan (1925:p128)¹¹⁴⁸.

Further reading (South Africa):

-- Dijk, D. van (May, 2002) “*HULLE KAN NIE HULLE HORMONE INTOOM HOU NIE*”: *A study on gender, adolescents and sexual behaviour in relation to HIV in South Africa*. MA Thesis Development Studies, Centre for International Development Issues Nijmegen, Catholic University Nijmegen, The Netherlands
[<http://www.socsci.kun.nl/maw/cidin/publications/papers/op109.pdf>]

¹¹⁴⁷ However, parents do seem to oppose premarital sex (p131-2).

¹¹⁴⁸ Dornan, S. S. (1925) *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*. London: Seeley. In this respect: “All that can be said is that from our point of view they are children of nature”.

Madagascar (*Tanala*)

De Flacourt¹¹⁴⁹ (1658; as cited by Karsch-Haack, 1901[1983:p251]; Karsch-Haack, 1911:p178)¹¹⁵⁰ on Madagascar: “[...] schon kleine Knaben und kleine Mädchen trieben Liebespiele im Beisein ihrer Eltern, welche darüber lachten und selbst dazu Anreiz gaben; bisweilen trieben kleine Buben, ohne Scham, in Gegenwart ihrer Eltern, ausschweifende Spiele mit Kälbern und Zicken”¹¹⁵¹. Audebert (quoted by Ploß and Bartels, II; Bloch, 1902, I:p254) also noted *Paradoxia* in Madagascar. According to Sibree (1880:p39, 43)¹¹⁵², premarital freedom on Madagascar was noted for, among others, the **Hovas** and **Valave**.

Predelli¹¹⁵³ examined the sexual control in a Lutheran boarding school for girls established by Norwegian women missionaries in Madagascar in 1872.

Tanala (**Madagascar**)

Sexual play between children is forbidden and masturbation is not observed (Linton, 1939:p295)¹¹⁵⁴. There is no separation of the sexes (Linton, 1926:p295-6)¹¹⁵⁵. At age 15, or even before puberty, boys are given a separate house where they receive girls (“pour recevoir leur partenaire sexuelle”). Ravololomanga (1992:p65)¹¹⁵⁶ relates:

“[...] les garçons et les filles dans leur enfance, vivant en promiscuité avec leurs parents, partageant avec eux la même chambre, ont pu apercevoir leurs ébats amoureux et n’ignorent pas l’acte sexuel. Vivant au milieu de la nature, regardant les animaux domestiques ou sauvages copuler, ils constatent leur reproduction. Les enfants de même groupe d’âge et de même sexe se font de temps en temps des confidences sur leurs expériences sexuelles. Dans cette société, la virginité n’est pas exigée pour le mariage, sauf chez les rares familles où la morale chrétienne a mis son empreinte. Les jeunes filles commencent leurs expériences sexuelles vers quatorze ans et les garçons vers seize ans sans que leurs parents leur en fassent de reproche”.

¹¹⁴⁹ De Flacourt, E. (1658) *Histoire de la Grand Isle Madagascar*. Paris: L’Amy

¹¹⁵⁰ Karsch-Haack, F. (1911) *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker*. 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

¹¹⁵¹ Freimark (1911:p267) quotes the same Flacourt as observing the following: “Einige Male begingen kleine Knaben in Gegenwart ihrer Eltern mit Kälbern und Böcken gewisse Handlungen, ohne daß man sie dafür schalt”. See Freimark, H. (1911) *Das Sexualleben der Afrikaner*. Leipzig: Leipziger Verlag

¹¹⁵² Sibree, J. (1880) Relationships and the names used for them among the peoples of Madagascar, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 9:35-50. See also Crawley (1929:p12, 13), who cites Ploss et al. ([1927:p24]) in arguing that “children have free intercourse at a very early age, and their parents take a pleasure in watching them”.

¹¹⁵³ Predelli, L. N. (2000) Sexual Control and the Remaking of Gender: The Attempt of Nineteenth-Century Protestant Norwegian Women to Export Western Domesticity to Madagascar, *J Women’s Hist* 12,2:81-103

¹¹⁵⁴ Linton, R. (1939) The Tanala of Madagascar, in Kardiner, A. (Ed.) *The Individual and his Society*.

The Psychodynamics of Primitive Social Organizations. New York: Columbia University Press, p251-354

¹¹⁵⁵ Linton, R. (1926) *The Tanala*. Chicago, Il.: Field Museum of Natural History, No. 137

¹¹⁵⁶ Ravololomanga, B. (1992) *Etre Femme et Mère à Madagascar*. Paris: Éditions L’Harmattan

Geographically Unspecified Tribes

Wa-Sania (East Africa)

“Before 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)¹¹⁵⁷.

Wageia (East Africa)

Girls are promised to men “bereits mit 6 oder 7 Jahren”, and handed over at maturity (age 12-14) (Weiß, p222).

Bakulia (East Africa)

Sexual life for girls is “officially” begun after the circumcision (Weiß, p300). “So-called wise women” provide instructions for the girls, “die in erste Linie auf das Geschlechtsleben Bezug haben” (p299).

¹¹⁵⁷ Hobley, C. W. (1911) Notes on the Wa-Sania, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 41:29-39

Uncovered SCCS Tribes

Massa (Masa) (2,2,2,3-,2,2;8,8)

Fur (Darfur) (2-,2,2-,2,2-,2-;88)

Songhai (2+,2+,3,3+,2,2 ;8,2)

Mao (2+,3-,2+,3+,-,4-;2,2)

Konso (2+,3,3,3+,3-;66)

Bogo (3,4,3,4,-,4;-1)

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Table 1 Phase- and Gender Specific Sexual Restraint and Other Sexological Measures for the SCCS: Subsaharan Africa (SCCS 1-41)¹¹⁵⁸

*1159		Sexual Restraint						ASE ¹¹⁶⁰		I 1161	Alternative Codes			SCCS	
		1162				1163					1164	Σch	ks	Trans.	GD
		BE	GE	BL	GL	BA	GA	B	G			1165	1166	1167	1168
1*	Nama Hottentot	2	2	3-	3-	3	3	8	5	d5, 3		9+	E	2/1	0/0/0
2*	!Kung Bushmen	3+	3+	3+	3+	4	4	2	2		3	13+		0/2	0/0/0
3*	Thonga	-	-	-	-	3	3	5	5	G2		-	C	-/?	-/-/0
4*	Lozi	3-	3-	3-	3-	2	2	6	4	G3		11-		0/-2	0/0/0
5*	Mbundu	3+	3+	3+	3+	3+	3+	5	5		2	13+		0/0	0/0/0
6*	Suku	-	-	3-	3-	3	3+	2	2	B4		-		-/1-2	-/0/1
7*	Bemba	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	5			-		-/?	-/-/0
8*	Nyakyusa	2+	2+	2	3-	3	3	5	5	G3		9+		(-1)-1/3-1	0/2/0
9*	Hadza/Kindiga	2	2	2	2	2-	2-	8	8			8		0/-1	0/0/0
10*	Luguru	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	5	D2		8		0/0	0/0/0
11*	Kikuyu	2+	3	3	4-	4	4	5	5			12		2/3-1	2/2/0
12*	Ganda	3-	3-	3-	3-	2	3	5	5		1	11-	F	0/(-2)-1	0/0/3
13*	Mbuti	2	2	2	2	2	2	8	8		1	8		0/0	0/0/0
14*	Nkundo Mongo	2	2	2	2	3-	2	8	8			8		0/2-0	0/0/-2
15*	Banen	2-	2-	2+	2+	3+	4	4	1			8		2/3-5	0/0/2
16*	Tiv	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-		-/-	-/-/-
17*	Ibo/Igbo	2	2	2	3	-	4	-	2			9		0-3/3(g)	0/3/?
18*	Fon/Dahomey	2	2	3-	3	4	4	5	5		3	10-		2-3/4-3	0/1/0

¹¹⁵⁸ Grey color (*N*=16) signifies data for only one, or none, phase, making curricular arguments impossible.

¹¹⁵⁹ Coverage in Atlas. Lateral remarks may be made on nonindicated societies.

¹¹⁶⁰ Adolescent sexual expression, acc. *ibid.*, orig. scale

¹¹⁶¹ Initiations, “intended for or clearly results in the initiation of [hetero]sexual relations”, according to Schlegel, A. & Barry III, H. (1979) Adolescent initiation ceremonies: a cross-cultural code, *Ethnology* 18,2:199-210. D=both genders. Timing (b,g): (1) “before genital maturation”, (2) “at the first signs of genital maturation”, (3) “at” genital maturation, (4) “within one year of genital maturation”, (5) “later” than this, (?) unspecified.

¹¹⁶² Barry, H. III, Josephson, E. et al. (1976) Traits inculcated in childhood: cross-cultural codes 5, *Ethnology* 15:83-114 [p84-93]. BE=Boys, early childhood; GL= Girls, late childhood [etc.]

¹¹⁶³ Barry, H. III & Schlegel, A. (1984) Measurements of adolescent sexual behavior in the standard sample of societies, *Ethnology* 23,4:315-29. Adolescent sexual restraint, BA=Boys, adolescence [etc.]. Readapted from nonrestraint measure to 1-5 scale.

¹¹⁶⁴ Selected variables: (1) sex talk in front of children (SCCS); (2) sex talk open except in front of children (SCCS); (3) nonhygienic intergenerational genital touching (acc DJ); (5) “sexuality” (“sexual capacity or attractiveness”) “principle focus” of the ceremony; b=boy, g=girl (SCCS)

¹¹⁶⁵ Summation of BE, GE, BL and GL, + and - counted as 0.33; theoretical range 4-20

¹¹⁶⁶ Sexual activity of children, as adapted from Ford and Beach (1951) by De Leeuwe, J. (1970) Society system and sexual life, *Bijdr Taal- Land- & Volkenk* 126:1-36, see p28-32. A= wholly and explicitly forbidden; B= (some) sexual activities forbidden to children, but premarital heterosexual activities permitted to persons other than children; C= coition forbidden for the period before puberty; E= wholly and explicitly permitted; F= children are permitted to be present during sexual activities of older persons and/or are allowed to participate in older people’s conversation on sexual matters

¹¹⁶⁷ Sexual restraint transitionality. x=both genders, a-b=boy-girl; i/ii=early to late childhood/late childhood to adolescence

¹¹⁶⁸ Gender Differences in sexual restraint. x=SRboy<SRgirl; a/b/c=Ech/LCh/A

19*	Ashanti/Twi	2	2+	3	3+	3+	4-	2	2	G3		11-	AB	3/1	1/1/1
20*	Mende	3	3	3	3	2	4-	5	2	d4, 1		12		0/(-3)-2	0/0/5
21*	Wolof	3	3	3	3+	4	4	2	2			12+	C	0-1/3-2	0/1/0
22*	Bambara	2	2	3-	3+	2	2	8	8	D1		10		2-4/(-2)-(-4)	0/2/0
23*	Tallensi	2	2	2+	2+	2	3-	8	8		1	11-		1/(-1)-1	0/0/2
24	Songhai	2+	2+	3	3+	2	2	8	2			11		2-3/(-3)-(-4)	0/1/0
25*	Pastoral Fulani	1	1	3-	3	2-	2-	8	8			8-		4-5/(-3)-(-2)	0/1/0
26*	Hausa	2	2	2+	3-	4+	4+	4	4			9		1-2/6-5	0/1/0
27	Massa (Masa)	2	2	2	3-	2	2	8	8			9-		0-2/0-(-2)	0/2/0
28*	Azande	2	-	2+	3+	2-	2-	7	7	B?		-		1-?/(-2)-(-1)	?/3/0
29	Fur (Darfur)	2-	2	2-	2	2-	2-	8	8			7+		0/0-(-1)	1/1/0
30*	Otoro Nuba	2+	2+	3	3	2+	3	4	2	D2		11-		2/-2-0	0/0/2
31	Shilluk	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-			8		0/?	0/0/-
32	Mao	2+	3-	2+	3+	-	4-	2	2			11-		0-2/1(g)	1/3/?
33*	Kaffa (Kafa)	2+	3	3	5	4	4	4	4			13+		2-5/3-(-2)	2/5/0
34*	Masai	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	B5		8	CE	0/?	0/0/-
35	Konso	2+	3	3	3+	3-	3-	6	6			12-		2-1/-1-(-2)	2/1/0
36*	Somali	3	3+	3	4	4	4	1	1			13+		0-2/3-0	1/3/0
37*	Amhara	2	2	3+	4-	2	2	6	1			11		4-5/-4-(-5)	0/1/0
38	Bogo	3	4	3	4	-	4	-	1			14		0/0(g)	3/3/?
39*	Kenuzi Nubians/ Barabra	2	4	3	5	3+	4	4	1			14		3-2/1-(-2)	6/5/2
40*	Teda	-	-	3	4	3-	4	4	1			-		?/-1-0	?/3/2
41*	Tuareg/Ahaggaren	2	2	2+	2+	2	2	5	5			9-		1/-1	0/0/0

SCCS Time/Space Specifications

SCCS no.		Date	Focus
1.	Nama Hottentot	1860	Gei/Khauan tribe
2.	Kung Bushmen	1950	Nyai Nyae region
3.	Thonga	1865	Ronga subtribe
4.	Lozi	1900	Ruling Luyana
5.	Mbundu	1890	Bailundo subtribe
6.	Suku	1920	Feshi territory lineage center
7.	Bemba	1897	Zambia branch
8.	Nyakyusa	1934	Age villages of Mwaya and Masoko
9.	Hadza	1930	Tribe
10.	Luguru	1925	Morogoro District
11.	Kikuyu	1920	Fort Hall or Metume district
12.	Ganda	1875	Kyaddondo district (V: Kampala)
13.	Mbuti	1950	Epulu net-hunters, Ituri forest
14.	Nkundo Mongo	1930	Ilanga group
15.	Banen	1935	Ndiki subtribe
16.	Tiv	1920	Tar of Benue Province
17.	Ibo	1935	E. Isu-Ana group of South Ibo
18.	Fon	1890	City and environs of Abomey
19.	Ashanti	1895	Kumasi State
20.	Mende	1945	Vicinity of town of Bo
21.	Wolof	1950	Upper and lower Salum in Gambia
22.	Bambara	1902	Segou to Bamako on Niger River
23.	Tallensi	1934	Tribe
24.	Songhai	1940	Bamba division
25.	Pastoral Fulani	1951	Wodaabe of Niger
26.	Hausa	1900	Zazzagawa of Zaria
27.	Massa (Masa)	1910	Around Yagoua in Cameroon
28.	Azande	1905	Yambio Chiefdom
29.	Fur (Darfur)	1880	Jebel Marra
30.	Otoro Nuba	1930	Nuba Hills
31.	Shilluk	1910	Kingdom
32.	Mao	1939	Northern division
33.	Kaffa (Kafa)	1905	Kingdom
34.	Masai	1900	Kisonko or S. Masai of Tanzania
35.	Konso	1935	Town of Buso
36.	Somali	1900	Dolbahanta clan or subtribe
37.	Amhara	1953	Gondar district
38.	Bogo	1855	Tribe
39.	Kenuzi Nubians	1900	Kenuzi Nubians of Dahmit
40.	Teda	1950	Nomads of Tibesti
41.	Tuareg	1900	Ahaggaren tribe

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Former Russia, Soviet Union

[IES]

Chukchee, Georgians, Itelmen, Samoyed, Northern Tungus, Yakuts

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Generalia

Denisenko and Dalla-Souanna (2001)¹ provide a synopsis of the history of youth sex behaviour research in Russia and the USSR throughout the 20th century, listing principal authors and findings regarding the age of sex life beginning. The authors noted a “continuous pattern of lowering in the age of respondents’ first sex experience” is. Results of a study carried out in 1997 with students of Moscow State University suggested that

“Russian youth sexual attitudes are more liberal than their peers in the UK, France, and Italy. However, Russian students’ less judgmental opinions than, for example, their English counterparts on the subject of premarital or casual sex, abortion, and homosexuality do not translate into more liberal practices, which closely parallel foreign findings. The age of first sexual contact of young Russians is slightly lower than that of a young English or French, but the difference between average age of males and females is larger than abroad”.

But how liberal is this climate today? According to Ammerman², “[t]he Russian Education Ministry is trying to ban toys that “provoke aggression, fear and premature sexuality” among children. One of the chief toys they want to ban is the Barbie doll [...]. “Girls who play with Barbie dolls start feeling like grown-up women who buy fancy dresses and posh furniture,” said psychologist Natalya Grishayeva”.

Current Age of Consent

Graupner states there is no age limit for sexual relations (2000:p420, 434, 446)³, but in fact it appears to be 14 for some categories (p428, 439).

Ratings

The “Russians” are rated (3+,3+,3+,3+,-,-;-,-) as would be judged from the study of Viriatino Village in 1955 (Benet).

Historical and Sociological Matters

In medieval Russia, there was a severe penance for bachelors and maidens engaging in sex before marriage, with the penance often being twice as great for the maiden than the bachelor. The degree of penance for the bachelor was determined by the scandalousness of his partner. However, a “boys will be boys” attitude did come into play when assigning

¹ Denisenko, M. & Dalla-Souanna, J. P. (2001) Seksual'noe povedenie rossiyskoy molodezhi [The Sexual Behavior of Russian Youth], *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniya* 27,2:83-7

² Ammerman, A. (2003) Russia: Banning Barbie? *Off Our Backs* [Washington] Jan/Feb 2003; 33,1/2:6

³ Graupner, H. (2000) Sexual consent: The criminal law in Europe and overseas, *Arch Sex Behav* 29,5:415-61

penance to a young lad who was seen as “simply sewing his wild oats.” Not so for the maiden or her partner, for deflowering a maiden, even if she was willing, was seen as rape. Further the maiden ran the risk of pregnancy, and the Orthodox Church offered her no opportunity to be “saved by marriage”⁴. Few data on childhood sexuality appear to be available for the 18th and 19th century as manuals refrained from discussing these matters (Dunn, 1974:p390)⁵. This parallels Gorer’s⁶ earlier observations:

“We have very little information on infantile sexual play after the child is unswaddled (while it is swaddled there can obviously be none). The general picture seems to be that children are ‘innocent’ and ‘sinless’ and therefore nothing they can do can have any ‘moral’ or rather ‘immoral’ significance’ ”.

“Although there is little documentation of the physical care of children (especially toilet-training and regulation of childhood sexuality) in imperial Russia, Russian parents at that time can generally be described as detached, hostile and restrictive in their relations to their children”⁷.

DeMause (1990)⁸ pointed to “child marriage [being] widespread in Russia well into the nineteenth century. Despite Soviet attempts to uproot traditional forms of social organization, exogamy, kalym (a form of bride-price), polygamy, child marriage, and insistence on the subservience of wife to husband continued in some degree throughout the 1920’s to 1950’s (Winner, 1963)⁹. Not only were most girls married and sexually initiated prior to puberty¹⁰, but fathers often had intercourse with their sons’ child brides. As one nineteenth-century traveller reported:

“Fathers marry their sons to some blooming girl in the village at a very early age, and then send the young men either to Moscow or St. Petersburg to seek employment [...] At the expiration of some years, when the son returns to his cottage, he finds himself the nominal father of several children, the off-spring of his own parent who had deemed it his duty thus to supply the place of a husband to the young wife. This is done all over Russia [...]”¹¹ ”.

The same was observed by Post¹².

Tissot’s *Onanisme* appeared in Russian translation in 1793¹³. A first legal notion of non-violent or statutory rape for girls under the “age of consent” was invoked by a 1845 code¹⁴. A

⁴ Rachel, H. B., *Sex and the Orthodox Church in Medieval Russia*. Undated online article

⁵ Dunn, P. P. (1974) “That enemy is the baby”: childhood in imperial Russia, in DeMause, L. (Ed.) *The History of Childhood*. New York: Psychohistory Press, p383-405

⁶ Gorer, G. in Gorer, G. & Jeffrey, J. (1949) *The People of Great Russia*. London: The Cresset Press, p100

⁷ Ihanus, J. (1998) Transformations of Eros: Sexuality and the Family in Russia, *J Psychohist* 25,3:240-61

⁸ DeMause, L. (1990) The Gentle Revolution: Childhood Origins of Soviet and East European Democratic Movements, *J Psychohist* 17,4:341-52

⁹ Winner, I. (1963) Some problems of nomadism and social organization among the recently settled Kazakhs, *Central Asian Rev* 11,4:355-73

¹⁰ Levin, E. (1989) *Sex and Society in the World of the Orthodox Slavs, 900-1700*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, p96-7, 126 [orig.footnote]

¹¹ Porter, R. K. ([1952]) *Traveling Sketches in Russia and Sweden, 1805-08*, in Putnam, P. (Ed.) *Seven Britons in Imperial Russia, 1698-1812*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, [p327]. Also see Czap, P. Jr. (1978) *Marriage and the Peasant Joint Family in the Era of Serfdom*, in Ransel, D. L. (Ed.) *The Family in Imperial Russia*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, [p105] [orig.footnote]

¹² Post, *Die Grundlagen des Rechts und die Grundzüge seiner Entwicklungsgeschichte*, p204-5. As cited by Wilken, G. A. (1886) Plechtigheden en gebruiken bij verlovningen en huwelijken bij de volken van den Indischen archipel, *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, & Volkenk Nederlansch-Indie* [Holland] XXXV:140-219, at p163n70

¹³ Rice, J. L. (1983) Dostoevsky’s Medical History: Diagnosis and Dialectic, *Russ Rev* 42,2:131-61, at p151n

¹⁴ Engelstein, L. (1988) Gender and the Juridical Subject: Prostitution and Rape in Nineteenth-Century Russian Criminal Codes, *J Modern Hist* 60,3:458-95, at p473

1903 Code further renounced honour and chastity as the juridical objects of rape, centralising sexual maturity as an indicator of responsibility (p477-8).

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 Armalinsky (1995)¹⁵. A chapter of Comfort's *Power and Death*¹⁶ deals with Russian attitudes on child sexuality. Occasional medical papers are offered on sexual development (e.g., Kaiumova, 1969)¹⁷, and, apparently, on the "treatment" of clinical masturbation¹⁸. The sexual biographies of Russian and Finnish women were compared by Rotkirch (1997, 1998)¹⁹.

In a survey among paediatric health care specialists (2000)²⁰, almost all considered desirable the introduction of a "paediatric sexologist" at health centres and regular sexual education of prepubertal children. However, sexology addressing childhood was already flourishing in the 1920s. Early numeric material specific on childhood age brackets was gathered by Weipenberg on female Russian students (1924)²¹, and school children (1925)²². Meliksetyan (1989)²³ presented data on prostitutes' childhood sexual experiences using material from the 1920s. A study²⁴ by Schbankow²⁵ in 1922 gives data on "starting sex life". A study by Schmidt (1924)²⁶ provides data on early masturbation. In a study by Barash (1924, 1926)²⁷, data are provided on "the beginning of sex relations".

In the 1920s, psychoanalytic views of child rearing took ground (e.g., W. Schmidt, 1924:p22-7)²⁸.

Danilov (1982?)²⁹ surveyed that 22.5 percent of girls had engaged in self-pleasuring by age 13.5, 37.4 percent by age 15.5, 50.2 percent by age 17.5, and 65.8 percent by age 18.5.

Vassilchenko (1980)³⁰ provided some data on the psychosexual development of 1035 male outpatients of a sexological clinic, whose development was apparently nevertheless taken to be representative of the normal population. Libido "awakened" at a mean age of 12.8

¹⁵ Armalinkij, M. (Comp., 1995) *Detskii Eroticeskii Fol'klor*. Minneapolis: M.I.P. Co. Reviewed in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 1996, issue 17, April 24. Also by Luksic, I. (1998) *Detskij eroticeskij fol'klor*, *Strani Jezici* 27,1:52-4, arguing "The book has been ignored in the US due to cultural values about child pornography [...]".

¹⁶ Comfort, A. (1994) *Against Power and Death*. Edited with an introduction by David Goodway. London: Freedom Press

¹⁷ Kaiumova (1969) [Some data concerning normal sexual development of children], *Pediatriia* 48,7:66-70

¹⁸ Mikirtumov, B. E. (1980) [Clinical manifestations and the treatment of masturbation in infants and preschool children], *Vopr Okhr Materin Det* 25,3:47-51

¹⁹ 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

²⁰ Liavshina, GKh. [Opinion of physicians concerning sexual health of children], *Probl Sotsialnoi Gig Istor Med* (2000) 4:11-4

²¹ Weipenberg, S. (1924) [Weiteres über] [D]as Geschlechtsleben der russischen Studentinnen, *Ztsch f Sexualwiss* 11,1:7-14; 12,6:174-6, 209-16. Cf. reprint in Hohmann, J. S. (Ed., 1990) *Sexualforschung und -Politik in der Sowjetunion seit 1917*. Frankfurt am Main [etc.]: P. Lang, p449-56

²² Weipenberg, S. (1925) Die geschlechtlichen Interessen der Schulkinder, *Ztschr f Sexualwiss* 12,1:22-7

²³ Meliksetyan, A. S. (1989) Prostitutsiya v 20-e gody [Prostitution in the 1920s], *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniya* 16,3:71-4

²⁴ Acc. Shub, B. & Zwerdling, H. (1961) Soviet Union, sex life in Ellis, A. & Abarbanel, A. (Eds.) *The Encyclopaedia of Sexual Behavior, Volume II*. London: W. Heinemann, p987-95, at p992

²⁵ Schbankow (1922) *Wratschebnoje Djelo* 10-2:225-34

²⁶ Schmidt, V. (1924) *Psychoanalytic Education in Soviet Russia*. Vienna; Int. P. Verlag. Cited by Sperling, M. (1982) *The Major Neuroses and Behavior Disorders in Children*. New York [etc.]: J. Aronson, p236

²⁷ Barash, M. (1925), *Venerologia i dermatologia* [Moscow], Nov-Dec.:137-48; Barash, M. (1926) Sex life of the workers of Moscow, *J Soc Hygiene* 12:274-88

²⁸ Schmidt, W. (1924) *Psychoanalytische Kindererziehung in Sowjetrußland*. Leipzig [etc.]: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag

²⁹ Acc. Kon, I. (1997) Russia, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 3. Quoted from the online edition

³⁰ Vassilchenko, G. S. (1980) Age aspects of the male sexual activity, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 6:10-3

($SD=0.24$), masturbarche at 14.2 ($SD=0.13$), and “ejacularche” at 14.3 ($SD=0.10$) ($N=147$). Prepuberty was literally considered as void of sexuality.

Kon (1997)³¹:

“As in the former USSR, Russia today still has virtually no systematic sex education, although some efforts have been made to develop school-based programs since the early 1980s. [...] According to a 1992 national survey, only 13 percent of Russian parents talk with their children about sexuality. The main sources of sexual information for teenagers, therefore, are their peers and the mass media”.

“Children and adolescents normally have their first sexual experience through self-pleasuring. Boys generally start to engage in self-pleasuring at the age of 12 or 13, reaching a peak at age 15 to 16. Girls begin to self-pleasure at a later age and do it less frequently. According to a 1982 survey by V. V. Danilov, 22.5 percent of the girls had engaged in self-pleasuring by age 13.5, 37.4 percent by age 15.5, 50.2 percent by age 17.5, and 65.8 percent by age 18.5. Until the late 1970s, official attitudes to self-pleasuring were completely negative. Children were told that it results in impotence, deterioration of the memory, and similar harmful consequences. As an antidote, there was a clandestine teen ditty: “Sun, fresh air, and onanism reinforce the organism.” Nevertheless, many Russian teens and adults still have strong anxieties regarding it. Many sexual dysfunctions are attributed to self-pleasuring experiences, and adults are terribly ashamed of it” (see Kon, 1995:p43-5, 189-99; 1999; nd)³².

Shapiro³³ agrees that, though the overwhelming majority of Russian teenagers, their parents, and teachers favor the introduction of sex education in schools, there is no national program of school-based sex education in Russia at the moment. “In fact, direct instruction of schoolchildren in these matters is forbidden”. This also applies to subjects studied by Remennick³⁴ and Kovalcik³⁵. In St. Petersburg, pregnant and even married women were thought to be unfit for teaching children for they would arouse the sexological inquiries in their pupils (Ruane, 1991:p172-3)³⁶. Rudolf Schlesinger, however, argued that sex education was “a definite part of the school curriculum”³⁷. Borisov³⁸ has argued that “unofficial” erotic and pornographic literature had a larger impact on “the development of sexual awareness” than “official” state-sponsored publications on sex, thus providing a means of self-education.

Kon (1997) on puberty:

“The overall trends in the psychosexual development of Russian children and adolescents are the same as in Western countries. Above all, there has been a substantial acceleration of sexual maturation. The average menarche age fell from 15.1 years to 13 among Muscovite girls over a period of thirty-five years, from 1935 to 1970. Similar trends are also typical for the boys. Sexual maturation confronts the teenager with a host of bodily and psychosexual problems. Many boys are worried about delay in emergence of

³¹ Kon (1997), *op.cit.*

³² Kon, I. S. (1995) *The Sexual Revolution in Russia: From the Age of the Czars to Today*. Transl. New York: Free Press. Cf. Kon, I. S. (1999) Sexuality and politics in Russia, 1700-2000, in Eder, F.H., Hall, L. & Hekma, G. (Eds.) *Sexual Cultures in Europe*. National Histories. Manchester University Press; Kon, I. S. (nd) *Sexual culture and Politics in Contemporary Russia*. Undated online paper, <http://www.nedug.ru/lib/lit/sex/01oct/sex65/sex1.htm>

³³ Shapiro, B. Y. (2001) School-based sex education in Russia: The current reality and prospects, *Sex Educ* 1,1:87-96

³⁴ Remennick, L. I. (1997) Initial experience in sex education for adolescent migrants from ex-USSR to Israel, *Int J Adolesc Med & Health* 9,1:57-67

³⁵ Kovalcik, R. (1996) The experience of parenting for recent Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, *DAI-B* 57(5-B):3453

³⁶ Ruane, Ch. (1991) The Vestal Virgins of St. Petersburg: Schoolteachers and the 1897 Marriage Ban, *Russian Rev* 50,2:163-82

³⁷ Bibby, C. (1950) Sex and the family in the Soviet Union, *Int J Sexol* 3:135-41

³⁸ Borisov, S. B. (1989) Eroticheskie teksty kak istekhnika seksual'nogo samoobrazovaniya [Erotic Texts as a Source of Sexual Self-Education], *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniya* 16,1:81-4

their secondary sexual attributes in relation to their peers - shortness of height or of the penis, gynecomastia (transitory female-breast development), etc. Girls are concerned about hirsuteness, being overweight, the shape of their breasts, etc. (Kon 1995, p194-209)".

"There is clear evidence that sexual activity is beginning earlier for today's Russian adolescents than in past generations. The mean age for first coitus dropped in the last ten years from 19.2 to 18.4 for males, and from 21.8 to 20.6 for females. According to the only survey of teenagers ages 12 to 17 (Chervyakov, Kon, & Shapiro 1993), sexual experience was reported by 15 percent of the girls and by 22 percent of the boys. Among 16- to 17-year-olds 36 percent were sexually experienced; among 14- to 15-year-olds, 13 percent; and under 14 years, only 2 percent. Boys are generally more sexually experienced than girls, but the difference gradually disappears with age".

According to Danilchenko³⁹, Blonsky's 1935 *Essays on Child Sexuality* would be

"[...] the first serious study of sexual development and education in the USSR. It contains such matters as the sexual experiences of boys and girls of different ages, the influence of childhood sexual experiences on adult sex life, the psychology of love, first love, etc. He states that the social environment, supervision and instruction have a large part to play in sexual maturation. Puberty, in his view, is an important but not the main factor in development".

Leningrad psychiatrists Prof. Dmitri Isayev and Dr. Victor Kagan began studying juvenile and adolescent gender and sexuality issues, publishing the first Soviet guide for doctors on the subject in 1986- *The Psycho-Hygiene of Sex among Children*⁴⁰ (which has not been translated).

Under Stalinism, a "30-year conspiracy of silence" on sex was said to result in "a monstrous sexual ignorance. Soviet children and adolescents were not given even elementary sexual information. In the correct regime, early sexual feelings do not arise⁴¹. The situation was particularly woeful in intellectual families, where the parents tried to keep absolutely everything from their children; workers and peasants looked at these things more simply: what the eye does not see, the heart does not grieve" (Kon, 1995:p95). Rivkin-Fish (1999)⁴² also explored the implicit and sometimes explicit ways that sex education lectures are being driven by debates over the significance of the Soviet past and anxieties over the perceived chaos of current transformations. Masturbation under the **Soviet** communists was seen as "siphoning off energy from important productive labor and leading young men to be apathetic, pessimistic, and individualistic- anti-social characteristics that a communist society would not tolerate" (Rivkin-Fish, 1999:p804-5)⁴³.

"Control of sexual behaviour" was part of the social functions spectrum of the family under socialism (e.g., Fokeyev)⁴⁴. Kulski (1954:p496-7)⁴⁵ quoted from Makarenko's *Selected Pedagogical Works* in demonstrating that the Soviet regime, but also many societies before the October Revolution, avoided sexual discussions with children in order to prevent them "to

³⁹ Danilchenko, M. G. (1993) Pavel Petrovich Blonsky (1884-1941), *Prospects: Quart Rev Comparat Educ* 23,1/2:113-24

⁴⁰ Kon, I. (1993) Sexuality and culture, in Kon, I. & Riordan, J. (Eds.) *Sex and Russian Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p15-44, see p26-7

⁴¹ 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, at p191-2

⁴² Rivkin-Fish, M. (1999) Sexuality education in Russia: defining pleasure and danger for a fledgling democratic society, *Soc Sci Med* 49,6:801-14

⁴³ *Op.cit.* See also Atarov, T. S. (1959) *Voprosy Polovogo Vospitaniia* [Problems in sex education]. Oxford, England: Medgiz

⁴⁴ Fokeyev, E. V. (1971) Problema Sotsialnykh Funktsiy Semyi pri Sotsializme [The Problem of the Social Functions of the Family under Socialism], *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta* 26, 4:155-8

⁴⁵ Kulski, W. W. (1954) *The Soviet Regime*. Syracuse University Press

look upon sex in a coarsely realistic manner". In the first years after the revolution, child sex education was "[...] permeated with the spirit of puritanism and strove to strengthen the "new proletarian morality" "46; sex research was forbidden, or not published, and sexuality as viewed by Freudianism was refuted.

According to Easson (1977)⁴⁷, Russian paediatricians, psychiatrists, nurses, and midwives believe that adolescent sex education belongs in the home. At the time of writing Soviet society then had the responsibility of reinforcing the standards and attitudes instilled by parents. The markedly puritanical sexual standards in Russia would be "similar to those seen in the United States at the turn of the century". In one study⁴⁸, American subjects expressed more acceptance of premarital sex than did the Russian subjects. Men were more sexually permissive than women as in the U. S. Russian subjects were more likely to endorse the double standard than Japanese and American subjects. Rates of sexual intercourse parallel many western European countries⁴⁹.

In a recent study⁵⁰ on the "psychosexual health" of 308 children, aged 2-11 years, as well as that of their families, it appeared that "[d]eviations in psychosexual development were found in 34.6% of the children examined. The following types were detected: difficulties in formation of gender- determined behavior features--64.4%, precocious psychosexual development--13.7%, delayed psychosexual development-- 12.3%, obsessive masturbation--9.6%. Risk factors for deviant psychosexual development were found". As for "precocity", in a Moscow⁵¹ school sample of 1,090 youth (mean age 14 years), about 8.8% reported participation in sexual intercourse before age 12.

[For a further note on sexual education, see Grassel and Bach (1979:p288-90)⁵². Additional refs: CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: East Central Europe*, p151-75]

⁴⁶ Segal, B. M. (1977) Soviet approach to the causes of neuroses, *Am J Psychother* 31:577-94, at p587

⁴⁷ Easson, G. A. (1977) Adolescent sexuality in the Soviet Union--a personal perspective, *J School Health* 47,10:610-2

⁴⁸ Sprecher, S. & Hatfield, E. (1996) Premarital sexual standards among U.S. college students: comparison with Russian and Japanese students, *Arch Sex Behav* 25,3:261-88

⁴⁹ Blum, R. W. et al. (1996) Adolescent health in Russia: a view from Moscow and St. Petersburg, *J Adolesc Health* 19,4:308-14

⁵⁰ [Authors and title not indicated], *Zh Nevrol Psikhiatr Im S S Korsakova* 2002;102,5:20-3

⁵¹ Westhoff, W. W., Klein, K., McDermott, R. J., Schmidt, W. D. & Holcomb, D. R. (1996) Sexual risk-taking by Muscovite youth attending school, *J Sch Health* 66,3:102-5

⁵² Grassel, H. & Bach, K. R. (1979) *Kinder- & Jugendsexualität*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften

Ethnographic Particularities

Rural Russia

Until puberty, boys and girls play separately (Mandal, 1975:p266)⁵³. Two female 19-year-olds denied any knowledge about “playing doctor”. Russians were known for their use of obscenity, says Krupyanskaya (Benet, 1970)⁵⁴. This is significant since in Russia “obscene actions between adults in the presence of youth and children [were] punishable”⁵⁵.

Itelmen (Kamtchatka Peninsula)

Steller’s observations in the middle 18th century (1774:p350-1a)⁵⁶ are quoted by Karsch-Haack (1901 [1983:p285-6] et al.)⁵⁷: “Weilen die Itälmen *promiscue* in den Wohnungen und vor den Augen ihrer leiblichen Kinder den Beyschlaf vollbringen und gebähren, so lernen die Kinder von Jugend auf das Venus Handwerk, und probiren solches ihren Eltern nachzumachen. Wenn solches auf ordentliche Art geschahe, so prahlten die Eltern, dass ihre Kinder so balde zum Verstande gekommen. Wo aber Knaben *per anam* [sic] einander schändeten, so verwiesen sie ihnen solches, als eine ungewöhnliche Sache [...]”. Those boys would be urged to wear women’s clothing.

Georgians

Among the Abkhasians (Abkhazia which is between the Caucasus Mountains of Soviet Georgia and the Black Sea of the USSR) the general opinion is that regular sexual relations should start late in life because abstinence will “prolong sexual potency and promote well-being” (Benet, 1974:p86)⁵⁸. Extreme modesty is expected and very young children are bathed separately. However, “[t]here are no separate “facts of life” for children and adults (p71). Courtship seems to start at puberty (p72).

⁵³ Mandal, W. M. (1975) *Soviet Women*. Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Books

⁵⁴ Benet, S. (Ed., 1970) *The Village of Viriatino*. Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Books

⁵⁵ Brupbacher, P. (1949) Sex penal laws in Soviet Union, *Int J Sexol* 2,4:246-8, at p247

⁵⁶ Steller, G. W. (1774) *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*. Frankfurt & Leipzig

⁵⁷ Karsch-Haack, F. (1901) Uranismus oder Päderastie und Tribadie bei den Naturvölkern, *Jb Sex Zwischenst* 3:72ff. Reprinted in 1983 (Schmidt, W. J., Ed.), Vol.1:p229-96. Also by Bloch, I. ([1933]) *Anthropological Studies in the Strange Sexual Practises of All Races and All Ages*. New York: Anthropological Press, p51; and Ronhaar, J. H. (1931) *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*. Groningen: Wolters/ London: D. Nutt, p334

⁵⁸ Benet, S. (1974) *Abkhasians*. New York [etc.]: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Siberia

(Chukchee, Yakuts, Nenets, Northern Tungus)

Some data on Siberian marriage is provided by Czaplicka (1914)⁵⁹. The **Yakut** betroth their children when only one of two years old (p108). The **Gilyak** / Nivhgu (2,2,2+,2+,2-,2+;8,7) girl is usually passed to the house of her future husband at age five or six, "with who[m] she grows up, and whose wife she becomes at maturity" (p100)⁶⁰. The Japanese / Siberian **Ainu** (*Saru Ainu*: 3-,3-,3-,3-,2+,2+;4,4) were betrothed in childhood, but it does not compel them to marry (p102)⁶¹. The **Buryat Mongols** betroth children in infancy (p118). The **Kalmuk Mongols** betroth children in earliest infancy or in the womb (p121)⁶². They are joined at age fourteen. Among the **Dagor Mongols**, marriage across generation was permissible but rare (Vreeland III, 1957:p249)⁶³.

Chuchee (Siberia) (2,2,2,2,2,2;8,8;B)

Bogoraz-Tan (p269)⁶⁴, on 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". The technique of coitus is effectively communicated by verbal description. It is stated that most of the girls "begin their sexual life with the first traces of maturity, being but fifteen or sixteen, and sometimes only twelve or thirteen years old, and quite immature [*sic*]"⁶⁵. Wrangel (cited by Esman, 1871:p164⁶⁶; see Brongersma, 1987:p111) states that North Siberia boys begin sexual relations with girls at age ten, but nevertheless enjoy contacts with men. "Chukchee believes that coition will harm a girl until her breasts are developed or she begins to menstruate. But prepubescent girls often indulge in coitus despite this belief"⁶⁷.

Yakut (Siberia) ([eHRAF](#))

⁵⁹ Czaplicka, M. A. (1914) *Aboriginal Siberia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

⁶⁰ Sternberg, *The Gilyak*, p29

⁶¹ Batchelor, J. (1901) *The Ainu and their Folk-Lore*. London: The Religious Tract Society, p227-8

⁶² Pallas (1788) *Travels Through Siberia and Tartary*. Vol. 1, p277

⁶³ Vreeland III, H. H. (1957) *Mongol Community and Kinship Structure*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files

⁶⁴ Bogoraz-Tan, V. G. (1904-9) *The Chukchee*. Three parts. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, Ltd. / New York: G. E. Stechert & Co.

⁶⁵ Bogoras, as quoted in Czaplicka (1914:p70), *op.cit.*

⁶⁶ Erman, A. (1871) Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen und -erfahrungen an die Küsten des Beringsmeeres, *Zeitschr Ethnol* 3 :149-75

⁶⁷ Cakravarti, C. (1963) *Sex Life in Ancient India*. Calcutta, p144

There is reason to consider that betrothal of young children was almost general among the Yakuts (Kharuzin, 1898)⁶⁸. The Yakut betroth their children when only one of two years old (Czaplicka, 1914:p108)⁶⁹. “[...] [S]ome Ykut Mothers are reported to masturbate their infants to calm them” (Ford, 1945 [1964:p20]). Popov (1946:p12-3)⁷⁰:

“The **Dolgani** [ethnologically, comprised of Yakut and Tungus clans Dolgan, Dongot, Edjan or Edzhen, and Karanto or Karóntuo] thought that devka abasy [an evil spirit] would visit boys at night and would attempt to enter into sexual intercourse with them. In former times a shaman would then be called upon to mend matters by conducting a religious ceremony. In conducting it the shaman would use rotten wood to construct an image of a woman and upon sucking the devky abasy with his lips out of the child would blow the spirit of the woman into the image. The shaman would then go through the gestures of having a sexual intercourse with the image, after which the latter was sent into the subterranean world. This was achieved by burying the woman into the ground after the ceremony was over”.

Sieroszewski ([1896]:p887)⁷¹:

“[...] it is not without interest to note that a boy is fed separately from his sisters once he reaches the age of ten or twelve. At this age he stops sleeping in one bed with them; he is given a bed of his own. This involves a certain expense, and is caused, I think, not so much by a feeling of shame as by an ancient prohibition, ai. It happens sometimes that these same sisters walk about completely naked, unembarrassed at the presence of grown brothers, and without any formality sometimes carry on such conversations and jokes with them as would embarrass the most cynical European”.

Samoyed, Samoyad, Nenets (Siberia)

Samoyad girls are as “more or less valuable property”, and “the impecunious parent frequently sells his children at a very early age, in order that he may realise her value”⁷²; marriage, however, is not considered a binding tie.

Northern Tungus (Siberia)

Shirokogoroff (1929/1966:p289)⁷³: “In order to give pleasure to the children, adults sometimes [...] tickle the sexual organs”. A footnote reads: “I did not observe among the Tingus [*sic*], the sucking of the penis of small boys, as is common among the Machus. Among the Birarčen I saw a mother who was tickling the sexual organs of her small daughter. In

⁶⁸ Kharuzin, A. N. (1898) *The Juridical Customs of the Yakut*. Moskova: Obshchestvo Liubiteli Estestvoznaniia Antropologii i Etnografii, Etnograficheskoe Otdelenie

⁶⁹ *Op.cit.*

⁷⁰ Popov, A. A. (1946) Family life of the Dolgani people. [eHRAF]. Moskva: Izd-vo Akademii nauk, p50-74

⁷¹ Sieroszewski, W. ([1896]) [*The Yakut: An Experiment in Ethnographic Research*]. Moskva: Assotsiatsiia 'Rossiiskaia Polit. Entsiklopediia' [eHRAF]

⁷² Jackson, F. G. & Montefiore, A. (1895) Notes on the Samoyads of the Great Tundra, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 24:388-410, at p405

⁷³ Shirokogoroff, S. M. (1929) *Social Organization of the Northern Tungus*. Shanghai. 1966 reprint, Oosterhout [Holland]: Anthropological Publications

another case a girl sixteen-year-old was tickling the penis of her brother who was about four year old. These practices are very common⁷⁴". Shirokogoroff (1935:p249)⁷⁵ continues with the fact that

"[...] among all Tungus groups a certain attention is paid to the sexual organs of children. The children, under the pretext that they are children and do not understand what they do, are asked to exhibit their genitalia in the presence of adult persons, who enjoy in seeing children—performers. However, among the Tungus groups this practice is not equally in vogue. Its greatest development is observed among the Khingan group, --i.e. exactly in the group where erectio penis was performed [proving a point on exhibitionism as a psychological trait],-- the children, especially girls sometimes of the age of ten and even twelve years, are requested to show their genitalia. They willingly do it, for the adult people do approve it (I cannot now assert that the parents always are present and frankly approve their children). As to whether the children are absolutely conscious of what they do—personally I think that a Tungus child of ten or twelve years may be so—is not of importance, for we are interested in the social side of exhibitionism" [etc.].

Children are not allowed to use "coprolalic" words "[...] for they do not need them so much as adult people" (p247). The legal minimum bride's age was 18 (p100).

⁷⁴ Page 327 reads: "Adult people sometimes require small girls to show their nudity in public (as among the Kumarāen)".

⁷⁵ Shirokogoroff, S. M. (1935) *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Trubner

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Middle-East, Near-Asia, Supra-Saharan Africa and the Islamic¹ World

“Where’s the fish?, Give me the eggs!”²

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Uzbekistan, Yemen

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Kazach, Kurds, Nubians, Riffians, Teda, Turks

¹ See also Supra-Saharan Africa, India, Asia, Indonesia

² Messina (1991:p202), *cit. infra*

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Historical Matters

Muhammad who, after the death of his first wife, agreed, at the urging of his followers, to marry a young prepubertal girl (many argued that the age was 7), Ayesha. "Most Islamic authorities believe the marriage was not consummated until she menstruated, the traditionally acceptable time for marriage", writes Bullough (1973)³. This age of consummation was commonly assumed to be nine⁴, as reported by Bullough (1976:p208⁵; cf. Moztki, p492, 493). The Aisha case could be used as an argument by judges (e.g., Antoun, 1980:p465)⁶. Islamic marriage, as it is literally synonymous with coition, normally took place

³ Bullough, V. L. (1973) *The Subordinate Sex*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press

⁴ Farah, M. (1984) *Marriage and Sexuality in Islam*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, p16. Bukhari's Hadith, translated into English by Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan: "Narrated Aisha that the prophet wrote the marriage contract with her when she was six years old and he consummated his marriage when she was nine years old. Hisham said: "I have been informed that Aisha remained with the prophet for nine years [i.e. till his death]" (vol. 7:p65): "Narrated Urwa: "The prophet wrote the [marriage contract] with Aisha while she was six years old and consummated his marriage with her while she was nine years old and she remained with him for nine years [i.e. till his death]" (vol. 7:p88); "Narrated Aisha: The prophet engaged me when I was a girl of six. We went to Medina and stayed at the home of Harith Kharzraj. Then I got ill and my hair fell down. Later on my hair grew (again) and my mother, Um Ruman, came to me while I was playing in a swing with some of my girl friends. She called me, and I went to her, not knowing what she wanted to do to me. She caught me by the hand and made me stand at the door of the house. I was breathless then, and when my breathing became all right, she took some water and rubbed my face and head with it. Then she took me into the house. There in the house I saw some Ansari women who said, "Best wishes and Allah's blessing and a good luck". Then she entrusted me to them and they prepared me (for the marriage). Unexpectedly Allah's messenger came to me in the forenoon and my mother handed me over to him, and at that time I was a girl of nine years of age" (Vol. 5:p234). "Aisha reported: Allah's Messenger married me when I was six years old, and I was admitted to his house at the age of nine [...]" (Hadith of Sahih Muslim, Vol.2:p3309). "Aisha said, "The Apostle of Allah married me when I was seven years old" (The narrator Sulaiman said: "Or six years"). "He had intercourse with me when I was 9 years old" (Hadith of the Sunan of Abu Dawud, Vol.2:p2116). Tabari's 39 volume history of Islam tells its readers: "[....] my marriage [to Muhammad] was consummated when I was nine [...]" (Vol.7:p7). Also: "Then the men and women got up and left. The Messenger of God consummated his marriage with me in my house when I was nine years old. Neither a camel nor a sheep was slaughtered on behalf of me [...] [The Prophet] married her three years before the Emigration, when she was seven years old and consummated the marriage when she was nine years old, after he had emigrated to Medina in Shawwal. She was eighteen years old when he died" (Vol.9:p131). The *Encyclopedia of Islam*, under "Aisha" (E. J. Brill) states: "Some time after the death of Khadija, Khawla suggested to Muhammad that he should marry either Aisha, the 6 year old daughter of his chief follower, or Sawda Zama, a widow of about 30, who had gone as a Muslim to Abyssinia and whose husband had died there. Muhammad is said to have asked her to arrange for him to marry both. It had already been agreed that Aisha should marry Djubayr Mutim, whose father, though still pagan, was friendly to the Muslims. By common consent, however, this agreement was set aside, and Muhammad was betrothed to Aisha [...]. The marriage was not consummated until some months after the Hidjra, (in April 623, 624). Aisha went to live in an apartment in Muhammad's house, later the mosque of Median. She cannot have been more than ten years old at the time and took her toys to her new home". From the Muslim book *Women in Islam* by Said Abjullah Seif-Al-Hatimy, published by Islamic Publications in Lahore Pakistan: "[...] [Aisha] was the youngest of his wives. It is said that she was nine years of age when he married her".

There has been some confusion about the definition of the word "consummate". In Sahih Bukhari, vol. 7,p64, the root word used is "dakhala". According to the Hans-Wehr Arabic-English Dictionary (p273), it means "to enter, to pierce, to penetrate, to consummate the marriage, cohabit, sleep with a woman".

⁵ Bullough, V. L. (1976) *Sexual Variance in Society and History*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press

⁶ Antoun, R. T. (1980) The Islamic Court, the Islamic Judge, and the Accommodation of Traditions: A Jordanian Case Study, *Int J Middle East Stud* 12,4:455-67

at age 12 or 13, and the Koran prohibits premenarchal consummation (Bullough, 1976:p214). This sensitises some contemporary authorities when, in a pamphlet dedicated to Allah, stating that "[s]exual desire is aroused in human being at the age of puberty", which would be "fifteen lunar years for boys and nine for girls" (Rizvi, undated:p59, 60)⁷.

Motzki (1985)⁸ states that in central Arabia around the 7th and 8th century A.D. ejarcularche (13, 14y) and menarche (13) primarily signified legal, political and social caesura, the minimal ages would have been nine and twelve (ten), respectively. "So hieß es auch, daß neun Jahre das Alter sei, von dem an das Mädchen Begierden wecken, und zehn Jahre der Zeitpunkt, von dem an der Junge Begierden habe könne und man ging gewöhnlich davon aus, daß sie dann auch zum Koitus fähig sein könnten, selbst wenn die Geschlechtsreife später einträte" (p494). The physical transition is intimately connected to the sexual sphere, being a prerequisite for marriage, which was legal only through consummation. Premenarchal marriage "appears to have been among the possibilities, insofar she was physically able for coitus" (p492, 522).

Sexual Climate: General Remarks

Francoeur (1990:p101-3)⁹ provided a baseline sketch of Islamic sexuality. Another baseline:

"In many Islamic countries boys and girls are segregated in schools, except at the university level, and even university segregation occurs in some areas. Dating is forbidden and risky, although it is practised secretly beyond the watchful eyes of families and friends. It is not uncommon for couples to delay courtship until they are actually married and the wife has moved to her new domicile. Premarital pregnancy or loss of chastity is regarded as a calamity with very serious consequences to those involved and their families"¹⁰.

Edwardes and Masters (1961)¹¹ work is monumental for the study of the development of sexual behaviour in the East. Their narrative however, seems hyperbolic. For instance, they write that "in the East there are but a handful of females who do not have their vaginas penetrated at least once by the male penis before the age of puberty" (p121). According to Edwardes (1967b/1969)¹², masturbation is very common among the Arabs and Jews from the cradle. This would oppose orthodox rulings, though¹³. DeMause (1991)¹⁴ seems to agree. The seductive climate would have to lead to *Paradoxia*:

⁷ Rizvi, S. M. (undated) *Marriage & Morals in Islam*. Vancouver Islamic Educational Foundation. Qum: Ansariyan Publications

⁸ Motzki, H. (1985) Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung im frühen Islam, in Müller, E. W. (Ed.) *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung*. München: K. Alber, p479-550

⁹ Francoeur, R. T. (1990) Current religious doctrines of sexual and erotic development in childhood, in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology volume VII: Childhood and Adolescent Sexology*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, p80-112

¹⁰ El-Behairy, M. (1994) Islam: sexual relations in the Muslim world, in Bullough, V. L. & Bullough, B. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc.

¹¹ Edwardes, A. & Masters, R. E. L. (1961) *The Cradle of Erotica*. N.Y.: The Julian Press. See also Edwardes, A. (1959) *The Jewel in the Lotus*. N.Y.: The Julian Press

¹² Edwardes, A. (1967b) Self-stimulation among Arabs and Jews, in Masters, R. E. L. (Ed.) *Sexual Self-Stimulation*. Los Angeles: Sherbourne Press, p304-14. Reprinted as "Die Selbstbefriedigung bei Arabern und Juden", in Masters, R. E. L. (Ed., 1969) *Das Heimliche Laster*. München: Lichtenberg Verlag, p197-204

¹³ On Judaic interests in masturbation: "There is much uplifting homiletic and instructive literature that ranges from looking on onanism as a corrupting practice to seeing it as a wasteful and diverting

"Sex for boys in the Middle East is said to begin in infancy and continue throughout childhood. Parents and others masturbate the infant's penis in order "to increase its size and strengthen it", and older siblings have been observed playing with the genitals of babies for hours at a time.^[15] As the boy gets older, mutual masturbation, fellatio and anal intercourse are said to be common among children, particularly with the older boys using the younger children as sex objects as a reaction to the over stimulation of the family bed".

According to DeMause, girls would be subjected to a downpour of incestuous assault along the age gradient. DeMause later¹⁶ draws a parallel between "Islamic terrorism" and sexual socialisation, stating terrorists are "products of a misogynist fundamentalist system".

Sexual education in Islamic Middle East slowly gained weight in the seventies, although met with considerable hesitation (e.g., Minai, 1981:p133-8)¹⁷.

Hammam as Cradle of Sexual Culture [cf. Volume II, chapter 16]

The role of sex in the traditional 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)¹⁸. Later, the smouldering memories of naked females would eroticise the institution (cf. Drew, 1997)¹⁹. According to Serhane ([1995:p169-77])²⁰ the Hammam is remembered as a revolution in male sexual development, a transition nicely illustrated in the film *Halfaouine*²¹. In his *Dreams of Trespass*, Mernissi (1994)²² 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"^[23]. [...] [T]hat [...] incident signalled,

substitute for authentic human relations. Sometimes it is seen as an acceptable release of tensions in a situation where other releases are not possible. Some modern Jewish thinkers would incline to the latter view. Some past thinkers dealt with it very little or not at all". Podet, A. H. (1994) Judaism and sexuality, in Bullough, V. L. & Bullough, B. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*. New York & London: Garland Publ.. Inc. [A work that might prove of interest is Havre, V. du (1847) *Cause Morale De La Circoncision des Israélites, Institution Préventive de L'onanisme des Enfants et des Principales Causes d'Epuisement : Réhabilitation et Réforme.*]

¹⁴ DeMause, L. (1991) The Universality of Incest, *J Psychohist* 19,2:123-64. See also DeMause, L. (nd) *The Emotional Life of Nations*. Karnac Books, Limited, UK. Online ed., chapter 7

¹⁵ Edwardes and Masters, *The Cradle of Erotica*, p40, 42, 239-45 [orig.footnote]

¹⁶ *The Emotional Life of Nations*, ch. 3 / DeMause, L. (2002) The childhood origins of terrorism, *J Psychohist* 29,4:340-8

¹⁷ Minai, N. (1981) *Women in Islam*. New York: Seaview/London: Murray

¹⁸ Buitelaar, M. & Van Gelder, G. J. (1996) *Het Badhuis tussen Hemel en Hel*. Amsterdam: Bulaaq [Dutch]

¹⁹ Drew, P. E. (1997) Iran, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Quoted from the online edition

²⁰ Serhane, A. ([1995]) *L'Amour Circoncis: Essai*. 2nd ed. Casablanca: Editions Eddif

²¹ 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

²² Mernissi, F. (1994) *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley

²³ An interesting parallel, Newson and Newson (1968:p363-5) discussed the developmental difference in "looking" and "seeing" in American four-year-olds.

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). Mernissi was told:

"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).

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)²⁴: "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 *Hamam-complex*. As judged from Messina (1991:p201-2)²⁵, the Moroccan boy may remember to be expelled from the *Hamam* at variable ages, ranging from three or four, eight to as late as ten. Serhane (1995) provided a detailed analysis of Moroccan sexual development. Masturbation is regarded as deviant. Allegedly, homosexual abuse, although counteracted by Islam, is frequent and may constitute the child's first sexual experience (p45-6, 159). Both homosexuality and zoerastic contacts are interpreted as directly associated with the repression of sexuality, and the separation of the sexes.

*The Other Cradle: "Genital Parenting"*²⁶

In the Middle-Ages, the **Jews** would not have appreciated hearing their children laugh in their bedrooms, for they believed that in such cases the Lilith would be playing with their genitalia (Patai, 1967:p224)²⁷.

A negative association with this belief would contrast the case of genital reference in infancy found in the literature for Middle to Near East. Miner (1960)²⁸: "The genitals of a baby are stroked by its brothers and sisters to amuse and please it". An **Egyptian** mother would play

²⁴ Bouhdiba, A. (1985) *Sexuality in Islam*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, p165, 169, 171,173; as quoted by DeMause (1991), *op.cit*

²⁵ Messina, M. G. (1991) *Celebrations of the Body*. Dissertation, Stony Brook (State University of New York)

²⁶ Cf. Volume II, chapter 9

²⁷ Patai, R. (1967) *The Hebrew Goddess*. New York: Ktav Publ. House. Also cited by Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilizationprocess*. 2nd ed., p202

²⁸ Miner, H. M. & De Vos, G. (1960) *Oasis and Casbah*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Also quoted by Edwardes (1967a:xiii)

with boy's genitals (Ammar, 1954:p105)²⁹. The **Kazak** rub and play with boy's genitals, and allow masturbation (Ford and Beach, 1951:p188)³⁰. In **Pakistan**, Pandjgur women may stroke the genitalia of their little sons, but only when their husbands, brothers or any other man is absent (Pastner, 1984:p224ff)³¹. Among the **Turks**, infants' "penises were kissed and stroked [...] grandparents and parents fondled their genitals and repeated: "You are male, you are male" " (Delaney, 1991:p78-9)³². Blowing on the penis is done to encourage urination. Female genitals and masturbation are ignored. Olsen (1981:p108)³³ saw her daughter's "sugar box" "kissed lovingly" by a Turkish maid/nurse and was urged to do the same "as a part of appropriate "mothering" ". Olson-Prather (1976:p278)³⁴ noted that a teenage neighbour girl of the elite class expressed verbal but not physical admiration. Bilge, another American researcher told Olson³⁵ that this was common among recent and earlier Turkish immigrants near Detroit, Michigan. Helling (1960:p87-8)³⁶ described that old women may snatch at the penises of little boys as they run by in the nude, threatening to cut them off, but also in apparent celebration of his incipient virility. Edwardes and Masters (1961:p240, 249-52, 264)³⁷ provide a functional interpretation: "[The] constant forcible retraction has for centuries been customary among the Islamic people of Central Asia (e.g., the **Turkomans**, **Kurds**, **Uzbeks**, **Kazak-Kirghiz**, etc.), who methodologically masturbate their sons from early infancy in order to expose the glans penis, dilate the preputial orifice, and stimulate growth and development. Rubbed erect, the infant's penis is clasped directly under the corona by the parent's fingers; then the foreskin is jerked fully down again and again, stretching the frenulum and uncovering the crown. All the members of the family, young and old alike, take turns performing this denudation of the glans on the new baby for at least an hour every evening". The Jews, however, would not have the argument of preputial conditioning, because of the neonatal circumcision: "They do it merely because it is super-exciting to the suckling; the exposed glans is therefore rarely if ever touched or rubbed by the fingers". Messina (1991:p165-6)³⁸: "Another "flaw", Suad regards as peculiarly Farsi, is the affectionate genital contact some women extend when they greet or communicate with an infant. It is not entirely uncommon to see women- mother's, aunts, sisters or maids- touch the child's genitals with their hand, then kiss those same fingers, back and forth, a few brief times with much the spontaneity as the American gesture of gently pinching an infant's chin (I am told that fathers do this as well, but personally I have only witnessed women doing so. I know of one instance with a female infant and several with males)". Kasriel (1990:p120)³⁹ also refers to **Moroccan** maternal mockeries. Mernissi ([1985:p162])⁴⁰:

²⁹ Ammar, H. (1954) *Growing Up in an Egyptian Village*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

³⁰ Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Row

³¹ Pastner, C. M. (1980) *Sexual Dichotomization in Society and Culture: The Women of Pandjgur, Baluchistan*. Ann Harbor: University Microfilms International; Duerr (1988, I:p202), *op.cit.*

³² Delaney, C. (1991) *The Seed and the Soil*. Berkeley (etc.): University of California Press

³³ Olson, E. A. (1981) Socioeconomic and psychocultural contexts of child abuse and neglect in Turkey, in Korbin, J. (Ed.) *Child Abuse and Neglect: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, p96-119

³⁴ Cited by Olson (1981:p108), *op.cit.*

³⁵ Olson (1981:p108n), *op.cit.*

³⁶ Cited by Olson (1981:p108), *op.cit.*

³⁷ *Op.cit.*

³⁸ *Op.cit.*

³⁹ Kasriel, M. ([1990]) *Libes Femmes du Haute-Atlas?* Paris: L'Armattan

⁴⁰ Mernissi, F. ([1985]) *Beyond the Veil*. London: Al Saqi. 2nd rev. ed.

"[The boy's] penis, *htewta* ("little penis"), is the object of a veritable cult on the part of the women rearing him. Little sisters, aunts, maids, and mothers often attract the little boy's attention to his *htewta* 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 *htewta*. *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. The child's phallic pride is enhanced systematically, beginning in the first year of life".

Boy-Love, Boy Prostitution, with a Specific Reference to Age (→Indonesia, →Asia)

"Some writers speculate that the veiling and secluding of women results in homosexuality. For example, in his analysis of Arefnameh, Paul Sprachman claims that Iraj Mirza launched in this work a "general attack on the pervasiveness of Persian pedophilia," blaming it on the strict segregation of the sexes⁴¹. In lines 79–88, Iraj Mirza states that as long as girls are veiled and boys are not, one cannot blame men for preferring boys. He further asserts that if girls were available, men would not sodomize boys. Clearly, it is not pedophilia that concerns Iraj Mirza but pederasty. In these lines, the poet greatly oversimplifies sexual dynamics between a man and a boy. Would the pederast really prefer girls over boys if girls were available to him? Does marriage and the resulting availability of women change the sexual preference of a pederast?" (Shirazi, 2001:p179)⁴².

The Mamlukes (ruling medieval Egypt) indulged in pederasty with boys from the Central Asian steppes (Murray; Greenberg)⁴³. In medieval Southwestern Asia, the Mamluk[e]s of the sultanate governments were forbidden to have sex with females but commonly had boys as sexual partners. The adult Mamluk would educate his boy apprentice (cf. Hardman, 1990; Williams, 1998, 2000)⁴⁴.

Persia for centuries was especially renowned for its boy-brothels. Until the later half of the 20th century, it was "still an easy matter to find child prostitutes in the Middle and Far East" (Benjamin and Masters, 1964:p162⁴⁵; cf. Greenberg, 1988:p172-82)⁴⁶; this parallels the gone-by scene in Morocco (Rouadjia, 1991; etc.)⁴⁷. DeMause (1991)⁴⁸ seems to avoid the issue of age in

⁴¹ Sprachman, *Suppressed Persian*, 77 [orig. footnote] See Sprachman, P. (tr., 1995) *Suppressed Persian: An Anthology of Forbidden Literature*. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Park

⁴² Shirazi, F. (2001) *The Veil Unveiled : The Hijab in Modern Culture*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida

Middle-Eastern boy-love. Love of boys, as judged from Medieval and later Muslim and Hebrew verse (Roth, 1982, 1984, 1989, 1991, 1994; etc.)⁴⁹ was informed by classic “Greek” aesthetics: the boy must not grow a beard, but should be pubescent. Sources suggest this would have been the case even in the first century BC. (e.g., Haas, 1999:p115)⁵⁰. Schild (1985:p101)⁵¹ relates that a special word for “beard poems” exists (*mu’adhar*). In his *Book on the Etiquette of Marriage*, Al-Ghazālī’s mere reference to homosexuality is that it is shameful for a man to look at the face of the beardless boy when it may result in evil⁵². In “*The Upbringing of Children in Islam*”⁵³, the author details a specific argument against looking at boys:

“In the normal activities of life like buying and selling, treatment and training, one may look at a young boy of about fourteen years who has not yet grown his beard. However, it is unlawful to look at him to enjoy his beauty. It may arouse sensuality. ¶Hazrat ¶Hasan bin Zakw^aan never allowed anyone to sit with such a boy. ¶Hazrat Sufy^aan Thauri *may Allah have mercy on him* says, “There is one devil with every woman but there are seventeen devils with a young boy”. Imam A¶hmad *may Allah have mercy on him* did not allow one to move about with such a boy. ¶Hazrat ibn Musaib *may Allah have mercy on him* said, “Be vigilant of the one who moves about with young boys.” [note: unaltered from online ed.]

⁴³ Murray, S. O. (1987) The Mamlukes, in Murray, S. O. (Ed.) *Cultural Diversity and Homosexualities*. New York: Irvington, p213-9; Greenberg, D. F. (1988) *The Construction of Homosexuality*. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press, p31

⁴⁴ Hardman, P. (1990) *Homoaffectionism*. San Fransisco: ONE Institute Press/ GLB Press; Williams, W. L. (1998) Social acceptance of same-sex relationships in families: models from other cultures, in D’Augelli, A. & Patterson, Ch. (Eds.) *Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Identities in Families*. New York: Oxford University Press; Williams, W. L. (2000) Reply to Kirkpatrick, *Current Anthropol* 41,3:403-5

⁴⁵ Benjamin, H. & Masters, R. E. L. (1964) *Prostitution and Morality*. New York: Julian Press

⁴⁶ *Op.cit.*

⁴⁷ Rouadjia, A. (1991) La prostitution dans les villes, in Lacoste, C. & Lacoste, Y. (Eds.) *L’État du Maghreb*. Paris: La Decouverte, p237-8. See also Hanlo, J. (1971) *Go to the Mosk*. Amsterdam: Van Oorschot. More secondary reading in Mrabet, M. (1993) *Chocolate Creams and Dollars*, transl. from Arabic by Paul Bowles. New York: Inanout Press

⁴⁸ *Op.cit.*

⁴⁹ Roth, N. (1982) “Deal gently with the young man”: love of boys in medieval Hebrew poetry of Spain, *Speculum* 57:20-51; Roth, N. (1984) “My Beloved is Like a Gazelle”, imagery of the beloved boy in Hebrew Religious Poetry, *Hebrew Ann Rev* 8:143-65; Roth, N. (1989) The care and feeding of Gazelles: Medieval Arabic and Hebrew Love poetry, in Lazar, M. & Lacy, N. J. (Eds.) *Poetics of Love in the Middle Ages*. Fairfax, Va.: G. Mason University Press, p95-118 ; Roth, N. (1991) “Fawn of my delights”: boy-love in Hebrew and Arabic verse, in Salisbury, J. (Ed.) *Sex in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*. New York: Garland, p157-72; Roth, N. (1994) Boy-love in Medieval Arabic Verse, *Paidika* 3,3:12-7; Garcia Gomez, E. (Ed., 1975) *In Praise of Boys: Moorish Poems from Al-Andalus*. Transl. from Spanish by Erskine Lane. San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press; Al-Nawadji, M. / Khawam, R. R. (Ed., 1989) *La Prairie des Gazelles : Éloge des Beaux Adolescents*. Paris: Phébus; Al Sharif Al Radi / Wormhoudt, A. (transl., 1988) *Selection from the Diwan of Al Aharif Abu al Hasan Muhammad al radi al Musi*. [Oskaloosa, IO]: William Penn College; Schippers, A. (1983) *Knaappes-Poëzie in de Arabisch- en Hebreeuws-Andalusische Literatuur (11e en 12e eeuw)*. Amsterdam: [s.n.] Speech delivered to Colloquium *Vriendjespoëtië*, Nov. 3 [avail. from Homodok, Amsterdam]. Cf. Bürgel, J. Ch. (1992) Abglanz Gottes oder Fallstrick Satans? : Zum homoerotischen Element in der Dichtung des islamitischen Mittelalters, in Stemmler, Th. (Ed.) *Homoerotische Lyrik*, 6. Kolloquium der Forschungsstelle für Europäische Lyrik des Mittelalters. Mannheim: Narr, p103ff

⁵⁰ Haas, V. (1999) *Babylonischer Liebesgarten*. München: Beck

⁵¹ Schild, M. (1985) *De Citadel van Integriteit*. Doctoral Dissertation, Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, the Netherlands; Schild, M. (1988) The irresistible beauty of boys: middle eastern attitudes about boy-love, *Paidika* 1,3:37-48

⁵² Farah (1984:p38-9)

⁵³ Mukhtar, M. H. (?) *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*.

Others agree that “Some religious scholars have also forbidden looking at beardless handsome boys in the same way as is the case with women whom one is not allowed to see”⁵⁴. The Qur’an supplies such unambiguous phrases as “And there shall wait on them [the Muslim men] young boys of their own, as fair as virgin pearls” (SURA LII:24) and “They shall be attended by boys graced with eternal youth, who will seem like scattered pearls to the beholders” (SURA LXXVI:19)⁵⁵. There is a hadith in Bukhari, admittedly providing not the Prophet’s opinion but that of Abu Jafar, which advocates the prohibition of marrying the mother of boys if the latter be penetrated:

“feeman yal’abu bis-sabiyy: in ‘adkhalahu feehi falaa yatazawwajanna ‘ummahu” [As for whom(ever) plays with a boy: if he caused him to enter him, then he shall not marry his mother; Bukhari LXII, 25)].

One of the great male Sufi contemporaries of Rabi’a al-‘Adawiyya provided a divine justification for a pederastic relationship, as repeated without a hint of disapproval in a 10th century book about great Sufi women:

“One day Rabi’a saw Rabah [al-Qaysi] kissing a young boy [huwa yuqabbil sabiyyan]. ‘Do you love him?’ she asked. ‘Yes’, he said. To which she replied, ‘I did not imagine that there was room in your heart to love anything other than God, the Glorious and Mighty!’ Rabah was overcome at this and fainted. When he awoke, he said, ‘On the contrary, this is a mercy that God Most High has put into the hearts of his slaves’⁵⁶.

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)⁵⁷. In medieval Islamic societies, “sexuality was defined according to the domination by or reception of the penis in the sex act; moreover, one’s position in the social hierarchy also localized her or him in a predetermined sexual role”. Hence, boys, “being not yet men, could be penetrated without losing their potential manliness”⁵⁸. As Dunne⁵⁹ continues, “[s]ex with boys or male prostitutes made men “sinners”, but did not undermine their public position as men or threaten the important social values of female virginity or family honor”.

⁵⁴ *Riyad-us-Saliheen*, Book 17, Chapter 290: Prohibition of Gazing at Women and Beardless Handsome Boys Except in Exigency. Compiled by Al-Imam Abu Zakariya Yahya bin Sharaf An-Nawawi Ad-Dimashqi [undated; <http://www.wponline.org/vil/hadeeth/riyad/17/chap290.htm>]

⁵⁵ Another translation [Rev. J.M. Rodwell, M.A.] provides the following phrases: “[...] youths shall go round among them beautiful as imbedded pearls” / “Aye-blooming youths go round among them. When thou lookest at them thou wouldest deem them scattered pearls”.

⁵⁶ as-Sulami, Dhikr an-niswā al-muta’abbidat as-sufiyyat translated by Rkia E. Cornell, *Early Sufi Women*. Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 1999, p78-9

⁵⁷ 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

⁵⁸ Rowson, E. K. (1991) The Categorization of Gender and Sexual Irregularity in Medieval Arabic Vice Lists, in Epstein, J. & Straub, K. (Eds.) *Body Guards: The Cultural Politics of Ambiguity*. New York & London: Routledge, p50-79

⁵⁹ Dunne, B. W. (1998) Power and Sexuality in the Middle East, *Middle East Rep* [MERIP] 28(206),1:8-12. Cf. Dunne, B. W. (1990) Homosexuality in the Middle East: An Agenda for Historical Research, *Arab Studies Quart* 12,3-4:55-82

According to Burton⁶⁰, the love of boys was “popular and endemic” within the “Sotadic Zone”, roughly covering the Mediterranean shores (France, Italy, Greece, North-coastal Africa), Middle and Far East, the South Sea Islands, southern native America and the Middle Americas. An interesting collection of historical data is provided by Drake (1966/1992)⁶¹. Boy prostitution is said to have been common (Drew and Drake, 1969:p71-96)⁶². In Turkey homosexual acts with boys over 12 were legal in many areas. Shiraz (Iran) was described as a hotbed of vice where dancing boys are greeted with rapturous applause⁶³. In the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, a “child tax” was institutionalised to recruit handsome and talented boys for the Emperor’s service.

Cline (1936:p43)⁶⁴ observed that “all normal Siwan men and boys practice sodomy”. The boys are catamites (according to Cline there were no boy marriages, but this was suggested by other authors), aged 12 to 18, and are exchanged between the men. 59 out of 60 would have been catamites themselves when young⁶⁵. The issue was reviewed by Murray (1997:p37-41; cf. Adam⁶⁶).

Bombay anthropologist Gopal (1969:p167)⁶⁷ stated that North Indian and Afghanistan males, known for their extraordinary libido, “almost always prefer smaller boys”. In Afghanistan, where women, at least until very recently, wore Burkas, men who have homosexual relations do not consider themselves homosexual, at least not in the Western sense. “I like boys, but I like girls better”, one man argues, “It’s just that we can’t see the women to see if they are beautiful. But we can see the boys, and so we can tell which of them is beautiful”⁶⁸.

Additional refs.:

-- Dale, S. F. (1990) *Steppe Humanism: The Autobiographical Writings of Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, 1483-1530*, *Int J Middle East Studies* 22,1:37-58

-- Dunne, B. W. (1990) Homosexuality in the Middle East: An Agenda for Historical Research, *Arab Studies Quart* 12,3-4:55-82

⁶⁰ Burton, R. F. (1885-9) *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*. Vol. 10, p178-219. Cf. Stonefield, H. (1966) Burton’s terminal essay, *Int J Greek Love* 1,2:3-12; Dynes, W. R. (1990) Sotadic zone, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol II, p1235-6

⁶¹ Drake, J. (1966) “Le Vice” in Turkey, *Int J Greek Love* 1:13-27. Reprinted in Dynes, W. R. & Donaldson, S. (Ed.s, 1992) *Asian Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland, p27-41

⁶² Drew, D. & Drake, J. (1969) *Boys for Sale*. New York: Brown Book Co.

⁶³ Browney, E. G. (1893) *A Year Among the Persians*. London: Black. Cf. Puterbaugh, G. (1990) Iran, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol I, p612-3

⁶⁴ Cline, W. B. (1936) *Notes on the People of Siwa and El Garah in the Libyan Desert*. Menasha, Wisconsin: G. Banta

⁶⁵ Abdallah, M. (1917) *Siwan Customs*. Cambridge, Mass. Vol. I, p7

⁶⁶ Adam, B. D. (1990) Siwa Oasis, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol II, p1198

⁶⁷ Gopal, K. (1969) Schon im Kama Sutra, in Italiaander (Ed.) *Weder Krankheit noch Verbrechen*. Hamburg: Gala

⁶⁸ Reynolds, M. (2002) Kandahar’s Lightly Veiled Homosexual Habits, *Los Angeles Times*, April 3

Bačas

Boys in Central Asia, called *batshas*, would be trained from childhood on in erotic songs and dances⁶⁹. Baldauf (1988; 1990)⁷⁰ wrote on Uzbek (Northern [Afghanistan](#)) love of boys known as *Bačabozlik*⁷¹. The *Bača* was pubertal (11-18), optimally 12 to 16 years old. Jazayery⁷² (p198n1) assumes that the terms *bachchihbâz* and *bachchihbâzî* (Persian, homosexual, homosexuality) imply the other “partner” to be “a child (*bachchih*), or very young boy”. Specifically, however, “[e]ines Knaben vor einsetzen der Pubertät zum Bača zu nehmen gilt als Sünde (guno) [...]” (B., 1990:p13). The end of the *Bača* coincides with *barbarche* (the sprouting of facial hair). This custom may go forth on 19th century Afghanistan’s boy harems (Patai, 1960:p156)⁷³. In →**Albania**, likewise, boys were loved from age 12 upward: “Die Knaben [...] werden von zwölften Jahre an geliebt, und mit den 16. oder 17. Verlassen (Von Hahn, 1853:p166-8)”⁷⁴. Burton (1885): “Of Turkistan we know little, but what we know confirms my statement. Mr. Schuyler in his *Turkistan* (i. 132)[⁷⁵] offers an illustration of a ‘Batchah’ (Pers. *bachcheh* = catamite), or singing-boy surrounded by his admirers”. He further notes that “The Afghans are commercial travellers on a large scale and each caravan is accompanied by a number of boys and lads almost in woman’s attire with kohl’d eyes and rouged cheeks, long tresses and henna’d fingers and toes, riding luxuriously in Kajawas or camel-panniers: they are called Kuch-i safari, or travelling wives, and the husbands trudge patiently by their sides”.

Brongersma’s (1987:p105-7)⁷⁶ informants speak of illegal boy (and girl) marriages in Albania, in which fellatio is practised “until full maturity”.

For further references to “Islamic” age-stratified homosexuality, see the exhaustive collection by Murray and Roscoe⁷⁷.

⁶⁹ Gunther, J. (1939) *Inside Asia*. New York: Harper

⁷⁰ Baldauf, I. (1988) *Die Knabeliebe in Mittelasien*. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch; Baldauf, I. (1990) Boylove, folksong, and literature in Central Asia, *Paidika* 2,2:12-31. See also Foster, S. W. (1990) Afghanistan, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol I, p17-9

⁷¹ Or *bacaboazlik*, *bacaboyi*. Cf. Murray, S. O. (1997) The will not to know, in Murray, S. O. & Roscoe, W. (1997) *Islamic Homosexualities*. New York: New York University Press, p14-54, at p32

⁷² Jazayery, M. A. (1973) Ahmad Kasravi and the Controversy over Persian Poetry. 1. Kasravi's Analysis of Persian Poetry, *Int J Middle East Studies* 4,2:190-203

⁷³ Patai, R. (1960) *Family, Love and the Bible*. London: MacGibbon & Kee

⁷⁴ Von Hahn, J. G. ([1969]) Albanesische Studien, in Italiaander, R. (Ed.) *Weder Krankheit Noch Verbrechen*. Hamburg: Gala, p89-91. Von Hahn’s two-volume work was published in 1853/4. Cf. Näcke, P. (1908) Über Homosexualität in Albanien, *Jb Sex Zwischenst* 9:325-37. Reprinted as “On homosexuality in Albania”, *Int J Greek Love* 1,1:39-47. See also Carpenter, E. (1908) *Ioläus: An Anthology of Friendship*, 1917 ed., New York: Mitchell Kennerley, citing Buckingham, J. S. (1829) *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*. London: Colburn & Bentley

⁷⁵ Schuyler, Eu. (1876-7) *Turkistan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*. 2 vols. New York: Scibner, Armstrong / London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searles & Rivington

⁷⁶ Brongersma, E. (1987) *Jongensliefde*, Deel 1. Amsterdam: SUA. See also Brongersma, E. (1986) Jongensliefde in de Arabische cultuur, *OK Mag [Dutch]* 3:19-22

⁷⁷ Murray, S. O. & Roscoe, W. (1997) *Islamic Homosexualities*. New York: New York University Press. Cf. Murray, S. O. (1995) Southwest Asian and North African terms for homosexual roles, *Arch Sex Behav* 24,6:623-9

Early Betrothal / Marriage: Islamic Regulations and Practice

In the ancient world, Jewish law seemed to require an act of intercourse for a betrothal to be recognised. Biale (1997:p127-9): "Since the early Middle Ages, the Jews of northern Europe who could afford to married their sons off very young, frequently at age thirteen or fourteen and sometimes even younger—this possibly in imitation of the nobility. The responsa literature over the course of centuries contains case after case of children married as minors, under thirteen for boys and under twelve for girls". The Mishnah said: "A girl three years old and one day may be betrothed by intercourse [...]" (Mishnah, Nid. V. 4; Danby, 1933:p750⁷⁸; Duncan and Derrett, 1974:p26)⁷⁹. Maimonides (A. D. 1180) states: "If she is three years and one day old she may be betrothed by an act of intercourse, with the consent of her father. If she is less than that, and her father has her betrothed by an act of intercourse, she is not betrothed" ([1972:p18]⁸⁰). Edwardes (1967a:p168)⁸¹: "The early-marriage tradition of Israel found acceptance in Christendom, whose precocious children bedded and wedded at or even before puberty; but that Talmudic mishnâh stating "A girl of the age of three years and a day may be betrothed by sexual intercourse" inspired not a few Talmud-burnings and local pogroms". This rule "grew out of an old Semitic tradition and cannot be dismissed as myth, nor is it simply a Talmudic academic exercise", according to Rush (1980:p17-9)⁸². In actuality, Duncan and Derrett (*ibid.*) argue, 'Érūsîn (betrothal) was effected by a payment. At the time of St. Paul, girls were married at puberty or a little before.

The Cur'an indicates maturity rather than a specific age limit for nuptial status. Although the Talmud recommended that a daughter be given in marriage when *na'rah*, between the ages of twelve and twelve and a half, a father could marry her off well before that time. A boy reached his majority at age 13 and was then eligible to negotiate his own affairs. According to classical Islamic law marriage of minors is permitted "provided it was contracted on their behalf by parents or, in the absence of parents, by other suitable guardians, and provided that the minor, on attaining puberty, could renounce it before consummation of the marriage" (Rahman, 1980:p455)⁸³. Patai (1962:p100-5)⁸⁴ observed that, for a number of reasons, early marriage is an age-old Middle Eastern tradition, girls being socialised for marriage at ages 4 and 5 (cf., El Masry, 1962)⁸⁵.

Age-stratified marriage was found to be practised by the Jews, Arabs, Persians, and Indians (Englisch, 1932:p31)⁸⁶. "Since marriage was intended to control sexual energy, the age of marriage was an important consideration. One passage that would echo long and loud for Ashkenazic Jews throughout the Middle Ages held that a man who marries off his sons and daughters near the period of puberty (*samukh le-firkan*) will receive the scriptural blessing:

⁷⁸ Danby, H. (1933) *The Mishnah*. London: Oxford University Press

⁷⁹ Duncan, J. & Derrett, M. (1974) The disposal of virgins, *Man*, New Series, 9,1:23-30

⁸⁰ Maimonides, M. ([1972]) *Book of Women: Code of Maimonides Book IV*. Transl. I. Klein. New Haven, London: Yale University Press

⁸¹ Edwardes, A. (1967a) *Erotica Judaica*. New York: The Julian Press, Inc. See also page xiii

⁸² Rush, F. (1980) *The Best Kept Secret: Sexual Abuse of Children*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall

⁸³ Rahman, F. (1980) A Survey of Modernization of Muslim Family Law, *Int J Middle East Stud* 11,4:451-65

⁸⁴ Patai, R. ([1962]) *Sitte und Sippe in Bibel und Orient*. [German transl.] Frankfurt am Main: Ner-Tamid Verlag

⁸⁵ El Masry, Y. (1962) *Le Drame Sexuel de la Femme dans l'Orient Arabe*. Paris: Lafont

⁸⁶ Englisch, P. (1932) *Sittengeschichte des Orients*. Vienna [etc.]: Phaidon-Verlag

“you shall know that your tent is in peace” (Job 5:24), 101 evidently understood to mean that if one’s children were married, they would not succumb to sexual temptation” (Biale, 1997:p49-50)⁸⁷. Apparently 40% of Muslim marriages around 17th century Palestine (1585-1670), at least in the region of Ramla, involved “children” under the age of 15 (Motzki, 1987)⁸⁸. Child engagement was not uncommon in sixteenth-century Anatolia (Pierce, 1997:p173). “Both pubescent boys and pubescent girl [...] might be “carnally desirable” [...], and thus the potential object of the desire of adult males”. This would be at least at age 12, and if puberty appeared delayed, 17 for girls and 18 for boys. 16th century Jewish history reveals a prevalence of girl “child” marriage, many of whom were between 12 and 14 years of age (Lamdan, 1996)⁸⁹. The early marriage age may be attributed to several factors: an attempt to prevent the temptation of sexual relations before marriage; the effort to arrange the best possible match both socially and economically; the insecurity of diaspora Jews during the age of expulsions from Spain and Ottoman expansion, moving them to establish ties that would assure the children’s financial future; and the desire to raise a new generation of Jews as quickly as possible to assure the continuity of their people.

“Child” marriage was prohibited in Egypt in 1923, in Jordan (1951), Syria (1953), Morocco (1958), Iraq (1959), and further⁹⁰. In the case of Egypt, however, some girls may still have been married prethelarchically⁹¹. Today, “[c]hild marriage, at least in its more extreme forms, has been restricted in a number of Muslim countries, whether by criminal sanction or by procedural device forbidding the courts to entertain any disputed matrimonial cause in respect of an unregistered marriage, and forbidding marriage registrars to register a contract in which the parties have not reached specified ages” (Anderson, 1971:p24)⁹². “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 [⁹³]. The girl must therefore be married, and among both rural peoples, marriage normally occurs promptly after the onset of puberty⁹⁴” (Meeker, 1976:p390)⁹⁵; betrothal among the Arabs could be effected before birth (Meeker, p416; Granqvist, p146). In pre-WO II South Arabia, “[t]he child is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on the spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and incidences where one party or the other has not reached the age

⁸⁷ Biale, D. (1997) *Eros and the Jews: From Biblical Israel to Contemporary America*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, California: University of California Press

⁸⁸ Motzki, H. (1987) Muslimische Kinderehen in Palästina während des 17. Jahrhunderts. *Fatawa als Quellen zur Sozialgeschichte, Welt des Islams* 27,1-3:82-90

⁸⁹ Lamdan, R. (1996) Child marriage in Jewish society in the eastern Mediterranean during the sixteenth century, *Mediterr Hist Rev* 11,1:37-59

⁹⁰ Timm, K. & Aalami, S. (1976) *Die Muslimische Frau Zwischen Tradition und Fortschritt*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, p144/n25

⁹¹ Atiya, N. (1982) *Khul-Khaal: Five Egyptian Women Tell their Stories*. Transl. from the Arab original. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, p5. Cf. Ayrout, H. H. (1938) *Moeurs et Coutumes des Fellahs*. Translated 1963/1968 as *The Egyptian Peasant*. Boston: Beacon Press, p118. Ayrout states that “both families concerned often connive to break it [the marriage law]”.

⁹² Anderson, J. N. D. (1971) The Role of Personal Statutes in Social Development in Islamic Countries, *Comparat Stud Soc & Hist* 13,1:16-31

⁹³ Cf. Patai, R. (1973) *The Arab Mind*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, p139: “[The Moroccan woman] has been taught to believe from childhood that the mere sight of a woman is sufficient to arouse a man sexually, and only external circumstances can prevent him from having his will on her”.

⁹⁴ For the Arabs, see Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions*, Part. I, p38 [orig. footnote]

⁹⁵ Meeker, M. E. (1976) Meaning and Society in the near East: Examples from the Black Sea Turks and the Levantine Arabs (II), *Int J Middle East Stud* 7,3:383-422

of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations”⁹⁶. 1960s’ Beirut prostitutes had had their first sexual experiences at 12-13 in 41.5% (5.4 before age 12), with half of all respondents reporting this occurred with their husbands, a fact indicative of early marriage (Khalaf, 1965:p33-5)⁹⁷. Marriage at age 13 was common in Oman (Wikan, 1982:p60-1)⁹⁸ and in Yemen (Dorsky, 1981:p99)⁹⁹. In Albania, betrothal in early childhood was probably customary from the late 17th century till at least the early twentieth (Durham, 1908:p458-9)¹⁰⁰. Early marriage for both men and women was a common practice in [Iran](#). Stirling (1965)¹⁰¹ could not add to data provided by Yasa (1957:p105-6)¹⁰² who reported cases of child marriage in [Turkey](#), involving no more than the transferring of a child to its future spouse’s household: “Formal childhood betrothal appears to be unknown”.

Further refs.:

-- Peppelenbosch, P. & Teune, E. (1976 [1971]) *De Wereld der Arabieren*. 2nd rev ed. Bussum [Holland]: Romen, p108-11 [Dutch]

*Current Age of Consent*¹⁰³

For details, one is to consult ECPAT¹⁰⁴ and ILGA¹⁰⁵. Graupner (2000)¹⁰⁶ lists the age of consent for Turkey (1858): 15/18 (vaginal and anal intercourse). ECPAT (Oct., 2002) offers data on AoC laws for the following countries: Iran (extramar.)¹⁰⁷, Iraq (extramar.)¹⁰⁸, Jordan (15)¹⁰⁹, Kuwait ([15])¹¹⁰, Lebanon (15)¹¹¹, and Oman ([15]?)¹¹².

⁹⁶ Thomas, B. (1932) Anthropological Observations in South Arabia, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 62:83-103, at p90

⁹⁷ Khalaf, S. (1965) *Prostitution in a Changing Society*. Beirut: Khayats

⁹⁸ Wikan, U. (1982) *Behind the Veil in Arabia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

⁹⁹ Dorsky, S. J. (1981) *Women’s Lives in a Yemeni Highlands Town*. Dissertation, Case Western Reserve University

¹⁰⁰ Durham, M. E. (1910) High Albania and its Customs in 1908, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 40:453-72

¹⁰¹ Stirling, P. (1965) *Turkish Village*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, p180

¹⁰² Yasa, I. (1957) *Hasanoglan. Socio-economic Structure of a Turkish Village*. Ankara

¹⁰³ <http://www.ageofconsent.com/ageofconsent.htm>, Nov. 2001

¹⁰⁴ ECPAT International, Online Database

[http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/online_database/index.asp]

¹⁰⁵

http://www.ilga.org/Information/Legal_survey/middle%20east/world_legal_survey_middle_east.htm

In **Morocco**, no sexual activity is allowed with a child until his fifteenth birthday (Art. 484, Penal Code). In **Algeria**, the age of consent is 16 (Law no. 82-04 [13.02.1982] Art. 334); in **Rwanda**, and in **Uganda**, it is 18; in **Tonga**, it is 16. In **Tunisia**, the age of consent was fixed at 20 years for both sexes. Consent is invalid if the "victim" is below age 13 (Art. 227, penal code). If the victim is more than 13 years and less than 15 years, the author will be punished by 6 years of prison (Art. 227a). If the victim is above 15 years and less than 20 years, it will be punished by 5 years of prison. In **Egypt**, "[a]ny person who rapes a boy or a girl minor, not yet full eighteen (18) years old, without using violence or threat, is to be punished by imprisonment. 2. If the victim is under full seven years or if the offender is one of those involved in the second paragraph of the article 267, punishment of penal servitude for a certain period of time is to be inflicted" (Art. 267, Penal Code)¹¹³. **Albania's** current regulations on 'Unlawful sexual intercourse with Minors', (Art.100, Penal Code) states that "[c]ommitting unlawful sexual intercourse with a girl, under the age of fourteen (14) or having not reached the age of puberty, is punished by imprisonment term varying from five (5) to fifteen (15) years"¹¹⁴. In **Armenia** (Art. 114, Penal Code), sexual acts are forbidden under the age of 16, or before puberty. In the **Azerbaijan Republic**, article 111 of the Criminal Code specifies criminal responsibility for sexual relations with a person aged under sixteen. Sexual intercourse with a person aged below sixteen years shall be punished with imprisonment for up to 3 years. The same actions committed in a perverted way or with a view of satisfaction of sexual passion shall be punished with imprisonment for up to 5 years according to article 112¹¹⁵. In **Lebanon**, the age of consent is 15 (Art. 5, Penal Code). The age of Consent in **Iraq** is said to be 14 for females, and 17 for males. In **Iran**, it would be 18, although it had been lowered to 15 "(or 13, in some accounts)" by the 1979 constitution¹¹⁶. In **Israel**, it is 16. In **Oman**, sexual activities or acts are not allowed, except in Legal Marriage, for which no legal age exists. In **Syria**, the Civil code (Order in Council No. 59 of 1953 and its amendments) defined in its article 18 the age of maturity (*sexual activity*): 15 years for the boy and 13 years for the girl. In **Turkey**, crimes against public decency and family order include "removing the virginity of a girl who has completed fifteen years

¹⁰⁶ Graupner, H. (2000) Sexual consent: The criminal law in Europe and overseas, *Arch Sex Behav* 29,5:415-61

¹⁰⁷ "[...] all sexual relations, not restricted to sexual intercourse, outside of marriage are strictly prohibited according to the Islamic Penal Code. [...] there does not appear to be specific provisions with regard to child sexual abuse. The Iranian Government sets the legal age for marriage at 18 years. The US State Department, however, writes that the minimum legal age for marriage is nine".

¹⁰⁸ "Sexual relations outside of marriage are prohibited. The age of marriage is in general 18 years according to the Iraqi Family Law, but a girl older than 15 years may marry with court permission".

¹⁰⁹ "The relevant age for sexual protection is 15 years in Jordan. Sexual intercourse and other sexual assaults against girls or boys under this age are prohibited even if the child consents and no force is used. With regard to girls this age limit is raised to 18 years if the assaulter is a close relative, legal guardian, a person entrusted with her care, or a minister of religion among others".

¹¹⁰ "There does not appear to be a specific age of consent to sexual activities in Kuwait but a rape statute criminalises any man that knowingly has sexual intercourse with a girl under 15 years of age regardless of whether force, threat or fraud is used".

¹¹¹ "The Lebanese Penal Code includes provisions that protect children under 15 years of age against all kinds of sexual abuse. This age limit is raised to 18 years if the perpetrator is a parent, legal guardian or entrusted with supervision over the child".

¹¹² The Penal Code "deals with sexual intercourse with persons under 15 years of age or with mentally or physically challenged persons. There is no requirement that force, threat or coercion be used. It is unclear if the article applies to boys and underage girls within marriage".

¹¹³ The age of consent for marriage provided by the Child Law no.12 is sixteen.

¹¹⁴ Article 101 states: "Committing violent unlawful sexual intercourse with a girl aged between fourteen (14) and eighteen (18), having reached the age of puberty, is punished by an imprisonment term varying from five (5) to ten (10) years"

¹¹⁵ There is also a child pornography law (article 228, Criminal Code), but no specific laws on child prostitution.

¹¹⁶ Moghadam, V. M. (1995) Gender and Revolutionary Transformation: Iran 1979 and East Central Europe 1989, *Gender & Society* 9,3:328-58, at p342

of age, with a promise of marriage" (Art. 423, Criminal Code). In **Pakistan**, No age limit has been fixed for consenting to a sexual activity. However, for the punishment of "Zina" (sexual intercourse without being validly married to each other) liable to "Hadd", the person committing the offence should be adult/major (Section 5 of the offence of Zina, Enforcement of Hudood Ordinance, 1979)¹¹⁷.

Sexual Upbringing: General and Historical Points

In a recent study¹¹⁸, sex instruction manuals written in central Europe in the nineteenth century Palestine and Israel in the twentieth century form 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, before declaring it a legitimised behaviour. Epstein¹¹⁹, however, is remarkably silent about preadulthood.

According to Couchard (1987)¹²⁰, the "phallic", all-powerful mother plays a chief role in her daughters' sex education, as dictated by Moslem [muslim] custom and by her "societal superego". Maternal discourse shapes a daughter's phantasms of external realities and the male world. The reputation of a Moslem clan depends on the modesty and virginity rate of its female members. Threats, pleas, and magical secrets imposed on or offered to the girls by their mothers are all variations on themes such as menstruation and loss of virginity. The life of women is characterised by continual psychic pressure from birth, a subordinate social position, virginity requirements for marriage (which often takes place before first menstruation), and pregnancies soon after marriage, with a likelihood of childbirth injury and subsequent sterility¹²¹.

The Upbringing of Children in Islam

¹¹⁷ Under said law, every sane person committing the offence of Zina, whether with consent or without consent is liable for the offence. However, the punishment provided for both cases is different.

¹¹⁸ Ajzenstadt, M. & Cavaglioni, G. (2002) The sexual body of the young Jew as an arena of ideological struggle, 1821-1948, *Symbolic Interaction* 25,1:93-116. Cf. Cavaglioni, G. (2000) [Childhood as a social construction: The case of sex education in the Jewish settlement of the early 20th century], *Megamut* [Hebrew] 40,3:531-48

¹¹⁹ Epstein, L. M. (1948) *Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism*. 1967 ed. New York: KTAV Publ. House

¹²⁰ Couchard, F. (1987) La parole des mères, parole structurante pour les filles dans la culture musulmane, *Perspect Psychia* 26,8, Pt 3:198-206

¹²¹ Follmer, W. (1997) Das Leben der Frau in arabisch-islamischen Ländern. Betrachtungen eines Frauenarztes, *Curare* 11:21-8

Halstead (1997)¹²² explores Muslim concepts of sex education on the occasion of “recent calls by Muslim leaders in Britain for Muslim parents to withdraw their children from sex education classes”. Most importantly, “What underlies Muslim objections to contemporary practice in sex education is that it is based on a humanistic interpretation of the needs and will of the individual rather than on religious foundations [while f]or Muslims, an understanding of sexuality--and indeed all areas of life--should begin “not with internal demands felt by the individual, but with the will of God”. Thus, “It is the erosion of religious values in sex education in state schools in the West which many Muslims find unacceptable. They fear that Muslim children are not merely picking up information about practices which deviate from Islamic norms, they are being presented with a vision of life from which religion is excluded or at least relegated to the status of a variable”. More practically, full nudity videos offended decency concepts.

Van Gelder (1993:p36-40)¹²³ briefly sketches the role of Islam in the formation of sexual behaviour patterns in Moroccan men. Children of opposite sex can sleep in single rooms, given the idea that, according to an informant, “they don’t understand a thing yet” of sex; thereafter the child is socialised in Islamic teachings. In an Arabic book entitled “*The Upbringing of Children in Islam*”¹²⁴, very specific codes are detailed concerning the behaviour of children.

“A child must not be allowed near anything that is liable to incite him sexually and thus mar his character. The period just before attaining maturity is the most sensitive time in the life of a person. Children of this age must not be allowed near women. At this age, they tend to differentiate between beauty and ugliness and sensual feelings grow in them. At ten years, their beds must be separated. Once, when he was about the age of maturity, Hazrat Fazal glanced at a woman, the Holy Prophet may blessings of Allah and peace be on him physically turned his face the other way. Hazrat Abbas enquired of the Prophet the reason for doing this. He said, “I saw a young man looking towards a young woman and feared they would succumb to base desire”. A guardian has a twofold responsibility in this regard.

To keep his ward away from sexually inciting things. When he is old enough, do not let him enter the house without permission at times of rest and sleep. If he sees his parents in an intimate position, he might feel sexually aflame. When he attains the age of nine, do not let him meet women who are strangers. When he is ten years old, do not let him sleep with his brothers and sisters. When he is conscious enough, see that he does not have an opportunity to see those parts of a woman’s body that are normally covered. Do not allow him to see films on television or in cinema. Let him not see vulgar films, magazines and romantic novels, or listen to audio cassettes that provoke sentiments. Make it a habit to inspect his room, his bed and his belongings. Prevent him from meeting female relatives or neighbours even though they may be attending the same school” [refs. omitted].

The non-Islamic case is dealt with as an *exemplum malum*: “We find many stories of hopeless cases in Europe and America [ref. omitted] Students, boys and girls, waste all their time in writing romantic letters with catastrophic results. [...] [The boy] must be awake to the intrigues hatched by the Jews, Zionists, Christians, and colonial powers to evoke social and moral corruption and vulgarity in societies. He will then watch out for the snares in the guise

¹²² Halstead, J. M. (1997) Muslims and sex education, *J Moral Educ* 26,3:317-30. See further Ashraf, S. A. (1996) Editorial: the Islamic concept of sex as the basis of sex education, *Muslim Educ Quart* 13:1-3; Sarwar, G. (1992) *Sex Education: The Muslim Perspective*. London: Muslim Educational Trust

¹²³ Van Gelder, P. (1993) *Tussen Schaamte en Mannelijkheid*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis [Dutch]

¹²⁴ Mukhtar, M. H. (?) *Tarbiyat-e-Aulad aur Islam* [The Upbringing of Children in Islam]. dar-ut-Tasneef, Jamiat ul-Uloom Il-Islamiyyah allama Banuri Town Karachi. English transl. by Rafiq Abdur Rahman. Transl. esp. Chapter 11: *Responsibility for Sexual Education*.

of women, film, theatre, magazines, newspapers, radio, television, vulgar dresses, nude pictures, and dens of prostitution, clandestine or known”.

Beck¹²⁵ argues that puberty “brings with it not increased independence, but further restrictions and controls, particularly as regards contacts between the sexes, modesty, and sexual taboos. These are imposed earlier and more rigidly on the girls, for a girl must never be permitted to shame herself. If she does, her father is considered to blame” (p345).

Zionism

Rapoport and Garb¹²⁶ argue that “[...] religious Zionism is strongly ambivalent towards the Westernised conceptions of adolescent sexuality and the female emancipatory agenda of secular Zionism”. Specifically,

“Religious Zionist boys and girls are instructed to behave as if they belong to separate worlds, which are expected to come together only in marriage. The Ulpana [“an elitist educational framework, established in the mid-1960s, that offers the ‘cream’ of religious adolescent girls a modern religious education in the confines of a single-sex boarding school”] strongly reinforces this message. The young women are discouraged from forming intimate relations with boys, yet this separation is partial and complex: they relate to boys outside the school (e.g. in the religious youth movement, in their home environment)”.

Music is of particular concern: “Whilst in childhood, music is not regarded as a threat to a girl’s chastity, in adolescence the sexual and gentile connotations of popular music render it a major threat to her modesty and honour”. Swimming: “the beach--where Israelis and tourists, especially young women and men, rub shoulders during the summer--becomes threatening in adolescence, even if before puberty it was considered harmless”.

Hymen Cult

An exponent of the hymen cult is hymen reconstruction (hymenorrhaphy, hymenoplasty)¹²⁷ said to occur in Morocco¹²⁸, Egypt¹²⁹, Jordan¹³⁰, and also China. 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-

¹²⁵ Beck, D. F. (1957) The Changing Moslem Family of the Middle East, *Marriage & Fam Living* 19,4:340-7

¹²⁶ Rapoport, T. & Garb, Y. (1998) The experience of religious fortification: Coming-of-age of Religious-Zionist young women, *Gender & Educ* 10,1:5-21

¹²⁷ Meinardus, O. (1968) The ethical issue of the hymenorrhaphy: a study on Middle East sexual morality, *Acta Ethnograph Budapest* 17,3/4:369-73

¹²⁸ Mernissi, F. (1982) Virginity and patriarchy, *Women’s Stud Int Forum* 5,2:183-91

¹²⁹ Kandela, P. (1996) Egypt’s trade in hymen repair, *Lancet*, Jun 8;347(9015):1615

¹³⁰ Jehl, D. (1999) The Fervor: Islam’s Teachings and Chastity, *The New York Times on the Web*, June 20; Goodwin (1994), *cit. infra*

Islamic countries¹³¹. Of course, Islamic doctors are well aware of the fact that the coital truth of anatomical non-intactness is not a complete one. 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 [...]”¹³². El Saadawi (1980:p15-8)¹³³ relates that girls are refrained from masturbation by fear for their hymen; on the other hand, they would be frequently touched by their brothers.

¹³¹ [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

¹³² www.islamset.com/bioethics/vision/salami.html, May 2002

¹³³ El Saadawi, N. (1980) *Tschador: Frauen im Islam*. London. German Ed.

Ethnographic Particularities

Supra-Saharan Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt)

Morocco (→Hamмам; Riffians) [IES]

“The most striking features of adolescent sexuality in Zawiya [Morocco] today center on three factors. First, there is a clear double standard, in which males have a good deal of sexual freedom and are assumed to be sexually active, while females are much more restricted in opportunities for sexual activity and are expected to remain virgins until marriage. Second, there is a much greater range of sexual practices by males than by females, including homoerotic play [¹³⁴] and masturbation [¹³⁵]. Finally, courtship, sexual values, and marriage choices are undergoing significant and rapid change as a result of increased access to education and electronic media”¹³⁶.

Menarche in Morocco is frequently an unexpected event, but might be discussed by girls amongst each other, and some elements might be heard in the *hammam* (Naamane-Guessous, 1988 [1990:p265-31])¹³⁷; she might also hear things from a younger brother who has contacts outside the home. However, direct [formal] information prior to menstruation has risen from 17.3% to 24.2% in three decades. Since menarche is considered the beginning of sexual functioning, parental supervision is increased. Sex instruction is formulated in a set of prohibitions, and negative advises.

Makhlouf Obermeyer (2000:p247)¹³⁸:

¹³⁴ “In Zawiya, various forms of homoerotic play, including nude swimming and group masturbation, were reported as fairly common for boys in the early teen years. Older males sometimes engage in homosexual acts, sometimes including interfemoral and anal intercourse, but these young people do not think of themselves as homosexuals but rather as going through a phase. Homosexuality in adulthood seems to be rare and is still considered shameful by most Moroccans. Separate terms are used for the partner who plays the active and the passive role in intercourse, and the term for the passive participant (*zamel*) is an insult and a frequently seen graffiti on walls near Moroccan schoolyards. In contrast to what we heard from young men, most young women in Zawiya seemed never to have considered the possibility of female homosexuality, and both sexes stated that lesbian relationships were very rare”.

¹³⁵ “This topic was very difficult to discuss with young people in Zawiya, however, and we concluded that masturbation is viewed more negatively in this traditional Muslim community than in most American groups. A few boys and young men admitted to masturbating, and estimated that most males did so, but no young women either admitted or described female masturbation. Generally, we were struck by the much greater range and frequency of sexual experiences reported by males, although both sexes were fascinated by romantic images”.

¹³⁶ Davis, D. A., & Davis, S. S. (1993) Sexual values in a Moroccan Town, in Lonner, W. J. & Malpass, R. S. (Eds.) *Psychology and Culture*. Needham Heights: Allyn & Bacon, p225-30. Quoted from version at <http://www.haverford.edu/psych/ddavis/sexvalue.html>. See also Davis, S. S., & Davis, D. A. (1993) Dilemmas of adolescence: Courtship, sex, and marriage in Moroccan town, in Bowen, D. L. (Ed.) *Everyday Life in the Contemporary Muslim Middle East*. Indiana University Press, p84-90

¹³⁷ Naamane-Guessous, S. (1988) *Au-Delà de Toute Pudeur*. Casablanca : Sodon. 1990 Dutch translation: *Achter de Schermen van de Schaamte*. Amsterdam: Dekker

¹³⁸ Makhlouf Obermeyer, C. (2000) Sexuality in Morocco: changing context and contested domain, *Culture, Health & Sex* 2,3:239-54

"In contemporary Morocco, information about initiation into sexuality is, as would be expected, obtained mainly from peers, films and popular songs, as well as printed media; novels, particularly photoromans (romances with photographs) represent an important source of ideas regarding romantic love and relationships between men and women, especially for young girls. Some sexual experimentation is believed to take place around the time of puberty in the context of same sex groups of adolescents (principally boys), and some same sex behavior is tolerated at that time as a temporary stage rather than a pathology (Davis and Davis, 1989). There is also anecdotal evidence regarding other forms of sexual experimentation (Dialmy, 1997)^[139], but it is not possible to assess their representativeness".

Eppink (1974 [1976:p8]; 1977:p111; 1992)¹⁴⁰, offering a precise analysis of male Moroccan adolescent sexuality (and female: 1977:p133-43), states that adolescents use boys aged 8 and upward whom they judge "suitable" for the (passive) job. There is no shame (no girls), and the possibility of subordination; there would be no affection involved. An autobiography¹⁴¹ revealed that boys "go with" other boys who are smaller or the same age. Boy masturbation was denied, but at least four types of animals were in vogue among the adolescents. As Duvert (p77, 78)¹⁴² puts it: "C'est comme un jeu éducatif: on serre les fesses ensemble, le premier qui relâche est pédé". To further illustrate the difficult position for adolescents, Pascon and Bentahar (1971)¹⁴³ found that in Morocco, teenage zoerastic contacts are relatively common (cf. Webster, p177-8)¹⁴⁴. Patai ([1962:p191]) states that young boys practice coitus with female donkeys with phallopoeitic intentions. Davis and Davis (1989:p108-9, 112)¹⁴⁵: "Prepubertal play with a sexual theme is rare but does occur, usually in the context of playing "groom and bride" in small groups of children. The groups are often composed of five- to eight-year-olds, sometimes including siblings. This play takes place in the house (usually outside the scrutiny of the parents) or in an empty lot. Children attempt to re-create the ceremony, music and dance they have witnessed at weddings, and the designated "groom" and "bride" may make contact with each other's genitals while playing at the defloration of the bride". Grown-ups frequently do not wait until the child poses questions relative to the sexual sphere, but "volunteer the information upon which the honour and prestige of the group depend" (Mernissi, [1985:p162])¹⁴⁶. Moroccan girls are geared toward marriage from an early age (see Davis, 1983)¹⁴⁷. Rassam¹⁴⁸ notes that "[...] the prospective bride, who tends to be very young (14-16) and immature, [is to] maintain a passive and

¹³⁹ Dialmy, A. (1997) *Jeunesse, SIDA et Islam au Maroc: Les Comportements Sexuels*. Report to the Ford Foundation. See also Dialmy, A. (1998) Moroccan youth, sex and Islam, *Middle East Report* 206; 28,1:8-11

¹⁴⁰ Eppink, A. (1976) *Seksualiteit en Verliefdheid bij Marokkaanse Jongens en Meisjes*. Amsterdam: Averroes Stichting [Dutch]; Eppink, A. (1977) *Familierelaties en Persoonlijkheidsontwikkeling in Marokko*. Dutch Doctoral Diss., Averroës Stichting; Eppink, A. (1992) Moroccan boys and sex, in Schmitt, A. & Sofer, J. (Eds.) *Sexuality and Eroticism among Males in Moslem Society*. New York: Harrington Park Press, p33-41

¹⁴¹ Crapanzano, V. (1980) *Tuhami, Portrait of a Moroccan*. Chicago: Chicago University Press

¹⁴² Duvert, T. (1976) *Journal d'un Innocent*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit. Quoted by Eppink (1977:p125), *op.cit.*

¹⁴³ Pascon, P. & Bentahar, T. (1971) Ce que disent 296 jeunes ruraux, in Bentahar, M. et al. (Eds.) *Études Sociologiques sur le Maroc*. Rabat/Chellah, p145-286. See p217-21

¹⁴⁴ Webster, Sh. K. (1982) Women, Sex, and Marriage in Moroccan Proverbs, *Int J Middle East Stud* 14,2:173-84

¹⁴⁵ Davis, S. S. & Davis, P. A. (1989) *Adolescence in a Moroccan Town*. New Brunswick & London: Rutgers UP

¹⁴⁶ *Op.cit.*

¹⁴⁷ Davis, S. S. (1983) *Patience and Power*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman

¹⁴⁸ Rassam, A. (1980) Women and Domestic Power in Morocco, *Int J Middle East Studies* 12,2:171-9, at p174

almost somnambulistic attitude through the marriage [which] is to be viewed as a mandatory rite of passage which initiates the girl into womanhood [...]"

In **Dutch** Moroccan families, sexual education is not in vogue, at least for children under age 10¹⁴⁹. Serhane (1983)¹⁵⁰ studied the impact of modernity on adolescent sexuality.

Children are considered not to have a "sexuality" (Bartels, 1993:p121)¹⁵¹. Fasting signifies male sexual maturity. Girls are increasingly watched after menarche.

In a study¹⁵² on second-generation immigrant Moroccans in **Belgium**, aged between 15 and 21 years old, unmarried, and from Berber or Arabic speaking families, the following was found:

"All girls are confronted with the virginity standard: sex before marriage is forbidden; the worth of a girl and the honour of her family is coupled with her virginity. Talking about sex and sexuality in the family is taboo; but the message of preserving one's virginity is clear: stay away from the boys, no sports, no tampons. There is greater social control and a more conservative attitude in Belgium than in the country of origin. A virginity certificate is required for a marriage license. This acts as a protection for the girl and her family. [...] Girls do have contact with boys, except in extreme secrecy. There is heavy petting and love-making, but actual coitus is avoided [...]. However, some girls fear to lose their boyfriend and have penetration sex. [...] Most of the boys were aware that the Muslim teaching is that boys as well as girls should remain virgin until marriage, although very few think that sexual relations are forbidden for them [...]. Premarital coitus is legitimated on several levels: there is no evidence of male virginity, sexual passion is irresistible in the man, they have to prove themselves a "real man". According to the boys, almost all Moroccan boys have sexual contact. They have a Belgian (or in far fewer cases a Moroccan) girlfriend, or they go to a prostitute [...]. Going to a prostitute seems to be accepted for Moroccan men and boys".

Additional refs.:

-- Guessous, S. N. (2001) The passing of bodily seasons, *UNESCO Courier* 54,7/8:39-40

-- Kadiri, N. (2001) Morocco, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.-in-chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. 4. New York: Continuum. Online ed.

Riffians (3,3,3,4,4,4;2,2) (Morocco)

"Riffian youths who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and to make the penis grow (Ford, 1945 [1964:p20]).

¹⁴⁹ Pels, T. (1994) Opvoeding in Marokkaanse gezinnen, in Pels, T. (Ed.) *Opvoeding in Chinese, Marokkaanse en Surinaams-Creoolse Gezinnen*. Rotterdam [Holland]: ISEO, p81-131. See p96-7

¹⁵⁰ Serhane, A. (1983) *Les Représentations Sexuelles chez le Jeune Marocain issu du Milieu Traditionnel*. Thesis, Toulouse

¹⁵¹ Bartels, E. (1993) *"Een Dochter is Beter dan Duizend Zonen"*. Dutch Dissertation, Free University Amsterdam

¹⁵² Hendrickx, K., Lodewijckx, E., Van Royen, P. & Denekens, J. (2002) Sexual behaviour of second generation Moroccan immigrants balancing between traditional attitudes and safe sex, *Patient Educ & Counsel* 47,2:89-94

Algeria (Kabyles; →Sub-Saharan Africa, Tuareg)

In Algeria, (Miner and De Vos, 1960:p58)¹⁵³ boys and girls stroke the genitalia of their baby sibs, but never in the open. Adolescent sexuality was studied by Bachir Bouiadjara (1985)¹⁵⁴.

Kabyles (Algeria)

Among the Kabyles, “[a] father may marry his daughter before she has reached puberty”¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵³ Miner, H. M. & De Vos, G. (1960) *Oasis and Casbah: Algerian Culture and Personality in Change*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

¹⁵⁴ Bachir Bouiadjara, R. (1985) *Contribution à l'Étude de la Sexualité de l'Adolescent(e)*. Thesis, Lille

¹⁵⁵ Hanoteau, A. & Letourneaux, A. (1893) *La Kabylie et les Coutumes Kabyles*. Paris. Vol. ii, p149; Parsons, E. C. (1906) *The Family*. New York & London: Putman, p40

Tunisia

In rural Tunisia, the matter of menstruation is shrouded in *hishma*, shame; it is not talked about, and even in progressive families its occurrence is met with interpretations involving “a serious and shameful disease” (Gram, 1974:[p110])¹⁵⁶. Afterwards, the girl is 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” ([p96]). Whether traditionally tattooed or not, “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”.

¹⁵⁶ Gram, M. E. (1974) Women of Tazoghrane, in Simmons, J. (Ed.) *Village and Family: Essays on Rural Tunisia*. New Haven: HRAF, [p65-175]

Libya (Bedouin, Teda; →Sub-Saharan Africa, Tebu)

Bedouin (Northern Libya, Egypt) (eHRAF) [Rwala Bedouin: 3,3,3,4,-,4;-,-,2] (→Arabic Bedouin)

Peters (1990:p249-50)¹⁵⁷ states sexual education is a problematic item in parent-child socialisation: "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". Boys and girls are parted at puberty, though not completely secluded. Girls grow up avoidance of becoming "bad girls", as defined by the concept of *hasham*, or modesty/chastity¹⁵⁸.

Teda; also Toda, Todaga, Todga, Tuda, Tudaga, (-,-,3,4,3-4;4,1) (eastern and central Sahara; Chad, Niger, Libya)

Betrothal between ages 8 to 10 (Kronenberg, 1958)¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁷ Peters, E. L. (1990) *The Bedouin of Cyrenaica*. Cambridge; New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge

¹⁵⁸ Abu-Lughod, L. (1986) Modest Women, Subversive Poems: The Politics of Love in an Egyptian Bedouin Society, *Bulletin* (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies) 13,2:159-168, at p160

¹⁵⁹ Kronenberg, A. (1958) *Die Teda von Tibesti*. Wien: Berger

Egypt (Ancient; Fellahin, Nubians) [IES]

An excerpt from an author's autobiography describes, among other developments, his "sexual awakening"¹⁶⁰.

Additional refs.:

--Sherif, B. (2001) Egypt, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.in chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. IV. New York: Continuum. Online ed.

Ancient Egypt

The art of writing, practised on a daily basis, was to be mastered before one has started to have sex with women (Lansin, cited by Toivari, 2000:p173)¹⁶¹. Boys were circumcised, but, apart from indications of Greek historians, there is no positive evidence for genital operations on girls (Toivari, p178-9); the operation might have had an anti-aphrodisiac motive. There appears to be little if any knowledge on sexual socialisation of children, or even "adolescents". Girls married "in der Regel mit Eintritt der Reife", which may have been, not unlike Rome, around age 12 or 13 (Feucht, 1995:p32-3)¹⁶², or "shortly after beginning to menstruate" (Watterson, 1994 [1998:p589-, 84])¹⁶³, and first birth could be expected at age 12 to 15. Boys would marry at age 15. Children were not separated at play, and were nude (Jansen and Jansen, 1990:p55)¹⁶⁴. Manniche (1987)¹⁶⁵ has little to add on this. "In ancient Egypt [...] the prostitution of young girls was a religious practice, so that, according to Strabo, some of the most beautiful and highest-born maidens were forced into prostitution, and they continued as prostitutes *until their first menstruation*" (Benjamin and Masters, 1964:p161, *ital. in orig.*)¹⁶⁶.

There appears no evidence that brother-sister marriages were commonly child marriages (Hopkins, 1980:p353)¹⁶⁷. In Roman times, Egyptian boys would be married at age 15 to girls aged 12 and 13¹⁶⁸ (cf. Feucht, 1985)¹⁶⁹. Tyldesley¹⁷⁰:

¹⁶⁰ Amin, H. Ah. (1988) Childhood in Cairo, *Jerusalem Quart* [Israel] 48:129-44

¹⁶¹ Toivari, J. K. (2000) *Women at Deir El-Medina*. Dissertation, Leiden, The Netherlands

¹⁶² Feucht, E. (1995) *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten*. Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag

¹⁶³ Watterson, B. (1994) *Women in Ancient Egypt*. New York: Sutton

¹⁶⁴ Jansen, R. M. & Jansen, J. J. (1990) *Growing up in Ancient Egypt*. London: Rubicon Press

¹⁶⁵ Manniche, L. (1987) *Sexual Life in Ancient Egypt*. London & New York: KPI

¹⁶⁶ Benjamin, H. & Masters, R. E. L. (1964) *Prostitution and Morality*. New York: Julian Press. Bloch, I. ([1933]) *Anthropological Studies in the Strange Sexual Practises of All Races and All Ages*. New York: Anthropological Press, p88-9: "In Egypt, in the city of Thebes, religious prostitution of the virgins was restricted to the most beautiful and aristocratic, who were dedicated to Ammon until the signs of nubility appeared, then they were married (Strabo, 816)".

¹⁶⁷ Hopkins, K. (1980) Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt, *Comparat Stud Soc & Hist* 22,3:303-54

¹⁶⁸ Erman, A. & Ranke, H. (1885) *Ägypten und Ägyptisches Leben im Alterum*. Tübingen: Laupp, p180

¹⁶⁹ Feucht, E. (1985) Gattenwahl, Ehe und Nachkommenschaft im Alten Ägypten, in Müller, E. W. (Ed.) *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung*. München: K. A. Freiburg, p55-84

¹⁷⁰ Tyldesley, J. (1994) Marriage and Motherhood in Ancient Egypt, *Hist Today* 44:20-6

"There was no legal age of consent, although it is generally assumed that a girl would not have been considered eligible before the onset of menstruation at about the age of fourteen. A 26th Dynasty document recording a father's refusal to agree to his daughter's wedding because 'her time has not yet come' supports this view. However, evidence from Rome, where female puberty was legally fixed at twelve, indicates that ten or eleven-year-old brides were not uncommon, and we have no reason to doubt that equally young girls were married in Egypt. Indeed, it is only within the past fifty years that in modern rural Egypt marriage for girls as young as eleven has been prohibited by law. There is evidence from the Graeco-Roman period for Egyptian girls marrying as young as eight or nine, and we have a mummy label, written in demotic, which identified the body of an eleven-year-old wife".

Egyptians / Fellahin (2,2+,3+,4+,4+,2,0)

"Au Caire, les petits garçons et les petites filles s'amuse entre eux complètement. Les petits garçons se livrent entre eux à la pédérastie. Il est très-ordinaire de voir de petits enfants de sept à huit ans faire toutes sortes de débauches" (Godard, 1867:p105)¹⁷¹. That is, little girls of six springs were seen copulating with five-year-old boys (Jacobus X, [1898, II:p95]; Bloch, 1902, I:p257)¹⁷². In Nubia girls are sold into marital consummation long before menarche (Abbadie, cited by Bloch, 1902, I :p252). According to Lane (1836)¹⁷³, Egyptian girls would in the past marry at the age of twelve or thirteen; and "some remarkably precocious" ones at the age of ten.

A discussion of early Egyptian boy prostitution is offered by Drew and Drake (1969:p54-8)¹⁷⁴. Early in the century 100-200 boys of not more than 8-10 were castrated every year on a caravan route from the Sudan to Egypt to become eunuchs (Baer, 1967:p419)¹⁷⁵.

Ammar (1954:p159-60)¹⁷⁶: "In the light of psycho-analytical findings, the period of latency in Silwa as expressed in children's play and games does not witness the "latency" or repression of sexuality as reported by psycho-analysts [*sic*]. On the contrary, till the age of ten and eleven children are given full swing of their rough and vulgar ways of talk in their games", a condition, however, only true for boys, whereas for girls, "phrases or symbols of sexuality are hardly expressed. The difference is certainly a reflection of the social norms governing sex, and exerts pressure on girls earlier than boys [*sic*]" . Thus, latency, if existent, is "skin-deep". Ammar (p184-92) relates that adolescent girls are more restrained in their mobility, partly "because their breasts have grown". In this sense, restriction is said to follow an arc also found in Japan which has its lowest points in infancy and old age, and its highest just before marriage. Informal sex segregation begins at age 9 or ten, and is established at 12 to 13. However, it may also be almost complete after the age of six or seven (p155). Adolescence is shrouded by genital shame, and "any conversation about sex is taboo, and they are forbidden to talk about it to their parents or to any grown-up". These norms are "being

¹⁷¹ Godard, E. (1867) *Égypte et Palestine*. Paris

¹⁷² Jacobus X ([1893] 1898) *L'Amour aux Colonies*. Paris: I. Liseux. 3 vols. 2nd & enl. English ed., *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology* (etc.). Paris: Librairie de Medecine, Folklore et Anthropologie. 2 vols.

¹⁷³ Lane, E. W. (1836) *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. London: Night; Scott (1960:p74)

¹⁷⁴ Drew, D. & Drake, J. (1969) *Boys for Sale*. New York: Brown Book Co.

¹⁷⁵ Baer, G. (1967) Slavery in Nineteenth Century Egypt, *J Afr Hist* 8,3:417-41

¹⁷⁶ Ammar, H. (1954) *Growing Up in an Egyptian Village*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

imbibed gradually from childhood" (p188). "The maturing of sex functions at this stage is noted with great embarrassment, shame and feeling of guilt by adolescents", contrasting sharply to the bodily gratification given to infants (p190). This may refer to the mother's playing with boy's genitals (p105). "It is not unusual for girls to get married by the age of twelve and thirteen, in spite of the law which stipulates that this may not be effected before the age of sixteen".

The circumcision of seven- or eight-year-old girls is enacted "to prevent any suspicion on the bridegroom's part that the bride is not a virgin" (Ammar, p118). A pre-islamic¹⁷⁷ practice, circumcision ends what is, according to ancient Egyptian mythology, believed to be the natural bisexuality of men and women (Assaad, 1979¹⁷⁸:p8; Hatem, 1987¹⁷⁹:p298). A personal experience suggests an alternative function: "Girls are circumcized [at age 7 years] to keep them cool and able to control their sexual urges. Boys are circumcized because it is believed that they cannot copulate or beget children if they are not" (*Khul-Khaal*, p137).

Sexual matters are discussed before children "without the slightest reserve" (Blackman, 1948 [1968:p43])¹⁸⁰, particularly by women, which would "poison their minds at the very outset of their lives". Although Egyptian laws prohibited early marriage (before 16, boys until age 18), the girls are dressed up at an early age to attract men (p43, 47, 90), "old enough to be their fathers or even their grandfathers". Premarital promiscuity, however, is heavily tabooed, and it is said that female violators are murdered or expelled by their parents. Little girls have a perfectly free life until their marriageable age, when their freedom is somewhat more restricted (p37).

Ayrout:

"Village custom demands, on pain of death, that she [fella's wife] be physically a virgin when she marries, but mentally she has caesed to be so long before. Since childhood she has been aware of her parents' intercourse, which is quite open due to the lack of privacy. The conversation of the women, at which the girls are usually present, turns constantly on these subjects [...]".

Nubians (Kenuzi Nubians/ Barabra: 2,4,3,5,3+,4,4,1) (Egypt)

Godard (1867:p85-8, cited by Jacobus X..., 1893 [1898, II:p93-5])¹⁸¹ stated that "[i]n Nubia girls are married at the age of from eight to ten years, but the husband does not lie with them". Rather, the future husband verifies virginity digitally, and performs digital dilatation himself.

¹⁷⁷ Neither female or male circumcision are mentioned in the Cur'an. See Berkey, J. P. (1996) Circumcision Circumscribed: Female Excision and Cultural Accommodation in the Medieval near East, *Int J Middle East Studies* 28,1:19-38, at p24

¹⁷⁸ Assaad, M. B. (1979) *Female Circumcision in Egypt*. Cairo: American Social Research Center. Cf. Assaad, M. B. (1980) Female Circumcision in Egypt: Social Implications, Current Research, and Prospects for Change, *Studies in Fam Plann* 11,1:3-16

¹⁷⁹ Hatem, M. (1987) Toward the Study of the Psychodynamics of Mothering and Gender in Egyptian Families, *Int J Middle East Stud* 19,3:287-305

¹⁸⁰ Blackman, W. S. (1968) *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*. London: F. Cass & Co. Orig. 1948, *Les Fellahs de la Haute-Égypte*. Paris: Payot

¹⁸¹ *Op.cit.*

Kennedy (1970:181)¹⁸²: “The Nubia argue that the only way to blunt the inherent sexual wildness of girls and to preserve their chastity is through this means [clitoridectomy, infibulation], though there is no medical evidence that any diminishing effect on desire is actually produced (Barclay, 1964:p238; Bonaparte, 1952:p68-73)[¹⁸³]”. Male and female circumcision was further thought to promote general health, fertility, cleanliness (“When the child begins to scratch himself, that is the time to arrange for his circumcision”¹⁸⁴), and aesthetics.

¹⁸² Kennedy, J. G. (1970) Circumcision and Excision in Egyptian Nubia, *Man*, New Series, 52:175-91

¹⁸³ Barclay, H. B. (1964) *Buuri al Lamaab*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univeristy Press; Bonaparte, M. (1952) Notes on excision, in Róheim, G. (Ed.) *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*. Vol. 2. New York: International University Press, p67-83. Reprinted from *Rev Franç Psychanal* 12(1948):213-31

¹⁸⁴ A reference to “mental” cleanliness is omitted here.

Israel¹⁸⁵ [IES]

Around the middle 1700s, Roger related that girls were married off at age seven or eight, well before puberty (1664, as cited by Ze'evi, 1995:p159; cf. p163, 164)¹⁸⁶. Twelker¹⁸⁷ provides some references to age of marriage of the early Israelites [orig. references footnoted]:

"Edershi[e]m (1953)¹⁸⁸ argues that at the time of Christ, girls up to the age of twelve years and one day might be betrothed or given away by their father. But even then, they had a right of insisting upon a divorce if they wanted. Men were expected to marry at 16 or 17, with the age of 20 being the upper limit unless the man's studies left no time. The minimum age for marriage for a boy was thirteen (de Vaux, 1965)¹⁸⁹. Mielziner (1884)¹⁹⁰ provides slightly different data with respect to the marrying age. He states that in the ethical teaching of the Talmud, eighteen was considered the proper year for a young man to be married. However, the legal age to become married was set at the age of puberty: males had to complete their thirteenth year while females had to complete their twelfth year. Marriages were void under these limits. There was one exception: the father could give his minor daughter in marriage before puberty, but he adds that "such contracted infant marriages were, as a rule, not actually consummated before the parties had reached the age of puberty." Some rabbis protested this practice as "a moral wrong", but this custom prevailed, especially among European Jews during the persecutions in the Middle Ages".

In the "Geula" neighbourhood in Jerusalem, conflicts around sexual behaviour are part of the religious repressive ethic of Geula due to the strict separation of the sexes from early age, a conspiracy of silence around topics linked to the body, an absence of formal sex education until just prior to marriage, the association of women with the evil inclination and with impurity for boys, and the link of sex and violence for girls (Goshen-Gottstein, 1984)¹⁹¹.

Some data relevant for childhood sexual behaviour are available through studies on adolescents¹⁹². According to a study by Hoch et al. (1978)¹⁹³, sex education during childhood

¹⁸⁵ General remarks on sexual development in Maruani, G. (1983) L'enfant du kibboutz, *Genitif* 5,4:66-73. See also Kaffman, M. (1977) Sexual standards and behavior of the kibbutz adolescent, *Am J Orthopsychia* 47,2:207-17; Kaffman, M. (1962) Hashtana shelo midaat bekerev yaldey kibuts [Unconscious enuresis among kibbutz children], *Harefuah* 63:251-3 [under the age of seven masturbation common].

¹⁸⁶ Roger, Eu. (1664) *La Terre Sainte* [etc.]. Paris; Ze'evi, D. (1995) Women in 17th-Century Jerusalem: Western and Indigenous Perspectives, *Int J Middle East Stud* 27,2:157-73

¹⁸⁷ Twelker, P. A. (1998) *The Biblical Design for Marriage: The Creation, Distortion and Redemption of Equality, Differentiation, Unity and Complementarity*. Deerfield: Trinity International University [from <http://www.tiu.edu/psychology/BDFMChap1.htm>]

¹⁸⁸ Edersheim, A. (1953) *Sketches of Jewish Social Life in the of Christ*. Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans

¹⁸⁹ [?]

¹⁹⁰ Mielziner, M. (1884) *The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce in Ancient and Modern Times and its Relation to the Law of the State*. Cininnati: Bloch Publishers and Printing Company

¹⁹¹ Goshen-Gottstein, E. R. (1984) Growing up in "Geula": Socialization and family living in an ultra-Orthodox Jewish subculture, *Israel J Psychia & Relat Sci* 21,1:37-55

¹⁹² Antonovsky, H. F. et al. (1980) *Adolescent Sexuality: A Study of Attitudes and Behavior*. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co.; Hoch, Z., Kubat, H., Fisher, M. & Brandes, J. M. (1978) Background and sexual experience of Israeli medical students, *Arch Sex Behav* 7,5:429-41; Hoch, Z., Kubat, H. & Brandes, J. M. (1979 [1976]) Results of the sex knowledge and attitude test of medical students in

originated mostly from peers and literature, but was almost completely lacking at school. Masturbation started early, being more frequent for males. They found a percentage of masturbation begun before age 10 of 10.2, as compared to 5.3% found by Klausner (1961b)¹⁹⁴. The cumulative figures on ages 10-12 are even more disparate: 26.7% versus 60.0%. A third study (Lancet et al., 1974)¹⁹⁵ found figures of masturbarche age <13y of 60.0% (boys) opposing a low 12.0% (girls). Miner and DeVos (1960)¹⁹⁶:

“Despite the rather Puritanical attitude toward the free discussion of [sexual] matters or the open display of affection, Arab children learn about sex at an early age. In fact, the contrast between the lively interest in sex and the suppression of public indications of these feelings is one of the striking features of the culture. Children are given no parental instruction in matters of sex but family sleeping arrangements provide what almost amounts to laboratory training. [...] Until they are five years old or more, children sleep on the same bed with their father and mother. Under such intimate circumstances, the children inescapably become aware of parent’s intercourse. The adults are not disturbed by such cognizance of their sex life, but they consider that it is bad for even a baby to witness it. They commonly wait until the middle of the night to copulate when the children are asleep. If a child awakens, the parents will cover themselves or tell the child to turn away so as not to see them” (p56-7).

Adolescents are warned for incestuous contacts. Yet,

“While fornication is under heavy taboo, sex play is quite acceptable among siblings, until it becomes dangerously close to being a prelude to intercourse. The genitals of a baby are stroked by its brothers and sisters “to amuse and please it”, but not in public. A small child may practice self-masturbation without reprimand, although later he or she learns that such activity should only be pursued in private. Ultimately he learns that it is not approved adult behavior. Among siblings in the same bed, fondling and mutual masturbation are common practice, both homosexually and heterosexually. Such activity, of course, is restricted to the bed. When early adolescents are first separated in their sleeping arrangements, “they are told that they must no longer play with one another. In touching his sister’s breasts, a boy might get ideas. [...] At a time when a boy’s sexuality is becoming increasingly demanding, he is cut off from his sisters and pubescent girls by new sleeping arrangements, paternal vigilance, and the seclusion of girls to their homes. Most of his waking hours he now spends outside of the home, surrounded by unaffectionate, adult males. Homosexual relations with brothers and other boys are extended to include fellatio and sodomy. Bestiality with goats, sheep, or camels provides another outlet. These practices are not approved but they are recognized as common among boys. They are strongly taboo as adult behavior, although it is not unknown for a *taleb* to practice sodomy with students. It is the passive role in such relations which is most shameful and I heard of one boy of thirteen who received pay for assuming it” (p58-9; see also p187).

Israel, in Gemme, R. & Wheeler, C. (Eds.) *Progress in Sexology*. New York: Plenum Press, p467-82; Lancet, M., Kav-Venaki, S. et al. (1974) *Sexual Knowledge and Behavior of Israeli Adolescents*. Paper presented at the Second International Symposium on Sex Education, Tel-Aviv, June 26

¹⁹³ *Op.cit.*

¹⁹⁴ Klausner, S. Z. (1961b) Sex life in Israel, in Ellis, A. & Abarbanel, A. (Eds.) *The Encyclopaedia of Sexual Behavior, Volume 1*. London: W. Heinemann, p558-66

¹⁹⁵ Lancet, M. et al. (1974) *Sexual Knowledge and Behavior in Israeli Adolescents*. Cited by Klausner (1961b)

¹⁹⁶ Miner, H. M. & De Vos, G. (1960) *Oasis and Casbah*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Also quoted by Edwardes (1967:xiii), *op.cit.*

Kibbutz

Speaking of the child-rearing philosophy of the kibbutz movement in the 1930s and 1940s, Biale (1997:p195-6, *notes omitted*)¹⁹⁷ notes:

“One of the chief theorists of this philosophy was Shmuel Golan, an early disciple of Meir Yaari at Bitania. In Golan's writings and those of other educational theorists, one senses the almost irreconcilable tensions between utopianism and puritanism, although these contradictions are papered over with "scientific" jargon, frequently adapted from Freud and his disciples. They understood psychoanalysis as teaching the necessity of freeing the child from sexual neurosis. Influenced by such disciples of Freud as Wilhelm Reich and Erich Fromm, they held that patriarchal, capitalist society represses the sexual instinct since the child is an extension of the father's private property. The kibbutz would create an erotic utopia by freeing sexuality from the constraints of property. For Golan, however, erotic utopia did not mean anarchism; sex for the purpose of transient physical pleasure was no less pathological than bourgeois repression. A utopian educational system must be based not on the instincts but on scientific rationality. Borrowing from the behaviorist interpretation of Freud, Golan insisted that parents exhibit little physical affection, including hugging and kissing, toward their children. To liberate the child from guilt over sex, it was considered necessary to neutralize sexual attraction during all periods of childhood. Children must sleep apart from their parents to avoid being traumatized by any exposure to adult sexuality. But the main instrument for neutralizing sexual obsession was overexposure, the exact opposite of traditional Jewish or, for that matter, bourgeois repression. Nudity was thought to lessen sexual stimulation rather than encourage it. Communal, coeducational showers, which in some settlements continued through high school, were based on the theory that constant exposure to the naked bodies of the opposite sex would create a more natural attitude toward sexuality. The underlying assumption of this theory was that children should not regard the genitals as differing in meaning from any other organ of the body, a view that corresponded to the medieval depiction of Adam and Eve before the Fall. By affirming nakedness as the way to restrain sexual desire, this utopian theory unconsciously resurrected the belief that sex in the Garden was devoid of unseemly lust. The child-rearing philosophy of the kibbutz movement therefore tried to demystify eroticism utterly; the consequence was often to suppress sexuality altogether. Adolescents were expected to refrain from any sexual experimentation since their education made it ostensibly unnecessary. Under the guise of eliminating guilt and repression, the new philosophy found its way to a different form of renunciation, in which openness became the instrument for suppression of sexuality”.

As is narrated in work by Neubauer (1965:p31)¹⁹⁸, masturbation could be practised openly until age nine; after this age, privacy was urged upon. Rabin (1965:p33-4)¹⁹⁹ stated that despite the freedom with respect to viewing the body of the opposite sex, kibbutz taboos and prohibitions with regard to sex play and sexual contacts are “strict and unrelenting”, not

¹⁹⁷ *Op.cit.*

¹⁹⁸ Neubauer, P. B. (1965) *Children in Collectives*. Springfield, Ill.: Thomas. See also p83-6

¹⁹⁹ Rabin, A. I. (1965) *Growing Up in the Kibbutz*. New York: Springer. Cf. Rabin, A. I. (1958) Some psychosexual differences between kibbutz and non-kibbutz Israeli boys, *J Project Techniq* 22:328-32

unlike brother-sister taboos in the conventional family. Spiro (1959 [1976:p219-28, 275-82])²⁰⁰ gives a detailed account on sexual development in the Kibbutz. According to this numeric study, sex training is “probably the most permissive of all behavioral systems”. Unlike parents, no observations document nurses’ interference with child sexual behaviour. Faigin (1958)²⁰¹ reported of a study of “sex training” carried out in 2 settlements, the children ranged in age from 19-38 months. On the basis of 2389 questionnaires, added to 32 “intimate diaries” and letters, Wolman (1951)²⁰² observes that in boys “[m]asturbation is the focus of sexual conduct during [pre-adolescence]. [...] masturbation precedes feelings of love or any physical hetero-sexual contacts”. In girls, for some reason, “the exact statement of onset was extremely difficult”. Petting before age 14 was indicated by 13% of boys (compared to 33.7% in Kinsey’s highest education level). [The interpretations of the author, apart from his particular use of the English language, fraud with interpretations referring to previous American material. His arguments on self-restraint, restraint by public opinion and by the home seem debatable.]

Irvine (1952:p272-4)²⁰³ does not provide specific observations on sex rearing. Significantly, Shtarshall and Zwerdling (1997)²⁰⁴ are likewise not very specific on childhood sexual socialisation, or sexual behaviour.

Talmon (1964:p205-6)²⁰⁵:

“Attitudes to childhood sexuality are permissive and sexual manifestations in young children are viewed as normal. Living and sleeping quarters are bisexual during this stage. Children of different sexes sleep in the same room, shower together, play and run around in the nude and there is a considerable amount of wrestling, tickling, exploring, soothing and caressing between them. This close contact between the sexes continues until the second or third grade, and then decreases with age. Gradually, a sense of sexual shame emerges, and a growing distance between the sexes. Showers are taken separately. Sleeping arrangements are reshuffled; from the fourth grade on room occupancy is unisexual. All group activities remain bisexual but friendship becomes unisexual. The onset of puberty brings about a conspicuous increase in sexual shame and the development of considerable hostility between the sexes. Girls take great pains to hide their nudity when undressing and keep to themselves as much as possible. [etc.] Much of this tension stems from the differential rate of sexual maturation. [...] This hostility continues until the age of 14 or 15 and then recedes, as the boys catch up with the girls [...]. Attitudes toward adolescent sexuality are more restrictive than attitudes toward childhood sexuality. The educational ideology upheld by both teachers and parents maintains that adolescents should refrain from sexual relations until they finish secondary school. It is felt that preoccupation with sexual matters prevents full concentration on school activities and has a disruptive effect on the peer group and on the student society. [...] Seductiveness, coquetry and flirtatiousness are strongly discouraged. Sex does not loom very large in the lives of these adolescents”.

²⁰⁰ Spiro, M. E. (1958) *Children of the Kibbutz*. Cambridge: 1975 rev. ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. See also Fox, J. R. (1962) Sibling incest, *J Sociol* 13:128-50, see 136-7

²⁰¹ Faigin, H. (1958) Social behavior of young children in the Kibbutz, *J Abnorm & Soc Psychol* 56:117-29

²⁰² Wolman, B. (1951) Sexual development in Israeli adolescents, *Am J Psychother* 5:531-59

²⁰³ Irvine, E. E. (1952) Observations on the aims and methods of child rearing in communal settlements in Israel, *Human Relations* 5:247-75

²⁰⁴ Shtarshall, R. & Zwerdling, M. (1997) Israel, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Vol. 1. Quoted from the online edition

²⁰⁵ Talmon, Y. (1964) Mate Selection in Collective Settlements, *Am Sociol Rev* 29,4:491-508

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-- Antonovsky, H. F., Shoham, I. & Kavenaki, S. (1980) Gender differences in patterns of adolescent sexual behavior, *J Youth & Adolesc* 9,2:127-41

-- Rappaport, T. (1992) Two Patterns of Girlhood: Inconsistent Sexuality-Laden Experiences across Institutions of Socialisation and Socio-Cultural Milieux, *Int Sociol* 7,3:329-46

Freitler and Kreitler (1966)²⁰⁶ examined the birth theories of children of parents from diverse nationalities, including Israel. Some (significant?) differences were found between Oriental and Western children.

²⁰⁶ Freitler, H. & Kreitler, Sh. (1966) Children's concepts of sexuality and birth, *Child Developm* 37:363-78

Lebanon, Palestine

According to Manasra²⁰⁷, Palestinian patriarchal tradition has given more rights to women than religion has. From birth, expectations differed by the sex of the infant. The role of the male was to carry on the family name and secure its financial future. Girls were considered burdens and required greater parental responsibility; early marriage was desired and the husband then assumed responsibility. Male's honour was only tied to their ability to control the behaviour of their womenfolk. Girls were taught obedience and acceptance and thus were easier to raise. Girls were expected to take some household responsibility from the age of 5 years, while boys played. Girls were confined to the home and quiet activity. Teenage girls' sexuality was controlled by threats.

According to research by Melikian and Prothro (1954)²⁰⁸, Beirut Arabs have their first homosexual intercourse at mean age 12, as opposed to 13 for Americans (cf. Melikian, 1967)²⁰⁹. The latter study, which subjects were 41 out of 69 Lebanese, documented the following pattern (resembling the →Mexico case as described by Carrier):

"Even though no differences appear in the age of first sexual experience of any categories [comparing the latter with the former study], it is interesting to note that for both groups the mean age at which the first homosexual experience is reported to have occurred is lower than the means for onset of the first nocturnal emission, masturbation, and heterosexual intercourse. These results seem to indicate that the first experience of 43 per cent of our Ss [subjects] was homosexual in its nature and occurred before they became sexually mature: i.e., it is easier than the onset of nocturnal emissions. In general, they were introduced to it mainly by older peers or, less frequently, by a practicing adult. Even though homosexuality appears to be their first introduction to sex, it was also the first abandoned" (p172).

Prothro (1967:p117-21)²¹⁰ took interviews on 468 Lebanese mothers regarding their sexual socialisation. 377/463 stated that five-year-olds had no knowledge of babies' origins. "Children were told that babies came from the sea [sometimes with a reference to Moses' delivery in a basket], from cabbages, from Saint Nicolas or other generous religious figures, from heaven or from God". However, there is a significant difference, for instance, between lower-class Sunni mothers in the valley, and middle class Orthodox mothers in urban regions. 75% stated never to have noted deliberate handling of genitals before age five, a remarkable outcome given available studies for the first two years²¹¹. Of the 106 mothers who

²⁰⁷ Manasra, N. (1993) Palestinian women: between tradition and revolution, in Augustin, E. (Ed.) *Palestinian Women: Identity and Experience*. London, England: Zed Books, p7-21

²⁰⁸ Melikian, L. H. & Prothro, E. T. (1954) Sexual behavior of university students in the Arab Near East, *J Abnorm & Soc Psychol* 49:59-64

²⁰⁹ Melikian, L. H. (1967) Social change and sexual behavior of Arab university students, *J Soc Psychol* 73:169-75

²¹⁰ Prothro, E. T. (1967) *Child Rearing in the Lebanon*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. See also Moughrabi, F. M. (1978) The Arab Basic Personality: A Critical Survey of the Literature, *Int J Middle East Studies* 9,1:99-112, at p102

²¹¹ E.g., Kleeman, J. A. (1965) A boy discovers his penis, *Psychoanal Study Child* 20:239-66; Kleeman, J. A. (1966) Genital self-discovery during a boy's second year: a follow-up, *Psychoanal Study Child* 21:358-91

said they did observe genital handling, 90% expressed strong disapproval, without group differences.

Lutfiyya (1966:p129)²¹² states that in villages around Palestine, “[t]he selection of a suitable [marriage] mate is conditioned by the fact that boys and girls stop associating with one another after about the age of ten. A mother might threaten an infant in that she will “apply fire to its sex organ” (p158). No sex education is given at home (p160), which is apparently left to playmates, older children, and direct experience. “Boys learn to masturbate in groups, but in seclusion from other people”, which might lead to transient homosexual contacts “early in life”. In women, “[t]he sex impulse is strictly suppressed before marriage”. In the case of abusive situations, the moral climate may hamper disclosure (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 1999)²¹³.

Williams (1968:p32)²¹⁴ observed that children lie on the same mattress as their siblings and until adolescence; a separate room comes with marriage, which signifies full sexual and social status (Fuller, 1961:p55)²¹⁵. Childhood freedom is consumed by chores, and “[p]re-adolescent girls [...] rapidly become aware that the life of their sex is primarily related to care of the home and children”.

“Sexual knowledge comes gradually to a child in terms of its own observations and age. Mothers and grandmothers handle the genitals of a boy infant in order to soothe him. Masturbation and sex play among children are reprimanded, however. At a young age great stress is laid upon bodily modesty, particularly in keeping the sexual organs from view. This holds especially true for girl children, who are constantly reminded to sit with their legs closed or not to sprawl flat, since that indicates a sexual posture. [...] As a child inhabits the same room as his parents and barnyard life is close at hand, he comes at an early age to full knowledge of sex. His vocabulary soon includes a variety of sexual and reproductive terms, including oaths and jests of a sexual nature. Grown-ups derive a certain sport from teaching small children sexual words, the meaning of which they are hardly aware, and having them recite them in public” (p40-1).

²¹² Lutfiyya, A. M. (1966) *Baytin, A Jordanian Village*. The Hague [etc.]: Mouton

²¹³ Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. (1999) The politics of disclosing female sexual abuse: a case study of Palestinian society, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 23,12:1275-93

²¹⁴ Williams, J. R. (1968) *The Youth of Haouch El Harimi*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

²¹⁵ Fuller, A. H. (1961) *Buairj: Portrait of a Lebanese Muslim Village*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Jordan

[no data available to date]

Syria

18-century marriage occurred in early adolescence²¹⁶.

²¹⁶ Marcus, A. (1986) Privacy in Eighteenth-Century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals, *Int J Middle East Studies* 18,2:165-83, at p172

Kurds, Kurdistan (3,3,3,4,4-4;4,1) (Turkey, Iraq, Iran)

Hansen (1961:p110)²¹⁷, on the Kurds of Iraq: “As the children always stayed among the adults they obtained all the sexual instruction they could understand, and became aware of all phases of life”. “[...] [T]here seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest” (Masters, 1953)²¹⁸. Also, “[b]oys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the veil separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen [...]. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. [...] Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that “some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them”. It might also be noted that 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” (*ibid.*; see p126, 261-3).

²¹⁷ Hansen, H. H. (1961) *The Kurdish Woman's Life: Field Research in a Muslim Society*. Kobenhavn: Nationalmuseet

²¹⁸ Masters, W. M. (1953) *Rowanduz: A Kurdish Administrative and Mercantile Center*. [s.l.]: [s.n.]. New Haven, Conn.: HRAF, 1996

Iraq (→Kurds)

Sex is an androcentric structure. Girls are indoctrinated with virginity concepts, and are told little more than this (Al-Khayyat, 1990)²¹⁹. One Baghdad-born woman states²²⁰: “When at school I discussed all of this [menstruation] with my friends, I found that all of them, except for one whose mother was a doctor, had no idea what I was talking about. Menstruation was almost taboo, and mothers dealt with it only when it happened to their daughters” (p84). Klausner (1961)²²¹ provides original data on the sex histories of Iraqi women. Klausner (1963/1971)²²² further compared the sex histories of Iraqi in Bagdad, and Iraqese and native born Israeli (data are specific for ages 11 and upward for Bagdad Iraqi, 17 or 21 and upward for Iraqi Israeli, and 11 or 12 and upward for native-born Israeli).

²¹⁹ Al-Khayyat, S. (1990) *Honour and Shame*. London: Saqi Books

²²⁰ Melek, M. (1999) The Poet Who Helped Shape My Childhood, in Joseph, S. (Ed.) *Intimate Selving in Arab Families: Gender, Self, and Identity*. Syracuse University Press, p77-91

²²¹ Klausner, S. Z. (1961) Sex life in Islam, in Ellis, A. & Abarbanel, A. (Eds.) *The Encyclopaedia of Sexual Behavior, Volume 1*. London: W. Heinemann, p545-57

²²² Klausner, S. Z. (1964) Inherent visibility and sex norms in the Middle East, *J Soc Psychol* 63:1-29. Reprinted in Lieberman, B. (Ed., 1971) *Human Sexual Behavior: A Book of Readings*. New York [etc.]: J. Wiley & Sons, p300-22

Turkey, Turks (3,3,4,4+,4,4;5,2) (→Kurds) [IES]

The genital reference in infancy is well documented.

Delaney (1991:p78-9)²²³ stated that infants' "penises were kissed and stroked [...] grandparents and parents fondled their genitals and repeated: "You are male, you are male" ". Blowing on the penis is done to encourage urination. Female genitals and masturbation are ignored. Olsen (1981:p108)²²⁴ saw her daughter's "sugar box" "kissed lovingly" by a Turkish maid/nurse and was urged to do the same "as a part of appropriate "mothering" ". Olson-Prather (1976:p278)²²⁵ noted that a teenage neighbour girl of the elite class expressed verbal but not physical admiration. Bilge, another American researcher told Olson²²⁶ that this was common among recent and earlier Turkish immigrants near Detroit, Michigan. Helling (1960:p87-8)²²⁷ described that old women may snatch at the penises of little boys as they run by in the nude, threatening to cut them off, but also in apparent celebration of his incipient virility.

As can be examined in a revealing article by Unal (1994; 2000)²²⁸ on Turkish children, clinicians are apparently still out to "identify children who *could be at risk of developing CM* [childhood masturbation], such as children with a history of insufficient breastfeeding, sleep difficulties in the infancy period, and genito-urinary diseases" [*ital.add.*].

Observers of 19th century Istanbul mention prenatal betrothal, while the occurrence of pubescent marriage, (although some mention marriage ages for girls of twelve and fourteen) was found to be dubious by Duben (1990:p420)²²⁹. Among the Black Sea Turks, there is mention of female infant betrothal, the practice of the groom's family rearing the betrothed female infant, the wearing of corsets by virgins and their removal by the groom on the wedding night (Meeker, 1971:p330, n1)²³⁰. Pelin (1999)²³¹ discussed the custom of virginity tests²³².

²²³ Delaney, C. (1991) *The Seed and the Soil*. Berkeley (etc.): University of California Press

²²⁴ Olson, E. A. (1981) Socioeconomic and psychocultural contexts of child abuse and neglect in Turkey, in Korbin, J. (Ed.) *Child Abuse and Neglect: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, p96-119

²²⁵ Cited by Olson (1981:p108), *op.cit.*

²²⁶ Olson (1981:p108n), *op.cit.*

²²⁷ Cited by Olson (1981:p108), *op.cit.*

²²⁸ Unal, F. (2000) Predisposing factors in childhood masturbation in Turkey, *Eur J Pediatr* 159:338-42. The author also refers to a 1994 article in Turkish.

²²⁹ Duben, A. (1990) Household Formation in Late Ottoman Istanbul, *Int J Middle East Stud* 22,4:419-35

²³⁰ Meeker, M. E. (1971) The Black Sea Turks: Some Aspects of Their Ethnic and Cultural Background, *Int J Middle East Stud* 2,4:318-45

²³¹ Pelin, S. Th. (1999) The question of virginity testing in Turkey, *Bio-Ethics* 13,3-4:256-61

²³² See further Parla, A. (2001) The "honor" of the state: virginity examinations in Turkey, *Feminist Studies* 27,1:65-88; Decker, D. C. (1998) A broken promise: the continued use of virginity control examinations in Turkey, *Buffalo Human Rights Law Rev* 4:317-40

While 50.8% of female Turkish students believed their knowledge about sexuality was adequate, on evaluating the results, this did not live up to researchers' standards²³³. Girlfriends were found to be the most important source of sexual knowledge. The study indicated that 88.8% of the girls wanted to have sexual education at schools and 60.5% of those preferred to take such a lecture together with boys.

Additional refs.:

-- Aydin, H. & Gülçat, Z. (2001) Turkey, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.-in-chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. 4. New York: Continuum. Online ed.

²³³ Vicdan, K., Kukner, S., Dabakoglu, T., Ergin, T., Keles, G. & Gokmen, O. (1996) Demographic and epidemiologic features of female adolescents in Turkey, *J Adolesc Health* 18,1:54-8

Iran (Basseri, →Kurds) [IES]

Rural Iranians betroth children “very young”, while marriage is delayed till 14 (girls) and eighteen (boys) (Arasteh and Arasteh, 1964:p156)²³⁴ or 12 and 15²³⁵. The minimum lawful age of marriage now is fifteen (girls) and eighteen (boys), although courts sometimes permitted marriage at ages thirteen (g) and fifteen (b) (Levy, 1957)²³⁶.

Early marriage for both men and women was a common practice in Iran (Moezi, 1967²³⁷, as cited by Aghajanian). According to the 19th century travellers to Iran, children were often betrothed when they were young, although the wedding did not take place for some years (Rice, 1923²³⁸, as cited by Aghajanian). In the past, children were occasionally betrothed in infancy and they would become couples when the female was about 14 and the male about 16 years of age (Piggot, 1874²³⁹, as cited by Aghajanian). “In traditional Iran parents often arranged the betrothal and even marriage of their children at an early age”, legally so before puberty. Consummation would occur at physical maturity only (Wills, 1886)²⁴⁰. From early childhood, “until recently girls married before pubertal onset” (Friedl, 1978 [1985:p206, 209])²⁴¹, but this has been delayed since about 1970, partially because of the legal age of marriage for girls raised to 15 (Friedl, 1981:p17)²⁴². A recent study suggests marriage ages

²³⁴ Arasteh, A. R. & Arasteh, J. (1964) *Man and Society in Iran*. Leiden [Holland]: Brill

²³⁵ Mehryar, A. H. & Tashakkori, G. A. (1978) Sex and Parental Education as Determinants of Marital Aspirations and Attitudes of a Group of Iranian Youth, *J Marriage & Fam* 40, 3:629-37, at p630

²³⁶ Levy, R. (1957) *The Social Structure of Islam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2nd ed.

²³⁷ Moezi, A. (1967) Marital characteristics in Iran. *Proceedings of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Sydney Conference*, p976-82

²³⁸ Rice, C. C. (1923) *Persian Women and their Ways*. London: Seely, Service Co.

²³⁹ Piggot, J. (1874) *Persia: Ancient and Modern*. London: Henry S. King & Co. Aghajanian: Although such young marriages have not totally disappeared, legal and actual age of marriage has increased significantly compared to the historical description of child marriages. Both legal changes and social changes have influenced the increase in the age of marriage. A major development regarding the timing of marriage was secularization of the marital ceremony and civil registration of vital events. For many centuries marriage was basically a religious act and was recorded by a local religious trustee. In 1930, along with other changes introduced by the modernizing government of Reza Shah, the recording of vital events (birth, marriage, divorce, and death) became secular. Also age of marriage was brought into the domain of civil law and a minimum of age of marriage of 15 years for girls and 18 years for boys was prescribed by law which went into effect for the first time in 1935 (Momeni, 1972). Article 1041 of the Iranian Civil code, which went into effect in 1935, states “the marriage of females before reaching the full age of 15 and that of males before reaching the full age of 18 is forbidden. Nevertheless, in cases where proper reasons justify it, upon the proposal of the Public Prosecutor and by sanction of the courts exemption from age restriction can be accorded. But in any case exemption from age restriction cannot be granted to females below full age of 13 and for males below the full age of 15”. The law stipulated that all individuals who are instrumental in arranging marriages below the legal minimum age may receive penalties if convicted. Aghajanian, A. (Dec, 2001) *Family and Family Change in Iran*. Paper to be published as a chapter in *Diversity in Families: A Global Perspective* edited by Charles B. Hennon and Timothy H. Brubaker, Belmont, Ca: Wadsworth Publishing Company, forthcoming; Momeni, D. A. (1972) The Difficulties of Changing the Age at Marriage in Iran, *J Marriage & Fam* 34,3:545-51

²⁴⁰ Wills, C. J. (1886) *Persia As It Is*. London: Sampson, Low Maston, Searle & Rivington

²⁴¹ Friedl, E. (1978 [1985]) Parents and children in a village in Iran, in Fathi, A. (Ed.) *Women and the Family in Iran*. Leiden [Holland]: Brill, p195-211

²⁴² Friedl, E. (1981) Women and the Division of Labor in an Iranian Village, *MERIP Reports* 95:12-8, 31

17.10 +/- 4.24 years²⁴³. "Men are strongly advised not to imitate sexual intercourse with girls under the age of nine, even though they are permitted to marry them. Some of the legal scholars have even considered it forbidden [...]" (Haeri, 1989)²⁴⁴. Premenstrual girls could be divorced at any time. According to the 19th century travellers to Iran, children were often betrothed when they were young, although the wedding did not take place for some years (Rice, 1923²⁴⁵, as cited by Aghajanian). In the past, children were occasionally betrothed in infancy and they would become couples when the female was about 14 and the male about 16 years of age (Piggot, 1874²⁴⁶, as cited by Aghajanian). Under Khomeni, *Shari'a* [Islamic Law] re-established a minimum age of 13 for marriage of girls²⁴⁷. Girls were permitted "as young as nine [²⁴⁸], even seven in some cases, to be married if a physician signs a certificate agreeing to their sexual maturity" (Goodwin, 1994:p114²⁴⁹; cf. Ladier-Fouladi, 1997:p198-9)²⁵⁰. The doctor was said to consult the family without seeing the girl. A ban was placed on coitus below the age of seven.

Rhymes include oral, anal and genital themes (Friedl, 1997:p235)²⁵¹. Among the Jews, "[m]asturbation is strongly opposed on religious grounds but it is said to be common. Informants claim that when the boy is old enough to ejaculate, he is taken to a [M]uslim prostitute; in the past he would be married off to avoid the problem" (Loeb, 1977:p72)²⁵². After toddlerhood, children are explicitly discouraged from playing together by the warning that they might transform into the opposite sex.

²⁴³ Kazerooni, T, Talei, A. R., Sadeghi Hassanabadi, A., Arasteh, M. M. Saalabian, J. (2000) Reproductive behaviour in women in Shiraz, Islamic Republic of Iran, *East Mediterr Health J* 6,2-3:517-21

²⁴⁴ Haeri, Sh. (1989) *Law of Desire*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press

²⁴⁵ Rice, C. C. (1923) *Persian Women and their Ways*. London: Seely, Service Co.

²⁴⁶ Piggot, J. (1874) *Persia: Ancient and Modern*. London: Henry S. King & Co. Aghajanian: Although such young marriages have not totally disappeared, legal and actual age of marriage has increased significantly compared to the historical description of child marriages. Both legal changes and social changes have influenced the increase in the age of marriage. A major development regarding the timing of marriage was secularization of the marital ceremony and civil registration of vital events. For many centuries marriage was basically a religious act and was recorded by a local religious trustee. In 1930, along with other changes introduced by the modernizing government of Reza Shah, the recording of vital events (birth, marriage, divorce, and death) became secular. Also age of marriage was brought into the domain of civil law and a minimum of age of marriage of 15 years for girls and 18 years for boys was prescribed by law which went into effect for the first time in 1935 (Momeni, 1972). Article 1041 of the Iranian Civil code, which went into effect in 1935, states "the marriage of females before reaching the full age of 15 and that of males before reaching the full age of 18 is forbidden. Nevertheless, in cases where proper reasons justify it, upon the proposal of the Public Prosecutor and by sanction of the courts exemption from age restriction can be accorded. But in any case exemption from age restriction cannot be granted to females below full age of 13 and for males below the full age of 15". The law stipulated that all individuals who are instrumental in arranging marriages below the legal minimum age may receive penalties if convicted. Aghajanian, A. (Dec, 2001) *Family and Family Change in Iran*. Paper to be published as a chapter in *Diversity in Families: A Global Perspective* edited by Charles B. Hennon and Timothy H. Brubaker, Belmont, Ca: Wadsworth Publishing Company, forthcoming; Momeni, D. A. (1972) The Difficulties of Changing the Age at Marriage in Iran, *J Marriage & Fam* 34,3:545-51

²⁴⁷ Kian, A. (1995) Gendered Occupation and Women's Status in Post-Revolutionary Iran, *Middle Eastern Studies* 31,3:407-21

²⁴⁸ Cf. Kian, A. (1997) Women and Politics in Post-Islamist Iran: The Gender Conscious Drive to Change, *Br J Middle Eastern Studies* 24,1:75-96, at p77

²⁴⁹ Goodwin, J. (1994) *Price of Honor*. Boston (etc.): Little, Brown & Co.

²⁵⁰ Ladier-Fouladi, M. (1997) The Fertility Transition in Iran, *Population: An English Selection* 9:191-213

²⁵¹ Friedl, E. (1997) *Children of Deh Koh*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press

²⁵² Loeb, L. D. (1977) *Outcaste*. London: Gordon & Breach

Drew (1997)²⁵³ stated that “[l]ittle girls of all ages are kept well covered. In many provincial towns, girl babies are hidden completely under their mother’s *chador* on the street. Toddler girls wear *chadors* often with only a pacifier protruding from its folds. [...] Little boys are often bare from the waist down, obviating the need for diapers outside. At any age, males may urinate openly in the street or at the roadside”. [The Iranian *chador* of 1970-1 was worn in public “starting before the age of puberty”²⁵⁴].

Prior to puberty, male children gain a much more extensive knowledge of female anatomy at all stages of the life cycle, and all stages of pregnancy and lactation, by virtue of the fact that their mothers take them to the public baths with them on “women’s day. [...] It is up to the bath attendants to decide, based on their own observations, whether a young boy is too old to be present on women’s day. Clearly men retain in adulthood images of what they saw in the bathhouse during childhood”. On sexual behaviour:

“Children do not play unsupervised. An invitation to a child to play at the house of a neighbor or a schoolmate always includes the mother. Such invitations are in any case rare, as are all social interactions with nonkin. Children, in general, play with their cousins under the watchful eye of all mothers. Female children are watched very carefully. Access to information on sex-rehearsal play would be severely hampered by cultural taboos on admitting anything detrimental about one’s children, especially to nonkin”.

The attitude toward sexually abusive experiences seems remarkable:

“Since marriages can be contracted at any point after a girl has reached the age of 9, it is legally feasible for a very little girl to be married to a man of any age, and thus be physically at his mercy. This no doubt constitutes the broadest category of potential sexual abuse of children. One of the strongest arguments made in Iran against the custody of children, particularly girls, being given to the mother, is that on her remarriage, the children will be in danger of sexual abuse from the new husband. Sexual abuse of children, particularly little girls, often occurs at the hands of uncles and cousins staying under the same roof. In such cases, the child’s mother is inevitably blamed for leaving her child unguarded, and little outrage is directed at the abuser. Sexual abuse of children in a family setting is not the concern of the police, nor are there any relevant social agencies to which it could be reported. A young servant boy would be withdrawn from the household by his parents if he were the victim of abuse. Only in the case of a young servant girl could the police be implicated, and then only if her virginity had been certified prior to employment” (Guljick and Guljick, 1978 [1979:p513-4])²⁵⁵.

According to Hojat et al. (1999)²⁵⁶, Iranians in the United States in general, and women in particular, compared with their counterparts in Iran, expressed more permissive attitudes toward premarital sex and sex education.

²⁵³ Drew, P. E. (1997) Iran, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Quoted from the online edition

²⁵⁴ Gulick, J. (1976/1983) *The Middle East: An Anthropological Perspective*. Pacific Palisades, Calif.: Goodyear / Lanham, MD: University Press of America. 1983, p208

²⁵⁵ Guljick, J. & Guljick, M. E. (1978 [1979]) The domestic social environment of women and girls in Insfahan, Iran, in Beck, L. & Keddle, N. (Eds.) *Women in the Muslim World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p501-21

²⁵⁶ Hojat, M., Shapurian, R., Nayerahmadi, H., Farzaneh, M., Foroughi, D., Parsi, M. & Azizi, M. (1999) Premarital sexual, child rearing, and family attitudes of Iranian men and women in the United States and in Iran, *J Psychol* 133,1:19-31

Basseri (southern Iran)

According to Barth (1961:p139)²⁵⁷, girls' sex interest in boys would start "usually around her fourteenth year".

²⁵⁷ Barth, F. K. (1961) *Nomads of South Persia*. University of Oslo Press

Kuwait

The position of Kuwaiti women has changed dramatically over the past decades. However, until the 1950s, women lived under constraining physical and social conditions often associated with orthodox Muslim female conditions of the past: secluded, veiled, married at puberty to a male relative (Longva, 1993:p444)²⁵⁸. 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, 1975:p545)²⁵⁹. This custom has been abandoned.

²⁵⁸ Longva, A. Ng. (1993) Kuwaiti Women at a Crossroads: Privileged Development and the Constraints of Ethnic Stratification, *Int J Middle East Stud* 25,3:443-56

²⁵⁹ Hill, A. G. (1975) The Demography of the Kuwaiti Population of Kuwait, *Demography* 12,3:537-48

Saudi Arabia (Arabs, Bedouin)

"In Jiddah girls begin to wear the veil before they reach puberty, but veiling becomes mandatory with the onset of menstruation" (Altorki, 1986:p36)²⁶⁰. Cole (1977:p103 / 1985:p208-9)²⁶¹ documents that among the Al Murrah nomads the veil is worn "past puberty". Premarital sex is uncommon for males, and taboo for females.

Arabs (→Arab Americans)

Jacobus X (1893 [1898, II:p94])²⁶² states: "Among the Arabs marriage usually takes place before the period of the menses. If the bride is aged from nine to ten years, she is deflowered by a matron, if she has attained the age of thirteen years, the operation is performed by the husband. The same customs prevail among the schismatic Copts". However, "[l]ittle girls are sometimes deflowered very early. Madame X...informed me that she had seen, during the feast of the Ramadan, a little girl of six years of age and a boy of five acting coition in the street; they were merely imitating what they had witnessed. Sometimes little Arabs of from three to four years old are summoned by a little girl of their own age to coition in the open street. This seems incredible". As reviewed by Breiner (undated)²⁶³,

"The family in general, including the parents, will masturbate the infant boy to "increase its size and strengthen it". This can go on for hours (Edwardes, Masters, 1963). In boyhood there is mutual masturbation, fellatio, and anal intercourse. [...] Little girls are taught to stay in a very protected, segregated environment. They often become child brides before puberty (Omran, 1976; Standley, 1981)²⁶⁴. The boy is taught three things about sex: 1) that it is sinful, 2) that it is exciting and pleasurable, and 3) that it is also important for him to perform well sexually. Sex is a taboo subject, though it is central in the thinking and the general conversation in the male Arab world".

Antoun²⁶⁵ and others have written extensively on how the legitimate conjugal relationship is guarded in Middle Eastern villages through child betrothal, virginity tests, arranged marriages and elopement involving cases of honour. The girl finds herself under a rather

²⁶⁰ Altorki, S. (1986) *Women in Saudi Arabia*. New York: Columbia University Press

²⁶¹ Cole, D. P. (1977) The household, marriage and family life among the Al Murrah nomads of Saudi Arabia, in Ibrahim, S. E. & Hopkins, N. S. (Eds.) *Arab Society in Transition: A Reader*. [Cairo]: American University in Cairo, p88-106. Reprinted in *ibid.*, *Arab Society: Social Science Perspectives*, 1985, p196-211

²⁶² Jacobus X ([1893] 1898) *L'Amour aux Colonies*. Paris : I. Liseux. 3 vols. Second and enlarged english ed., *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology* (etc.). Paris: Librairie de Medecine, Folklore et Anthropologie. 2 vols.

²⁶³ Online paper by Breiner, S. J. (Jan. 2002) *Some Interesting Child Rearing Practices In The Arab World* [<http://www.state.sc.us/dmh/forum6.htm>]

²⁶⁴ Orman, A.R. & Standley, C.C. (1976) *Family Formation Patterns and Health*. World Health Organization; Orman, A.R. & Standley, C.C. (1981) *Family Formation Patterns and Health, Further Studies*. World Health Organization

²⁶⁵ Antoun, R. T. (1968) On the Modesty of Women in Arab Muslim Villages, *Am Anthropol* 70:671-97

strict moral guidance (Granqvist, 1947:p159ff)²⁶⁶. A wedding may be her only day out of the home. On the other hand, "[o]rdinary sexual matters are discussed before small children with a frankness and simplicity which modern educationists might approve, but which an English person may find at times embarrassing" (Dickson, 1949:p58)²⁶⁷.

Bedouin (Arabia, Negev, Sinai) (→Libya Bedouin)

"Good women deny interest in sexual matters and deny their own sexuality", a credo taught to girls as an important item of their socialisation (Abu-Lughod, 1986:p153)²⁶⁸. Among North-Arabic Bedouins, proof of a girl's premarital sexual experience would mean her death (Jaussen and Savignac, 1920²⁶⁹:p20; Reintjens, 1975²⁷⁰:p100-3).

"Religious law prescribes not under fourteen years for a marriage of girls, but bedouin tribes have no fixed age, being guided more by the development of the girl in question with the result that brides are sometimes as young as twelve years. It is rarely that the bridegroom is younger than fifteen years. [...] Old men, particularly men who are considered to be rich, contract many marriages with girls who are little more than children"²⁷¹.

²⁶⁶ Granqvist, H. (1947) *Birth and Childhood among the Arabs*. Helsingfors: Soderström & Co.

²⁶⁷ Dickson, H. R. P. (1949) *The Arab of the Desert*. London: George Allen & Unwin

²⁶⁸ Abu-Lughod, L. (1986) *Veiled Sentiments*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press

²⁶⁹ Jaussen, A. & Savignac, A. (1920) *Coutumes des Fuqara*. Paris

²⁷⁰ Reintjens, H. (1975) *Die Soziale Stellung der Frau bei den Nordarabischen Beduinen* [etc.]. Diss., Bonn

²⁷¹ Aref el-Aref/ Tilley, H. W. (1944/1974) *Bedouin Love, Law, and Legend: Dealing Exclusively with the Badu of Beersheba*. Transl. From Arab original. Jerusalem, Cosmos Publ. House / New York: AMS Press

Bahrain [IES]

On formal and informal sexual information, McCarthy (1997)²⁷² stated:

“There is a national curriculum which is taught in the boys and girls schools using the same textbook. The course content offered to Intermediate School students is not labelled as sex education. An introduction to human anatomy and physiology is taught to students around the ages of 10 to 12, depending on a student’s school entry age. This basic course is purely an anatomy and physiology approach to sexuality, and male and female informants said they learned about eggs, sperm, menstruation, etc. Family planning is now also covered in this course. There is no discussion of personal relationships or human sexuality, as this is considered *haraam*. There is little discussion of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) as the emphasis is on normal anatomy and physiology”.

“Informants mentioned a variety of informal sources for their early sex education, as most said parental instruction was rare and consisted of “don’t touch it” or “don’t let anyone touch.” Regarding parental instruction, the range of responses included those who said, “I could never talk to my mother/father about that,” “She/he did not encourage us to ask,” “Mother didn’t tell,” and “We didn’t ask mother,” to those whose parents were supportive and “explained when asked,” to parents who approached them first and “gave them books to read,” and/or “explained everything to them.” Some girls were told riding bikes and horses could be harmful, so they should be careful. All informants, men and women, said they discussed sex-related topics with their friends; some did or did not discuss such sex-related matters with their older or younger siblings. All informants likewise said that the media had an influence on their knowledge, including movies (Indian, Arabic, Western), music (Arabic, Western), and books and magazines. Some mentioned how their friends or coworkers, at the time of their engagement, gave them graphic information on “what to do” and “how to do it” ”.

Information on auto-erotic behaviour:

“Informants report that Bahraini children around the ages of 2.5 and 3 begin to touch themselves in the genital region like children around the world. As soon as relatives see this activity beginning, the child is taught this is not socially acceptable, and every time the behavior is seen, the child is admonished verbally not to do it (physical punishment is not used). Bahraini children do not walk around naked and always have clothes on. All the female informants report that their mothers from a very early age taught them how to sit with their legs together, to sit carefully and to ensure they are covered properly, and how not to sit (not to squat, and “not to let anything show”). Some report that they were taught how to wash their genitals in a proper way, and now they are teaching or taught it to their female children, e.g., with a closed finger and thumb position, and not with their fingers reaching and feeling. The prevalence of this particular washing method is not known. When girls reach the age of 10 to 12, their general play activities become restricted, and all reported their mothers told them their bodies would be changing and that they needed to behave in a

²⁷² McCarthy, J. (1997) Bahrain, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 1. Quoted from the online edition

careful manner. The concept of virginity and being careful with sharp objects was instilled in them. The incidence or types of autoerotic behaviors in this age group have not been studied”.

Further,

“[c]hildren seen touching other children in any suggestive manner are firmly instructed that this behavior is not appropriate. All sexual exploration and sexual rehearsal play, if noted by the parents or relatives, is strongly extolled as forbidden”²⁷³.

²⁷³ Allegedly, “The incidence of child sexual abuse in Bahrain has not been documented in any published reference [and] [p]edophilia has not been studied. [...] Bahraini pedophiles paying boys for sex both in Bahrain and abroad are known, and such cases are discussed openly by older members of the local community. Groups of older boys are sometimes involved in rapes of young boys, however this data are not reported”.

Oman (Wikan)

Marriage at age 13 was common in Oman (Wikan, 1982:p60-1)²⁷⁴, following segregation from age two and a virginity test (1984:p639)²⁷⁵. Sexual jokes were told in front of children (p137). Wikan (1982:p85) stated that Omans “[...] observe no shyness for children, not even for a son in his teens. For this reason, children presumably grow up with a “natural”, matter-of-fact attitude to these aspects of life”. Children may play “house and family”, but no statements are made on erotic elements. More strictness and distance are observed from school age. Men seem to assume that boys “start being curious and [explore] sexual matters” at puberty (p176). Early teen homosexuality is severely punished (p178). Traditionally, “[a]round the age of three, girls start observing sexual modesty. They cover all parts of the body other than hands, feet and face. The face comes next, around the age of 13, when black masks (burqa) are assumed which screen forehead, cheeks, nose and upper lips” (Wikan, 1977:p307)²⁷⁶.

²⁷⁴ Wikan, U. (1982) *Behind the Veil in Arabia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

²⁷⁵ Wikan, U. (1984) Shame and Honour: A Contestable Pair, *Man*, New Series 19,4:635-52

²⁷⁶ Wikan, U. (1977) Man Becomes Woman: Transsexualism in Oman as a Key to Gender Roles, *Man*, New Series 12,2:304-19

Yemen

Twenty-nine of Dorsky's fifty women (1986:p143-5)²⁷⁷ claimed to be premenarchal at marriage.

"Despite the general claim in *Amran* that a few considerate men delay sexual relations until their wives are sexually mature, this was not the case for any of these twenty-nine informants. Although townswomen are sharply critical of "excessively early" marriages (but they do not define excessive earliness precisely), they do not focus specifically on the attainment of menarche. Almost no women state directly that girls who do not menstruate are not ready for marriage. In fact, many 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" (p135).

According to Chelhod (1973:p60)²⁷⁸ it was common for girls to marry before puberty. In one village (Bornstein, 1974)²⁷⁹, 22 out of 147 were married between eight and ten. As in Maklouf (1979)²⁸⁰, the average age for girls was estimated at 13 or 14, and significantly higher for males. In another, far northern village (Myntti, 1979)²⁸¹, 65% of ever-married women had done so before puberty.

Dorsky (1986:p123) stated that women say they had no idea of what was to occur in their wedding nights, and believe it is best for a woman to learn such things from her husband. "Many mothers say they would be too embarrassed to tell their daughters what to expect. However, some women say that, in actuality, girls do learn about sex from an early age, although the knowledge may well fail to protect them from experiencing shock and shame at their first sexual experience".

²⁷⁷ Dorsky, S. (1986) *Women of Amran*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press

²⁷⁸ Chelhod, J. (1973) La parenté et le mariage au Yémen, *L'Ethnographie* 67:47-90

²⁷⁹ Bornstein, A. (1974) *Food and Society in the Yemen Arab Republic*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

²⁸⁰ Maklouf, B. (1979) *Changing Veils*. New York: Wiley & Sons

²⁸¹ Myntti, C. (1979) *Women and Development in the Yemen Arab Republic*. Eschborn, Federal Republic of Germany: Germany Agency for Technical Development

Afghanistan (→Bačas; Pashtun)

Khoshbeen (1970)²⁸² speaks of “[a] deliberate blindness toward sex and toward the oncoming manifestations of puberty” on the part of the child. Wilber (1962:p90-1)²⁸³ relates that at age ten, “[...] or so, [the sexes] separate, [...]. Although Afghan culture does not provide for a period of courtship nor for casual friendship among boys and girls of marriageable age, meetings between adolescent boys and girls do take place”. Cousin marriage is preferred. “Marriage is arranged by the family and among the townsmen is sometimes contracted between a boy as young as fifteen and a girl as young as twelve”; however, marriage usually is prolonged until the late teens or twenties. Girls are veiled at age 12²⁸⁴.

Uzbekistan (Karakalpak)

Karakalpak (Uzbekistan)

Mote (2002)²⁸⁵:

“Karakalpak girls are expected to marry young. During the 1960s, one-third of them married between 16 and 19. Although allowed to attend middle, technical, and, occasionally, higher schools, many girls withdrew at age 18 to be married. Men are expected to pay a brideprice (kalym). Although discouraged by Soviet mores, marriage by prior arrangement (i.e., child marriage) sometimes occurred. Wives were expected to move into the household of their fathers-in-law. They had few rights and privileges except the dowry, which was not illegal in the USSR. What was illegal was the marriage of minors. Muslim families often concealed the ages of their daughters through outright chicanery, for example, by refraining to register their girl infants or by sending them away to relatives in districts where their ages were not known”.

²⁸² Khoshbeen, A. M. (1970) Consequences of the absence of sex education in Afghanistan, *Rev Neuropsychia Infant & D'Hyg Ment Enf* 18,10-11:853-61

²⁸³ Wilber, D. N. (1962) *Afghanistan*. New Haven: HRAF Press

²⁸⁴ Furon, R. (1926) *L'Afghanistan*. Paris: Librairie Scientifique Albert Blanchard, p77

²⁸⁵ Mote, Victor L. (2002) *Cultural Summary: Karakalpak*. HRAF Publication Information: New Haven, Conn.: HRAF [eHRAF]

Kazach, Kazak; Kazakstan (3,3,3,3,3,3;5,5;E)

According to Hudson (1938)²⁸⁶, age of marriage depended on family wealth, the rich marrying younger. Girls could be married before sexual maturity, while boys aged eight or nine would be married to women of middle age (Rendenko, 1930:p48)²⁸⁷. Older sources mention prenatal and infant betrothal²⁸⁸.

A 1995 survey (Agadjanian and Qian, 1997)²⁸⁹ reveals at first sexual intercourse of 21.1 ($SD=3.2$) for nonrussified and for russified Kazaka, compared to 19.8 for Europeans, among ever-married or cohabiting women.

²⁸⁶ Hudson, A. E. (1938) *Kazak Social Structure*. New Haven: Yale University Press

²⁸⁷ Cit. Hudson

²⁸⁸ See also Levshin, A. (1840) *Déscriptions des Hordes* [etc.], p358

²⁸⁹ Agadjanian, V. & Qian, Zh. (1997) Ethnocultural Identity and Induced Abortion in Kazakstan, *Stud Fam Plann* 28,4:317-29

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¹ Note: there are separate chapters for Bangladesh/ India/ Pakistan and Indonesia.

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Generalia

LeBar et al. (1964; 1972)² reviewed some data on initial courtship practices among Southeast Asian tribes. Among the Mainland groups, no explicit statements were made on childhood betrothal or marriage except for the Senoi-Semang who practised rearing marriage (p179).

Taboo on and punishment of “masturbation” was documented for the Koreans (Turner, [1905:p3]), and Taiwanese (Diamond, 1969:p34). Nevertheless, Eram informed Ploß (*Die Frau*, I) that masturbation is a “condition extrêmement commune chez les jeunes filles en Orient”.

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-- De Silva, W. I. (March, 1998) *Emerging Reproductive Health Issues Among Adolescents in Asia*. Takemi Program in International Health, Harvard School of Public Health

-- Gubhaju, Bh. B. (2002) *Adolescent Reproductive Health in Asia*. Paper presented at IUSSP Regional Population Conference, Bangkok, Thailand, June 10-13

-- Manderson, L. & Liamputtong, P. (Eds., 2002) *Coming of Age in South and Southeast Asia: Youth, Courtship and Sexuality*. NIAS Studies in Asian Topics, no. 30. Richmond: Curzon Press;

Current Age of Consent³

For current details, one is to consult ECPAT⁴. Graupner⁵ lists the following consent ages: Japan (13), Philippines (12), Taiwan (16), South Korea (13), Thailand (15/18), Vietnam (16), and People's Republic of China (-/14 for Fm). ECPAT offers specifics on the AoC for the following East Asian countries: China ([14]⁶), Indonesia, Japan (13)⁷, Laos (15)⁸, Malaysia

² LeBar, F. M., Hickey, G. C. & Musgrave, J. K. (1964) *Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press; LeBar, F. M. (Ed., 1972) *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press. 2 vols.

³ <http://www.ageofconsent.com/ageofconsent.htm>, Nov., 2001. The following ages were given by the ILGA (2001). Hong Kong: 16 (het)/ 16 (fem hom)/ 21 (male hom); Cambodia: 16; New Zealand: 16; Philippines: 12; South Korea: 13; Taiwan 16; Thailand 15. See

http://www.ilga.org/Information/Legal_survey/Asia_Pacific/1world_legal_survey_asia_pacific.htm

⁴ ECPAT International, Online Database

http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/online_database/index.asp

⁵ Graupner, H. (2000) Sexual consent: The criminal law in Europe and overseas, *Arch Sex Behav* 29,5:415-61

⁶ “The age of majority is 18 years in PRC. There does not seem to be a legal age of consent, but several provisions criminalize sexual act with children below 14 years of age regardless of their consent. Thus one could say for practical reasons that the age of consent for sexual relations is 14 years. This is also the age limit for being a child. Anyone who has sexual intercourse with girls under 14 years age commits statutory rape. [...] Acts of sodomy with boys is not included in the rape offence. It falls under a general prohibition of acting indecently with children under 14 years of age. The definition of indecent acts includes all kinds of sexual touching; both from the child and the perpetrator, regardless of consent. However, an indecent act only constitutes a crime when it causes some undesirable social

(16)⁹, Maldives (?)¹⁰, Mongolia (16?)¹¹, Myanmar ([14])¹², Nepal¹³, North Korea¹⁴, Philippines (12/"virgin")¹⁵, Singapore (14, het.)¹⁶, South Korea (?)¹⁷, Sri Lanka (16)¹⁸, Thailand (15)¹⁹, and Vietnam²⁰.

There is no legal age of consent defined in **Cambodian** law, but indecent or sexual assault is punishable by one to three years in jail, a sentence is doubled if the person assaulted is under the age of 16. In **China**, sexual relations with a girl under the age of 14 are regarded as rape (Art. 30 Regulation of Social Order Management and Punishment), in alteration of the 16 years (for females) proscribed by the old code (Van

impact or results in injury to the child. The impact on enforcement of the first criteria is difficult to determine. Additionally, it is required that the perpetrator actually knows that the victim is underage".

⁷ "The age of consent is 13 years according to the Japanese Criminal Code. All sexual acts with children under this age are prohibited regardless of their consent. Under the Child Abuse Prevention Law this age limit is raised to 18 years when the perpetrator is a parent or a legal guardian. This law however does not provide for punishment of the offender. Additionally, local government regulations in most regions prohibit indecent acts with children under 18 years of age, as causing damage to the sound development of children".

⁸ "Under the law [Penal code] the age of consent and absolute protection is 15 years. Sexual relations with children under this age are prohibited and fall under the offence of raping a child. It is not stated if the definition of sexual relations only covers acts of sexual penetration, although the title of the offence hints at it".

⁹ "The age of consent is 16 years in Malaysia. Sexual intercourse with a girl under this age is punishable with a fine, up to 5 years imprisonment or a combination of both, unless the act takes place within marriage or the perpetrator had reasonable cause to believe that the girl was older than 16 years of age. It also is illegal to incite a child under 14 years of age to engage in acts of gross indecency with other persons. Under Islamic law provisions a female child may be charged with "khalwat" or "close proximity" (the charge used to prosecute premarital or extramarital sexual relations) even if she is under 18 years of age and her partner is an adult".

¹⁰ "Reportedly, there is no legal age of consent to sexual relations in the Maldives".

¹¹ "The age of consent seems to be 16 years for boys and girls since it is prohibited to have sexual intercourse with a person under this age. The age of majority is 18 years".

¹² "Anyone having sexual intercourse with a girl under 14 years of age with or without her consent commits the offence of rape".

¹³ "According to the General Law, sexual intercourse with a girl below the age of 16 is presumed to be rape".

¹⁴ "The North Korean Criminal Code contains articles prohibiting sexual relations with minors. According to article 136 of the code, it is an offence to have sexual relations with a person that has not attained sexual maturity. No age limit seems to be specified. This offence is aggravated if it involves seduction or perversion. [...] The provision appears to apply to both sexes".

¹⁵ "The age of consent is 12 years for boys and girls alike. Sexual intercourse with children under this age constitutes statutory rape. According to provisions in the Philippine Penal Code it is an offence to seduce a virgin girl under this age for a parent, persons in a position of influence or other persons when using deceitful means. The penalty is less severe if the assaulted girl is not a virgin".

¹⁶ "The Singaporean Penal Code contains statutes prohibiting sexual intercourse with girls younger than 14 years of age and acts against the order of nature between all persons. [...] The age of consent for females is 14 years of age. Anyone having sexual intercourse with a girl under this age commits mandatory rape. The offence is considered aggravated if it results in injury or involves a girl under 14 years of age who is not consenting. Further, it is presumed that girls under 12 years do not consent unless otherwise proven. Homosexual relations are strictly prohibited, regardless of the participants' sex or age [...]".

¹⁷ Despite a new comprehensive law - The Youth Sex Protection Law - on CSEC offences (July 2000) "It seems that an age of consent is not stipulated".

¹⁸ "The age of consent is 16 years for boys and girls in Sri Lanka. Heterosexual intercourse with a girl under this age constitutes statutory rape. An exception is made for acts committed within marriage with girls older than 12 years of age".

¹⁹ "The age of consent is 15 years. The offence of mandatory rape deals with sexual intercourse (including sodomy) with girls and boys under this age. It carries a penalty of 4 to 20 years imprisonment or, if the girl is under 13 years of age, life imprisonment. Boys and girls under 15 years of age are protected from any violent or non-violent indecent act".

²⁰ "All children, irrespective of sex, are protected from sexual intercourse and other lewd acts [sic]. Sexual intercourse with a child under 13 years of age is treated as statutory rape".

der Valk, 1936:p76)²¹, although no specific age of consent laws seem to exist as yet. In **Hong Kong**, “[a] man who has unlawful sexual intercourse with a girl under the age of thirteen (13) shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction on indictment to imprisonment for life” (Article 123, Penal Code, “Crimes”, CAP. 200); when the girl is between 13 and 16, imprisonment follows (Art. 124). It would be 18 for males. In **Japan**, the age of consent for sexual activity at thirteen (13) years (Art. 177, Penal Code). In May 1999, a new law prohibited people from having sexual relations with those under 18 in exchange for money, and bans the sale and distribution of child pornography. In **Nepal**, article 375 of the IPC defines rape as the act of engaging in sexual intercourse with a woman when she is under fourteen years of age. On the **Philippines**, the age of sexual consent is 12, but contacts with minors (under 18) are an offence, if the minor consents to the act for money, gain or any other remuneration or as the result of an influence of any adult person. According to Art. 266-A, rape is committed “when the offended party is under twelve (12) years of age or is demented [...]”. In **Sri Lanka**, the minimum age of ‘consent’ in the offence of rape has been increased in 1995 from twelve (12) to sixteen (16) years. The offender of “acts of gross indecency” must be aged 18 or above (Section 365A of the Amendment to the Penal Code). The age of consent in **Taiwan** is said to be 16. In **Thailand**, “[w]hoever has sexual intercourse with a girl not yet over fifteen years of age and not being his own wife, whether such girl shall consent or not, shall be punished with imprisonment of four to twenty years and fined between Bt 8,000 to Bt 40,000” (Art. 277, Penal Code); sentences are intensified when the girl is under 13. However, “[w]hoever commits an indecent act on a child not over thirteen years of age, with or without her consent, shall be punished with imprisonment not exceeding ten years or fine not exceeding twenty thousand baht, or both” (Title IV Section 279). In **Singapore**, “[a] man is said to commit “rape” who, except in the case hereinafter, has sexual intercourse with a woman [...] with or without consent, when she is under fourteen (14) years of age” (Code 375, Penal Code). “Consent” is valid “unless the contrary appears from the context, if the consent is given by a person who is under twelve (12) years of age” (Art. 90). Further, “[a]ny man who has [...] carnal connection with any girl under the age of sixteen (16) years except by way of marriage [...] shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five (5) years and shall be liable to a fine not exceeding \$ 10,000 (Code 140, Subsection 1, f).

Age-Stratified Patterns²² and Prostitution: General Remarks (→Middle-East; →Indonesia)

Asia has generally been recognised for its “child” prostitution problems²³. “Throughout the Eastern world, but particularly in China and India, children have always been used in large numbers for prostitution- often being sold into brothels by their parents” (Benjamin and Masters, 1964:p161)²⁴. Brongersma (1987:p107-8)²⁵ comes to the same conclusion. Nowhere the case seems to have been ritualised. The following cases are presented *infra*: [Thailand](#), [Japan](#), [China](#), [Korea](#), and [Philippines](#) (see also [Vietnam](#); and *Indonesia* and *Bangladesh/ India/ Pakistan* chapters).

²¹ Van der Valk, M. H. (1936) The New Chinese Criminal Code, *Pacific Affairs* 9,1:69-77. Cf. Tanner, H. (1994) Chinese Rape Law in Comparative Perspective, *Austr J Chinese Affairs* 31:1-23, see p3

²² Cf. separate paper, Age Disparate Homoeroticism: Annotated Ethnohistorical Bibliography.

²³ Bevilacqua, E. (1998) Child sex tourism and child prostitution in Asia: what can be done to protect the rights of children abroad under international law? *ILSA J Int & Comparative Law* 5,1 [http://www.nsulaw.nova.edu/student/student_organizations/ILSAJournal/issues/5-1/Bevilacqua%205-1.htm]

²⁴ Benjamin, H. & Masters, R. E. L. (1964) *Prostitution and Morality*. New York: Julian Press

²⁵ Brongersma, E. (1987) *Jongensliefde*, Deel 1. Amsterdam: SUA. See also Brongersma, E. (1987) [Jongensliefde bij de Chinezen], *OK Mag* 8:23-6; Brongersma, E. (1987) [Jongensliefde in Japan], *OK Mag* 6:21-5

Thai Age Stratified Patterns (→Thailand)

Thailand has no recognised historical account of age-“stratified” categories. In the case of Thai “child” prostitution, few ethnographies are undertaken integrating aspects of childhood and sexuality²⁶. Mathews²⁷, writing in 1987, stated that the “Western ideology that boys are unwillingly or unwittingly exploited by men” could be considered “idiosyncratically Western”. Contemporary Thai attitudes toward “paedophilia” seem to be rather negative (Jackson, 1989:p19, 104, 131-2, 135-7, 147-8, 225)²⁸. However, others argued that Thai society “[...] has little antipathy to age-graded relationships, an age of consent for males was first established (with little publicity) in 1987, at 15”²⁹. In a study³⁰ on Thai sex workers based on interview groups in selected brothels, only 0.4% had their “first sexual experience” under 10, 15.2% between 11 and 14, while 52.2% had between 15-17. Fifty one per cent had lost their virginity in the brothels; the figures on early teenage intercourse are much lower than many figures in the US. In Manila, most male prostitutes are ages 12-20 - much younger than their clients, who are said to be predominantly Western tourists.

Japanese Age Stratified Patterns (→Japan)

Psychohistorians have surveyed Japanese age stratified homosexuality (DeMause, 1991³¹; Kitahara, 1989:p57-9)³². As it appears, ancient Japan resembled both India and China in having institutionalised “Greek-style” pederasty of boys -by priests as well as warriors³³-, yet added to temple prostitution of both boys and girls, and “widespread” “child” prostitution, including the ancient *geisha* system³⁴. “When the madam in charge of the younger girls

²⁶ E.g., Montgomery, H. (1996) *Public Vice and Private Virtue: Child Prostitution in Pattaya, Thailand*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge, UK.

²⁷ Mathews, P. W. (1987) Some Preliminary Observations of Male Prostitution in Manila, *Philippine Sociol Rev* 35,3-4:55-74

²⁸ Jackson, P. A. (1989) *Male Homosexuality in Thailand*. Meppel: Krips Repro/ Global Academic Publishers

²⁹ Puterbaugh, G. (1990) Thailand, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol II, p1288-20, at p1289

³⁰ Podhisita, C., Pramualratana, K., Uraivan, Wawer, M. & McNamara, R. (1993) *Socio-Cultural Context of Commercial Sex Workers in Thailand*, Paper presented at the IUSSP Working Group on AIDS: Seminar on AIDS Impact and Prevention in the Developing World

³¹ DeMause, L. (1991) The Universality of Incest, *J Psychol* 19,2:123-164

³² Kitahara, M. (1989) Childhood in Japanese Culture, *J Psychol* 17,1:43-72

³³ Ihara, S. (1972 [c1680]) *Comrade Loves of the Samurai*. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co.;

Frederic, L. (1972) *Daily Life in Japan at the Time of the Samurai*. London: George Allen & Unwin;

Shiveley, D. H. (1970) Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, the Gewoku Shogun, in Craig, A. M. & Shiveley, D. H. (Eds.) *Personality in Japanese History*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Varley, H. P. (1970) *The Samurai*. London: Widenfeld & Nicolson; Buruma, I. (1984) *Behind the Mask. On Sexual Demons,*

Sacred Mothers, Transvestites, Gangsters, Drifters and Other Japanese Cultural Heroes. New York: Pantheon; Childs, M. (1977) Japan's Homosexual Heritage, *Gai Saber* 1: 41-45; Marc, D. (1949) *Les amants du soleil levant*, *Arcadie* 66: 356-51; Saikaku, I. (1972) *Tales of the Samurai*. Tokyo: Tuttle;

Krauss, F. S. (1911) *Das Geschlechtsleben in Glauben, Sitte, Brauch und Gewohnheit der Japaner*. Second Ed. Leipzig: Ithnologischer Verlag; Scott, G. R. (1941) *Phallic Worship*. London: Torchstream Books, p228; Czaja, M. (1974) *Gods of Wyth and Stone. Phallicism in Japanese Folk Religion*. New York: Weatherhill; Pflugfelder, G. M. (1999) *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950*. Berkeley: University of California Press; DeMause (1991)

³⁴ For the age of geisha, one is to consult De Becker, J. E. ([1899]) *The Nightless City, or The History of the Yoshiwara Yukwaku*. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co.; and Dalby, L. C. (1983) *Geisha*.

considered a girl “ready”, usually about age fourteen, she would try to find someone willing to pay a special price for deflowering her”³⁵. Japanese brothels would start girls in sexual service at 5 to 7 years old³⁶. Children in medieval Japan would be sold for prostitution in poor families³⁷.

Leupp (1995)³⁸ provides a rich historical analysis on man’s passion for ‘boys’ (p33, 38-46, 68, 94, 122-9, 143, 151-2). The author remarks that “[...] references to “beautiful boys” [note omitted in puppet plays and collections of humor from the seventeenth century suggest that many men in the gentry (yangban) class retained boys for sexual purposes. Homosexuality seems to have been especially associated with provincial gentlemen. Some of these men (like the literati of Fujian in China) even kept boy-wives whose status was publicly acknowledged in the village. Upon reaching adulthood, such boys would normally enter into a heterosexual marriage” (p19).

Among the Samurai, “[w]ithin class-based confines, all youths [*wakashu*] between puberty and adulthood were potential sexual partners for adult males, just as all women potentially were” (Schalow, 1989:p121; 1990³⁹). Pederasty by the aristocracy and priesthood is well documented as occurring since at least the 14th century, with young boys given by their parents to be used anally by samurais⁴⁰ and by priests in monasteries- the boys sometimes having been worshipped as gods incarnate in religious cults similar to those of the cult of the Virgin in the West⁴¹. In Medieval Japan, “[f]or men, desires are fulfillable in a range of forms, from intercourse with women and young boys to wet dreams and masturbation. These acts, for which there were no separate words, in and of themselves receive no negative judgement” (Tonomura, 1994:p148)⁴².

During the 14th and 15th century, a specific genre of love poems or novels (*Chigo Monogatari*) were written that surround a homosexual theme of Buddhist priests and boys aged between seven and fourteen (Childs) or 10/11 to 16/17 (W&I), called *chigo*, residing at the temples (Childs, 1980⁴³; cf. Watanabe and Iwata, 1989:p38-46; Leupp, 1995:p38-9). “It seems that the

Berkeley: University of California Press, p197; Schalow, P. G. (1989) *Male Love in Early Modern Japan: A Literary Depiction of the “Youth”*, in Duberman, M. B., Vicinus, M. & Chauncey, Jr., G. (Eds.) *Hidden From History. Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*. New York: New American Library, p118-28. Cf. Schalow, P. G. (1993) *The Invention of a Literary Tradition of Male Love*. Kitamura Kigin’s Iwatsutsuji, *Monumenta Nipponica* 48,1:1-31; Saikaku, I. (1995) *Gay Tales of the Samurai*. San Francisco: Alamo Square Press; De Vos and Mizushima, in De Vos [et al.] (1973:p269), *cit. infra*

³⁵ De Vos and Wagatsuma, in De Vos [et al.] (1973:p268), *cit. infra*

³⁶ De Becker, *op.cit.*

³⁷ Hara, H. & Minagawa, M. (1986) *Japanische Kindheit seit 1600*, in Martin, J. & Nitschke, Au. (Eds.) *Zur Sozialgeschichte der Kindheit*. München: Verlag K. Alber, p113-89, see p146

³⁸ Leupp, G. P. (1995) *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan*. Los Angeles: University of California Press

³⁹ Schalow, P. G. (1990) *Samurai*, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol II, p1149-50

⁴⁰ Cf. Carpenter, E. (1914) *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk*. American edition. New York, Mitchell Kennerley, ch. 8

⁴¹ Watanabe, T. & Iwata, J. (1987) *The Love of the Samurai. A Thousand Years of Japanese Homosexuality*. London: GMP Publishers; Saikaku, I. (1990) *The Great Mirror of Male Love*. Stanford: Stanford University Press

⁴² Tonomura, H. (1994) *Black Hair and Red Trousers: Gendering the Flesh in Medieval Japan*, *Am Hist Rev* 99,1:129-54

⁴³ Childs, M. H. (1980) *Chigo Monogatari. Love Stories or Buddhist Sermons?* *Monumenta Nipponica* 35,2:127-51. Adapted from the author’s 1978 MA thesis. Referred to by Payne, R. K. (1999) *At Midlife in Medieval Japan*, *Jap J Religious Stud* 26,1-2:135-57; and Pflugfelder, G. M. (1992) *Strange Fates. Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in Torikaebaya Monogatari*, *Monumenta Nipponica* 47,3:347-68, at p365-6; and Brock, K. L. (1995) *The Shogun’s “Painting Match”*, *Monumenta Nipponica* 50,4:433-84, at p471;

Buddhist priests who taught these boys in secluded mountain temples were relatively safe from the temptations of women, but were susceptible to the charms of the chigo who lived in their midst. A popular saying, *Ichī chigo ni sannō* ("Chigo come first, the god of the mountain second"), reflects the prevalence of sexual relationships between priests and chigo". Among the samurai, the *chigo* (lit., young child) was to make way for the *wawashu* (lit., young man). The *wawashu* would be aged 13/14 to 18/19 (W&I, p47), or up to majority (p117), their love being called *shudo*. Whereas chigos were to engage in anal intercourse only, the menu was more variable in the case of *wawashus* (p119, 121). The authors argue against the influence of Christianity in the deterioration of *shudo*, beginning in the 18th century; rather it would have its origin in "the precipitate modernisation of the whole of Japanese society" (p26-8, 121-4).

Screech⁴⁴:

"The 'Golden Age' of *nanshoku* ('man-boy' sexual activity) is now identified as Genroku, but did later Edo accept this? I propose that what is today located in Genroku was thought of as received behavior throughout early Edo, but was then forced back during Kansei into earlier history, especially Sengoku, removing *nanshoku* from the Tokugawa dispensation. *Wakashu* portraits, for example, formerly popular, disappear from Kansei art, likewise *fuzoku* paintings suggesting a normalcy for same-gender eroticism; *onna-girai* (exclusive same-sex orientation, including adult) was utterly submerged in the inequality of adult-child *nanshoku*".

Saeki⁴⁵:

"The popularity of boy love among *shosei* (young male students in Meiji period) is often mentioned in Meiji literature such as Tsubouchi Shoyo's *Tosei Shosei Katagi* or Mori Ogai's *Vita Sexualis*. Not a few young men at that time still considered that women were not worth loving and preferred boys as their lovers because they believed that they could improve their strength as "real men", both emotionally and intellectually, through homosexual love. However, under the influence of the Western ideal of love and Western psychiatry, both of which only justify heterosexual relationships, Japanese intellectuals began to think that male homosexuality is "unnatural" and "immoral" ".

Subcultures of contemporary Japanese manga allow an inspiration by the ancient ways in their renewed concept and expression of "boy-love". Japanese censorship ethics may, as is argued, "revolve around political struggles whose import is not the censoring of offensiveness per se, but is rather authoritarianism's basic yet desperate desire to assert itself in an increasingly liberal political climate", having had "the unique side effect of creating safe spaces of sexual fantasy (for children, for example) [...]" (Helms)⁴⁶. In 1999, Diamond and Uchiyama⁴⁷ observed that "there are no specific child pornography laws in Japan and SEM [sexually explicit material] depicting minors are readily available and widely consumed. [...] Most significantly, despite the wide increase in availability of pornography to children, not only was there a decrease in sex crimes with juveniles as victims but the number of juvenile offenders also decreased significantly".

and Allen, L. W. (1995) Images of the Poet Saigyō as Recluse, *J Jap Stud* 21,1:65-102, at p79; and Guth Ch. M. E. (1987) The Divine Boy in Japanese Art, *Monumenta Nipponica* 42,1:1-23, at p 16, 18. Cf. Childs, M. H. (1996) The story of Kannon's manifestation as a youth, in Miller, S. (Ed.) *Partings at Dawn: An Anthology of Japanese Gay Literature*. San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press; Childs, M. H. (1985) *Kyōgen-kigo: Love Stories as Buddhist Sermons*, *Jap J Religious Stud* 12,1:91-104

⁴⁴ Screech, T. (1996) *The Boys of Kansei*. AAS Abstracts, Japan Session 9, at

<http://www.aasianst.org/absts/1996abst/japan/j9.htm>

⁴⁵ Saeki, J. (1996) *Male Homosexuality in Meiji Literature: Its Traditional Aspects and Change Through Meiji Modernization*. AAS Abstracts, Japan Session 9, at

<http://www.aasianst.org/absts/1996abst/japan/j9.htm>

⁴⁶ Helms, U. (2000) Obscenity and homosexual depiction in Japan, *J Homosex* 39,3-4:127-47

⁴⁷ Diamond, M. & Uchiyama, A. (1999) Pornography, rape, and sex crimes in Japan, *Int J Law Psychia* 22,1:1-22

Contemporary Japanese “boy-love” apparently includes women’s taste for ‘beautiful youths’ (bishoonen) as “androgynous [beings] who possesses a feminine sensibility and yet [experience] all the advantages of a male body” (McLelland, 2000a,b,c,d; 2001) ⁴⁸ YAOI, for instance, is “an acronym formed from the first letters of the Japanese words YAmashi [no climax], Ochi nashi [no point] and Imi nashi [no meaning] and refers to those boy-love stories in which there is less romantic plot development and more emphasis placed on the sex scenes between the male characters”.

Lolita Complex [Japan]

With Rorikon (rori= Lolita, kon/con= Complex) is meant the schoolgirl-craze most typically associated with Japanese middle-aged males. As Sharon Kinsella⁴⁹ notes, the Japanese iconical ‘Lolita’ is mirrored by the girls’ Cuteness cult. Few sociological insights are had in contemporary Occidental reading of this matter.

Reading:

- Berndt, J. (1995) *Phänomen Manga. Comic-Kultur in Japan*. Berlin: Edition
- Graham, D. (2002) Exhibit highlights battle between good and evil, *Toronto Star*, July 18, Ontario Edition
- Japan hooked on Lolita fantasy; *The Guardian Weekly* 155,23:14-23 / 1996
- Jones, S. (2003) Oriental Lolitas, *New Statesman*, 2/3/2003; 132 ;4623:38
- Kadri, F. (2001) Japan defends freedom of expression in manga comics, *Agence France Presse*, December 20, 2001
- Seward, J. (1995) *Japanese Eroticism. A Language Guide to Current Comics*. 2nd ed. Houston: Yugen Press
- The darker side of cuteness, *Economist*, 05/08/99; 351,8118:32

General additional refs.:

- Carpenter, E. (1914) *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk*. American edition. New York, Mitchell Kennerley, ch. 8

⁴⁸ McLelland, M. J. (2000a) No climax, no point, no meaning?. Japanese women’s boy-love sites on the Internet. Paper presented at the workshop Japanese Popular Culture in Hong Kong, Bishop Lei International House, Hong Kong, December 10-12, 1999. In *Communication Abstracts* 23,6:763 / *J Communication Inq* 24,3:274-91; McClelland, M. J. (2000b) The Love Between ‘Beautiful Boys’ in Japanese Women’s Comics, *J Gender Studies* 9,1:13-25; McLelland, M. J. (2000c) Male Homosexuality and Popular Culture in Modern Japan, *Intersections* 3

[<http://www.she.murdoch.edu.au/intersections/issue3/mclelland2.html>]; McLelland, M. J. (2000d) *Male Homosexuality in Modern Japan: Cultural Myths and Social Realities*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press; McLelland, M. J. (2001) “Why are Japanese Girls’ Comics Full of Boys Bonking?” *Intensities: J Cult Media* 1,1 [<http://www.cult-media.com/issue1/CMRmcle.htm>]; McLelland, M. (2001) Local meanings in global space: a case study of women’s ‘Boy love’ web sites in Japanese and English, *Mots Pluriels* 19 [<http://www.arts.uwa.edu.au/MotsPluriels/MP1901mcl.html>]

⁴⁹ Kinsella, Sh. (1995) TIES IN JAPAN, in Lise Skov & Brian Moeran (Eds.) *Women Media and Consumption in Japan* [<http://www.kinsellaresearch.com/Cuties.html>]; Kinsella, Sharon (1997) JAPANIZATION OF EUROPEAN YOUTH, in Carlo Branzaglia (Ed.) *Italian in Nightwave*. Milan: Costa & Nolan, May 1998 [<http://www.kinsellaresearch.com/Japanization.html>]; Kinsella, Sh. (Summer 1998) AMATEUR MANGA SUBCULTURE AND THE OTAKU PANIC, *J Japanese Studies* [<http://www.kinsellaresearch.com/nerd.html>]; Kinsella, Sharon, “GIRLS’ CULTURE” AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY [http://www.therossman.com/examiner/01_12/ et seq.]

-- Jñānavira, Dh. (nd?) Homosexuality in the Japanese Buddhist Tradition, *Western Buddhist Rev* 3, at <http://www.westernbuddhistreview.com/vol3/homosexuality.html>
 -- Wieringa⁵⁰

Chinese Age Stratified Patterns (→China)

Age-stratified homosexuality was said to be “a common form of relationship in many periods of Chinese history” (Hinsch, 1990:p11)⁵¹, but is all but a clear picture. De Becker (p52, 55) observed that female pages and prostitutes were recruited as early as age five to seven years, put through an initiation at age 13 or 14. Contrary to DeMause’s claims, I have found no evidence of “child geisha’s”, the records from the early 20th century indicating 14 as the lower extreme (Dalby, 1983:p194-8).

Breiner⁵² argued that ancient Chinese societies had known comparatively low levels of child “abuse”, including sexual abuse. Nevertheless, Jacobus X ([1893] 1898, I:p115)⁵³ states: “Like the Romans had their Pathici, Ephebi, Gemelli, Amasii, the Chinese have their *sio kia a*, little boys, *sio kia tsia*, pretty little boys [...]”. In Peking, “young boys of from 11 to 12 years old are trained to the service of masculine prostitution. They are all dressed up as girls and they are taught all the coquetries of the opposite sex; these precocious debauches are incompletely castrated at the age of from 14 to 15 years, unhappy creatures neither men nor women”. Buschan ([1921:p249])⁵⁴ stated that, particular in Northern and coastal China, boys were prepared for prostitution from childhood on, the so-called *Sian-Kôn*. Drew and Drake (1969:p97-107)⁵⁵ state that the process of feminisation of boys destined to be prostitutes “began at least by the age of five and often earlier. Although a boy was sometimes purchased and trained after he was ten, it was believed impossible to achieve perfection in the training of a boy after that age”. The boys were shaped physically (muscle growth was prevented, etc.), locomotorically and philosophically in the art of pleasure.

Qing (1644-1912) rape laws had specific subcategories for successful rape of a boy between ages 10 and 12, successful rape of a boy under the age of 10, and of sexual intercourse with a boy between the ages 10 and 12 (Ng, 1987:p67)⁵⁶. The previous author came across “cases involving the seduction of young boys or young men by their Confucian teachers, and the seduction of neophytes by Buddhist monks” (p68). It has been observed that the current negative stance toward homosexuality is for a part due to the huge impact of the West from the 19th century on. One British official (Hinsch, p141)⁵⁷ stated that “The commission of this detestable and unnatural act is attended with so little shame, or feeling of delicacy that many of the first officers of the state seemed to make no hesitation in publicly avowing it. Each of

⁵⁰ Wieringa, S. E. (2001) *Silence, Sin and the System; Women’s Same-Sex Practices in Japan*. Paper for presentation at the 3rd IASSCS, 1-3 Oct [http://www.kcwh.unimelb.edu.au/full_length_papers/Saskia_E._Wieringa.doc]

⁵¹ Hinsch, B. (1990) *Passions of the Cut Sleeve*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press

⁵² Breiner, S. J. (1985) Child abuse patterns: Comparison of ancient Western civilization and traditional China, *Analytic Psychother & Psychopathol* 2,1:27-50

⁵³ *Op.cit.*

⁵⁴ *Op.cit.*

⁵⁵ Drew, D. & Drake, J. (1969) *Boys for Sale*. New York: Brown Book Co.

⁵⁶ Vivien W. Ng (1987) Ideology and Sexuality: Rape Laws in Qing China, *J Asian Stud* 46,1:57-70

⁵⁷ Citing Barrow, J. (1806) *Travels in China*. London

these officers is constantly attended by his pipe-bearer, who is generally a handsome boy, from fourteen to eighteen years of age, and is always well dressed". Other sources are not so specific to age patterning. For instance, there does not appear to be a more specific picture of *qixiong* (older)- *qidi* (younger) homoerotic affiliation mentioned in scholarly writings (Ng, 1989:p85-6⁵⁸; Leupp, 1995:p15).

Chinese boy prostitution may have been imported to America. As footnoted by Weiss (1974:p52)⁵⁹: "Some police officers testified that occasionally young boys, 14 and under, were enticed into these houses of prostitution, but it was not a usual practice. Caucasian men, however, did frequent such establishments (Farwell, 1885:p103-4)⁶⁰".

Discussing the *apparently low* incidence of child sexual abuse, Ho and Kwok (1991)⁶¹ argued that "[t]he Chinese pattern of childrearing from initial permissiveness to unquestioned obedience may facilitate adults using children as sexual objects". According to Tang (2002)⁶², the "suppression of sexuality in traditional Chinese culture (Goodwin & Tang, 1996) also makes it difficult for Chinese children to talk about sexual matters and articulate their sexual victimization experiences (Tang & Lee, 1999)". "Initiated by a local feminist group in Taipei, a decade-long campaign to rescue child prostitutes has recently become successful in criminalizing patrons of child prostitutes. As a side effect, sexual abuse of children and adolescents, which has often been considered attributing to child prostitution, has recently been acknowledged as a social problem in Taiwan" (Luo, 1998)⁶³.

Korean Age Stratified Patterns (→Korea)

There does not appear to be much data on the age of the *Wharang* (wha, flower; rang, shining purity) boys (Rutt, 1961⁶⁴; cf. Leupp, 1995:p19); they were "often in their mid-teens" (Murray)⁶⁵. It was said that the use of flower boys, or *hua lang*, was officially instituted by a Silla king in the year A.D. 576, as a replacement of female shamans⁶⁶.

Philippine Age Stratified Patterns (→Philippines)

⁵⁸ Ng, V. W. (1989) Homosexuality and the State in the Late Imperial China, in Duberman, M. B. et al. (Eds.) *Hidden from History*. New York: New American Library, p76-89

⁵⁹ Weiss, M. S. (1974) *Valley City: A Chinese Community in America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman

⁶⁰ Farwell, W. B. (1885) *The Chinese at Home and Abroad*, [...]. San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft Company

⁶¹ Ho, T. & Kwok, W. (1991) Child sexual abuse in Hong Kong, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 15,4:597-600

⁶² Tang, C. (2002) Childhood Experience of Sexual Abuse among Hong Kong Chinese College Students, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 26,1:23-37

⁶³ Luo, T. E. (1998) Sexual Abuse Trauma Among Chinese Survivors, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 22,10:1013-26

⁶⁴ Rutt, R. (1961) The Flower Boys of Silla (Hwarang), *Royal Asian Soc, Transact Koran Branch* 38:1-66. Reprinted in Dynes, W. R. & Donaldson, S. (Eds., 1992) *Asian Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland, p187-266

⁶⁵ Murray, S. O. (1992) The Wharang of ancient Korea, in Murray, S. O. (Ed., 1992) *Oceanic Homosexualities*. New York & London: Garland, p103-9

⁶⁶ Schafer, E. H. (1951) Ritual Exposure in Ancient China, *Harvard J Asiatic Stud* 14,1/2:130-84, see p159,n

Boy prostitution was said to have been common (Drew and Drake, 1969:p117-24)⁶⁷. *Bini boys* roamed the streets dressed as girls, a phenomenon entering popular culture as a disguised theme: a Philippine “Robin” would be dragged away from attempted amorous passes at other males by “Batman”. An illustrated account of Manila street life is given by the subversive book *Desert Patrol*⁶⁸, apparently in celebration of boys’ liberties with tourists. Johnson (1998:p698)⁶⁹ mentions that local homosexuals (“gays”, not “paedophiles”) “call on 8 to 12-year-old boys who frequent video houses. Paying them as little as five pesos, the gays in Jolo call these boys *Ha! Ha! Boys*”.

Early Marriage

For South-East Asia,

“In rural areas marriages take place at an early age. A girl may be married before puberty, with the consent of her father or her father's father, with consummation awaiting her coming of age. Marriage is universal for women. Since virginity is valued, the safest course is to marry off girls while they are still very young. Marriage removes some of the restrictions on a girl's movements. It is viewed as conferring adulthood on both sexes”⁷⁰.

More specifically,

“Virginity at first marriage is a value cherished both in Hinduism and in Islam. Concern with it takes a variety of forms: *ih*i, or pre-pubertal ritual marriage with a *bel* fruit representing the god Narayan, among the Newar of Nepal (Allen 1982a); child marriage; pre-pubertal marriage with delayed consummation, widely prevalent in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh (Government of India 1974, Palriwala 1990, T. Patel 1991, L. Dube 1996); and the widespread practice of marrying off a girl as early as possible after puberty. Laws specifying the lowest permissible age at marriage exist, as in Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India, but they are ignored. Elsewhere in this work we discuss the preoccupation with a daughter's marriage and the marking of puberty as an important point in a girl's life. These are clearly associated with concern over the management of female sexuality. A girl must be guarded properly during the liminal period between menarche and marriage. Sexual desire is believed to awaken at puberty and to need control and harnessing” [refs. omitted]⁷¹.

⁶⁷ Drew, D. & Drake, J. (1969) *Boys for Sale*. New York: Brown Book Co.

⁶⁸ G. N. (1980) *Desert Patrol*. [Paris]: Editions de la Jungle

⁶⁹ Johnson, M. (1998) Global desirings and translocal loves: Transgendering and same-sex sexualities in the southern Philippines, *Am Ethnol* 25,4:695-711

⁷⁰ Dube, L. () *Women and Kinship: Perspectives on Gender in South and South-East Asia*. Tokyo [etc.]: United Nations University Press, p124

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p49-50

Ethnographic Particularities

Sri Lanka (Ceylon)

Miles (2000)⁷² found in 145 anonymous questionnaires among 13 to 17-year-old students that 46% had learned sex from videos and magazines, 32% from friends, 10% from parents and 12% from teachers. Over a quarter claimed not to be told by anyone. 10% claimed any sexual act ("sexual things") in their life-time: 8% with peers, 5% with adults and 6% with adults for money. 1997 data for median coitarche age lie above age 20 for both sexes⁷³.

Winslow (1980)⁷⁴ provides a discussion of menarche rites.

Green⁷⁵:

"Children run naked up to three, four, five, and later in the villages, but are slowly brought to accept the attitudes of society, largely derived from Buddhism, which are as much those of shame as of modesty. Girls have restricted freedom, especially after the first menstruation, with which are associated particular rites-de-passage. No girl or young woman travels alone after dark, or even in daylight, except in very familiar situations. Heterosexual contacts are limited to home and school and the relations between the sexes closely guarded" (p295).

⁷² Miles, G. M. (2000) "Children don't do sex with adults for pleasure": Sri Lankan children's views on sex and sexual exploitation, *Child Abuse & Negl* 24,7:995-1003

⁷³ UNAIS / WHO, *Epidemiological Factsheet on HIV/AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 2000 Update, p10

⁷⁴ Winslow, D. (1980) Rituals of First Menstruation in Sri Lanka, *Man*, N. S. 15,4:603-25

⁷⁵ Green, T. L. (1956) Cross Cultural Educational Adaptation in Ceylon, *J Educ Sociol* 29,7:292-304

Nepal

(*Gurungs, Jimdārs, Limbu*)

In Nepal, where the average age of first marriage is 19 years, 7 per cent of girls are married before they are 10 years old, and 40 per cent before they are fifteen⁷⁶. Nepalese Brahman women were often married before menarche to guarantee premarital virginity (Stone, 2000:p92)⁷⁷; her husband would be a few years older. In a former study, it appeared that among the ethnic groups, the Maithilis of the Terai and Parbatiya of the hills have the highest number of child marriages⁷⁸. Current legal age of marriage is sixteen, eighteen without parental consent.

In a recent study⁷⁹ among 100 (73 male) patients giving histories suggestive of sexually transmitted disease (STDs) and attending a dermatology department, eleven percent had their first sexual contact at or below the age of 15 years.

[Additional refs.: Thapa, Sh. (1996) Girl child marriage in Nepal: its prevalence and correlates, *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* [Kirtipur] 23,2:361-75; Indian Health Organisation (July 1993) *Tulasa and the Horrors of Child Prostitution*. Bombay: IHO, found [here](#)]

Gurungs (Nepal)

Among the **Gurungs** (Messerschmidt, 1976:p50, 51)⁸⁰, the *Rodi* (youth club) is joined at age eight or nine, first at a *kol-mai* for young girls (8-13), where they may find “fun”, or “affection, love”, or at least understanding of each other’s natures.

Jimdārs (Nepal)

Among the **Jimdārs (Rais)**, boys and girls are separated at age five, and are henceforward not supposed to talk together in public. Meetings are arranged using younger children as messengers. Adolescent courtship lasts a few weeks to several months, and although not including “love play”, is said to be based on sexual attractiveness (Barnouw, 1955:p17-8)⁸¹.

⁷⁶ *Learning From Experience*, SCF UK, www.savethechildren.org.uk/development/lfe/girlsrights.pdf

⁷⁷ Stone, L. (2000) *Kinship and Gender*. Oxford: Westview Press. 2nd ed.

⁷⁸ Figures before age ten, girls: Maithili: 23%; Parbatiya: 14.85%; Newar: 2.2%. No marriages before age ten were seen in the Rai and Tamang.

⁷⁹ Garg, V. K., Agarwalla, A., Agrawal, S., Deb, M. & Khanal, B. (2001) Sexual habits and clinico-etiological profile of sexually transmitted diseases in Nepal, *J Dermatol* 28,7:353-9

⁸⁰ Messerschmidt, D. A. (1976) *The Gurungs of Nepal*. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips

⁸¹ Barnouw, V. (1955) Eastern Nepalese marriage customs and kinship organization, *Southeast J Anthropol* 11:15-30

Limbu (Nepal)

After puberty, boys and girls form dhān nāch partners, a tradition of going steady associated with informal dancing (Jones, 1977:p295)⁸². The get-togethers “showed no signs of being occasions for clandestine love affairs”.

⁸² Jones, R. L. (1977) Courtship in an Eastern Nepal community, *Anthropos* 72:288-99

Tibet

Peter of Greece and Denmark (1963:p377)⁸³ on Western Tibet: "I enquired who it was who gave the children their sex education. The answer was that nobody did. Parents are forbidden by custom to speak to them of such things, and they have to pick up what they can learn from playmates. Another source of information was watching animals, it seemed, and everyone agreed that that *may* learn something from witnessing their parents' behaviour during the long winter nights in the Jan-sa. Anyhow, they "somehow" knew something about sex by the time they were approximately six years of age". Masturbation in the very young was discouraged by threats of witches that would cut off their ears; the older ones are beaten. Ludwar-Ene (1975:p98-108)⁸⁴ provides a detailed interpretation of sexual socialisation among the Nepalese Tibetans. Infants from the age of three are raised in extreme modesty, girls more than boys. Mothers and neighbours distract the infant from and shame the child for genital manipulation, which is presumed to go underground.

Norbu⁸⁵, elder brother of the Dalai Lama, argues that "parents often arrange marriages for their children. But it is seldom that children are married against their wishes, and the wise guidance of older people often results in a happier marriage than when the youthful heart follows its desires" (p59). Normally, however, boys and girls around the age of 18 or 19 "start looking toward marriage" (p74).

⁸³ Peter, Prince of Greece and Denmark (1963) *A Study of Polyandry*. The Hague: Mouton

⁸⁴ Ludwar-Ene, G. (1975) *Die Sozialisation Tibetischer Kinder im Soziokulturellen Wandel, Dargestellt am Beispiel der Exiltibetersiedlung Dhor Patan (West Nepal)*. Wiesbaden: Steiner

⁸⁵ Norbu, Th. J. & Turnbull, C. M. (1968) *Tibet*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970 pr.

Bhutan

[No data available]

Burma, Myanmar (Burmese: 2,2,3-3-,4-,4-,2,2)

In Burma “[m]arriages below [the age of fifteen or sixteen] are not common, and child marriages [...] never formed a feature of the Burmese family system (Maung, 1963:p52)⁸⁶. As for sexual education, “[m]ost women in Yawdaw had not had any instruction or advice from the senior generation, and what sex lore they have is picked up through observation or peer group talk and speculation” (Nash, 1965:p256)⁸⁷. Children never see parents nude, and the reverse appears to be prohibited after ages 12 to 13 (boys) or eight to nine (girls) (Spiro, 1986:p219)⁸⁸. Children are not instructed but observe parental intercourse in both urban and rural areas (p221-2). Parents are ashamed to discuss sexual matters with their children, and children are told babies drop from the sky or that a baby who likes a particular married couple enters the stomach of that woman. Some villagers have their first sexual experience with prostitutes. Young boys may also be initiated by unmarried women, widows, and divorcées. Girls, unlike boys have no sexual outlet of any kind, since premarital sex is “the worst possible stigma” (p223). Sex training begins early. Infant genital handling is counteracted, a masturbating child is warned or spanked, boys more than girls. “Children sexual behavior, whether homosexual or heterosexual, also meets with a spanking, either by parents (if seen in the home) or monks (if seen in the monastic school). In addition, children are warned that such behavior will be punished by rebirth in hell, by the loss of friends, by being hated by others, and so on. If this is not enough, they may also be warned that sex play leads to venereal disease, and boys may also be threatened with castration. [...] A boy may be threatened with castration for exposing his penis in a monastery or a pagoda, or for urinating in the presence of others- he is told to squat or cover his penis with his hand- or for insulting a playmate by holding out his penis and saying he will copulate with the latter’s mother. Children are scolded for using other obscenities, and, if they persist, they may be spanked” (p220-1). At twelve or thirteen, children are prohibited from playing or being alone together, punished by spanking.

Burmese babies’ nipples are squeezed “to prevent her from having a large bosom” (Brant and Khaing, 1951:p447)⁸⁹. “Apart 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”.

⁸⁶ Maung Maung, U. (1963) *Law and Custom in Burma and the Burmese Family*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff

⁸⁷ Nash, M. (1965) *The Golden Road to Modernity*. New York [etc.]: Wiley

⁸⁸ Spiro, M. E. (1986) *Kinship and Marriage in Burma*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press

⁸⁹ Brant, Ch. S. & Khaing, M. M. (1951) Burmese kinship and the life cycle: an outline, *Southwest J Anthropol* 7:437-54

Leach (1954 [1970:p133])⁹⁰, writing about the **Kachin**, states that by the time puberty is reached youth and maiden “[...] are regularly sleeping together, but courtship and flirtation is carried on in groups rather than by individuals”; marriage occurs in late teenage. Among the Burma **Karen** people, “[c]hild betrothals were not uncommon in early days” (Marshall, 1922:p176-7)⁹¹. The children might not know of the arrangement until “later on” (marriage was to take place in early adulthood). Adolescent life seems to have been characterised by chastity and etiquette.

⁹⁰ Leach, E. R. (1954) *Political Systems of Highland Burma*. [University of] London: The Athlone Press. 1970 repr.

⁹¹ Marshall, H. I. (1922) *The Karen People of Burma*. Columbus: University at Columbus

Thailand

(Thai/Siamese, *Akha*/Meo)

Rural Thai (Siamese: 2+,2+,2+,3+,3+,3+;2,2)

In a previously unpublished study dated 1943, Benedict (1952:p29)⁹² states: "No attention is paid to the boy baby's play with his genitals or any erection. The child is certainly not punished". From age eight or nine, the children, girls more strictly than boys, go clothed, boys go to the monks' school. Hanks (1963)⁹³ stated that "[i]nformation on human sexual matters was gathered by the young sometimes by accidental observation of parents and others, through hints from hearing cursing, and by conversations with grandparents, older siblings, and friends of the same sex". DeYoung (1956:p55)⁹⁴: "The village child learns about sex early. For he sleeps in the same room with his parents until he is ten or twelve years old. Children often play with themselves, and boys are not punished for playing with their genitals, although if they continue to do this as they grow older, they are ridiculed by their playmates. Sex play between boys and girls is rare, for children segregate into their own sex groups at an early age and keep to this segregation until their early teens".

Kaufman (1960:p148-9)⁹⁵:

"The Bangkhua child is exposed to sex at a very early age. Sleeping in the same room with his parents, as is so often the case, he cannot avoid noticing their actions from time to time. As soon as a girl is old enough to sit up, she is given a silver public apron (*taping*) which she wears until she is old enough to wear skirts. Mothers quite often, when feeding or playing with their young sons, will tickle them in the area of their genitalia. Young children up to the age of five or six run around nude, so that sex differentiation is something of which all children are aware. Children witness births and constantly overhear jokes and references to sex made by older children and adults. It is interesting to note that children are never asked to leave the room, regardless of the topic of conversation. Yet never do they enter the conversation, or make any remarks whatsoever. Sharp⁹⁶ has pointed out that the adage "Children should be seen and not heard", is carried to an extreme in Thai culture".

Textor (1973)⁹⁷ mentioned that "coital statues are a principal means by which children have traditionally learned the details of the standard culturally prescribed coital pose between humans. During a period of drought in the prewar era, young boys up to the age of about fifteen would sometimes sculpt these statues just for fun, or in order to wait surreptitiously and watch the embarrassment of maidens who happened along the path and stumbled onto

⁹² Benedict, R. (1952) *Thai Culture and Behavior*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University

⁹³ Hanks, J. R. (1963) *Maternity and its Ritual in Bang Chan*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, Department of Asian Studies, Southeast Asia Program. See p12

⁹⁴ DeYoung, J. E. ([1955] 1956) *Village Life in Modern Thailand*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press

⁹⁵ Kaufman, H. K. (1960) *Bangkhaud: A Community Study in Thailand*. Locust Valley, New York: Association for Asian Studies

⁹⁶ See p86

⁹⁷ Textor, R. B. (1973) *Roster of the Gods: An Ethnography of the Supernatural in a Thai Village*. New Haven, Conn.: HRAF

the statues". Visser (1978:p200)⁹⁸ states that children observe parental intercourse, and are genitally teased after disrobing.

Taywaditep et al. (1997)⁹⁹ stated that "[l]ike parents in many other cultures, most Thai parents do not educate their children about sexuality, and when children ask about sex, they are likely to avoid answering or they provide incorrect information. Since parents are unlikely to display affection in front of their children, role-modelling of affection between the genders is usually derived not from parents, but from literature or the media. [...] Sexuality education was introduced in Thai schools in 1978. Although the curriculum has been revised over the years, it has been limited to reproductive issues and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). As in many other countries, sexuality education in Thailand has been rarely taught in a comprehensive manner". Lyttleton (1999:p33-5)¹⁰⁰ observed that traditional forms of adolescent courtship were giving way to the rule of motorcycles, discos and soft-core sex movies at village fairs and travelling shows. However, premarital sex is still widely construed as a steppingstone to marriage.

Pongthai (1990/1992)¹⁰¹ noted that during the eighties, masturbarche took place at age 13.9 ($SD=2.3$); for some reason, the data on female students could not be calculated. The first sex dream occurred at mean age 14.3 ($SD=1.9$). First heterosexual coital engagement and homosexual contact occurred at ages 18 and 17, respectively. According to another study by Chompootawee et al. (1991)¹⁰², many more male students (42 percent) than female students (6 percent) reported having masturbated. The modal age of first masturbatory experience was 13 years. Adolescents were likely to maintain negative attitudes about masturbation, viewing it as "unnatural", or citing myths about masturbation, such as a belief that it causes sexually transmitted diseases. Thai male adolescents eagerly look forward to their first intercourse and, as its slang term (*khuen khruu*) roughly implies, a learning process with someone sexually experienced. For many young Thai men, this practice continues beyond their first sexual experience, and commercial sex becomes a bachelor's recreation. On the other hand, young women are supposed to be virgins until they are married. In Northern Thailand, the median age of first sexual intercourse for never-married males was typically 17.5 (VanLandingham et al., 1993:p302)¹⁰³.

As indicated through interviews with 11-14-year-olds¹⁰⁴, in childhood socialisation, girls were undergoing an important training to be 'feminine' and a wife and mother, which is

⁹⁸ Visser, A. P. R. (1978) *Een Dorp in de Centrale Vlakte van Thailand*. Dissertation, University of Utrecht, Holland

⁹⁹ Taywaditep, K. J., Coleman, E. & Dumronggittigule, P. (1997) Thailand, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 2. Quoted from the online edition

¹⁰⁰ Lyttleton, Ch. (1999) Changing the rules: shifting bounds of adolescent sexuality in Northeast Thailand, in Jackson, P. A. & Cook, N. M. (Eds.) *Gender & Sexualities in Modern Thailand*. Bangkok: Silworm, p28-42

¹⁰¹ Pongthai, S. (1990) Sexual experience and sexual orientation among Ramathibodi medical students, Thailand, *J Med Assoc Thai* 73, Suppl 1:81-6; Pongthai, S. (1992) First masturbation, sex dream, coitus and homosexual contact of Thai medical students, in Bezemer, W. et al. (Eds.) *Sex Matters*. Amsterdam: Excerpta Medica, p177-9

¹⁰² Chompootawee, S., Yamarat, K., Poomsuwan, P. & Dusitsin, N. (1991) A Study of Reproductive Health in Adolescence of Secondary School Students and Teachers in Bangkok, *Thai J Health Res* 5,2

¹⁰³ VanLandingham, M. J., Suprasert, S., Sittitirai, W., Vaddhanaphuti, Ch. & Grandjean, N. (1993) Sexual Activity Among Never-Married Men in Northern Thailand, *Demography* 30,3:297-313

embedded in her conscious and unconscious development. These young girls entered the preadolescent period with ambiguous feelings about their gender stereotypes. The girls also enter their sexual lives with silence and with the ambivalence associated with being a woman. Most of young girls experienced negative and shameful feelings about their changing bodies and menarche. They have difficulty in understanding their own developing bodies. Premarital sexual relations and dating were the topics about which mothers, grandmothers, and teachers most frequently disciplined their young girls. Inadequate learning from their parents or other adults has led them to explore sexuality from media, pornographic materials, friends, and by peeking at others' bodies.

Among **Hmong**, **Mien**, and **Lahu** hilltribes, premarital sex seems "still culturally permissive" or at least "wide-spread"¹⁰⁵.

Additional refs:

-- Ford, N. J. & Kittisuksathit, S. (1994) Destinations unknown: the gender construction and changing nature of the sexual expressions of Thai youth, *AIDS Care* 6,5:517-31

Akha, Meau [Meo] (Thailand)

Although parents practice the highest grades of discretion, parental love affairs, as those of animals, will be observed in childhood (Dorrestein, 1993:p79)¹⁰⁶. Bernatzik (1947, I:p87-97)¹⁰⁷ speaks of an extensive freedom for unmarried youth. Infants are told about monkeys bringing babies, but older children are told the truth, at the latest in puberty. Masturbation, homosexuality and "other digressions" would not be prevalent. "Bei den jüngeren Burschen ergreifen die älteren Mädchen die Initiative durch Koketterie, die sie meisterhaft beherrschen. Oft kommt es vor, daß ein Mädchen, das einem jungen Burschen Unterricht in den Liebeskünsten gib, später seine Hauptfrau wird; werden doch bei ihr am ehesten Schwangerschaftsfolgen eintreten. Ältere Burschen hingegen lassen oft die Ausbildung der jungen Mädchen angelegen sein" (p73, 87-8). Children play father-and-mother and imitate "all" adult activities (p60). This might not include coitus since the children have their own sex-segregated bedrooms (p87) after infancy. Mothers educate daughters, fathers educate sons at puberty (p72). Marriage is often established after pregnancy following a courtship pattern, though child betrothal would not be uncommon (p99).

¹⁰⁴ Fongkaew, W. (1995) *Early Adolescent Girls in Transition in a Peri-Urban Northern Thai Community: Perceptions of Gender Role and Sexuality*. Diss., University of Washington

¹⁰⁵ Omori, K. (1999) [Knowledge about AIDS and risk behaviors among hill tribes in northern Thailand], *Nippon Koshu Eisei Zasshi* 46,6:466-75

¹⁰⁶ Dorrestein, P. (1993) *Opgroeien in een Akha-Dorp*. Dissertation, University of Utrecht, Holland

¹⁰⁷ Bernatzik, H. A. (1947) *Akha und Meau*. Vol. 1. Innsbruck: Kommissionsverlag

Laos (Nya Hön)

Premarital freedom is granted provided no pregnancy results (LeBar & Suddard, 1960:p69)¹⁰⁸.

Information about adolescent sexual and reproductive health is scarce, but large-scale surveys show that early marriage and teen pregnancy are common¹⁰⁹, factors contributing to a high risk of maternal mortality and morbidity. Early sexual activity is accepted at the village level, if pregnancy leads to marriage. Many adolescent girls marry as early as 16 years of age and start childbearing soon after. However, in remote districts with ethnic minorities, many girls marry between the ages of 14 and 16. In most cases, marriage is immediately followed by pregnancy. Currently, "[...] marriages before 15 years of age correspond to only 6.8 per cent of the total number of marriages. [...] First sexual intercourse at an age younger than twelve is rare [0.5% M, 0.7% F]. The highest percentage for first sexual encounter for both men and women is at age 17-21. The number declined at age 21 or older"¹¹⁰.

Nya Heun, Nya Hön (Laos)

Wall (1975:p56)¹¹¹: "Le pénis du petit garçon suscite les amusements habituels. Chaque adulte semble avoir le droit de tirer dessus pour ensuite faire de grosses plaisanteries qui finissent dans un éclat de rire général. Jusqu'à l'âge de la puberté, filles et garçons jouissent d'une liberté relative".

¹⁰⁸ LeBar, F. M. & Suddard, A. (1960) *Laos*. New Haven: HRAF Press

¹⁰⁹ www.plannedparenthood.org/fpia/laos.html

¹¹⁰ <http://www.unescobkk.org/ips/arh-web/PDF/laoPDF/lao1.pdf>

¹¹¹ Wall, B. (1975) *Les Nya Hön*. Vientiane: Vithagna. Also cited by Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess*. 2nd ed., p201

Cambodia

Aymonier (1883:p193)¹¹² stated that intercourse before menstruation was forbidden. Steinberg (1959:p82)¹¹³ found that “young children are not permitted much knowledge of sex. The feeling among parents is that too much knowledge can lead to desire and eventual trouble. Bits and pieces of information on sex are picked up from peers in the play group, but parents discourage curiosity and usually give inaccurate or fragmentary answers to direct questions”. Girls are instructed on the last day of the wedding feast by the bride’s parents and a pagoda wise man.

According to Richner, “[u]ntil 1991, Cambodia was more or less a closed society. It had always been the custom for a young man to have his first sexual experience in a brothel. It was considered good form”¹¹⁴.

[Additional refs: Scully et al. (1995)¹¹⁵]

Khmers (Cambodia; Thailand) [up] [Contents] [Geographic Index] [Ethnographic Index]

Troy Harris¹¹⁶ argued that “In Ancient Khmer society, Tantric priests ritually deflowered pre-pubescent girls between the ages of seven and eleven. The priests themselves represented Hindu, Buddhist, Taoist and unclassifiable schools. Such rituals occurred on astrologically auspicious nights. The sanctified vigils were conducted inside of a deflowering chamber erected from perishable materials by the parents of the virgin girl. A jungle site was preferred. Music and feast preceded the event”.

¹¹² Aymonier, É. (1883) Note sur les coutumes et croyances superstitieuses des Cambodgiens, *Cochinchine Française* 9 :[193]

¹¹³ Steinberg, D. J. (1959) *Cambodja: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture*. New Haven: HRAF Press [A 1957 edition states (p264) that young children are not permitted to “refer too loosely to sex”.]

¹¹⁴ Dr. Beat Richner, Kantha Bopha Children’s Hospitals, Phnom Penh / Siemreap Angkor. The Human Rights Day, 10.12.99. To The President of the International Court of Justice and Human Rights. http://www.beat-richner.ch/Publications/richner_court.html; Richner, B. (Sept. 1998) *The Passive Genocide of Cambodia’s Children*. http://www.beat-richner.ch/Publications/richner_genocidee.html

¹¹⁵ Scully, M., Kuoch, Th. & Miller, R. A. (1995) Cambodians and sexual child abuse, in Fontes, L. A. (Ed.) *Sexual Abuse in Nine North American Cultures: Treatment and Prevention*. Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc; Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc., p97-127

¹¹⁶ <http://www.apsara.clara.co.uk/troyoga/kdr/kdr01.htm>. Also refers to Chou Ta-Kuan [Zho Dagan] (1992) *The Customs of Cambodia*. Transl. from the Shuo-fu (Pelliot & d’Arcy Paul). Bangkok: Siam Society, p18-9

Vietnam (Vietnamese; Hmong)

Vietnamese (Annamese; North Vietnamese: 2+, 2, 2+, 3+,-,-,-) [up] [Contents] [Geographic Index] [Ethnographic Index]

Jacobus X ([1893] 1898, I:p21)¹¹⁷ stated that the hymen in Annamite girls is often wanting at age ten, while before it is seen to be intact. An explanation might be that “[...] the little Annamite girls are deflowered, after ten years of age, by little boys with whom the play, and repeat together the lessons which their parents have unconsciously taught them, on account of the forced promiscuity of the family in a little thatched house [...]”. In the villages around Saigon [former Ho Chi Minh City], prepubertal (ages 7, or 8, to 15, in contrast to *boys*, ages 15-25) boy prostitutes, *Nays* (“basket”, basket carriers), take care of the homosexual urges of foreigners during the day (*ibid.*, p108-11, 137, 171); the practice of choice is said to be fellatio. Nays were said to be nonexistent, or exceptional, in Cambodia (p214, 210-1)¹¹⁸. Matignon (1883:p161)¹¹⁹: “In Hanoi, it is not uncommon to be stopped on the main promenade at night [...] by little boys, who speak French- and what kind of French, dear God- “M’r cap’tain! Come with me- me titi really piggy!” is the invitation”.

Among the **Sedang** (Vietnam), according to Devereux¹²⁰, “lovemaking short of actual intercourse is permissible and routine during childhood and adolescence”. Vietnamese childrearing practices have been characterised by permissiveness, freedom, and sensuality¹²¹. The tie between mother and child is less important than in American families, and the Vietnamese mother delegates childcare to the extended family, especially older female siblings. In contrast to the Western Oedipal culture, Vietnam is a sibling-oriented culture. After early permissiveness, the child enters the years of latency at school age. Cultural obligation devolves upon the child, accompanied by sexual segregation and repression. Dr. Nguyen (2000) writes¹²²: “In contrast to what is popularly portrayed in American movies and television shows, in Vietnamese culture there is no tradition of a coming-of-age “birds and the bees” talk between parents and their children. Because explicit discussions about sex are taboo even within close-knit Vietnamese families, most Vietnamese adults learned about sex when they were growing up from peers and not from their parents, school, or the media.

¹¹⁷ Jacobus X ([1893]1898) *L'Amour aux Colonies*. Paris: I. Liseux. 3 vols. Second and enlarged english ed., *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology* (etc.). Paris: Librairie de Medecine, Folklore et Anthropologie. 2 vols.

¹¹⁸ *Child Workers in Asia* 12,3(1996) Boy prostitutes in Phnom Penh: “Boys on the streets of Phnom Penh are involved in offering sex to foreigners and to Khmer men. In 1995 local authorities acted against the problem with the first prosecution of a foreigner”.

¹¹⁹ Matignon, J. J. (1883) *Superstition, Crime et Misere en Chine*. Lyon [etc.]: Stock; Quoted by Bleys, R. C. (1996) *The Geography of Perversion: Male-to-male Sexual Behaviour Outside the West and the Ethnographic Imagination 1750 – 1918*. New York, NY : Cassell, p178

¹²⁰ Devereux, G. (1961) [Lecture notes], as cited by Lebar et al. (1964:p147), op.cit.

¹²¹ Forrst, D. V. (1982) The eye in the heart: Psychoanalytic keys to Vietnam, *J Psychoanal Anthropol* 5,3:259-98

¹²² http://ethnomed.org/ethnomed/clin_topics/vietnam_hiv_final.html. Online in Januari 2002

For this reason, parents who are less acculturated may be more resistant to public school-based sexual education”.

Rydström (2002:p4-5)¹²³ notes 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 attention¹²⁴. The widespread concern in Thinh Tri with respect to boys’ genitals 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 [...]”.

Additional refs.:

-- Pastoetter, J. (2001) Vietnam, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.-in-chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. IV. New York: Continuum. Online ed.

Hmong¹²⁵ (**Vietnam; Thailand, China**) (see also **American Hmong**)

Rice (2000:p28, 33-6, 41)¹²⁶ states that “Hmong girls and boys start to court as soon as they are eligible. There is some variation of opinion as to what age is suitable to begin courting. Some say that they should not be “too young”. Women in my study mention ages 13 to 16 as eligible ages for courtship. This age range coincides with the average age of onset of menstruation, signifying that the young woman is mature enough to court and ready to bear children. However, some say that “naughty” children may start sooner:

“Some children who are naughty and stubborn, they may start courting at a younger age like 13 or 14, but if they are obedient and they listen to their parents they will start at around 15 or 16” .

One informant for Thai Hmong told Geddes (1976:p91)¹²⁷ that courtship could begin at age seven, though Geddes asserts that it usually begins with adolescence. Although premarital virginity is prized, a code tells a “naughty” girl that she should not resist intercourse for more than two private meetings with the same boy. Among the Australian Hmong, patterns have only slightly changed, such as the significance of the ball game (cf. [American Hmong](#)).

¹²³ Rydström, H. (2002) Sexed bodies, gendered bodies: children and the body in Vietnam, *Women’s Studies Int Forum* 25,3:359-72

¹²⁴ 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 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]

¹²⁵ See also → [American Hmong](#)

¹²⁶ Rice, P. L. (2000) *Hmong Women and Reproduction*. London: Bergin & Garvey

¹²⁷ Geddes, W. R. (1976) *Migrants of the Mountains*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Girls of five or six start wearing prepubic *sev* [two pieces of cloth], a symbol of womanhood and sexuality. "Prior to puberty, a young Hmong girl is taught that sexuality is secret and she must keep her genital area covered by wearing *sev*". At least among the Northwestern Vietnamese Hmong, infant genitals are stoked by mothers (personal observation, 1997).

Malaysia, Malay

(Minangkabaus, Semai)

The Malay boy is told by the *mudin* at circumcision (ages seven to twelve?), when the foreskin is loose, "that the boy must have been playing with his penis" (Wilder, 1970:p225)¹²⁸, but no consequence was apparently attached. At about twelve (sexual maturity) it becomes the general rule that boys and girls do not associate (p228, 230-1). "One of the commonest notions held but the adults (though not very openly) is the suspicion of clandestine encounters between boys and girls, or between boys and adult women (divorcees), for purposes of sexual play and sexual intercourse. [...] There is, too, a strong suspicion expressed by adults, which also comes out in teasing among older boys, of voyeurism among the boys of the village" (p239). In the past decade, Malaysia has undergone rapid modernization and social changes, including rising age at marriage and "erosion of traditional limits on interactions between unmarried boys and girls"¹²⁹. Joining the global scene, there would also have been an increasing awareness that sexual abuse of "children" (<18y) is "a problem" in Malaysia¹³⁰. While measuring lower than Western rates among paramedical students, the authors aimed at dispelling "the Malaysian myth that sexual abuse [of "children"] is a "foreign" disease that has recently "infected [their] country" (p491). Thus, "[...] the awareness of sexual abuse [of children] has increased considerably in Malaysia in recent years and there may still be some way to go in recognition"¹³¹ [arguing for compulsory reporting by professionals].

Of Malaysian male medical students, 40% were aware of homosexual feelings prior to age 15 years (opposing a 16% current awareness)¹³². Almost half of adolescents (15-21, probability household sampled survey carried out in Kuala Lumpur in 1986) who indulged in masturbation, begun earlier in males, were worried by the act, especially females¹³³.

In Islamic women, sunnah circumcision ("Female circumcision in the Malay society is now [1993] often performed well before puberty between five and eight years old, and it is getting younger. Many parents prefer to circumcise their daughters immediately after birth") is in part motivated on the grounds that "it takes away a part of the female body which can enhance her sexuality and promiscuity. Many argue that it is dangerous if a woman is promiscuous and thus she needs to be circumcised"¹³⁴. Also, "[t]hrough circumcision, a Malay girl can preserve her virginity. Virginity in Malay society is a prerequisite and valued highly".

¹²⁸ Wilder, W. (1970) Socialization and social structure in a Malay village, in Mayer. Ph. (Ed.) *Socialization: The Approach from Anthropology*. London [etc.]: Tavistock, p215-68

¹²⁹ Xenos, P. (1993) *Extended Adolescence and the Sexuality of Asian Youth: Observations on Research and Policy*. East-West Centre Reprints Population Series; No. 292. Referred to by Zulkifli, S. N. & Low, W. Y. (2000) Sexual practices in Malaysia: determinants of sexual intercourse among unmarried youths, *J Adolesc Health* 27,4:276-80

¹³⁰ Singh, H. S., Yiing, W. W. & Nurani, H. N. (1996) Prevalence of childhood sexual abuse among Malaysian paramedical students, *Child Abuse Negl* 20,6:487-92

¹³¹ Kassim, K. & Kasim, M. S. (1995) Child sexual abuse: psychosocial aspects of 101 cases seen in an urban Malaysian setting, *Child Abuse Negl* 19,7:793-9, at p797

¹³² Buhrich, N., Armstrong, M. S. & McConaghy, N. (1982) Bisexual feelings and opposite-sex behavior in male Malaysian medical students, *Arch Sex Behav* 11,5:387-93

¹³³ Zulkifli, S. N., Low, W. Y. & Yusof, K. (1995) Sexual activities of Malaysian adolescents, *Med J Malaysia* 50,1:4-10

¹³⁴ Female circumcision in Malaysia, *Women's Int Network News* Autumn 1993;19,4:35

Minangkabaus (Malaysia)

Van Eerde (1901:p402, as cited by Ronhaar)¹³⁵ states that “[...] in most cases we may assume as certain that the girl during the years of her childhood or as a girl at play with her boy-friends, has chosen one or more lovers from among them”; premarital sex is free.

East and West Semai (Malaysia)

A child on its transition to childhood would be shamed (*sniil*) by looking away from him when patting his genitals; the same is done with older boys lifting up smaller boys, exposing their genitals and yelling “Take a picture!” (Dentan, 1978:p130)¹³⁶.

Dentan (1968:p61-3)¹³⁷ discussed the sex rearing practices of these “non-violent” people. Sexual and aggressive disobedience may fuse into one concept (*sombong, sumbang, sumbung*). “It is reasonably in this context to threaten a disrespectful child that its genitals will swell to enormous size because an aggressive breach of propriety falls into the same category as sexual behavior. Conversely, sexual misbehavior logically is *tarlaid*, like any other action that is considered violent”.

The East Semai are more casual about the sexual activities than the west Semai. The play is sometimes overt. “A boy may, for instance, pretend to copulate with a girl, using a corncob as a penis, while watching adults whoop with laughter. Adolescent boys often expose the genitals of younger boys as a joke, for example, by lifting them out of the water while bathing. On the other hand, as soon as the west Semai child can speak a few words, its kinsmen begin to put its hands over its genitals, saying “Cover up! Cover up! Be embarrassed!”. They pat its hand away when it plays with itself and rebuke it for talking about sex, often threatening that its genitals will swell”. Similarly, the East Semai expect a good deal of premarital and extramarital sexual activity, while the West Semai have adopted the Malay code against such practices, although violations of these rules are common. The East Semai, however, may associate sexual misbehaviour with aggression, and they often “talk about their first sexual experience as if it had been very frightening. They say that even after a virgin boy or girl has consented it may take weeks to consummate the relationship because the inexperienced person is so scared”.

¹³⁵ Van Eerde, J. C. (1901) Een huwelijk bij de Minangkabausche Maleiers, *Tijdschr v I Taal, Land & Volkenk* [Dutch] 44; Ronhaar, J. H. (1931) *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*. Groningen: Wolters/ London: D. Nutt, p331

¹³⁶ Dentan, R. K. (1978) Notes on childhood in a nonviolent context: the Semai Case, in Montagu, A. (Ed.) *Learning Non-Aggression*. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press, p94-143

¹³⁷ Dentan, R. K. (1968) *The Semai*. New York [etc.]: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Mongolia

Ordos Mongols (Mongolia)

Among the Rev. Kler¹³⁸ observed that “[t]he Mongols are very affectionate to their children and frequently kiss them on the mouth or forehead or smell their hair. They have yet another custom none too decent. When elders, -- parents or friends--, play with infants, they commonly touch the child’s genitals and caress them, saying at the same time: “Give me this”, -- a custom daily observable also among the pagan Chinese” (p64).

Also, “In the very hot Mongolian summer the children up to the age of ten or twelve play on the sand dunes entirely nude, except perhaps for their boots”. “Among the Ordos Mongols, children are sometimes betrothed even before birth. This custom, called eũndege in swie (“Match-making before birth”), is thought by the Mongols to be of very nacent origin. [...] the actual age of marriage today [1938] varies a great deal, from four or five years to sixteen or seventeen, the average or ordinary age being fifteen” (p66).

¹³⁸ Kler, J. (1938) Birth, Infancy and Childhood among the Ordos Mongols, *Anthropol Quart* 11,3/4:58-66

China, People's Republic of China [Chekiang Chinese: 2,3-,3,4,4,4;1,1]
[\[IES\]](#)

Historical Data (China)

Despite extensive writing on Chinese sexology, little insight is gained from ancient Chinese concepts of sexual development, at least in English language writings. In the novel *Ko-lien-hua-ying* ("Flower Shadows on a Window Blind")¹³⁹, the girls explore and imitate sexual activities. A useful paper is offered by Linck-Kesting (1985)¹⁴⁰. The author writes that during the Tang period, sexual intercourse with girls under age 12 was considered rape regardless of consent; the girls were pubescent at age 13, sometimes 12. During the Ming period, it was observed that 13-year-olds would not know the meaning of desire, whereas one or two years later this would be the case (p93). The legal age of social adulthood varied considerably between dynasties, from 15 (Han) to 25 (Tang) and back to 16 (Qing). Data on age of marriage (cf. *infra*) are diverse, but incidental cases of pubescent marriage for girls were noted (p107, 110). The most likely age for girls was in early pubescence. Adoption marriage from age six (child bride institution, *tong yang xi*) can be traced in all ages (p111-2). Chinese women paid Buddhist priests to deflower their daughters before marriage. This was usually done when the girls were aged seven to nine years of age¹⁴¹.

"Young girls of mid-Ch'ing times may not have received any sex education from mothers or peers, but no young girl receiving these messages could be in doubt about the purpose of her marriage. In fact [...] since girls were betrothed as early as eight, and dowry was assembled from the time of betrothal, learning about marriage through the dowry was a nearly lifelong process for some women" (Mann, 1994:p35)¹⁴². Woodside and Elman (1994:p525)¹⁴³ mark that Huang Yen-p'ei surveyed that whereas "Western education esteemed the natural and imparted a proper sex education to both male and female pupils; late imperial Chinese education based itself on coercion, segregated the sexes, and was reticent about human reproduction".

A first nation-wide survey of sexual behaviour in China (1992)¹⁴⁴ observed that there is "still no national policy, curriculum, or teaching aid for sex education in China: 33.1 percent of the

¹³⁹ French version by Franz Kuhn, Kuhn, F. (1962) *Femmes Derrière un Voile*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy. Cited by Bullough, V. L. (1976) *Sexual Variance in Society and History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p299

¹⁴⁰ Linck-Kesting, G. (1985) China: Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung, in Müller, E. W. (Ed.) *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung*. München: K. A. Freiburg, p85-176

¹⁴¹ Westermarck, *Marriage*, Vol. 1, p120

¹⁴² Mann, S. (1994) The education of daughters in the mid-Ch'ing period, in Elman, B. A. & Woodside, A. (Eds.) *Education and Society in Late imperial China, 1600-1900*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, p19-49

¹⁴³ Woodside, A. & Elman, B. A. (1994) The expansion of education in Ch'ing China, in Elman, B. A. & Woodside, A. (Eds.) *Education and Society in Late imperial China, 1600-1900*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, p525-60

¹⁴⁴ Liu, D., Ng, M. L., Zhou, L. P. & Haeberle, E. J. ([1992]) *Sexual Behavior in Modern China: Report on the Nation-wide Survey of 20 000 Men and Women*. Joint Publishers, Shanghai. 1997 transl., New York: Continuum. [<http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/FIRST.HTM>]

schools had difficulties with offering sex education because of a lack of support and materials”.

Additional refs.:

-- Miller (1995:p237-41)¹⁴⁵ examines the theme of adolescent sexuality in Cao Xueqin's eighteenth-century novel *Honglou meng* (*Dream of the Red Chamber*)

Prepubertal Betrothal / Marriage (China)

In the period till 771 BC, menarche indicated marriageable age; the minimum age was radically raised by Han Confucians. During the Ming period there was again early betrothal (Van Gulik, [1974:p18, 57, 265]). 12th-century Yüan Ts'ai¹⁴⁶ warned for childhood engagements. In 1855, Huc¹⁴⁷ commented that “[n]othing is more common than to arrange a marriage during the infancies of the parties, or even before their birth”. Nevius (1868:p253)¹⁴⁸ noted that, “[i]n cases where infanticide is common, males predominate to such an extent that it is difficult for parents to obtain wives for their sons, and they often make arrangements with a family which has an infant daughter to spare her life and betroth her to their son [...]”. Smith (1899:p260)¹⁴⁹ speaks of early betrothal, early marriage, and even “rearing-marriage” (adoption by parents-in-law; cf. *infra*). However, “[i]n contrast to India, child marriages were exceptional in China, although the betrothal of small and even unborn children, while illegal, was common (Lang, 1946:p36; Wolf, 1980)¹⁵⁰. According to Fei (1939:p40)¹⁵¹, arrangements for marriage were made at age six or seven.

In ancient China, betrothal of unborn children was forbidden, but between families of long established friendship the custom was quite common. The usual age for affiancing children was between seven and fourteen (Baber, 1934:p134)¹⁵². For an elaborate description of the custom of infant betrothal as practised before 1911 in the conservative I-ch'ang districts, see Han-yi and Shryock (1950)¹⁵³. The minimum age for marriage was not laid down in the Colonial system. However, it seems to follow from Section 375 of the Penal Code that thirteen is the lowest at which a woman can fully enter marriage; if she is below that age, her

¹⁴⁵ Miller, L. (1995) Children of the Dream: The Adolescent World in Cao Xueqin's *Honglou Meng*, in Kinney, A. B. (Ed.) *Chinese Views of Childhood*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, p219-47

¹⁴⁶ Ebrey, P. B. (1984) *Family and Prosperity in Sung China*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p97-8, 221-2

¹⁴⁷ Huc, M. (1855) [A Journey through] *The Chinese Empire*. New York / London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans. Cited by Scott (1960:p74), *cit. infra*

¹⁴⁸ Nevius, J. L. (1868) *China and the Chinese*. New York: Harper & Brothers. Quoted by Hull, T. H. (1990) Recent Trends in Sex Ratios at Birth in China, *Populat & Developm Rev* 16,1:63-83, at p79

¹⁴⁹ Smith, A. H. (1899) *Village Life in China: A Study in Sociology*. Fleming H. Revell Company / 1969 ed., New York: Greenwood Press

¹⁵⁰ Lang, O. (1946) *Chinese Family and Society*. New Haven [etc.]: Yale University Press; Wolf, (1980) *Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press: “Infant and even prenatal betrothal were common in China and created obligations as binding as those forged by adoption”.

¹⁵¹ Fei, H. (1939) *Peasant Life in China*. London : Paul, Trench, Trubner

¹⁵² Baber, R. E. (1934) Marriage in Ancient China, *J Educ Sociol* 8,3:131-40

¹⁵³ Han-yi, F. & Shryock, J. K. (1950) Marriage Customs in The Vicinity of I-ch'ang, *Harvard J Asiatic Studies* 13,3/4:362-430

husband commits rape when having sexual intercourse with her. Freedman (1950:p120)¹⁵⁴ states: "There does not appear to have ever been a tradition among the Chinese to marry very young girls and child betrothal did not lead to sexual relations until the wife was mature", contrary to the (unlawful) antenatal betrothal by Chinese peasants in Singapore (1957:p104)¹⁵⁵. The 1931 Code placed minimum ages at sixteen for girls and eighteen for boys. The Marriage Law of 1950, promulgated at May 1, bans child betrothal¹⁵⁶. However, in more impoverished rural areas the reorganisation of farm labour in the household responsibility system combined with the perceived shortage of marriage partners has resulted in the revival of child betrothal arrangements (Croll, 1994:p169; Rai, 1994:p125; Harrell and Davis, 1993:p10n26)¹⁵⁷.

"For the rural population, marriage is not a personal matter that involves emotional commitment and romantic affection but a family responsibility of prolonging their paternal line. Therefore, in many families, the marriage of their son is a family affair and every member will have to work hard and save every penny for the dowry. If it is necessary, a family may sell its daughters to raise money to purchase a wife or to exchange with another family for a daughter-in-law. Arranged baby marriage also exists in many rural areas"¹⁵⁸.

Most **Lolo** (SCCS: 2+,2+,2+,2+,2-,2-,9,9;E) groups marry at puberty, although "some Lolos marry quite early, even at the age of four to five years" (Siang-Feng Ko, 1949:p491-2)¹⁵⁹, or are betrothed as infants (LeBar et al., 1964). In general, "The age of puberty is a major juncture for youngsters of all nationalities. However, many of the minority nationalities [of China] encourage the marriage of their children before they mature, and thus follow the footsteps of the older generations"¹⁶⁰.

Minor Marriage (China)

¹⁵⁴ Freedman, F. (1950) Colonial Law and Chinese Society, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 80,1/2:97-126

¹⁵⁵ Freedman, M. (1957) *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office

¹⁵⁶ Translated text appears in People's China, I, No. 12 (June 16, 1950), p28-30. See also *The Marriage Law of the PCR*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1950; *The Marriage Law of the PCR*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1982. Cf. Bullough, V. L. & Ruan, F. (1994) Marriage, divorce, and sexual relations in contemporary China, *J Comparat Fam Stud* 25,3:383-93

¹⁵⁷ Croll, E. (1994) *From Heaven to Earth: Images and Experiences of Development in China*. London & New York: Routledge; Rai, S. M. (1994) Modernisation and gender: education and employment in post-Mao China, *Gender & Educ* 6,2:119-29; David, D. & Harrell, S. (1993) Introduction, in David, D. & Harrell, S. (Eds.) *Chinese Families in the Post-Mao Era*. Berkeley, CA: California University Press, p1-22

¹⁵⁸ Ren, X. (1996) Violence against Women under China's Economic Modernisation: Resurgence of Women Trafficking in China, in Sumner, Ch., Israel, M., O'Connell, M. & Sarre, R. (Eds.) *International Victimology: Selected Papers from the 8th International Symposium. Proceedings of a Symposium held 21-26 August 1994, Adelaide*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, p69-73
[www.aic.gov.au/publications/proceedings/27/ren.pdf]

¹⁵⁹ Siang-Feng Ko (1949) Marriage Among the Independent Lolos of Western China, *Am J Sociol* 54,6:487-96

¹⁶⁰ Ruxian, Y. (1991) Marriage and family among China's minority nationalities as viewed from Beijing, *Mankind Quart* 31,4:345-55

Among the turn-of-the-century Taiwanese, the practice of *minor marriage* combined with a highly competitive marriage market drove the age of the brides downward, below puberty (Ying-Chang and Wolf, 1995:p793)¹⁶¹. In some instances, families would avoid marriages to strangers by adopting girls when infants and raising them with their sons so they can marry their “sisters” (Wolf, 1968)¹⁶². This type of marriage is known under the name of *Sim pua* (Wolf, 1966, 1970, 1995)¹⁶³. Wolf (1980):

“A girl raised as a sim-pua did not finally enter into a conjugal relationship until some time after puberty, when she and her fiancé were presented to his ancestors. The occasion was usually the eve of the lunar New Year, when family members gathered behind closed doors for a feast and a private ceremony known *asui-lo*. Whereas the wedding marking the consummation of a major marriage was a festive, colorful, noisy event, which people approvingly call *lau-ziet*, the consummation of a minor marriage was a drab affair. There was never a bridal procession, usually there were no guests, and often such ritual as was appropriate to the occasion was neglected. Asked if she and her brother had worshipped his ancestors to announce their marriage, one elderly informant replied, “People were supposed to do that, but we didn’t bother. My father just told us it was time for us to sleep together”. Another woman described her “wedding” and the preparations preceding it as follows: “When I was sixteen years old my mother told me it was time for me to marry my brother. She helped me make new clothes, and my father bought me some jewelry. There wasn’t any feast and we didn’t worship the ancestors. My father just said something at dinner and after that we slept together”.

Murphy (2001)¹⁶⁴:

“minor marriage, or adopting in a daughter-in-law (yangsinvu; M: tongyang xifu), was the logical extreme of childhood betrothal. Some families chose to adopt in an infant girl, often to be nursed at the future mother-in-law's breast, because it eliminated the high cost of a major marriage and minimized the potential conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law that threatened family harmony and scarred so many women's lives. Of the 70 marriages into Willow Pond [Village (a pseudonym), a rice-farming community on the Yangzi Delta, 50 km west of Shanghai] before 1955 (when the last yangsinvu marriage occurred), thirteen (or 19 per cent) were minor marriages”.

Sexual Education (China)

Yang (1945:p114)¹⁶⁵ stated that no sex instruction was given, but also that things “have recently begun to change”. The subject of sex in jokes is taboo even among adolescents, although boys, unlike girls, may go naked until age ten in summer (p128, 127). Fang-fu Ruan

¹⁶¹ Ying-Chang, Ch. & Wolf, A. P. (1995) Marriage in Taiwan, 1881-1905: An Example of Regional Diversity, *J Asian Stud* 54,3:781-95

¹⁶² Wolf, A. P. (1968) Adopt a Daughter-in-Law, Marry a Sister: A Chinese Solution to the Problem of the Incest Taboo, *Am Anthropol* 70:864-74

¹⁶³ Wolf, A. P. (1965 [1969]) *Marriage and Adoption in a Hokkien Village*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms; Wolf, A. P. (1970) Childhood association, sexual attraction, and the incest taboo: a Chinese case, *Am Anthropol* 70:864-74; Wolf, A. P. (1970) Childhood association and sexual attraction. A further test of the Westermarck hypothesis, *Am Anthropol* 72:503-15; Wolf, A. P. (1995) *Sexual Attraction and Childhood Association. A Chinese Brief for Edward Westermarck*. Stanford: Stanford University Press

¹⁶⁴ Murphy, Eu. T. (2001) Changes in family and marriage in a Yangzi delta farming community, 1930-1990, *Ethnology* 40,3:213 et seq.

¹⁶⁵ Yang, M. M. C. (1945) *A Chinese Village*. New York: Columbia University Press

and Lau (1997)¹⁶⁶ stated that “sexual play and sex rehearsal play, both alone and with peers, are punished when discovered. Such behavior is seldom if ever reported or commented on in public”.

“In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, not only was there a complete lack of systematic sex education, but only a few booklets on sexuality had been published”, so that eight to nine hundred million people for more than twenty years had to do with only a few pages discussing aspects of sexual relationships such as arousal, sexual responses, and frequency of intercourse”.

In 1984, Shek and Mak¹⁶⁷ argued that (1) sex education has never been a formal subject, (2) few other subjects have components related to sex education, and (3) subjects which might include sex education are not offered at all schools. Until recently, “open public discussion of sexuality topics was taboo in China”¹⁶⁸. A study by Shu et al. (1997)¹⁶⁹ was to investigate sexual knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of fifth and sixth grade students in aboriginal elementary schools in the Ping-Tung area. The results as summarised by the authors: “(1) The sexual knowledge score was low but sexual attitudes showed a positive trend. (2) 64.7% and 67.4% of students had at some time seen pictures of male or female sexual organs. (3) About 61% of students had seen sexual magazines or videotapes. (4) 66.2% of male and 88.1% of female students had heard about wet dreams or menstruation before their first experience; more than half of the students thought that wet dreams need treatment. (5) 17.8% of students had masturbation experience, and after that 59.3% of students had fear or guilt feeling. (6) Female students had significantly higher knowledge and attitude scores than male students, demographic variables produced no significant difference in the above scores. (7) 42.4% of students most desired to know what phenomena indicate sexual maturity. (8) Sex knowledge had significantly positive correlation with sex attitude”.

Evans¹⁷⁰ argues that “the explosion of sexually explicit material since the 1980s and the transformation of sexual practices among urban young people suggest the emergence of a new sexual culture in China’s urban centers”. Zhang et al.¹⁷¹ argued that “[s]ince the one-child family and open door policies in the 1970s and the economic reforms of the 1980s, attitudes toward sexuality in the People’s Republic of China have changed. Premarital sex has become widely accepted among young people”. Data from 1988 indicated that teenagers in China do not find premarital sex to be acceptable, yet they seem to be tolerant of those who engage in sexual activity¹⁷². Compared to Western societies, the rates of masturbation and homosexual experience were much lower than those of the Western youths in the same age range¹⁷³.

¹⁶⁶ Fang-fu Ruan & Lau, M. P. (1997) China, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Vol. 1.

¹⁶⁷ Shek, D. T. & Mak, J. W. (1989) Sexual health of high school students in Hong Kong, *Int J Adolesc Med & Health* 4,3-4:175-86

¹⁶⁸ Herold, E. S. & Byers, E. S. (1994) Sexology in China, *Canad J Hum Sex* 3,3:263-70

¹⁶⁹ Hsu, H.Y., Liu, C.A. & Lin, Y.C. (1997) [An exploration of sexual knowledge, attitudes and behaviour in aboriginal elementary school students in the Ping-Tung area], *Hu Li Za Zhi* 44,2:38-50

¹⁷⁰ Evans, H. (1995) Defining Difference: The “Scientific” Construction of Sexuality and Gender in the People’s Republic of China, *Signs* 20,2:357-94

¹⁷¹ Zhang, K., Li, D., Li, H. & Beck, E. J. (1999) Changing Sexual Attitudes and Behaviour in China: Implications for the Spread of HIV and Other Sexually Transmitted Diseases, *AIDS-Care* 11,5:581-9

¹⁷² Kaufman, G., Poston, D. L. Jr., Hirschl, Th. A. & Stycos, J. M. (1996) Teenage sexual attitudes in China, *Social Biol* 43,3-4:141-54. Errata id., 44(1997),3-4:293

¹⁷³ Hong, J. H., Fan, M. S., Ng, M. L., Lee, L. K. C. et al. (1994) Sexual attitudes and behavior of Chinese university students in Shanghai, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 20,4:277-86. Cf. Fan, M. S., Hong, J. H.,

In a senior high school in the Weicheng District of Weifang City, 47.9% of male students and 63.8% of female students did not have previous knowledge about puberty, 39.9% of boys and 52.2% of girls felt puzzled and disgusted with the onset of puberty (Guang-Ren, 1997)¹⁷⁴. About 18% of boys and about 2% of girls reported masturbation. The average frequency of masturbation was 3.5 times a month in the boys and two times monthly in girls. Adolescents acquired sexual knowledge and information predominantly from magazines (25.8% of boys and 28.0% of girls). About 64% of boys and 44% of girls wanted to be given educational programs on sex.

Sexual Socialisation (China)

DeMause¹⁷⁵ states [*orig. footnotes*]:

“ [...] reliable research on childhood sexuality [DeMause means abuse] is somewhat more limited than for India. Although parents traditionally sleep with their children until they are adolescents, [¹⁷⁶] exactly what happens in Chinese family beds has not yet been much investigated, although some observers have reported that Chinese girls, like Indian, have no trace of a hymen, supposedly because caretakers “clean the sexual organs of the little children during daily washings [...] so scrupulously [...]” [¹⁷⁷] [...]. During adolescence, youths were instructed to have intercourse with young girls who have “undeveloped breasts”, but to practice “moderation” by withholding their semen” [¹⁷⁸].

Mitchell and Lo (1968:p317)¹⁷⁹ reported that mothers in Hong Kong would punish their children or tell them that such behaviour was “dirty” if they found them “playing with themselves”. Ho (1986:p5)¹⁸⁰ reviewed that sex training was among the most severe of all child-rearing areas (cf. Ho and Kang, 1984)¹⁸¹. However, Muensterberger (1951 [1969:p306])¹⁸²

Ng, M. L., Lee, L. K.C. et al. (1995) Western influences on Chinese sexuality: Insights from a comparison of sexual behavior and attitudes of Shanghai and Hong Kong freshmen at universities, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 21,3:158-66

¹⁷⁴ Guang-Ren, L. (1997) An investigation of adolescent health from China, *J Adolesc Health* 20,4:306-8

¹⁷⁵ *Op.cit.*

¹⁷⁶ Francis L. K. Hsu, (1970) *Americans and Chinese: Purpose and Fulfilment in Great Civilizations*. Garden City, New York: The Natural History Press, p75; Francis L. K. Hsu (1971) *Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Kinship, Personality, and Social Mobility in China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, p221 [*orig.footnote*]

¹⁷⁷ Ploß (1887, I); Gregersen, E. (1983) *Sexual Practices: The Story of Human Sexuality*. New York: Franklin Watts, p228 reports “Some Hindus believe that intercourse with a bride whose hymen is unbroken is dangerous for the groom. consequently, some mothers practice “deep cleansing” on their very young daughters which tears the girls’ hymen” [*orig.footnote*]

¹⁷⁸ Van Gulik, R. H. (1961) *Sexual Life in Ancient China: A Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from ca. 1500 BC till 1644 AD*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, p147 [*orig.footnote*]

¹⁷⁹ Mitchell, R. E. & Lo, I. (1968) Implications of changes in family authority relations for the development of independence and assertiveness in Hong Kong children, *Asian Survey* 8:309-22

¹⁸⁰ Ho, D. (1986) Chinese patterns of socialization: a critical review, in Bond, M. H. (Ed.) *The Psychology of Chinese People*. Hong Kong [etc.]: Oxford University Press, p1-37

¹⁸¹ Ho, D. & Kang, T. (1984) Intergenerational comparisons of child-rearing attitudes and practices in Hong Kong, *Developm Psychol* 20:1004-16

¹⁸² Muensterbger, W. (1951) Orality and dependence: characteristics of Southern China, in Röheim, G. (Ed.) *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*. Vol. 3. New York: International University Press. Reprinted in Muensterberger, W. (Ed., 1969) *Man and his Culture*. London: Rapp & Whitting, p295-329

observed that genital play was “not forbidden” in southern China. [See further Chan (1990)¹⁸³ and Bo and Wenxiu (1992)¹⁸⁴]. Scofield and Sun (1960:p223)¹⁸⁵ found that oral, sex, dependence and aggression training are all more severe for Chinese generally than for Americans, the exception being toilet training (cf. Wilson, 1970:p26)¹⁸⁶. According to the table, infants are never naked, sexual exploration/interest in bodies and sex play are punished, and nudity is shamed; training is continuous from birth. Compared to immigrant Chinese, Euro-Americans are more accepting of nudity¹⁸⁷. “Playing with oneself” is seen as very indecent behaviour damaging health, and children are taught this attitude from a young age¹⁸⁸. In urban Hong Kong, Mitchell and Lo (1968:p317)¹⁸⁹ found that sex differences were marginal in sex and modesty training. “Nine of the 10 mothers of the dependent [as a character trait] children say they would use physical punishment if they found their children playing with themselves. Only 2 of the other 10 mothers report they would do this. In their response to questions on this topic, the latter mothers said that they would explain to their children that playing with themselves is bad for their health and that they should not do it again; some of these mothers also would tell their children that such behavior is “dirty”. However, what is important is that they would verbally explain to their children- thereby bringing the children into an adult conversation- rather than physically punish them”.

Hu and Wu (1997)¹⁹⁰ presented survey data on the sexual development of Chinese youth and how it compares with youth in other countries.

Chinese women would often use the “primal scene” argument to resist the sexual demands of their husbands (Jankowiak, 1989:p78)¹⁹¹.

Additional refs.:

-- Yang, M. M. C. (1967) [Child Training and Child Behavior in Varying Family Patterns in a Changing Chinese Society], *Kuo Li Tai-wan Ta Hsueh She Hui Hsueh K'an* [National Taiwan Univ J Sociol] 3:77-83

Courtship (China)

¹⁸³ Chan, D. (1990) Sex, knowledge, and experience of Chinese medical students in Hong Kong, *Arch Sex Behav* 19,1:73-93

¹⁸⁴ Bo, Zh. & Wenxiu, G. (1992) Sexuality in Urban China, *Australian J Chinese Affairs* 28:1-20

¹⁸⁵ Scofield, R. W. & Sun, Ch. (1960) A comparative study of the differential effect upon Chinese and American child training practices, *J Soc Psychol* 52,2:221-4

¹⁸⁶ Wilson, R. W. (1970) *Learning to be Chinese*. Cambridge, Mass.: & London: M.I.T. Press

¹⁸⁷ Rothbaum, F., Morelli, G., Pott, M. & Liu-Constant, Y. (2000) Immigrant-Chinese and Euro-American parents' physical closeness with young children: themes of family relatedness, *J Fam Psychol* 14,3:334-48

¹⁸⁸ Geense, P. (1994) Opvoeding in Chinese gezinnen, in Pels, T. (Ed.) *Opvoeding in Chinese, Marokkaanse en Surinaams-Creoolse Gezinnen*. Rotterdam [Holland]: ISEO, p-33-80. See p41

¹⁸⁹ Mitchell, R. E. & Lo, I. (1968) Implications of Changes in Family Authority Relations for the Development of Independence and Assertiveness in Hong Kong Children, *Asian Survey* 8,4:309-22

¹⁹⁰ Hu, P. & Wu, Ai. (1997) Education and Counseling on Adolescent Life, in *Caring in an Age of Technology*. Proceedings of the International Conference on Counselling in the 21st Century (6th, Beijing, China, May 29-30

¹⁹¹ Jankowiak, W. R. (1989) Sex Differences in Mate Selection and Sexuality in the People's Republic of China, *Austral J Chinese Affairs* 22:63-83

Before the Cultural Revolution, marriages were “unambiguously an alliance between families” mediated by match-makers (Hershatter, p238)¹⁹². During the Revolution, “vital and numerous love songs came under heavy fire” due to the suppression of folksongs devoid of overt political content (Mackerras, 1984:p198)¹⁹³. Courtship was effected primarily by song, such as among the **Hmong** and **Bai** minority (Mackerras, 1988:p62)¹⁹⁴.

Hong Kong (China) [IES]

Interestingly, Man-lun Ng and Ma (2001)¹⁹⁵ offer no data on childhood sexuality. In some authors on Chinese childhood, the matter of sex is equally stepped over (e.g., Stafford, 1995)¹⁹⁶.

Taiwan (Hokkien)

In Taiwan, infantile genitalism is said to be counteracted (Diamond, 1969:p34)¹⁹⁷, and information about birth is censored¹⁹⁸. “Nor do parents feel it necessary to provide information about sexual matters. Despite the fact that the child continues to share the parental bedroom, and the parental bed, until well into primary school, people are convinced that the children are completely unaware of sexual intercourse. Indeed, there does seem to be some kind of block that operates. Many women say that until their marriage they had no idea at all that intercourse took place between married couples, and the men claim outside sources for their information. Most have their first sexual experiences in their late teens, when an older boy takes them into the city to visit the prostitution district”.

¹⁹² Hershatter, G. (1984) Making a Friend: Changing Patterns of Courtship in Urban China, *Pacific Affairs* 57,2:237-51

¹⁹³ Mackerras, C. (1984) Folksongs and Dances of China's Minority Nationalities: Policy, Tradition, and Professionalization, *Modern China* 10,2:187-226

¹⁹⁴ Mackerras, C. (1988) Aspects of Bai Culture: Change and Continuity in a Yunnan Nationality, *Modern China* 14,1:51-84

¹⁹⁵ Man-lun Ng, E. & Ma, J. L. C. (2001) Hong Kong (Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China), in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.-in-chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. IV. New York: Continuum, p216-45 [online]

¹⁹⁶ Stafford, Ch. (1995) *The Roads of Chinese Childhood*. Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press

¹⁹⁷ Diamond, N. (1969) *K'un Shen: A Taiwan Village*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. “If a child is discovered masturbating he is severely scolded and beaten. He is threatened with what will happen if he continues; he will be unable to urinate, or he will go crazy. Children are also expected to conceal their genitalia from the eyes of others. If a boy urinates outside, he must use his hand to conceal his genitals, while girls past the age of four are expected to use the privacy of the *benjo* where no one can see them. They are reprimanded with slaps and scoldings if they expose themselves”.

¹⁹⁸ “Information about birth is also a taboo subject from childhood through the teen years. When a baby is being born, the children are shooed away from the room or even from the house. They are told later that the mother “found” the baby somewhere, or brought it from somebody's home, or that it came out of a stone that was split open. Some parents will say that the mother gave birth to it, without any further explanation, and the child who persists in questioning will be scolded and told not to ask more questions. However, children are usually allowed to watch animals giving birth, or animals having intercourse. The feeling is that they will not understand what is happening anyway, and no adult would offer an explanation to them”.

Pre-20th century patterns include parental selection of spouse, separation of sexes from puberty to marriage, absence of dating, courtship and engagement, and irrelevance of romantic love as an institutionalised basis for mate selection¹⁹⁹.

Barnett (1971:p445-6)²⁰⁰:

“Even small children know a lot about sex for the village is rural and children observe the mating of farm animals and know the function. Given the sleeping arrangements and the proper site for sex, i.e., in a bed which will be shared with sleeping children, it is likely they have also observed human intercourse. I remember one occasion when the barber, a bachelor, was building a new three-room house because he planned on marriage. A group of 9 to 10 year olds were showing me around and when we came to the prospective bedroom, a boy said, “He is getting married and this is where he will stick it in her” [...]. Men and old women talk about enjoying sex when children are within hearing distance although someone will occasionally shush them. During the wedding party in front of all the guests and children too, the bride is given a flower to hold, the name of which has exactly the same sound as the common term for penis, for the purpose of helping to produce male offspring. Earthy remarks though resound softly throughout the audience such as, “Do you think it is too big?” “Have you ever squeezed one before?” or “That’s not the only one you will get today” ”.

Wolf (1972:p139-40)²⁰¹ stated that children are told nothing about sex, and learn not to ask questions for which, if persistent, they will be punished.

Additional refs.:

- Bullough, V. L. & Ruan, F. (1990) Sex Education in Mainland China, *Health Educ* 21,2:16-9
- Ruan, F. & Matsumura, M. (1991) *Sex in China: Studies in Sexology in Chinese Culture*. New York: Plenum Press
- Hu, P. & Wu, Ai. (1997) Education and Counseling on Adolescent Life, in *Caring in an Age of Technology*. Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Counseling in the 21st Century, Beijing, China, May 29-30
- Huichang, Ch. (1987) The Development of Sexual Knowledge and Sexual Physiology and Psychology among Middle School Students, *Chinese Educ* 20,3:63-85
- Fraser, S. E. (1977) Family Planning and Sex Education: The Chinese Approach, *Comparat Educ* 13,1:15-28

¹⁹⁹ Marsh, R. M. & O'Hara, A. R. (1961) Attitudes Toward Marriage and the Family in Taiwan, *Am J Sociol* 67,1:1-8

²⁰⁰ Barnett, W. K. (1971) *An Ethnographic Description of Sanlei Ts'un, Taiwan, With Emphasis on Women's Roles: Overcoming Research Problems Caused by the Presence of a Great Tradition*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms

²⁰¹ Wolf, M. (1972) *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press

Korea, Coreā, Democratic People's Republic of Korea (eHRAF) (Koreans: 3+,3+,3+,4,4,4;2,1) [IES]

Child²⁰² and even (informal?) prenatal²⁰³ betrothal occurred in rural Korea. The “capping ceremony” was synonymous to betrothal (Landis)²⁰⁴. This occurred at age twenty in ancient times, and at the time of writing this had decreased to an incidental age of 10. North Korean child betrothal was banned by law in 1948²⁰⁵. Turn-of-the-century accounts suggest that “most impoverished families sent their daughters out as child brides, *minmyōnūri*, to be raised in the households of their future mothers-in-law (Kendall, 1996:p62, 181-2)²⁰⁶. Around the middle of the 17th century Hamel²⁰⁷ noted:

“They make no love, because they are marry'd at 8 or 10 Years of Age, and the Young Maids from that time live in their Father-in-laws House unless they be only daughters”.

Osgood:

“Among the Ok[?]o, girls left their homes at the age of about ten to go and live with the families of their betrothed. At the time of marriage, however, they returned to their parents and the future husbands had to pay a bride price before the marriages were consummated”.

Taboo on and punishment of “masturbation” is seen in the Korean Americans (Turner, [1905:p3])²⁰⁸. Brandt (1971)²⁰⁹ stated that “[c]hildren are, of course, aware of sexual matters at an early age, both through the conversation of their elders and because of the crowded sleeping arrangements”. The author 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”. Han (1949:p70)²¹⁰ relates that “grandparents as well as other older members of the family often pay complement on the child's sex organ”. As close as the

²⁰² Han, S. (1977) *Korean Fishermen*. Seoul: Seoul National University Press: “[...] the parents try to betroth their son or daughter to someone appropriate as early as possible even before the children have come of age”; Dallet, Ch. (1874) *A History of the Church in Korea*. Vol. 1. Paris: Victor Palmé: “When children reach the age of puberty, it is their parents who arrange their betrothal and marriage without consulting them, without considering their tastes, and often even against their will”.

²⁰³ Moose, J. R. (1911) *Village Life in Korea*. Nashville: M. E. Church: “The betrothal takes place in early childhood, and I am told that friends sometimes make the engagement, under certain conditions, even before the children are born”; Yi, K. (1975) *Kinship System in Korea*. New Haven, Conn.: HRAF: “The pregnant women promise each other the betrothal of their children, when one bears a male and the other a female”.

²⁰⁴ Landis, E. B. (1898) The Capping Ceremony of Korea, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 27:525-31, at p525-6

²⁰⁵ Goodkind, D. (1999) Do Parents Prefer Sons in North Korea? *Stud Fam Plann* 30,3:212-8, see p213

²⁰⁶ Kendall, L. (1996) *Getting Married in Korea*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, and references

²⁰⁷ Hamel, H. ([1918]) The description of the kingdom of Coreā. Reprinted in *Transact Korea Branch Royal Asiatic Soc* 9:129-48

²⁰⁸ Turner, L. (nd) *The Social and Psychological Role of the Korean Sorceress*. “There is no circumcision and genital handling or masturbation by the child is tabued whenever observed”.

²⁰⁹ Brandt, V. S. R. (1971) *A Korean Village Between Farm and Sea*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. See p135

²¹⁰ Han, Ch. C. (1949 [1970]) *Social Organization of Upper Han Hamlet in Korea*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms. Relevant pages include p69-70, 118, 120

mother-daughter relationship may be the latter would not think of undressing in front of her mother. Nevertheless, it is her mother to whom she tells of her first menstruation. However, “[a]bsolute ignorance of sex on the part of a bride is considered to be a womanly virtue and a sign of complete chastity” (p120). Knez (1960:p81-2)²¹¹ agrees that girls only after menarche (age 15) acquire some sexual information since they are then regarded as women socially as well as biologically. After the occasion, they are “[...] no longer allowed to play with boys [...]”. “Parents are reluctant to educate their children in sexual matters”. The same was observed by Osgood (1951)²¹². Young men are often “introduced to sexual behavior” by a widow (Knez, p83).

While the country’s high schools “still generally lack a realistic sex education program”, the age of first intercourse has lowered “significantly”²¹³. In one study²¹⁴ of 849 adolescents (with a mean age of 18.8 years), coitally active repondents began sexual activity [coitus] at about 18 years of age. Youn expected underreporting “[b]ecause premarital sex for adolescents is considered very undesirable in the Korean social setting”. In a study by Choi et al. (2000)²¹⁵, the average age of initiation of masturbation was 14.26 +/- 1.66 years. Seven and one half per cent of parents, especially mothers, rationalise circumcision of boys with the intent “to improve future sexual potency”²¹⁶.

Jung and Honig (2000)²¹⁷ found that paternal job satisfaction and relationship with own mother as well as educational attainment predicted fathering behaviours with respect to child sexuality and parental rules.

A study of Korean children and adolescence doing Japanese comics²¹⁸ includes data on the reception of sexual themes therein.

Additional refs.:

-- Choi, H. (2001) South Korea, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed. in chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. IV. New York: Continuum. Online ed.

²¹¹ Knez, Eu. I. (1960 [1970]) *Sam Jong Dong: A South Korean Village*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms

²¹² Osgood, C. (1951) *The Koreans and their Culture*. New York: The Ronald Press Company. “Sex education has no formal place in the child’s life and although sex occupies a major place in youthful discussion, it is not shared between males and females”

²¹³ Seung-Duk, K., Eun-Joo, K., Hye-Kyung, S. & Aeree, S. (2001) Viewpoints of Korean senior high school students on school-based sex education, *Asia Pac J Public Health* 13, Suppl:S31-5

²¹⁴ Youn, G. (1996) Sexual activities and attitudes of adolescent Koreans, *Arch Sex Behav* 25,6:629-43

²¹⁵ Choi, Y. J., Lee, W. H. et al. (2000) Masturbation and its relationship to sexual activities of young males in Korean military service, *Yonsei Med J* 41,2:205-8

²¹⁶ Oh, S. J., Kim, K. D., Kim, K. M., Kim, K. S., Kim, K. K., Kim, J. S., Kim, H. G. et al. (2002) Knowledge and attitudes of Korean parents towards their son’s circumcision: a nationwide questionnaire study, *BJU Int* 89,4:426-32. “As perceived by Korean parents the other major benefits of circumcision are improved sexual potency, penile growth, and the prevention of premature ejaculation; mothers, rather than fathers, believe these to be true”.

²¹⁷ Jung, K. & Honig, A. S. (2000) Intergenerational comparisons of paternal Korean childrearing practices and attitudes, *Early Child Developm & Care* 165:59-84

²¹⁸ Yi, S. H., Lee, K. Y. & Chyung, Y. J. (1993) Adolescents’ subscription of Japanese comic books and their envy toward Japan, *Korean J Child Stud* 14,2:65-78

Japan

(Premodern rural: 2,2,3+,4-,3,3;5,5) (*Burakumin*)

[*IES*]

The (early) sexual milestones of the urban Japanese were monitored regularly, as reported by Asayama²¹⁹ and Hatano²²⁰. These large studies prove of less value in interpreting Japanese sexual culture, which has been the agenda of many Western scholars. In an interesting, and to some extent unique, article, Mamiya (1956)²²¹ measured “excitability to words, sentences, anatomical figures and pictures with sexual content by means of GSR [galvanic skin resistance?] and respiratory rate recordings” apparently in peripubescents. The results would suggest “[a] period from 11 to 13 years old [...] to be the one of psychosexual change which is earlier than physiological maturation” [Psychinfo]. This is interesting since drawings of Japanese peripubescents, as compared to those drawn in other parts of the world, and while being more detailed and sophisticated in general, “sexual details were nonexistent”²²².

“In Japanese society sexuality is considered part of one's inward, hidden life; however, there are few notions of guilt or prohibition. Although the legal system was changed in 1945 under US pressure to shift from a patriarchal family system to a more egalitarian one, the patriarchal system remains quite strong” in 1984²²³.

Historical Note on Marriage [Japan]

Herold (1985)²²⁴ states that from the sixteenth century on, marriage could be conducted by puberty, menarche occurring at ages 12-14. Puberty was marked by a change of dress (*genpuku*), its timing being variable over the centuries. Sexual education was provided by the grandparental, not the parental generation; it largely consisted of the introduction to prostitution after the *genpuku* (p688). Legal age distinctions were historically placed at 7, 10

²¹⁹ E.g., Asayama, Sh. (1949) *Sexual Behavior of the Present-Day Japanese Students*; Asayama, Sh. (1957) Comparison of sexual development of American and Japanese adolescents, *Psychologia* 1:129-31; Asayama, Sh. (1975) Adolescent sexual development and adult sex behavior in Japan, *J Sex Res* 11,2:91-112; Asayama, Sh. (1976) Sexual behavior in Japanese students: comparisons for 1974, 1960 and 1952, *Arch Sex Behav* 5,5:371-90; Asayama, Sh. (1980) Existing state and future trend of sexuality in Japanese students, in Forleo, R. & Pasini, W. (Eds.) *Medical Sexology*. Amsterdam [etc.]: Elsevier, p114-30

²²⁰ E.g., Hatano, Y. (1991) Changes in the sexual activities of Japanese youth *J Sex & Educ Ther* 17,1:1-14; Hatano, Y. (1993) Sexual activities of Japanese youth, *J Sex & Educ Ther* 19,2:131-44

²²¹ Mamiya, T. (1956) Sei-teki hattatsu no rinkaiki ni kansuru mondai: Chukan hokoku [Problem of the critical period of psychosexual development], *Jap J Educ Psychol* 4:21-7

²²² Iwawaki, S. & Vandewiele, M. (1989) L'Être humain dessiné par les écoliers Japonais de sept à douze ans, *Cahiers de Sociol Economique & Culturelle, Ethnopsychol* 12:119-42

²²³ Bauhain, C. & Tokitsu, K. (1984) Structures familiales et sexualité au Japon, à l'époque moderne, *Cahiers Int Sociol* 31, 76:71-90

²²⁴ Herold, R. (1985) Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung (Jugend, Sexualität und Heiratsverhalten im Japan der Tokugawa- und Meiji-Zeit, in Müller, E. W. (Ed.) *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung*. München: K. Alber, p683-716

and 16 (603-967), 15 (967-1467), and 15 or 13 (1467-1603). Until in the 20th century, male and female dormitory systems were widespread, entered by males from 15-25; a “double morality” would have been relevant here (p695), with more freedom for males. Marriage could occur at age 13 (females) and 15 (males), among the noblemen at 12 or 13 (p697, 698). Child betrothal among the Ainu was infrequent and its outcome negotiable (Bachelor, 1892:141-2)²²⁵.

Sexual Climate [Japan]

DeMause (e.g., 1991)²²⁶ repeatedly interprets the makeup of Japanese society as “incestuous” [orig. footnotes]:

“The average Japanese today sleeps with his or her children until the children are ten or fifteen years old”²²⁷, - one recent Japanese study found daughters still sleeping with their fathers over 20 percent of the time even after age sixteen²²⁸. Even when the home contains a dozen rooms or more, parents and grandparents feel “lonely” if they sleep apart from the children in the family, and therefore go to bed with some child every night (the mean age in one study of children sleeping alone is 12.7 years)²²⁹. Since so many families still practice what is termed *dakine* co-sleeping - with the parent or grandparent sleeping while physically embracing the child, a practice said to be beneficial to the health of the adult²³⁰ - and since most Japanese parents still regularly have sexual intercourse while the child is in bed with them²³¹, one wonders how scholars can continue to maintain that nothing sexual usually happens to the Japanese child in the family bed, particularly since none have yet asked the children themselves about their sexual experiences”.

From his *Emotional Life of Nations*²³², it appears that this interpretation is largely a “Western”, but not entirely a psychohistorical²³³ party [orig. footnotes]:

“Western observers even today often notice that Japanese mothers masturbate their young children during the day in public and at night in the family bed-in order, they say, “to put them to sleep”²³⁴. The average Japanese mother sleeps with her children until they are ten or fifteen years old, traditionally sleeping “skin-to-skin” (*dakine*) while embracing her child because the father-as in the traditional gynarchy-is usually absent, over two-thirds of Japanese husbands being involved in extramarital

²²⁵ Batchelor, J. (1892) *The Ainu of Japan*. London: Religious Tract Society

²²⁶ DeMause, L. (1991) The Universality of Incest, *J Psychohist* 19,2:123-164

²²⁷ John Connor, Takie Sugiyama Lebra, George DeVos and Alan Roland, personal communications.

²²⁸ Hendry, J. (1986) *Becoming Japanese. The World of the Pre-School Child*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p21, 44; Mizushima Kanae, *Shinshitsu Haibun ni Miru Oyako no shinsosei* [Parent-child intimacy as seen in sleeping arrangements]

²²⁹ Kitahara, “Childhood in Japanese Culture”, p54 [cit. infra]

²³⁰ Lebra, *Japanese Women*, p176-80 [cit. infra]

²³¹ Coleman, S. (1983) *Family Planning in Japanese Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p177, finds most families respond to questions about why they have sex in the same bed with children by saying it would be “selfish” not to do so.

²³² DeMause, L. (nd) *The Emotional Life of Nations*. Karnac Books, Limited, UK. Online ed., ch. 7

²³³ See also Adams, K. A. & Hill, L. Jr. (1997) The phallic female in Japanese group-fantasy, *J Psychohist* 25,1:33-66

²³⁴ Smith, R. J. & Wiswell, E. L. (1982) *The Women of Suyu Mura*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, p68-72; Haring, D. G. (1956) Aspects of Personal Character in Japan, in Haring, D. G. (Ed.) *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, p416; Bornoff, *Pink Samurai*, p76 [cit. infra]

intercourse²³⁵. Japanese mothers often teach their sons how to masturbate, helping them achieve first ejaculation in much the same manner as with toilet training²³⁶. A “mental health hotline” in Tokyo recently reported being flooded with calls about incest, 29 percent of them with complaints such as that the mother would offer her body for sex while telling the son, “You cannot study if you cannot have sex. You may use my body”, or “I don’t want you to get into trouble with a girl. Have sex with me instead”²³⁷. Wagatsuma reports “Japanese mothers often exhibit an obsession with their sons’ penises...[they are] usually brought in by their mothers who fear that their sons’ penises are abnormally small”²³⁸, with the result that Japanese marriage clinics find “60 percent of their patients are afflicted with the ‘no-touch syndrome’, that is, they will have no physical contact with their wives for fear that it will lead to sex...[termed] the ‘I love mommy’ complex”²³⁹. Adams and Hill and Rosenman have thoroughly documented the castration anxieties resulting from Japanese maternal incest²⁴⁰.

DeMause (1994/1998; cf. 1991)²⁴¹ further argues:

“Childhood in contemporary Japan—although somewhat more Western than that of other Eastern nations—still includes masturbation by mothers “to put them to sleep.” Parents usually have intercourse with the children in bed with them; and “co-sleeping,” with parents physically embracing the child, often continues until the child is ten or fifteen. One recent Japanese study found daughters sleeping with their fathers over 20 percent of the time after age 16. Recent sex surveys report memories of sexual abuse even higher than comparable American studies. “Hot lines” of sexual abuse report mother-son incest in almost a third of the calls, the mother saying to her teenage son, “It’s not good to do it alone. Your IQ becomes lower. I will help you,” or “You cannot study if you cannot have sex. You may use my body,” or “I don’t want you to get into trouble with a girl. Have sex with me instead”.

Japan indeed seems to have a history of early prostitution (cf. [supra](#)).

Buschan ([1921:p250])²⁴² states that, particularly in the south, boys were prepared systematically for prostitution “von Kindesbeinen an” (cf. Ploß / Renz, 1912:p551). Drew and Drake (1969:p109-16)²⁴³ state that boys were trained *per digitum* (often) by former prostitutes from age 8 or 9.

The “incestuous” climate (co-sleeping, masturbation instruction, prostitution, pederasty) of Japan sketched by DeMause, however, is counteracted by other authors with a psychodynamic claim, at least in the case of co-sleeping. Commenting on this practice, Connor (1976:p192-3)²⁴⁴ argues that

“both maternal closeness and strong family ties bring about a strong feeling of dependency and a resultant suppression of sexuality or genital primacy. The Japanese mother does not encourage maleness in a genital sense”.

²³⁵ Gregersen, E. (1983) *Sexual Practices: The Story of Human Sexuality*. New York: FranklinWatts, p246

²³⁶ Kitahara, “Childhood in Japanese Culture”, p56 [cit. *infra*]

²³⁷ Kitahara, “Incest-Japanese Style”, p446 [cit. *infra*]

²³⁸ Adams, K. A. & Hill, L. Jr. (2000) The Phallic Planet, *J Psychohist* 28:[p33]

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p31

²⁴⁰ Adams & Hill, Jr., “Castration Anxiety in Japanese Group-Fantasies”, *cit. infra*; Adams & Hill Jr. (2000), *cit. supra*; Rosenman, S. (2000) The Spawning Grounds of the Japanese Rapists of Nanking, *J Psychohist* 28:2-23

²⁴¹ DeMause, L. (1994) The History of Childhood as the History of Child Abuse, *Aesthema* 11:48-62 / DeMause, L. (1998) The History of Child Abuse, *J Psychohist* 25,3:216-36

²⁴² Albert, M. & Buschan, G. (1921) *Handbuch der Sexualwissenschaften*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Vogel

²⁴³ Drew, D. & Drake, J. (1969) *Boys for Sale*. New York: Brown Book Co.

²⁴⁴ Connor, J. W. (1976) Family bonds, maternal closeness, and the suppression of sexuality in three generations of Japanese Americans, *Ethos* 4,2:189-221

Caudill and Plath (1974)²⁴⁵ similarly argue that Japanese co-sleeping implies

“[...] a strong cultural emphasis upon the nurturant aspects of family life and a correlative de-emphasis of its sexual aspects” (Connor).

De Vos and Wagatsuma (1973:p54) add that “parents must use opportunities when children are absent or asleep for sexual congress”. The claims of Kitahara (1989:p56)²⁴⁶ are not paralleled by similar claims.

Edwardes and Masters (1961:p80)²⁴⁷ write: “Coitus between little boys and girls is quite common in Japan as elsewhere throughout the Orient”. Maretzki and Maretzki (1963:p492)²⁴⁸ observed that “[i]nfants may be patted or manipulated around the genital area by an adult. Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly say. “What is that, what is that?” Female infants are quickly covered with exaggerated expressions of shame whenever they are exposed for diaper changes. Petting of genitals by an adult is used mostly to soothe the child. It would be severely rebuked, however, if attempted by a child caretaker”. “As children get older, exposure of genitals is much less serious in the case of a boy than in the case of a girl. Little girls are told to sit like their mothers with their legs together and are never permitted to expose their genitals. This is true even for those young girls who are still without pants. Occasionally boys tease a little girl by shouting, “Your vagina [pudenda?] is showing”. Sexual manipulation between children, either homosexually or heterosexually, was never observed. The following observation illustrates the response of an older sibling to her 4-year-old sister, who attempts to imitate a urinating boy”.

“Exhibitionism between boys occurs, and a urinating demonstration among boys with an erection is occasionally seen. Such behavior is not condoned by adults. Girls, however, almost always urinate alone at a short distance from the group. Children are shamed if one refers to their genitals as they approach school age. The separation between boys and girls, which increases with greater age, also discourages mutual play or sex experimentation”.

Cornell and Smith (1956:p73)²⁴⁹:

“Infant sexuality [?] is accepted unless it occurs in what is regarded as inappropriate surroundings. Small children indulge in sexual play without censure, several common games having clear sexual overtones. Masturbation is regarded as harmless in very small children, but as the child grows older he is likely to hear warnings from elders and stories about the adverse physical and mental effects the practice has on growing youth. This advice stresses the increased nervousness and fatigue that allegedly result from masturbation”.

Mothers co-sleep with infants until the birth of a second, and maternal co-bathing with sons may continue till age 12, or when they begin to object (Lebra, 1985:p176)²⁵⁰. Thus, it is

²⁴⁵ Caudill, W. & Plath, D. (1974) Who sleeps by whom? Parent-child involvement in urban Japanese families, in Levine, R. A. (Ed.) *Culture and Personality*. Chicago: Aldine, p125-54

²⁴⁶ *Op.cit.*

²⁴⁷ Edwardes, A. & Masters, R. E. L. (1961) *The Cradle of Erotica*. New York: The Julian Press. See also p136, 290

²⁴⁸ Maretzki, Th. W. & Maretzki, H. (1963) Taira: an Okinawan village, in Whiting, B. B. (Ed.) *Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, p367-539

²⁴⁹ Cornell, J. B. & Smith R. J. (1956) *Two Japanese Villages*. Ann Arbor: University Press of Michigan

²⁵⁰ Lebra, T. S. (1985) *Japanese Women*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press

common for a Japanese mother to bathe and sleep with her son even after her offspring reaches the age of puberty, states Kitahara²⁵¹. Thus:

“Co-bathing is equally significant, continuing until the age of six and beyond. Mothers sometimes wash their children even after they have reached adolescence. Although sexual motivations are vigorously disavowed during these activities, research reveals a pattern that links co-sleeping and co-bathing to incest. For boys, this incestuous activity with mother is so traumatic that the notion of sexuality with other females is repugnant, marriage is often impossible, and fears of impotence are common. Even granted that incest does not occur in many instances, the libidinal excitation experienced by Japanese children during these experiences is extreme. [...] Mothers flick their sons' penises while bathing them and joke about how prolific their sons will be as adults. They masturbate their children in public to keep them quiet. They masturbate them at night to put them to sleep”²⁵².

On the post-war Okinawans, Pitts (1955)²⁵³ stated that data on birth was withheld from children²⁵⁴, and are reprimanded for dirt talk²⁵⁵.

“Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex “naturally” as they grow older. As Maloney reports²⁵⁶, there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity”.

A 66-year-old woman would argue that “a male after seven years does not sit with a woman” (Danjo nanasai nishite seki o onnachu sezu). In rural Japan, “Rules about sex were very strict”: girls of 12 were not to talk to boys outside their home (Bernstein, 1978:p27)²⁵⁷.

“In the premodern community, children of similar ages formed peer groups and played together near their farm homes, in a backyard, an open field, or in the barn. The children often obtained interesting and helpful information related to sex from observing the farm animals; in this manner, sexuality education went on in an informal manner. The “doctor/nurse play” they often enjoyed within their peer

²⁵¹ Kitahara, M. (1989) Incest - Japanese Style, *J Psychohist* 16,4:445-50

²⁵² Adams, K. A. & Hill, L. (1999) Castration Anxiety in Japanese Group-Fantasies, *J Psychohist* 26:779-809

²⁵³ Pitts, F. R. (1955) *Post-war Okinawa*. Washington D.C.: National Research Council, Pacific Science Board

²⁵⁴ “The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no notion of the nature of sex”.

²⁵⁵ “The terms for the sex organs, tani, “penis”, and hoo, “vulva”, are used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms repeatedly in joking they might be scolded for “dirty talk”. An old woman once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono pulled up and was therefore called “Hoo-Hai Ayaa”, “Mother Vulva-Visible”. Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans became familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish as tani-gwaa, “little penises”. As in Japanese, the word for sexual relations is formed by adding the verb “to do” to the word for vulva. This term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

²⁵⁶ Maloney (1945:p392). See Maloney, J. C. (1945) Psychiatric Observations in Okinawa Shima, *Psychiatry* 8:391-9

²⁵⁷ Bernstein, G. L. (1978) Women in rural Japan, in Lebra, J. et al. (Eds.) *Women in Changing Japan*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, p25-49

group in a secret space provided sexual information and fantasy, which in turn helped them form a healthy sexual identity of their own" (Hatano and Shimazaki, 1997)²⁵⁸.

Today, little seems changed even in industrial environments. "For small children, provided they confine such indulgences to private contexts, playing with these [genitals] is no big deal. They can play "doctors" with no comparative impunity; they naturally tire of this just as rapidly as they do a game with Transformer robots or electronic talking dolls. [...] Women bathing boys often flick nascent appurtenances with a finger, laughing about the lady-killer its proud owner will grow up to be" (Bornoff, 1991:p127-8)²⁵⁹.

Issei families and, to a lesser extent, Nisei families maintain the traditional, patriarchal and hierarchical family structures and relationship found in the traditional Japanese family, are restrained and are not less physically demonstrative in their expressions of affection, love, and intimacy; and rigidly control the sexual expressions and behaviour of children (Hirayama and Hirayama, 1986)²⁶⁰.

Additional refs.:

-- Pike, F. (1997) Where some sons do have them, *Spectator*, Jan 18;278,8790:20-1

Sex Education [Japan]

Smith (1912)²⁶¹ had argued that "there is a good deal of 'freedom of speech' on all sex matters among all classes of people as compared with Western standards of modesty", ranging from "talk and stories of nurses and servants in the case of well-to-do and of playmates in the cases of poor children". Smith further discussed "a real effort in the secondary schools at proper sex education, at least for the girls". As a matter of fact, the contributors to *Human Sexuality*, a 1905 initiative of physician Fujikawa Yû generally advocated that Japanese schools adopt a program of sexual pedagogy modelled on German practices²⁶². Fröhstük²⁶³ writes:

"Most pedagogues who contributed to the [1908] debate in the Yomiuri shinbun [daily newspaper] agreed that sex education was necessary primarily "to avoid the horrible consequences of masturbation" [...] Yubara Motoichi, the head of Tôkyô Ongaku Gakkô [Tokyo school of music], suggested discussing sexual instinct in a way that would not embarrass young boys and girls. He also thought it essential to separate boys and girls during sex education. Masturbation, he argued, was to be mentioned rarely and

²⁵⁸ Hatano, Y. & Shimazaki, T. (1997) Japan, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 2. Quoted from the online edition

²⁵⁹ Bornoff, N. (1991) *Pink Samurai*. London: Grafton. New York [etc.]: Pocket Books

²⁶⁰ Hirayama, H. & Hirayama, K. K. (1986) The sexuality of Japanese Americans, *J Soc Work & Hum Sex* 4,3:81-98

²⁶¹ Smith, P. A. (1912) Sex education in Japan, *J Educ Psychol* 3,5:257-63

²⁶² Fröhstük, S. (2000) Managing the Truth of Sex in Imperial Japan, *J Asian Studies* 59,2:332-58.

Cited by Smits, G. J., in *Making Japanese*. Unpublished textbook, Pennsylvania State University http://www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/g/j/gjs4/mj/ch5_main.htm

²⁶³ *Managing the Truth*, op.cit., p342

only if absolutely necessary, and before doing so a doctor was to be consulted. [...] For Washiyama Yayoi [...] founder and director of Japan's first medical school for women [...] masturbation was "the most terrible ailment related to the sexual instinct". Regarding sex education, she asserted: "The only purpose of the sexual instinct is reproduction, and any abuse has fatal consequences". Washiyama believed that ignorance led students between the age of fifteen and seventeen to masturbation. Since masturbation did not lead to satisfaction, they masturbated frequently and had to bear unimaginable consequences" [as cited by Smith].

Norbeck and Norbeck ([1956:p672])²⁶⁴ later observed: "Although parents seldom or never include direct reference to sexual relations in instruction regarding the proper deportment of girls, by the time a girl has reached puberty she has learned thoroughly that pre-marital sex experience is not only prohibited but also that it may be disastrous".

Additional refs.:

-- Norbeck (1954)²⁶⁵; White, M. I. (1993) *The Material Child: Coming of Age in Japan and America*. New York: Free Press. Esp. chapter "Sexuality: Illusions and realities"

-- Shimamoto, M. (1988) [Present situation of knowledge about sex in adolescents and future sex education], [*Jap J Child & Adolesc Psychia*] 29,2:87-91

-- Tsubakita, T. (2000) Sex Education in Children and Children's Fantasy about Sexuality, in Chen, Sh. J., Furutsuka, T. & Shirotani, Y. (Eds.) *Research and Clinical Center for Child Development Annual Report, 1998-1999*. No. 22. Hokkaido University, Sapporo (Japan). Faculty of Education

Juvenile "Sexual Delinquency" [Japan]

Contemporary Japanese culture has an established concern for preadult sexual misdemeanour²⁶⁶. This includes the phenomenon of "amateur prostitution" (*enjo-kousai*) in late adolescence²⁶⁷. It was argued²⁶⁸ that the causes of [juvenile] sexual delinquency include a "breakdown of family bonds, instigation by mass-media, a social tendency that people tend to indulge in momentary pleasures, and education unconcerned with sexual morality". Whatever the causes, LeTendre²⁶⁹ recently found that the social construct of hormones as an intoxicating and distracting force was common among U.S. middle school teachers, while

²⁶⁴ Norbeck, E. & Norbeck, M. ([1956]) Child training in a Japanese village, in Haring, D. G. (Ed.) *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press. 3rd. Ed., p651-73

²⁶⁵ Norbeck, E. (1954) *Takashima, a Japanese Fishing Community*. Salt Lake City

²⁶⁶ Okada, R. (1989) A study of aberrant sexual delinquency in boys, *Jap J Child & Adolesc Psychia* 30,5:379-87; Tokushige, A. (1988) Sexual delinquency referred to family courts, *Jap J Child & Adolesc Psychia* 29,2: 91-4; Okada, R. (1987) A study of the recent increase in girls' sexual delinquency and aggressivity, *Jap J Child & Adolesc Psychia* 28,5:283-9; Ito, F. (1987) A study on female juveniles' sexual misconducts: I. Relationships between the extent of deviance in lifestyle and the types of sexual misconducts / II. An analysis of the background of sexual misconducts, *Reports Nat Res Instit Police Sci [Japan]* 28,1: 52-62; 28,1: 63-71; Kobayashi, J., Sales, B. D., Becker, J. V., Figueredo, Au. J. et-al. (1995) Perceived parental deviance, parent-child bonding, child abuse, and child sexual aggression, *Sexual Abuse* 7,1:25-44

²⁶⁷ Sakuraba, T., Matsui, Y., Fukutomi, M., Narita, K., Kamise, Y. et al. (2001) Background factors of amateur prostitution ("enjo-kousai") in Japanese high-school girls, *Jap J Educ Psychol* 49,2:167-74

²⁶⁸ Akahori, S., Sakaue, M., Miyakoshi, M., Ishii, Y., Tsukada, N. et al. (1999) Social pathology and sexual delinquency in Japan, *Int Med J* 6,1:33-7

²⁶⁹ LeTendre, G. (1996) *Middle School Teachers' Theories of Puberty*.

Japanese teachers “did not link puberty with hormones or disruptive behavior with sexual energy”. Rather, the issue of exposure to pornography has a long-standing concern²⁷⁰. Opposing currents, Savells²⁷¹ argued that, cross-culturally, juvenile delinquency was low, while the number of sexual offences had been steadily dropping. Shibuya (1999)²⁷² further argued that in most articles published in Kyoiku-Jiron during Japan’s Meiji Period (late 19th-early 20th century), behaviours entitled “sexually delinquent” were “uncritically problematized, with authors concluding that youth should be strictly supervised and youth sexuality controlled”. Takahashi (1993)²⁷³ had argued that, while “traditional” Japanese sex education emphasized training in the practical method of sexual intercourse, “modern” Japanese sex education is “a mechanism of social control and a reaction to sexual delinquency. Though sexual delinquency is commonly believed to be linked to presentation of information about sex in the mass media, no such linkage has been established, and sexual delinquency among Japanese has not significantly increased”.

Additional refs.:

-- Fujita, H., Miura, M. & Hosomizu, R. (1984) [Various aspects of sexuality in delinquent girls through their compositions], [*Jap J Criminal Psychol*] 22,1:37-43

-- Yap, J. G. (1986) Philippine ethnoculture and human sexuality, *J Social Work & Hum Sex* 4,3:121-34

Burakumin Minority (Japan)

De Vos and Wagatsuma (1966:p229/1973:p398-9)²⁷⁴ offer a psychodynamic account of Japanese childhood sexuality in Burakumin community. The authors argue that in comparison to total Japanese society, the Burakumin child is more exposed to adult coitus and sex talk, has less of a “latency period”, and knows more about sexual matters. There is more premarital freedom, and innocence before marriage is not expected.

Additional refs. Japan:

Cinema: *Tomato Kechappu Kôtei / Emperor Tomato-Ketchup* (Shuji Terayama, 1970?) [note: compiler has no knowledge of the current legal status of the work, and has not reviewed it in person]

²⁷⁰ E.g., Kiyonaga, K. (1971) *Youth's Attitude toward Sex and the Sexual Exposure in Mass Media: III. Sexual Attitudes in Youth*. National Research Institute of Police Science, Japan. Most of the subjects received information on sex through friends, although mass media (particularly magazines and TV) did provide some information. Accounting for their abstinence in sex activity, junior high students more often cited their “immaturity”, senior high subjects stated that sex is “unhealthy” or “filthy”, and juvenile delinquents reasoned that some sexual behaviours are prohibited by “law”.

²⁷¹ Savells, J. (1991) Juvenile delinquency in Japan, *Int J Adolesc & Youth* 3,1-2:129-35

²⁷² Shibuya, T. (1999) [Problematization of Sexualities of Youth in Gakusei-Fuki Problem Report: Based on Articles of Kyoiku-Jiron in Meiji Period], *Kyoiku-shakaigaku Kenkyu* [*J Educ Sociol*] 65, Oct.:25-47

²⁷³ Takahashi, I. (1993) [Youth and Sex Education], *Kyoiku-shakaigaku Kenkyu* [*J Educ Sociol*] 53, Oct.:31-46

²⁷⁴ De Vos, G. A. & Wagatsuma, H. (1973) *Socialization, self-perception and Burakumin status*, in *Socialization for Achievement*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. Previously in De Vos, G. A. & Wagatsuma, H. (1966) *Japan's Invisible Race: Caste in Culture and Personality*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, p228-40

Philippines

(*Tagals, Agta, Kalingas, Bagobo, Mandaya, Batak, Sulod, Badjau, Buid, Ifugao, Negritos, Sagada Igorots, Bontoc Igorot, Isneg Igorot, Ilocos*)
[IES]

A historical literature overview of Philippine prepubertal betrothals and marriage was offered by the Amsterdam Colonial Institute (1921[IV]:p474-6)²⁷⁵. Such early betrothal would before 1811 be the case among Subanum, Mandaya [Samal-Davao], Bisaya, Igorot, Tingyan, and Negrito ethnicities. However, traditional Philippine societies are equally known for their dormitory systems. An old woman was sometimes employed for childhood defloration (Mallat, 1846, I:p61; De Morga, 1868:p304-5; Crawley, 1927, II:p69-70)²⁷⁶.

Javier (1969)²⁷⁷ speaks of segregation of sexes from preschool age on in the Central Plain of Luzon, Philippines. Guthrie and Jacobs (1966:p134-47)²⁷⁸ provide a fairly elaborate account of sexual development among the Philippines. Whitam and Mathy (1986:p44-52)²⁷⁹ provide some indication of sexual development (attraction in childhood sex play, gender of first sexual contact, age of first sexual contact, age of first sexual attraction, age of realization of sexual orientation) among Philippino, as compared to Brazilian, Guatemalan and North American hetero- and homosexuals.

Additional refs:

-- Leyson, J. (2001) The Philippines, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed. in chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Expected online ed.
-- Health Action Information Network (1987) *Child and Youth Prostitution in the Philippines*. Manila; Cavendish (1588)²⁸⁰

Tagals (Philippines)

Among the Philippine Tagals, uncircumcised children are teased by the insult of suput ("tight"), or being unfit for sexual intercourse²⁸¹.

²⁷⁵ Koloniaal Instituut te Amsterdam (1921) *Pandecten van het Adatrecht*. Mededeeling no. IV. Amsterdam: De Bussy [Dutch]

²⁷⁶ Mallat, J. (1846) *Les Philippines*; De Morga, A. (1868) *The Philippine Islands* [etc.] ; Crawley, E. (1927) *The Mystic Rose*. New York: Boni & Liveright. Vol. II

²⁷⁷ Javier, Au. (1969) Personality development of a Filipino adult, *Pennsylv Psychia Quart* 9,2:41-7

²⁷⁸ Guthrie, G. M. & Jiménez Jacobs, P. (1966) *Child Rearing and Personality Development in the Philippines*. University Park, PA [etc.]: The Pennsylvania State University Press

²⁷⁹ Whitam, F. L. & Mathy, R. M. (1986) *Male Homosexuality in Four Societies*. New York [etc.]: Praeger

²⁸⁰ Quoted in Dingwall, E. J. (1925) *Male Infibulation*. London: John Bale, sons & Danielsson Ltd., p52-3

²⁸¹ Dingwall, E. J. (1925) *Male Infibulation*. London: John Bale, sons & Danielsson Ltd., p90, referring to Barney, C. N. (1903) *Circumcision and Flagellation among the Filipinos*. Carlisle, Pa., p4

Plasencia (p118)²⁸² suggests that marriages have been contracted in early childhood. Premarital freedom would be considerable, according to Blumentritt²⁸³ (also cited by Wilken, 1889:p439)²⁸⁴, citing author Cañamaque²⁸⁵ who accuses even children of lewdness (“beschuldigt selbst Kinder der Unzucht”).

Agta (Philippines)

Jean (as cited by Hewlett)²⁸⁶ describes for the Philippine Agta hunter-gatherers:

“The infant is eagerly passed from person to person until all in attendance have had an opportunity to snuggle, nuzzle, sniff, and admire the new- born [...]. A child’s first experience, then involves a community of relatives and friends. Thereafter he enjoys constant cuddling, carrying, loving, sniffing and affectionate genital stimulation”.

Bohol (Visayans; Philippines)

Circumcision is to occur during elementary school²⁸⁷; if not, the boys will be teased. “Courtship has its own rituals and beliefs. Although courtship is now generally based on romantic love, marriage proposals are still made with the held and consent of the parents. Whereas the sex act is perceived as natural and pleasant, [...] it is considered sinful if performed outside of marriage. Young people found to have engaged in premarital intercourse are pressured to get married”.

Kalingas (Philippines)

Among the Kalingas (Northern Luzon), only a “denegated form” of olag institution is called *maki-obóg*; nor would sexual freedom exist here (Barton, 1949:p61)²⁸⁸. It is entered at age 10. This institute would not have been defunct among the 1954 **Madukayans**, according to Scott (1960:p178)²⁸⁹. Nudity is not problematised even into adulthood. An informant would deny any age, accomplishment, or other standard for either courtship or marriage;

²⁸² Plasencia (1893) De gewoonten der Tagalogs op de Filippijnen, *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, & Volkenk Nederlandsch-Indie* XLII:101-19

²⁸³ Blumentritt, F. (1882) *Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen*, Ergänzungsheft No. 67 zu Petermanns Mitteilungen / Gotha, p15

²⁸⁴ Wilken, G. A. (1889) Plechtigheden en gebruiken bij verlovingsen en huwelijken bij de volken van den Indischen archipel, *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, & Volkenk Nederlandsch-Indie* [Holland] XXXVIII:380-460

²⁸⁵ Cañamaque, F. (1877) *Recuerdos de Filipinas*,. Madrid. I, p174

²⁸⁶ Cited by Hewlett, B. S. (1996) Diverse contexts of human infancy, in Ember, C. & Ember, M. (Eds.) *Cross-Cultural Research for Social Science*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

²⁸⁷ Maturan, Eu. G. (1979) The Bohol Culture: Implications for Health and Family Planning Promotion, *Stud Fam Plann* 10,6/7:189-92

²⁸⁸ Barton, R. F. (1949) *The Kalingas*. Chicago, Ill.: Chicago University Press

²⁸⁹ Scott, W. H. (1960) Social and religious culture of the Kalingas of Madukayan, *Southwest J Anthropol* 16:p174-90

“with some bemusement he pointed out that some boys seem to be more interested in going out to work in the field than they are in the opposite sex”. Child betrothals were most common among the well-to-do, “for the recognized purpose of preserving the family heritage”.

Bagobo (Philippines)

No puberty rites and marriage later than would be common for Philippine tribes (Cole, 1913:p101)²⁹⁰.

Mandaya (Philippines)

At puberty, teeth are filed and blackened to render a person “more beautiful and, therefore, able to contract a suitable marriage”. “Frequently parents arrange matches for their children while they are very young, but in the majority of cases the matter is left until after the age of puberty when the wishes of the young people are taken into consideration” (Cole, 1913:p192)²⁹¹.

Batak (Philippines; →Indonesia)

Eder (1977)²⁹² examined is the disappearance of the *umbay* ceremony and related practices among the Batak of Palawan Island in the Philippines, a small Negrito society. The ceremony represents a rite of passage for boys and girls (aged about 14) from childhood to adolescence, involving a mock sexual intercourse scene between initiate and an already initiated partner of the opposite sex.

Sulod (Central Panay, Philippines)

Jocano (1968:p154)²⁹³ states that most girls are chaste before their first marriage. There is no trial mating, and no dormitory system. Child marriages were common in some places, but fast disappearing in others (p154, 161). The children could be betrothed at age eight or nine, and married at puberty.

²⁹⁰ Cole, F. (1913) *The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao*. Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Series 12,2

²⁹¹ *Op.cit.*

²⁹² Eder, J. F. (1977) Modernization, Deculturation and Social Structural Stress: The Disappearance of the Umbay Ceremony among the Batak of the Philippines, *Mankind* 11,2:144-9

²⁹³ Jocano, F. L. (1968) *Sulod Society*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press

Badjau (2-,2-,2-,2) (Philippines)

Sex is freely discussed before children, and children commonly explore genitalia. Premarital experiences are condoned and expected (Nimmo, 1965:p252-3)²⁹⁴, but may still lead to forced marriage or fining (p255).

“Children early become aware of the nature of the human genitals. They wear no clothes until the age of eight or ten, and commonly explore one another’s genitals during these early years. Parents do not become upset with such behavior unless the child displays undue curiosity, when he may be scolded, or more likely teased, until his attention is diverted to something else”.

Adolescents meet in houseboats and at ceremonies to socialise. The sex act among the unmarried is organised with the use of boy-to-girl gifts and go-betweens.

Buid (Mindoro, Philippines)

According to Gibson (1985:p404)²⁹⁵, the children begin to separate at puberty, and courtship seems to follow when the boys build their own houses.

Ifugao (Nothern Luzon, Philippines) (2,2,2,2,2-,2-;8,8;E) (eHRAF)

Barton (1919:p18)²⁹⁶ states that marriage took place “at any age”. This encompasses trial marriages (including “primitive sexual mating”) in the dormitories and contract marriage, usually arranged for when the children are “quite small”.

Lambrecht (1935)²⁹⁷ also stated this was the case with prepubertal children, “although cohabitation and some particularities of secondary importance may be postponed until the spouses have grown up; the crime of adultery has become possible [...], and real divorce negotiations must be entered into in order to nullify such a marriage”.

An autobiography (Barton, 1938:p99-100)²⁹⁸ reveals: “A boy is ashamed to attempt sexual intercourse before puberty, because he fears that when the girl discovers his organ to be small, she will ridicule him or scold him. On the other hand, if a girl is being courted by an unwelcome suitor, she may be glad to have an immature boy sleep with her: when the unwelcome one comes around and tries to get her to leave the side of the immature boy, she

²⁹⁴ Nimmo, H. A. (1970) Badjau sex and reproduction, *Ethnology* 9:251-62

²⁹⁵ Gibson, Th. (1985) The Sharing of Substance Versus the Sharing of Activity Among the Buid, *Man*, New Series, 20,3:391-411

²⁹⁶ Barton, R. F. (1919) *Ifugao Law*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press

²⁹⁷ Lambrecht, F. (1935) *The Mayawyaw Ritual*, Part II. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Anthropological Conference

²⁹⁸ Barton, R. F. (1938) *Philippine Pagans. The Autobiographies of Three Ifugaros*. London: George Routledge & Sons

can answer, "*Málamok! Bokun lalaki dumduma?*" [What's the matter? Isn't this a male, also?]. Boys enter the *agamang* dormitory at age 4 to 7. Masturbation and sex perversions would be absent ("at least I am sure about the latter. There is no positive evidence for the former and no word for either"). Little girls in the mixed dormitory receive a "complete education long before they require it" (p9-10).

Lambrecht (1935:p171)²⁹⁹ also states that preadolescents may accompany their adolescent "elder *aga'mang*-mates (*ma-iaga'mangcha*, "they share the sleeping place of the girls"; *ma-ihá'ludcha*, "they flirt with the girls" [...]). One must not however think that boys always go to the sleeping places of the girls to have sexual relations with them: they often go only to talk and to joke with them, and after a certain time go back to sleep in their own *aga'mang*, or may just sleep there"³⁰⁰. The dormitories are entered as early as three or four (Goldman, 1937:p170)³⁰¹.

Negrotis (North Luzon, **Philippines**)

Vanoverbergh (1930:p530; cf. 1928:p425)³⁰² only once noted a "very indecent" act in children. It was a six-year-old girl in the process of voyeurism and exhibitionism. Vanoverbergh (1928:p423)³⁰³ noted among the **Negritos** of Northern Luzon: "I have [...] observed that the custom prevails of tickling and kissing them [children] more especially on the genitals. This is also more or less practised by the other tribes I have had to do with during my missionary career" (e.g., [Isneg](#) infra).

Igorots (*Sagada*, *Bontoc*, *Isneg*)

Blumentritt (p27; Wilken, 1889:p445) argued that "Sobald die Kinder geschlechtsreif werden, tritt eine vollständige Isolirung der Jünglinge und Mädchen ein". This restraint, and threat of severe physical punishment or even death, lasts until formal engagement, after which one was allowed "die Fruchtbarkeit der Braut zu erproben".

Sagada Igorots (Northern Luzon, **Philippines**)

²⁹⁹ *Op.cit.*

³⁰⁰ See also Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Row, p190

³⁰¹ Goldman, I. (1937) The Ifugao of the Philippine Islands, in Mead, M. (Ed.) *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*. New York & London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., p153-79

³⁰² Vanoverbergh, M. (1930) Negritos of Northern Luzon again, *Anthropos* 25:527-65

³⁰³ Vanoverbergh, M. (1928) Negritos of Northern Luzon, Chapter III, *Anthropos* 23,3-4:399-433

Among the Sagada Igorots, children began to sleep at the *dap-ay* (where courtship techniques are transmitted by older boys) or *ebgan* (where courtship takes place) at age six, or eight (Eggan, 1960:p42/1971)³⁰⁴, or thirteen (1965:p79-81)³⁰⁵. According to one high school student, girls learn from elder girls how to perform massage (on boys, mainly). "The function of the *ebgan* was primarily to provide training in courtship and preparation for marriage" (Eggan, 1963:p51-2³⁰⁶; cf. Pacyaya, 1951)³⁰⁷. " "Sleeping together" today may or may not involve sexual relations but probably did so more frequently in the past, when it was the major way in which marriages were arranged" (E., 1963).

Bontoc Igorot (Philippines)

Jenks (1905)³⁰⁸ described that the child is weaned before it is two years old, and then moves to the *o'-lâg* if a girl, or the *pabafunan* or *fawi*, if a boy. Allegedly, "[...] the *olag* is nightly filled with little girls whose moral training is had there". However, "[c]hildren before puberty are said to be virtuous" (p67). Adolescent sexual intercourse used to be "unbelievably free"³⁰⁹.

Isneg Igorot (Philippines)

Vanoverbergh (1938:p179)³¹⁰ noted parental stimulation of male, but not female genitalia (cf. [Negritos](#)).

Ilocos (Philippines)

Nydegger and Nydegger (1963)³¹¹ state that sex training is "surprisingly meagre" in view of the adults' lack of self-consciousness about sexual matters. Sex play "barely exists, only 17 instances being reported for the 83 children". These were all interpreted as teasing (p839). Thus, "it is prerogative of young boys to lightly pinch girl's genitals if they are exposed. The

³⁰⁴ Eggan, F. (1960) The Sagada Igorots of Northern Luzon, in Murdock, G. (Ed.) *Social Structure in Southeast Asia*. Chicago Quadrangle Books. 1971 reprint, p24-50

³⁰⁵ Eggan, F. & Scott, W. H. (1965) Ritual life of the Igorots of Sagada: courtship and marriage, *Ethnology* 4,1:77-111

³⁰⁶ Eggan, F. (1963) Ritual life of the Igorots of Sagada: from birth to adolescence, *Ethnology* 2,1:40-53

³⁰⁷ Pacyaya, A. (1951) The Sagada Ebgan, *The Gold Ore* 5:i, 2-4. Quoted by Eggan (1963:p)

³⁰⁸ Jenks, A. E. (1905) *The Bontoc Igorot*. Manila: Department of the Interior. Ethnological Survey Publications. Vol. 1

³⁰⁹ Mills, C. A. (1936) Physiologic Sterility of Adolescence, *Human Biology* 8,4:607-15, at p607

³¹⁰ Vanoverbergh, M. (1938) *The Isneg*. Washington: Catholic Anthropological Conference. Also cited by Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess*. 2nd ed., p201/416n25

³¹¹ Nydegger, W. F. & Nydegger, C. (1963) Tarong: an Ilocos Barrio in the Philippines, in Whiting, B. (Ed.) *Six Cultures*. New York: Wiley, p693-867

privilege is exercised with hilarity and enthusiasm and is a most effective training method". "Of the 24 sample mothers, 17 reported no incidence of masturbation at any age. Three said it had occurred with their boys only in infancy". The behaviour is physically punished and attributed to "insufficient cleansing of the genitals; most assume it is inherently pleasurable but must be prohibited before it becomes a habit" (p825). Erections, however, bring on a smile, or may be "tapped" until subsiding. Girls' modesty is more marked than boys'. Parents argue, "By 12 or 13, sexual activity is already a plaything of their fancy" (p863). There is much occasion for observing animals, parents, and overhearing discussions. Adolescents meet at dancings and play card games at puberty [14, 15 for boys], which is not marked officially.

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*Abor, Andamanese (Onge), Nimar Bahalis, Baiga, Bengali, Brahmans,
Chamars, Garos, Lepcha, Lingayats, Lodha, Hill Maria, Hunsa, Muria, Nagas,
Nayar, Nicorbarese, Purum, Rājputs, Pashtun, Punjabi, Santals, Hill Saoras,
Sinhalese, Telugu, Todas, Uttar Pradesh, Veda*

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India: Thematics

Generalia

As for sexual behaviour, "almost no information is available on the contemporary situation among any of the tribal groups" (Nag, 1995:p294)¹. Elwin, at least, already observed the gradual erosion of the ghotul institution due to Hindu intrusion of the Muria territory.

"Child" Prostitution, With a Specific Reference to Age

According to Dr. Jon E. Rhode, UNICEF representative in India, "child prostitution is socially acceptable in some sections of Indian society through the practice of Devdasi [?]. Young girls are given to the "gods" and they become a religious prostitute. There are believed to be around 3,300 devdasis in Belguam area alone. Devdasi is banned by the Prohibition of Dedication Act of 1982". Over 100,000 "child" prostitutes are estimated to be operative in India's major cities³. Half of the child prostitutes is said to be of Nepalese background. The average age of Nepalese girls entering an Indian brothel is said to be 10-14 years, some 5,000 to 7,000 of them said to be trafficked between Nepal and India annually⁴. According to some statistics⁵, 10,000 Bangladeshi "children" are employed in brothels in Bombay and Goa.

The *Jogin* system⁶ is based on the traditional belief in Andhra Pradesh, India, that evil over the family or the village can be avoided by dedicating a girl in the family to be a *Jogin*. Such a girl will be married to the god Potharaju when she is between five and nine years old. As soon as she reaches puberty she becomes the exclusive concubine of the feudal gentry in the village. Girls would be lured into undergoing the Jogini initiation at age seven⁷.

¹ Nag, M. (1995) Sexual behaviour in India with risk of HIV/AIDS transmission, *Health Transition Rev* 5, Suppl.:293-305. See also Trivedi, M. (1990) *Leisure, Development and Tribal Social Structure*. Paper for the International Sociological Association

² For specific statements, see Srinivasan, A. (1984) *Temple Prostitution and Community Reform*. Dissertation, Cambridge; Marglin, F.A. (1985) *Wives of the God-King: the Rituals of the Devadasis of Puri*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Story, S. C. K. (1987) *Nityasumangali: The Devadasi Tradition in South India*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass; Shankar, J. (1994) *Devadasi Cult; A Sociological Analysis*. New Delhi: Asish Publishing House; Tarachand, K. C. (1992) *Devadasi Custom*. New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House; Singh, N. K. (1997) *Divine Prostitution*. New Delhi: A. P. H. Publishing Corporation

³ Kane, J. (1998) *Sold for Sex*. Brookfield: Arena

⁴ UNICEF India, Richard Young, "Understanding Underlying Factors", *Child Workers in Asia*, January-June 1996

⁵ CATW Fact Book, citing "Human Smuggling from Bangladesh at alarming level", Reuters, 26 May 1997, citing Trafficking Watch Bangladesh

⁶ Mowli, V. C. (1992) "*Jogin*": *Girl Child Labour Studies*. New Delhi, Sterling Publishers Private Limited

⁷ E.g., Tandon, A. (2001) When facades belie tough interiors, *Ghandigarh Tribune*, April 27

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Devadasis, Joginis, Basavis, etc., with a Special Reference to Age

A tradition older than the more celebrated Geisha in Japan, much of the *devdaasi's* history is lost in time. The initiation ritual was said to include a "deflowering ceremony", known as "*uditambuvadu*" in some parts, whereby the priests would have intercourse with every girl enrolled at his temple as part of his religious perks⁸. A Marathi saying, "*Devdaasi devachi bayako, sarya gavachi*" ("Servant of god, but wife of the whole town") aptly defines their position in the medieval era. Heavily influenced by the British the Anti-Nautch Act (Devadasi were called *nautch* girls, dancing girls) launched by the Indian Government terminated the brahminical occupation of the devadasis on November 11th, 1947⁹.

Necklaces symbolise the bondage that defines devadasis girls from the lowest caste whose parents have given them to local goddesses or temples as human "offerings". Married to God before puberty¹⁰, the devadasis, or Joginis¹¹, many of whom live in the temples, become sexual servants to the villages' upper-caste men after their first menstrual period. In some villages, devadasis are kept as concubines by the men who bought them. In others they are public chattel, who can be used by men free of charge¹². "No estimates are available even about the number of child Devadasis and Joginis though these systems have been in traditionally existence in some societies as a socially sanctioned form of exploitation of women particularly those from lower socioeconomic groups in the states of Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh"¹³.

Despite legal measures such as Madhya Devadasis prevention and Dedication Act of 1947 and the Bombay Devadasis Prevention Act of 1954 it continues even today in parts of Tamil Nadu, Mysore Andhra Pradesh and Orissa practised by some castes. A study conducted in Bombay in mid sixties reported that as many as 30% of the Bombay prostitutes were of

⁸ Cf. Bullough V. L. & Bullough B. (1987) *Women and Prostitution: A Social History*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, p86-8

⁹ E.g., Kersenboom-Story, S. C. (1987) *Nityasumangali*. Dissertation, University of Utrecht

¹⁰ Kersenboom (1987:p310-23) mentioned training in arts and wedding ceremonies starting at ages 5 to 9. " 'Muralis' are girls dedicated to god Khandoba in their infancy or early childhood by their parents. "Poor deluded women promise to sacrifice their first born daughters if Khandoba will make them mothers of many children. Then after the vow the first born girl is offered to Khandoba and set apart for him by tying a necklace of seven cowries around the little girl's neck. When she becomes of marriageable age, she is formally married to Khandoba or dagger of Khandoba and become his nominal wife. Henceforth she is forbidden to become the wedded wife of any man, and the result is that she usually leads an infamous life earning a livelihood by sin". Jogan Shankar, (1990) *Devadasi Cult*. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, p50, citing Fuller (1990:p103). As cited by Jamanadas (2000)

¹¹ E.g., Young girls initiated into Jogini system, *The Hindu*, June 22, 1999

¹² Power, C. (2000) Becoming A "Servant Of God". Devadasis are Dalit women sold into sexual slavery. Is this the end of a cruel tradition? *Newsweek*, June 25

¹³ Comprehensive Information on Indian Education on the Occasion of the Celebrations of the 50th Year of Indian Independence. Government Of India Ministry Of Human Resource Development with the National Informatics Centre (NIC). Online data, 2002

Devadasi origin. A study shows that Bijapur district girls are still dedicated to the temple amongst certain section of the lower castes and enter the profession with the consent of their parents. They are also taken out of the town or villages by an agent and a large part of their earnings goes to the family members and agents and no social stigma is attached to it. The reason is mainly economic¹⁴.

A devadasi¹⁵ is a woman married to a god and thus *sadasuhagan* or married, and hence at all times blessed. In the Vijapur district of Karnataka, girls are given to the Monkey God (Hanuman, Maruti), and known as Basvi. In Goa, a devadasi is called Bhavin (the one with devotion). In the Shimoga District of Karnataka, the girls are handed over to the goddess Renuka Devi, and in Hospet, to the goddess Hulganga Devi. The tradition lives on in other states in South India. Girls end up as prostitutes in Bombay and Pune. The Banchara and Bedia peoples of Madhya Pradesh also practice traditional prostitution¹⁶. The Devdasi system, the Basavi system, the Jogin system, and prostitution amongst the Bancharas, Rajnat, Dommara and Bedias tribes are all said to be ritualised and socially organised forms of the child prostitution¹⁷. Districts bordering Maharashtra and Karnataka, known as the “devadasi belt”, have trafficking structures operating at various levels. The women here are in sex trade either because their husbands deserted them, or they are said to be trafficked through coercion and deception. Many are devadasis dedicated into prostitution for the goddess Yellamma. In one Karnataka brothel, all 15 girls are devadasi¹⁸.

Beside the Devadasis, the male *Waghyas*, and the female *muralis*, are betrothed at birth to *Khandoba*. The latter are “the Maharashtrian equivalent of the South Indian *devadasis*”. They are considered his brides, and formerly served as temple prostitutes (Stanley, 1977:p32-3)¹⁹.

Boy Prostitution, Love of Boys (see also [Afghanistan](#))

Captain’s wife, Mrs. Swinton, who took care of the sick during a dreadful voyage, wrote about a “lack of morality” among the women and men on board. She noted how “the parents of girls will sell their children for a few rupees”²⁰, also suggesting a sexual implication to this attitude. Data on love for boys in India are sparse (Brongersma, 1987:p107)²¹, but it might have been common in ancient and medieval times, and also in 20th century boarding

¹⁴ Menon, M. (1997) Tourism and Prostitution. In *The Factbook on Global Sexual Exploitation*, Huges, D. M. et al., 1999

¹⁵ The name of this community of women would change from state to state. For example, in Orissa, they were known as “maharis”, in Andhra Pradesh they were called “*devganikas*” or “*joginis*” and in Karnataka, they were “*basavis*” or *basvis*.

¹⁶ Remedios, Sh. & Freidman, R. I. (1996) India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe, *The Nation*, April 8

¹⁷ Goel, S. S. (1999) Girl Child Prostitution, Society’s Responsibility- Indian Scenario, *CBI Bulletin* 7,4:[15]

¹⁸ Trivedi, H. R., *A Survey on Exploitation of Scheduled Castes Women Undertaken by the Harijan Sevak Sangh for the Committee*

¹⁹ Stanley, J. M. (1977) Special Time, Special Power: The Fluidity of Power in a Popular Hindu Festival, *J Asian Stud* 37,1:27-43

²⁰ Captain & Mrs. Swinton (1859) *Journal of a Voyage with Coolie Emigrants from Calcutta to Trinidad*. London: Alfred W. Bennett, p15. Reprinted in Ramdin, R. (1994) *The Other Middle Passage: Journal of A Voyage from Calcutta to Trinidad, 1858*. London: Hansib Publications Ltd.

²¹ Brongersma, E. (1987) *Jongensliefde*, Deel 1. Amsterdam: SUA

schools²². Bombay anthropologist Gopal (1969:p167)²³ stated that North Indian and Afghanistan males, known for their extraordinary libido, “almost always prefer smaller boys”. Drew and Drake (1969:p127-34)²⁴ suggested that boy prostitution used to be rampant. Boy’s of 9 to 13 would be locked up in cages and put on display²⁵. Gupta (2002:p198)²⁶ recalls the condemnation of Pandey Began Sharma ‘Ugra’'s book *Chaklet* (1927), which dealt with issues of sodomy, sexual acts between adult males and adolescent boys, and other aspects of male homosexuality. The stories would have “acknowledged the wide prevalence of such practices, especially in UP [United Provinces, now Uttar Pradesh], where the beautiful young boys were called ‘chocolate’, ‘pocket-book’ and ‘money-order’ ”.

An examination of boylove in Urdu folklore was offered by Rahman (1989/1990)²⁷.

Wilber (1964:p130-1)²⁸ relates: “In the Pushtu-speaking areas of West-Pakistan, the unavailability and deprecation of women have encouraged the alternative practice in which the love objects are young boys and homosexual love is part of popular folklore”. Lindholm for the Pakistan **Pashtun**:

“[...] the Pukhtun code of romantic love differs from that of the troubadors and the Baluch in one essential: perhaps because of pervasive relations of hostility between men and women, the loved one for Pukhtun men is quite often a boy or handsome young man. Homoerotic relationships were much more common a generation ago than they are now, since Western influence has brought a sense of shame about homosexuality, at least among the more educated. [...] In 1977, homosexuality was very much less in evidence in Swat than it had been. Dancing girls had replaced dancing boys, and transvestites had become rare. Nonetheless, the first sexual experience of many, if not most boys, is with one of their passively inclined peers, or with an older man who is a confirmed *bedagh*. Older men still may cultivate a handsome young protégé who will accompany them everywhere, though the practice is hardly universal. Male beauty is much admired and the same word, *xkuili*, or beautiful, is applied to both men and women. Pukhtun poetry is often frankly homoerotic, following the Persian model”.

An NGO²⁹ recently reported:

“Historically, South Asia has seen young adolescent males as sexual objects for older males. Not a man, nor a woman, but perhaps a “male gender” as sexual object. Many participants [of meeting] reported very early sexual encounters, where ages for first sexual contact varied between 8 years and 12 years.

²² Lingānanda (1990) India, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol I, p586-93

²³ Gopal, K. (1969) Schon im Kama Sutra, in Italiaander (Ed.) *Weder Krankheit noch Verbrechen*. Hamburg: Gala

²⁴ Drew, D. & Drake, J. (1969) *Boys for Sale*. New York: Brown Book Co.

²⁵ O’Callaghan, S. ([1969]) *The White Slave Traffic: A Survey of the Traffic in Women and Children in the East* Nelpaperback Ed.

²⁶ Gupta, Ch. (2002) (Im)possible Love and Sexual Pleasure in Late-Colonial North India, *Modern Asian Studies* 36,1:195-221

²⁷ Rahman, T. (1989) Boy Love in the Urdu Ghazal, *Paidika* 2,1:10-27. Reprinted as Rahman, T. (1990) Boy-Love in the Urdu Ghazal, *Ann Urdu Stud* 7:1-20. See also lateral remarks in Russell, R. (1995) The Urdu *Ghazal*—A Rejoinder to Frances W. Pritchett and William L. Hanaway, *Ann Urdu Stud* 10:96-112; Faruqi, Sh. R. (1999) Conventions of Love, Love of Conventions: Urdu Love Poetry in the Eighteenth Century, *Ann Urdu Stud* 14:3-32; Naim, C. M. (1979) The theme of homosexual [pederastic] love in pre-modern Urdu poetry, in *Studies in the Urdu Gazal and Proze Fiction*. Madison: South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Publ. No. 5

²⁸ Wilber, D. N. (1964) *Pakistan*. New Haven: HRAF Press

²⁹ Naz Foundation International / NFI / Praajak Development Society / Prakriti-Sahodaran (1999) *Male Reproductive and Sexual Health and HIV/AIDS in South Asia: A Regional Consultation Meeting for Males Who Have Sex with Males*. Calcutta, India, March 4-7
http://www.nazfoundint.com/reports/cal_report.doc

Pakistani participants reported on easy access to young boys at a range of tea-shops and restaurants in Peshawar, whilst other participants spoke of sexual encounters in the family between young boys and their uncles, cousins, brother-in laws, etc. Such behaviours also involve street children, male children in orphanages, boarding schools, domestic servants, etc.”.

Khan³⁰ argued that

“[...] the whole region of Asia has had a history of the sexual construction of postpubertal boys. Young boys are not men, nor are they women who often are not sexually available. and have been historically defined as sexual objects to be desired and penetrated by men. The "beardless youths" of much Arab and Mughal literature reflects such a construction and practice, a practice that still continues to some extent. [...] There is [a] construction around male sexual behaviours which can be loosely defined by the Hindi term, *maasti*. It means mischief, and is often used in the context of sexual play between young men and boys. More often than not it does not involve penetration, and involves invisibilised sexual play between friends. This *maasti* arises at moments of sexual tensions, as a "body tension", when sexual discharge becomes urgent, when sexual arousal arises during play or body contact, when opportunities are created for sexual contact, in the dark, under the blanket, in shared beds. Such opportunities are very frequent, where shared households have shared beds. There is a social acceptance of males sharing beds, of male to male affectionalism, both public and private. This means that significant levels of male to male sexual behaviour occurs within family environments and networks, between male relatives and friends. But this is not real sex! This is *maasti*, easily invisibilised and denied”.

According to another recent NGO study³¹, it was reasoned that

“[p]ost pubescent boys [...] are not men, not adults, a state defined by marriage. In that sense they are the “beardless youths”, sexually available to men. “Balkay” is a common word used for such boys. Male homosociability [*sic*] and homoaffectionalism [*sic*] exist and is socially tolerated. Physical affection between men and women in public is not socially acceptable and often can be dangerous for both. For many men, because women are just not accessible, romantic longings are at a distance, unfulfilled and often filled with sexual urgency. All this emotional and sexual energy, the affectional needs and desires have very few socially acceptable outlets. However, intense male friendships are formed within homoaffectionalist framework, which include extensive touching, body contact and even sharing of beds”.

Although generally condemning the practice, 22.57% of 1710 respondents residing in the North West Frontier Province (*Pukhtuns*) argued that “adults having sex with boys” was considered “a matter of pride”, and another 14.04% stated it was seen as a “symbol of status”; a further 10.76% argued it was “not considered bad”. 82.92% claimed to know that “some adults keep boys for sexual services in [their] area”, of which 16% stated it was “very common”, 31% “common”. According to 80.59%, boys in their community would “sell sex for money”.

“Despite the fact that the majority of people consider it bad, the practice is by and large tolerated and accepted. There is again a double societal standard vis-a-vis “*Bachabazi*” and male homosexuality. While it is quite shameful and disgracing to be a passive agent (receptive partner), it is a matter of pride and power to be an active agent (insertive partner) in a homosexual relationship”.

³⁰ Khan, Sh. (June, 1996) *Culture, Sexualities, and Identities: Men Who Have Sex with Men in South Asia* [paper at www.nazfoundint.com/articles/culture_sexuality_identity.doc]

³¹ Ismail, M. / NGO Coalition on Child Rights – NWFP / UNICEF (nd) *Community Perceptions of Male Child Sexual Abuse in North West Frontier Province, Pakistan*; NGO Coalition on Child Rights –NWFP / UNICEF ([1998?]) *Child Abuse and Crimes against Children in North West Frontier Province (Pakistan)*. Peshawar: NGO Coalition on Child Rights; Khan, A. (June, 2000) *Adolescents and Reproductive Health in Pakistan: A Literature Review*. Final Report. The Population Council, Pakistan Office, page vi, 28

The general saying would apply, "*Bey parday ma shey*" (may you never be uncovered). The border with "child prostitution" (Sahil)³² is problematic. Reid³³ (cf. Bancroft-Hinchey)³⁴ argues that the Taliban had forbidden the Pashtun tradition of the grooming of "ashna", or beardless "favourite boys" by "heavily bearded" men in Kandahar, 1994. It was not established how, "[o]nce the boy falls into the man's clutches—nearly always men with a wife and family—he is marked for life, [since] the Kandaharis accept these relationships as part of their culture". In 1998, indeed, three Afghan men were convicted by a Taliban *Shari'a* court of committing sodomy with young boys by having a stone wall felled on them³⁵. The homosexuality, rather than the age of the boy, would have been the key factor³⁶.

Further reading:

- Baer, B. J. (2003) Kandahar; Closely Watched Pashtuns, *Gay & Lesbian Rev* 4/30/2003
- Jama, A. (2003) Ashnas and Mehboobs; An Afghani Love Story, *Trikone Magazine*, 6/30/2003

"Child" and Age-Stratified Marriage and Consummation, with a Specific Reference to Age (see also Brahmin)

Transitions in India could be associated with the invention of a technological, industrial society that is marked by a discontinuity between childhood and adulthood³⁷. Prepubertal marriage in India has never been universal in India, as may be suggested by official records (e.g., Agarwala, 1957)³⁸. For a historical and state-specific overview of data on female marriage ages, see Banerjee (1998:p66)³⁹.

The Kama Sutra (300 AD~300 BC) describes prepubertal wooing, which seems to steer towards playing house:

"When a boy has thus begun to woo a girl that he loves, he should spend his time with her and amuse her with various games and diversions fitted for their age and acquaintanceship, such as picking and collecting flowers, making garlands of flowers, playing parts of members of a fictitious family, the game of odds and evens, the game of finding out the middle finger, the game of six pebbles. Hide-and-seek, playing with seeds, blind-man's bluff and other games of the same sort [...]"⁴⁰.

³² Sahil (n.d.) *Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation in Pakistan, an Overview*. Islamabad: Sahil

³³ Reid, T. (2002) Kandahar Comes Out of the Closet, *The Times of London*, Jan. 12th

³⁴ Bancroft-Hinchey, T. (2002) Sodomy Returns to Afghanistan, *Pravda* 03-27

[<http://english.pravda.ru/main/2002/03/27/27200.html>, 29 Oct. 2002]

³⁵ Amnesty International (1998) Afghanistan, Flagrant abuse of the right to life and dignity, ASA 11/03/98

³⁶ Afghan man survives wall ordeal, *BBC News*, Saturday, Jan. 16, 1999

³⁷ Sarawathi, T. S. (2000) Adult-child continuity in India: Is adolescence a myth or an emerging reality? In Comunian, A. L. & Gielen, U. P. (Eds.) *International Perspectives on Human Development*. Lengerich, Germany: Pabst Science Publishers. p431-48

³⁸ Agarwala, S. N. (1957) The Age at Marriage in India, *Population Index* 23,2:96-107

³⁹ Banerjee, K. (1998) Marriage change in rural India, 1921-1981, *Hist Fam* 3,1:63-94

⁴⁰ Sir Richard Burton (transl., 1883) *The Kama Sutra of Vatsayayana*. See also hint by Ali, D. (2002) Anxieties of Attachment: The Dynamics of Courtship in Medieval India, *Modern Asian Studies* 36,1:103-40, at p129n91

Prepubertal, since a girl who has “fully arrived at puberty” should be avoided as a wife. Likewise, “A man who has seen and perceived the feelings of the [prepubescent] girl toward him, and who has noticed the outward signs and movements by which those feelings are expressed, should do everything in his power to effect a union with her. He should gain over a young girl by childlike sports”. According to the Parashar Smitri and Sheeghrabodha the marriageable girls were divided into five categories: Nagnika or naked (seven years old or younger), Gauri (8), Rohini (9), Kanya (10) and Rajaswala (11 or older). According to Vaikhnasa, a Brahmin should marry a Nagnika since that is the best match. According to Marici the best age of marriage for a girl is five years old.

About a thousand years later, the Ratimāñjari or “Posy of Love” made allusions to the attractiveness of hairliness, although a distinction is made only for girls aged sixteen or under (*bala*) and *taruni* (until 30). The Koka Shastra⁴¹ described that “a young girl who is not yet mature must be approached by way of the ‘outer’ forms of lovemaking”, these include embraces. 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.

Child-marriage (Bal Vivaha) was not prevalent in ancient India⁴², and there are reasons to believe that this custom originated in the medieval ages. An idea that would have originated among the Indo-Aryans, when wars were taking a heavy toll of the Aryan population, was to get daughters married within seven menstruations, and, later, before reaching puberty, to make the most of a woman’s Rtu, or fertile years (Thomas, 1964:p162-4)⁴³. Child marriage had not become general until the early centuries of the Christian era. It was also argued that

“[...] Sati, enforced widowhood and girl marriage are customs that were primarily intended to solve the problem of the surplus man and surplus woman in a caste and to maintain its endogamy. Strict endogamy could not be preserved without these customs, while caste without endogamy is a fake”⁴⁴.

Child marriage of daughters as young 5-6 years of age was common during the Brahmanic Dark Ages due to the custom of dowry. Lawbooks prescribed that the best partner for a man is one-third his age. An English observer, reporting on Mysore society at the end of the eighteenth century, wrote of the Brahmins, “Unless a woman marries before the signs of puberty appear, she is ever afterward considered impure”, and of a merchant caste, that a girl “must be married before any signs of puberty appear, for afterwards she is considered as

⁴¹ Comfort, A. (1964) *The Koka Shastra*. New York: Stein and Day.

⁴² The practice in ancient India was *swayambara*, which essentially meant that the women selected her husband of her choice. Sources on the timing varied between three menstrual periods and three years postmenarchally. It seems that child marriage started as a compulsion in the Hindu society and followed as a culture thenceforth. It has perhaps rightly been suggested, that this custom started during the Muslim invasion, when it was fraught upon by families to have an unmarried adult woman in the house, lest she be sexually abused. Since child marriage did not involve the concept of *swayambara* this is not according to Hinduism, and hence, some say, anti Hindu. See also Duncan and Derrett, 1974:p27).

⁴³ Thomas, P. (1964) *Indian Women Through the Ages*. Bombay [etc.]: Asia Publishing House

⁴⁴ As cited by Jamanadas, K. (2000) *Decline and Fall of Buddhism (A Tragedy in Ancient India)*. Ambedkar Library, Jabalpur, Gondwana, Dalitstan

being deflowered and incapable of marriage"⁴⁵. A father was considered sinful on seeing menstrual blood of an unmarried daughter (Sampath, 1972; Gupta, 1972)⁴⁶.

Nineteenth century Hindu scriptures sanctioned both child marriage and early consummation, "the girl should be married before puberty and certainly immediately after her first menstruation. If a girl gets married after her first menses it would not be a *Kanya-dan* but *stree-dan*. *Kanya-dan* can be consummated at the most at 11 years of her age".

The Indian Penal Code of 1846 placed a ban on consummated marriage under the age of ten. Around the middle of the 19th century, the ideal age of marriage, and not consummation, was under discussion⁴⁷. By that time the **laws of Manu** ("A man, aged thirty years is to marry a girl of twelve, or a man of twenty-four years a damsel of eight: a breach of this rule makes a man sinful")⁴⁸ would be overruled by the **teachings of Angira**, that preferred the period between eight and ten, ten being the utter limit. Thus, a man might lose his dominion of his daughter if he fails to find her a husband "before she might be a mother; yet intercourse before puberty is especially forbidden" (Sumner, 1906:p383-5)⁴⁹. However, "[...] in the lowlands of the Ganges cohabitation follows at once upon child marriage, with very evil results on the physique of the population". Risley⁵⁰: "Unhappy the form of infant marriage which is gaining ground in the Bengal form, which favours consummation even before marriage [...]".

Cited by Heimsath (1962:p493)⁵¹, there existed disagreement on the point of premature (prepubertal) consummation of Indian child marriages in response to the issue raised by Malabari's 1884 plead for consent laws. (Strikingly, there was also disagreement on the age of pubescence among Hindu girls.) In 1890, Lokmanya Tilak opened a campaign against the Age of Consent Bill, which sought to raise the age of the consummation of marriage for girls from ten years to twelve years. In 1891 the **Age of Consent Act** (according to which sexual intercourse with unmarried or married girls below twelve years of age, with or without their consent, was to be treated as rape) had been passed, despite overwhelming protest by Indian nationalists. The decision of the British to raise the age of consent from 10, fixed in 1846, to 12 provoked widespread public agitation in Bengal involving both reform and orthodox forces who had been keenly debating the Hindu practice of child marriages, an issue inextricably linked to the question of a rational age of consent, during the previous two decades (Sen,

⁴⁵ Buchanan, F. H. (1807) *A Journey from Madras through the Counties of Mysore, Canara and Malabar* [etc.]. London: T. Cadell & W. Davies. Vol.1, p52, 259-60. Quoted by Caldwell, J. C., Reddy, P. H. & Caldwell, P. (1983) The Causes of Marriage Change in South India, *Populat Stud* 37,3:343-61, see p345. Also Kulkarni, P. M. Savanur, L R. & Gokhale, C. V. (1986) Increase in Age at Marriage in Rural Karnataka : Evidence from a Repeat Survey, *Demography India* 15,2:149-63, at p158

⁴⁶ Sampath, B. N. (1972) Child marriage: revision of marriageable age and its effective implementation, *Lawasia* 3:386-402; Gupta, G. R. (1972) Religiosity, economy and patterns of Hindu marriage in India, *Int J Sociol Fam* 2:1-11

⁴⁷ Vidyasagar, E. Ch. (1856) *Marriage of Hindu Widows*. Calcutta: Sanscrit Press, p31; Scott (1960:p72-3)

⁴⁸ Another translation reads (ch. IX, r94): "A man, aged thirty years, shall marry a maiden of twelve who pleases him, or a man of twenty-four a girl eight years of age; if (the performance of) his duties would (otherwise) be impeded, (he must marry) sooner"., Bühler, G. (transl., 1886) *The Laws of Manu* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. 25)

⁴⁹ Sumner, W. G. (1906) *Folkways*. Boston [etc.]: Ginn & Co.

⁵⁰ Risley, H. H. (1891) The Study of Ethnology in India, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 20:235-63, at p262

⁵¹ Heimsath, Ch. H. (1962) The Origin and Enactment of the Indian Age of Consent Bill, 189, *J Asian Stud* 21,4:491-504

1980-1)⁵². Fearing social unrest the Viceroy had issued a subsequent executive order “that made it virtually impossible to bring cases of premature consummation of child marriage for trial under the Consent Act” (Sinha, 1994:p138)⁵³.

The age of consent was respectively put at 10 year (1846), 12 (1891), 13 (1925), and two years later arguments were made for age 14 (M. Harbilas Sarda)⁵⁴. In 1930, minimum *marriage ages* were placed at 14/18 (g/b) (Fischer, 1952:p117-22)⁵⁵. Today, “the age of consent to sexual relations is 16 years. Sexual intercourse with a girl under this age, regardless of consent, amounts to rape and offenders are liable to imprisonment from 7 year to life” (ECPAT)⁵⁶.

Authors claimed that coitus “routinely” took place before puberty. Premenarchal coitus was assumed to be common in India by Fehlinger ([1921:p125])⁵⁷. Oman (undated)⁵⁸ stated that “consummation of marriage has commonly taken place when the child-wife is perhaps not more than ten years of age”. DeMause (1991, 1998)⁵⁹ deals extensively with incest in India, identified as “a veritable Galapagos of psychohistorical variations of incestuous behavior”: “For a girl to be a virgin at ten years old, she must have neither brothers nor cousin nor father”⁶⁰. He is sure that this aspect was important in breeding *Paradoxia*, thus, “little Hindu girls are deflowered by the little boys with whom they play, and repeat together the erotic lessons which their parents have unwittingly taught them on account of the general promiscuity of family life throughout India. In all the little girls of less than ten years of age the complete hymen is wanting” [61].

That the “widespread use” of children would occur before their puberty should be clear:

“The sexual use of boys and girls goes back as far as records exist and includes all cases in India. As Mayo says, “For a period so long that none knows its beginning, the Brahmin has been intensively cultivating, and with priestly authority handing on, a passion for immature girl-children in sexual use” [62]. Temple prostitution of both boys and girls has a long history, and Mayo reported in 1927 that “the little boy [...] is likely, if physically attractive, to be drafted for the satisfaction of grown men, or to be regularly attached to a temple, in the capacity of prostitute. Neither parent as a rule sees any harm in

⁵² Sen, A. (1980-1) Hindu Revivalism in Action - The Age of Consent Bill Agitation in Bengal, *Indian Hist Rev* [India] 7,1-2:160-84

⁵³ Sinha, M. (1995) *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the late Nineteenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

⁵⁴ For Indian historical accounts of the legislative discourse, see Sinha, M. (1995) Nationalism and Respectable Sexuality in India, *Genders* 21:30-57; Vatsa, R. S. (1971) The Movement against Infant-Marriages in India 1860-1914, *J Indian Hist* [India] 49,1-3:289-303; Burton, A. (1998) From Child Bride to “Hindoo Lady”: Rukhmabai and the Debate on Sexual Respectability in Imperial Britain, *Am Hist Rev* 103,4:1119-46; Burton, A. (1999) Conjugal trial: the Rukhmabai case and the debate on Indian child-marriage in late Victorian Britain, in Robb, G. & Erber, N. (Eds.) *Disorder in the Court: Trials and Sexual Conflict at the Turn of the Century*. New York: New York University Press, p33-56

⁵⁵ Fischer, H. Th. (1952) *Huwelijk en Huwelijksmoraal bij Vreemde Volken*. Utrecht [Holland]: De Haan

⁵⁶ http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/online_database/index.asp, Nov. 1, 2002

⁵⁷ Fehlinger, H. ([1921]) *Sexual Life of Primitive People*. London: Black

⁵⁸ Oman, J. C. ([1907]) *The Brahmins, Theists and Muslims of India*. London

⁵⁹ DeMause, L. (1991) The Universality of Incest, *J Psychohist* 19,2:123-164; DeMause, L. (1998) The history of child abuse, *J Psychohist* 25,3:216-36

⁶⁰ Strangely, this is an Annamite (Vietnam) proverb, heard in Tonquin by Jacobus X ([1893]1898, I:p21), *op.cit.*

⁶¹ Edward[els] & Masters] (1963:p133-4), citing Dr. Jacobus: (nom de plume), *L'Ethnologie du Sens Genitale*. Paris, 1935, a book I have been unable to locate [footnote]. See Edwardes, A. & Masters, R. E. L. (1963) *The Cradle of Erotica*. N.Y.: The Julian Press. Also in DeMause, L. (1994) The History of Childhood As the History of Child Abuse, *Aesthema* 11:48-62

⁶² Mayo, K. (1927) *Mother India*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. Vol. 2, p47 [footnote]

this, but is, rather, flattered that the son has been found pleasing" [63]. [...] Since prior to the 1929 Child Marriage Restraint Act most Indian girls were married and began sexual intercourse before age 12, they moved from familial incest to sex with older men chosen by the family while they were still children [64]. Fathers who allowed their girls to reach puberty without being married were condemned by their religion to hell".

[It is clear Demause's grasp of "incest" is that of "child abuse". Gandhi's alleged "paedophilic" tendencies have been discussed by Bullough (1981; cf. B&B, 1996)⁶⁵.]

Socialisation, however, was said to be in tune with the attitudes on children's passions, as observed at the 1929 **Child Marriage Restraint Act** discussions, and reported by Mayo.

Quoting from DeMause:

"Mayo said most of this committee testimony was too obscene to even repeat in its insistence on the necessity for child sex. The Committee was overwhelmed by those who insisted that the children were so oversexed that by the time they were seven years old that child marriage was their only salvation. "Little children, both boys and girls, they lament, naturally develop an unnatural, perverted and exhausting precocity, under the stimulus in which they are steeped" - that is, the family incest during the first seven years. Mayo 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 [...] [Mayo, 1927:p63]".

Legal ages for consummation were established at ten in 1846, and at twelve in 1891; however, at its reconsideration in 1929, it was found that the law "was known to very few members of the lay public" (Scott, 1960:p78)⁶⁶. Afterwards, Karve (1969:p126-7)⁶⁷ stated that in Northern India, ceremonial cohabitation took place when the husband came to take the girl into his house after first menses; marriage in childhood occurred, although prohibited. Ishwaran (1968:p54)⁶⁸ stated that the Marriage Restraint Act is held to promote sexual laxity

⁶³ Mayo, *Mother India*, p.25. Also see G. Morris Carstairs, *The Twice-Born: A Study of a Community of High Caste Hindus*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967; Shakuntala Devi, *The World of Homosexuals*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1977; Johann Jacob Meyer, *Sexual Life in Ancient India: A Study of the Comparative History of Indian Culture*. Two Vols. New York: Dutton, 1930 [orig.footnote]

⁶⁴ A. K. Sur, *Sex and Marriage in India: An Ethnohistorical Survey*. Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1973; I have adjusted 1921 census figures by 20 percent to allow for overstating of age, in accordance with evidence given in the census itself; see Harry F. Field, *After Mother India*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929, p48-51. On the difficulty of enforcing child marriage laws in India, see David and Vera Mace, *Marriage: East and West*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1959, p190-201 [orig.footnote]

⁶⁵ Bullough V. L. (1981) Mahatma Gandhi, *Med Asp Hum Sex* 15:11-2. Mahatma Gandhi was married at age 13 to a girl about his own age and at age 37 took a vow of sexual abstinence. In spite of this vow, he found a need to fondle prepubescent and early adolescent girls. He took such girls to bed with him to overcome, he said, his "shivering fits" in the night. His female companions, who came from his inner circle — all certified virgins or young brides — entered his bed naked in order to warm him with their bodies. Some of them also administered enemas to him. Among the young girls, there was rivalry as to who would sleep with him, and one of his girl disciples reported that his bed companions had a difficult time in restraining their sexual impulses since he often rubbed against them and touched them in erotic places. Although his closemouthed house guardians were fearful of public reaction if news of these "paedophilic" sexual interactions were publicized, Gandhi continued to engage in them until his death. Gandhi did not have sexual intercourse with them, but obviously the touching and feeling were very important to him. Bullough, E. V. L. & Bullough, B. (1996) Problems of Research into Adult/Child Sexual Interaction, *Iss Child Abuse Accus* [online] 8,2. Paper originally presented at the Western Region Annual Conference for the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality, San Diego, California, April, 1996

⁶⁶ Scott, G. R. (1960) *Curious Customs of Sex and Marriage*. New York: Key Publ. Co.

⁶⁷ Karve, I. (1969) *Kinship Organization in India*. Bombay [etc.]: Asia Publ. House. 2nd ed.

⁶⁸ Ishwaran, K. (1968) *Shivapur: A South Indian Village*. London: Routledge & K. Paul

and responsible for an increase in divorce (p71). In the examined village, six marriages involving brides below age five and bridegrooms below age ten, took place in ten years time (p54). The introduction of the 1929 law caused a brief rush of marriages at ages four to ten (Keddie, 1979:p325-6)⁶⁹.

Revivalist nationalists protested the 1891 amendment, which raised the age of sexual consent for girls from 10 to 12, as "colonial intervention in the domestic sphere and demonstrated that the control and objectification of women's bodies was an important component in the self-definition of national community"⁷⁰.

The practice became a matter of international concerns, given the many writings aimed for establishing its historical identity⁷¹. The age of marriage declined with caste status, the lower caste may arrange for marriage at age five (Luschinsky, 1962, I:260-2)⁷², although this is not universally so (Luschinsky, 1963:p578-80)⁷³.

There has been a dramatic increase in age at marriage for women in a rural area of north India. Age at marriage rose from under 12 years before 1930 to about 19 years in 1988, mainly as a result of socioeconomic development and advances in education of women⁷⁴.

Today, as in the past, data vary over subregions⁷⁵. In Rajasthan state, a 1993 survey of 5,000 women revealed that 56 per cent had married before age 15, and of these, 17 per cent married before age 10⁷⁶. Data obtained via 1986/7 semistructured interview from a random sample of 50 households in each of 4 villages in 3 districts of Rajasthan revealed that in 51% of families, females got married before the legal age of 11 years (Nagi, 1990)⁷⁷. A 1998 survey in Madhya Pradesh found that nearly 14 per cent of girls were married between ages 10 and 14⁷⁸.

Among girls born in rural Dharwad during 1962-1972, the median age at marriage is 16 years while "nearly one-fourth of the marriages are even pre-puberty cases"⁷⁹.

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⁶⁹ Keddie, N. R. (1979) Problems in the Study of Middle Eastern Women, *Int J Middle East Stud* 10,2:225-40

⁷⁰ Whitehead, J. (1996) Bodies of Evidence, Bodies of Rule: The Ilbert Bill, Revivalism, and Age of Consent in Colonial India, *Sociol Bull* 45,1:29-54. Cf. Whitehead, J. (1995) Modernising the Motherhood Archetype: Public Health Models and the Child Marriage Act of 1929, *Contributions to Indian Sociol* 29,1-2:187-210

⁷¹ E.g., Rush, F. (1980) *The Best Kept Secret*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, p74-9

⁷² Luschinsky, M. S. (1962) *The Life of Women in a Village of North India*. Dissertation, Cornell University

⁷³ Luschinsky, M. S. (1963) The Impact of Some Recent Indian Government Legislation on the Women of an Indian Village, *Asian Survey* 3,12:573-83

⁷⁴ Singh, M. (1992) Changes in age at marriage of women in rural north India, *J Biosoc Sci* 24,1:123-30

⁷⁵ See also a comparison of four studies by Kapadia, K. M. (1955) *Marriage and Family in India*. London [etc.]: Oxford University Press, p138-66

⁷⁶ "Though illegal, child marriage is popular in parts of India", *New York Times Report*, May 11, 1998

⁷⁷ Nagi, B. S. Trends in Age at Marriage, *Guru Nanak J Sociol* 11,1:31-40

⁷⁸ Item in *The Independent* (9/1/1999), quoted in Somerset, C. (2000) *Early Marriage: Whose Right to Choose?* Forum on Marriage and the Rights of Women and Children. London

⁷⁹ Nair, P. S. & Koteswar, R. K. (1987) Female age at marriage in Northern Karnataka, *Soc Change* 17,3:65-70

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Regulating Marriage / Consummation Age

Rather specific timing customs of consummation are recorded relative to the event of marriage, which in turn is relative to the event of menarche (or presently, horoscopes). The **Marathas**, for instance, consummate their marriage after the first menstruation of the bride after marriage⁸⁰. A specific, institutionalised delay relative to puberty / menarche is noted by various authors.

According to Bloom and Reddy (1986:p511-2)⁸¹ Indian childhood and a proportion of nonchildhood marriages are “always” subject to a so-called two-stage process in which “consummation is delayed at least until the astrological signs for husband and wife are both auspicious (which usually takes a minimum of one to three months); in practice the delay seems to serve as a social device for monitoring and deterring the occurrence of sexual relations before marriage”⁸². It is argued that mothers give out a lower age for the bride so as to “ease their consciences, so that “[...] physical consummation and living together is, by and large, a post-puberty affair” (p339)⁸³. The ritual of consummation could be called *return marriage* (Rele, 1962:p268)⁸⁴, and “usually takes place after the girl reaches puberty”. In the case of prepubertal marriage, a nuptial ceremony (*guana* in Hindu) indicated the commencement of regular sexual relations after menarche (Mandelbaum, 1974:p35-6)⁸⁵. Among the Rajbansis of **Bangladesh** (Agarwala, 1962:p4, as cited by Sattar, 1978:p54-5)⁸⁶, child marriage⁸⁷ is followed by a “second” marriage called *Gauna* or *Vida*, after which cohabitation is enacted. Ramadas (1928)⁸⁸ wrote that, at the time of writing, child marriages were common, but the ceremonies observed in these marriages were “merely a pretense that the small boys and girls are husbands and wives; the real nuptial marriages are put off until they reach the age of discretion”. “Given that girls married before reaching menarche are not physically mature enough to consummate the marriage, customarily *Gauna* (beginning of effective married life) is performed sometime after the girl has reached menarche”⁸⁹. In rural

⁸⁰ Enthoven, R.E. ([1920]) *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*. Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1920, repr. 1990 and 1997. Vol. III, p39

⁸¹ Bloom, D. E. & Reddy, P. H. (1986) Age Patterns of Women at Marriage, Cohabitation, and First Birth in India, *Demography* 23,4:509-23

⁸² Official figures seem to underscore the prevalence of this ideology. According to the same 1975 statistics, marriage occurred from 14.2 (rural Madhya Pradesh) to 19.4 (Urban Goa, Daman and Diu), but on average 16.3 (rural) and 16.9 (urban). Ages of menarche are not included.

⁸³ Chandrasekhar, S. (1954) The Family in India, *Marr & Family Living* 16,4:336-42

⁸⁴ Rele, J. R. (1962) Some Aspects of Family and Fertility in India, *Populat Stud* 15,3:267-78

⁸⁵ Mandelbaum, D. G. (1974) *Human Fertility in India*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press

⁸⁶ Agarwala, S. N. (1962) *The Age at Marriage in India*. Cited by Sattar, A. (1978) *The Sowing of Seeds: The Sociology of Primitive Sex*. Dacca, Bangladesh: Adeylebros & Co.

⁸⁷ Or prenatal marriage, *petey bibaha*.

⁸⁸ Ramadas, G. (1928) Marriage customs in South India, *Man in India* 8:136-45

⁸⁹ Dubey, S. R. & Dubey, Bh. R. (1999) Child Marriage in Rajasthan, *Development* 42,1:75-7

villages, in up to 5.8% Gaunu was held between ages 6 and 11; in some further 50% it occurred before age 16. According to Joseph (1911:p54-5)⁹⁰, until puberty a child bride stayed on with her natal family; *muklawā*, which customarily took place several years after the wedding ceremony, was the entry and establishment of the wife in her husband's house when the marriage was consummated.

Token Marriage

In contemporary South India, menarchal girls usually undergo seclusion until their newly acquired fertility can be properly controlled by means of rites which often mimic marriage (Good, 1982)⁹¹. The *arrow marriage*, in which a girl is formally associated to an arrow, sword, or branch of a tree, is a token pre-puberty marriage and an important socio-religious rite among some aboriginal tribes of India (Dube, 1948, 1953⁹²; cf. Yalman, p47-8). The occurrence of menarche, or any sexual transgression, prior to this rite is viewed very seriously and brings social disgrace to the girl and her parents⁹³. After the rite is performed the parents are no longer considered responsible for lapses on the part of the girl and certain liberties are condoned. Seligman⁹⁴: "Among the Oriya, in all castes except the Brahman a girl is married to an arrow if a suitable husband has not been found for her before she reaches puberty⁹⁵, while among the cultivators of Ganjam if a girl cannot find a husband before puberty, a "nominal marriage [...] is performed with a bow in the place of a husband⁹⁶".

Tāli Rites

Despite these customs, defloration used to be customary in the prepubertal (ages 7 to 12) Tāli rites (Stone, 2000:p140)⁹⁷. The ritual known as *Tali-Kettu Kalyanam* (Yalman, 1963:p33-9;

⁹⁰ Joseph, E. (1911) *Customary Law of the Rohtak District, 1910*. Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing. Cited by Chowdhry, P. (1998) Sexuality, Unchastity and Fertility: Economy of Production and Reproduction in Colonial Haryana, in Chen, M. A. (Ed.) *Widows in India: Social Neglect and Public Action*. New Delhi: Sage Publication, p91-123, n32

⁹¹ Good, A. (1982) The female bridegroom: rituals of puberty and marriage in South India and Sri Lanka, *Social Analysis* 11:35-55. Cf. Good, A. (1991) *The Female Bridegroom: A Comparative Study of Life Crisis Rituals in South India and Sri Lanka*. Oxford: Clarendon

⁹² Dube, S. C. (1948) The arrow marriage, *Eastern Anthropol* 2,1:22-6. Cf. Dube, S. C. (1953) Token pre-puberty marriage in Middle India, *Man* 53:18-9

⁹³ Cf. Mishra, M. K. (2000) The Kind Tiger and the Truthful Cow: Folk Discourse in Oral and Written Literature, *Folklore [e-journal]* Vol. 14:75-85, at p84: "Kondabore is a symbolic ritual of the Bhunjias where the girl is married to an arrow before she reaches puberty. But if a girl attains puberty before the Kondabora rite, she is considered sinful and the house, as well as their god becomes impure. The common practice among the Bhunjia is that if a girl attains puberty in her father's house before the Kondabora, she is exiled to the jungle and tied to a tree till her uncle or close relatives rescue her".

⁹⁴ Seligman, C. G. (1935) Bow and Arrow Symbolism, *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* [Helsinki] IX

⁹⁵ Thurston, E. (1906) *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*. Madras: Government Press, p35 [orig.footnote]

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p34 [orig.footnote]

⁹⁷ Stone, L. (2000) *Kinship and Gender*. Oxford: Westview Press. 2nd ed. Cf. Fruzzetti, L. M. (1984) *Kinship and Ritual in Bengal: Anthropological Essays*. New Delhi: South Asian Publishers, p159

Dumont, 1964⁹⁸; Rigby, 1967:p441-2) included the tying of a *tāli* (a gold ornament) by the groom round the girl's neck. Gough (1955:p62-3)⁹⁹ wrote that these rites always include a (at least) symbolic defloration. "This is most clear in the royal lineages, where the bridegroom actually deflowers the girl". Among the Nayar, this once widespread custom declined under the British rule in late 18th century. According to Gough (1952:p79)¹⁰⁰: "The pre-puberty *tāli* rite lost much of its significance, and the *tāli*-tier was no longer required to cohabit with his ritual "wife" ". Gough (1959:p25)¹⁰¹: "I was told that traditionally, if the girl was nearing puberty, sexual relations might take place. This custom began to be omitted in the late nineteenth century, but from some of the literature it appears to have been essential in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries". This literature may be illustrated by the observations by the Portugese traveller Duarte Barbosa¹⁰² in the beginning of the 16th century discussed by Peter (1963:p170-1)¹⁰³. He insists that a girl after the *Tāli* has been tied on her, she should be deflowered before puberty by a specially assigned man "for amongst themselves they hold it an unclean thing and almost a disgrace to deflower women" (cf. Battacharyya)¹⁰⁴. The *tāli* rite did not confer sexual rights (Gough, 1965)¹⁰⁵. Speaking of the *Tāli* tying rites Panikkar (1918:p267,n3)¹⁰⁶ notes: "Among the Nayars social puberty differs considerably in point of time from physiological puberty. It is a matter of great importance that the former should precede the latter. Any family in which a girl attains her physiological puberty, as evidenced by her first menses, before she had attained her social puberty, is socially outside the pale" (see also Yalman, 1963:p34).

Ploß (*Die Frau*, I) mentioned that Nayar cast girls are pubescent between 13 and 15th year, while many have intercourse with men at age 11 (cf. Ronhaar)¹⁰⁷. Yalman denies sexual intercourse as part of the *Tali* rite at least for the Northern Tiyyar (Irava) (p35).

Indian Menarche

"Most women do not know about the physiology of menstruation and therefore the first experience of menstruation is filled with fear, shame and disgust. [...] Elaborate rituals are performed in south Indian states-as well as in many parts of north India-at the onset of menstruation. The onset of puberty is

⁹⁸ Dumont, L. (1964) Marriage in India, the present state of the question: Postscript to part 1-2, Nayar and Newar, *Contr Indian Sociol* 7:77-98

⁹⁹ Gough, E. K. (1955) Female Initiation Rites on the Malabar Coast, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 85,1-2:45-80

¹⁰⁰ Gough, E. K. (1952) Changing Kinship Usages in the Setting of Political and Economic Change Among the Nayars of Malabar, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 82,1:71-88

¹⁰¹ Gough, E. K. (1959) The Nayars and the Definition of Marriage, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 89,1:23-34

¹⁰² *The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, p124

¹⁰³ Peter, H. R. H. (1963) *A Study of Polyandry*. The Hague: Mouton

¹⁰⁴ Battacharyya, N. N. (1968) *Indian Puberty Rites*. Calcutta, p8. Cited by Delaney, J., Lupton, M. J. & Toth, E. (1988) *The Curse: A Cultural History of Menstruation*. Rev.ed. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, p31

¹⁰⁵ Gough, E. K. (1965) A Note on Nayar Marriage, *Man* 65:8-11

¹⁰⁶ Panikkar K. M. (1918) Some Aspects of Nayar Life, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 48:254-93

¹⁰⁷ Ronhaar, J. H. (1931) *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*. Groningen: Wolters/ London: D. Nutt, p333-4

traditionally viewed in terms of the girl's emergent sexuality and prospective motherhood. The pubescent girl is given an elaborate ritual bath, after a massage with turmeric and vermilion"¹⁰⁸.

Data from the writings of Indian legislators during the period between ca. 500 B.C. and A.D. 500 have been used to study menarchal age among girls born in classical India (Datta and Gupta, 1981)¹⁰⁹. As these legislators were concerned mainly with the upper-caste population, it can be presumed that the recordings obtained are only from upper-caste Hindu girls. Throughout the period the age at menarche was about 12 years. A number of legislators considered the best age for conception to be around 16. When these data are compared with those obtained from classical Greece and Rome, the Indian age is found to be about 1-2 years earlier. Comparison of the data from the 19th century and present-day India reveals that the older data are about 0.8-2.2 years earlier when various areas are considered.

A selection of contemporary studies indicates mean figures of 13.6 \pm 0.83¹¹⁰, 13.5¹¹¹, 15.4¹¹², 15.2¹¹³, 12.6¹¹⁴, 12.7¹¹⁵, and 13¹¹⁶. In one study¹¹⁷, the mean age of menarche was 12 years and 12.8 years for USES and LSES. The development of breasts was first to appear at the age of 8.25 years, being followed by pubic and axillary hair development. Studies¹¹⁸ suggest a decline in menarchal age. In one study on Fijian Indians¹¹⁹, Indian menarcheal age appeared to be extremely low, with a median value of 11.80.

A note is in place about adolescent infertility. In the data discussed by Mandelbaum (1954)¹²⁰, the average age of puberty (actually the consummation of marriage) was 13.7 (Madras), and the average age of first birth 17.4 (Mysore).

In the "apple belt" of Shimla hills, the major reaction to first menstruation was fear (98.5 per cent); 21.3 per cent of girls were not touching anything before having a bath and sleeping

¹⁰⁸ Gupta, A. et al. (1997) *Touch Me, Touch-me-not: Women, Plants and Healing..* Kali for Women. ♦p66-91 *Women's Beliefs about Disease and Health*

¹⁰⁹ Datta, B. & Gupta, D. (1981) The age of menarche in classical India, *Ann Hum Biol* 8,4:351-9

¹¹⁰ Singh, M. M., Devi, R. & Gupta, S. S. (1999) Awareness and health seeking behaviour of rural adolescent school girls on menstrual and reproductive health problems, *Indian J Med Sci* 53,10:439-43

¹¹¹ Garg, S., Sharma, N., Sahay, R. (2001) Socio-cultural aspects of menstruation in an urban slum in Delhi, India, *Reprod Health Matters* 9(17):16-25

¹¹² Rao, S., Joshi, S. & Kanade, A. (1998) Height velocity, body fat and menarcheal age of Indian girls, *Indian Pediatr* 35,7:619-28

¹¹³ Reddy, P. H. & Modell, B. (1997) The Baigas of Madhya Pradesh: a demographic study, *J Biosoc Sci* 29,1:19-31. Mean age at first marriage was 16.6 years.

¹¹⁴ Agarwal, D. K., Agarwal, K. N., Upadhyay, S. K., Mittal, R., Prakash, R. & Rai, S. (1992) Physical and sexual growth pattern of affluent Indian children from 5 to 18 years of age, *Indian Pediatr* 29,10:1203-82

¹¹⁵ Sharma, S. S. & Shukla, N. B. (1992) Menarcheal age among Indian sportswomen, *Br J Sports Med* 26,2:129-31. The menarche of the sportswomen was significantly delayed, to age 13.56.

¹¹⁶ Chatterjee, S. & Mandal, A. (1991) Physical growth pattern for girls (9-17 yr) from rural West Bengal, *Indian J Med Res* 94:346-50

¹¹⁷ Qamra, S. R., Mehta, S. & Deodhar, S. D. (1991) A mixed-longitudinal study on the pattern of pubertal growth: relationship to socioeconomic status and caloric-intake—IV, *Indian Pediatr* 28,2:147-56

¹¹⁸ Singh, S. P. & Malhotra, P. (1988) Secular shift in menarcheal age of Patiala (India) schoolgirls between 1974 and 1986, *Ann Hum Biol* 15,1:77-80. According to this study, the median ages at menarche (by probits) of higher social class girls were 12.90 \pm 0.64 years in 1974 and 12.54 \pm 0.13 years in 1986, and of lower social class girls 14.40 \pm 0.47 years in 1974 and 13.65 \pm 0.18 years in 1986. The secular shift per decade in higher and lower social class girls is 0.30 years and 0.63 years, respectively. See also Chakraborti, I. & Sinha, A. K. (1991) Declining age of menarche in West Bengal, *J Indian Med Assoc* 89,1:10-3

¹¹⁹ Clegg, E. J. (1989) The growth of Melanesian and Indian children in Fiji, *Ann Hum Biol* 16,6:507-28

¹²⁰ Mandelbaum, D. G. (1954) Fertility at early years of marriage in India, in Kapadia, K. N. (Ed.) *Professor Ghurye Felicitation Volume*. Bombay. Cited by Goody (1990:p208)

separately during periods. Only 41.1 per cent girls knew that menarche means the beginning of reproductive life (Gupta et al., 1996¹²¹; cf. Narayan et al., 2001)¹²².

Additional refs.:

-- Tokita-Tanabe, Y. (1999) Women and Tradition in India: Construction of subjectivity and control of female sexuality in the ritual of first menstruation, in Tanaka, M & Tachikawa, M. (Eds.) *Senri Ethnol Studies* [Japan] 50:193-220

Hinduism and Sexual Socialisation

Francoeur (1990:p103-6)¹²³ provided a baseline sketch of Hindu sexuality. "In the traditional type of orthodox Bengalee-Hindu community the conscience-keeper parents prefer to keep their children in a sexually spoon-fed stage by tabooing sex until they attain marital maturity. As a result, lacking any formal scientific training or sex education, after marriage they suddenly have the opportunity to satisfy their sexual urges according to what they may have heard and master the techniques by a trial and error method" (Burman and Bose, 1980)¹²⁴. Nevertheless, Mayo¹²⁵ complained that Indian mothers habitually masturbated their sons (cf. Rotter, 1994:p534-5)¹²⁶.

DuBois ([1906] 1959:p308)¹²⁷ stated that

"[...] subjected as they are from their earliest youth to influences which prematurely develop the latent germs of passion and vice, the knowledge of evil always comes before the first dawns of reason. At the time of their lives when, according to the laws of nature, the passions should remain unawakened, it is not at all unusual to find children of both sexes familiar with words and actions which are revolting to modesty. The instincts that are excited at an early age by the nudity in which they remain till they are seven or eight years old, the licentious conversation that they are always hearing around them, the lewd songs and obscene verses that their parents delight in teaching them as soon as they begin to talk, the disgusting expressions which they learn and use to the delight of those who hear them, and who applaud such expressions as witticisms; these are the foundations on which the young children's education is laid, and such are the earliest impressions which they receive".

In this context, it is reasoned that "[i]n order to prevent the consequences of this precocious sensuality, parents must hasten to marry their children as early as possible".

For a note on modesty training of Hindi 7- to 8-year-olds, see Joshi and Tiwari (1977)¹²⁸.

¹²¹ Gupta, A. K. et al. (1996) Age at menarche, menstrual knowledge and practices in the apple belt of Shimla hills, *J Obstet & Gynaecol Abingdon* 16,6:548-50

¹²² Narayan, K. A., Srinivasa, D. K., Pelto, P. J. & Veerammal, S. (2001) Puberty Rituals, Reproductive Knowledge and Health of Adolescent Schoolgirls in South India, *Asia-Pacific Population J* 18,2:225-38

¹²³ Francoeur, R. T. (1990) Current religious doctrines of sexual and erotic development in childhood, in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology volume VII: Childhood and Adolescent Sexology*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, p80-112

¹²⁴ Burman, A. K. & Bose, S. (1980) Sexuality in the cognition of male and female Bengalee-Hindus, in Forleo, R. & Pasini, W. (Ed.) *Medical Sexology*. Amsterdam [etc.]: Elsevier, p161-5

¹²⁵ *Mother India*, p25-8

¹²⁶ Rotter, A. J. (1994) Gender Relations, Foreign Relations: The United States and South Asia, 1947-1964, *J Am Hist* 81,2:518-42

¹²⁷ DuBois, A. J. A. (1906) *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*. Transl. 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959 reprint

¹²⁸ Joshi, M. C. & Tiwari, J. (1977) Personality development of children in relation to child-rearing practices among socio-economic classes, *Indian Psychol Rev* 14,4:5-16

*Current Age of Consent*¹²⁹

The legal age at which a person is currently competent to consent to sexual intercourse is currently eighteen. The legal age of consent for marriage is eighteen years for male persons and twenty-one years for female persons. Rape is punished severely but less so when the woman raped is his own wife and is not under twelve (Section 376[1], Penal Code). Sex with a female under fifteen years of age is considered rape, even if wedded. Graupner speaks of a minimum age for sexual relations of a girl with a “man” of 15/16.

Village Life: Some Authors on Sexual Climate

With so much attention paid to age-stratified marriage, little is written about children’s sexual get-togethers. In his psychoanalytic elaboration on childhood and sexuality, Kakar (1978, 1990)¹³⁰ provides little substantial material on sexual development. Krishna and Nayar (1997)¹³¹ only make general remarks on childhood sexual behaviour.

“Present-day children in India are more exposed to new areas of knowledge than their parents were. As a matter of fact, young people are simply deluged these days with movies, magazines, and books - all prime sources of sexual information and stimulation. [...] Though parents have the primary responsibility of imparting sex education to their children, it has been found that a majority of young people in India derive their information about sex and sex behavior largely from companions, street-corner conversation, movies, and magazines. [...] Many have inhibitions about discussing sex with their children; others admit that they do not have the technical knowledge to answer all the questions their children ask. In this situation, the teacher is a major factor in determining the success of any sex-education program”.

“Masturbation is generally unacceptable among girls. For boys however it is considered a preparation for mature sex life. Though boys at the younger ages may masturbate together without shame, at little more mature ages, they all give it up. This seems to be particularly so in the case of married men. In recent years, the availability of sexually explicit books, magazines, and videos has also acted as major contributory factor for male autoerotic activities”.

“Before puberty, a natural approach to sexuality and nudity prevails, especially in rural areas. Daughters and sons are carefully prepared for their future domestic roles as mothers and fathers. Women are considered to be much more skilled than males in love and sexual pleasures. At puberty, most boys and girls are segregated. In some regions of India, pubescent girls are not even allowed to enter a house where a single young man is present. Sexual views and behavior are somewhat more natural and less inhibited in India’s rural villages, according to Dr. Promilla Kapur, a research psychologist and sociologist at New Delhi’s India International Center. Some tribal groups practice totally free sex among adolescents. Nowadays, with the advent of various satellite television programs, children are exposed at their early ages to various programs, including considerable sexually related material. This exposure

¹²⁹ <http://www.ageofconsent.com/india.htm>, Nov. 2001

¹³⁰ Kakar, S. (1978) *The Inner World*. Delhi [etc.]: Oxford University Press; Kakar, S. (1990) *Intimate Relations*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press

¹³¹ Krishna, J. & Nayar, V. (1997) India, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 2. Quoted from the online edition

often results in conflicting responses for girls raised in a society that represses or ignores female sexuality. In rural areas, adults sometimes talk loudly about their sexual experiences in the presence of children, and this provides opportunities for the young men to think more about sex. In urban areas, especially cities where housing shortage is very acute, adults in public places like parks and cinema theaters generally satisfy their sexual feeling through hugging or other noncoital sexual practices. These acts also provide learning opportunities for the younger ones. Sexual play, such as looking at another child's buttocks or genitals, genital touching games, sharing a bed with a child of the opposite sex, etc., likewise provides children with opportunities for sexual exploration; the parents would not necessarily be aware of these acts of their children".

Alex¹³², drawing on material from fieldwork in Tamil Nadu, South India, states that

"[o]n the one hand are kinship relations between affines learnt and expressed by sexual speech. On the other hand is the play of sexuality between children, a quite common phenomena [*sic*], and as long as it takes place before the onset of sexual maturity, so that it can't lead to pregnancy, it is more or less tolerated. [...] Chastity and virginity are the ultimate values regarding unmarried women. Being raped or having intercourse after the onset of puberty but before marriage decreases the status of a young woman and complicates the finding of a husband immensely. But the disgrace is not so much concentrated on the individual woman, but more on the results it has for further social relations. Sexuality between children, who are still sexually immature, has not the same consequences. Because it is not linked to fertility it is seen as very different from adult sexuality. This difference leads to the question how sexuality constructs a person's identity in different cultural contexts".

Sinha (1977)¹³³: "Although babies in these families are handled and dressed in ways that act as genital stimulants, the stimulation is such that most of them are likely to adjust quickly to it. Opportunities for the children to witness parental coitus do occur, but such experiences are not likely to cause undue disturbances".

As for the **Bhils**: "Customs [...] to train the young in [...] sex control [...] do not exist [...]. There are no puberty rites for boys and girls" (Hyppolytus)¹³⁴. Carstairs (1957:p72)¹³⁵ states that in the studied Hindu families, "[...] sex is never discussed between parents and children. The latter learn the facts of life, and the pleasures of erotic stimulation, from each other at an early age. My informants agreed that most children masturbate, and indulge in heterosexual and homosexual play for years before puberty; but they know that this is disapproved of by their elders, so it is done secretly. Masturbation and homosexual practices among children were condemned as "weakening" (although [one informant] maintained that the passive partner would thrive, being enriched by the other's semen) but they did not give rise to strong feelings of antipathy. [...] In general [...] masturbation in later childhood [...] was vehemently condemned". ["Almost all boys [13-15 year-olds] shared the perception that semen discharge leads to weakness and less blood in the body. Overall, it is clear that information is largely derived from misinformed sources -movies, sex books, friends, magazines, relatives"¹³⁶].

¹³² Alex, G. (2001) *Children and Sexuality among South Indian "Untouchables"*. Paper for the International Conference on 'Children in their Places', June 21-23, The Centre for the Study of Health, Sickness and Disablement (CSHSD), Brunel University, West London, UK. From the abstract. Part on author's oncoming PhD thesis [personal communication]

¹³³ Sinha, T. C. (1977) Psychoanalysis and the family in India, *Samiska* 31,4:95-105

¹³⁴ Hyppolytus, P. (1931) The relations between religion and morality among the Bhils, *Anthropol Quart* 4,1/4:49-53, at p53

¹³⁵ Carstairs, G. M. (1957) *The Twice-Born*. London: Hogarth

¹³⁶ 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

Later, Poffenberger (1981:p87-8)¹³⁷ found much controversy among parents interviewed. Especially, the use of fire (burning sticks) and, more rigorously, hanging by the hands are mentioned as means of punishment.

Luschinsky (1962, I:p253-6)¹³⁸ found that women denied the necessity of sex education: "they know everything from birth. This is kaliyuga [today's age, according to Hindu cosmology] [...] Instead of teaching them, they teach us". Children listen to sexual conversations. From age 4 or 5 to eight, they may be sexually teased by elders, verbally and physically: "In lower-caste groups, elders may bring small boys on the verge of tears by roughly handling their sex organs and threatening to cut them off" (p254). Prepubertal girls might be told about pregnancy (but not menses), boys are not. Attempts at sexual intercourse and masturbation were punished physically (including tying by the wrists and ankles) and by ridicule. In a report by Dube (1955 [1961:p194-6])¹³⁹ it is stated that children join play-groups, where, by observation of elders and oral instruction,

"[s]ex knowledge and sex experience [...] widens considerably [...]. Masturbation is now stealthily practised. Elders do not take an indulgent view if they find grown-up boys manipulating and rubbing their penes. Ridicule and threats are often employed to cure the habit. The threats commonly given are: "If you persist in this habit your organ will not grow"; or that "It will become crooked and you will be useless" ". The play-groups states the opposite, so the practice is continued in private. Among boys, there is joint masturbation, mutual masturbation (less frequently), and coital imitation without penetration. "Homosexuality" is confined to preadolescent and adolescent groups: "A boy persuades a smaller boy to lie down with him and just rubs his organ at his anus- only in very rare cases is any anal penetration effected. A popular game with the boys is to make a female figure in dust and play at copulation. In the three instances observed by us the imitation was perfect, and resembled normal coitus in all its essentials. Boys and girls play at marriages, which in a few cases culminates in the act of "sleeping together [which in a few cases] reaches the point of rubbing genital organs. Girls masturbate either by pressing and releasing their clitoris with their fingers or by rubbing their thighs".

In adolescence, masturbation is gradually given up as being unmanly, and pubic hairs and genital organs are "closely watched and compared".

According to data provided by Kurian (1975:p77)¹⁴⁰ 61.8% of respondents felt that sex education is the responsibility of parents and schools, a progressive argument in a society "in which sex is still not discussed in public". Among adolescent boys in Gujarat District, the first sexual "partner" was a prostitute for 87.6%, an older woman for 8.4%, and a girlfriend of the same age for only 2%¹⁴¹. "Apart from the age and physiological factors that bring a new awakening to their own sexuality, students very often discussed the role of Cable TV and local video parlours which screened X-rated films, in accentuating their curiosity about sex"¹⁴².

¹³⁷ Poffenberger, Th. (1981) Child rearing and social structure in rural India, in Korbin, J. (Ed.) *Child Abuse and Neglect: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, p71-95

¹³⁸ Luschinsky, M. S. (1962) *The Life of Women in a Village of North India*. Dissertation, Cornell University

¹³⁹ Dube, Sh. ([1961] 1955) *Charan: Indian Village*. London: Routledge & Kegan

¹⁴⁰ Kurian, G. (191975) Structural changes in the family in Kerala, India, in Williams, Th. R. (Ed.) *Socialization and Communication in Primary Groups*. The Hague & Paris: Mouton, p59-79

¹⁴¹ Sharma, V., Sharma, A. et al. (1996) Sexual Behaviour of Adolescent Boys-A Cause for Concern, *Sex & Marit Ther* 11,2:147-51; Sharma, V. & Sharma, A. (1997) Adolescent boys in Gujarat, India: Their sexual behavior and their knowledge of Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome and other sexually transmitted diseases, *J Developm & Behav Pediatr* 18,6: 399-404

¹⁴² Verma, R. K., Surender, S. & Guruswamy, M. (1997) What do school children and teachers in rural Maharashtra think of AIDS and sex? *Health Transition Rev*, Suppl. to 7:481-6, at p483

Additional refs.:

-- Singh, S. & Man, A. de (1989) Attitudes Toward Childrearing among Indian Women: A Structural Analysis, *Int J Comparat Sociol* 30:231-4 [examines but does not concludes separately on the measure of "suppression of sexuality" by Indian mothers of 5- to 7-year-olds]

Contemporary Coitarche

Some data on Delhi medical students are given in a study by Aggarwal et al. (2000)¹⁴³, who review a contemporary coitarche taking place at ages 15.1 to 19.1. In a study by Tikoo (1997)¹⁴⁴ on New Dehli grade students, the "average age when the students learned about human sexuality" was 10.9 years, with a range of 3 to 26 for the "beginning" of "sex education". The averages of the latter variable's initial timing were significantly different for both genders, though not wide apart (girls: 14.99, *SD*=4.63; boys: 15.55, *SD*=4.28).

Additional refs:

-- Kishore et al. (1978)¹⁴⁵

Street Love

Abraham (2000, 2002)¹⁴⁶ and Ramakrishna et al (2001)¹⁴⁷ sketch 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"). 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".

¹⁴³ Aggarwal, O., Sharma, A. K. & Chhabra, P. (2000) Study in sexuality of medical college students in India, *J Adolesc Health* 26:226-9

¹⁴⁴ Tikoo, M. (1997) Sexual attitudes and behaviors of school students (grades 6-12) in India, *J Sex Res* 34,1:77-84

¹⁴⁵ Kishore, N., Mathur, Y.C., Qureshi, S. & Pershad, B. (1978) Study of physical & sexual growth of preadolescent & adolescent children of rural Hyderabad and their knowledge attitudes towards human reproduction and family planning, *Indian Pediatr* 15,2:147-54

¹⁴⁶ 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

¹⁴⁷ 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

Additional refs.:

-- Ramakrishna, J., Chandran, V., Karott, M. & Murthy, R. S. (2001) *Language and Behaviour as Media for Enactment of Desire among Sexually Exploited Male Children and Street Children in Bangalore, India*. Paper for presentation at the 3rd IASSCS Conference in Melbourne, 1-3 Oct. 2001

India: Ethnographic Particularities

(Abor, *Lingayats*, *Bengali*, →*Punjabi*; *Rājput*s, *Brahmans*, *Nagas*, *Chamars*, *Nayar*, *Todas*, *Hill Maria* Gond, *Hill Saoras*, *Sinhalese*, *Purum*, *Veda*, *Santals*, *Garos*, *Muria* Gonds, *Baiga*, *Nimar Bahalis*, *Telugu*, *Lepcha*, *Lodha*, *Uttar Pradesh*, *Andamanese*, *Nicobarrese*)

Abor (*India*)

Sarma¹⁴⁸:

“The Abor girl grows up without any feelings of conflict in the period between childhood and puberty. They learn of the relations between the sexes at an early age and are completely aware of the different biological phases of their lives. It is natural to have sexual relations before they attain puberty. The attainment is not marked by any ritualistic performance. A girl does not consider her first menstruation to be an event important enough to tell anybody. She has no shame in letting people know, however, and may speak of it casually to her age mates”(p102)

There are separate boy and girl dormitories (moshup and rahseng, resp.). Girls are expected to be courted there at night, leaving before dawn (p112-3).

Lingayats (*India*)

Among the Lingayats, “pre-puberty engagements and marriages have been quite common (Chekki, 1968:p128)¹⁴⁹.

Bengali (*India*) (*eHRAF*)

Fruzzetti (1982¹⁵⁰; cf. 1975 [1992:p304]):

¹⁴⁸ Sarma, J. (1960) Puberty, marriage, and childbirth among the Panggi and the Minyong Abor women, *Anthropos* 55:96-113

¹⁴⁹ Chekki, D. A. (1968) Some aspects of marriage among the Lingayats, *Man in India* 48, June:124-32

¹⁵⁰ Fruzzetti, L. M. (1982) *The Gift of a Virgin: Women, Marriage, and Ritual in a Bengali Society*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press; Fruzzetti, L. M. (1975) *Conch Shell Bangles, Iron Bangles: An Analysis of Women, Marriage, and Ritual in Bengal*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms. 1992 copy

"In the past, *kumri* girls were given in marriage before the arrival of their menstrual flow since this is a girl's purest stage. At present only the low castes and Muslims insist on giving their girls in marriage before the first menstruation, though the young wife remains in her father's house until she achieves puberty. The majority of marriages are contracted long after puberty even though a girl becomes ready for marriage after her first menstrual flow. In such a situation, the menstrual rites are known as *natun biye*, "new marriage". For child-brides, the rites are called *anna biye*, "another marriage", and are performed in the virgin's father's house. The menstruation rites of the child-bride define her sexual maturity, and on the third [fourth, according to Fruzzetti, 1984] day after the ritual the husband may take her to his house to consummate the marriage. The ritual accompanying the first menstrual flow is simple, yet clearly tied to the sexual aspects of marriage, to the union of male and female".

Inden (1977:p41)¹⁵¹ that the sixth and last segment of the wedding (*punar-vivha*, "consummatory marriage") may be done "[...] on the third day or, if the bride has not celebrated her first menstruation before marriage, on an auspicious day after that first menstruation". "Even if the bride and groom have reached puberty, they are not to have sexual intercourse on this night [the first of marriage], since their marriage is not completed yet".

Klass (1978)¹⁵²:

"In the past, before Independence, a girl was married before she reached puberty, although among Brahmans and other high-ranked castes she returned to her natal home and continued to live with her parents, taking up residence with her husband's family only after her first menstruation. Boys, too, were young when they were married—perhaps thirteen or fourteen—and therefore marriage and puberty were in many ways fused. Even today, boys are considered children until marriage; even in his late teens, an unmarried male is assumed to have no interest in sex and to be without the capacity to offer up proper prayers. Only after the boy's marriage will the [Utilde]cu pa[unknown]a [¹⁵³] father summon the family *gurudeb* (spiritual adviser) to teach the young man the mantras he is expected to know" (p80).

Thus,

"In the village, the initiative lies with the male head of the girl's household, referred to [...] as her "guardian". This may be her father, father's brother, father's father, or even her elder brother. The guardian of a village girl feels a sense of urgency or social pressure (and if he doesn't, it will be communicated to him by his wife), for there is a widespread belief that a girl should be married before her first menstruation or as soon thereafter as possible. Among the lowest jats in the social hierarchy, marriage frequently takes place when the girl is nine years old; even among those village families most affected by Europe-derived standards, the girl is rarely permitted to reach her late teens"¹⁵⁴.

Roy (1975:p188n32)¹⁵⁵ dwells at length on the sexual developmental experience of girls: "In this part of Bengali society a young girl (as the case study shows) usually learns about menstruation from her peers. It is rare that a mother or an aunt explains the whole matter to a girl approaching puberty. The subject matter, like the subject of sex, is considered taboo".

"Intimate advice regarding sex may be given by a MZ [mother's sister] to a new bride, whereas it is not a common phenomenon for a mother to advise her daughter about to be married in matters of sex" (Fruzzetti). "The girls also learn a great deal about sex from their

¹⁵¹ Inden, R. B. (1977) *Kinship in Bengali Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

¹⁵² Klass, M. (1978) *From Field to Factory: Community Structure and Industrialization in West Bengal*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, p80

¹⁵³ "A so-called "tribal" people, speaking a language of the Munda-Kol linguistic family, and, as far as is known, the original inhabitants of the Chota Nagpur region".

¹⁵⁴ Klass, M. (1966) Marriage rules in Bengal, *Am Anthropol* 68,4:951-70

¹⁵⁵ Roy, M. (1975) *Bengali Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

married friends”¹⁵⁶. After a girl’s prepubertal menstrual ritual [*sic*], “[...] she is a “fruit” for men in other lineages [an expression often used for a girl about to be married is “the fruit has ripened”] (p167).

“If the girl happens to know anything about the sexual relationship between the mother and father, she is ambivalent about it, but that does not tarnish her love and respect for her father. If she has already learned about the facts of life from her peers (such as that parents have intercourse), she may also know that sex is considered dirty because no one is supposed to talk about it or watch it. Only adult married people can indulge in it in privacy. And if her parents indulge in it, she is puzzled and may blame her mother for it” (Roy, p27; cf. cases 61, 8). “[...] subjects discussed frequently at school are “the facts of life.” This information she rarely learns from anyone at home. There are always a number of older and precocious classmates who know all about such matters. She learns the biological facts about a woman’s body, about her menstrual cycle, pregnancy, and the connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy. This information, of course, does not come as clinical talk; rather it is contained in interesting and exciting stories and pieces of gossip. She finds out that many of her friends accidentally have had opportunities to witness sexual acts. Someone may, for example, overhear the parents at night or be in the same room with a newly married couple; someone may have come across a pornographic magazine that her older brother had hidden under the mattress. Now she can guess the kind of “adult talk” her mother and younger aunts indulge in during some of the afternoon sessions. It has to do with “the facts of life”.

In Bengal the menstrual ritual takes place before or after the girl has achieved puberty. The ideal is to perform the ritual before the girl actually achieves puberty, but even if it isn’t, the ritual is enacted in the same way. In this ritual, the women place five different kinds of sweetmeats and fruits on the initiate’s *acal* (end part of the saree) as food offerings. “The girl does not eat the food offerings, “her own fruit”, which symbolize her maturity, sexuality, and femaleness. Instead she gives to very young pre-puberty boys and girls of the neighbourhood. From now on she is a “fruit” for men in other lineages [an expression often used for a girl about to be married is “the fruit has ripened” ” (Fruzzetti, p166-7).

***Rājipūts* (India)**

As observed by Minturn and Hitchcock (1963)¹⁵⁷ 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 (p312-3). “Although the infants and small children wore nothing but shirts, we saw no evidence of masturbation. Whether or not the babies masturbate while hidden under their covering of quilts we were not, of course, able to observe. Since infants are usually carried when they are not sleeping, they do not have much opportunity to masturbate”. Aunts may “playfully pull the child’s penis while joking with him” (p316). No comments are made on childhood.

***Brahmin, Brahman* (India)**

¹⁵⁶ Rohner, R. P. (1988) *Women and Children in a Bengali Village*. Hanover, Conn. / London: Published for University of Connecticut, University Press of New England

¹⁵⁷ Minturn, L. & Hitchcock, J. T. (1963) The Rājipūts of Khalapur, in Whiting, B. B. (Ed.) *Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing*. New York: Wiley, p207-361

Brahmin male education was “characterized by a commitment to sexual chastity, an important aspect of the vow of brahmacharya that the student had to take”¹⁵⁸. “Traditionally”, writes Harper (1964:p170)¹⁵⁹, “Brahmin girls were married before puberty, and the marriage was consummated fifteen days after she reached puberty [...]”. Describing Kondayamkottai Maravars, Fawcett (1903:p62)¹⁶⁰ states: “Marriage may be celebrated either before, or after, puberty, and, though girls may live with their husbands before this event, it is unusual for the ceremony to take place after it. After puberty, a girl should not live with her parents”. “Until recently, Brahmans used to be marry their girls before puberty, and parents who had not succeeded in finding husbands for daughters past the age of puberty were regarded as guilty of a great sin” (Srinivas, 1956:p484)¹⁶¹. This is significant, since Brahman marriage is “in theory indissoluble”. Among the “low” castes, this institution was taken with more liberalism, and marriage after puberty may occur. In the Mysore Brahmin community studied by Srinivas, all marriages had to be consummated “on the sixteenth night after the bride’s puberty” (Srinivas, 1942¹⁶²:p134-5; Goody, 1990:p207-8)¹⁶³. In the Nagara Brahmin community on which Mankad (1934-5)¹⁶⁴ reported, a bride only visited her husband’s home after puberty and took up permanent residence there six months later.

Konyak and Tankhul Nagas (India)

“Until puberty there is little contact between children of different *morung* [men’s house, entered variably at ages 9 to as late as 16]. They rarely play together and especially the girls are not often seen outside their own *khel*. But as soon as interest in the opposite sex awakens, things change radically. An Oukheang boy will sneak at night to the house of a Balang girl” (Von Furer-Haimendorf, 1938:p362)¹⁶⁵.

The Tankhul Nagas prescribed an ivory ring to be worn from puberty onward on “the person”, allegedly to prevent erectio penis (Watt)¹⁶⁶.

Chamars (India)

The Chamars practiced pre- and postnatal betrothal (Briggs, 1920 [1975:p74])¹⁶⁷.

¹⁵⁸ Reagan, T. (2000) *Non-Western Educational Traditions*. Alternative Approaches to Educational Thought and Practice. 2nd ed. London [etc]: Erlbaum, p140

¹⁵⁹ Harper, E. B. (1964) Ritual Pollution as an Integrator of Caste and Religion, *J Asian Stud* 23:151-97

¹⁶⁰ Fawcett, F. (1903) The Kondayamkottai Maravars, a Dravidian Tribe of Tinnevely, Southern India, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 33:57-65

¹⁶¹ Srinivas. M. N. (1956) A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization, *Far Eastern Quart* 15,4:481-96

¹⁶² Srinivas. M. N. (1942) *Marriage and Family in Symore*. Bombay: New Book

¹⁶³ Goody, J. (1990) *The Oriental, the Ancient and the Primitive*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

¹⁶⁴ Mankad, B. L. (1934/5) Genealogical study of some vital problems op population, *J Univ Bombay* 2:280-307; 4:105-29

¹⁶⁵ Furer-Haimendorf, Ch. Von (1938) The Morung System of the Konyak Nagas, Assam, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 68:349-78

¹⁶⁶ Watt, G. (1887) The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 16:346-70, at p365-6

¹⁶⁷ Briggs, G. W. (1920 [1975]) *The Chamars*. Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation

Nayar (India)

The Tali ritual has been mentioned. Gough (1961 [1962:p346])¹⁶⁸ further notes that in former times “mothers and other matrilineally related women instructed girls in the arts of love”.

Todas (India) (-,-,-,-,-,-;-;-;G1)

According to Rivers (1906:p503)¹⁶⁹, a “man of strong physique” has intercourse with the girl for one night 14 or 15 days after the prepubescent *putkuli tâzâr utili* ceremony. “This [intercourse] must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period [170]. [The Institutes of Vishnu proscribe that “A damsel whose menses begin to appear (while she is living) at her father’s house, before she has been betrothed to a man, has to be considered as a degraded woman: by taking her (without the consent of her kinsmen) a man commits no wrong”¹⁷¹] It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman’s life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time”. Walker (1986:p200)¹⁷² stated that marriage was initiated in childhood and completed at maturity. “Usually parents arrange marital alliances for their offspring before the children are two or three years old, and it is not uncommon for an infant of no more than a few months old to be married. The children remain with their parents until maturity, and it is possible that the original alliance will be dissolved and a new one arranged before the young couple begin to live together”. Walker also maintains that defloration, both symbolic and actual, were traditionally performed before menarche, “or otherwise she and her parents would suffer great shame” (p202-4). Insinuations on its continuation were found to be contradictory. A frightened girl would be told certain stories¹⁷³ to “coax her into agreeing to the rite”. It was performed by one of few men assigned for the task, although no formal rules were said to exist on this point.

Hill Maria (India) (Maria Gond: 2,2,2,2,2,2;8,8)

¹⁶⁸ Gough, K. (1961) Nayar: Central Keral, in Schneider, D. M. & Gough, K. (Eds.) *Matrilineal Kinship*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, p298-404

¹⁶⁹ Rivers, W. H. R. (1906) *The Todas*. New York: MacMillan & Co.

¹⁷⁰ Peter (1963:p260), op.cit.: “It is looked upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this [defloration] has been done [...]”.

¹⁷¹ Jolly, J. (transl., 1880) *The Institutes of Vishnu*. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 7. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, XXVI, r41, p109

¹⁷² Walker, A. R. (1986) *The Toda of South India*. Delhi: Hindustan

¹⁷³ “Chief among these was the tale that the maternal uncle would die and be ashamed in the afterworld if the girl did not undergo the traditional defloration. Another story argued that the girl would suffer defloration in the afterworld by a *karumba* using a grain pounder”.

Grigson (1938:p268-9)¹⁷⁴ stated that a few Hill Maria practised the *ghotul* in a similar manner as the Muria tribes. Girls assembled every evening by the boys' dormitory to join in song, dance and games, including sexual games. The girls had ghotul names and responsibilities just as the boys did, and the elder boys and girls were charged with teaching the young the elements of tribal culture.

Hill Maria girls associated with boys at an early age. Children were expected to attend the dormitories beginning at the age of eleven or twelve. All boys assembled at the dormitory in the evening for dancing, games and social or sexual training, sleeping on there after the departure of the girls to their homes late in the night. Every girl attended the boy's dormitory every night and had her boy friend to serve. Each girl paired off with a boy of a clan that was eligible for marriage. The girls combed their boys' hair and massaged their arms and legs, danced with them, were initiated into the mysteries of sex with them. According to numerous informants, they often had sexual intercourse together and were expected to ultimately marry their mate. Marriage frequently followed these dormitory unions, but by no means always.

Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla (India)

Fuchs (1960)¹⁷⁵ stated that "a girl picks up knowledge of menstruation and sex life from older girls and women or from observing the menstruation of her own mother". Menarche occurs at about age 14 (p243). Child marriage was gradually introduced in former days (p259). Betrothal may take place at age 12 (boys) and ten (girls); the children are not consulted unless they are both "of age" (p261, 262). "It is not necessary [however] that the bride be sexually mature at the time of her wedding. If she has not yet reached puberty, she usually returns to her parents after the celebration. But sometimes she begins to live with her husband soon after marriage, especially if the latter is no longer so young (p266). Thus, "[s]ome young girls have to live with their husband even before puberty, especially if the husband is a grown-up man and unwilling to wait any longer for the consummation of the marriage (p291).

Hill Saoras (India)

Elwin (1955)¹⁷⁶ stated that premarital sex life was rather free. "Saora marriage, which takes place rather early, at sixteen or seventeen for the boys, fifteen or sixteen for the girls, does not initiate its partners into sexual experience, either generally or with one another (p54 , see also p565-6). There is no dormitory, and marriages are arranged but this is sometimes "prevented" by the young.

In one village (Ladde in 1950), a number of "remarkably goodlooking young boys "practised pederasty in which the "older boys held the younger in their arms, fondled them and

¹⁷⁴ Grigson, W.V. (1938) *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*. London: Oxford University Press

¹⁷⁵ Fuchs, S. (1960) *The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla*. London: Asia Publishing House

¹⁷⁶ Elwin, V. (1955) *The Religion of an Indian Tribe*. London [etc.]: Oxford University Press

performed a number of pantomimes in which they graphically imitated the sex act. But it was always the normal act, and the fact that they did it publicly amid ribald shouts of applause shows that they were entirely innocent of any fear of taboo" (p518).

Sinhalese (India)

"Among Sinhalese, pre-puberty intercourse is regarded to be beastly, a moral defect. I relate this disapproval to the fact that the puberty rite is not performed until menstruation and the young girl is particularly exposed to ritual dangers by such untimely intercourse" (Yalman, 1963:p57, n26)¹⁷⁷. Until the present century, female puberty and marriage ceremonies were identical, and the existence of both boy- en girlhood "adolescence" was denied¹⁷⁸. Leach (1961)¹⁷⁹:

"This is a society in which the individual achieves adult status very young. Girls are considered adult as soon as they have had their first menstruation and they commonly bear children very shortly afterwards. There is probably some tendency for the age at which women have their first pregnancy to rise, but this is not yet obvious. Mothers of fifteen or sixteen years of age are common. Boys usually start getting "married" at about the age of eighteen".

Purum (India)

Shakespear¹⁸⁰:

"The Purum have a curious custom, that if a man has a son and a daughter the son must go and sleep in the house of some one who has an unmarried daughter; my informant tells me, "That though they sleep thus they are very careful about their characters". If they are, they are exceptional, for among most of these tribes, much freedom is accorded to unmarried girls, as success in the courts of Venus is a sure passport to the Lushai heaven" (p375).

Veda (India, Sri Lanka) (unrated) (Forest Vedda: 2-,2,2-,2,-,-,-,-)

Veda child marriage was said to be consummated before puberty (Metschnikoff, [1910:p117])¹⁸¹. Shashi (1978:p48)¹⁸²: "The young children start their sexual activities by massaging the older children, and are only then "initiated" into actual intercourse. Intercourse begins at age 5 or 6, initiated by an adolescent or adult: "A big girl teaches a little boy by letting him fondle her breasts and hug her. Then she opens and spreads her legs and

¹⁷⁷ Yalman, N. On the Purity of Women in the Castes of Ceylon and Malabar, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 93,1:25-58

¹⁷⁸ Furstenberg, Jr., F. F. (1998) When Will Teenage Childbearing Become a Problem? The Implications of Western Experience for Developing Countries, *Stud Fam Plann* 29,2:137-53, at p144

¹⁷⁹ Leach, E. R. (1961) *Pul Eliya, A Village in Ceylon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

¹⁸⁰ Shakespear, J. (1909) The Kuki-Lushai Clans, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 39:371-85

¹⁸¹ Metschnikof, E. ([1910]) *Studien über die Natur des Menschen*. Leipzig: Von Veit & Co.

¹⁸² Shashi, S.S. (1978) *Night Life of Indian Tribes*. Delhi: Agarn Prakarlтан

makes the little boy lie on her breasts. She shows him how to open her clothes and insert the little penis with his hand””.

“Marriage takes place at an early age; it is said that girls sometimes married before puberty, and as we heard this at Henebedda, Bandaraduwa, and Onuni, we see no reason to doubt the truth of this statement. We are indebted to Mr. Frederick Lewis for the information that this is a common practise among Tamils”¹⁸³.

Santals (India) (2+, 2+, 3-, 3-, 2, 3; 6, 4; B1)

For the Santal living mostly in Bihar and Orissa, reasonably good descriptions of premarital sex were recorded in the 1930s and 1940s, which report of a permissive attitude towards premarital sex (Biswas, 1956¹⁸⁴; Mukherjea, 1962)¹⁸⁵. Mukherjea (1962:p392-401) states that *Santal* children, in consequence of a marriage game “play at coitus”. “One Santal narrated to us, “I have seen that during the children’s game called *Uku Uku*, they play at hide and seek and hunt out others from the bushes. During all these, children throw themselves on one another. They embrace in a childish attempt to get out and this physical contact results in sex-encounters with consequent childish coitus. [...] Old sandals told us that attempts at coitus indulged in by mere children are very common”. The author cites further examples of games resulting in open displays of “childish coitus”¹⁸⁶. “We gathered that sex-encounters of children are very common in field where they tend cows or buffaloes, and the minimum age for such children was given as four to five”. Nevertheless, “As regards the age in which boys and girls receive their first sexual experience, the opinion of the Santals questioned on the point varied. Some put it at 14-15 years with boys who attain puberty, while for girls they gave the age at 12-13 “when the breasts ripen”, as they put it. Others put it at 16-17 with males and 13-14 with females. Two educated Santals questioned at different places stated that boys and girls receive their first experience at 10-12 and 9-10 years respectively” (p400). This is supported by communications to Archer, which indicated that boys “start when they are ten or twelve, girls when they are eight or nine”(1974:p55).

Archer (1974:p56)¹⁸⁷ also observed Santal children in their intimacies:

“The scene of a first [sexual] encounter is often the forest. While they are grazing the cattle, boys and girls play “Houses”. They appoint village officials. “You are the manjhi. She is manjhi budhi”. They make little hearths and pretend to cook rice. “It is then that they are yoked. Later, after dark, the boy and girl come together”. “Sometimes a boy and girl play together. The boy goes on all fours. The girl rides on him. Suddenly he turns on his back and holds her. A girl pulls her away. He seizes her legs. If the girl likes it, the boy does it”.

¹⁸³ Seligmann, G. G. & Seligmann, B., Z. (1911) *The Veddars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p95

¹⁸⁴ Biswas, P.C. (1956) *Santals of the Santal Parganas*. Delhi: Bharatiya Adim Jati Sangh

¹⁸⁵ Mukherjea, Ch. (1962) *The Santals*. Revised edition. Calcutta: A. Mukherjee. Orig.:1943

¹⁸⁶ It was noted that the grandfather, brother-in-law, or father’s sister’s husband explain the mysteries of sex to children of four to five years of age with occasional demonstration of process how to indulge in coitus (p396). Later it may take include more personal tutoring.

¹⁸⁷ Archer, W. G. (1974) *The Hill of Flutes: Life, Love, and Poetry in Tribal India: A Portrait of the Santals*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press

"A common game which is sometimes a prelude to encounters is played in the evening. This is oko oko or "Hide and Seek". A boy covers his eyes with his hands. All the boys and girls run away. A girl is waiting for him. He rushes to her and while the others are hiding they hurry down the village street. These encounters do not necessarily end in passionate friendships. They are petty, childish introductions to the act of sex and it is not in fact until the ménarche that Santal girls begin to long at all avidly for "the play of boys". "It is when the flower has blossomed that desire seizes her"¹⁸⁸.

Archer (1974:p78; 1984:p515)¹⁸⁹ adds the following:

"Among the Pardhans, Shamrao Hivale states, "Before marriage both boys and girls live lives of almost complete freedom. Even little children of four or five years indulge in erotic play together and most boys and girls have had their first experiences long before puberty. Elder people 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. [...]"

"There is, however, no conscious organisation of their sexual life. Unlike Uraons, Hos and Mundas who from an early age segregate their boys and girls and bed them down at night in separate houses, Santals keep their children in their families. Until they are six or seven years old, they sleep near their parents. After that, they are put in separate rooms. If their parents sleep on the walled verandah, their sons and daughters go inside. If a boy lies on the verandah, his parents shift to the courtyard or occupy an inner room. It is when the children are asleep and then in the darkness of the house that their parents cohabit and it is only by accident that a child surprises them together" (Archer, p55).

"Flower friendships" between boys or between girls are "strictly nonsexual" (p86-7). Children acquire sexual knowledge early by hearing conversations of their elders and observing parent coitus and coitus of others (Verma, 1970)¹⁹⁰. They tend to attempt coitus at an early age and some of their games involve sexual encounter. First actual cohabitation tends to occur around puberty. Pre-marital sex is well tolerated.

Garos (India) (2,2,3-,3-,3-,3-,3,3) (eHRAF)

Among the Garos, conjugal coitus is said to be delayed until puberty¹⁹¹. Dalton (1872:p64, as cited by Ronhaar)¹⁹² reports "no restriction to innocent intercourse", boys and girls freely

¹⁸⁸ "It is from this time [5 to 6] that boys and girls begin to know each other. During the leisured grazing of the cattle, they often meet and play games and in the early evening come together in the village street and sometimes play till supper. Most of these games are jolly romps but some provide opportunities for gentle fumbling embraces. All of them accustom the children to each other's ways. They scramble together and from their very early years handle each other with natural familiarity. Through this play the children establish the easy joking friendships out of which their later romances mature (p35-6)". "It is from slightly older children that a Santal boy first learns the facts of life. "Boys learn how to go to girls" said Dhunu "by talking about it. They pick it up in the fields. Other boys do not show them how. They only tell them". Occasionally a boy learns it from an older woman. "A grandmother takes a grandson. She has not done it for a long time. She makes him do it to her". Sometimes a great aunt takes a young boy. Or his elder brother's wife shows him. "His brother does not know but it is only for a day and if he knew he would not mind. Girls on the other hand do not usually learn from girls. "It is the boys who teach them" " (p55-6).

¹⁸⁹ Archer W. G. (1984) *Tribal law and Justice: A Report on the Santal*. New Delhi: Concept

¹⁹⁰ Verma, K. K. (1970) Socio-Cultural Dimensions of Fertility: A Case Study of the Santal, *J Soc Res* 13,2:70-81

¹⁹¹ This is suggested by Nakane, Ch. (1967) *Garos and Khasis: A Comparative Study in Matrilineal Systems*. Paris: Mouton, p47-8: "When the head of a *nok* dies before the *nokna* marries the *nokrom*, the *nokrom* will marry both mother and daughter at the same time: the former is recognized as *jikmamong* (principal or first wife), and the latter *jikgite* (secondary wife). In such a case, the widow is

mixing during field labour. Sinha (1966:p43)¹⁹³ remarked: "I have seen boys aged from four to seven years playing with bitches, as if performing sexual intercourse. In two or three cases, I noticed the penis of the boy erected, which he was pressing near the vulva of the bitch. On one occasion, I found a boy doing the same with a she-goat". The adults regard it as nonsexual imitation of animal copulation¹⁹⁴, and joke about it. Masturbation¹⁹⁵ and homosexuality are said to be unknown, while "children are not known to indulge in heterosexual intercourse or sexual play till they are physically grown up" (Goswami and Majumdar, 1968:p56-7, 59)¹⁹⁶, despite ample opportunity for conversational instruction. Instead, "Young girls are occasionally married before puberty, and in such cases husbands copulate with them before the attainment of puberty. It is, however, believed that girls before puberty cannot retain the seeds deposited by the male. There is no taboo against sexual act with girls who have yet to attain puberty".

[Additional refs.: Burling (1963)¹⁹⁷].

Muria Gonds of Bastar (India)

Frequently entering ethnosensitive discussions on erotic coming-of-age¹⁹⁸, the Ghotul institution of the Muria was studied by Elwin¹⁹⁹, and later by Gell (1992)²⁰⁰. The alleged positive aspects of the institution were never established²⁰¹. Elwin (1968:p127-8):

"From their earliest days in the ghotul the little chlik and motiari play together until gradually, imperceptibly the vaginal entrance is enlarged and the hymen disappears without a tear. "We used to behave', said an elderly man, "exactly like little bulls and cows, sporting together till the bull could

usually comparatively young and her daughter still a child. Actual sexual relations with the latter will take place only when she attains puberty".

¹⁹² Dalton, E. T. (1872) *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. Calcutta; Ronhaar, J. H. (1931) *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*. Groningen [Holland]: Wolters / London: D. Nutt, p333

¹⁹³ Sinha, T. (1966) *The Psyche of the Garos*. Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India, Govt. of India

¹⁹⁴ Schachter and Cotte (1951) also conclude that it is the *ambiance psycho-mésologique* [psychosocial environment] that favours imitation of animal copulation.

¹⁹⁵ This was, as the authors point out, contested by Sinha (1966:p42), *op.cit.*

¹⁹⁶ Goswami, M. C. & Majumdar, D. N. (1968) A Study of Social Attitudes Among the Garo, *Man in India* 48, 1:53-70

¹⁹⁷ Burling, R. (1963) *Rengsangri: Family and Kinship in a Garo Village*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

¹⁹⁸ E.g., Brongersma, E. (1963) De les van de Muria, *Te Elfder Ure* [Dutch]10,10:308-12; DeMause (1991), *op.cit.*; Müller, K. E. & Treml, A. K. (Eds., 2002) *Wie Man zum Wilden Wird*. Berlin: D. Reimer, p206-18; Valsiner, J. (2000) *Culture and Human Development: An Introduction*. London [etc.]: Sage, p285; 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, esp. p9-12; Symons, D. (1979) *The Evolution of Human Sexuality*. New York: Oxford University Press, p114-6

¹⁹⁹ Elwin, V. (1947) *The Muria and their Ghotul*. Bombay (etc.): Oxford University Press; Elwin, V. (1968) *The Kingdom of the Young*. Bombay/London: Oxford University Press. For a discussion on Elwin as a sexologist, see his biography by Guha, R. (1999) *Savaging the Civilized: Verrier Elwin, His Tribals, and India*. New Delhi: University of Chicago Press

²⁰⁰ Gell, S. M. S. (1992) *The Ghotul in Muria Society*. Philadelphia: Harwood Academic Publishers. Based on a 1984 PhD thesis, Australian National University, Canberra. Cf. Gell, S. M. S. (1996) The Ghotul in Muria Society., *J Anthropol Soc Oxford* 27,2:178-80

²⁰¹ However, see Singh, B. G. & Verma, O. P. (1990) Cultural differences in locus of control beliefs in two Indian societies, *J Social Psychol* 130,6:725-9

penetrate". "When you sleep with a girl night after night", said a chelik, "however small you may be, as long as flesh becomes wood, you try to beat her with it. [...]".

"The adults supervise and encourage all the sexual activities that take place in the dormitories. Although at times children as little as two years of age are taken to sleep in the dormitories, they are usually not required to be part of the sex activities until 5 or 6, since if they are made to have sex at 3 or 4 they often "wet their beds [and] wake up crying" (Elwin, 1947:p358).

Elwin (1947:p419-58) gives a detailed analysis of the sexual mores of the ghotul. Quoting some of the Murian attitudes to prepubescent coitus: "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". The Muria dormitories are called a "happy, exciting world" in contrast, says Elwin (1964:p167)²⁰², to other Indian villages where there was more child rape than in dormitory villages.

An initiation ceremony includes penile insertion in a lubricated split twig.

Baiga (India)

Elwin (1939:p230-2)²⁰³ noted that, apart from playing *Houses* (with coital implications), *Baiga* children, who are believed to be born with "a complete equipment of phallic knowledge", improvise games such as "Cow and Bull, Horse and Mare, Cock and Hen, Pig and Sow, and play them with a wealth of realistic detail which reveals considerable physiological knowledge"; all this, of course, in the privacy of the jungle. "[Children's] sexual consciousness is developed very early. [...] Even when [parents] see their children indulging in erotic play, they simply laugh tolerantly. "Sometimes we say, "Why do it now? Wait a little". But the children grow excited, so what should they do?".

Nimar Bahalis (India)

Fuchs (1950:p94-5)²⁰⁴ commented on the early knowledge of sex matters in Balahi children. "It is said that small children sometimes imitate the sexual acts of their parents by, as they say, playing "father and mother"²⁰⁵. Their parents frown on them, though indulgently, if they

²⁰² Elwin, V. (1964) *The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin: An Autobiography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

²⁰³ Elwin, V. (1939) *The Baiga*. London: John Murray. Critical passage quoted by Stephens (1963:p377-8). See also Whiting, J. & Child, I. (1953) *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, p81. Also R  heim, G. (1946) The oedipus complex and infantile sexuality, *Psychoanal Quart* 15:503-8

²⁰⁴ Fuchs, S. (1950) *The Children of Hari: A Study of the Nimar Bahalis in the Central Provinces of India*. Vienna: Herold

²⁰⁵ "Thus, "they play "father and mother", imitating even the sexual actions of their parents", or birth, weddings, parental quarrels, and work (p122).

see them acting in this way". Further, "[s]exual intercourse between half-grown boys and girls occurs, but not very frequently, since from childhood they are separated at play and at work. It is more frequent that boys or girls learn homosexual practices from their older companions, and this especially during the hot season when there is little work to do and the children remain the whole day out on the fields grazing the cattle". Sexual intercourse, even after marriage, is not permitted before the *ana* ceremony has taken place, although "love-affairs between half-grown people are not taken very seriously" (p67). Betrothal takes place at age 6 to 8 (boys), and slightly younger for girls (p126). Soon after menarche, the father-in-law comes to "fetch" her as she is ready to enter married life (p163). Sexual intercourse is commenced immediately, abstinence leads to suspicion of infidelity or impotence. Thus, the Bahali youths "have no incentive for the artful sports of courtship".

Fuchs (1939:p71-2)²⁰⁶:

"The Bahalis have for their young people, boys as well as girls, no official introduction to sexual life, such as an initiation ceremony. They attain an early knowledge of such matters from the talk and conduct of their parents and elder brothers and sisters, who speak quite freely and openly of such things even in their ordinary conversations. During the night, the parents, as also the married brothers and sisters and the smallest children, all sleep together in the same narrow hut. There the children see and hear everything that takes place, and so very early acquire a knowledge of sexual affairs. The ritual of birth-ceremonies and marriage-ceremonies contains songs about and favours the discussion of even the most intimate details of married life. The children are of course very interested listeners and are not excluded from such gatherings. [...] the children hear all these expressions very often daily, and use them too, at first not knowing the meaning, but that they learn soon enough. [...] [Their parents] often take delight in hearing how their little children utter such coarse expressions, "Look", they say, "how our little one can curse and swear although he is still so small!" Sexual intercourse between boys and girls occurs, but not often, since they separate and do not play with each other".

"Soon after the first menstruation, at the latest after the second or third, the girl goes to her husband. According to custom she has long since been married, but she has not yet lived with her boy-husband. This will begin now [...]. The people believe that unless the girl is brought to her husband and to sexual intercourse soon after her first menstruation, she will become sterile" and to prevent premarital sexual behaviour. "Old people still remember, however, the times when the girl was not brought to her husband or even married before her sixteenth year. They believe that early sexual intercourse has many evil consequences, that it weakens the physical strength of the young couple and that it produces only weak and sickly offspring".

Telugu (India)

"Both boys and girls start masturbating at about six. The practice is condemned by adults" (Gregerson, 1983:p232). The Telugu practice "genital greeting" (Money et al., 1991)²⁰⁷.

²⁰⁶ Fuchs, S. (1939) Birth and Childhood among the Balahis, *Anthropol Quart* 12,3:71-84

²⁰⁷ Money, J., Swayam Prakasam, K. & Joshi, V. N. (1991) Transcultural Development Sexology: Genital Greeting Versus Child Molestation, *Iss Child Abuse Accus* 4,3. Available at http://www.ipt-forensics.com/journal/volume3/j3_4_4.htm

Lepcha (Sikkim, *India*) (2-,2-,2,2,2-,2-;9,9;E)

Gorer (1967)²⁰⁸ gives a detailed account of Lepcha childhood sexuality²⁰⁹. 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 be 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). Children's play of marriage "always end in simulated copulation; if the "bride" is another boy, the children tie their penises together. From about the age of ten children at marriage feasts and similar gatherings are likely sort themselves into pairs and attempt copulation; there is also a certain amount of mutual masturbation among boys. [...] Adult Lepchas consider such sex-play extremely funny, though very childish; far from being disapproving of the children, they are more likely to egg them on" (p310). In the name of legalised adultery, boys have their first "real" experience and training with an older married woman, usually an older brother's wife (p161, 326). Betrothal and marriage start at age 8 (girls) and 12 (boys); at the time of writing, most girls were betrothed before, or at, pubescence.

Lodha (West-Bengal, *India*)

Parents stimulate boys' but not girls' genitalia (Ray, 1965:p96)²¹⁰.

Uttar Pradesh (*India*) (3,3+,3+,4,4,4+;3,1)

²⁰⁸ Gorer, G. (1967) *Himalayan Village*. New York: Basic Books

²⁰⁹ See also Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Row, p191: "The Lepcha of believe that girls with not mature without benefit of sexual intercourse. Early sex play among boys and girls characteristically involves many forms of mutual masturbation and usually ends in attempted copulation. By the time they are eleven or twelve years old, most girls regularly engage in full intercourse. Older men occasionally copulate with girls as young as eight years of age. Instead of being regarded as a criminal offense, such behavior is considered amusing by the Lepcha".

²¹⁰ Ray, P. C. (1965) *The Lodha and their Spirit-Possessed Men*. Calcutta. As cited by Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilizationprocess*. 2nd ed., p201/416n25

[No data could be traced to date.]

Andamanese (2,2,2,2,2,6,7) (India) (eHRAF)

Radcliffe-Brown (1922 [1964:p94])²¹¹: “According to the account given to me by one informant I gathered that the girl’s first menstrual discharge is supposed to be due to sexual intercourse. The man’s breath goes into her nose and this produces the discharge”. The pre-1900 Andamanese practiced betrothal in infancy and marriage after “maturity”; the children are separated during childhood and after an initial get-together the girl returns home or is adopted by one of her father’s friends (Man, 1883a:p81/1983b:p136; cf. Paige and Paige, 1981:p86-7)²¹². Brown: “Promiscuous intercourse between the sexes is the rule before marriage and no harm is thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from the love affair” (p70)²¹³.

Man (p135-6) quotes Peschel in applying the general rule to the observed: “A great many races of mankind are quite indifferent to juvenile unchastity, and only impose strict conduct on their women after marriage”. “Notwithstanding”, Man continues, “the girls are strikingly modest and childlike in their demeanour [...]” and kinship regulations are norm-providing. Cipriani (1961)²¹⁴ offers some unclear communications: “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” (p493). And then: “Once more 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” (p498).

Nicobarese (2,2,2,2,3-3-;-;-;G3) (India)

[No data could be traced to date.]

²¹¹ Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. (1922) *The Andaman Islanders*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1964 Free Press reprint

²¹² Man, E. H. (1883a) On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. (Part I.), *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 12:69-116. Man, E. H. (1883b) On the Aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands (Part II), *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 12:117-75; Paige, K. E. & Paige, J. M. (1981) *The Politics of Reproductive Ritual*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press

²¹³ Also quoted in Crul, Th. W. (1942) *Het Huwelijk bij de “Ethnologische Oervolken”*. Dissertation. Leiden [Holland]: A. W. Sijthoff, p30

²¹⁴ Cipriani, L. (1961) Hygiene and medical practices among the Onge (Little Andaman), *Anthropos* 56:481-500

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- Joshi et al. (2001)²¹⁵
- Mehra, S., Savithri, R. & Coutinho, L. (2002) *Sexual Behaviour among Unmarried Adolescents in Delhi, India: Opportunities Despite Parental Controls*. Paper presented at IUSSP Regional Population Conference, Bangkok, Thailand, June 10-13
- Nanda (1990)²¹⁶
- Sengupta, S. (1990) *Erotic Folklore: Its Importance. A Short Note for Interested Scholars, Folklore* [Calcutta] 31(358):161-8

²¹⁵ Joshi, A., Dhapola, M., Kurian, E. & Pelto, P. J. (2001) Experiences and Perceptions of Marital Sexual Relationships among Rural Women in Gujarat, India, *Asia-Pacific Population J* 16,2:225-38

²¹⁶ Nanda, S. (1990) *Neither Man nor Woman: The Hijras of India*. Belmont: Wadsworth

Pakistan (Pashtun, Punjabi, Hunsa)

Srinivas (1976:p149)²¹⁷ stated that in Rampura,

“[t]he sex urge showed itself from a very young age. According to village opinion, a boy was ready for marriage as soon as he was strong enough to do a man’s work on land, and hair had sprouted above his upper lip [²¹⁸]. And a girl was ready for marriage a year or two before attaining puberty. The consummation ceremony was generally held a few months after puberty. Among orthodox Brahmins, however, parents were required to get their daughters married before they came of age. Failure to do so meant not only incurring the wrath of relatives and caste folk but committing a sin”.

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 (p150, 153). Non-Brahmin girls would be “booked” at ages ten or twelve, the wedding taking place at puberty. According to ECPAT (Nov., 2002), “Since sexual intercourse out of wedlock is prohibited in Pakistan there is no specified legal age of consent. According to the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance the legal age of marriage is 18 years for males and 16 years for girls. However, marriages with children under this age are still valid”.

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”²¹⁹. Public discussion of child abuse, sexual abuse, and the sexuality of mentally handicapped people is unwelcome in Pakistan, as in some other Asian and Muslim nations²²⁰. Among the Muslims, a gradual segregation of the sexes ends successful at puberty, when the children are no longer encouraged to mix; menarche is very important in this respect (Donnan, 1988:p91-7)²²¹. Rape of young girls occurred “rather frequently. This is understandable, because grown up girls and women are protected, while young girls have more freedom until they start to menstruate” (Sikkel-Buffinga, 1980:p168)²²².

Wilber (1964:p130-1)²²³ relates: “Attitudes of prudery surrounding sexual matters on the part of women result in the situation that many girls enter married life in ignorance”. Under Islamic code, unchaste daughters may be killed in tribal agencies, and “unmarried daughters are carefully protected after puberty and family members keep watch over young men to prevent them from going astray”. “In the Pushtu-speaking areas of West-Pakistan, the unavailability and deprecation of women have encouraged the alternative practice in which the love objects are young boys and homosexual love is part of popular folklore”.

²¹⁷ Srinivas, M. N. (1976) *The Remembered Village*. Delhi [etc.]: Oxford University Press

²¹⁸ The moustache later lost its symbol of masculinity in more urban regions.

²¹⁹ Sopher, D. E. (1964) The Swidden/Wet-Rice Transition Zone in the Chittagong Hills, *Ann Assoc Am Geographers* 54,1:107-26, at p113

²²⁰ Miles, M. (1996) Walking delicately around mental handicap, sex education and abuse in Pakistan, *Child Abuse Rev* 5,4:263-74

²²¹ Donnan, H. (1988) *Marriage among Muslims*. Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation

²²² Sikkel-Buffinga, A. J. (1980) Roles and attitudes toward sexual behavior in Pakistan, in Forleo, R. & Pasini, W. (Ed.) *Medical Sexology*. Amsterdam [etc.]: Elsevier, p166-9

²²³ Wilber, D. N. (1964) *Pakistan*. New Haven: HRAF Press

In Baluchistan Province, “[s]ome engagements were arranged by parents when the spouses-to-be were small children” (Salzman, 2000:p242-3)²²⁴. “Girls were usually given in marriage around the onset of puberty at fifteen years, but preferably before. As females were believed to have strong sexual desires, this timing was seen as avoiding problems with premarital sex”.

Khan (2000:p17-25)²²⁵ offers a detailed analysis of growing up sexually in Pakistan. Studies detail a high rate of masturbation nosologies.

In a sample of 188 men between the ages 18-30 years, who presented to the outpatient department of the Aga Khan University Hospital, Pakistan, 31.4% and 63.8% of the respondents reported association of physical illness and weakness with masturbation²²⁶. Responses were 14.9% and 42.6% for nocturnal emissions. Aahung²²⁷ found that most questioned boys aged 11-19 believed that masturbation endangered one’s health, and commonly associated it with causing the penis to become crooked or loose. Aagan²²⁸ found that young people feared that their future sexual performance would be negatively affected, that physical weakness, infertility, reduction in penis shape, loss of virginity, or related health problems may result from masturbation. These misconceptions are so deeply rooted in culture and tradition, that researchers may be amazed to discover the hold of some extraordinary myths. For example, male child prostitutes interviewed in the North West Frontier Province believed that among all the sexual practices they knew of, including sex with girls, sex with men or boys, sex with animals, and masturbation, the latter was by far the most sinful. In fact, they believed that if someone masturbated God would get a fever”.

Further,

“[a]s girls enter puberty and become of marriageable age, they find their mobility and access to opportunities – such as education and employment –severely curtailed, all in the name of preserving their (and their community’s) honor (Khan 1998; Mumtaz and Rauf 1996). If a girl violates social norms and is discovered to have engaged in sexual relations, or even flirtation, with a boy then she will be either beaten or killed according to customary laws, or she will be vulnerable to charges of adultery under the Hudood Ordinances that may lead to imprisonment or death. [...]The mainstream media and education system do not offer adolescents the information they need. Parents are also not a source of sex education for their children (Qidwai 1996)[²²⁹]”.

Pashtun (Pakistan; Afghanistan) (eHRAF)

Lindholm (1982:p134-5)²³⁰ states that a groom

²²⁴ Salzman, Ph. C. (2000) *Black Tents of Baluchistan*. Washington [etc.]: Smithsonian Institution Press

²²⁵ Khan, A. (June, 2000) *Adolescents and Reproductive Health in Pakistan: A Literature Review*. Final Report. The Population Council, Pakistan Office

²²⁶ Qidwai, W. (1999) Sexual knowledge and practice in Pakistani young men, *J Pak Med Assoc* 49,10:251-4. Cf. Khan, A. (June, 2000) *Adolescents and Reproductive Health in Pakistan: A Literature Review*. Final Report. The Population Council, Pakistan Office, p18

²²⁷ Aahung (1999) *AIDS Awareness Programme, Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices Survey Report*. Karachi: Aahung AIDS Awareness Programme. Khan (2000:p18-9)

²²⁸ Aagan (1998) *Aagan Compilation of Sexual Concerns of the Youth (Non-Child Sexual Abuse Cases)*. Islamabad: Aagan. Khan (2000:p19)

²²⁹ Qidwai, W. (1996) *Assessment of Sexual Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices in Young Males Presenting to General Practitioners in Karachi, Pakistan*. Dissertation. Karachi: College of Physicians and Surgeons. Khan (2000:p23)

²³⁰ Lindholm, Ch. (1982) *Generosity and Jealousy: The Swat Pukhtun of northern Pakistan*. New York: Columbia University Press

"[...] visits his bride on the third night, a visit eagerly awaited by his sisters, who may drill a hole in the wall in order to view the defloration. The bride, if she is a khar woman, probably will be completely inexperienced sexually. Her mother has given her instructions on the proper treatment of a husband, but this counsel is primarily magical in nature and concerns ways in which the man can be kept in the woman's power. [...] But practical advice about sex, according to elite women, is nonexistent. The bride awaits her husband, whom she may have never seen before, in an agony of fear that he may not like her, that he may humiliate her by taking another wife. The husband, often a decade or so older and with some sexual experience, may arrive inebriated. He gives the girl a gift of some sweets and a watch or some jewelry. He then should have sex with his new and very young wife".

Anderson²³¹:

"Because marriages consecrate rather than create unities, the length of time taken in putting together a particular match is a measure of what is being accomplished. Some matches are arranged in childhood by brothers or first cousins who wish to keep their families together and, occasionally, by men who wish to make a close personal friendship between themselves (also *dostiy*) more substantial. More commonly, however, engagements are sealed after long negotiations".

Barth²³²:

"If, as is usually the case, the couple are both sexually mature, the *nik[unavailable]* ceremony is repeated, in case the boy, unwittingly or as an oath or curse, should have divorced his wife since the betrothal ceremony. By Moslem law, most kinds of divorce create a legal ban on re-marriage with the same woman—however, as the "marriage" solemnized at the betrothal ceremony has not yet been consummated, this question does not arise. If one or both spouses are still children, the *nik[unavailable]* is postponed till such time as the parents of the boy permit consummation".

Punjabi (Pakistan, India) (West Punjabi: 3-,3-,3+,4+,4,4;2,2)

According to Eglar (1960:p92)²³³, "[...] marriage is consummated only after [a girl] passed puberty and is between fifteen and eighteen years old". Among rural Punjabi, marriage takes place on average some four years after menarche²³⁴. Another study, however found that the mean marriage age of 35-55 year old women was slightly higher than menarche age (mean age at menarche 14.31; mean age at marriage 14.60 years)²³⁵.

As detailed to some extent by Rose²³⁶, "[t]he age at which betrothal may be effected is not fixed, and it varies among different tribes and in different localities, so that it is impossible to generalize regarding it" (p417). Delhi Muhammadans would practice prenatal betrothal (Rose, 1917:p53-4)²³⁷.

²³¹ Anderson, J. W. (1982) Cousin marriage in context: constructing social relations in Afghanistan, *Folk* 24:7-28

²³² Barth, F. (1965) *Political Leadership among Swat Pathans*. London: University of London, The Athlone Press, p17-8

²³³ Eglar, Z. S. (1960) *A Punjabi Village in Pakistan*. New York & Colombia

²³⁴ Fricke, Th. E., Syed, S. H., Smith, P. C. (1986) Rural Punjabi Social Organization and Marriage Timing Strategies in Pakistan, *Demography* 23,4:489-508

²³⁵ Singh, L. & Ahuja, S. (1980) An estimation of reproductive performance in the women of Punjab, *Anthropol Anz* 37,4:266-70

²³⁶ Rose, H. A. (1908) Hindu Betrothal Observances in the Punjab, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 38:409-18

²³⁷ Rose, H. A. (1917) Muhammadan Betrothal Observances in the Punjab, *Man* 17:58-62

Hunsa, Hunza (Himalayas)

Conception and birth are processes known from an early age (Bircher, 1942 [1948:p77])²³⁸. Children hear adult conversations on these issues, and therefore are not in the need of further education “when the capacities of procreation awake”. No child marriages [p78]. Marriage taking place at age 16-18; in case of a low age of the bride, the mother of the groom would sleep between the married ones until the girl is “ripe enough” for the marital act. A girl is marriageable from age 15 ²³⁹.

“In Hunza formerly daughters and sons married according to the wishes of the parents. Some marry their sons in childhood when they are young and some when they are grown up. Those who have no land and people with many sons mostly delay in marrying their sons. A man with only one son marries his son in childhood” (p182).

²³⁸ Bircher, R. (1942) *Hunsa, Ein Volk, Daß keine Krankheit Kennt*. Bern: Huber. Dutch transl., 2nd ed., 1948

²³⁹ Müller-Stellrecht, I. (1979) *Materialien zur Ethnographie von Dardistan (Pakistan)*. Vol. I. Austria: Graz, p159

Bangladesh

In early days, marriageable girls from Comilla District, Bangladesh were described as being infants or slightly older²⁴⁰. As reviewed by Keddie (1979:p325)²⁴¹ the average age of marriage among Muslim women was 12.9 in 1961, in 1968 it was 15.9 and by 1976 it had risen to 17.4 (cf. Zaman)²⁴².

Girls may be married off at the onset of puberty²⁴³. Islam and Mahmud (1996)²⁴⁴ (*orig. footnotes inserted*):

“Traditionally, young age at marriage and early childbearing have been encouraged in Bangladesh. According to Aziz and Maloney (1985)[²⁴⁵], Bangladeshi children, especially in rural areas, are socialized to assume their respective male and female roles well before puberty. This phenomenon has been observed more strictly among girls than boys, because of the impact of girls’ behaviour during adolescence both on their own reputation and that of their family. Before the end of childhood, a girl is expected to begin learning proper decorum for a female so that she will be able to play the part well once puberty begins. The most dangerous stage of life of a Bangladeshi girl is the period following the onset of menstruation when a number of changes occur in her body, making her physically mature. At this stage, several restrictions are imposed by society on her movements, dress, food and freedom to make her own choices. When a young girl grows up, her parents keep her movements under surveillance. Such restrictions on the movement of unmarried girls and women sometimes serve to impede her education. She is advised at all costs to protect her virginity until marriage (Maloney and others, 1981)[²⁴⁶]. In rural Bangladesh there are many social pressures to “marry off” pubescent girls (Aziz and Maloney, 1985)[²⁴⁷]. If the marriage of a pubescent girl is delayed, her parents, and sometimes the girl herself, are made to feel guilty. Sometimes neighbours and even relatives criticize parents if they have not married off their daughters soon after the onset of menarche. In such a situation, parents of poor socio-economic standing may begin to think of their daughter as a burden”.

Khan et al. (2002)²⁴⁸ observed that the age of marriage lies around 15 rurally. Control on female sexuality is organised through attaching negative values to any discussion of sexuality, controlling mobility and friendships with members of the opposite sex, and discouraging access to relevant literature. “Girls are often informed about sexual intercourse just a few days before marriage”, a responsibility taken by sisters-in-law, married friends or

²⁴⁰ Hunter, W. W. (1876) *A Statistical Account of Bengal*. Vol. 6. Delhi: D. K. Publishing House

²⁴¹ Keddie, N. R. (1979) Problems in the Study of Middle Eastern Women, *Int J Middle East Stud* 10,2:225-40

²⁴² Zaman, M. Q. (1982) Marriage and family types in Bangladesh: a village study, *Man in India* 62,2:129-39

²⁴³ Khan, N. Z. & Lynch, M. A. (1997) Recognizing Child Maltreatment in Bangladesh, *Child Abuse & Negl* 21,8:815-8, at p816-7

²⁴⁴ Islam, M. M. & Mahmud, M. (1996) Marriage Patterns and Some Issues Related to Adolescent Marriage in Bangladesh, *Asia-Pacific Population J* 11,3:27-42

²⁴⁵ Aziz, K. M. A. & Maloney, C. (1985) *Life Stage, Gender and Fertility in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh

²⁴⁶ Maloney, C., Aziz, A. K. M. & Sarker, P.C. (1981) *Beliefs and Fertility in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh

²⁴⁷ *Op.cit.*

²⁴⁸ Khan, N. Z., Townsend, J. W. & D’Costa, Sh. (2002) Behind closed doors: a qualitative study of sexual behaviour of married women in Bangladesh, *Culture, Health & Sex* 4,2:237-56

some elder female relative. Submission is stressed. Both information and experience are more pronounced in boys.

A 1999 report²⁴⁹ found that most girls in the study reported that they did not have any knowledge about menstruation before they experienced it. Similarly, “[m]ost boys reported that they did not have any idea about wet dreams before they experienced them. As they did not know that these are normal phenomena, when they experienced them, they become confused as to whether they were sick and in the long run they would visit healthcare providers. They mostly reported going to traditional healers for this purpose”.

“Regarding sexual health, many boys believed that masturbation was bad for one's health. They mentioned that it causes weakness of the body, and would change the shape of penis. It was also commonly believed that this activity might have some long-term adverse effects. Both boys and girls reported knowing of commercial sex workers and brothels. They stated that young boys and young men go to brothels”.

Also,

“In each of the study areas, there was at least one adolescent boy participant who knew about an adult male who was having sex with adolescent boys, and adolescent boys who were having sex with boys of similar age. This activity was termed as ‘jeena.’ Sometimes the men who were doing so provided incentives to their young partners. Some of the men were said to have forced young boys to have anal sex”.

Additional refs.:

- Rahman, M. M. (1986) Age at consummation in Bangladesh, *Chittagong University Studies* (Science) 23:32-7
- Cash, K., Hashima-E-Nasreen, Aziz, A., Bhuiya, A., Mushtaque, A., Chowdhury, R. & Chowdhury, S. (2001) Without Sex Education: exploring the social and sexual vulnerabilities of rural Bangladeshi girls and boys, *Sex Educ* 1,3:219-33

²⁴⁹ Nahar, Q., Tuñón, C., Houvras, I., Gazi, R., Reza, M., Huq, N. L. & Barkat-e-Khuda (1999) *Reproductive Health Needs of Adolescents in Bangladesh: A Study Report*. ICDDR,B: Centre for Health and Population Research, Working Paper No. 130
[\[http://www.icddrb.org/mch_r/working/wp_161/wp161_contents.html\]](http://www.icddrb.org/mch_r/working/wp_161/wp161_contents.html)

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Indonesia

[IES]

“Hoedi toeboei ejaja, anaiwai ejaja; hoedi toeboei ejaja anaiwai ejaja, lanite, takoele”¹

“Noe’oemba iti ahoe, ane boetoe i boë’ tempona moloekoe boë”²

¹ De Vries, G. (1927) *Bij de Berg-Alfoeren op West-Seran*. Zutphen, The Netherlands: W. T. Thieme & Cie, p101 [Dutch]

² Woensdregt, *cit. infra*, p265

**Please note that tentative translations of Dutch passages are offered by the compiler in
accompanying footnotes**

Ethnographic Index

*Alorese, Adjeh, Balinese, Batak, Bawean, Belu, Bonerate, Dayak, Dusun, Endeh, Engano
Island, Iban, Javanese, Kayans, Mentawaians, Ngada, Sula Island, Sundanese, Tobelorese,
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General Impressions

Though not introducing original material, Van Praag ([1934])³ offers a convenient review of Indonesian courtship and sexuality as observed by the Dutch (henceforward “vP”). A further overview is found in Mallinckrodt (I, p412ff, *cit. infra*). Riedel (1885, 1886a,b)⁴ found that premarital sexual freedom was marked for a range of societies. Wilken (1883⁵/1886⁶, 1889:p435-60)⁷, who offers a rich discussion of customs associated with the premarital dyad and sexuality, observes that this freedom would be only partially prevalent (1889:p440-1, 443-4; cf. *Koloniaal Instituut te Amsterdam*, 1921:p379-84). For an overview of circumcision customs, one is to consult Wilken (1885)⁸. A further report comes from Darwin et al.⁹.

On Ambon, for instance, the young girl is, “van kinds af gewoon de grootste onzedelijkheid, hetzij van vader of moeder, hetzij van broeders of zusters rondom zich te zien en daardoor overprikkeld, geeft zich, nauwelijks de schooltucht ontwassen en tot maagd gerijpt, steeds over aan haar prikkel tot zinnelijken lust en werpt zich in de armen van den eersten den besten jongeling, die haar bevalt, om aan die neiging te voldoen”¹⁰ (Van Hoëvell, 1875:p126-8)¹¹. De Vries¹² notes that Amahei (south coast of Ceram) children until marriageable age cohabit with permission of their parents, being given explicit freedom at the *lëpas-kain-kadu* (which entails a menarchal symbolic defloration) “om een ontuchtig leven te leiden”.

³ Van Praag, S. ([1934]) *Sexualiteit en Huwelijk bij de Volkeren der Aarde*. Amsterdam: De Gulden Ster [Dutch]

⁴ Riedel, J. G. F. (1885a) The island of Flores, *Rev Coloniale Int*, I, p67-8; Riedel, J. G. F. (1885b) The Sawu group, *Rev Coloniale Int*, I, p305; Riedel, J. G. F. (1886) *De Sluik- en Kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*. The Hague [Holland]: Martinus Nijhoff, p41-2, 67, 370, *et passim* [Dutch]; Riedel, J. G. F., Die Landschaft Dawan oder West-Timor, *Deutsche Geograph Blätt* X, p229. Cf. Wilken (1889:p436-8), *cit. infra*

⁵ Wilken, G. A. (1883a) Over de verwantschap en het huwelijks- en erfrecht bij de volken van het Maleische ras, *De Indische Gids* [Dutch] 5,I:656-764 [*Verspreide Geschriften*, I, p287-406]; Wilken, G. A. (1883b) *Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijks- en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras*. Amsterdam

⁶ Wilken, G. A. (1886) Plechtigheden en gebruiken bij verlovingsen en huwelijken bij de volken van den Indischen archipel, *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, & Volkenk Nederlansch-Indie* [Holland] XXXV:140-219

⁷ Wilken, G. A. (1889) Plechtigheden en gebruiken bij verlovingsen en huwelijken bij de volken van den Indischen archipel, *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, & Volkenk Nederlansch-Indie* [Holland] XXXVIII:380-460. Both articles (1886, 1889) reprinted in Ossenbruggen, F. D. van (Ed., 1912) *De Verspreide Geschriften van Prof. Dr. G. A. Wilken*. Semarang, Soerabaja, The Hague: G. C. T. Van Dorp & Co. Vol. I, p447-609

⁸ Wilken, G. A. (1885) De besnijdenis bij de volken van den Indischen archipel, *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, & Volkenk Nederlansch-Indie* [Holland] 10:165-206. [*Verspreide Geschriften*, IV, p203-46]

⁹ Darwin, M., Faturachman, B., Dyah Putranti, S. & Purwatiningsih, I. (nd) *Male and Female Genital Cutting among Yogyakartaans and Medurans*. Center for Population and Policy Studies (CPPS), Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia. Undated paper at <http://demography.anu.edu.au/G&SH/reports/Indo-genital-cutting.pdf>

¹⁰ The young girl “from childhood on being accustomed to the greatest immorality, as is being witnessed from the example of either father or mother, or brothers or sisters, and barely having outgrown scholastic duty and ripened into maidenhood, will surrender herself to the call of sensual lust and to this end will throw herself in the arms of any first youth that may please her” [DJ].

¹¹ Wilken; Van Hoëvell, G. W. W. C. (1875) *Ambon en Meer Bepaaldelijk de Oeliasers*. Dordrecht [Holland]: Blussé en Van Braam [Dutch]

¹² *Tijdschr v Ind T L Vk* [Holland] 22, p236-8

In selected societies, artificial defloration ("stupratio officialis", officium deflorationis) would have been customary (Wilken, p441 and refs.)

Ploß (*Die Frau*, I) learned from Van den Burg that in the Dutch East Indies, "children surrender themselves to the sexual passions even before maturity, and coitus between brothers and sisters aged 5 to 6 is no rarity". This seems to be interesting given the observation that girls are "[...] often betrothed at birth and married at six [years?], although they remain with their parents" (Wilken, as cited by Sumner, 1906:p383)¹³; the custom, however was declining at the time of writing. Smith and Wiswell (1982:p69-73)¹⁴ sketch a childhood sexuality in Suye Mura characterisable as expressive and joking. Vatter (1932:p122)¹⁵:

"[...] eine besondere Belehrung über sexuelle Dinge scheint nicht stattzufinden. Vorzeitiger Geschlechtsverkehr unter Kinderen soll selten sein; sexuelle Unarten zwischen kleinen Jungen haben wir gelegentlich beobachtet, doch wurden sie ihnen, vielleicht mit Rücksicht auf unsere Anwesenheit, von älteren Kinderen oder Erwachsenen verwiesen".

Additional refs:

-- Pangkahila, W. I. / Elkholy, R. (2001) Indonesia , in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed. in chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Vol. 4, p247 et seq. Expected online ed.

Some material would have been offered in unpublished notes by Kennedy¹⁶ according to HRAF listing.

Male Age Stratified Patterns [Cf. discussion in GUS Vol. II, §14.2.2.1]

Its perverse nature being debated, institutional prostitution of 9 to 12-year-old boys was prevalent among the **Lampung** of southeast Sumatra (Karsch-Haack, 1911:p189-90¹⁷; Davis and Whitten 1987:p85)¹⁸. The boys were called *Sedattis* who waited upon men and danced to entertain them. A comparable custom prevailed on **Bali** (*ibid.*, p210; also West, 1977:p135-6)¹⁹. Further observations suggest the practice of pederasty among the **To Bada'** (Woensdregt, as cited by Van Praag, p508). De Zwaan (1910:p176-9)²⁰ states that in Solok, the natives admitted that among the **Singkara Lake**, little boys were used for pederastic purposes. In **Sidjoendjoeng** the author was insured that "a man keeps a boy to practice pederasty. Such a boy is called anak djawi (cow boy?). Further, boys would have pederastic intercourse among themselves, which was suggested to me in Goenoeng too". The author further cites Jacobs²¹

¹³ Sumner, W. G. (1906) *Folkways*. Boston [etc.]: Ginn & Co.

¹⁴ Smith, R. J. & Wiswell, E. L. (1982) *The Women of Suye Mura*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

¹⁵ Vatter, E. (1932) *Ati Kiwan: Unbekannte Bergvölker im Tropischen Holland*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut AG.

¹⁶ Kennedy, R. (1949-50) *Field Notes on Indonesia*. New Haven: HRAF. Relevant pages include p256, 266 (South Celebes), 379-80 (Ambon and Ceram), and p617, 221, 256, 321 (West Borneo)

¹⁷ Karsch-Haack, F. (1911) *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker*. München: E. Reinhardt

¹⁸ Davis, D. L. & Whitten R. G. (1987) The Cross-Cultural Study of Human Sexuality, *Ann Rev Anthropol* 16:69-98

¹⁹ West, D. (1977) *Homosexuality Re-Examined*. London: Duckworth

²⁰ De Zwaan, K. (1910) *De Geneeskunde der Menangkabau-Maleiers*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff [Dutch]

²¹ Jacobs, J. (1885) *De Geneesheer in Ned. Indie*. Batavia [Dutch]

in the observation “that on Bali little boys of ten to twelve years, dressed as girls, offer themselves for such practices. Hardeland [?] noted such lads, the basirs, among the **Olo- Ngadja Dajaks**, while Meyer [22] writes about this occurring in the Philippines. [...] According to Kruyt [vide infra], most **Adjeh** chiefs possess some sedatis, children of 9 to 12 years who are used for pederasty and are also trained to entertain their lords in alternative ways [“om hunne heeren op andere wijzen te vermaken”]. Kruijt (1877: p63, 65-6)²³ speaks of “jeugdige dansjongens, *sedatti*’s,” being “kinderen van negen tot twaalf jaar, de meesten waarschijnlijk van Nias afkomstig, die fraai in zijde getooid, met gouden en zilveren arm- en voetbanden versierd, door zang en dans de avonden en nachten der mannen opvroolijken. De meeste hoofden bezitten eenigen dezer *sedatti*’s in eigendom [*sic*], en geven er gewoonlijk aan de bevolking hunner afgelegen peperplantages een paar tot amusement”, including “de ruwste en onnatuurlijkste onzedelijkheid”²⁴. Jacobs (1894, I:p234-7²⁵; cf. 1883:p13-4, 134)²⁶, a high official of military health, however, writes that this picture is quite exaggerated: “as soon as such a sedati [*sadati*] might reveal inclinations for perverse sexual acts, he ceases to be a sedati and is dismissed” (p235). Nevertheless, “[a]lmost no Atjeh chief, when on an official trip, goes out unless accompanied by a half or whole dozen of sadatis, catamites, as is claimed, who are recruited [aangeworven] by [...] that chiefs for perverse inclinations”. The Bali boys would be called *gandrungs*, would be required in other ways of “corpore quatum facere” after their hour-long dances (Jacobs, 1883; also cited by Wilken, 1889:p458; cf. Van Eck, p169²⁷; Duff-Cooper, 1985:p415)²⁸. Chabot (1950:p156)²⁹ speaks about a dance titled *masri* in which boys of 8-12 years perform dances for apparently highly enthusiastic men. “De sexuele prikkel, die van de combinatie van vers, rythme en de half als vrouw verklede jongetjes uitgaat is de hoofdzaak”³⁰. The dance was temporarily forbidden by the Government. Williams (1990:p579-80)³¹ states that in the Ponorogo area of Eastern **Java**, boys were used by men, traditionally by *waroks* (spiritually and physically powerful masculine adult men) as a *gemblakan*, some as young as seven, but mostly in their teens. These *gemblak*[an]s (Wilson,

²² Meyer, Über die Perforation des Penis bei den Malayen, *Mitth. Athropol Ges Wien* 7,9

²³ Kruyt, J. A. (1877) *Atjeh en de Atjehers*. Leiden [Holland]: G. Kolff. Also cited by Wilken (1889:p460), *op.cit.*

²⁴ That is, “youthful dancing lads, *sedatti*’s, [being] children aged nine to twelve years, most probably originating from Nias, who, attractively dressed in silk and beautified with golden and silver arm- and foot straps, lighten up the men’s evenings and nights by song and dance. Most chiefs keep a number of such *sedatti*’s as a personal asset, and as a habit donate some of them to the folk of their remote pepper plantations for amusement sake [including] the rawest and most unnatural immorality” [DJ].

²⁵ Jacobs, J. (1894) *Het Familie- en Kampongleven op Groot-Atjeh*. Leiden [Holland]: Brill. Vol.1 [Dutch]

²⁶ Jacobs, J. (1883) *Eenigen Tijd onder de Baliërs*. Batavia: Kolff. As cited by Van Praag, p281:

“*Paederastie (mēnjélit)* wordt op geheel Bali in erge mate bedreven en evenmin met den sluier der geheimzinnigheid bedekt” [“*Pederasty (mēnjélit)* is practiced on the entirety of Bali to a considerable extent and it is not veiled in secrecy either”].

²⁷ Van Eck, R. [1878-1880] *Schetsen van het Eiland Bali*. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië [Dutch]; NS jrg. 7 [1] - 9 [2]. Zaltbommel

²⁸ Duff-Cooper, A. (1985) Notes about some Balinese ideas and practices conncted with sex from Western Lombok, *Anthropos* 80,4/6:403-19

²⁹ Chabot, H. Th. (1950) *Verwantschap, Stand en Sexe in Zuid-Celebes*. Groningen/Djakarta: J. B. Wolters [Dutch]

³⁰ “The sexual stimulus, originating from a combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys being partially dressed as women, is the main attraction”.

³¹ Williams, W. L. (1990) Indonesia, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol I, p597-9

1999; Permadi, 1991:p64-5, as cited by Utomo, p13³²; Weis)³³ date back to the 15th century, and survived until recently in **Ponorogo**, a small town east of Yogyakarta:

“Warok [students of Ki Ageng Kutu, the court poet of the last king of the Majapahit kingdom, Bra Kertabumi, in the fifteenth century] were said to follow a strict regime of ascetic discipline, one of the *parguron*’s rules being that they were forbidden to have sexual intercourse with women. This prohibition was predicated on the belief that the resulting loss of sperm would deplete their supernatural powers. To aid them in their endeavour, each warok enlisted the aid of a young boy known as a *gemblak* who acted as a “substitute” woman. [...] As a ‘substitute’ for a wife the warok chose a beautiful young boy, who acted as his companion as well as a *jatilan* dancer in his *reog* troupe. The beauty of the *gemblak*, in the eyes of the warok, came from their androgynous like features, grace, and poise. The boy was chosen from a neighbouring area and usually aged between eight and sixteen years. The warok would send a delegation to the home of the boy’s parents to ‘propose’, the patterns of ritualised speech employed being very similar to that used in proposals for heterosexual weddings. [...] Warok are reputed to use magical powers obtained through extended periods of fasting to ‘seduce’ [*merayu*] reluctant *gemblak*. [...] For many young boys, being a *gemblak* was accepted as a certain stage in the journey to manhood and the majority of *gemblak* stayed with their warok until their late teens” (Wilson).

Petkovic (1999)³⁴:

“*Gemblak* help the warok maintain the state of abstinence by providing companionship and a kind of woman substitute. For this reason, *gemblak* are selected for their grace, pose and beauty. While, publicly, sexual activity between warok and *gemblak* is not condoned, some petting and kissing is allowed. There is usually an intense relationship between warok and *gemblak* and there have been many instances when different warok have fought one another over the possession of their favorite *gemblak*. [...] The warok’s relationship with their *gemblak* companions is amplified by their ‘sexual games’ on the one hand, and moderated, in the end, by professed abstinence”.

While the relationship was said to be innocent (as elderly say, “with *gemblak* the most that can happen is a bit of harmless kissing and cuddling. But close association with women will definitely lead to sexual intercourse which will result in the warok losing his powers”), local government regarded the warok/*gemblak* relationship as “morally offensive and in conflict with the ‘national personality’ [*kepribadian bangsa*]. The relationship is deemed to be unacceptable because it is considered to be nothing more than ‘socialised homosexuality’, and a potential threat to public order”.

Oetomo, one of the leading gay-rights activists in Indonesia and an academic at Airlangga University, East Java, marks its essentialist character³⁵:

³² Wilson, I. D. (1999) *Reog Ponorogo: Spirituality, Sexuality, and Power in a Javanese Performance Tradition*, *Intersections* 2, May; Permadi (1991) *Seks dan kebathinan*, *Prisma* (7):61-65

³³ Weis, J. (1974) *The Gemblakan: Kept Boys among the Javanese of Ponorogo*. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Meeting, Mexico City. Cited by Davis and Whitten, p85

³⁴ Petkovic, J. (1999a) *Waiting for Karila: Bending Time, Theory and Gender in Java and Bali* (With Reflections for a Documentary Treatment), *Intersections* 2, May

³⁵ Petkovic, J. (1999b) *Dédé Oetomo Talks on Reyog Ponorogo*, *Intersections* 2, May Cf. Oetomo, D. & Emond, B. ([?]) *Homoseksualita di Indonesia*, *Prisma* [Indonesia]. 1991 transl. [from the Bahasa Indonesia] “Homosexuality in Indonesia” by Sidhu Suyana. Avail. from Homodok, Amsterdam

"I think what they do sexually, we have to call homosexual acts. This is widely known all over Java. Anybody who is in touch with the traditional way of life in Ponorogo, knows that there are these older men called warok who, instead of having sex with their wives, have sex with younger boys - eight to fourteen, fifteen - and they do that as part of looking for prowess. Whether we can call them a homosexual community is questionable. They don't call themselves homosexuals; they don't identify themselves as homosexuals, such as one finds in the West or in modern Indonesia. They would call themselves warok-gemblakan".

[For contemporary Dutch studies on Indonesian homosexualities, see Oostvogels, R. (1990) *Gaai, Waria, Liefhebbers en Schandknappen in Jakarta: Een Indonesische Constructie van Homosexualiteit*. [study available from Homodoc]; Buitendorp, B. (1995) *Javaanse Jongens en Gudang Garam: Een Onderzoek naar Homoseksualiteit in Yogyakarta, Indonesië*. Wageningen [Holland]: LUW, Vakgroep Huishoudstudies]

Early Betrothal / Marriage

In the "Indian Archipelago", marriage could take place at puberty (Wilken, 1886:p141, 143), including cases concerned with (elaborate) additional regulations, and of child marriage and betrothal (detailed and referenced in *ibid.*, p161-7)³⁶. Early betrothal before 1900 used to be fairly common in Indonesia³⁷, at least in the case of **Java**³⁸, **Buru**³⁹, **Savoe**⁴⁰ (*petaga*), and among the **Bataks**, **Sundanese**⁴¹, and other Malay peoples⁴². An very detailed historical literature overview of Indonesian prepubertal betrothals and marriage was offered by the Amsterdam Colonial Institute (1921[IV]:p467-506)⁴³. Mallinckrodt (I, p436-8) further mentions the **Kajan** (pre- and neonatal), central tribes (**Badhau**: gen. strat.), **Ngadjoe** (gen. strat.), and **Tajan** (Schadee). Commenting on the **Borneo** case, Schwaner (1853, I:p194, as cited by Sumner, *op.cit.*)⁴⁴ mentions that children are betrothed and married in their childhoods, their intimacies "left to chance". Mallinckrodt⁴⁵ (I, p423-4, 436, as cited by Van Praag, p392-3) speaks of prenatal betrothal on Borneo, while Nieuwenhuis⁴⁶ and Schadee⁴⁷

³⁶ The latter would be prevalent in Lampong districts, Bali, Batak, Sumatra, Malay, Adje, Sundanese, etc.

³⁷ Westermarck, E. ([1901]) *The History of Human Marriage*. London: MacMillan. 3rd ed., p214n8

³⁸ *Das Ausland*, 1881, p569; Vollenhoven, C. van (1923) *Javaansch Adatrecht*. Leiden: Brill [Dutch], p66

³⁹ Riedel, p21

⁴⁰ De Wetering, F. H. (1926) De Savoneezen, , *Bijdragen* [...] 82:485-575, at p495-6. A girl is not required to be *intacta*.

⁴¹ E.g., Jacobs, J. & Meijer, J. J. (1891) *De Badoe's*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, p73: "Ik heb onder deze meermalen meisjes ontmoet, die naar schatting nauwelijks 10 à 11 jaar oud, en wat lichaamsontwikkeling aangaat nog volkomen kind en toch reeds gehuwd waren. Het meisje wordt van kind onmiddellijk vrouw en dikwijls moeder" ["I have repeatedly met girls, of a estimated mere age of 10 or 11 years, and entirely prepubescent as is concerned somatic development and nonetheless married already. The girl at once becomes a woman, and often a mother" [DJ]. Jacobs denies the existence of child marriage among the Badoe's (p75).

⁴² Hickson, p270; Wilken, in *Bijdragen* [...] I, p161-7

⁴³ Koloniaal Instituut te Amsterdam (1921) *Pandecten van het Adatrecht*. Mededeeling no. IV. Amsterdam: De Bussy [Dutch]

⁴⁴ Schwaner, C. A. (1853) *Borneo*. Vol. I. Amsterdam: P. N. Van Kampen

⁴⁵ Mallinckrodt, J. (1928) *Het Adatrecht van Borneo*. Vol. I. Leiden [Holland]: M. Dubbeldeman [Dutch]

⁴⁶ Nieuwenhuis, A. W. (1904-7) *Quer durch Borneo*. Leiden [Holland]: Brill. Vol. II, p98; Van Praag, p393. Cf. Nieuwenhuis, A. W. (1900) *In Centraal Borneo*. Leiden [Holland]: E. J. Brill. Vol. I, p76 [Dutch]

⁴⁷ Schadee, M. C. (1909) Het familieleven en familierecht der Dayaks van Londak en Tajan, *Bijdragen* [...] 63:390-485, at p421, 423-4; Van Praag, p393

report on generationally stratified marriage among the **Kajans** and **Dayak** (very rare)⁴⁸, respectively. Child marriages among the Minahassa of Celebes, as mentioned by Graafland⁴⁹, were banished in 1861.

Some further data are collected in Lebar (1972)⁵⁰. The **Bisaya** (Borneo) practice informal “pairing” of eight- and nine-year-olds. Premarital chastity, however, was of great concern and sexual initiation was determined by the mother-in-law associated with future residence. Child betrothal was reported for the **Muruts** in the Trusan-Lawas districts (p161)⁵¹. Prenatal and infant betrothal was occasionally practiced by the Timugon (p157), was the rule on Wetar (p111), and formerly customary among the Sumatra **Niasans** (p39) and Batak (p21). Among the **Toradja** child betrothal was customary (Adriani, 1951 [II]; vP, p521). Dusun children would be betrothed when “still young” (Straal, 1923/4:p129)⁵². The **Atjeh** practiced child marriage (Jacobs, 1894, I:p74-5; cf. Van Praag, [1934:p7, 9-10]). In Indonesia, sexual intercourse would take place with the girl child-bride among the **Bantam** and the Atjeh (Fischer, 1952:p116-7)⁵³.

Wealthy parents controlled their children’s marriage arrangements in some parts of Southeast Asia where Islam was very influential (Utomo):

“In Southeast Asia, too, the elite were anxious to avoid unacceptable liaisons by their daughters or doubtful parentage for their grandchildren, and therefore sought betrothals with appropriate spouses at an early age. In the wealthy trading cities most firmly committed to Islam-Aceh, Banten, Brunei, and Patani-the habit of arranging marriages for daughters at the age of puberty appears to have spread through a wider sector of society, in reaction to the prevailing premarital sexual permissiveness. Aceh and Banten were notorious for exceptionally early female marriage in the nineteenth century (Reid, 1988:p159)”^[54].

The contemporary pattern of premarital courtship on South **Sulawesi** occurs at the interface of traditional and modern curricula (Ford et al., 1997:p253-4)⁵⁵.

Locher-Scholten (2003:p41-2)⁵⁶:

“Child marriage occurred but generally in the mitigated form of a kind of betrothal (kawin gantung). Unlike its British counterpart, the Dutch colonial government did not take legal action regarding child marriage. Indonesia did not have an Age of Consent Act of 1891, raising the age of consent to sexual relations for girls, married and unmarried, from ten to twelve, or a Sarda Act of 1929, or a Child Marriage Restraint Act, forbidding marriages of girls

⁴⁸ Cf. Mallinckrodt, J. (1925) *Ethnografische mededeelingen over de Dayaks in de Afdeeling Koealakapoeas (Vervolg)*, *Bijdragen* [...] 81:62 et seq., at p80

⁴⁹ Graafland, N. (1867-9) *De Minahassa*. Rotterdam [Holland]: Wyt & Zonen. Vol. I, p463-4 [Dutch]; Van Praag, p434

⁵⁰ Lebar, F. M. (1972) *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia*. New Haven: HRAF Press. Vol. 1

⁵¹ See Pollard, F. H. (1933) The Muruts of Sarawak, *Sarawak Museum J* 4:139-55, especially p151-4; Sandin, B. & Siran, B. (1963) A Murut wedding in Kalimantan, *Sarawak Museum J* 11:88-93

⁵² Straal (1923/4) The Dusuns of North Borneo (cont’d), *Anthropos* 18/9:120-38

⁵³ Fischer, H. Th. (1952) *Huwelijk en Huwelijksmoraal bij Vreemde Volken*. Utrecht [Holland]: De Haan [Dutch]

⁵⁴ Reid, A. (1988) *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680, the Lands Below the Winds*. New Haven: Yale University Press

⁵⁵ Ford, N., Siregar, K., Ngatimin, R. & Maidin, A. (1997) The hidden dimension: sexuality and responding to the threat of HIV/AIDS in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, *Health & Place* 3,4:249-58

⁵⁶ Locher-Scholten, E. (2003) Morals, Harmony, and National Identity: “Companionate Feminism” in Colonial Indonesia in the 1930s, *J Women’s Hist* 14,4:38-58

below age fourteen and of boys below age sixteen. Only the marriages of Christian Indonesians were regulated by law, including a minimum age, free partner choice, and monogamy. The issue of child marriage was a matter of temporary concern of some Dutch administrators in the 1920s, but notice was mainly relegated to private initiative of nationalist and women's organizations in the 1930s⁵⁷.

Current Age of Consent

According to ECPAT⁵⁸, the age of consent is 15 years for girls and 18 years for homosexual relations.

Colonialism

The Dutch warned the Indonesian mother for “ontegenzeggelijk slechte gewoonten” [irrefutably bad habits] as caused by sibling co-sleeping, and by nursemaids⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ Susan Blackburn and Sharon Bessel, "Marriageable Age: Political Debates on Early Marriage in Twentieth-Century Indonesia," *Indonesia* 63 (April 1997):107-41; and Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 193-96 [orig. footnote]

⁵⁸ http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/online_database/index.asp, Nov. 1, 2002. "Age of consent is 15 years for girls and 18 years for homosexual relations. [...] Sexual intercourse with a girl under 15 years of age outside of marriage is a specific offence, for which a formal complaint within 12 months of the occurrence of the act is required for prosecution if the victim is older than 12 years of age".

⁵⁹ E.g., Pigeaud, J. J. (1896) *Iets over Kinderopvoeding: Raadgevingen voor Moeders in Indië*. Samarang: Van Dorp & Co., p2, 14 [Dutch]

Ethnographic Particularities

Pangkahila and Pangkahila (1997)⁶⁰: “Sexual exploration and sex rehearsal play are common among children as a natural part of their psychosexual development. However, many parents are afraid of such behavior, believing that it results in sexual abnormalities. [...] Homoerotic or homosexual activities are not common among Indonesian children, although some sexual exploration involving exhibiting the genitals is known to occur”. [In his intimate study of Indonesian homosexual development, Howard (1996)⁶¹ did not cover, or does not mention, childhood (homo-)sexual behaviour, nor do autobiographical accounts]. “School curricula do not offer students any education on sexual topics or issues”. Furthermore, “[s]ex education is not generally given at schools and parents are reluctant to talk about sex to their children”⁶². The use of courtship dwellings is only occasionally mentioned⁶³.

Mentawaians (Indonesia) (eHRAF)

Schefold (1976)⁶⁴ remarks: “Sexual relations during puberty are [...] tolerated without comment on these islands. Only the father of the girl ought not to notice anything”.
 Schefold (1988)⁶⁵:

“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”.

Hansen⁶⁶ (also cited by Van Praag), remarks that “[r]eeds op 13 à 14 jarigen leeftijd leeft het Mentawaische meisje in vrije liefde en wisselt meermalen van minaar. Krijgt zij kinderen bij

⁶⁰ Pangkahila, W. & Pangkahila, J. A. (1997) Indonesia, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.-in-chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Vol. 1. Quoted from the online edition

⁶¹ Howard, R. S. (1996) *Falling into the Gay World: Manhood, Marriage, and Family in Indonesia*. PhD Thesis, University of Illinois

⁶² Utomo, I. D. (2001) *Sexuality and Relationships Between the Sexes in Indonesia: A Historical Perspective*. Paper for presentation at the 3rd IASSCS Conference in Melbourne, 1-3 Oct. 2001

⁶³ E.g., Jongejans, as cited by Mallinckrodt (I, p414). See also → [Baweans](#) and → [Batak](#)

⁶⁴ Schefold, R. (1976) *Religious Involution: Internal Change, and Its Consequences, in the Taboo-System of the Mentawaians*. Leiden [Holland]: E. J. Brill

⁶⁵ Schefold, R. (1988) *Lia: Das Grosse Ritual auf den Mentawai-Inseln (Indonesien)*. Berlin: D. Reimer

⁶⁶ Hansen, J. F. K. (1915) De groep Noord- en Zuid-Pageh van de Mentawai-eilanden, in *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, & Volkenk Nederlandsch-Indie* [Holland] 50:113-219

één of meer mannen, dan is dit volstrekt geen schande; haar vader verheugt zich zelfs daarover. [...] De vader [...] moedigt zijn dochter tot geslachtsgemeenschap met verschillende mannen aan”⁶⁷ (Hansen, p177, 210-1; vP., p148, 152-3).

Iban (Indonesia) (2,2,2+,2+,3,3;8,8) (eHRAF)

According to Padoch (1982:p92-3)⁶⁸:

“The exact age of Iban at first sexual union is a topic difficult to explore, partially because of the usual reticence of women to discuss the subject, but mostly because of the impossibility of determining precise chronological ages. It is probable that among women in the Engkari region, courtship commences at about sixteen or seventeen years of age, while among men a somewhat later age, of eighteen or nineteen, is indicated. I have found no reason to assume that ages at which courtship begins in Bintulu are different. Whether there has been any change over time in the ages at which young Iban begin to court is uncertain. Several older women assured me that the age at first courting has declined, but there is no possible way of verifying this allegation”.

Gomes (1911)⁶⁹:

“The mode of courtship among the Dyaks is peculiar. No courting goes on by day, but at night, when all is quiet, a young lover creeps to the side of the curtain of his lady-love, and awakes her. The girls sleep apart from their parents--sometimes in the same room, but more often in the loft. He presents her with a roll of *sireh* leaf, in which is wrapped the betel-nut ingredients the Dyaks love to chew. [...] This nightly courtship is, in fact, the only way a man and woman can become acquainted with each other, for such a thing as privacy during the day is quite unknown in a Dyak house. If the girl be pleased with her lover, he remains with her until close upon daybreak, when he leaves with her some article as a pledge of his honour, such as a bead necklace, or ring, or a headkerchief, or anything else which he may have about him. This act of leaving some gift with the girl is considered as a betrothal between the two parties, and the man who refuses to marry the girl after doing so is considered guilty of breach of promise of marriage, and liable, according to Dyak law, to a fine”.

Komanyi (1973:p81-2)⁷⁰: “An Iban girl may marry when she is fifteen or sixteen years old. Now, however, as educational opportunities improve, marriages tend to occur at a slightly later age, such as eighteen to twenty-two. A period of courtship, called *ngajap*, which is a uniquely Iban custom, precedes the betrothal”.

Padoch:

“The traditional Iban patterns of courtship (*ngajap*), which involve nocturnal visiting of women by men, are a topic mentioned frequently by earlier writers (Roth 1896,I:109-11)[⁷¹], among whom there is

⁶⁷ “At the early age of 13 or 14 years, a Mentawaian girl leads a life of free love and changes lovers a number of times. If pregnant with one or more men, this is not considered a disgrace at all; her father even looks forward to such occasion. [...] The father [...] urges his daughter to have sexual intercourse with various males” [DJ].

⁶⁸ Padoch, Ch. (1982) *Migration and its Alternatives among the Iban of Sarawak*, The Hague [Holland]: M. Nijhoff

⁶⁹ Gomes, E. H. (1911) *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo*. London: Seeley & Co., Ltd.

⁷⁰ Komanyi, M. I. (1973) *The Real and Ideal Participation in Decision-Making of Iban Women*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms

⁷¹ Roth, H. L. (1896) *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*. London: Turslove & Hanson

disagreement on the frequency or occurrence of sexual intercourse during the visiting. A more recent account of the practice (Beavitt 1967)^[72], and all informants I encountered, concurred that sexual relations take place often, although not always. It is reported that *ngayap* is now being replaced among some Iban groups, particularly those converted to Christianity, by other forms of courtship not involving sexual union (Beavitt 1967:p409-10)^[73]. However, the traditional form prevailed in all the communities that were studied during the period of field research".

"[...] when a girl reaches maturity, and if there is a suitor, her parents will arrange for her to settle down. Normally, an Iban girl marries when she is seventeen years of age. When a girl attains her spinsterhood, her mother teaches her the ways employed to protect herself. She must be taught to behave and speak courteously to boys who court her at night. She is aware that it has been a tradition for a boy to court a girl. However, the question of getting her to offer herself to the boy depends very much on the girl herself, because he cannot force her to give consent unless they love each other through his kindness and winning ways. These are secretly explained to her by her mother. The mother also emphasises the methods in which her daughter can judge whether or not the boy is sincere enough to marry her"⁷⁴.

Belu (Indonesia)

Among the Central Timor *Belu*, premenarchal intercourse is considered a shame (Vroklage, 1952, I:p217)⁷⁵.

Borneo (Indonesia) (Kayans, Dusun, Rungus Dusun, Dayak)

Penis pins are normally installed at puberty or later (see Brown, [1991:p437]⁷⁶; Burns, 1849:p149)⁷⁷ (cf. **Kayans**).

Kayans (Borneo, Indonesia)

Hose and McDougall⁷⁸:

"About the age of ten years the Kayan boy begins to wear a waist-cloth-- his first garment -- his sister having assumed the apron some two or three years earlier; we are not aware of any ceremony connected with this. [...] There is little or no attempt made to impart instruction to the children, whether moral or other, but they fall naturally under the spell of custom and public opinion [...]. It is difficult to say

⁷² Beavitt, P. (1967) "Ngayap", *Sarawak Museum J* 15:407-13

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Sandin, B. (1976) *Tusun Pandiau. English / Iban Way of Life: A Translation from Tusun Pandiau*. Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau

⁷⁵ Vroklage, B. A. G. (1952) *Ethnographie der Belu in Zentral-Timor*. Leiden: Brill. Vol. 1

⁷⁶ Brown, D. E. ([1991]) The penis pin: an unsolved problem in the relations between the sexes in Borneo, in Sutlive, V. H. (Ed.) *Female and Male in Borneo*. Williamsburg: Borneo Research Council, p435-54

⁷⁷ Burns, R. (1849), in *J Indian Archip & Eastern Asia* 3:[p149]

⁷⁸ Hose, Ch. & McDougall, W. (1912) *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo: A Description of Their Physical Moral and Intellectual Condition With Some Discussion of their Ethnic Relations*. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited. Vol. I

exactly at what age puberty begins with the youths. The girls mostly begin their courses in the fourteenth or fifteenth year. By this time the girl of the better class has the lobes of her ears distended to form loops, which allow her heavy ear-rings to reach to her collar-bone or even lower, and she is far advanced towards completion of her *tatu* on thighs, feet, hands, and forearms [...]. The process is begun at about the tenth year, and is continued from time to time, only a small area being covered at each bout, owing to the pain of the operation and the ensuing inflammation and discomfort. [...] The youth goes through no elaborate rite of initiation to manhood [...]. When the youth begins to feel strongly the attraction of the other sex, he finds opportunities of paying visits, with a few companions, in friendly houses. It is then said in his own house that he has gone "to seek tobacco", a phrase which is well understood to mean that he has gone to seek female companionship⁷⁹.

We must not pass over without mention a peculiar mutilation which is practised by most of the Kayan youths as they approach manhood, namely, the transverse perforation of the GLANS PENIS and the insertion of a short rod of polished bone or hard wood.

A youth of average presentability will usually succeed in becoming the accepted lover of some girl in his own or another house (cp. Chap. V.); and though he may engage himself in this way with two or three girls in turn before deciding to "settle down", he is usually not much over twenty years of age when he becomes accepted as the future husband of a girl some years his junior. A Kayan youth who has rendered pregnant a girl with whom he has kept company can be relied upon to acknowledge his responsibility and to marry her before her time comes".

Dusun (North Borneo, Indonesia) (Williams)

Williams (1965:p83)⁸⁰: "Most girls are initiated to sexual intercourse before 12, usually by boys of 14 to 16 years of age, and sometimes by men, [while, usually,] boys of 12 to 14 are initiated to sexual activities by a girl of 15 to 17 who is the regular partner of a group of boys of that age". Williams (1966:p34)⁸¹ stated that the Dusun parent quiets the girl by stroking the labia, and boys by pulling the preputium:

"[...] mothers often examine the anal region carefully and permit family dogs to lick the anus of an infant after defecation. [...] Parents regularly stimulate genitals of infants and young children. Female infants are soothed by stroking the labia, while male infants are quieted by pulling at the foreskin. Older children are teased verbally by relatives of the opposite sex, particularly fathers, brothers and sisters, concerning precocious sexual development and likely powers in intercourse. 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. Aged and unrelated women often threaten to castrate four to six year old boys, making pretended cuts in the direction of the genitals with a field knife, then pulling suddenly at the penis with the other hand, all to the great amusement of onlookers. Unrelated and aged males occasionally threaten young girls in a similar manner, and, while making a cutting motion at the labia comment loudly that such an act does no good since the girl has "already lost her penis" ".

The same stimulation, and with the same purpose, is done with domestic animals (p35). Williams (1969:p101-4)⁸² states that Dusun parents believed that copulation is best learned by observation and that they take no special precautions in its domestic practice. Children watch adolescent coitus, and sexual activities of babytenders. "In the absence of adults from the household, sex play between younger children regularly occurs, but usually only as an

⁷⁹ It came into use, no doubt, through the hospitable offering of cigarettes by the women of the household. [orig. footnote]

⁸⁰ Williams, Th. Rh. (1965) *The Dusun, A North Borneo Society*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

⁸¹ Williams, Th. Rh. (1966) Cultural structuring of tactile experience in a Borneo Society, *Am Anthropol* 68,1:27-39

⁸² Williams, Th. Rh. (1969) *A Borneo Childhood*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

aspect of other play. A momentary attention is given to some openly sexual activity and then play moves to other, nonsexual concerns. [...] Older children are severely censured by parents if discovered in display of their sexual anatomy and acts of mutual sex play and intercourse. If parents happen to discover older children engaged in sex play or having intercourse, they may take a bamboo stick to drive them apart. Nonrelated adults would scold the children involved, then ignore them". The expression "animal intercourse" is used by attempts at censorship. Adult or adolescent homosexuality was said to be very rare.

Rungus Dusun (Borneo, Indonesia / Malaysia) (Appell) (eHRAF)

Among the Rungus Dusun of Sabah (Appell, [1991a])⁸³ a girl receives no instruction from her mother about sexual matters. "All she knows is that if she were to engage in sex prior to marriage it would have disastrous consequences. A Rungus mother, furthermore, does not inform her daughter about menstruation" (p19, 28; Appell, 1988⁸⁴). Flirtation and courtship must follow accepted forms, including riddles and poems with disguised meanings and special vocabularies. Apparently (p27), at least in the adult generation, marriage would occur at age 12, two years prior to menarche. A young girl refrains from being seen alone in the company of a male even before she begins to wear a sarong to cover the breasts, this taking place a year or so before she becomes "pubescent" (Appell, [1991b])⁸⁵.

"Parents may at times play affectionately with their children's genitalia while they are still toddlers rubbing them, mouthing them, and shaking them. Occasionally older siblings do this to their younger siblings. Sometimes young boys have their genitalia tweaked by a male or female sibling, although by the time they are four or five they get rather irritated by this attention. Thus, during the early stages of child-rearing genitalia are not given an emotional loading of being potentially dangerous" (p100). Since childhood, a girl has been expected to avoid any close contact with males, so that prior to marriage, she is to express no interest in or knowledge of sexual matters, quite contrary to the realities of country life (p101).

"Usually at about ten years old—later if there are no sibling companions, earlier if there are congenial companions—a boy will begin to sleep on the apad in order to minimize the possibility of illicit sexual intercourse within the domestic family" (A., 1978:p156)⁸⁶. "[...] a daughter receives no instruction on sex prior to her marriage" (A., [1965])⁸⁷.

Dayak (Borneo, Indonesia)

⁸³ Appell, L. W. R. ([1991a]) Sex role symmetry among the Rungus of Sabah, in Sutlive, V. H. (Ed.) *Female and Male in Borneo*. Williamsburg: Borneo Research Council, p1-56

⁸⁴ Appell, L. W. R. (1988) Menstruation among the Rungus of Borneo: an unmarked category, in Buckley, Th. & Gottlieb, A. (Eds.) *Blood Magic*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p95-115

⁸⁵ Appell, L. W. R. ([1991b]) Individuation of the drives of sex and aggression in the linguistic and behavioral repertoire of the Rungus, in Sutlive, V. H. (Ed.) *Female and Male in Borneo*. Williamsburg: Borneo Research Council, p57-120

⁸⁶ Appell, G. N. (1978) The Rungus Dusun, in King, V. T. (Ed.) *Borneo Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p143-71, 234-41

⁸⁷ Appell, G. N. ([1965]) The nature of social groupings among the Rungus Dusun of Sabah, Malaysia. [eHRAF]

Among the Borneo Dayak, “[t]he need comes with puberty” (Geddes, 1968:p63)⁸⁸. “Earlier than this the children, called singly and collectively *baduput*, go about clothed or unclothed at will. Little attention is paid to their distinguishing sexual characteristics save that those of the boys are very occasionally made the subject of teasing [⁸⁹]. The children are soon aware of the nature of sexual activity, but regard it, for the most part, as something into which they will grow. They 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”, which does not amount to much time. Informally, boy and girl groups are separated at play. Schadee (*op.cit.*) notes that in the rare case of prepubertal marriage, cohabitation is assumed “at the time of puberty” without ceremonial (p424). Premarital intercourse leads to fining and marriage (p422, 452-3).

Bawean (Indonesia)

Van Praag cites Jasper⁹⁰ who documents marriage commitments resulting from a brief parentally supervised stays in a *doeroeng*. If affianced, they continue to frequent the *doeroeng* though with a code of mutual avoidance (J, p272-3).

Balinese (Indonesia) (2,2+,3,3+,2-,2-,8,8)

Karsch-Haack (1911:p210), Zwaan and Jacobs speak of a form of boy prostitution (vide [supra](#)).

A child in Bali “knows facts about which an adolescent in the West is totally ignorant, and we knew of children under five who could make erotic jokes” (Covarrubias, 1937 [1938:p132-3])⁹¹. They also smoked. Even contemporarily, “as there is no code of behavior separating children from adults, the child is treated as an equal. Birth, sex, and death are discussed openly and presented ceremoniously as sacred passages of life. Nothing is hidden from the child”⁹².

Bateson and Mead (1942:p130-1)⁹³ give the following (illustrated) account on Balinese genital manipulation of the baby.

“This takes several forms; commonly the mother grasps the penis and gives it a quick tug while letting it slip through the fingers, as if “pulling it off”. In other cases, the mother passes her hand repeatedly upward over the pubes and abdomen in such a way that the penis pressed upward by each passage of the hand; or she may ruffle the penis upward by repeated little flicks, using almost the exact gesture that a man uses when he ruffles up the hackle feathers of his fighting cock to make it angry [...]. These

⁸⁸ Geddes, W. R. (1968) *Nine Dayak Nights*. London [etc.]: Oxford University Press

⁸⁹ At puberty, the boys become entitled to impose a fine upon anyone who even speaks jokingly of this genitals.

⁹⁰ Jasper, J. E. (1906), in *Tijdschr Binnenlandsch Bestuur*

⁹¹ Covarrubias, M. (1937) *Island of Bali*. London: Cassell & Co.

⁹² Brandeis-McGunigle, G. & Rahman, Z. (1991) Childhood and ritual in Bali, *Mothering*, Fall, 61:38 et seq.

⁹³ Bateson, G. & Mead, M. (1942) *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis*. New York: The New York Academy of Sciences. See also Ussel, J. van (1968a) *Geschiedenis van het Seksuele Probleem*. Meppel [Holland]: Boom [1971 ed.,p170]

behaviors are all play; they are not motivated by the desire to quiet the child, but by the desire to see the child respond”.

Mead (1949 [1955:p62])⁹⁴ later recalls:

“[...] the Balinese place very early emphasis on the genitalia. A little boy’s penis is being continually teased, pulled, flipped, flicked, by his mother, his child-nurse, and those around him. 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”. There is very little difference in the way in which a woman handles a male child and the way in which she handles her child’s penis. The same flick, the same teasing, occur over and over again, while the bystanders also handle the baby in arms as they handle a small child’s penis”.

It may be inferred that this connotes little erotic significance, since until the child loses his first teeth, he “has a status of maximum innocence and purity; it is the nearest thing to God which man may know” (Belo, 1949:p15)⁹⁵. According to a study by Angulo (1995)⁹⁶, only 41.9% of informants stated that “fondling a young boy on his genitals by an adult” was not considered by them as “child abuse”; for fondling young girl’s genitals, this figure reads 32.6% ([p90-2]).

Jennaway (2001)⁹⁷ on adolescence:

“Given the emphasis Balinese culture places upon marriage, the courtship period – adolescence and young unwed womanhood - is culturally constructed as the most precarious and potentially dangerous time in a woman’s career. If she gets it right, she will win a spouse and also – failing his premature death, polygynous urges⁹⁸ or divorce – material and social security for the rest of her days. If she mucks it up, however, her life circumstances will indeed be precarious, traumatic and insecure.

In Punyanwangi, good girls submit to paternal authority by never defying their father’s wishes, by helping their mother with household chores, by learning the female arts of cooking and ritual preparations, and above all, by maintaining a reputation for sexual chastity. If they lose their reputation for chastity - irrespective of whether or not their actual chastity remains intact - they lose all. They will have brought down shame upon their father, and worse still, they will have compromised their chances of securing a desirable marriage. Hence young women must never go out alone, unaccompanied by family members or without the sanitizing presence of other females. Once she has a boyfriend a young woman must never date him publicly: meetings should take place in her home under the strict supervision of her father. Even when a couple is known to be courting, a young woman may maintain the fiction that she has no boyfriend for the sake of outward propriety”.

In former times, the girl had to be abducted with her consent; this could not be done with minors, that is, before teeth are filed (Van Praag, p276, 277, 278-9). “Verboden omgang tusschen de beide geslachten, op zelfs zeer jeugdigen leeftijd, komt zeer veel voor, men noemt dit *měmitra*. [...] Wordt het feit ontdekt en door getuigen bewezen, dan betaalt de eer-roover eene boete [...]. De geslachtelijke omgang op jeugdigen leeftijd geschiedt niet altijd in

⁹⁴ Mead, M. (1949) *Male and Female*. 1955 Mentor Book ed., New York

⁹⁵ Belo, J. (1942) *Bali: Rangda and Barong*. New York: J. J. Augustin

⁹⁶ Angulo, R. C. (1995) *Cross-Cultural Study of Child Abuse on the Island of Bali, Indonesia*. Thesis, California State University

⁹⁷ Jennaway, M. (2001) *Displacing Desire: Sex and Sickness in North Bali*. Paper for presentation at the 3rd IASSCS Conference in Melbourne, 1-3 Oct. 2001

⁹⁸ I have analysed polygyny in depth elsewhere (Jennaway 2000). [orig.footnote]

het geheim, doch dikwijls met medeweten van de ouders der beide partijen”⁹⁹ (J., 1883:p133-4). Jacobs attributes impotence to the use of opium and “particularly also to “*abusus in Venere*” to which most are already given in their youth” (p110).

“Ook de masturbatie is vrij algemeen. De ketimoe en de pisang worden door de Balische meisjes veel als versnapering, doch niet alleen als versnapering gebruikt. In de kamer van menig Balisch meisje kan men een uit was vervaardigde tjëlak-tjêlakan malèm (tjëlak beteekent penis, malèm beteekent was) vinden en menig uurtje wordt in stille afzondering met dien consolidator doorgebracht”¹⁰⁰ (also cited by Wilken, 1889:p457).

Javanese (Indonesia) (2,2,3,3+,2-,4;1,1)

“Sex is never discussed openly; “Javanese equals and close friends, however, do discuss sex frequently, and this is how adolescent boys and girls learn about it. It is generally believed that that boys receive much of their early sexual experience from prostitutes in the towns who are associated with coffee stalls along the streets. I have never been able to find out how the adolescent boys of the villages where prostitutes are not available obtain their actual early experience. Village girls usually have only a very brief adolescence, as they marry between the ages of twelve and fifteen”¹⁰¹, which according to Geertz is an exponent of control. Parents avoid sex talk and intercourse in front of children, but would leave room for “indirect observation, the overhearing of adult conversations, or the imparting of information by older people such as grandparents” (Koentjaraningrat, [1971:p98])¹⁰². Adolescents are said to have their “first” sexual experience with town prostitutes or a select group of girls or women who are “willing to be free with their favors” (Jay, 1969:p36, 44)¹⁰³. Among the →[Sundanese](#), infants’ genital region is “gelegentlich freundlich-neutral gestreichelt [...] (Von Loh, 1996:p122)¹⁰⁴. At the age of 40 days, the girl’s clitoris is rubbed with a paste made of turmeric, which is believed to have healing properties. At least in the late 1950s, the organ was then slightly “incised” with no blood drawn (Jaspan and Hill, 1987:p22)¹⁰⁵.

Additional refs.:

⁹⁹ “Forbidden intercourse between both sexes, even at a very youthful age, is a frequent occurrence called *mēmītra*. [...] When discovered and proven by witnesses, then the violator is to pay a fine [...]. Sexual intercourse at a young age does not invariably take place in secret, yet often with parental of both parties” [transl., DJ].

¹⁰⁰ “Masturbation, too, is fairly common. The ketimoe and the pisang are utilised by the Balinese girls often, but not solely, as a snack. In the room of many a Balinese girl one can find a wax tjëlak-tjêlakan malèm (tjëlak signifies penis, malèm signifies wax) and many hours are passed in silent solitude with this consolidator” [transl., DJ].

¹⁰¹ Koentjaraningrat (1985) *Javanese Culture*. Oxford [etc]: Oxford University Press, p120

¹⁰² Koentjaraningrat, R. M. (1960) *The Javanese of South Central Java*, in Murdock, G. (Ed.) *Social Structure in Southeast Asia*. Chicago Quadrangle Books. 1971 reprint, p88-115

¹⁰³ Jay, R. R. (1969) *Javanese Villagers*. Cambridge, Mass. [etc.]: The MIT Press

¹⁰⁴ Von Loh, S. (1996) *Frühe Kindheit der Sundanesen auf West-Java, Indonesien*, in Gottschalk-Batschkus, Ch. E. & Schuler, J. (Eds.) *Ethnomedizinische Perspektiven zur Frühen Kindheit*. Berlin: VWB, Verlag fuer Wissenschaft und Bildung, p115-26

¹⁰⁵ Jaspan, H. & Hill, L. (1987) *The Child and the Family*. University of Hull, Centre for South-East Asian Studies

-- Geertz (1961)¹⁰⁶

Sundanese (Indonesia)

Infants' genital region is "gelegentlich freundlich-neutral gestreichelt [...]" (Von Loh). Premarital intercourse is forbidden and incidental (Rikin, 1973:p20)¹⁰⁷. Boys are circumcised at least partially based on sexuality or fertility motives (p117-20), women arguing "you don't go to bed with a child, do you?". The current timing, however, was as variable as 4 to 15 (p33-4). Moestapa¹⁰⁸, also documents a (former) sexological significance: "[...] zoolang de knaap nog geen verlangst naar het andere geslacht toonde en nog net tegen vrouwen durfde, werd hij niet besneden", that is, at age "15 or 18".

"Endeh" (Flores, Indonesia)

Van Praag cites Van Suchtelen¹⁰⁹ in that, in contrast to the **Rokkas** of Flores (Van Staveren, cited by vP, p347), "[d]e geslachtsrijpe jongeling vindt vrijwel onbeperkte gelegenheid tot bevrediging van het mannelijk instinct in het inderdaad zeer vrije verkeer der sexen. Zij, die dan ook aan onanie schuldig maken, worden door allen bespot. Sodomisme komt betrekkelijk weinig voor [...]"¹¹⁰. The girl, however, has to be a virgin when entering marriage (vP, p340).

Ngada (Flores, Indonesia)

An examination of male puberty rites was provided by Bader¹¹¹. Boys and girls are circumcised.

Bonerate (Indonesia)

¹⁰⁶ Geertz, H. (1961) *The Javanese Family: A Study of Kinship and Socialization*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe

¹⁰⁷ Rikin, W. M. (1973) *Ngabersihan: Als Knoop in the Tali Paranti*. Dissertation, Leiden, The Netherlands

¹⁰⁸ Moestapa, H. H. / Kern, R. A. (1946) *Over de Gewoonten en Gebruiken der Soedaneezen*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, p54

¹⁰⁹ Van Suchtelen, B. C. C. M. M. (1921) *Endeh (Flores)*. Weltevreden: Papyrus

¹¹⁰ "A sexually mature boy encounters a near infinite occasion for satisfying the male instinct given the indeed very liberal intercourse between the sexes. Those who give themselves to the practice of onanism, are ridiculed by all. Sodomy is a comparatively rare thing" [DJ].

¹¹¹ Bader, P. H. (1953) *Die Reifezeiten bei den Ngada (Mittelflores, Indonnesien)*. Mödling bei Wien; St. Gabriel Verlag

On Bonerate, children watch animal and parental copulation, and listen to adult conversations on sex. "Children are not banned from these events. However, I never observed evidence of children copying such life crisis incidents [*sic*] during play. Sex play between boys and girls seems absent. Adults have indeed told the children that they would not tolerate anything like that. When, however, small boys and girls touch and play with their genitals, this is ignored and not commented upon (Broch, 1990:p74-5, 105, 167)¹¹².

Batak (Toba-lake, Sumatra, Indonesia) (→Philippines)

Referring to unpublished data, Money and Ehrhardt (1973/1996:p130-1¹¹³; Money, 1977:p229-30)¹¹⁴ relate that these Batak are known for a "homosexual phase" from about 9 to 19, the time they spend in either an all-male communal house, or with an old widow. This is so while "[i]n late childhood, it is not decent for children to stay sleeping in their parent's single-roomed house". The boys practice "primarily mutual masturbation of penis held against penis, maybe anal intercourse, but never fellatio. All members of the group may become one member's partner, in rotation. Relationships are not necessarily unobserved, but they are always in pairs, not in larger groups".

Premarital intercourse was a free product (Wilken, 1889:p439-40, *op.cit.*, and refs.).

Toradja, Toraja (Indonesia) (-,-,3-,3-,2,2;8,8; D4,1) (eHRAF)

Child betrothals being common, Nobeles (acc. vP)¹¹⁵ observed on Makale that betrothed children were allowed to live in a single residence but are forbidden to sleep as a couple until of marriageable age. "Formerly, women often married shortly after menarche, while men generally married in the late teens or early twenties" (Hollan & Wellenkamp, p96). Adriani and Kruyt (1912 [1951:p619])¹¹⁶ note the following on the *Toradja* of Central Celebes (Sulawesi): "At an early age the child knows everything concerning sexual life, for all of these things are discussed freely by the parents in the presence of the children, and the latter are present at a confinement from the beginning to the end. From an early age the child is familiar with the secrets of sexual life, and as soon as its senses begin to speak and the impulse reveals itself from within, it yields to the act without any self-restraint"¹¹⁷. Downs (1956:p77)¹¹⁸ agreed that "[...] it was not uncommon for girls to have sexual intercourse

¹¹² Broch, H. B. (1990) *Growing Up Agreeably*. Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press

¹¹³ Money, J. & Ehrhardt, A. A. (1973/1996) *Man & Woman, Boy & Girl*. London: Aronson

¹¹⁴ Money, J. (1977) Bisexual, homosexual and heterosexual, *J Homosex* 2,3:229-33

¹¹⁵ Nobeles, E. A. J., *Tijdschr Indische Taal-, Land- & Volkenk* [Dutch] 66; Van Praag, p521-2

¹¹⁶ Adriani, N. & Kruyt, A. C. (1912) *De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij. Translated (1951) as *The Bare'e-Speaking Toradja of Central Celebes (the East Toradja)*. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij. Vol. 2

¹¹⁷ "For girls the onset of menstruation is certain evidence of their sexual maturity, but many have already had love affairs before that time" (p385).

¹¹⁸ Downs, R. E. (1956) *The Religion of the Bare'e-Speaking Toradja of Central Celebes*. The Hague [Holland]: Uitgeverij Excelsior

before they menstruated for the first time". Hollan and Wellenkamp (1996:p72)¹¹⁹ quoting a mother: "Often when a boy is sleeping with other children, ...he may put his legs around [another child] or pillow, and he does it [thrusters as in intercourse]... but he doesn't even know what he's doing [...] We don't say anything [...] If he's just pretending, you know?".

Two accounts of Toradja puberty are given:

"Boys and girls reach sexual maturity inconspicuously. There is no festivity or ceremony in connection with the transition to marriageable age. When a girl has her teeth shortened (among the To Poe'oe-mboto the teeth are knocked out), this is evidence that one may have a love affair with her. This does not apply to boys: they do not have their teeth shortened until a later age, when they are seriously considering marriage. Before this time they have already enjoyed the free association with girls that the adat permits them. [...] For girls the onset of menstruation is certain evidence of their sexual maturity, but many have already had love affairs before that time. No special notice is taken of the onset of the menses" (Adriani & Kruijt).

"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).

Among the Sigi-Toradja named **To Bada'**, as described by Woensdregt¹²⁰, a girl begins to seek social intercourse with equally aged boys after her teeth have been knocked out. "According to some the girl begins to socialise with young men after her second menses. However, according to others menstruation would be a cause of the making out" ["Volgens anderen zouden de menses juist een gevolg zijn van de vrijage"] (p246; cf. Atjeh). Child marriage (p256-7) *per se* is inexistent, though parents do negotiate marriages at this age. As is sexual life concerned (W., p265-6), it is observed that "Het grijpen van een jongen naar de genitaliën van zijn kameraad (*mombekoko*) is een gewoon verschijnsel. Evenzoo de meisjes onderling. Maar ook meisjes en jongens doen dit wederkeerig, en vaak blijft het niet alleen bij *mombekoko*. Meestal gaat de verleiding uit van het meisjes"¹²¹. The elderly argue that "Ze spelen wat met elkaar; ze moeten toch iets hebben aan hun verlovings!"¹²². Another form is called *mombekatehoebe'i*, translated as "met elkaar ergens tegenaan komen, over struikelen" (to stumble upon something together, DJ). When the boy "pays" her (e.g., a mirror), he cannot be fined afterwards.

Atjeh, Adjeh (Sumatra, Indonesia)

¹¹⁹ Hollan, D. W. & Wellenkamp, J. C. (1996) *The Thread of Life: Toradja Reflections of the Life Cycle*. Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press

¹²⁰ Woensdregt, J. (1929) Verloving en huwelijk bij de To Badja' in Midden Celebes, in *Bijdragen* [...] 85:245-90; Van Praag, p494

¹²¹ "Boys' grabbing at their comrad's genitalia (*mombekoko*) is a common occurrence. The same for girls amongst each other. However, boys and girls practice the same mutually, and often the thing doesn't end with *mombekoko*. The initiative lies often with the girls" [DJ].

¹²² "They play a little among each other; they've got to profit from their engagement somehow!" [DJ].

The *sedati* custom has been discussed. The Atjeh practised child marriage (Jacobs, 1894, I:p74-5; Van Praag). At a very early age, mixed play is forbidden (*ibid.*, p223). "Onanism has to be frequent in children of both sexes". Older girls use a dildo made of wax (*mëdilin-dilin*), and girlhood tribadism would not be rare (p210-1; cf. 1883:p134-5). Spinner (1931:198)¹²³ noted: "Bei den Atjehs auf Sumatra werden die Kinder sehr früh verheiratet und beisammen gelassen. Da sie noch nicht koitieren können, befriedigen sie sich gegenseitig durch Ipsation bzw. Masturbation.". The same case was attributed to Jacobs in Ploß and Bartels (p274-8)¹²⁴. This was also noted by Metschnikoff¹²⁵: "Die Gatten schlafen zusammen, indem sie Versuche zum Coitus machen, bis es ihn gelingt, ihn wirklich zu vollziehen". And, lastly, by Van Praag, citing Jacob:

"Laat ons thans overgaan tot een korte beschrijving van het intieme leven van het jonge paartje, waarbij we dan natuurlijk niet mogen vergeten, dan het vrouwtje in den regel nog kind is en dus nog absoluut niet geschikt voor normalen omgang. Zij heeft soms zelfs nauwelijks haar tanden gewisseld. En ook van menstruatie is in den regel nog geen sprake geweest. Aangezien haar man ook slechts enkele jaren ouder is dan zij zelf, maakt de immisio penis plaats voor wederzijdse masturbatie. Eenige jongelingen gaan echter al op vroegtijdigen leeftijd tot de eigenlijke handeling over; ze gebruiken daarbij veel geweld, waardoor niet zelden verwondingen ontstaan. Het arme kind beklaagt zich dan in den volgenden dag natuurlijk bij de moeder. [...] Zoodra de eerste immisio penis heeft plaats gehad ontvangt ze van haar man een buikband van goud of zilver alsmede een geschenk van geld"¹²⁶ (p18-9).

The Atjeh believed that menarche was hastened by marital consummation. Jacobs (1894, I:p209) stated that on Atjeh it was commonly known that menstruation occurs earlier the earlier she is married and thus has had sexual intercourse"¹²⁷ (cf. Toradja). Jongejans ([1939])¹²⁸, however, could only report that coitus would be delayed until puberty (p88). Jongejans states that at age ten, the Atjeh girl is nuptial and is segregated from all amusements; she is excused from working at the sawah, "the preferred spots for amourettes [...]. The boys are more free and search their bons plaisirs at an early date, even with older women" (p108-9).

Alorese (Indonesia) (2,2,2+,2+,3,3;4,4;BE)

¹²³ Spinner, J. R. (1931) *Die Jungfernschaft: Die Virginität und Defloration als Kulturproblem*. Leipzig [etc.]: Verlag für Sexualwissenschaft

¹²⁴ *Die Frau* [...]

¹²⁵ Metschnikoff, E. ([1910]) *Studien über die Natur des Menschen*. Leipzig: Von Veit & Co., p117-8

¹²⁶ "Let us next proceed with a short description of the intimate life of the young couple. In doing so, one should not forget the female in general is still a girl and thus incapable of normal intercourse. At times she has barely lost her primary teeth. Menstruation, too, has not commonly occurred yet. Given the fact that her husband, likewise, is only a few years her senior, mutual masturbation takes the place of penile penetration. Some youths, however, proceed to the proper practice at an early age; they thus use a high degree of force, and vulneration is no infrequent an occurrence. Of course, the poor child complains to her mother the next day. [...] As soon as the first penetration has been effected, she receives a waist belt made of gold or silver together with a monetary offerance" [DJ].

¹²⁷ *Op.cit.* "Het is op Atjeh van algemeene bekendheid, dat de menstruatie zooveel vroeger intreedt, naarmate het kind eerder gehuwd is en dus geslachtelijke gemeenschap heeft gehad".

¹²⁸ Jongejans, J. ([1939]) *Land en Volk van Atjeh Vroeger en Nu*. Baarn [Holland]: Hollandia

DuBois (1944, [1960, I:p69-70])¹²⁹ on the Alorese: “The masturbation that little boys pursue so casually and freely during early childhood seems to disappear after the acquisition of a loincloth. At least it is no longer observed, and adults say that “children forget about it”. [...] Sex play during this period is frowned upon by adults, but it undoubtedly occurs, both in heterosexual and homosexual forms. [...] It is said that if [homosexual] behavior comes to the attention of any adult the children are scolded. [...] Play groups of boys often join groups of girls in field houses for several days at a time. Adults are usually suspicious of such alliances and are inclined to warn the girls against the boys. These play groups usually imitate adult relationships. This may at times take the form of attempted intercourse, performed either secretly in pairs of within a group of age-mates. As one informant puts it, “Children hear their mothers and fathers having intercourse. Then they say to each other, “Our parents do this, so let us also” “[...]. Such behavior is not approved by adults, but when reported or discovered it is likely to be shrugged off as mere play”. Parents, and children, may masturbate infants to quiet them (DuBois, 1944:p37; DuBois, 1945 [1956:p131, 148])¹³⁰. Early childhood masturbation (penile manipulation) is public (1944:p45). Nicolspeyer (1940:57)¹³¹ agrees that virginity is a virtue, but only in theory.

Engano Island (Indonesia)

Walland (1864:p103-4, 105, as cited by Ronhaar)¹³² states that sexual intercourse before marriageable age is free. Thus: “De omgang der beide geslachten onderling in zeer vrij. Voordat het meisje den huwbaren staat bereikt, heeft zij gewoonlijk reeds omgang met mannen gehad, waarin men geene schande, noch iets strafbaars ziet. [...] De vroegtijdige vermenging der geslachten is waarschijnlijk oorzaak der zoo algemeene onvruchtbaarheid van de vrouwen [...]”¹³³.

Sula Island, Sulanese (Maluku, Indonesia)

Riedel (1885:p395)¹³⁴:

¹²⁹ Du Bois, C. ([1944] 1960) *The People of Alor: A Social-Psychological Study of an East Indian Island*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. See vol. 1, p37, 45, 69-73, 79; Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Row, p187; Whiting, J. & Child, I. (1953) *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, p79, 88, 90-1

¹³⁰ Du Bois, C. (1945) The Alorese, in Kardiner, A. (Ed.) *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*. New York: Colombia University Press. 1956 reprint, p101-45ff

¹³¹ Nicolspeyer, M. M. (1940) *De Sociale Structuur van een Alorese Bevolkingsgroep*. Rijswijk [Holland]: V. A. Kramer

¹³² Walland, J. (1864) Het Eiland Engano, *Tijdschr v Ind Taal, Land & Volkenk* [Dutch] 14:93-124; Ronhaar, J. H. (1931) *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*. Groningen, The Netherlands: Wolters / London: D. Nutt, p332

¹³³ “The social intercourse between the sexes is marked by a considerable freedom. Prenuptially, the girl commonly has had intercourse with men, which is regarded shameful nor a object for retribution. [...] The premature mixing of the sexes is the probably cause of the universal infertility of women” [DJ].

¹³⁴ Riedel, J. G. F. (1885) De Sulaneezen, hunne gebruiken bij huwelijken, geboorte en bij het mutileren des lichaams, *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, & Volkenk Nederlandsch-Indie* [Holland] 10:394-405

“Op deze eilanden worden de huwelijken, *bakai*, gesloten zonder op den leeftijd der betrokkenen te letten. Alleen is het *bobosiof* verboden, wanneer de jongelingen voordat zij *mataveu* zijn, - of haar op den pubes hebben, zich copuleeren. De meisjes kunnen evenwel vóór het intreden der menses, *sambasaa*, de conjunctio venerea uitoefenen. Het geslachtsverkeer is voor beiden vrij en overlet, mits dit slechts zonder in ‘t oog te vallen geschiedt”¹³⁵.

Boys and girls are circumcised (p404).

Tabaru, Tobaru (NW coast of Halmahera, Indonesia)

Fortgens¹³⁶ argues that “nauwelijks hebben de teekenen van puberteit zich bij den jongen aangekondigd, of hij zoekt zich een meisje, dat, in denzelfden toestand verkeerende, niet ongeneigd is een liaison met hem aan te gaan” (The signs of puberty hardly having become apparent, the lad seeks himself a girl who, in an alike state of [maturity?], is not opposed to a mutual commitment, DJ.). When secret arrangements are consequently become publicised, parents take over customary matters.

Tobelorese (-,-,-,-,-,-,-,-) (Tobelo, North Maluku, Indonesia)

Hueting (1921:p305)¹³⁷ argues that “[...] de *manier*, waarop men met de kinderen speelt, niet naar onzen smaak [is], men houdt een jongetje b.v.b heel kalm zoet, door met zijn geslachtsdelen te spelen!”¹³⁸ [*ital. in orig.*]. Nudity is continued until the (variable) age the child begins to feel ashamed. “Het maagd worden der meisjes wordt wel niet feestelijk gevierd, maar het gaat ook niet onopgemerkt voorbij. Volgens sommigen onderwijst de moeder haar, in wat zij weten moet omtrent het sexueele, en waarschuwt haar voor vertrouwelijk omgang met het andere geslacht”¹³⁹ (p307). She is appointed a separate bedroom, where she can receive boys; this need not result in marriage. Boys delay marriage, which would contribute to the not seldom occurring “tegnatuurlijke ontucht” [unnatural vice], or so it is said. The boys would later suffer from looking awful due to its practice (p308).

¹³⁵ “On these [Sula] islands marriages, *bakai*, are arranged without a reference to the ages of those involved. *Bobosiof*, however, are forbidden to copulate, when not yet *mataveu*, pubescent. Girls can nevertheless practice the conjunctio venerea before the onset of menstruation, or *sambasaa*. Sexual intercourse is free and unchecked for both [sexes], lest this it does not draw the attraction of the eye” [DJ].

¹³⁶ Fortgens, J. (1916) Het Adat-huwelijk onder den Tabaroe-stam, *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, & Volkenk Nederlandsch-Indie* [Holland] 71:425-46

¹³⁷ Hueting, A. (1921) De Tobeloreezen in hun denken en doen (eerste gedeelte), *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, & Volkenk Nederlandsch-Indie* [Holland] 77:217-357

¹³⁸ “The way the child is played with [is] beyond our [Dutch] taste, a boy, for instance, is kept calm by toying with his genitals!” [DJ]

¹³⁹ “The arrival of maidenhood is not celebrated, but it doesn’t pass over unrecognised either. According to some, the mother instructs the girl in what is to be known of things sexual, and warns her for intimate association with the opposite sex” [DJ].

Contemporarily Uncovered SCCS Societies: Indonesia**Badjau** (2-,2-,2-,2,-,-;-,-)***Additional References: Indonesia***

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Insular Pacific, Non-Australian Oceania

“Tsk, tsk, what a shame!”¹

Regional Index

Micronesia, Melanesia, New Zealand, Polynesia

Ethno/geographic Index

Aitutaki, Big Nambas, Carolines Isl., Cook Islands, Fiji, Gilbert Isl., Hawai’i (US), Ifaluk,
Kurtatchi, Maori, Marshall Isl., Mangaia, Marquesans, Mewun, Palauans, Ponape,
Pukapukans, Ra’Ivavae, Rotuman, Samoa, Santa Cruz Isl., Shortland Isl., Siuai, Solomon Isl.,
Tahiti, Tanna, Tikopia, Tonga Isl., Trukese, Ulithi, Vanuatu, Yapese

¹ Suggs (1962 [1963:p121]), *cit. infra*

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Introduction, Generalia

Oceanic sexual mores have been overly discussed in the context of European explorers being serviced by women. The case of childhood is less obvious. Schidlof (1908:p12)² offers the following second-hand account: "Geschlechtverkehr von Kinderen untereinander wird [...] von vielen Reisenden bestätigt. Ribble [?] berichtet ein Gleiches aus Rubiana [Roviana, Solomon Islands] und sagt: Beide Geschlechter werden sehr früh reif und es sind vor allem Knaben, die sehr frühzeitig beginnen, mit dem anderen Geschlecht intim zu verkehren".

A bibliography on contemporary adolescent sexuality was provided by Chung³. An overview of Pacific adolescence, with an emphasis on sexual behaviour and identity was provided by Herdt and Leavitt⁴. This is expanded by personal accounts from the South Pacific collected by Stewart⁵.

Early Betrothal / Marriage

Early betrothal seemed to have been a rather common institution on Tahiti, "and many other islands of the South Sea, as also among several of the tribes inhabiting the Malay Archipelago"⁶. This was so case of the Kingmill Islands⁷, Fiji⁸, Hudson's Island⁹, Nukahiva¹⁰, Solomon Islands¹¹, New Caledonia¹², and New Britain¹³. Among the Trukese, "[p]arents may also betroth their children while they are still infants" (Bollig, 1927:p100)¹⁴, who are then allowed the same "intercourse" as is allowed the married. Among the Lau Fijians, "[c]hild

² Schidlof, B. (1908) *Das Sexualleben der Australier und Ozeanier*. Leipzig: Leipziger Verlag

³ Bibliography by M. Chung (nd) on *Adolescent Sexuality in Pacific Island Countries*.

⁴ Herdt, G. & Leavitt, S. (Eds., 1989) *Adolescence in Pacific Island Societies*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press

⁵ Stewart, R. (Ed., 1982) *Pacific Profiles: Personal Experiences of 100 South Pacific Islanders*. Extension Services, The University of the South Pacific, Suva

⁶ Westermarck, E. ([1901]) *The History of Human Marriage*. London: MacMillan. 3rd ed., p214. See n8

⁷ Wilkes (V, p102)

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, p92

⁹ Turner, *Samoa*, p290

¹⁰ Waitz-Gerland (VI, p127)

¹¹ Zimmerman (II, p90)

¹² Turner, p240

¹³ Powell, p85

¹⁴ Bollig, L. (1927) *Die Bewohner der Truk-Inseln*. Münster i.W.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. "When one looks at the married couples concretely it is difficult to say what points of view are decisive for a girl in the choice of her future husband. Old chaps, young girls -- young lads, decrepit women -- pretty girls, men covered with sores and ringworm, etc., in all varieties". "A variant of the arranged marriage may take the form of a formal betrothal of children not yet of marriageable age. Although there is some disagreement in regard to how young children may be when they are betrothed, there is little question that the majority of such relationships are, and were in the past, established very shortly before the children reach puberty" (Gladwin, 1953:p125-6). "Infant betrothal also occurs" (Goodenough, 1951).

betrothal is not so common in Lau today as it was formerly, for there is a growing tendency for young people to choose their mates themselves. Child betrothal is arranged by the boy's father any time before the child reaches the age of seven or eight, when he is informed of the arrangement" (Thompson, 1940a)¹⁵. Infant betrothal among the Trobrianders has been discussed extensively by Malinowski (1929)¹⁶. Among the Melanesians, child betrothal occurs in Florida, and on the Northern New Hebrides, but only of "great people". On Leper's Island, a betrothed girl is taken into the house of the boy's mother to be taught the household ways¹⁷.

Current Age of Consent

For details, one is to consult ECPAT¹⁸. As a pattern, a female AoC is not paralleled with a male equivalent. Currently (Nov., 2002) the following entries have been made by ECPAT (f/m): Fiji (16/-)¹⁹, Kiribati (15/-)²⁰, Marshall Islands (?)²¹, Micronesia (15/-)²², New Zealand (16), Samoa (16/-, het.)²³, Solomon Islands (15/-, het.)²⁴, Tonga (16+extramar./12, het.)²⁵, Tuvalu (15/-, het.)²⁶ and Vanuatu (15/-, het.; 18, hom.)²⁷.

¹⁵ Thompson, L. (1940b) *Southern Lau, Fiji: An Ethnography*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Bernice P. Bishop Museum: "Child betrothal (*watchi ni suthu*) is common in Lau. The boy's father arranges his betrothal to his female cross cousin, the preferred mate, some time before he reaches the age of seven or eight. [...] When the children reach the age of seven or eight they are informed of the arrangement" (p90f).

¹⁶ See also Malinowski (1927:p230); Malinowski, B. (1926) *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Company, p100; Robinson, M. S. (1972) *Complementary Filiation and Marriage in the Trobriand Islands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

¹⁷ Parsons, E. C. (1906) *The Family*. New York & London: Putman, p70-1

¹⁸ ECPAT International, Online Database

http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/online_database/index.asp

¹⁹ "The age of majority is 21 years of age and the age of sexual consent for females is 16. There is no age prescribed for males. The age of criminal liability is 10 years of age. The Penal Code of Fiji has general provisions prohibiting sexual contact with children. It is illegal to indecently assault girls under 16. It is no defence to this crime to show that the girl consented to sexual contact".

²⁰ "The age of sexual consent is 15 years for girls, but there is no prescribed age of sexual consent for boys. A child under 10 years old cannot be held criminally liable for their actions. A child between the ages of 10 and 14 years can only be held criminally liable if it is proved that they had the capacity to understand that they ought not commit a criminal act. A boy under 12 years old is deemed incapable of having sexual intercourse".

²¹ "Children between the age of 10 and 14 are [...] presumed to be incapable of committing a criminal offence except in circumstances where they are charged with murder or rape, in which case the presumption is rebuttable. The Marshall Islands criminal code does not deal with Child Prostitution or sexual contact with children".

²² "The age of sexual consent is 15 years for girls. There is no prescribed age of sexual consent for boys".

²³ "The age of sexual consent for girls is 16 years. There is no heterosexual age of consent for boys. All sexual contact between males is prohibited whether it is consensual or not. [...] It is a crime to have any sexual contact with a girl under the age of 12. It is no defence for the accused to prove he had a mistaken belief that the girl was over 12 years old. It is also an offence to have sexual contact with a girl under the age of 16 but over the age of 12 whom is not married to the accused. There are two defences to this crime. If the accused perpetrator is younger than the girl victim then it is a defence to prove that the girl consented. Also, if the accused perpetrator is under 21 years of age and can prove that he had a reasonable belief that the girl was over the age of 16 it is a defence to this crime".

²⁴ "The age of sexual consent is 15 years for girls. No age of consent is prescribed for boys. Homosexual sexual contact is illegal at any age whether the contact is consensual or not. A boy under 12 years old is deemed incapable of having sexual intercourse".

²⁵ "The age of sexual consent for girls is 16 years and the age of sexual consent for boys is 12 years. Sodomy is illegal at any age. [...] The general offences include indecent assault of girls under 16 and indecent assaults on boys and girls under 12 ("indecent assault" would appear to include consensual

On Fiji, “[a]ny person who unlawfully and carnally knows any girl under the age of thirteen years is guilty of a felony, and is liable to imprisonment for life, with or without corporal punishment.(2) Any person who attempts to have unlawful carnal knowledge of any girl under the age of thirteen years is guilty of a misdemeanour, and is liable to imprisonment for five years, with or without corporal punishment; (3) It is no defence to a charge for unlawful carnal knowledge of a girl under the age of thirteen years to prove that she consented to the act” (Section 155, Amended by 11 of 1948, s. 2, and by 21 of 1950, s. 3). According to Section 154, ‘Indecent assaults on females’, “it is no defence to a charge for an indecent assault on a girl under the age of sixteen years to prove that she consented to the act of indecency”.

Age-Stratified “Homosexuality”

Pacific “homosexuality” may have been “clearly age-identified” (Murray²⁸; cf. Murray, 1992:xvii-xxi)²⁹. Individual cases are dealt with under their geo/ethnographic heading. The selected cases are dealt with in the following societies: →Hawai’i, →Carolines Isl., →“East Bay”, →Mewun (Malukula; cf. →Vanuatu), →Tahiti, and Small-Islanders.

Initiation and Sexuality

Regionally specific overviews of circumcision and initiation rites are provided by Schidlof (p17 et seq.), Jensen³⁰ and Zeller³¹. Though not as detailed as African cases, customs of “erotic indoctrination” are encountered in Polynesia, that is, “courses in sexual refinements” given by priestesses and Kariois (Danielsson, [1965:p89]). In the Tikopian context, Firth notes that “[i]n Polynesia there is hardly any of this teaching [on sex matters], and in Melanesia it is perfunctory”.

sex). It is no defence to a charge of indecent assault or carnal knowledge of a child under 12 to show that the child consented. Sexual intercourse with a girl under 12 years old is also prohibited. It is no defence to show that the girl consented or that the accused had an honest belief that the girl was over 12 years old. Additionally, it is illegal to have sexual intercourse with an unmarried girl under 18 years of age”.

²⁶ “The age of sexual consent for females is 15 years. There is no age prescribed for males. Male homosexual sex is prohibited whether it is consensual or not. [...] A male under the age of 12 is deemed incapable of having sexual intercourse”.

²⁷ “The age of sexual consent is 15 years for a girl to have heterosexual sexual contact and 18 years for girls and boys to have homosexual sexual contact. There appears to be no heterosexual age of consent for boys”.

²⁸ Murray, S. O. (1990) Pacific cultures, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol II, p937-40

²⁹ Murray, S. O. (Ed., 1992) *Oceanic Homosexualities*. New York & London: Garland. Esp. section on “age-stratified homosexuality: introduction” [p3-150] and Murray’s introductory notes, and Introduction, p3-23

³⁰ Jensen, A. E. (1933) *Beschneidung und Reifezeremonien bei Naturvölkern*. Frankfurt am Main: Strecker & Schröder, p74-114

³¹ Zeller, M. (1923) *Die Knabenweihen*. Bern: Paul Haupt, p41-66

Ethnographic Particularities

A recent overview of adolescent sexuality studies was provided by Chung³².

Melanesia

(separate section for [New Guinea](#)) ([Solomon Islands](#) [Tikopia, Kurtatchi, Shortland Isl., Siuai], [Vanuatu](#) [Big Nambas, Tanna, Mewun], [Fiji](#))

Reche³³ noted the late menarche and pubertal onset (“axillarche” and thelarche at age 16) in Melanesians³⁴. Coital knowledge starts early, as is seen in demonstrations. Diamond (1990:p403)³⁵ mentions such obscene “unofficial” dances. Schievehövel (1990:p403-7)³⁶ sketches an exhibitionistic childhood. No homosexuality is observed, although Schievehövel “did hear of male and female children “having had intercourse” in the grassland beside the village. Everyone laughed with good humor about this behavior; the children involved were never reprimanded or punished in any way”.

Solomon Islands (Melanesia)

(Tikopia, Kurtatchi, Shortland Islanders)

I could not substantiate Ronhaar (1931:p338) citing Elton (1888:p93) in “children, when comparatively young, seem to have improper intercourse with others”. Somerville (1897:394)³⁷ states that chastity is no virtue, women and men “as soon as they are of age to do so, may have connection promiscuously, just as they desire”.

³² Chung, M. (March, 2000) *Summary of Research Findings on Adolescent Sexuality & Men’s Attitudes to Family Planning In Pacific Island Countries*. Report prepared for the Regional Population and Reproductive Health Advocacy Project, Secretariat of the Pacific Community, p11-8

³³ Reche, O., Untersuchungen über das Wachstum und die Geschlechtsreife bei Melanesischen Kindern, *Korrespondenzbl Deutsch Ges Anthropol* 41,7. Cited by Freimark, H. (1911) *Das Sexualleben der Afrikaner*. Leipzig: Leipziger Verlag

³⁴ See also Höltker, G. (1949) Zur Frage nach dem Reifealter bei Melanesischen und Indonesischen Mädchen, *Acta Trop* (Basel) 6:13

³⁵ *Op.cit.*

³⁶ Schievehövel, W. (1990) Ritualized adult-male/adolescent-male sexual behavior in Melanesia: an anthropological and ethnological perspective, in Feerman, J. R. (Ed.) *Pedophilia: Biosocial Dimensions*. New York (etc.): Springer, p394-412

³⁷ Somerville, B. T. (1897) Ethnographical notes in New Georgia, Solomon Islands, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 26:357-412

Buchanan-Aruwafu and Maebiru (2001)³⁸ [refs omitted]:

“In Malaita most people would say that talking about sex is taboo. We found that the comfortability people have in talking about sex is contingent on the context, gender, age, and relationships of the people involved in the conversation. *Kastom* [“*Kastom* can be glossed broadly in Solomon Islands Pijin as cultural traditions and beliefs”] does not promote free conversations about sexuality and sexual health between men and women, and parent’s lack of knowledge and confidence does not promote discussions between themselves and their children (Buchanan, Konare and Namokari, 1999; Buchanan - Aruwafu, 2001). We found that only 10 out of 300 young people surveyed in Auki had ever spoken to their parents about sex or reproductive issues. The primary reasons for not talking to parents about sex were fear (49%), possible criticism (21%) and shame (14%); *kastom* and religion were at the basis of these reasons. Young people’s sources of information around sex were their friends and peers, relatives, partners and school, while health workers were not identified as a source of information about sex and sexual health (Buchanan - Aruwafu, 2001)”.

Tikopia (Solomon Islands, Melanesia) (3-,3-,3-,3+,3+,5,5;B1;EF) (eHRAF)

Firth (1936:p474)³⁹ states that young *Tikopia* children try to have intercourse with one another, yet “no actual copulation occurs, but they go through the motions. One young man told me how he saw a little boy of the Kafika family go to a little girl of the same household. It was at Muriava, on the reef when the tide was out. She lay on her back and attempted to copulate with her, made the movements, then rose and went away. He was about three and she the same age”. Another said: “The children who go about there they are termed children, but no. They know, they look at women⁴⁰ who are seated together and they go and do this – ” (illustrating the gesture of the fingers which imitates the sexual act). “The young men instruct them to go and act thus towards the women as a joke. So they go and do it”. In should be noted that female seduction is reported:

“Apart from ordinary sexual intercourse there are other methods by which people obtain satisfaction. An adult woman, attracted by a young boy, will look round to see that no one is observing, then cover the child and herself with a blanket and insert his penis in her genitals. She lies on her back, holds the child on top of her and with her hand works his loins (p494)”.

Tikopia boys receive superincision some time before puberty; the initiation (pu) does not include moral education, said Firth (1933)⁴¹. Later (1936) he is more exact:

“One of the basic functions of the initiation ritual emerges from the examination of its relation to education. The value of these ceremonies as a factor in primitive education cannot be denied, if by education is meant the process of adapting an individual to the community in which he is to live,

³⁸ Buchanan-Aruwafu, H. R. & Maebiru, R. (2001) *Stiki Lole: Mediating Hidden Desires and Pleasures in Auki Malaita, Solomon Islands*. Paper for presentation at the 3rd IASSCS Conference in Melbourne, 1-3 Oct. 2001

³⁹ Firth, R. (1936) *We, the Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*. Boston: Beacon Press. See also Whiting, J. & Child, I. (1953) *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, p81; Fox, J. R. (1962) Sibling incest, *J Sociol* 13:128-50, p144-6

⁴⁰ “A practice sometimes adopted by boys is to climb a tree and to overlook women who are bathing. After obtaining excitation in this way then they proceed to masturbation either in the branches or on the ground” (p494).

⁴¹ Firth, R. (1933) Initiation Rites and Kinship Bonds in Tikopia, *Man* 33:117-8

inducing him to accept its discipline and norms of conduct. But of explicit instruction in tribal fore and manners there is usually, I think, less than is imagined, and what is given is by no means a primary feature of the institution. In Australia, it is true, totemic myths are taught at this time, and as in Africa, certain moral rules are inculcated. Frequently a little sex knowledge of a rough and ready kind is imparted, but this is apt to possess a purely formal value, since the lad is often cognisant already of such facts as the result of practical experiment. In Polynesia there is hardly any of this teaching, and in Melanesia it is perfunctory”.

After initiation, the boy “is no longer specifically forbidden sex intercourse” (p467).

“My information regarding the sex life of children is inadequate. I have no data of value on the question of a possible latency period in childhood. My impression is, however, that for some years before the age of puberty, boys display little interest in the opposite sex, but busy themselves with their fishing, forest wandering, dancing, dart-throwing and other pursuits in their own bands. There is no formal segregation of the sexes for any period, as in some communities. What has been said so far applies to young children only. The practice of masturbation may perhaps be correlated with this absence of heterosexual interest. Immature girls do have intercourse at times, particularly with men older than themselves”.

Kurtatchi (Solomon Islands, Melanesia)

Blackwood (1935:p82-3)⁴² speaks of “comparatively little sexual interest” in children’s games and reciprocal behaviour; “I have seen imitations of the act of coitus performed by children; they were done quite openly, but amounted to no more than taking up the appropriate position. [...] Small children who finger their own genitals or those of their companions are always promptly reproved by an older child or an adult”. When a boy puts on his upi, at the age of nine to ten (or earlier) to 18, he is “forbidden to play or have any close converse with the girls and women. [...] One or two cases were reported to me of boys still wearing the upi, but they were spoken of with bated breath, and clearly considered very great enormities and quite exceptional” (p100). Formal education is not given, not even during initiation (183, 199). Sexual incidents take on a prominent place in stories and myths told by children and adults of both sexes.

Girls are betrothed in their first year, and in the past “[...] it was only exceptionally that a girl was not claimed by a husband at or before sexual maturity [...]” (p99-100). The boy may already wear his upi by then, and “[t]he marriage is never consummated till the puberty ceremonies are finished and the upi removed, and usually not until the girl has experienced her first menstruation, though there appear to be some exceptions to this latter rule”, which is when a youth marries more than one wife.

Shortland Islanders (Solomon Islands, Melanesia)

⁴² Blackwood, B. (1935) *Both Sides of Buka Passage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. See also (Ford, 1945 [1964:p20]) and Whiting, J. & Child, I. (1953) *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, p88-9

Schidlof (1908:p10)⁴³ cites Ribbe on the fertility of both the Shortlanders and the slaves of Bourgainville that its low status is due to early intercourse.

Siuai (Bourgainville, Solomon Islands, Melanesia) (2,2+,2,2+,2,2;6,7)

Oliver (1955:p141)⁴⁴:

"[...] as soon as the child begins to toddle it is conditioned for the sex role it will play in everyday occupations and in the sex act. By the time little boys try to climb palm trees and little girls walk about carrying toy baskets they sometimes enliven their game of "house" by pretending to copulate, imitating either parents or dogs, both of whom they have ample opportunity to observe in or around the hamlet house. However, their period of innocent sex play is not allowed to continue for long; their elders- although privately enjoying it as a great joke- put a stop to such antics with scowls and admonishments of "that's wicked" or "that's incestuous", so that the youngsters learn speedily that copulation is something important but must not be imitated in public, and particularly not with certain females. At that point, also, parents realize that they must in future be more circumspect in their own sex relations".

In the rest of childhood, the children are conditioned not to regard sex differences in terms of coitus.

Vanuatu, New Hebrides (Melanesia)

(Big Nambas, Tanna, Mewun)

A boy-wife system is said to have been existent in on the New Hebrides (Vanuatu), especially in Northern and Eastern Oba, Maevo and Northern Pentecost (Corlette, 1935:p486⁴⁵; Allen, 1984)⁴⁶. Humphreys (1926)⁴⁷ states that girls were betrothed at birth, and that they are usually given to their mother's brother's sons as wives.

Big Nambas (Malekula, New Hebrides, Eastern Melanesia) (eHRAF)

"Young Seniang children publicly simulate adult copulation without being reproved; older boys masturbate freely and play sexual games with little girls, but the boys are warned not to copulate on the grounds that this behavior would weaken them" (Ford and Beach,

⁴³ *Op.cit.*

⁴⁴ Oliver, D. L. (1955) *A Solomon Island Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

⁴⁵ Corlette, E. A. C. (1935) Notes on the natives of the New Hebrides, *Oceania* 5:474-87

⁴⁶ Allen, M. (1984) Homosexuality, male power and political organisation in North Vanuatu: a comparative analysis, in Herdt, G. (Ed.) *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*. University of California Press

⁴⁷ Humphreys, C. B. (1926) *The Southern New Hebrides: An Ethnological Record*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Cited by Seligman, B. Z. (1928) Asymmetry in Descent, with Special Reference to Pentecost, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 58:533-58, see p551

1951:p189). "On Malekula girls are married at six or eight" (cited by Sumner, 1906:p382)⁴⁸. Prepubertal male masturbation and heterosexual play were "common" (Deacon; see also Herdt, 1984:p12)⁴⁹.

"Sexual intercourse before puberty is strongly condemned by parents as being weakening. Nevertheless, masturbation and "playing" with the other sex are common among young boys. Homosexuality among boys, on the other hand, is apparently very rare. One boy at Benaaur tried to make another his boy-lover, but the latter retorted: "Do you think I'm a woman!" and gave him a thrashing".

Parental intercourse is shielded from the child's eye:

"For sexual intercourse the parents will wait until the children are asleep, and then the woman will cross over to her husband's mat. Unlike boys, who leave the house and go to sleep in the *amel* when they are about twelve years old, girls remain living and sleeping at home until they are married and go to their husbands. [...] If it is at night-time, the parents wait until the children are asleep, and then the wife goes across the room to her husband's sleepingmat. If they wish to have relations at any other time each of the children is told to go off on some distant errand, so that their parents may be left alone. It is considered bad for children to see any man or woman in the act of coition, and in the normal course of events this would never happen. A man is ashamed, too, should his son see his penis through some mischance, such as his *nambas* slipping down. After a girl is married it is indecent for her father to see her genitals, for only her husband now has the right to do so, and should any other man see them, through her having exposed herself indecently, it is her father's duty to reprimand her severely. The line drawn between decency and indecency differs greatly from our conventions. A small boy will give a realistic imitation of copulation in public without being reproved⁵⁰, but it would be regarded as indecent and suggestive were he to point out to a woman that there was a cockroach or a piece of mud on her skirt" (Deacon, p155).

"If, as is very general, a marriage is contracted before the girl has attained puberty, it may not be consummated for some two or three years". *Nelaai* signifies marriage in the legal sense, and may be used of the marriage of girls before puberty, when the consummation of the marriage is postponed for some years. *Imi* signifies to consummate a "child" marriage, and it is used also for performing the ritual of the "legal" marriage together with its subsequent consummation in adult marriage.

The expression *Iap* (to have intercourse with a woman) is an indecent word, used only by men, and it cannot be used openly except among men; it is never spoken in the presence of a woman or of small boys and girls.

Tanna (New Hebrides, Melanesia)

Tanna boys, may, after their circumcision at age 5 to 11 "chew kava for their elders and have sexual intercourse" (Mills, 1961)⁵¹.

⁴⁸ Sumner, W. G. (1906) *Folkways*. Boston [etc.]: Ginn & Co. Citing *Austral Assoc Adv Sci*, 1892, p704

⁴⁹ Herdt, G. H. (1984) Ritualized Homosexuality in the Male Cults of Melanesia, 1862-1982: An Introduction, in Herdt, G. H. (Ed.) *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p1-81

⁵⁰ This would seem to contradict the statement made above, that normally a child would not see a man and woman in the act of coition. It is probable that in Seniang, as in our own society, the actual knowledge of small boys concerning sexual matters is very much greater than what is theoretically supposed.—C. H. W. [eHRAF addition]

⁵¹ Mills, A. R. (1961) Ritual Circumcision on Tanna, New Hebrides, *Man* 61:185

Mewun (Malekula, Melanesia)

Larcom (1980)⁵²:

“While the wishes of men from a given *ples* contracted the pool of marriageable women for would-be suitors from another *ples*, the suitors tried to circumvent female infanticide and to expand the pool of possible wives through pre-natal betrothal. Because of the shortage of women, Mewun adult men frequently tried to betroth a wife before the wife was born. The story goes that they would go up to a pregnant woman, put their hand on her belly and claim the unborn child if it proved to be a girl. The bargain was sealed with a gift of a pig to the parents, refundable if they had a boy instead. Usually, affianced girls were left with their mothers until they were weaned. At that time the future husband would claim his bride by delivering the rest of the bridewealth and taking his adopted wife home to his own *ples*. There she would remain in the custody of one of his female relatives until she was into puberty at which time her husband would build her her own house and begin having intercourse with her” (p146-7).

-- Age Stratified Homosexuality

The description of Malekulan institutional “pederasty” described by Deacon (1934)⁵³ and Layard (1942)⁵⁴ on the islands Raga and Vao leaves room for speculation, since neither author offers a precise statement on initial ages of the novice, nor on the age of transition to active participant (Creed, 1984:p159-60)⁵⁵. Thus, “[i]t is very unfortunate that in all his accounts of these ceremonies Deacon never mentions the approximate age of the novices, nor does he give any indications of how old a boy is when he first is taken as a lover” (eHRAF note, signed C. H. W.). On Malekula, the boy played the passive role in homosexual intercourse with a man “from the time when circumcision approached” to afterward, with abstinence in the seclusion period, which lasted thirty days (see also Bleibtrue-Ehrenberg, 1980:p96-8). The relation was said to be monogamous.

L. H. Gray (p665) comes to the conclusion that it is a preparation for sexual life only “in so far as it is a preparation for the duties and privileges of manhood.”

Deacon:

“Among the Big Nambas, as in North Raga, homosexual practices between men are very highly developed. Every chief has a number of boy-lovers, and it is said that some men are so completely homosexual in their affections, that they seldom have intercourse with their wives, preferring to go with their boys⁵⁶. Up to the time that a boy assumes the bark-belt, the badge of the adult male, he should not take a boy-lover, but himself plays this rôle to some older man. It is only after he has donned the bark-belt that he enjoys this privilege. It is clear, then, that for some time before a boy is circumcised he belongs to one of the older men. A boy-lover, like a circumcision candidate, is termed *mugh vel*, and he refers to his “husband” as *nilagh sen*. *Nilagh sen* is really the term employed by a man for his sister’s

⁵² Larcom, J. C. (1980) *Place and the Politics of Marriage: The Mewun of Malekula*, New Hebrides/ Vanuaaku. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International

⁵³ Deacon, B. A. (1934) *Malekula: A Vanishing People in the New Hebrides*. London: Routledge

⁵⁴ Layard, J. (1942) *Stone Men of Malekula*. London: Chatto & Windus

⁵⁵ Creed, G. W. (1984) Sexual subordination: institutionalized homosexuality and control in Melanesia, *Ethnology* 23,3:157-76

⁵⁶ The act of coition, when intercourse is homosexual, is carried out standing up, not lying down as is usual when cohabiting with a woman.—A. B. D. [eHRAF]

husband, but in this context it is used in jest, for the rules regulating the behaviour of relations by marriage make it impossible for a man to have homosexual connection with his wife's brother. The association between a *nilagh sen* and his *mugh vel* is a very close one; indeed, the former has complete sexual rights over his boy. Thus, if the *mugh vel* were to have sexual intercourse with any other man, without the consent of his *nilagh sen*, the latter would be very angry. Further, the *nilagh sen* can "sell" his rights over the boy to another man. When this is done it is customary for the second man to copulate with the boy and immediately after having done so to give him some calico, fowl's feathers, or other ornament. This the boy then hands over to his *nilagh sen*. Boys are "sold" in this way only for short periods of time; after a few days they always return to their real "husbands", who have use of them as before. The bond between *mugh vel* and *nilagh sen* is, however, not only a sexual one. The boy accompanies his "husband" everywhere; works in his garden (it is for this reason that a chief has many boy-lovers), and if one or other of the two should die, the survivor will mourn him deeply". [...] Whether it is the *nilagh sen* who is asked to play the part of *dubut* during the circumcision rites is not certain, but after the arrangements for circumcising the lad have been made, the *dubut* has exclusive sexual rights over him. He is now the boy's "husband" and is extremely jealous of any other man, not excepting the guardians of other boys, securing his *mugh vel* and having intercourse with him. So much is this the case that he will not allow him out of his sight. The *dubut* himself, however, cannot have sexual access to the boy throughout all the thirty days' seclusion which accompanies the circumcision rites. From the time of the operation until the wound is healed, intercourse is forbidden, and the *dubut* only plays the part of a guardian who cares for the novice's physical needs. But when the wound has healed he resumes his "marital" rights and continues to have relations with the boy until some time later the latter purchases his bark-belt. The reason, or rather the rationalization, which the natives put forward for their homosexual practises is that the boy-lover's male organ is caused to grow strong and large by the homosexual acts of his "husband". This growth of the penis is supposed to be complete by the time that the bark-belt is assumed. [...] The next day a great feast is celebrated. The novices are led forth from the *ghamal bagho*, their fathers pay the guardians, and each lad now purchases his newly-won penis-sheath from his maternal uncle. It is important to notice that the boy himself, not his father, makes payment for this. He does not acquire the bark-belt on this occasion, but at some later date (the length of the interval was not stated and probably varies) the erstwhile novice pays his *dubut* a few coco-nuts or some tobacco for it. Until this payment is made the *dubut* continues to have homosexual relations with the lad, but when once the latter has assumed his bark-belt this bond is severed and he, being now a "man", can take a boy-lover for himself".

Layard, quoting Deacon, also dwells largely on

"[...] the organised practice of homosexuality existing in the two areas where circum-incision replaces the more usual incision, namely, among the Big Nambas and in South (and apparently also in North) Raga. The explanation usually advanced with regard to the Big Nambas is that the chiefs have so many wives that the commoners have to content themselves with substitutes in the form of boys. This explanation is, to say the least of it, unlikely, and is quite certainly not applicable to South Raga where there are no chiefs (p486-7). [...] From Raga, the only other area from which organised homosexuality has been reported, we have no details by which to test the validity or otherwise of what has just been suggested. [...] Indeed, so far as I could learn, though homosexuality is not unknown in the Small Islands, it is rare, and such relationships as exist almost always consist in a Small Island boy being the passive partner in a temporary union with an adult native from the Malekulan mainland, for which he is rewarded by the present of a money-mat in the same way as men throughout the group make such gifts to their girl-lovers. The Small Islanders' attitude towards such relationships are a comic look and the remark, "What a waste of time when there are so many women". On Atchin, more closely connected with the customs of the Malekulan mainland, the tutor actually addresses his novice as "my wife". Even there, however, where I myself had the good fortune to witness most of the rites, I was assured that this terminology did not indicate actual homosexual union, and the same is true of Vao where, though the novice does indeed sometimes speak of his tutor as his "husband", the more usual term used is *to-mbat na-nuk*, "my *to-mbat*", to which the tutor reciprocates by calling the novice *mov ghal na-nuk*, "my novice" (p503-4)⁵⁷.

⁵⁷ Also quoted by Greenberg, D. F. (1988) *The Construction of Homosexuality*. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press, p40

Fiji (Melanesia)**Mbau/ Lau Fijians (2+,3-,3,3+,3-,3-;-9) (eHRAF) (Melanesia)**

Child betrothal has already been discussed. On the Lau Islands, Fiji, “[u]p to the age of eleven or twelve no special attention is paid to the sex life of children except that the speaking tabu is enforced between brothers and sisters and parallel cousins of opposite sex. Apparently many girls as well as boys masturbate, and young mothers who are nursing babies- and hence forbidden sexual intercourse- occasionally do so also. According to the girls themselves, homosexual relationships among girls are not rare. These relationships usually begin by imitation of other girls before a girl’s first menstruation” (Thompson, 1940a:p47-8)⁵⁸. If a girl had sexual intercourse either before or during the tattooing period of about a year (begun shortly after a girl’s first menstruation by a female who “felt the patient’s thighs to determine whether or not the girl was ready for the operation”), the operation would be more painful and the wounds would require more time to heal than otherwise (Thompson, 1940b)⁵⁹. Since boys could not play in mixed groups, “[t]he only emotional outlets for boys of this age is in masturbation and homosexual relations with other pilos (prepuberty boys)”⁶⁰.

Schidlof (1908:p9-10)⁶¹ speaks of “recht vorzeitige Geschlechtsbetätigung, die aus Kinder Mütter und aus jungen Frauen Hexen macht” [genuinely premature sexual indulgence, that makes mothers of children and witches out of young women].

A girl enters womanhood through the four-day *cohabitation ritual*, resulting from an elopement (Turner, 1986:[p35])⁶². The “weak”, “formless” and “socially immature” girl is thus “given a socially approved shape when a senior man instructs her in how to behave as a wife, as a woman. It is then that the girl, incapable of self-governing behavior, is turned into a responsible woman” ([p40-2]). Not even ending with marriage, the entire *matagali* is concerned about the girl’s sexual conduct; especially the brother is to watch her moves.

[Additional refs: Abramson, A. (1987) Beyond the Samoan controversy in anthropology: a history of sexuality in the eastern interior of Fiji, in Caplan, P. (Ed.) *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*. New York: Tavistock Publications; Lester, R. H. (1939/40) Betrothal and marriage customs of Lau, Fiji, *Oceania* 10:273-85]

⁵⁸ Thompson, L. (1940a) *Fijian Frontier*. San Francisco, Calif.: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations

⁵⁹ Thompson, L. (1940) *Southern Lau, Fiji: An Ethnography*. Honolulu, Hawai’i: Bernice P. Bishop Museum

⁶⁰ See also Bullough, V. L. (1976) *Sexual Variance in Society and History*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, p28-9

⁶¹ *Op.cit.*

⁶² Turner, D. M. (1986) *Women’s Ritual Roles in Matailobau, Fiji Islands: The Construction of Gender and Social Life*. PhD Thesis, Michigan State University

Rotuman (Fiji, Melanesia)

With the tattooing of boys at age 13, they became men; “if a chief, however, as soon as it was commenced, he was systematically taken in hand by the women and taught fornication” (Gardiner)⁶³. The feasts that follow, “[...] were in no way accompanied by scenes of unnatural vice”.

Additional Refs:

-- Howard, A. (1970) *Learning to be Rotuman: Acculturation in the South Pacific*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University

⁶³ Gardiner, J. S. (1898) The Natives of Rotuma, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 27:457-524, at p481

Micronesia / Federated States of Micronesia

([Caroline Islands](#) [Palau, Yap, Truk, Ponape, Ulithi, Ifaluk], [Gilbert Islands](#), [Marshall Islands](#))

Caroline Islands (Micronesia)

Carolinians, Saipanese (Micronesia)

“Carolinian marriages were formerly arranged by the parents of the girl, and girls were married off very young, sometimes even before the onset of menstruation. This is unusual now” (Joseph and Murry, 1951:p75)⁶⁴. “We were unable to get much information regarding the prevalence of masturbation and other sex play among children. All our informants were more or less evasive on the subject, which they evidently did not consider a proper topic for discussion. They generally appeared not to understand the question at first, then either flatly denied the existence of such practices or said that if there were children who did such things, they had never heard of them. This was, at least, revealing as to the attitude of the adults” (p64). “Pre-adolescent masturbation and sex interests were denied by our Carolinian informants as by the Chamorros, but their attitude toward these topics was strikingly different. While the Chamorros were embarrassed and evasive, the Carolines could and did describe sexual practices in full detail and with entire freedom” (p77). “A Carolinian informant stated homosexual relations between older men and young boys occurred among Chamorros, but not among Carolinians. We heard no reports of homosexuality among girls or women” (p274).

Damm (1938:p189)⁶⁵ noted that on Faraulip coitus should not be practised before marriage, “doch wird es jetzt zumindest nicht sehr genau damit genommen. Das Coitieren [...] wird beiden Geschlechtern von den alten Leuten systematisch gelehrt”. On Sorol, a beard signified boy’s marriageability; in girls, it was menarche (p267).

Western Carolines (Micronesia)

Sex is never discussed before children, especially girls (Ford and Beach, 1951:p180)⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ Joseph, A. & Murry, V. (1951) *Chamorros and Carolines of Saipan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

⁶⁵ Damm, H. (1938) *Zentralkarolinen*. 2nd halfvol. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter & Co.

⁶⁶ *Op.cit.*

Palauans (2,2+,2+,3,2,2;8,8;E) (Western Caroline Islands; Micronesia)

Barnett ([1962:p121])⁶⁷ comments on modesty and anal training. There is no formal age of nobility (p129), at least it did not always coincide with the onset of puberty. Adolescents would be deflowered by their mothers, and taught the arts of prostitution in special schools (Kramer). Milne (1924:p61)⁶⁸ stated that a few young unmarried men and women aged 17 to 25 “teach the mysteries of courtship to a certain number of small boys and girls”. The elaborate, highly formalised courtship routines known as *Prüh* consists of an exchange of rhymes, and signifies the transition from childhood to boy- and girlhood proper. Rhymes are continuously abandoned for longer ones, and repeated until marriage. The process is known as “taming”, or teaching, and commences at ages 9 or 12. Marriageability starts at twelve to seventeen.

Additional refs:

Barnett, H. (1979) *Being a Palauan*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Wilson

Yapese (Pelew Islands, Western Caroline Islands, Micronesia) (2,2,2,2+,3;8,5;G2;E)

Senfft (1907:p141)⁶⁹ stated that intercourse before menstruation was forbidden on the island of Yap. On the other hand, the following statement might oppose this argument: “Die Vorversuche zum Geschlechtsverkehr, wenn auch nicht, wie P. Salesius [70] behauptet, unter Anleitung der Alten ausgeführt, werden geradezu unter die Spiele gerechnet” (Müller, 1917, I:p231-2)⁷¹. Free adolescent courtship seems to have been the rule around 1910.

Trukese, Chuuk (Truk) (3-,3-,3+,3+,2-,2-;9,9;AF) (eHRAF) (Eastern Caroline Islands; Micronesia)

“The Truk children are merry little people and often quite pretty to see, with their black locks, aside from the necessary dirt, of course”, says Bollig (1927:p96)⁷², a Capuchin missionary. However:

⁶⁷ Barnett, H. G. ([1962]) *Palauan Society*. Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon. 2nd pr.

⁶⁸ Milne, L. (1924) *The Home of an Eastern Clan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

⁶⁹ Senfft, A. (1907) Die Rechtssitten der Jap-Eingeborenen, *Globus* 41 :[141]

⁷⁰ Salesius, Pater (ca1906) *Die Karolinen-Insel Yap*. Berlin, p131

⁷¹ Müller, W. (1917) *Yap*. Hamburg: Friederichsen. First halfvol. Also cited by Ronhaar, J. H. (1931) *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*. Groningen: Wolters/ London: D. Nutt, p330

⁷² Bollig, P. L. (1927) *The Inhabitants of the Truk Islands: Religion, Life and a Short Grammar of a Micronesian People*. Munster i W.: Aschendorff

“Unfortunately the Truk children lack something which makes our [Western] children so attractive and that is innocence, guilelessness. The native children are well informed. There are no secrets before them. They hear so much dirt in the conversations of the adults and see so much with their own eyes that one should not be surprised. Their conversations often revolve around the same material as those of the adults. Fortunately through their whole way of life the sexual, the naked, is as natural to them as eating and drinking. It does not excite them. Therefore most of them are nevertheless good. When they reach puberty, to be sure, many, if not all, are morally depraved. The parents do nothing about it, and what are they to do? This is indeed Truk custom” (*ibid.*, p97).

Early childhood betrothal and age-asymmetric marriage has already been mentioned. Thus, (Bollig, 1927:p93) “[n]icht selten heiraten Erwachsene Männer Mädchen, die noch nicht geschlechtsreif sind und verkehren auch mit ihnen”. Damm and Sarfert (1935:p153)⁷³, on the *Chuuk* [Truk]: “Dem Geschlechtstrieb, der sich sehr frühzeitig einstellt, wird bereits in jungen Jahren stark gehuldigt. Bestimmte Grenzen scheinen dabei nicht zu bestehen [...]”.

The Trukese do not consider sexual maturity to be reached gradually, Gladwin writes; “in their view, at puberty as culturally defined (or actually slightly before) the person is capable of a sexual role as complete as he will ever achieve and is expected to begin at once to fulfil this role” (Gladwin).

The Truk are known to apply menopoetic meaning to coitarche (Fisher, 1950:p26⁷⁴; Fischer, 1963:p531⁷⁵; Gladwin and Sarason, 1953:p100⁷⁶; Swartz, 1958:p467-8⁷⁷). Swartz (1958:p467-8):

“The first sex experience for a boy is not said to produce any physiological change. However, girls are believed to begin menstruating and/or developing breasts only after their first coitus. Informants did not agree on this: some said that when a girl’s breasts begin to develop it is then known by all that she has had sexual relations. Others said that both the onset of menstruation and the development of the breasts are due to coitus. 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. [...] Some informants say that preadolescent children would get sick if they engaged in sexual activity. Others said that boys “just did not start to think of women until they were almost young men”. Sex play was not observed in children’s groups, although boys in the 10- to 13-year-old age range were sometimes heard laughingly to accuse each other of masturbation”.

⁷³ Damm, H. & Sarfert, E. (1935) Truk, in Thilenius, G. (Ed.) *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910*. Hamburg, Friederichsen. Vol. 6, 2nd halfvol., p153

⁷⁴ Fisher, A. M. (1950) *The Role of Trukese Mother and its Effect on Child Rearing*. Washington, D.C.: Pacific Science Board

⁷⁵ Fischer, A. (1963) Reproduction in Truk, *Ethnology* 2:526-40, p531: “There is some contradictory evidence regarding beliefs about menstruation. Most informants reported that menstruation begins at about sixteen years of age, but some stated that it can begin as early as fourteen. The first menstruation is thought to be the result of having sexual intercourse. One informant began to menstruate the morning after a man had come to her, but she admitted that as a child she had intercourse with a small boy without the same result. An informant pointed to a child with menstrual blood on the back of her dress and said she must be having an affair, but the child, when asked, said that she was too young to have affairs”.

⁷⁶ Gladwin, Th. & Sarason, S. B. (1953) *Truk: Man in Paradise*. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research

⁷⁷ Swartz, M. J. (1958) Sexuality and aggression on Romonum, Truk, *Am Anthropol* 60:467-86

[To contest the biosophy in case of girls, Goodenough (1949:p615)⁷⁸, who has few words on childhood, stated that “[a]ll informants agree that girls normally start having intercourse when, at the age of fourteen, their breasts become fairly well developed. The initial sexual experiences of boys occur at a somewhat later age, between the ages of sixteen and seventeen”. Another source told Ford and Beach (1951:p181)⁷⁹ that in Trukese society, “children play at intercourse at an early age, although their parents will beat them if they are caught].

Gladwin and Sarason (1953:p89)⁸⁰ noted that the Truk vigorously battled masturbation.

“While idle fingering of the genitals is not stopped until the child can talk, active masturbation begins to be discouraged even before this time. Once the child is felt to be able to understand any such activity is dealt with severely. Heterosexual experimentation does not begin until later, probably not until shortly before puberty. It appears that most children of this age have experimented to some degree, but not many are caught at it. When they are they are disciplined but it is important to note that the reason given is not that it is inherently bad; rather it is not good for a child and will make him sick. The child is told to wait until he has reached puberty and then it will be all right”⁸¹.

Specifically,

“[...] it appears that for several years they undertake little or no heterosexual experimentation of their own. Masturbation would of course be expected to be driven “underground” by parental censure, and we can make no estimate of the degree to which it is practised. However, even among children such self-stimulation evokes ridicule and since a child is seldom alone we are probably safe in saying that sexual activity is at a low level during the middle years of childhood- a lower level than it will again attain until real old age. During the two or three years which precede puberty, however, and possibly before, heterosexual activity of a limited sort does begin in spite of parental warnings. This probably results from the increasing contact of older children with young adolescents who, although considered mature sexually, are embracing this activity only tentatively. While such behavior even in late childhood continues to be disapproved it appears that parents actually expect their children to disregard their admonitions when the opportunity presents itself [...]. Although it appears fairly certain that actual sexual intercourse takes place shortly before physiological puberty, at least in girls, we have already noted that several years prior to this time most children undertake at least some heterosexual experimentation, usually consisting in the boy putting his finger in and manipulating the girl’s genitals (p253)”.

Also,

“In our society sex is often explained to the child (frequently when he has been caught experimenting and punished) as “dirty”, or he is told it will make him sick, or even crazy. He gains the impression that sex is inherently bad and dangerous. The Trukese, on the other hand, also tell their children sexual activity will make them sick, but only *because they are still too young for it*. They thus do not get the impression that sex is inherently bad and, as adults, in spite of the overevaluation and anxiety attached to sexual activity from other sources, show no signs of real impotence or frigidity. An example from our society of this type of restriction might be the driving of automobiles: we do not let our children drive because they are too small, but we do not tell them it is an essentially wicked activity; when they grow

⁷⁸ Goodenough, W. H. (1949) Premarital freedom on Truk: Theory and Practice, *Am Anthropol* 51:615-20

⁷⁹ *Op.cit.*

⁸⁰ *Op.cit.*

⁸¹ “Older men not infrequently perform cunnilingus on preadolescent girls; both are said to enjoy this, the men because it is their only sexual outlet and the girls because it is so gentle” (p115), while the elder use dogs for the same behaviour directed on themselves. “Both of these practices are referred to with tolerant amusement over the dilemma of these old people who have to resort to such devices in order to obtain sexual satisfaction”.

old enough to drive they learn to do so without any difficulty and, whether they are actually good drivers or not, are seldom troubled by any real anxiety over their competence on this score, in spite of the great economic, social and functional importance of driving a car" (p253).

The masturbation attitude of the Trukese is remarkable, since they are reported to masturbate their infants themselves (Gladwin and Sarason, 1953:p75, 257⁸²; Stephens, 1971:p407⁸³; Broude, 1995⁸⁴)⁸⁵.
Goodenough (1951)⁸⁶:

"In aboriginal times such a [marriage by] purchase was often made for a girl under puberty, though the marriage was not consummated until after she had reached puberty. Old men used it as a technique for getting young brides. Informants reported that this type of marriage has always been in disfavor".

Fischer (1961)⁸⁷:

"No doubt increased sexual interest at puberty can interfere with scholastic achievement in large urbanized societies as well. The point to be noted here is that Trukese culture maximized this interference by regarding early sexual activity as normal and healthy, whereas modern European cultures would tend to limit heterosexual contact and stigmatize sexual intercourse immediately upon reaching puberty as precocious and unhealthy".

Mahoney:

"Sexual intercourse is also offered as an explanation for illness in some of the branches of the spirit power "massage". Indeed, people are often treated with massage for strains, sprains and other muscular aches and pains thought to be due to too vigorous sexual activities. Here, too, however, this theory is used as an important control over sexual behavior, particularly, in this case, to restrain and to postpone the exploratory behavior of preadolescents. Young people are often warned about the possibility that something may go wrong with their bodies if they engage in sexual activities before they are considered old enough. (Since Trukese believe that first menstruation is brought on by inter-course, young people are not required to wait too long)".

Ponapeans, Pohnpei (Eastern Caroline Islands, Micronesia)

According to Finsch (1880:p316)⁸⁸, impotent seniors [impotente Greise] performed digital and lingual macronympha on girls *until* puberty. Sometimes, the sting of an ant is used.

⁸² *Op.cit.*

⁸³ 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

⁸⁴ Broude, G. J. (1995) *Growing Up: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO

⁸⁵ An overview of contributors on the matter is also provided by Mahony, F. J. ([1971]) *A Trukese Theory of Medicine*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms

⁸⁶ Goodenough, W. H. (1951) *Property, Kin, and Community on Truk*. New Haven: Published for Dept. of Anthropology, Yale University

⁸⁷ Fischer, J. L. (1961) The Japanese schools for the natives of Truk, Caroline Islands, *Human Organization*, 83-8

⁸⁸ Finsch, O. (1880) Über die Bewohner von Ponapé (östl. Carolinen), *Zeitschr Ethnol* 12:[p316], as quoted by Stoll, O. (1908) *Das Geschlechtsleben in die Völkerpsychologie*. Leipzig: Veit, p547

Hamburgh and Eilers (1936:p76)⁸⁹: “Einst wartete man wenigstens bei den Mädchen den Eintritt der Reife ab, die erste Menstruation. Jetzt werden Kinder, insbesondere Verlobte, vom vierten bis fünften Jahre ab im Geschlechtsverkehr unterwiesen. Die kleine Mädchen gibt man alten Männern, damit diese sie einführen [...]. Von sechsten Jahre ab schlafen die Kinder-Verlobten zusammen. Ebenso werden Erwachsene junge Mädchen von Greisen in die Liebeskunst eingeführt”. According to Fischer (1983:p163)⁹⁰, Ponapean parents lift their babies in the air and kiss the genitals or take these into their mouth, in order to please them. To excuse themselves of incest accusations, they might argue: “Is there no one who lifts up his child and sniffs?” (Fischer, Ward and Ward, 1976:p203)⁹¹.

Ulithi (Caroline Islands, Micronesia)

Lessa (1966⁹²:p78, 80, 82, 84-5, 87-8, 91, 98-9; 1977:p199, 201-2, 212-3)⁹³ provides a detailed coverage of Ulithian childhood sexual socialisation. In the context of *pi supuhui* village “holiday”, “Small children pair off [as do all age sets] but they are usually made to keep at a distance from their elders. The play of these children is noncoital and considered to be innocuous, as it usually is, but it may go so far as to imitate the amorous words, caressing and embracing of men and women. Youngsters may even explore one another’s genitals”. Still, “[h]eterosexual explorations begin early in the preadolescent years among companions of approximately the same age. [...] Genital exhibition is [given the rule of nudity] rendered meaningless, and the children proceed directly to the inspection of one another’s sexual parts. Manipulation is usually confined at first to mere touching and does not ordinarily develop into truly masturbatory [*sic*] contacts. [...] Mouth-genital contacts appear to be rare, but genital apposition is not uncommon. Having in many instances witnessed copulation by their parents, the children may make clumsy efforts at penetration, but vaginal entries are rare and limited for the most part to finger insertion. Much of the sex play of young children comes when they are in mixed groups and have occasions to pair off, as when playing a game of hide-and-seek. There may be some hugging and tickling, and by the time of adolescence this may become a light petting” (1966:p88; 1977:p201-2). Nevertheless, “a boy may be warned that “if he plays with a girls genital she will bleed, sicken, and die; a girl is warned that if she handles the phallus of a boy he may be injured and perhaps die” (p212-3).

⁸⁹ Hamburgh, P. & Eilers, A. (1936) Ponape, in Thilenius, G. (Ed.) *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910*. Hamburgh, Friederichsen. Vol. 7, 2nd halfvol., p76. See also Ford and Beach (1951:p189), *op.cit.*

⁹⁰ Fischer, J. L. (1983) Birth on Ponape: myth and reality, in Schiefenhövel, W. & Sich, D. (Eds.) *Die Geburt aus Ethnomedizinischer Sicht*. Braunschweig: Vieweg, p159-72. “Most often parents would lift up the baby and mouth, blow on or sniff the genitals”.

⁹¹ Fischer, J. L., Ward, R. & Ward, M. (1976) Ponapean Concepts of incest, *J Polynes Soc* 85:199-207

⁹² Lessa, W.A. (1966) *Ulithi: A Micronesian Design for Living*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, Inc.

⁹³ Lessa, W. A. (1977) Ulithi: a Micronesian design for living, in Spindler, G. & Spindler, L. (Eds.) *Cultures Around the World: Five Cases*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Ifaluk, Woleai (Central Carolines, Micronesia)

Prepubertal intercourse is strictly forbidden for girls, after puberty there is “almost complete freedom (Ford and Beach, 1951:p181)⁹⁴. According to observations by Burrows and Spiro (1957:p284-97)⁹⁵:

“Sexual activity of any kind is taboo until puberty. Sexual activity, it is believed, stunts their growth and causes illness. [...] sexual behavior is punished by beating. [...] I did not observe masturbation in young children though I have often observed children playing with, or fingering their genitals, with no comment at all from the adults. [...] children stated that they were ignorant of the masturbating behavior of other children⁹⁶ [...]. Whether or not children engage in overt heterosexual activity is a question I cannot answer. Both adults and children profess to know of no such behavior, and I myself never observed any. [...] the prepubescent children sleep in one net. It is difficult to believe that children who sleep together in close proximity under one net do not engage in some type of sexual explorations. In the absence of other evidence, however, this must remain conjecture”.

They children, however, exhibit themselves, grab at genitalia, bump and rub buttocks, and imitate sexual dances. “Often the men will engage in sexual “horseplay” with the boys. For example, a man may grab at the exposed penis of a young boy, the latter invariably withdrawing with mock-serious threat. Or a man may tickle the boy’s penis with a twig⁹⁷”. There is much ignorance about conception and birth. Intercourse is permitted after the third menses, and, ambiguously, after “the first indication of their sexual virility”.

Gilbertese, Gilbert Islands (Kiribati, Micronesia) (Makin G.:2,2,3,4-,4+,4+,1,1)

On Banaba (Ocean Island), “[a] girl was married to her betrothed a few months after she reached the age of puberty, if the boy’s initiation into manhood was by then complete”; coital defloration was then enacted (Grimble, 1921:p32)⁹⁸. However, “[c]hildren might be betrothed at a very early age, sometimes before birth” (p29). Much emphasis is placed on virgin coitarche.

Additional refs:

-- Luomala, K. (1980) A mythological charter for 'making a boy wild' in the Gilbert Islands, *Asian Perspect* 23,2:221-48

⁹⁴ Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Row

⁹⁵ Burrows, E. G. & Spiro, M. E. (1957) *An Atoll Culture*. New Haven: HRAF

⁹⁶ “Certain informants, however, maintained that children violate the taboo. They also maintained that the children engage in mutual masturbation [...]” (p296).

⁹⁷ The “taboo on overt sexual verbal or physical behavior does not apply in the case of interaction between adults and children” (p298).

⁹⁸ Grimble, A. (1921) From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 51:25-54

**Marshallese / Republic of the Marshall Islands (Jaluit; 2,2,2,2,2,2;8,8;D3,2;E)
(Micronesia)**

Kohler (1900:p417)⁹⁹ stated that on Talmat (Jaluit), a Marshall Island, sexual intercourse begins “with the first stirrings of nature before menstruation” (cf. Steinmetz, 1903:p436, 437 as cited by Ronhaar)¹⁰⁰. Betrothal would occur in childhood (*ibid.*). Schidlof (1908:p10)¹⁰¹ states: “Lange vor der Pubertät haben Mädchen bereits Umgang mit einander und derselbe häly such durchaus nicht immer in “normalen” Grenzen. Von den Mädchen wird keineswegs Keuschheit verlangt oder erwartet und “unnatürliche Laster stehen in voller Blüthe (Hernsheim [102] n. v. Hellwald)”. Erdland (1914:p132-3)¹⁰³ state that children become familiar with sexual matters through adult gossip¹⁰⁴. “Sie wenden dann ihre theoretische Kenntnis praktisch an, sobald die körperliche Reife [?] es ihnen gestattet. Hier muß jedoch erwähnt werden, daß Eltern, selbst wenn sie blutwenig auf Unschuld geben, ihre Kinder keine unmoralischen Handlungen lehren”. Intercourse is censored from sight, but they have a right to “deflower their own daughters”. Puberty kicks in between ages 11 and 12 (boys), and between 9 and 11 (girls). Yet, “[d]urch künstliche Erregungen werden jedoch schon lange vor der Reifezeit spermatische Absonderungen erzeugt, wodurch nicht allein dem Körper, sondern auch dem Temperament geschadet wird. Den Eingeborenen ist nämlich wohl bekannt, daß frühzeitiger Verkehr besonderes bei Mädchen ein “mürrisches” Wesen bewirkt”. Krämer and Nevermann (1938:p184-6, 192)¹⁰⁵ state: “Vom Eintritt der Reife an ist beiden Geschlechtern freier Geschlechtsverkehr erlaubt. Auch vor der Reife findet er statt, wird dann aber mißbilligt. [...] Onanie wird von Jugendlichen bereits sehr früh begonnen. [...] Unschickliche Äußerungen dürfen [die Eltern] den Kindern gegenüber nie tun. Da die Kinder jedoch von anderen Leute genug aufgeklärt werden, beginnen sie auch lange vor der Reife, sich sexuell zu betätigen”. Coitus is prohibited during a one-month male initiation. After initiation of girls instruction is done by an “old woman”: “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).

⁹⁹ Kohler, J. (1900) Rechte der deutschen Schutzgebiete, III: Das Recht der Mashallinsulaner, *Ztschr f Vergleich Rechtswiss* 14:407-55. “Auf die Keuschheit der Mädchen vor der Ehe wird kein Werth gelegt, der Geschlechtsverkehr steht allen frei und beginnt, sobald der Sinn erwacht, also beim Mädchen schon vor der Menstruation. Man glaubt allgemein, dass es kein Mädchen von 12 Jahren giebt, die noch nicht deflorirt wäre, wie denn auch schon durch Ansteckung hervorgerufene Geschlechtskrankheiten bei Kindern von circa 10 Jahren constatirt worden sind”.

¹⁰⁰ Steinmetz, S. R. (1903) *Rechtsverhältnisse von einigen Eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*. Berlin; Ronhaar, J. H. (1931) *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*. Groningen: Wolters/ London: D. Nutt, p340

¹⁰¹ *Op.cit.*

¹⁰² Hernsheim, F. (1880) *Beitrag zur Sprache der Marshall-Inseln*. Leipzig: F. Thiel, p43. Also cited by Ronhaar, J. H. (1931) *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*. Groningen: Wolters/ London: D. Nutt, p331

¹⁰³ Erdland, A. (1914) *Die Marshall-Insulaner*. Münster: Aschendorff. Cf. Ronhaar (1931:p331) and Hartland, E. S. (1909) *Primitive Paternity*. London. Vol. II, p262

¹⁰⁴ The practice was counteracted by parents. Cf. Erdland (1906:p187), as cited by Krämer and Nevermann (1938:p185), *cit. infra*

¹⁰⁵ Krämer, Au. & Nevermann, H. (1938) *Ralik-Ratak (Marshall-Inseln)*. Hamburg; Friedrichsen, De Gruyter & Co.

Spoehr (1949:[p197])¹⁰⁶ stated that on Majuro, grandparent-grandchild joking relations, bearing a sexual reference, "permits the grandparents to pass on information regarding the sex functions to their grandchildren, whereas the parents do not do so" (cf. p194, 213); formerly the girls' puberty hut might have played a role. Children are encouraged to play separately from age five or six, a segregation becoming less sharp at puberty. By the time of "adolescence" unmarried brothers and sisters sleep separated, even in different houses. Children of cross-cousins cannot marry, or joke on obscene subjects. "Sexual relations between boys and girls commence after puberty. Love-making and pre-marital sexual intercourse are concomitants of adolescence and the sex behavior of adolescents is subject to no rigid controls and restrictions except for those associated with incest prohibitions". Girls married at age 17/18, boys at about 20.

Additional refs:

-- McCartney, J. L. (1947) Paradise lost: the psychology of the Marshall Islanders, *J Clin Psychopathol* 8:405-21

¹⁰⁶ Spoehr, A. (1949) *Majuro, a Village in the Marshall Islands*. Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum

Polynesia

(Pukapukans, Ra'ivavae, French Polynesia [Marquesas Islands, Cook Islands [Tahiti, Aitutaki, Mangaia], Samoa, Tonga Islands]; Santa Cruz Islands; French Polynesia: [IES](#))

Danielsson (1954 [1956:p81-105]) gives an informed account of sexual development in Polynesia. The Polynesians “made no attempt to suppress sexuality in the younger generation; parents indeed, encouraged their children in free experimentalizing and realistic play. For the Polynesians childhood and youth were a time of preparation in this respect as in others, and they considered, without doubt rightly, that it was of the greatest importance for everyone to acquire as much sexual knowledge and skill as possible before marriage”. Children often witnessed the sexual act of their parents, and overheard their conversations. Parents “often urged their children to masturbate when they wanted peace and quiet, more or less as we give our children rubber teats. When the children grew rather older, they had to learn various sexual games. “Daddy, Mummy and children”, for example, was played much more realistically than our children play it, and, in concordance with adult customs, often with two or three daddies and mummies at once. [...] Small children imitating sexual intercourse were a common sight on all the islands. Only children of the same age, however, took place in these sexual games, and it was considered in the highest degree improper and abnormal for an adult person to show any interest in them. Any such offence was punished with extreme severity, sometimes even with death. [...] Sexual experimentalizing became bolder and bolder during [the] free association in play groups consisting of both boys and girls, and many of them had intercourse, though naturally [?] they could seldom attain orgasm”. Puberty was not a social secure in this respect. Boys and girls had their “first real intercourse” with “an older, experienced person” belonging to the same set, but often also from the parental generation (aunts, uncles). In the Austral Islands, it is stated that “young males received sexual instructions from the Kariois, young females from priestesses. Courses in sexual refinements were given in the karioi-society”¹⁰⁷. On Tongareva (Penrhyn), a “woman of mature age”, appointed by the father, practically instructed the pubarchic boy in intercourse after conditioning his preputium¹⁰⁸. In Hawai'i, a boy of noble family was equally instructed by a mature chiefess¹⁰⁹.

Polynesian adolescence may be characterized as a period in which boys form cohorts, the primary focus of interest of which is sex (Ortner, 1981 [1986:p380]¹¹⁰). This may commonly be organized around a dormitory system (Suggs, 1966:p175; Firth, 1963:p82).

Pukapukans (Polynesia)

Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941:p292-4)¹¹¹ note that Pukapukan children indulge in “family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being

¹⁰⁷ Stimson Archives. Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass., USA [orig.footnote]

¹⁰⁸ Buck, P. H. (1932) *Ethnology of Tongareva*. Honolulu, Hawai'i: Bernice P. Bishop Museum

¹⁰⁹ Handy, C. (1951/2) The Polynesian Family System in Kau, Hawaii, *J Polynesian Soc*

¹¹⁰ Ortner, Sh. B. (1981 [1986]) Gender and sexuality in hierarchical societies, in Ortner, Sh. B. & Whitehead, H. (Eds.) *Sexual Meanings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p359-409

husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act".

"Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12 years [...] The attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humored tolerance; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. [...] [Masturbation] is regarded as their [children's] game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is all there is to it".

Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1939:p138; cited by Danielsson, 1956:p83)¹¹² quoted a native female Pukapuka: "As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls of today. Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment".

Additional refs.:

-- Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941)¹¹³

***Ra'Ivavae* (Polynesia)**

"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. Both sexes know from infancy that the clitoris, *tira*, is the seat of female pleasure, as is the penis, *ure*, of the male". According to Marshall (1962:p241-59)¹¹⁴, as among for the Mangaia, but not contemporarily so, the girl's clitoris used to be massaged, moulded, balmed, and orally stimulated by the mother. The length of the organ was regularly 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, or rather, "to protect the virginity of the girls, as the clitoris covered the vaginal opening and prevented the boy's organ from making entry". Presumably for this reason, boys' penises were pulled by the mother to modify their length.

¹¹¹ Beaglehole, E. & Beaglehole, P. (1941) Personality Development in Pukapukan Children, in Spier, L. et al. (Eds.) *Language, Culture and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir*. Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, Menasha, WI, p[292-4]. See also Whiting, J. & Child, I. (1953) *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, p80

¹¹² Beaglehole, E. & Beaglehole, P. (1939) Brief Pukapuka case history, *J Polynesian Soc* 48:144-55; Danielsson, B. (1961) Sex life in Polynesia, in Ellis, A. & Abarbanel, A. (Eds.) *The Encyclopaedia of Sexual Behavior, Volume 2*. London: W. Heinemann, p832-40

¹¹³ Beaglehole, E. & Beaglehole, P. (1938) Ethnology of Pukapuka, *Bull Bernice P. Bishop Museum* 150:1-419

¹¹⁴ Marshall, D. S. (1962 [1961]) *Island of Passion, Ra'Ivavae*. London: George Allen & Unwin; Marshall, D. S. (1961) *Ra'Ivavae: An Expedition to the Most Fascinating and Mysterious Island in Polynesia*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday. See also Van Ussel, J. (1975) *Intimiteit*. Deventer, Holland: Van Loghum Slater, p90-1

Children see every scene of the life cycle, including copulation. There is “no” system or philosophy of child rearing; much occurs in the age group. Although menarche [12 or 13] and superincision [no fixed age] end childhood, “[...] copulation could well have taken place before this” (p246). The superincisor instructs the boy in sexual matters, and an older woman initiates him into the technique of intercourse, “a universal phenomenon in the many Polynesian islands with which I am familiar”.”.

French Polynesia

(Marquesans, Tahiti, Mangaia, Samoa)

Marquesans (French Polynesia) (2-,2-,2-,2-,2,2;8,8;B1;E)

Suggs (1966:p51-2): “Marchand (1797:p109)¹¹⁵ noted eight-year-old girls indulging in public intercourse and other unnatural acts. (One girl was held by four old women when she would not submit.) Lisiansky (1814:p67)¹¹⁶ stated that “age was no test of innocence” for the Marquesan girls who had sexual relations with his crew. Some, who he believed were not more than ten years old, “rivalled their mothers in the wantonness of their mothers and the arts of allurement”. The same was noted by Von Krusenstern (1813, I:p116, quoted by Danielsson, 1954 [1956:p88])¹¹⁷. Waitz (1872:p124)¹¹⁸ remarked that, among older women, an eight-year-old girl “offered herself” to the ethnographers. Handy (1923:p93)¹¹⁹ points out that in aboriginal times, presuperincision was practiced earlier than at the time of writing, suggesting an earlier coital license in that era.

Even as late as 1989, Oliver (p592, 593)¹²⁰ mentions that coitus is practised in childhood, and that actual insertion occurs at age seven to nine.

Apparently without more recent data, Bolin (1997)¹²¹, reviews on French Polynesia:

“The cultural practices of Marquesans and Pukapukans not only allowed open sex play among children but [...] provided children clandestine opportunities to observe adult sexual behavior due to sleeping arrangements. According to Oliver (1974)¹²² on Tahiti, coital simulation became actual penetration as

¹¹⁵ Fleurieu, C. P. Claret de & Marchand, E. (1798-1800) *Voyage autour du Monde, pendant les années 1790, 1791, et 1792*. Précédé d'une introduction historique auquel on a joint des recherches sur les Terres Australes de Drake, et un examen critique du Voyage de Roggeveen. Paris, Imprimerie de la République

¹¹⁶ Lisiansky, A *Voyage Around the World in the Years 1803-806 in the Ship “Neva”*. London

¹¹⁷ Kruzenshtern, I. F. (1813). *Voyage around the World in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, & 1806*, by order of His Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, on board the ships Nadeshda and Neva, under the command of Captain A. J. Von Krusenstern, of the Imperial Navy. Translated from the original German by Richard Belgrave Hoppner. [Facsimile ed.] London, John Murray, 1813. Tenri, Japan, Tenri University Press, 1973; Danielsson, B. ([1954] 1956) *Love in the South Seas*. (transl. F. Lyon). London: Allen & Unwin

¹¹⁸ Waitz, Th. (1872) *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*. Leipzig: F. Fleischer. Vol.6

¹¹⁹ Handy, E. S. C. (1923) *The Native Cult of the Marquesas*. B.P.Bishop Mus. Bull. 9, Honolulu, as cited Suggs, R.C. (1966) *Marquesan Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, p52

¹²⁰ Oliver, D. L. (1989) *Oceania*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. Vol. 1

¹²¹ Bolin, A. (1997) French Polynesia, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Vol. 1. Quoted from online edition

¹²² Oliver, D. L. (1974) *Ancient Tahitian Society*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press

soon as young boys were physiologically able. The Tahitians found children's imitation of copulation humorous. Other evidence suggests that young girls may have engaged in copulation before age 10 (Gregersen 1983)¹²³. [...] Suggs (1966:p25) comments that in traditional Marquesan society, girls may have had their first coital experience by age 10 [...]. Oliver's (1981)¹²⁴ ethnography includes in-depth discussion of infancy, childhood, and other life-course stages in Tahiti (see the chapter on "Passing Through Life," p342-400). In this regard, he notes that children played in mixed-gender groups until 13 or 14 years old. The Tahitian attitudes to children playing at copulation was one of amusement (1981:p366). However, as children approached the age of 11, adult parental attitudes shifted in regard to young females but not males. Oliver points out that parents objected to girls engaging in sex prior to marriage, an ideal that coexisted with an open and sex-positive attitude".

Suggs (1966:p45-6, 51-3)¹²⁵: "[At the age of approximately seven years, Marquesan b]oys and girls, playing at "mother and father", will often place their genitalia in contact for brief periods. The girl either stands against a tree or lies supine on the ground, with the boy assuming the normal position for coitus. Contact is brief, accompanied occasionally by pelvic movement with much laughter. This activity is carried out in isolated areas where adults will not be apt to surprise the gathering". Suggs agrees with Linton (1939)¹²⁶ that it was a group event. Linton (1939:p168): "Sexual play was a regular practice among the children from the earliest period. The adult attitude toward it, if not one of active encouragement¹²⁷, was at least that of mild amusement. [...] Regular intercourse began before puberty with patterns of group sexual play, two or three girls in the gang serving a number of boys in rapid succession with the other boys looking on. Occasionally there were individual affairs. Sexual techniques were learned through imitation of the adults. [...] Homosexuality was present in the form of mutual masturbation, but I have no data as to its frequency". The children had their own sexual culture: "The gap between adults and children was such that it was impossible for an adult to win the child's confidence. Relations between them were amiable but entirely dissociated".

Suggs (1962:p118-21)¹²⁸ relates:

"Marquesan children are likely to surprise Europeans with their sophistication in sexual matters- if they can be induced to talk at all. This is a direct result of the matter-of-fact treatment that such matters receive in daily life and the fact that in most families parents and children sleep in one room. The children begin experimenting rather early; little boys begin masturbating at two or three years of age, engaging in group activities of this type by the age of five or six, and having casual homosexual contacts as well. Little girls are carefully prepared for their roles as future mates by parents and grandparents. At 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. Little girls also engage in "the solitary vice" and begin homosexual contacts at an early age, which continue from the years before to shortly after puberty".

"A boy usually has his first sexual experience [sic] with a much older woman, who instructs him in his first bungling attempts. Many of my older Marquesan friends looked back upon this initiation with fond

¹²³ Gregersen, E. (1983) *Sexual Practices: The Story of Human Sexuality*. New York: Franklin Watts

¹²⁴ Oliver, D. L. (1981) *Two Tahitian Villages: A Study in Comparisons*, Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press

¹²⁵ *Op.cit.*

¹²⁶ Linton, R. (1939) Marquesan Culture, in Kardiner, A. (Ed.) *The Individual and his Society. The Psychodynamics of Primitive Social Organizations*. New York: Columbia University Press, p137-96. Quoted in Whiting and Child (1953:p83)

¹²⁷ Parents masturbated the children (p166, 168, 205, 213).

¹²⁸ Suggs, R. C. (1962) *The Hidden Worlds of Polynesia*. London: The Cresset Press

memories and much amusement at their own ineptitude. The boys generally join a small informal group of comrades of similar age, who spend their evenings wandering about the dark valleys attempting to enter the homes of receptive women of all ages and conditions of life. [...] For girls, adult sex life begins somewhat earlier than for boys, usually with defloration by an older male, after a chance encounter in the bush or a surreptitious invasion of the family home. Girls are usually, therefore, far more experienced than boys of their own age and may have been indulging in normal sexual relations for some months before the onset of menstruation"

Frequent sexual relations in adolescence are considered normal.

Contemporary Marquesans seem to recognise an adolescent sex problem (Kirkpatrick, 1987)¹²⁹. Menarche gives occasional for "a few words of instruction" from the mother, not a public rite. Boys are supercised at age 10-18, and no sexual intercourse should be had until then. One woman would "make a point of initiating boys in her valley soon after they were cut, but this was her choice, not a ritual role".

Additional refs.:

-- Kirkpatrick, J. (1987) Taure'are'a: a liminal category and passage to Marquesan adulthood, *Ethos* 15,4:382-405

Tahitians (Society Islands, French Polynesia)

Early betrothal was described by Ellis¹³⁰. Cook noted in 1769 that a boy announced his wedding with an eleven- or twelve-year-old girl by having sexual intercourse on the market, thereby advised by the audience (Stoll, 1908:p693; Sutor, 1964:p418; Brongersma, 1993:p123)¹³¹. As mentioned before, Oliver (1974)¹³² noted that coital simulation became actual penetration as soon as young boys were physiologically able. Oliver (1981)¹³³ notes that children played in mixed-gender groups until 13 or 14 years old. The Tahitian attitudes to children playing at copulation was one of amusement (1981:p366). As children approached the age of 11, adult parental attitudes shifted in regard to young females but not males. Jacobus X ([1893] 1898, II:p440-5)¹³⁴ fully agrees. The children "learn at an early age to play at little husband and little wife. Children of neighbours form couples, and mutually instruct each other. The Tané is precocious; he attains puberty at eleven or twelve years at the latest. By the age of ten, he has commenced to prepare for the work of love". The boys practice urinary preputial adhaesiolysis, and sometimes perform an imitated preputial incision, to hasten readiness. "As soon as the gland [*sic*] can come out freely, the young Tané, whether he produces sperm or not, commences to copulate with his "little wife". Due to the

¹²⁹ Kirkpatrick, J. T. (1987) Taure'are'a: A Liminal Category and Passage to Marquesan Adulthood, *Ethos* 15,4:382-405

¹³⁰ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, I, p267, 270; Westermarck, E. ([1901:p214])

¹³¹ Sutor, J. /Jacobus X (1964) *The Erogenous Zones of the World, by a French Army Surgeon*. New York: Book Awards; Brongersma, E. (1993) *Jongensliefde*, Deel 2. Amsterdam: SUA. Cook speaks of an "odd scene" in which "a young fellow above six feet high lay with a little girl about ten or eleven years of age publicly".

¹³² Oliver, D. L. (1974) *Ancient Tahitian Society*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press

¹³³ Oliver, D. L. (1981) *Two Tahitian Villages: A Study in Comparisons*, Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press

¹³⁴ Jacobus X ([1893]1898) *L'Amour aux Colonies*. Paris : I. Liseux. 3 vols. Second and enlarged english ed., *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology* (etc.). Paris: Librairie de Medecine, Folklore et Anthropologie. 2 vols.

“habitual coition with children of the same age, whose yards are in proportion to the size of the vulva and vagina, [t]here is a slow and gradual dilatation, which distends the hymen without tearing it”. On Tahiti, one Dr. Lesson (quoted by Caufeynon, 1920:p72)¹³⁵ noted the close, in fact causal, connection of coitarche and menarche: “Toute fille réglée, est à leurs yeux une fille déflorée, et la menstruation est l’indice certain qu’elle a subi les approches de l’homme”¹³⁶.

In the Tahitian institution of *mahu*, adult males would have practised fellatio and/or intercrural intercourse with local “boys”¹³⁷. The *mahu* would be “particularly selected when boys and kept with the women solely for the caresses of the men” (Bligh as cited by Levy, p13). Levy found a single 16-year-old *mahu* in the early 1960s, noting that “[o]vert homosexual behavior was distinctly not an essential shared part of the community’s idea of the *mahu*’s role”.

Levy further documents that “[t]here is much homo-erotic play among boys, particularly related to the adolescent boys’ life stage in which membership in the village peer group is of central importance. There is much body contact, occasional dancing together, occasional group masturbation, much darting out timidly into heterosexual forays and then a return for bragging and discussion to the peer group” (p18).

Cook Islands (Polynesia) (Aitutaki, Mangaia)

Aitutaki (Cook Islands, Polynesia)

Beaglehole (1957:p188-9)¹³⁸ states:

“The sex education of the Aitutaki child is largely directed to two ends: one of these is to teach the child modesty, the other is to frown upon overt heterosexual activity in children of the middle years. Grandparents or parents often in their play with infants or very small children lightly kiss the child on the genitals- but this is thought of objectively as just part of the fun of playing with a baby. [...] a boy appearing without pants in a mixed play group (not a swimming group) will be ridiculed about his black scrotum or warned to keep his genitals covered for fear of something biting his scrotum. The occasional child who play with his own genitals is mildly reprimanded by his parents, but without fuss or anxiety. Heterosexual experimentation by boys and girls of school age is generally disapproved by parents and teachers, and if persisted in would be punished. Yet children of this age are fully cognizant

¹³⁵ Caufeynon (1920) *L’Œuvre de Chair et L’Enfantement dans l’Humanité*. Paris: Bibliotheque Populaire des Sciences Médicales

¹³⁶ Herman-Giddens et al. (1988) suggested that sexual abuse of children caused a protraction of sexual maturity, because of an inspecific stress reaction. See Herman-Giddens, M. E., Sandler, A. D. & Friedman, N. E. (1988) Sexual precocity in girls. An association with sexual abuse? *Am J Dis Child* 142,4:431-3

¹³⁷ Levy, R. I. (1971) The community function of Tahitian male transvestism, *Anthropol Quart* 44:12-21. Also cited by Brewis, A. A. (1992) Sexually-transmitted disease risk in a Micronesian atoll population, *Health Transition Rev* 2,2:195-213, at p197n6

¹³⁸ Beaglehole, E. (1957) *Social Change in the South Pacific: Rarotonga and Aitutaku*. London: Allen & Unwin

of the physiological facts about sex through study of animals and though their interest in older girls who are visited clandestinely in the house by boys. The general attitude of parents seems to be one of disapproval for precocious sex activity, whereas during and after adolescence nature is expected to take its own course. In general, adolescence is a period of low pressure and little difficulty as far as adjustment to the maturation of the body is concerned".

Attitudes toward premarital sex are subject to "a somewhat conventional double standard"; supported by the church. If parents approve of the boy, they do not much object to their daughter's experimentation, otherwise she may be beaten. A boy should have his way in experimenting, lest he becomes an "unfortunate woman-hunter in later middle-age". Circumcision at age 14, the end of the middle years.

Mangaia (Cook Islands, Polynesia)

Marshall (1971:p108)¹³⁹ relates that boys and girls are separated by the age of four or five. The uncircumcised penis is not shamed.

"Young 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". "Despite varied sexual activities that occur continuously within the one-room houses, it is outside of the home that the child learns more intimate details of sex and their results- such as "where the babies come from". The knowledge is achieved at about age eight or nine. For just as brothers and sisters are not seen together in public, so they do not discuss sexual matters together [...]. Mothers and daughters or fathers and sons do not discuss sexual matters with one another- or even with the older persons among whom they work".

Marshall states that a boy's penis is orally and manually stimulated, together with the cunnus (p109, 110) in an attempt to change its size. Masturbation, not seen in public, is learned at ages 7-10, and practised about 2-3 times a week, while "excessive masturbation is thought to expose the glans of the penis [...] prior to superincision. Mangaian believe that boys with few friends tend to masturbate more than those who spend more time with other children". Nocturnal emissions are blamed on the visit of avaricious "ghost women". "Although parents may try to stop children from masturbating, once they know of it, their efforts are not very heavy nor their punishments severe. The boys experimenting with coitus before superincision "must content themselves with sexually knowledgeable and promiscuous older women and widows of the village, rather than copulating with either the younger girls or with what are referred to as the "good girls". Most boys wait until age thirteen or fourteen to commence their sexual adventures [...], following the act of superincision". The superincisor provides sexual instruction, and may arrange for women to provide "more practical" instruction (p113). The information not only includes "[...] detailed information [concerning] techniques of coitus, but it is also said to include the means of locating a "good girl" ". It includes such techniques as cunnilingus, orgasm timing act. Girls

¹³⁹ Marshall, D. S. (1971) Sexual behavior on Mangaia, in Marshall, D. S. & Suggs, R. C. (Eds.) *Human Sexual Behavior*. New York & London: Basic Books, p103-62. See also Van Ussel, J. (1975) *Intimiteit*. Deventer, Holland: Van Loghum Slater, p90-2, and Yates, A. (1978) *Sex Without Shame*. New York: William Morrow, p68, 70-5

are taught by elderly women. Whereas in former days the age of the operation ranged 15-26, it was replaced by an earlier timing (age 10) or infant circumcision. Sexual matters are not discussed in the home except for covert references, and are left to the peer group. After circumcision, the glans must not be shown.

Samoans (2,-,2+,-,3,3;7,7;E) (Polynesia)

The greatest sin of children would be to appear “precocious”, or generally forward, their lives being filled with babies instead of dolls (Mead, 1928:p636)¹⁴⁰. Mead (1928)¹⁴¹ remarks that, although she thinks it “inevitable that children should see [genital] intercourse, often and between many different people”¹⁴², thus “coupled with the sophistication of the children went no pre-adolescent heterosexual experimentation and very little homosexual activity, which was regarded in native theory as imitative and substitutive for heterosexual”. This “lack of precocious sex experimentation is probably due less to a direct parental ban on such precocity than to the strong institutionalised antagonism between younger boys and younger girls and the taboo against any amiable intercourse between them”. Further, no Samoan girl would cohabit with an uncircumcised boy (Krämer, 1903, II:p61)¹⁴³, the operation performed at ages 10 to 14. Schidlof (1908:p11-2)¹⁴⁴ quotes Turner on the promiscuity that followed from Samoan single-room housing. A later report by Shore (1981)¹⁴⁵ states that “[a]lthough discouraged by public morality and church teaching, premarital sex play is part of growing up for many Samoan boys and girls”. Premarital virginity remains “an important value” in Samoan society (p197). The *pōula* or night dance, traditionally a time of relative freedom, discontinued under missionary influence.

Mead’s work caused a major discussion among anthropologists following Freeman’s 1983 attack¹⁴⁶, as judged from a 74-item annotated bibliography (Laurie, 1998) on the matter. One of the objections reads that a key informant would have subjected Mead to “fibbing pranks”¹⁴⁷ when discussing Samoan sexual liberalism. Another role would be reserved for Edward Craighill Handy at the Bishop Museum in Hawai’i, introducing Mead to her proneness to be hoaxed by suggestions regarding premarital permissiveness. The

¹⁴⁰ Mead, M. (1928a) Samoan children at work and play, *Natural Hist* 28:626-36

¹⁴¹ Mead, M. (1928b) *Coming of Age in Samoa*. New York: William Morrow. See also Lewandowski, H. (1958) *Ferne Länder, Fremde Sitten*. Stuttgart: H. Günther Verlag, p133; and Süssmuth, R. (1968) *Zur Anthropologie des Kindes*. München: Kösel

¹⁴² “[...] souring the village palm groves in search of lovers is one of the recognized forms of amusement for the ten-year-olds”.

¹⁴³ Krämer, Au. (1903) *Die Samoa-Inseln*. Stuttgart: Schweizerbartsche. Vol. II

¹⁴⁴ *Op.cit.*

¹⁴⁵ Shore, B. (1981 [1986]) Sexuality and gender in Samoa: conceptions and missed conceptions, in Ortner, Sh. B. & Whitehead, H. (Eds.) *Sexual Meanings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p192-215

¹⁴⁶ Freedman, D. (1983) *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

¹⁴⁷ Freeman, D. (1989) Fa’apua’a Fa’amu and Margaret Mead, *Am Anthropol* 91,4:1017-22; Freeman, D. ([1983] 1996) *Margaret Mead and the Heretic: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin; Freeman, D. (1999) *The Fateful Hoaxing of Margaret Mead*. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press; Freeman, D. (1999) Was Margaret Mead Misled or Did She Mislead on Samoa? *Current Anthropol* 41,4:609-14 et seq.

controversy has led to an influx of data as well as reinterpretations (e.g., Tcherkézoff, 2001)¹⁴⁸.

Tonga Islands (Polynesia)

Martin¹⁴⁹ speaks of early betrothal. According to Morton (1996)¹⁵⁰, rough play between boys and older males “often involves an element of sexual joking- grabbing roughly at boy’s genitals or making jokes about their uncircumcised state. Other jokes about uncleanness and scatological and sexual jokes are also very common. Boys are given more freedom to go naked as babies and toddlers, and people will touch or make joking reference to their genitals”, and these parts are also touched (p105-6). In girls, “sexual joking” includes “shaming rather than tacit approval”, in tune with a strict modesty code (p106, 134). “As the child grows up, she soon realises that her genital area is forbidden [...]. As soon as a child is seen with her hands in this forbidden area, she is soundly smacked and threatened with worse punishment if she is caught doing it again [...]. [T]he Tongan woman emerges confused, ignorant and very shy about this important part of her anatomy [...]” (Ikahihifo and Panuve, 1983:p40)¹⁵¹. Although earlier observers mentioned that Tongan children learn about sex at an early age, because the one-room houses offered little privacy (Lovett, 1958¹⁵²:p35; Spillius, 1958:p62)¹⁵³, most modern houses now have separate bedrooms, and “children are unlikely to observe [parental] sexual behavior” (p83, 107). Rather, “many now see naked bodies and some sexual behavior on videos”. Videos may be fast-forwarded, but there is “generally no attempt to prevent children from watching these videos, nor is any explanation given to them about what they are seeing”. In general, sexual matters are not discussed (p46), except perhaps on the occasion of menarche or boy’s circumcision (p114).

Hawai’i (US)

Schidlöf (1908:p10)¹⁵⁴: “Die Frührieife führt dazu, daß Vierzehnjährige bereits kirchlich getraut werden und “klimatische Verhältnisse, unsittliche Gebärden, böse Beispiele und Lebensweise wecken im Herzen des Kindes heimliche Gelüste und dessen Geschlechtstrieb reift in überraschender Weise frühzeitig heran” “. Single-room housing would lead to “eine

¹⁴⁸ Tcherkézoff, S. (2001) *Le Mythe Occidental de la Sexualité Polynésienne 1928-1999: Margaret Mead, Derek Freeman et Samoa*. Paris: PUF

¹⁴⁹ Martin, II, p167; Westermarck ([1901:214])

¹⁵⁰ Morton, H. (1996) *Becoming Tongan: An Ethnography of Childhood*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press

¹⁵¹ Ikahihifo, T. & Panuve, M. (1983) *Report of a Preliminary Study of Traditional Medicine and Practices in Relation to Obstetrical and Gynaecological Conditions and Disorders amongst two Communities in Tonga*. Suva: Centre for Applied Studies in Development, University of the South Pacific

¹⁵² Lovett, I. (1958) *A Study of Tongan Children with Special Attention Given to the Pre-Adolescent Age Group*. Dip. Ed., Auckland University

¹⁵³ Spillius, E. (1958/1960) *Report on a Brief Study of Mother-Child Relationships in Tonga*. MS, Nuku’alofa, Tonga

¹⁵⁴ *Op.cit.*

sittliche Verweichung [...] die besonders die Kinder ergriff und eine schrankenlose Vermischung herbeiführte" (Karsch-Haack, 1901[1983:p258-9])¹⁵⁵. Ploß (*Die Frau*, I) stated that, according to Richard Neuhauss, Hawai'ian "girls of 12 to 14 years are generally virgins no more and acts of impurity of father with daughter are no rarity". For infant females in Hawai'i, "milk was squirted into her vagina, and the labia were pressed together (Diamond, 1990)¹⁵⁶. The mons [veneris] was rubbed with kukui (candlenut) oil and pressed with the palm of the hand to flatten it and make it less prominent. The molding continued until the labia did not separate. This chore usually was done by the mother or by an "aunt" [...]"'. The buttocks of infants, males more than females, were molded so that they became "rounded and not flat", also clearly evolving from an aesthetic motive. A "blower" is designated for each male infant, ostensibly to prepare him for subincision of the foreskin: "the penis was blown into daily starting from birth. The blowing was said to loosen and balloon the foreskin [and] continued daily [...] until the young male was 6 or 7", when penile subincision takes place (Diamond, 1990:p430-1)¹⁵⁷. Diamond (p433) reports:

"Individuals of both sexes were expected to initiate and participate in coitus at puberty, although sexual activity, play, instruction, and so forth occurred much earlier. For instance, as part of exploratory play, the young investigated each other's genitals, and young males and females might masturbate each other heterosexually or homosexually. This activity occurred without adult disapproval, and it was considered to be an introduction to adulthood. Casual intercourse before adolescence was not an uncommon experience for males (Handy and Pukui, 1958:p95) and females (Pukui, Haertig and Lee, 1972:p78)".

Murray (1992:p15-8)¹⁵⁸, particularly drawing from Beaglehole (1967) summarises pre-contact homosexuality involving *aikanes*, or chiefs' young retainers. A further treatise was offered by Morris¹⁵⁹.

Santa Cruz Islands

East Bay (pseud.; Santa Cruz Islands)

Davenport (1965:p196; 1966)¹⁶⁰, on the "East Bay" society: "Despite the apparent latency period for both sexes, youthful attempts at copulation are sometimes discovered, especially

¹⁵⁵ Karsch-Haack, F. (1901) Uranismus oder Päderastie und Tribadie bei den Naturvölkern, *Jb Sex Zwischenst* 3:72ff. Reprinted in 1983 (Schmidt, W. J. (Ed.), Vol.1:p229-96

¹⁵⁶ Diamond, M. (1990) Selected Cross-Generational Sexual Behavior in Traditional Hawai'i: A Sexological Ethnography, in Feierman, J. R. (Ed.) *Pedophilia: Biosocial Dimensions*. New York: Springer-Verlag, p422-43

¹⁵⁷ Diamond draws on data by Pukui et al. (1972) and Handy and Pakui (1958). See Pukui, M. K., Haertig, E. W. & Lee, C. A. (1972) *Nana I Ke Kumu*. 2 vols. Honolulu: Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center; and Handy, E. S. C. & Pukui, M. K. (1958) *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u Hawaii*. Wellington, New Zealand: The Polynesian Society

¹⁵⁸ *Op.cit.*

¹⁵⁹ Morris, R. J. (1992) Same-sex friendships in Hawaiian lore: constructing the canon, in Murray, S. O. (Ed.), 1992) *Oceanic Homosexualities*. New York & London: Garland, p71-102

¹⁶⁰ 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

between sister and brothers. Such behaviour is immediately interrupted with a scolding, but as long as the miscreants have not reached full sexual maturity, their parents are more likely to joke about it than to be deeply shocked". Little is done to discourage genital behaviour in infancy. More strictness is applied after age four (boys may be ridiculed for erections), and girls' genitalia are more tabooed than boys'. From age five, the touch-taboo extends to the whole female body. Despite nudity till puberty, there is little evidence of heterosexual play, except between siblings, where it is immediately discouraged. Sexual matters are discussed in the family with complete frankness, and children of five and six are rather completely knowledgeable on sexual matters. Adolescent heterosexual behaviour is strictly forbidden. Adolescents may have homosexual interactions in the men's house. A man may have sexual interaction with a young boy, often too young to be living in a men's house. Sexual interaction takes place in the bush, and incest taboo is observed. No homosexuality is reported for girls. Marriage arrangements can be made at all ages, from infancy on.

Main Reef Islands (Santa Cruz Islands)

Davenport (1969a:p207)¹⁶¹:

"Occasionally, initiates were permitted to play certain games to relieve their boredom. One of these was mock copulation, and into which the attendants entered in order to explain the fine points of sexual intercourse".

About initiations (p210, 213):

"The sponsor of each initiate gives to his men's house special presents of tobacco, pork, and other fancy food. If possible, too, he would have arranged for a concubine to be there sometime in the near future to introduce the initiate to sexual intercourse. Associated with this, one of the attendants to an initiate gave him two rolls of feather currency. The rolls were tied over his shoulder, one in front, one in back, and carried by the initiate to the men's house. There the currencies were hung up for display. They signified, however, his payment for the use of a concubine. Actually, five days later the father or other sponsor of the initiate retrieved the currencies for himself, so the presentation was from the attendant to the sponsor of the initiate. From now on the initiate is regarded as a full adult member of the men's house group. Any man who had not been through the sega initiation was not so considered. [...] Another is a moral condemnation of the association between se[.]ga[.] and introducing the initiate to his first sexual intercourse".

Duff Islands (Taumako) (Santa Cruz Islands)

Davenport (1968:p183-5)¹⁶²:

in a southwest Pacific society, in Brecher, R. & Brecher, E. (Eds.) *An Analysis of Human Sexual Response*. New York: Signet Books, p175-200. See also Money, J. & Ehrhardt, A. A. (1973/1996) *Man & Woman, Boy & Girl*. London: Aronson, p135-9

¹⁶¹ Davenport, W. (1969a) Social organization notes on the Northern Santa Cruz Islands: the Main Reef Islands. Berlin: D. Reimer, p151-243 [eHRAF 2003]

¹⁶² Davenport, W. (1968) Social organization notes on the Northern Santa Cruz Islands: the Duff Islands (Taumako). Berlin: D. Reimer, 1968. p137-205 [eHRAF, 2003]

"[...] The fifth observance is made to mark the donning of a strand of beads worn around the waist. This may be omitted for boys, but never for girls. The next observance may be done when the child is still small, and it is to mark his or her wearing of their first adult-style clothing. Before, this was a bark cloth wraparound garment for women, and a breach clout for men, but today it is a cotton cloth wraparound for both sexes. Actually, this observance is more of a notice that the sponsor will, later when the child is more mature, sponsor the celebration of the actual putting on of the first garment. As a preliminary notice, this prevents anyone else from usurping the right to sponsor this occasion. It is not done for all children. The celebration of this initial putting-on-the-garment has nothing to do with modesty, for it is done long before genital modesty training is even commenced. The last observance is a celebration at adolescence of the actual donning of the first garment. By this time the child is fully aware of what is expected in the way of genital modesty and from this time on he or she is expected to exhibit this modesty".

Utupua and Vanikoro (Southern Santa Cruz Islands)

Davenport (1969b:p241)¹⁶³:

"Sometime between the age of about five and nine years, when the child begins to be trained in genital modesty, he (or she) may be dressed in his (or her) first garment. The event is celebrated by a feast".

¹⁶³ Davenport, W. (1969b) Social organization notes on the Southern Santa Cruz Islands: Utupua and Vanikoro. Berlin: D. Reimer, 1969. p207-75 [eHRAF, 2003]

New Zealand

(Maori)

Additional refs.:

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Maori (2,2,2,-,2,2;8,8;E) (Aotearoa / New Zealand)

"The girl of ten years, is frequently a married woman in New Zealand, and at eleven becomes a mother [...]" (Polack, 1840, II:p175)¹⁶⁴. Tregear (1890:p101-2)¹⁶⁵ stated their women wouldn't know about the fate of their virginity, "for she had love affairs with boys from the cradle". The custom of betrothal in infancy was by no means uncommon among the Maori folk, as it some times occurred at the conclusion of the Pure ceremony over a newly-born child (Best, 1914:p159; Rubel and Rosman, 1971:p664)¹⁶⁶.

"Maori children frequently meet in the bush for sex play" (Ford, 1945 [1964:p20])¹⁶⁷. Maori children "play together at being husband and wife at night in the Bush. Full copulation frequently occurs before puberty" (Ford and Beach, 1951:p192)¹⁶⁸.

The Beagleholes¹⁶⁹ write: "Perhaps because of [the] trait of casualness spills over into other parts of life and because this Maori society is still fairly casual about the biology of sex, it appears that sex play and masturbation among these Maori children are rare. One young mother said that the only sex play she learned as a child was taught by pakeha schoolboys. Another young mother could remember only one Maori boy who masturbated and no girls. There may, of course, be other cases in the community. The fact remains, however, that sex play among these Maori children seems to be infrequently indulged in" (p131-2).

Enlightenment by the same-sex parent seems customary, at least in early adolescence (p153-4).

¹⁶⁴ Polack, J. S. (1840) *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*. Christchurch: Capper Press. Vol. 2. 1976 reprint. See also Westermarck, E. ([1901]) *The History of Human Marriage*. London: MacMillan. 3rd ed., p214. Westermarck refers to Angas, *Savage Life*, I, p314

¹⁶⁵ Tregear, E. (1890) The Maoris of New Zealand, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 19:96-123

¹⁶⁶ Best, E. (1914) Ceremonial Performances Pertaining to Birth, as Performed by the Maori of New Zealand in Past Times. *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 44:127-62; Rubel, P. G. & Rosman, A. (1971) Potlatch and Hakari: An Analysis of Maori Society in Terms of the Potlatch Model, *Man*, New Series 6,4:660-73

¹⁶⁷ Ford, C. S. (1945) *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1964 HRAF reprint

¹⁶⁸ *Op.cit.*

¹⁶⁹ Beaglehole, E. & Beaglehole, P. (1946) *Some Modern Maoris*. London: Whitcombe & Tombs

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Introduction

New Guinea provides a rich collection of sexual subcultures, even when looking at childhood only. A (traditional vs contemporary) overview of the premarital situation is offered by Otto (1985:p326-47)¹. Childhood in New Guinea was covered by Margaret Mead, and although specifically focussing on “sexual” themes, her observations on childhood sexual behaviour seem modest².

A note is in place with the interpretation of “puberty” categories. The **Bundi** were said to have their menarche at age 18.8 years (Malcolm, 1968, cited by Herdt, 1987; Malcolm, 1970)³. This late age was also noted for the **Bimin-Kukusmin**.

Additional refs.:

--Oliver-Miller, Sh. (2001) Papua New Guinea, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed. in chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. 4. New York: Continuum. Online ed.

Papua Semen Transactions, With a Specific Attention to Age of the Initiate (→*Kiwai*)

ECPAT⁴ lists that among a variety of contemporary laws⁵, boys under age 14 are not to be dealt with “indecently” or “unnaturally”. There are no statements on the contemporary occurrence of initiations which in the past indeed included such “unnatural” acts. Surveys

¹ Otto, A. (1985) *Die Frau in der Gegenwärtigen Gesellschaft von Papua Neuguinea: Eine Untersuchung zum Kulturwandel*. Dissertation, Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen

² For an illustrated study of New Guinean childhood, see Sorenson, E. R. (1976) *The Edge of the Forest: Land, Childhood and Change in a New Guinean Protoagricultural Society*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. The book does not cover sexual behaviour (p145-220)

³ Malcolm, L. A. (1970) *Growth and Development in New Guinea*. Madang: Institute of Human Biology

⁴ ECPAT International, Online Database
[http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/online_database/index.asp], Nov. 1, 2002

⁵ Citing from the database: Criminal Code - Chapter 262, Section 210 (1) unnatural offences; Section 211 -indecent treatment of boys under 14 years; section 213 defilement of girls under 12 years (carnal knowledge); Section 215(1) attempts to abuse a girl under 10 years; Section 216(1) defilement of girls under 16 (carnal knowledge); Section 217 indecent treatment of girls under 16; Section 220 - abduction of girl under 18 with intent to carnal knowledge; Section 223- incest by man; Section 224- incest by adult female; Section 227(1)-indecent Acts; Section 337-indecent assault on a male.

are offered by Herdt (1984a), Creed (1984)⁶, Greenberg (1988:p27-9)⁷ and Murray (1992:p9-15)⁸. Since 1977, Gilbert Herdt has covered the phenomenon of “**Sambia**” prepubertal insemination in many works⁹ (cf. Valsiner, 2000:p289-91)¹⁰, augmenting on a range of previous documentations (Wirz, 1922; Williams, 1936 [1939:p158-9]; Van Baal, 1966)¹¹. The custom is described to be performed before puberty for the **Marind-anim** culture (Van Baal, 1984)¹², the **Kimam**-Papuan (Serpenti, 1984)¹³, and others. Among the Papuas, insemination is actualised per os (**Bedamini**, **Etoro**¹⁴, **Anga**¹⁵, **Gebusi**, “**Sambia**”, former **Baruya**), per anum (**Kaluli**, **Jaquai**¹⁶, **Kiwai**?), or transdermal (**Onabasulu**) (Sørum, 1984:p324; Schiefenhövel, 1990)¹⁷. Some tribes rub semen in dermal cuts (Gray, 1986:p61)¹⁸ during blood-

⁶ Creed, G. W. (1984) Sexual subordination: institutionalized homosexuality and control in Melanesia, *Ethnology* 23,3:157-76. Cf Ariss, R. (1992) Foucault in the Highlands: The Production of Men in Papua New Guinea Societies, *Austral J Anthropol* 3,4:142-9; Bosse, H. (1992) Das Fremde am Mann oder die Sexualität, die “von außen kommt”, *Zeitschr f Sexualforsch* 5,2:144-62

⁷ Greenberg, D. F. (1988) *The Construction of Homosexuality*. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press

⁸ Murray, S. O. (1992) Age-Stratified homosexuality: Introduction, in Murray, S. O. (Ed., 1992) *Oceanic Homosexualities*. New York & London: Garland, p3-23

⁹ Herdt, G. (1977) *The Individual in Sambia Male Initiation*. PhD Dissertation, Australian National University, Canberra; Herdt, G. H. (1980) Semen Depletion and the Sense of Maleness, *Ethnopsychia* 3: 79-116. Reprinted in Murray, S. O. (Ed.) *Oceanic Homosexualities*. New York: Garland, p33-68; Herdt, G. H. (Ed., 1981) *Rituals of Manhood*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Herdt, G. H. (1981) *Guardians of the Flutes*. New York: McGraw-Hill; Stoller, R. J. & Herdt, G. H. (1982) The Development of Masculinity: A Cross-Cultural Contribution, *J Am Psychoanal Assoc* 30:29-59; Herdt, G. H. (1984a) Ritualized Homosexuality in the Male Cults of Melanesia, 1862-1982: An Introduction, in Herdt, G. H. (Ed.) *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p1-81; Herdt, G. H. (1984b) Semen Transactions in Sambia Culture, in Herdt, G. H. (Ed.) *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p167-210. Reprinted in Suggs, D. N. & Miracle, A. W. (Eds.) *Culture and Human Sexuality: A Reader*. Pacific Grove, CA, US: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., p298-327; Herdt, G. H. (1987a) The Accountability of Sambia Initiates, in Langness, L. L. & Hays, T. E. (Eds.) *Anthropology in the High Valleys: Essays in Honor of K. E. Read*, Novato, Chandler and Sharp, p82; Herdt, G. H. & Stoller, R. J. (1990) *Intimate Communications*. New York (etc.): Colombia University Press; Herdt, G. H. (1987b) *The Sambia*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston; Herdt, G. (1994) Notes and queries on sexual excitement in Sambia culture, *Etnofoor* 7,2:25-41; Herdt, G. H. (1997) Male birth-giving in the cultural imagination of the Sambia, *Psychoanal Rev* 84,2:217-26; Herdt, G. H. (1999) *Sambia Sexual Culture*. Chicago: Chicago University Press; Baldwin, J. D. & Baldwin, J. I. (1989) The socialization of homosexuality and heterosexuality in a non-Western society, *Arch Sex Behav* 18,1:13-29. Comment by Herdt and Stoller at p31-4. For a review of ritualised homosexual practices, see also Knauff, B. M. (1993) *South Coast New Guinea Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 3

¹⁰ Valsiner, J. (2000) *Culture and Human Development: An Introduction*. London [etc.]: Sage

¹¹ Wirz, P. (1922-5) *Die Marind-Anim von Holländisch-Shd-Neu-Guinea*. Hamburg: Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde Bd. 10 und 16; Williams, F.E. (1936) *Papuan of the Trans-Fly*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Baal, J. van (1966) *Dema. Description and Analysis of Marind-Anim Culture (South New Guinea)*. With the collaboration of Father J. Verschueren. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff

¹² Van Baal, J. (1984) The dialectics of sex in Marind-anim culture, in Herdt, G. H. (Ed.) *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p128-66

¹³ Serpenti, L. (1984) The ritual meaning of homosexuality and pedophilia among the Kimam-Papuan of South Irian Jara, in Herdt, G. H. (Ed.) *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p292-317

¹⁴ See also Werner (1986), as cited by Frayser (1994:p206)

¹⁵ Duberman, M. B. (1988) Reclaiming the Gay Past, *Rev Am Hist* 16,4:515-25

¹⁶ Boelaars, J. H. (1981) *Head Hunters about Themselves*. Verh Konink Instit Taal-, Land- & Volkenk 92. The Hague: M. Nijhoff. Cited by Schiefenhövel (1990:p414)

¹⁷ Sørum, A. (1984) Growth and decay: Bedamini notions of sexuality, in Herdt, G. H. (Ed.) *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p318-36; Schiefenhövel, W. (1990) Ritualized adult-male / adolescent-male sexual behavior in Melanesia: an anthropological and ethological approach, in Feierman, J. R. (Ed.) *Pedophilia: Biosocial Dimensions*. New York [etc.]: Springer, p394-412

¹⁸ Gray, J. P. (1986) Growing Yams and Men: An Interpretation of Kimam Male Ritualized Homosexual Behavior, in Blackwood, E. (Ed.) *Anthropology and Homosexual Behavior*. New York: Hayworth Press / *J Homosex* 11,3/4:55-68

letting rituals. Among certain tribes, boys are to eat food prepared with semen (Jensen, 1933:p86; Bühler-Oppenheim, 1947:p2194)¹⁹. Among the **Elema** district Papuans, initiates are to drink the urine of a *semese* chief, to become *semese* warriors (Holmes, 1902:p424)²⁰.

Herd (1984:p60) states: "An important and ignored aspect of initiation in [ritualised homosexuality] groups is that it frequently occurs before puberty, often as early as middle to late childhood (e.g., Marind-anim, Sambia, Keraki, etc.)."

The "**Sambia**" themselves have no ready word for puberty (*Guardians of the Flutes*, p173n21). Many tribes believe in the andropoetic quality of semen, and the onset of puberty (semen) is certainly an outstanding item in this spectrum; likewise, early heterosexual fellatio "ostensibly precipitates menarche in girls" (*Guardians*, p178-85): "Men perceive premenarche females as children, a category of asexual or not exciting erotic objects", in contrast to boys. However, premenarchic coitus is considered dangerous because it would prevent the body from expelling lethal fluids at (naturally timed) menarche. Apart from this, the "Sambia" value male-virgin contacts (1984:p177), while "sexual partners are perceived as having more "heat" and being more exciting the younger they are. A second factor is reciprocity: the more asymmetrical the sexual partners (youth/boy), the more erotic play seems to culturally define their contact" [*sic*]. Against the background of an utterly phallocentric ideology on the androtrophic properties of semen, "Sambia" prepubertal boys (7-12, on average 8.5) fellate post-pubertal adolescents to ejaculation in order to grow and turn seminarchic themselves, so that they may reverse roles. The boys do not have orgasms, and might have "vicarious erotic pleasure as indicated by erections" only "near puberty" (Herd and Stoller, 1990:p70-1). Herd (1981, 1982)²¹ had argued that this age is "psychologically necessary for the radical resocialization into, and eventual sex-role dramatization expected of, adult men". Another theoretical significance of the timing of this custom was discussed by Herd (2000)²² and Herd and McClintock (2000:p593-7)²³. They draw attention to the universally pregonadarchic onset of male sexual transition in precolonial New Guinea, as reported by many ethnologists, including Schieffelin (1976:p152)²⁴. The latter author stated on the Papuan Plateau **Kaluli**: "Homosexual intercourse for boys [...] took place in everyday life [...] whenever a boy reached the age of about ten or eleven"²⁵. Kelly (1976:p52)²⁶ on the Plateau **Etoro** stated that boys are inseminated by oral intercourse by a single inseminator from about the age of ten until he is fully mature and has a manly beard. Williams (1936:p158-9)²⁷ simply stated that homosexual practices occurred when the **Keraki** boy could "be trusted to

¹⁹ Bühler-Oppenheim, K. (1947) L'initiation, *Revue Ciba* 61:21-78-2218

²⁰ Holmes, J. (1902) Initiation Ceremonies of Natives of the Papuan Gulf, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 32:418-25

²¹ Herd (1981), *op.cit*; Herd, G. (1982) Sambia nose-bleeding rites and male proximity to women, *Ethos* 10:189-231

²² Herd, 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

²³ Herd, G. & McClintock, M. (2000) The magical age of 10, *Arch Sex Behav* 29,6:587-606

²⁴ Schieffelin, E. L. (1976) *The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of Dancers*. New York: St. Martin's

²⁵ On the other hand: "When a boy is eleven or twelve years old he is engaged for several months in homosexual intercourse with a healthy older man chosen by his father [...]" (p124).

²⁶ Kelly, R. C. (1976) Witchcraft and sexual relations: an exploration in the social and semantic implications of the structure of belief, in Brown, P. & Buchbinder, G. (Eds.) *Man and Woman in the New Guinea Highlands*. Special Publication of the American Anthropological Association, p36-53

²⁷ *Op.cit*.

keep the secret from his mother”²⁸, or at about age 13 (see also Bleibtrue-Ehrenberg, 1980:p98-102)²⁹. Anal intercourse among the **Marind-anim** tribes of Irian Jara (formerly Dutch New Guinea) may have been begun between the ages of seven and fourteen years (Van Baal, 1966:p143-4, 147)³⁰ or before puberty (Van Baal, 1984)³¹, although Van Baal generally speaks of pubertal onset (1966:p118; see [Marind-anim](#)); the author does not state a passive-to-active transition age. In general, the average age of onset would be 10 (Bleibtrue-Ehrenberg, 1980:p118), thus when the boy was called *patur*. In North-Eastern Irian Jara, Moszkowski (1911:p339)³² observed that boys are initiated into the cult house at age ten. A number of **Onabasulu** males told Ernst (1991:p4)³³ that “to have male children who were never inseminated would be like planting a garden and not cultivating it”. Apparently, the homosexual friendship, which is not wholly exclusive, was observed to develop between boys aged 12-14 and married males aged 21-23. “The young man [that is, the boy] began to act coy and sometimes flirtatious around his potential partner. The older man acted indulgently and occasionally flirtatiously in return, indicating his interest. Actually in this case, as probably in most, it was difficult to decide who was the initiator. [...] By the time [the boy] enters such a relationship, a youth has probably already had some homosexual experience”.

The subject of acceptance, at least the anthropologist’s communication on the matter, was issued, in apparent horror, by DeMause³⁴. Although their

“first response to doing fellatio was fear that is how most boys respond”, they nevertheless conclude that the boys “do not just accept fellatio: they want it”³⁵. Like most pederasty defenders, they depict the boys as “enthusiastically anticipating” their rape³⁶, and as “eager to suck” men’s penises and “enjoying” the rape with “fine erotic enthusiasm”³⁷. Oral and anal rapes are said to be “grounded in personal affection rather than obligation”³⁸ and “have a positive effect on the boy’s development”³⁹.

Thus: “Of the several hundred anthropologists whose work I have researched, I found none who said pederasty was detrimental, agreeing instead with the New Guinea natives that it was both desired by and beneficial to the victims”⁴⁰. (Heterosexual) “indecent” dealing with

²⁸ Creed (1984:p160), citing Williams, stated that Transfly Keraki boys are introduced to homosexual practices “at about the age of 13”, at the bull-roarer ceremony. Landtman (1927:p237) did not give a reliable statement on age organisations.

²⁹ Bleibtrue-Ehrenberg, G. (1980) *Mannbarkeitsriten: Zur Institutionellen Päderastie bei Papuas und Melanesiern*. Frankfurt/Berlin/Wien: Ullstein Materialien

³⁰ *Op.cit.*

³¹ Van Baal, J. (1984) The dialectics of sex in Marind-anim culture, in Herdt, G. H. (Ed.) *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p128-66

³² Moszkowski, M. (1911) Die Völkerstämme am Mamberamo in Höllandisch-Neuguinea und auf den vorgelagerten Inseln, *Zeitschr Ethnol* 43,2:315-43

³³ Ernst, Th. M. (1991) Onabasulu male homosexuality, *Oceania* 62,1:1-11

³⁴ DeMause, L. (1999) Childhood and Cultural Evolution, *J Psychohist* 26,3:643-723 / *The Emotional Life of Nations*. Karnac Books, Limited, UK. Online ed., ch. 7. Cf. DeMause, L. (1998) The History of Child Abuse, *J Psychohist* 25,3:216-36

³⁵ Stoller (1985:p116, 132). [It needs to be said that Stoller relates a case of exceptional initial enjoyment, by the author related to his later gender problems.] See Stoller, R. J. (1985) *Observing the Erotic Imagination*. New Haven: Yale University Press

³⁶ Bleibtrue-Ehrenberg (1990:p18)

³⁷ Stoller, *op.cit.*

³⁸ Knauft (1987:p173)

³⁹ Davenport (1992:p78)

⁴⁰ How DeMause distorts age perspectives might be illustrated by the following. *Adolescents* throughout the Melanesian and Polynesian areas take great pride in “deflowering virgins”, both

minors could be classified under the heading “Trivial Acts”: “In the case of a girl it is taken seriously only as part of attempted intercourse. In the case of a boy, a minority of societies seem to regard the seduction of boys by older women a nuisance, but little more (But in one society where this is thought to impede the boy’s growth it gives rise to complaints)” (Strathern, 1979:p17-8, 21-2)⁴¹.

The explanations forwarded for the New Guinea case are sexual segregation (“ein art Nothomosexualität”) and homosocial control of heterosexual opportunity (Schiefenhövel)⁴².

Penis Gourd: Transitional Meaning

Penis gourds are commonly used in ritualised transitions (Ucko, 1969:p55-7; Gell, 1971)⁴³. Ucko (cf. Gell, 1971:p71) notes that in Sepik the *peda* represents a “visible sign of sexual restriction”. Although at age 16 marking a “stage in sexual maturation, [it] does not sanction any sexual activity on the part of the neophyte”, but instead is intended to promote his success in hunting.

Betrothal / Marriage; Prepubertal Coitus

Betrothal before puberty used to be customary⁴⁴. Goudswaard (1863:p65-6)⁴⁵ speaks of incidental infant betrothal among the Geelvinksbaai Papua. Gell (1975:p104)⁴⁶ speaks of generation-stratified betrothal in childhood among the **Umeda**. **Manus** girls were betrothed at age 8 or 10 (Mead, 1956:p31)⁴⁷. **Kewa** girls can be married at menarche, but are sometimes chosen before puberty (Franklin, 1965:p417)⁴⁸. **Kapauku** marriageability is measured by “physical appearance” (thelarche), rather than menarche (Steinberg, 1959)⁴⁹. Child marriage was noted by Van Eechoud ([1959]:63) among the “**Kaowerawédja**”, and by Huizinga among the “**Waropen**” Papua (1937:p436)⁵⁰, but this was not noted a decade later (Held, 1947:p99)⁵¹.

individually and in gangs, and often “count coup” as to how many they have deflowered (Ortner, 1981:p39). DeMause cites this passage as it being done by “boys” doing it to “little girls”. See Ortner, Sh. B. (1981 [1986]) Gender and sexuality in hierargical societies, in Ortner, Sh. B. & Whitehead, H. (Eds.) *Sexual Meanings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p359-409; xx

⁴¹ Strathern, M. (1979) Sexual offences and criminal codes, *Cambridge Anthropol* 5,3:4-31

⁴² Schiefenhövel, W. (2001) Sexualverhalten in Melanesien. Ethnologische und humanethologische Aspekte, in Sütterlin, Ch. & Salter, F. K. (Eds.) *Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt: Zu Person und Werk*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, p274-88, at p285-6

⁴³ Ucko, P. J. (1969) Penis sheats: a comparative study, *Proc Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britian & Ireland*, issue 1969:24A-67; Gell, A. F. (1971) Penis sheating and ritual status in a West Sepik Village, *Man*, NS, 6,2:165-81

⁴⁴ Westermarck, E. ([1901]) *The History of Human Marriage*. London: MacMillan. Third ed., p214. Westermarck refers to Finsch (p102, 116) and Guillemard (p389). Cf. Koloniaal Instituut te Amsterdam (1921) *Pandecten van het Adatrecht*. Mededeeling no. IV. Amsterdam: De Bussy, p479-80

⁴⁵ Goudswaard, A. (1863) *De Papoewa’s van de Geelvinksbaai*. Schiedam, The Netherlands: H. A. M. Roelandts

⁴⁶ Gell, A. (1975) *Metamorphosis of the Cassowaries*. [University of] London: The Athlone Press

⁴⁷ Mead, M. (1956) *New Lives for Old*. London: Gollancz

⁴⁸ Franklin, K. J. (1965) Kewa Social organization, *Ethnology* 4:408-20

⁴⁹ Pospisil, L. (1958) *Kapauku Papuans and their Law*. New Haven: Yale University Press

⁵⁰ Huizinga, L. J. (1937), *Adarechtbundel* 49, cited by Held (1947:p110-1), *cit. infra*

Gogodara girls usually married when they reach the age of puberty (Lyons, 1926)⁵². As for the **Muruans** (Murua, east of the Trobriands), “[...] it is their practice to celebrate a marriage soon after the parties thereto have reached the age of puberty” (Lyons, 1925:p131)⁵³. Lyons (1924:p58), however, states that girls are “immediately handed over to the care of her [apparently age-asymmetric] prospective husband”, unless an infant, who is taken into the care of some female relative of her affianced “until she attains puberty”.

On Kolopom, ceremonial sexual intercourse occurred between married men and prepubescent girls who had been betrothed to adolescent male novices (Serpenti, 1965/1977; 1984)⁵⁴. Reporting on an Abelam village, Whiteman (1965:p117)⁵⁵ stated that if a father beat his prepubertal but betrothed daughter for having sexual relations, it was not about morals but about a possible bride price reduction. Langness (1967:p167)⁵⁶ stated that prepubertal girls occasionally attend formal courting parties “to learn the songs and watch” as the older girls have sexual intercourse. The darkness, however, would prevent much of the learning. Knauff (1993:p101)⁵⁷ on the 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). “**Sambia**” girls practice fellatio on their adolescent spouses until menarche, and coitus thereafter (Herdt, 1977:p206)⁵⁸. Boys and girls of the tribes inhabiting the mouth of the Wanigela River were “often betrothed at a very early age, by their parents”; however, the unbetrothed may have had secret get-togethers in the night (Guise, 1899:p208)⁵⁹.

“Genital Parenting”

By the **Biami**, **Daribi** and **Hagenberg** tribes an old mother would greet their adult sons with the caressing of penis and scrotum. Boy’s but not girl’s genitalia are commonly caressed among the Middle Sepik **Iatmul** (Hauser-Schäublin, 1997:p106)⁶⁰. Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1973:p190)⁶¹ hypothesises that this is a rudiment of the practice of genital soothing applied on the males when infants.

⁵¹ Held, G. J. (1947) *Papoea’s van Waropen*. Leiden [Holland]: Brill. [Translated as *The Papuas of Waropen*, 1957, The Hague: Nijhoff]

⁵² Lyons, A. P. (1926) Notes on the Gogodara Tribe of Western Papua, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 56:329-359

⁵³ Lyons, A. P. (1925) The Significance of the Parental State Amongst Muruans, *Man* 25:131-2

⁵⁴ Serpenti, L. M. (1965 [1977]) *Cultivators of the Swamps*. Assen [Holland]: Van Gorcum

⁵⁵ Whiteman, J. (1965) Change and tradition in an Abelam village, *Oceania* 36,2:102-20

⁵⁶ Langness, L. L. (1967) Sexual antagonism in the New Guinea Highlands: a Bena Bena example, *Oceania* 37,3:161-77

⁵⁷ *Op.cit.*

⁵⁸ *Op.cit.*

⁵⁹ Guise, R. E. (1899) On the Tribes Inhabiting the Mouth of the Wanigela River, New Guinea, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 28,3/4:205-19

⁶⁰ Hauser-Schäublin, B. (1977) *Frauen in Karakau*. Basel: Ethnologisches Seminar der Universität und Museum für Völkerkunde; Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess*. 2nd ed., p418n45

⁶¹ Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I. (1973) *Der Vorprogrammierte Mensch*. Vienna: Molden, p190, also cited by Duerr (1988, I:p418n25), *op.cit.*

This is backed up by other observations. Mead (1948)⁶² noted this custom in the **Arapesh** (“playful tics on his genitalia”). Berndt (1962:p91)⁶³: “As babies and small children their genitalia are fondled”. Mothers caress “the fleshy parts of [the infant’s] body [...] and implanting breathy kisses over and over again in the region of its genital organs” (Hogbin, 1943:p298)⁶⁴. Genital touching by older people was also noted by among the **Marind-anim** (Van Baal, 1966; cf. Money and Ehrhardt, 1973 [1996:p132]). Gillison (1993:p176)⁶⁵ describes the process of masturbating infants among the **Gimi**:

“The mother insists upon continued contact, interrupting her toddler’s play repeatedly to offer the breast. Masturbation [...] with a baby girl [occurs when] the mother or amau holds her hand over the vulva and shakes it vigorously. She may kiss the vagina [*sic*], working her way up the middle of the body to the lips and then inserting her nipple (often when the child has given no sign of discontent). With a boy, she kisses the penis, pulls at it with her fingers and takes it into her mouth to induce an erection. Several women may pass a baby boy back and forth, each one holding him over her head as she takes a turn sucking or holding the penis in her mouth. When the child then pulls at his own organ, the women, greatly amused, offer squeezes and pulls of their own”⁶⁶.

Poole (1982, 1983, 1984, 1985a,b, 1987, 1990)⁶⁷, another observer of the practice, interviewed both mothers and children. Mothers, Poole states, systematically “masturbate” the penes of their baby boys:

“She is expected to masturbate him periodically to ensure the growth of his genitalia, but she must carefully avoid the excessive development of erotic “infant lust” which may injure his finiiik [spirit][...]. When mothers rub the penes of their infant sons, the little boys wriggle on their mothers’ laps and have erections. These tiny erections bring laughter. It is play. It will make their penes big when they are older. But “infantile lust” can become too strong and can damage the growing “spirit or life-force” (*finiiik*) of little boys. You will see mothers and sons together in this way everywhere” (Poole, 1990:p127, 106).

⁶² Mead, M. (1948) *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*. New York: W. Morrow Co. Inc.

⁶³ Berndt, R. M. (1962) *Excess and Restraint: Social Control among a New Guinea Mountain People*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

⁶⁴ Hogbin, H. I. (1943) A New Guinea Infancy: From Conception to Weaning in Wogeo, *Oceania* 13:285-309

⁶⁵ Gillison, G. (1993) *Between Culture and Fantasy: A New Guinea Highlands Mythology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

⁶⁶ Guthrie (1976) compares this to baboon genital “lip-smacking”. “The mother [baboon] also lip-smacks the genital area of the young. After she lip-smacks the penis for several seconds it immediately becomes erect. As the infant grows older it embraces rather than trying to nurse. If the female is in estrous she frequently presents her rump to him and lip-smacks over her shoulder. The infant mounts (an infant’s grasping reflex), thrusts, and sometimes achieves intromission”. See Guthrie, R. D. (1976) *Body Hot Spots: The Anatomy of Human Social Organs and Behavior*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company

⁶⁷ Poole, F. J. P. (1982a) Personal Experience and Cultural Representation in Children’s “Personal Symbols” Among Bimin-Kuskusmin, *Ethos* 15:104-32; Poole, F. J. P. (1982b) The Ritual Forging of Identity: Aspects of Person and Self in Bimin-Kuskusmin Male Initiation, in Herdt, G. H. (Ed.) *Rituals of Manhood: Male Initiation in Papua New Guinea*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p99-154; Poole, F. J. P. (1983) *Folk Models of Eroticism in Mothers and Sons: Aspects of Sexuality Among Bimin-Kuskusmin*. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association; Poole, F. J. P. (1984) Cultural Images of Women as Mothers: Motherhood Among the Bimin-Kuskusmin of Papua New Guinea, *Social Anal* 15:73-93; Poole, F. J. P. (1985) Coming Into Social Being: Cultural Images of Infants in Bimin-Kuskusmin Folk Psychology, in White, G. M. & Kirkpatrick, J. (Eds.) *Person, Self, and Experience: Exploring Pacific Ethnopsychologies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p183-242; Poole, F. J. P. (1990) Images of an Unborn Sibling: The Psychocultural Shaping of a Child’s Fantasy Among the Bimin-Kuskusmin of Papua New Guinea, in Boyer, L. B. & Grolnick, S. A. (Eds.) *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society*. Vol. 15. Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, p105-75

As cited by DeMause (1999)⁶⁸: “Much of the ribald joking among mothers is for the purpose of denying that the erotic use of the child is in fact incest—it is blamed on the infant’s “lust” only—for only “bad” mothers “are believed to stimulate their sons beyond the bounds of “infantile lust”^[69] in order to satisfy their own sexual desires [...]”⁷⁰. Those mothers who completely give in to their own “lust” are called “witches” who are said to be “driven [...] to destroy all aspects of masculinity through jealousy and rage” ⁷¹ a condition all women can fall into, particularly when they are young, inexperienced mothers or are treated harshly by their husband’s family. In order to prove that she isn’t being too lustful, mothers deliberately cover their breasts with bark cloth when they are stimulating the penis in a ritually prescribed manner. Indeed, this often highly ostentatious act of covering the breasts is a display to an ever-watchful public that the mother is acting properly in tending her son. On occasion, I have witnessed older women admonish a young mother for failing to cover her breasts when rubbing her son’s genitals (1983:p11)”. More privacy is afforded at night, however, when mothers can rub against their children’s entire bodies because they sleep naked with their them, “together in each other’s arms” and when they also can “regularly rub” the boy’s penis to erection (P., 1987:p115).

Poole interviewed one young boy, Buuktiin, who described how when his mother was depressed or angry she often “pulled, pinched, rubbed, or flicked a fingernail against his penis” (1987:p118) until he cried, afraid it might break off⁷². “When he struggled to escape, she held him tightly and rubbed his penis even harder” (1990:p159). “Kiipsaak [his mother] had masturbated him earlier as mothers often do [...]. [But] now she increased the tempo and roughness of the episodes [...] and he often jerked at her touch and struggled to get away, hitting her and complaining of throbbing pain in his penis. “It hurts inside. It goes “koong, koong, koong” inside. I think it bleeds in there. I don’t like to touch it anymore. It hurts when I pee” (1990:p137).

Schiefenhövel (1990:p407) concludes that “it is not uncommon that New Guinean mothers fondle the genitals of their infants, possibly causing an erection, and make humorous remarks about children’s genitals [...]”.

Sexual Life in Childhood

Ethnographers not only decentralised the timing of androtrophy, but also neglected the *concurrent* sexual pursuits before puberty, if any. For instance, little if anything is known about Kapauku childhood sexual development. The 1994 *National Study of Sexual and Reproductive Knowledge and Behaviour in Papua New Guinea*⁷³ has little concern for childhood. Male and female coitarchal age was calculated at 17, with lower extremes of 8 (M) and 11 (F). “A few women in different areas (Papuan Coast, Anga, North Coast) had intercourse before

⁶⁸ *The Emotional Life of Nations*, ch. 6

⁶⁹ *Aur auk-saar* (Poole, 1984:p88), *op.cit.*

⁷⁰ Poole (1983:p2-3), *op.cit.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p6

⁷² Also cited by Poole (1982a:p116-7), *op.cit.*

⁷³ *National Sex and Reproduction Research Team & Jenkins, C. (1994) National Study of Sexual and Reproductive Knowledge and Behaviour in Papua New Guinea*. Goroka: Papua New Guinea Institute of Medical Research

menarche. Fears that the first menstruation would be construed as proof that they had already experienced sexual intercourse were expressed repeatedly by young women in the Massim area" (p30). Schidlof (1908:p11)⁷⁴ cites Pfeil in the observation that boys aged 14 to 15 married girls aged 9 or 10. "Bedenkt man, daß außerdem noch vor der Ehe Geschlechtsverkehr besteht, so muß man zugestehen, daß die frühzeitige Kenntnis der Geschlechtsgänge für die kleinen Wilden nicht von Vorteil ist".

Studying the Melanesian people of southeast New Guinea, anthropologist Ruth Benedict (1938)⁷⁵ concluded that adults paid little attention when young children engaged in sexual experimentation with one another (it was also observed that sexual talk was not restricted to adult audiences⁷⁶). Parents in Melanesia shrugged off such activity because, before puberty, sex cannot lead to reproduction. New Guinean childhood sex play may follow from the "sociosensual exploratory attunement with age-mates", as is seen in the **Fore** (Sorenson, 1978:p22)⁷⁷. Denis (1966 [1967:p27]⁷⁸) was told: "As the children grew up they naturally took sex and its various attributes for granted. They witnessed the lovemaking of parents and other adults within the family huts. They played together freely, and sexual experiments between young boys and girls went of quite unchecked in the village. Unmarried adolescents were quite free to make love". In an urban Papua community, Belshaw (1957:p176)⁷⁹ found that sexual experience began with the onset of puberty. Schellong (1889:p16)⁸⁰ found that "little" boys aged 13 to 15 seek secret get-togethers; perceiving this, their father would judge his "precocious" son to be growing up soon [menses was estimated to commence at age 13]. Pre-Trobriands Malinowski (1922 [1987:p53])⁸¹ stated: "At an incredible early age they become initiated into sexual life, and many of the innocent looking plays of children are not as innocuous as they appear". "There is no rite or magic at puberty, but then, with this people, puberty does not represent any very definite crisis in the life of the individual, as their sexual life starts long before puberty arrives, and gradually shapes and develops as the organism matures" (1922:p394). Watson and Watson (1972:p)⁸² noted for the **Batanabura**: "The boys poke sticks into each others' anuses [...]. If parents see boys having sex with little girls they joke about it and laugh. "Good. You can do it. Your mothers and fathers did this" [...]. Chowning (1973:p76)⁸³ states that the children "are typically initiated into intercourse by older and more experienced children". Dubuy⁸⁴ for the **Ononghe** tribe: "In the matter of chastity, they do not practice unnatural vices, but what is "natural" they do. Boys and girls cease to play together from the age of six or seven years. They marry from the age of sixteen or eighteen".

⁷⁴ Schidlof, B. (1908) *Das Sexualleben der Australier und Ozeanier*. Leipzig: Leipziger Verlag

⁷⁵ Benedict, R. (1938) Continuities and discontinuities in cultural conditioning, *Psychiatry* 1:161-7

⁷⁶ Bjerre, J. (1959) *De Laatste Kannibalen*. Dutch transl. Amsterdam: Scheltens & Giltay, p37 [*Blandt Menneskeadere Pa Ny Guinea; The Last Cannibals*, 1956]

⁷⁷ Sorenson, E. R. (1978) Cooperation and freedom among the Fore of New Guinea, in Montagu, A. (Ed.) *Learning Non-Aggression*. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press, p12-30

⁷⁸ Denis, A. (1967) *Taboo*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons

⁷⁹ Belshaw, C. S. (1957) *The Great Village*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

⁸⁰ Schellong, O. (1889) Über Familienleben und Gebräuche der Papuas der Umgebung von Finschhafen (Kaiser Wilhelmsland), *Zeitschr Ethnol* 21:10-25

⁸¹ Malinowski, B. (1922) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London: G. Routledge

⁸² Watson, J. B. & Watson, V. (1972) *Batanabura of New Guinea*. New Haven: HRAF

⁸³ Chowning, A. (1973) Child Rearing and Socialization, in Hogbin, I. (1973) *Anthropology in Papua New Guinea: Readings From The Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press

⁸⁴ Dubuy, P. (1931) The relations between religion and morality among the: Ononghe tribes of British New Guinea, *Anthropol Quart* 4,1/4:29-31

Van Baal (1966)⁸⁵ states that the Marind Anim of New Guinea freely accept sex play of children. On the premarital freedom of the Swart Valley New Guineans, Wirz (1924:p74)⁸⁶ states: "Jedes Mädchen wird bereits im Kindsalter defloriert". This observation could not be corroborated by Le Roux (1950:p688-96)⁸⁷, who says very little on childhood. Van Eechoud (II, [1959:p61]; 1962:p45)⁸⁸ in Central New Guinea states that there are few observations on children's sexual expressions, and parents denied (imitated) coitus before nuptial age. "Sexual humour" was not forbidden, this including penis snatching and phallic imitation by means of objects. Berndt and Berndt (1971:p116-7)⁸⁹ argue that "little boys" form the most avid and untiring spectators of mock-adultery scenes during festive gatherings. Initiation is seen as a legitimisation for sexual intercourse in the Papua **Koko** (Chinnery and Beaver, 1915:p77)⁹⁰. Flint (1919:p39)⁹¹: "A Bamu River native considers it essential in paedotrophy that the children should learn how they come into existence, so whilst witnessing the copulation natives explain to the children who are sitting near them how their mothers become enceinte; advice relating to matrimonial matters is also tendered at a muguru". It was said that in New Guinea sexual maturity was thought to be facilitated by coitus (Berndt, 1962:p87)⁹². Wedgwood (1927:p379)⁹³: "Rivers [⁹⁴] mentions that in Eddystone Island and in parts of New Guinea, for instance, infantile sexual relations between brother and sister are not considered reprehensible, though, after puberty, such conduct would be severely punished, and would be regarded as injurious to the community as a whole [...]". Lyons (1924:p58)⁹⁵ noted on western Papua that "[s]exual congress not infrequently occurs before puberty, especially in the case of betrothed children, who will "play" the married state in imitation of their elders". Du Toit (1974:p219-20)⁹⁶ states that masturbation was discouraged. "At about ten years of age children of both sexes are informed, by both parents, that heterosexual play and intercourse which might follow, can cause trouble". In tune with the separation of the sexes in later childhood, boys may actualise anal introduction, and girls may practice ventroventral approximation, all under the concept *iyeranenu*, play. Reporting on the **Elema** People of Orokelo Bay in the Papua Gulf, Williams (1969:p77)⁹⁷ stated some "little girls [are] beyond suspicion of sexual activity". "On moonlight evenings

⁸⁵ See also Money and Ehrhardt (1973/1996:p132-5)

⁸⁶ Wirz, P. (1924) *Anthropologische und Ethnologische Ergebnisse der Central Neu-Guinea Expedition 1921-1922*. Nova-Guinea 16,1. Leiden [Holland]

⁸⁷ Roux, C. C. 1e (1950) *De Berg-Papoea's van Nieuw Guinea en Hun Woongebied*. Leiden [Holland]: Brill

⁸⁸ Eechoud, J. P. K. van (1941/[1959]) *Verslag van de Exploratietocht naar Centraal Nieuw Guinea* [etc.]. The Hague [Holland]: Directie Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea. 3 vols.; Eechoud, J. P. K. van (1962) *Etnografie van de Kaowerawédj (Centraal Nieuw Guinea)*. The Hague [Holland]: M. Nijhoff

⁸⁹ Berndt, C. H. & Berndt, R. M. (1971) *The Barbarians*. London: C. A. Watts & Co.

⁹⁰ Chinnery, E. W. P. & Beaver, W. N. (1915) Notes on the Initiation Ceremonies of the Koko, Papua, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 45:69-78

⁹¹ Flint, L. A. (1919) Muguru at Torobina, Bamu River, *Man* 19, Mar.:38-9

⁹² *Op.cit.*

⁹³ Wedgwood, C. H. (1927) Death and Social Status in Melanesia, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 57:377-97

⁹⁴ Rivers (1925:p73); cf. Rattray (1927:p59-61). See Rivers, W. H. R. (1925) *Psychology and Ethnology*. New York : Harcourt Brace; Rattray, R. (1927) *Religion and Art in Ashanti*. Kumasi: Basel Mission Book Depot

⁹⁵ Lyons, A. P. (1924) Paternity Beliefs and Customs in Western Papua, *Man* 24:58-9

⁹⁶ Du Toit, B. M. (1974) *Akuna: A New Guinea Village Community*. Rotterdam [Holland]: Balkema

⁹⁷ Williams, F. E. (1969) *Drama of Orokelo: The Social and Ceremonial Life of the Enema*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

the beach here and there may be alive with boys and girls, some of them youths and maidens, for this is a golden opportunity to mix love-making with horse-play [...] they are playing one or other of a variety of games which it is impossible for the onlooker to see or appreciate" (p17) [sic]. Among the **Mandobo**, Boelaars (1970:p135)⁹⁸ found that "dirty" games were not allowed, and older children are segregated. Boelaars (1981:p87)⁹⁹ on Irian Jaya, states that, apart from a specific penis touching game, sexual interests start at age 14 (boys), and at menarche. In Sela Valley childhood, "[s]exuality, too, is part of everyday life" (Godschalk, 1993:p60)¹⁰⁰.

Schiefenhövel (1982:p149)¹⁰¹ noted that among the **Eipo**, boy's genital play was met with amusement, in contrast to the little girl's. The author (1982; 1990:p403-7) sketches a picture of sexual tolerance. Childhood autogenital play is common in males, but not seen in females. However, "[I]n many interviews with informants in which sexual topics were touched upon, the information provided led the interviewers to believe that homosexual acts, playful or "serious", among male children [...] do not occur. On the other hand, this author did hear of male and female children "having had intercourse" in the grassland beside the village. Everyone laughed with good humour about this behavior; the children involved were neither reprimanded nor punished in any way". Schiefenhövel (1990:p407)¹⁰² agrees with Malinowski (1929:p50-1)¹⁰³ that adult-child intercourse is rare on New Guinea. Krieger (1899:p297-9, as cited by Ronhaar)¹⁰⁴ observed that among the **Bartle Bay** people "immorality" not seldom commences in childhood, "when they are corrupted by the other children in the village. The girl is betrothed as a child or after reaching puberty". Among the **Bena Bena**, young boys are said to be given sticks and encouraged to chase and beat girls, the adults urging them to "stick it up her vagina" or "go and hit her hard" (Langness, 1981:p16)¹⁰⁵. Boys are sometimes threatened with castration (Langness, 1972)¹⁰⁶. Held (1951:p99-100)¹⁰⁷ marks a strict sexual segregation between sibs (cf. 104-5). "Uitingen van sexualiteit vindt men hier even natuurlijk als gewone biologische processen en het jonge meisje is daarom al veel eerder in de vrouwenwereld betrokken dan de jongen in de mannenwereld. Meisjes beginnen ook eerder kleren te dragen"¹⁰⁸. Premarital sexual relations

⁹⁸ Boelaars, J. H. (1970) *Mandobo's tussen de Digoel en de Kao*. Assen [Holland]: Van Gorcum

⁹⁹ Boelaars, J. H. (1981) *Head-Hunters About Themselves, An Ethnographic Report from Irian Jaya, Indonesia*. The Hague [Holland]: M. Nijhoff

¹⁰⁰ Godschalk, J. A. (1993) *Sela Valley*. Docoral Dissertation, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

¹⁰¹ 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. Cited by Duerr (1988:p416n25), *op.cit.*

¹⁰² *Op.cit.*

¹⁰³ *Vide infra*

¹⁰⁴ Krieger, M. (1899) *Neu Guinea*. Berlin: Schall. Cited by Ronhaar, J. H. (1931) *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*. Groningen [Holland]: Wolters/ London: D. Nutt, p329

¹⁰⁵ Langness, L. L. (1981) Child abuse and cultural values: The case of New Guinea, in Korbin, J. (Ed.) *Child Abuse and Neglect: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, p13-34

¹⁰⁶ Langness, L. L. (1972) Violence in the New Guinean Highlands, in Short, J. F. & Wolfgang, M. E. (Eds.) *Collective Violence*. Chicago: Aldine, p571-85

¹⁰⁷ Held, G. J. (1951) *De Papoea: Cultuurimpovisator*. The Hague / Bandung: W. van Hoeve

¹⁰⁸ "Expressions of sexuality are regarded as natural as regular biological processes [sic] and the young girl is therefore involved in the women's world at a much earlier date the boy is in the man's world. Girls commence to wear clothes at a younger age as well" [transl., DJ].

are frequent enough, though not approved; premarital pregnancy is strongly opposed (p106-7)¹⁰⁹. A discourse of sex as “secret” is not apparent, given housing facilities (p106-7, 108).

In New Guinea sexual instruction to boys is facilitated by anatomically overly correct dolls. Further, a technique of self-arousal by means of intra-urethral insertion is communicated (Jensen, 1933:p85)¹¹⁰.

SCCS Ratings

Four New Guinean tribes have been rated: **Kwoma**, as described by Whiting (3+3-,4,3+,3+,4-,4,2;A), **Trobrianders**, as described by Malinowski (2,2,2,2,2-,2-,8,8;E; [eHRAF](#)), **Manus**, as described by Mead (3,3,4,4,3,3;8,8;A) and **Lesu**, as described by Powdermaker (2,2,2+,2+,2,2;8,8;E). These childhood digits would suggest two patterns of sexual socialisation strictness.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Held, *Waropen*, p88; Mutsaers, A. F. M. (ca1964) *Opvoedings- en Onderwijsproblemen bij de Papoea's in het Voormalig Nederlands Nieuw Guinea*. [Nijmegen]: Katholieke Leergangen, p62-3

¹¹⁰ Jensen, A. E. (1933) *Beschneidung und Reifezeremonien bei Naturvölkern*. Frankfurt am Main: Strecker & Schröder

Selected Subcultures: Ethnographic Particularities

Marind-anim (New Guinea) (cf. *Papua Semen Transactions*)

Anal intercourse among the Marind-anim tribes of Irian Jara (formerly Dutch New Guinea) is begun between the ages of seven and fourteen years (Wirz, I, 1922:p45-6;p; cf. 1928:p141¹¹¹; Van Baal, 1934¹¹²; 1966:p143-4, 147)¹¹³, although Van Baal also speaks of pubertal onset (1966:p118; 1934:p49-50); the author does not state a passive-to-active transition age. In general, the average age of onset would be 10 (Bleibtrue-Ehrenberg, 1980:p118), thus when the boy was called *patur* [in fact, *aroi-patoer*, 13-15] (see also Van Baal, 1984¹¹⁴; Hage, 1981:p271; Herdt, 1984:p60; Money and Ehrhardt, 1973/1996:p132-5), and during the time he is *wokravīd*, and afterward *éwati* (some 4 to 5 years post *aroi-patur*; cf. 1934:p54) and until he becomes *miakim* (id., p50, 54, 155; cf. Van Baal, 1947:p142¹¹⁵; Berkhout, 1919:p442, 443, 444-5, 446-7)¹¹⁶. The *wokravīd* is mockingly named “a girl” (Viegen, communicated to Van Baal, 1934:p49n177; cf. p53, 54). Van Baal (1966; Money and Ehrhardt, 1973/1996:p132) observed that the Marind Anim freely accept sex play of children. Van Baal, however, also quotes Wirz as observing that *patur* [<13] are “mit peinlicher Prüderie von allem Obszönen ferngehalten”. Sexual segregation starts at 4-5 to 7-8 years, and is strict by the time of pubertal onset. Boys go to the *gotad* (boy’s house), where masturbation and homosexual interaction with age-mates and a male mentor (*binahor-evai*) may occur. Homosexual practices are rumoured to take place at ceremonies and known to take place at special occasions as well. Girls are likewise assigned to a mentor, but no homosexuality was reported. Heterosexual intercourse is forbidden to the novices (Van Baal, 1934:p132) until it occurs ceremonially (p55, 154-5) when *miakim* during the *Majo* part of the initiation. According to Berkhout and Wirz (I, p47), however, every *éwati* has his affairs with *wahukus* [roughly, ages 13-16, pubescent] or *kivasom iwages* [16-18].

Sambia (pseud.) (New Guinea) (Herdt)

¹¹¹ Wirz, P. (1928) *Dämonen und Wilde in Neuguinea*. Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder

¹¹² Van Baal, J. (1934) *Godsdienst en Samenleving in Nederlandsch-Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea*. Dissertation. Amsterdam: N.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij. See index “homosexueel”

¹¹³ *Op.cit.*

¹¹⁴ Van Baal, J. (1984) The dialectics of sex in Marind-anim culture, in Herdt, G. H. (Ed.) *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p128-66

¹¹⁵ Van Baal, J. (1947) *Over Wegen en Drijfveren der Religie: Een Godsdienstpsychologische Studie*. Amsterdam: N.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij

¹¹⁶ Berkhout, L. (1919) Bijdrage tot de kennis van de Majo-inwijdingsfeesten bij de Marindeezen, *Bijdragen Taal-, Land- & Volkenkunde Nederlandsch-Indië* [Dutch] 75:438-47

Gilbert Herdt who gives the most extensive data on the Sambia, states that “all sex play is forbidden”, and that sexes are separated from age 5. If sex play should occur, “they would have no thought of being warriors or making gardens, according to the males. Thus, “boys would be polluted and their growth blocked by sexual play with girls [...]” (Herdt, 1993:p199)¹¹⁷. This script is said to be successfully enforced. An informant told Herdt that boys are feared for sexual intercourse with women by men (*Intimate Communications*, p108-9). Thus, the boys, who are married to premenarchal girls after the signs of puberty (ages 14-16), are fellated by the wives *until these are menarchal*; then, coitus takes place.

Bánaro (New Guinea) (Haddon)

The initiation ceremony for girls included defloration by a man who plays the part of a spirit (Thurnwald, 1916:p19)¹¹⁸. Among the Barano (Middle Keram), boy's initiation into sexual life is experienced at the conclusion of his initiatory rites, with “an elderly woman, ordinarily the wife of the mother's goblin initiator” (cf. Haddon, 1920:p255)¹¹⁹. Thurnwald (1921)¹²⁰ relates that wedding customs and puberty rituals were intimately connected (p16-7, 19, 32). Specifically, boys were allowed sexual intercourse only after the rites (p32).

Grand Valley and Western Dani (New Guinea) (Heider, O'Brien)

Heider (1972:p182; 1976:p183)¹²¹ states that the Dani say that “a couple do [*sic*] not begin to have sexual intercourse until a specific ceremony is held, two years after the major wedding exchange ceremony and thus two years after the couple has established a common residence”. Heider (1976:p194) performed systematic observations, including audio- and videotaping, on mother-infant dyads in two Dani regions. “Although we have not yet analysed the data, it became obvious to us during the observations that although we were seeing on the Western Dani an expectable amount of mothers erotically manipulating their infants, there was virtually none of this among the Grand Valley Dani”. The penis gourd is worn from the age of six. Boy's initiation rites are void of sexual reference, but teenage songs, drawings and string figures forms “one of the few areas of Dani life where there is any significant level of sexuality” (1976:p194-5; 1970:181-4, 205, 305-9)¹²².

¹¹⁷ Herdt, G. (1993) Sexual reproduction, social control, and gender hierarchy in Sambia culture, in Miller, B. D. (Ed.) *Sex and Gender Hierarchy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p193-211

¹¹⁸ Thurnwald, R. (1916) *Banaro Society: Social Organization and Kinship System of a Tribe in the Interior of New Guinea*. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, 8

¹¹⁹ Haddon, A. C. (1920) Migrations of Cultures in British New Guinea, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 50:237-80

¹²⁰ Thurnwald, R. (1921) *Die Gemeinde der Bánaro*. Stuttgart: F. Enke

¹²¹ Heider, K. G. (1972) The Grand Valley Dani pig feast: a ritual of passage and intensification, *Oceania* 42:169-87; Heider, K. G. (1976) Dani sexuality: a low energy system, *Man, New Series* 11,2:188-201

¹²² Heider, K. G. (1970) *The Dugum Dani*. Chicago: Aldine

O'Brien (1969:p331-2)¹²³:

"Men, women, and children were always willing to discuss most questions concerning sex and often expressed curiosity about American sexual customs. Children are not naive or uninformed about sex, and are aware of many of the terms and gestures referring to sexual intercourse by the time they are five or six years old. They are also well aware of the causal relationship between intercourse and pregnancy. Joking is common among persons of all ages. [...] Another example of sexual joking occurred at a feast, when a mother laughingly teased her four-year-old daughter who was partially sitting on a piece of pork, saying, 'your vulva is touching the Pig'. Children especially are fond of teasingly accusing each other of irregular behavior such as sexual intercourse with animals. [...] when discussing intercourse with a small mixed group of adolescents and adults which included a married couple and a boy about eight years old, a married man suggested that the young boy should leave and that the subject should not really be discussed in mixed company. Laughter and joking greeted his remarks; the young boy remained and the discussion continued"

Sexual intercourse often begun before menarche and is thought to cause menstruation (p343-4).

Jaqui, Jaquai (New Guinea) (Boelaars)

Boelaars (1958:p61-2¹²⁴; nd¹²⁵:p134; cf. 1981; Boelaars and Blom, 2001:p103)¹²⁶ speaks of a homosexual exchange custom:

"Een vader kan zijn jonge zoon gelasten voor een nacht bij een bepaalde man te gaan slapen, die dan met de knaap paederastie mag plegen. De vader ontvangt daarvoor een vergoeding¹²⁷. Wanneer dit in het verleden geregeld gebeurde, ontstond tussen de man en de jongen een vaste verhouding, gelijk aan die tussen vader en zoon (anusvader, *mo-ée* en anuszoon, *mo-maq* genoemd). De jongen kon er dan van op aan dat hij de dochter van die man als zijn "zuster" mocht beschouwen en dat ze hem als ruilzuster voor zijn toekomstig huwelijk zou worden toegewezen. De jongens beginnen op deze leeftijd ["grote kinderen"] in navolging van de volwassen mannen ook een vezelstaart te dragen. De anusstreek wordt door de mannen namelijk als hun schaamdeel beschouwd. Enerzijds kan deze opvatting een gevolg zijn van de homoseksuele praktijken, anderzijds wordt zij verklaarbaar uit de vrees van de mannen dat ze door de vrouwen voor "groot-aars" uitgescholden zullen worden"¹²⁸.

¹²³ O'Brien, D. (1969) *The Economics of Dani Marriage: An Analysis of Marriage Payments in a Highland New Guinea Society*. PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Yale University [http://pauweb.org/dlib/s123/obrien/05.pdf]

¹²⁴ Boelaars, J. (1958) *Papoea's aan de Mappi*. Utrecht / Antwerpen: De Fontein

¹²⁵ Boelaars, J. (nd/ca1975) *Vechten of Sterven: Analyse van een Koppensnellers-Cultuur in Zuid-West Irian Jara*. Per modum manuscripti, eigendom van de auteur

¹²⁶ Boelaars, J. H. (1981) *Head Hunters about Themselves*. Verh Konink Instit Taal-, Land- & Volkenk 92. The Hague: M. Nijhoff. Cited by Schiefenhövel (1990:p414); Boelaars, J. H. & Blom, A. C. (2001) *Mono Koame: 'Wij Denken Ook'*. Nijmegen, the Netherlands: Centre for Pacific and Asian Studies, Nijmegen

¹²⁷ Original note to P. Drabbe, whom Boelaars corrects in his listing of *abur-é* and *abur-maq*, *schandvader* and *schandknaap*, resp.

¹²⁸ "A father can summon his young son to go and sleep over with a particularly man for a night, who is then allowed to commit pederasty with the lad. For this, the father receives compensation. When this occurred on a regular basis in the past, an established relationship was effected between the man and the boy, equivalent to that between father and son (as indicated by the terms anus father, *mo-ée*

Boelaars mentions the growth principle, which is officially kept secret from the female kind:

“De mannen geven als reden op dat door homosexualiteit tussen een oudere man en een jongen de groei van de *mo-maq*, de schandknaap bevorderd wordt. [...] Men beschouwt homosexualiteit als iets wat ten dienste van het leven gebeurt”¹²⁹ (p144-5).

Boelaars argues that the practitioners themselves consider it “immoral” (*onterend*) because accusations led to inter-village quarrels (p145). Also, the boys would have begun to refuse their participation (p165). To end the practise, Dutch policies recommended the promotion of “family life” and desegregation of the sexes (p171).

In his original manuscript, Boelaars notes that sexual awareness begins at around age 10 (p131). Girls are marriageable from the time breasts start to drop, which would be prevented by intermammary scarification (p137). On childhood:

“Het kan gebeuren, dat jongetjes tegenover elkaar zitten en bij wijze van steekspel proberen elkaars geslachtsdeel aan te raken. Men hoort nog al eens, ook bij kinderen, het woord *paradi*, penis, als een krachtterm; vriendjes kunnen onder elkaar lachend het gezegde *joqajo-maq* bezigen: wat zoveel betekent als hoerenkind. Volgens Toani van Képi krijgt het kleine meisje van jongsafaan bijgebracht, dat ze “netjes” moet gaan zitten en alleen maar mag spelen met “broers” en “zusjes”. Het spel begint evenwel pas echt, als de jongens een jaar of veertien zijn en de meisjes hun eerste menstruatie hebben gehad. De Jaqaj kennen het bestaan van het maagdenvlies, *ember*, en ze menen dat dit bij de eerste menstruatie stukgaat. Omgang daaraan voorafgaande wordt streng afgekeurd, en als er op dit punt tegen iemand beschuldigingen worden geuit, zal men de zaak terdege onderzoeken; en indien degene die hier in overtreding is, geen beste huwelijkskandidaat is, kan hij rekenen op een hardhandige afstraffing [...] (p139-40; cf. p152).

Adolescent amorous practices consist of subtle exchanges of looking or gestural signs. Ad hoc songs address indecent and illegal sexual practices, such as the improper positionings of little girls, and the seduction of an adult female with a little boy (p147). Marital advice is provided after marriage.

Kewa (New Guinea)

Kewa girls can be married at menarche, but are sometimes chosen before puberty (Franklin, 1965:p417)¹³⁰.

and anus son, *mo-maq*). The boy then could regard the daughter of that man as his “sister” and rely on her being appointed to him as a trade sister for his future marriage. The boys at this age begin to wear a fibrous tail in succession of the adult men. In fact, the anal region is considered by the men as their *pars pudenda*. This concept may be explained by the homosexual practices on the one hand, and by the men’s fear of being called “big-arse” by the women” [transl., DJ].

¹²⁹ “The men apologise the homosexuality between older male and boy by claiming that it enhances the growth of the *mo-maq*, the catamite. [...] They consider homosexuality as occurring to the benefit of life” [transl., DJ].

¹³⁰ Franklin, K. J. (1965) Kewa Social organization, *Ethnology* 4:408-20

Arapesh (New Guinea) (Mead)

Mead (1948, 1937:p26)¹³¹ observed the Arapesh girl is betrothed at age 6 to 8 to a boy about 6 years her senior. Living with her husband's family, the relationship "repeats the parent-child pattern" (p39). During the betrothal, there may be "overt sex expression" but not intercourse. About sexual activity in childhood, Mead appears inconclusive. The Arapesh seem not to fear sex play, but do believe that (pubertal) growth and sexual activity are mutually exclusive¹³². Particularly, the breasts would remain "small, stiff and inhospitable", opposing the female ideal of pendulent mammae. Masturbation is said to be infrequent in benefit of a specific oral hedonism, and due to a taboo on even casual genital touching. Oral (labial) pleasure must not be mixed with genital life, and, despite its childish character, carries over into adult sexuality. Labial (oral) play is discouraged after initiation (boys) or after labour (girls).

At pubescence, "The ordeals consist of rubbing the boy's penis and scrotum with stinging nettles (Falanga) and slashing the boy's glans penis with a bamboo razor (Lefin). Both procedures are secrets not to be revealed to women, under pain of death"¹³³.

Plateau Etoro (New Guinea) (Kelly)

Kelly (1976:p52)¹³⁴ on the Plateau Etoro stated that boys are inseminated by oral intercourse by a single inseminator from about the age of ten until he is fully mature and has a manly beard.

Keraki (New Guinea) (Williams)

Williams (1936:p158-9)¹³⁵ stated that homosexual practices occurred when the Keraki boy could "be trusted to keep the secret from his mother"¹³⁶, or at about age 13 (see also Bleibtrue-Ehrenberg, 1980:p98-102; Van Baal, 1966:p493). A legend is used to explain the origin of the custom (Williams, 1936:p308; Hage, 1981:p271).¹³⁷

¹³¹ Mead, M. (1948) *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*. New York: W. Morrow Co. Mead, M. (1937) The Arapesh of New Guinea, in Mead, M. (Ed.) *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*. New York & London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., p20-50 See also Fox, J. R. (1962) Sibling incest, *J Sociol* 13:128-50, p143-4

¹³² Cf. Banks, C. (1993) *Women in Transition: Social Control in Papua New Guinea*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, p82

¹³³ Tuzin, D. (2001) *Social Complexity in the Making: A Case Study among the Arapesh of New Guinea*. Florence, KY: Routledge, p29

¹³⁴ Kelly, R. C. (1976) Witchcraft and sexual relations: an exploration in the social and semantic implications of the structure of belief, in Brown, P. & Buchbinder, G. (Eds.) *Man and Woman in the New Guinea Highlands*. Special Publication of the American Anthropological Association, p36-53

¹³⁵ *Op.cit.*

¹³⁶ Creed (1984:p160), citing Williams, stated that Transfly Keraki boys are introduced to homosexual practices "at about the age of 13", at the bull-roarer ceremony. Landtman (1927:p237) did not give a reliable statement on age organisations.

¹³⁷ Hage, P. (1981) On Male Initiation and Dual Organisation in New Guinea, *Man*, New Series 16,2:268-75

Kimam (New Guinea) (-,-,2+,2+,4-,3;5,5;G3)

The custom of semen transfer is covered by Serpenti (1984)¹³⁸ and Gray (1986)¹³⁹.

Koko (New Guinea) (Papua)

Boys and (probably) girls receive instruction in moral and sexual codes of behaviour in special houses during the initiation rites at puberty (Chinnery and Beaver, 1915:p76)¹⁴⁰. Initiation is required for sexual intercourse.

Huli (New Guinea) (Glasse)

Among the Huli young males leave the maternal house after initiation at age 7 or 8 to join their fathers, to avoid (sexual) contact with women (Stone, 2000:p176)¹⁴¹. Men of 25 are married to 15-year-olds, whose virgin vagina has to be oiled in order to prevent damage to his penis. Glasse (p51-2)¹⁴²: "Young men begin to think of marrying when signs of their physical maturity appear; these include the quality and "firmness " of the skin, abundant body hair and growth of a heavy beard. When these signs are evident, the men resign from the bachelor societies, don the crescent-shaped wig and evince an interest in attractive girls. They do not attend courting parties; these are the prerogative of married men". The men are hesitant, for they are warned about the dangers of (menstruating women. "before marriage, the lovers are unlikely to have sexual intercourse. A single man fears coitus without the magical preparation that is available only to married men".

Kwoma (New Guinea) (Whiting) (3+,3-,4,3+,3+,4-,4,2;A)

The Kwoma represents the only culture rated less restrictive for early female childhood, and one of the very few (4) in which this is the case for late childhood; apparently, there is also a reversal of the double standard after late childhood.

¹³⁸ Serpenti, L. (1984) The ritual meaning of homosexuality and pedophilia among the Kimam-Papuans of South Irian Jara, in Herdt, G. H. (Ed.) *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p292-317

¹³⁹ Gray, J. P. (1986) Growing Yams and Men: An Interpretation of Kimam Male Ritualized Homosexual Behavior, in Blackwood, E. (Ed.) *Anthropology and Homosexual Behavior*. New York: Hayworth Press

¹⁴⁰ *Op.cit.*

¹⁴¹ Stone, L. (2000) *Kinship and Gender*. Oxford: Westview Press. 2nd ed.

¹⁴² Glasse, R. M. (1968) *Huli of Papua*. The Hague: Mouton & Co.

Whiting and Reed (1938:p198)¹⁴³ sketch the sexual atmosphere of the Kwoma:

“Sexual taboos, imposed early in the child’s life, underlie the later restrictions on marriage and philandering. A 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. A child of either sex caught fingering his genitals is told to stop, since the member belongs to its future spouse. The most important sexual restriction imposed at this time [childhood] is against looking at the genitals of the opposite sex. This is considered a sexual advance [...]”¹⁴⁴.

When alone in the bush Kwoma boys scrape the penis with nettles.

Later, Whiting (1941)¹⁴⁵ would write on Kwoma sexual development in somewhat more detail. Infants finger their genitalia (p26-7), though masturbation is not observed.

“Kwoma boys frequently play a game with sexual connotations: one boy chases another, throws him down, and simulates copulation with him. Other boys in the group then take advantage of the aggressor and pretend to copulate with him until four or five boys line up in this way all laughing and yelling with enjoyment. Then, when the bottom boy has broken free and the chain disintegrates, there follows a hubbub in which each boy calls another his wife and claims to have impregnated “her”. Adolescents often join the game, and, when they do, the children have great difficulty defending their “honor”. When this game was the fad, one or another group of boys played it almost every day for a period of over a month” (p50).

The girl is reared more strictly, although “Kwoma culture defines [looking at opposite sex genitals] as immoral only on the part of the boy”, and both are punished for masturbation. Effectively so, the boys do not even seem to touch the genitalia in urination, and all denied the practice “with considerable embarrassment”. This pattern may be a prelude on adolescent restrictions.

“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, 1983:p18)¹⁴⁶. The Kwoma traditionally married at pubescence (Bowden, 1983:p754)¹⁴⁷. Boys practice periodical penile blood-letting in order to ensure growth (Whiting, 1941:63-4). This is done collectively in boy’s initiation, *Handapia Sugwia*.

Plateau Kaluli (New Guinea) (Schieffelin)

Schieffelin (1976:p152)¹⁴⁸: “Homosexual intercourse for boys [...] took place in everyday life [...] whenever a boy reached the age of about ten or eleven”¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴³ Whiting, J. W. M. & Reed, S. W. (1938) Kwoma culture, *Oceania* 9:170-216; Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Row, p180

¹⁴⁴ Also quoted by Peet, M. (1960) *Opvoeding bij Primitieve Volken*. Tilburg [Holland]: Zwijsen, p72

¹⁴⁵ Whiting, J. W. M. (1941) *Becoming a Kwoma: Teaching and Learning in a New Guinea Tribe*. New Haven: Yale University Press

¹⁴⁶ Williamson, M. H. (1983) Sex relations and gender relations: understanding Kwoma conception, *Mankind* 14,1:13-23

¹⁴⁷ Bowden, R. (1983) Kwoma Terminology and Marriage Alliance: The ‘Omaha’ Problem Revisited, *Man*, New Series 18,4:745-65

¹⁴⁸ Schieffelin, E. L. (1976) *The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of Dancers*. New York: St. Martin’s

¹⁴⁹ On the other hand: “When a boy is eleven or twelve years old he is engaged for several months in homosexual intercourse with a healthy older man chosen by his father [...]” (p124).

Ari (New Guinea)

"Girls are quite free sexually before marriage, and promiscuous intercourse between young people is the rule. The girls do the asking, and they will ask a boy to sleep with them, and he will come to their parents' or brothers' house to have connection. If a boy goes to a girl who has not asked him, he may have his way or may not, but in either case the girl will shun that boy afterwards and will also tell her friends he is no good"¹⁵⁰.

"Marriages are arranged by the parents, when the children are very young. After the two families have settled this, the children, even if still in arms, are what is called in Motuan Mahenta, and locally as Bobeia, which means, roughly, engaged, and they are spoken of, even as infants, as husband and wife. [...] When the marriage is to be ratified [not invariably so], the boy takes the girl to his father's house and sleeps with her, without touching her. [...] No sexual intercourse is permitted the bride and groom till they have planted two gardens, and fattened up a pig and sold it (that is to say, for one year after marriage. [...] when a feast is given the girl has connection with a man not her husband and is then free to the husband". Paradoxically, "[t]he woman has invariably been deflowered before marriage, and in fact they prefer such a woman to be a virgin".

"Before children come to puberty no clothes are worn at all. 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. Circumcision is not practiced" (p470-1).

Menstruation being explained by copulating moons, "[...] small girls are held up to the moon, and told that the moon will have them first and afterwards their husbands" (*ibid.*).

Vanatinai (insular New Guinea)

According to Lepowsky (1990 :p190-1)¹⁵¹, "[s]exual activity on Vanatinai is regarded as a pleasurable activity appropriate for men and women from adolescence to old age. [...] Young people vary in the age at which they become sexually active, but it is usually in the mid-teens. Parents may tell they daughters that they are "too young" to have sex, as did the mother of one fifteen-year-old when she began to be courted by a young man whom the mother disapproved [...]. On the other hand, some parents feel concerned if their daughters are not receiving lovers by the time they are in their late teens". No institutionalised homosexuality (p192).

¹⁵⁰ 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

¹⁵¹ Lepowsky, M. (1990) Gender in an egalitarian society: a case study from the Coral Sea, in Sanday, P. R. & Goodenough, R. G. (Eds.) *Beyond the Second Sex*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1992 paperback, p171-223

Busama (New Guinea) (Hogbin)

Hogbin (1963:p94-102)¹⁵² discusses the “Awakening of the Sexual Impulse” with a chapter beginning with “puberty” (14/15 for girls. He relates that 5-year-olds play house (no sexological associations made), but soon the sexes separate in play groups, the “main impulse” allegedly coming from boys. Maternal concerns about her girl’s reputation start at menarche. An older woman is appointed to instruct the girl. The girl is chaperoned.

Wogeo (New Guinea) (Hogbin)

Menarche on Wogeo occurs late, at around or after age 17 (Hogbin, 1935:320-1)¹⁵³. Equally, Hogbin (p320) states that “[t]he sexual life of the islanders does not begin until about the age of 16 or 17 or later [...]”. Hogbin (1946a)¹⁵⁴, as the title of his later article might suggest, answers negatively on the question of *paradoxia* on Wogeo. Masturbation is regarded as preparatory (H., p188).¹⁵⁵ Although knowledge of sexual intercourse is gained by age eight or nine (before, they are told that babies grow on trees, where they are to be picked), “[...] the youngsters do not carry out experiments for themselves”. The “awakening of the sexual impulse” (a rather eurocentric concept) is placed at pubescence, “at least for boys”. In his article on childhood (1946b)¹⁵⁶ he gives a further (modest) clue to his argument: “[...] play marriages, common elsewhere in Melanesia, do not take place”. (Hogbin, 1943)¹⁵⁷ on Wogeo infants does not report sexual observations. Hogbin (1945, as cited by Marinkelle, 1976:p47)¹⁵⁸ argues that homosexual relations are expected in adolescence, until heterosexual relations are permitted after initiation after about age 19. This would contrast girlhood situation, heterosexual relations being encouraged (and rewarded) from sexual maturity onward.

So the possible absence of *Paradoxia* seems strange in this “permissive” society (Ford and Beach (1951:p190), where “sexual matters are freely discussed by adults in the presence of children [although] parents take some precautions against their own children observing them in intercourse”.

¹⁵² Hogbin, H. I. (1963) *Kinship and Marriage in a New Guinea Village*. [University of] London: The Athlone Press

¹⁵³ Hogbin, H. I. (1935) Native culture of Wogeo, *Oceania* 5:308-37. Critical passage quoted by Ashley-Montagu, M. F. (1937) Infertility of the married in primitive societies, *Oceania* 8:15-26

¹⁵⁴ Hogbin, H. I. (1946a) Puberty to marriage: a study of the sexual life of the natives of Wogeo, New Guinea, *Oceania* 39,3:185-209

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Peet, M. (1960) *Opvoeding bij Primitieve Volken*. Tilburg [Holland]: Zwijsen, p72

¹⁵⁶ Hogbin, H. I. (1946b) A New Guinean childhood: from weaning till the eight year in Wogeo, *Oceania* 16,4:275-96. Reprinted in Middleton, J. (Ed., 1970) *From Child to Adult*. New York: Natural History Press, p134-62

¹⁵⁷ *Op.cit.*

¹⁵⁸ Hogbin, H. I. (1945) Marriage in Wogeo, New Guinea, *Oceania* 15:324-52; Marinkelle, A. B. (1976) Leertheoretische gezichtspunten, in De Ruyter, H. & Van der Zijl, L. (Eds.) *De Seksuele Ontwikkeling van Kind tot Volwassene*. Vol. I. Leiden [Holland]: Stafleu, p42-60

Foi (New Guinea)

'Before the Christian Mission discouraged the practice, girls were betrothed in infancy. Men nowadays wait until a girl's breasts develop before making betrothal enquiries' (Weiner, 1988:p92/300n6)¹⁵⁹.

Kiwai (New Guinea)

As detailed by Knauft (1990)¹⁶⁰, the use of semen transactions, or age stratified same-sex sexual behaviour, was suggested by apparently unambiguous statements by Beardmore¹⁶¹ and by Chalmers¹⁶², as interpreted by Herdt [referring to the **Bugilai**] and initially corroborated by Langmore, who, citing unpublished letters of Chalmers, later scrutinised this; it was also explicitly denied by Landtman¹⁶³. There is also an ambiguous statement by Riley¹⁶⁴ (*Headhunters*, p216), and a statement on the personal ignorance of it by Williams¹⁶⁵.

Gebusi (New Guinea) (Knauft)

Gebusi's initiatory homosexuality included boy insemination *per os* at pubescence (Knauft, 1985:264ff, 298ff; 1986:p267; 1987a,b)¹⁶⁶. The practice was no longer in vogue in 1998¹⁶⁷. 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".

¹⁵⁹ Weiner, J. F. (1988) *The Heart of the Pearl Shell: The Mythological Dimension of Foi Sociality*. Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press

¹⁶⁰ Knauft, B. (1990) The Question of Ritualized Homosexuality among the Kiwai of South New Guinea, *J Pacific Hist* 25: 188-210

¹⁶¹ "Sodomy is regularly indulged in [...] the boys suffer very much for a long time, and never recover". Beardmore, E. (1890) The Natives of Mowat, Daudai, New Guinea, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 19:459-66, at p464; Knauft, *The question*, p205

¹⁶² "The lads are prostituted by the men for quite a long time and soon become so diseased that they never recover"; Knauft, *The question*, p205-6. See Chalmers, J. (1903) Notes on the Bugilai, British New Guinea, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 33:108-10, at p109. Also referred to by Webster, H. (1911) Totem Clans and Secret Associations in Australia and Melanesia, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 41:482-508, at p495

¹⁶³ "A boy is not subjected to any actual practice in sexual matters during the moguru". *Kiwai Papuans*, p354; Knauft, *The question*, p205

¹⁶⁴ In mouguru ritual, "[...] [p]art of the ritual has not been related; it is simply unprintable". *Headhunters*, p216; Herdt, Ritualized homosexual behavior, p19; Knauft, *The question*, p206

¹⁶⁵ Williams, *Orokolo*, p429n2; Knauft, *The question*, p207

¹⁶⁶ Knauft, B. M. (1985) *Good Company and Violence: Sorcery and Social Action in a Lowland New Guinea Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Knauft, B. M. (1986) Text and Social Practice: Narrative "Longing" and Bisexuality among the Gebusi of New Guinea, *Ethos* 14:252-281; Knauft, B. M. (1987a) Homosexuality in Melanesia, *J Psychoanal Anthropol* 10:155-91; Cf. Knauft, B. M. (1987b) Reconsidering Violence in Simple Human Societies: Homicide among the Gebusi of New Guinea, *Curr Anthropol* 28,4:457-500, at p460

¹⁶⁷ Knauft, B. M. [2001] *What Ever Happened to Ritual Homosexuality? The Incitement of Modern Sexual Subjects in Melanesia and Elsewhere*. Paper prepared for presentation at the 3rd IASSCS, 1-3 Oct. 2001. Cited with the permission of the author.

Bimin-Kukusmin (New Guinea) (Poole)

Genital parenting has been mentioned. Girls are initiated at menarche at the late age of 17 to 18 (Poole, 1981 [1986:p142])¹⁶⁸. Male and female siblings are to chaperon the neothelarchic girl, since she is now regarded attractive. Premarital virginity is highly valued. There is no custom of courting per se, and betrothal often occurs before menarche; the girl's consent is held essential.

Eipo (New Guinea) (Schiefenhövel)

Schiefenhövel (1982:p149; 1990)¹⁶⁹ noted that among the Eipo, boy's genital play was met with amusement, in contrast to the little girl's:

“Kleinkindern, insbesondere Buben, erlaubt man die Beschäftigung mit dem Genitale mit amüsiertem Nachsicht. Für die kleinen Mädchen trifft das in weniger starkem Ausmaß zu, da es als für sie schicklich gilt, daß sie etwa ab 4 Jahren verkleinerte Ausgaben der Schamuschürzchen der Frauen tragen und ihre Genitale so bedecken. Auch wenn ein Kinderpärchen in mehr oder weniger spielerischer Weise den Geschlechtsverkehr der Erwachsenen nachahmt, wird das belustigt zur Kenntniss genommen”.

Until age 14, the boys display “phallic presenting” (ill.) in imitation of the men. [Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1976:p167)¹⁷⁰: “Bei Kampfspielen sah ich oft, daß junge [Eipo] Burschen einander bedrohten, indem sie das Becken vorsteckten und Kopulationsbewegungen machten. Dabei hüpfen sie auch mit vorstrecktem Becken auf der Stelle und oft auf einem Felsen oder anderem erhöhten Punkt, sich so auffällig zur Schau stellend”.] Premarital sex is allowed unless the affair is arranged. Sexual communications are free before children, who acquire a large part of the (theoretical) knowledge of adults (p150).

Schiefenhövel sketches a picture of sexual tolerance. Childhood autogenital play is common in males, but not seen in females. However, “[I]n many interviews with informants in which sexual topics were touched upon, the information provided led the interviewers to believe that homosexual acts, playful or “serious”, among male children [...] do not occur. On the other hand, this author did hear of male and female children “having had intercourse” in the grassland beside the village. Everyone laughed with good humour about this behavior; the children involved were neither reprimanded nor punished in any way”.

Baruya (New Guinea) (Godelier)

¹⁶⁸ Poole, F. (1981 [1986]) Transforming “natural women”: female ritual leaders and gender ideology among Bimin-Kukusmin, in Ortner, Sh. B. & Whitehead, H. (Eds.) *Sexual Meanings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p116-65

¹⁶⁹ 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; Schiefenhövel, W. (1990) Ritualized adult-male / adolescent-male sexual behavior in Melanesia: an anthropological and ethological approach, in Feierman, J. R. (Ed.) *Pedophilia: Biosocial Dimensions*. New York [etc.]: Springer, p394-412

¹⁷⁰ Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I. (1976) *Menschenforschung auf Neuen Wegen*. Wien [etc.]: F. Molden

According to Godelier (1982:p90-6; cf. Godelier, 1991:p281-2; Jorgensen, 1991:p267; Glowczewski, 1995:p137)¹⁷¹ sperm had to be ingested by the initiate at the last phase of the rite. "Ce secret le plus sacré, c'est que les jeunes initiés, dès qu'ils pénètrent dans la maison des hommes, sont nourris de sperme de leurs aînés, et que cette ingestion est répétée pendant de nombreuses années dans le but de les faire croître plus grands et plus fortes que les femmes, supérieurs à elles, aptes à les dominer à les diriger". The practice is extinct: "Cette coutume n'est plus pratiquée aujourd'hui: elle a disparu presque aussitôt après l'arrivée des Européens en 1960".

New Britain (Bismarck Archipelago, Papua New Guinea)

Boys receive preparation for marriage in a secret society (*Dukduk*), but no such preparation is known to exist for girls (Danks, 1889:p283)¹⁷². Though not typical, mothers would purchase girls aged 5 or 6 to marry them to their sons, the date of which remains uncertain ("[...] he will undoubtedly wait until the girl has reached eleven or twelve years of age"). Betrothals would be arranged before birth. Also, "I have seen a fine healthy girl of not more than eleven or twelve years of age married to a man of twenty-five or thirty. The result of such an early union for the girl has been dreadful. To judge of her sufferings by her altered appearance they must have been dreadful" (also cited by Sumner, 1906:p382)¹⁷³.

Contrary to the myth about Tikitolo / Aragas (Counts and Counts, 1983:p46¹⁷⁴; Counts, 1994:p118, 119¹⁷⁵) informants did not state that there was a relation of sexual intercourse with menarche. This could well have been the case since prepubertal marriage was prevalent only two generations back (p49). The girl would live with her husband's parents until after menarche "married life" began. Ronhaar¹⁷⁶ reviews that sexual intercourse occurs on a normative basis between boys and women. Kleintitschen (1906:p213, as cited by Ronhaar, p338)¹⁷⁷ observed that "[c]hildren witness all the shameless actions performed by their elders. At the age of 5 they also commence with all these things. The parents laugh at it, and do not even shrink from seducing their own children" [?].

¹⁷¹ Godelier, M. (1981) *La Production des Grands Hommes*. Paris: Fayard. 1986 transl., *The Making of Great Men*. Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press [1988:p52]; Glowczewski, B. (1995) *Adolescence et Sexualité*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. Cf. Jorgensen, D. (1991) Big men, great men and women: alternative logics of gender difference, in Godelier, M. & Strathern, M. (Eds.) *Big Men and Great Men: Personifications of Power in Melanesia*. New York [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, p256-71; Godelier, M. (1991) An unfinished attempt [etc], in Godelier, M. & Strathern, M. (Eds.) *Big Men and Great Men: Personifications of Power in Melanesia*. New York [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, p275-304

¹⁷² Danks, B. (1889) Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 18:281-94

¹⁷³ Sumner, W. G. (1906) *Folkways*. Boston [etc.]: Ginn & Co.

¹⁷⁴ Counts, D. A. & Counts, D. R. (1983) Father's water equals mother's milk: the conception of parentage in Kaliai, West New Britain, *Mankind* 14,1:46-56

¹⁷⁵ Counts, D. A. (1994) Snakes, adulterers, and the loss of paradise in Kaliai, *Pacific Studies* 17:109-51

¹⁷⁶ Ronhaar, J. H. (1931) *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*. Groningen [Holland]: Wolters/ London: D. Nutt, p327

¹⁷⁷ Kleintitschen, P. A. (1906) *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel [...]*. Hilstrup bei München: Herz-Jesu-Missionshaus

New Ireland (Papua New Guinea) (Darabi)

In New Ireland, girls of eight and nine were placed in narrow cages until the age of marriageability, somewhere after age 15 (Danks, 1889:p284-6).

Kingston (1998)¹⁷⁸ notes that from an early age [note: "The age seems to be debatable and increasingly of lessening severity, but certainly by puberty"] brothers and sisters must avoid each other, and may not mention each others names. Normally a boy would go and sleep in the men's house from around 12 (depending on the accommodation available), and if a girl was reaching puberty the father would sleep in the men's house (or alternatively the daughter would sleep with other female relatives)". Genitals are within the realm of shame; thus, "[...] a child [who] saw their father or mother naked during washing, is [a fact] regarded as pial, a lowgrade betrayal of secrets". "My impression was that girls became sexually active from around the age of 14 or 15 and boys from a little older. By all accounts, a fair amount of pre-marital sex goes on, and a moderate amount of discrete extra-marital liaisons".

"Menstruation, variously known as rei kaben (seeing the moon), or samsilik (sick blood), is [...] seen as caused by intercourse, the blood being discarded (or inadequately congealed?) semen. First menses are in fact meant to take place during the girls seclusion in the dal ritual (see Ch.6), during which spirits and suitors are attracted to her before she is married off. The moon (in whom Siar people, like us, see a man) is also seen as 'cutting' the girl, or being causative in some rather vague way. [...] Singing of being made to bleed by being bitten or eaten by a sea snake, in a rite where girls are transformed into sexually active women and menstruation is 'produced', is very thinly disguised reference to a, presumably spirit, phallus deflowering the girl and, given the correlation the Lak make between the two, initiating menstruation. [...] The most direct statements we have of the cause of the menstruation are the references to phallic sea snakes. They cause bleeding by eating the dal and uninitiated girls are encouraged to pull them to them. Earlier we saw how other 'sea-snakes', paloloworm, were similarly attracted to pregnant women. But other entities are also attracted to the dal in an analogous manner. There are various birds who come to her, and, amongst other actions, 'shake the goh'. We also have a succession of spirits, pidiks and men coming to her: from the inchoate and thoroughly inhuman sounds and otherworldly visions of the night pidiks, to the still pidik and ancestral, but visibly human and male malerra, to, presumably and eventually, an all too human suitor or husband. All these, the snakes, the birds and the various pidiks clearly belong to the same family of representations, most easily classifiable as spiritual, ancestral and male. Two things are clear about the selection of these images. Firstly, the most phallic form is most directly connected with menstruation, clearly linking it with physical as well as spiritual penetration. Secondly, the least human and least bound to form presentations were during the night and during the dals seclusion; the half-human malerra were presented in daylight when the girl herself was no longer in enclosed obscurity, but was still in the role of dal; and fully human men are subsequently taken as lovers when she herself is fully restored to the world of women".

Dal, which, "[...] as a word, refers both to the girl or woman and the ritual they undergo. It also means a young, sexually attractive woman and is the name given to several such characters in various stories in which Suilik (the main culture-hero) or a wallaby (an animal associated with male display and decoration) attempt to take her as a sexual partner. Sexual attraction is a major theme of the dal ritual and the production of a gendered and sexual woman from a non-sexual and androgynous child attracts male spirits in a way similar to

¹⁷⁸ Kingston, S. (1998) *Focal Images, Transformed Memories: The Poetics of Life and Death in Siar, New Ireland, Papua New Guinea*. Online PhD thesis, University College London, at <http://www.seanking.clara.net/newireland.htm>

that predicted by Strathern's 'Melanesian aesthetic' (1988)¹⁷⁹. [...] The dal is an idealized cultural image: all young women have breasts and menstruate, but not all are dal, some are kurmakmak and some, having only completed the exchange part of the rite, only nominal dal. The dal is an icon of a sexually attractive, fecund, 'fat' young woman who has developed breasts and started menstruating".

Darabi (New Ireland, Papua New Guinea)

Among the New Ireland Darabi, betrothal took place in infancy "or at an early age" (Wagner, 1983:p77)¹⁸⁰. Shame surrounds all sex knowledge and sex education is anticipated as seduction, so that fables are told instead of facts (p78).

Dobu Islanders (New Guinea)

"Among the Dobuans where the sex life of girls begins long before puberty, there is no initiation into tribal life and there is no cultural fear of menstruation. Among these people adolescence goes unremarked" (Mead, 1947:p7)¹⁸¹. Fortune (1932:p45)¹⁸² refers to the verbal obscenities of young boys.

Trobrianders (New Guinea) (Malinowski) (2,2,2,2,-2;-8,8;E) (*eHRAF*)

Celebrated Malinowski provides a uniquely detailed account of premarital sexual behaviour trajectories (1927:p33-73ff; 1929:p51-75)¹⁸³. The classic description of Trobriand copulatory "playing house", as quoted from Malinowski (1927:p55-6)¹⁸⁴, reads:

"At an early age children are initiated by each other, or sometimes by a slightly older companion, into the practices of sex. Naturally at this stage they are unable to carry out the act properly, but they content

¹⁷⁹ This "aesthetic" entails that an androgynous child who is the product of cross-sex relations between her parents' groups must be rendered single sex to become an agent who can attract and combine with an opposite single-sex subject in order to produce a further androgynous product. [orig. footnote]

¹⁸⁰ Wagner, R. (1983) The ends of innocence: conception and seduction among the Darabi of of Karimui and the Barok of New Ireland, *Mankind* 14,1:75-83

¹⁸¹ Mead, M. (1952) Adolescence in primitive and in modern society, in Swanson, G. E., Newcomb, T. M. & Hartley, E. L. (Eds.) *Readings in Social Psychology*. Rev.ed. New York: H. Holt, p531-8. Originally (1947), p6-14

¹⁸² Fortune, R. F. (1932) *Sorcerers of Dobu: The Social Anthropology of the Dobu Islanders of the Western Pacific*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

¹⁸³ For an illustrated account of Malinowski's child ethnography, see Young, M. W. (1998) *Malinowski's Kiriwina*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p189-210. Malinowski's *Diary* (1967:p280-1) reveals that he was "excited" by the naked bodies of playing children.

¹⁸⁴ Malinowski, B. (1927) *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Inc. See also Jokisch, K. (1971) *Das Erziehungswesen der Trobriander*. Doctoral Dissertation. Bonn: Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität, p140-4; Ford and Beach (1951:p191); Fox, J. R. (1962) Sibling incest, *J Sociol* 13:128-50, p140-2; Nimkoff, M. F. (1947) *Marriage and the Family*. Boston [etc.]: Houghton Mifflin, p11

themselves with all sorts of games in which they are left quite at liberty by their elders, and thus they can satisfy their curiosity and their sensuality directly and without disguise. There can be no doubt that the dominating interest of such games is what Freud would call “genital”, that they are largely determined by the desire to imitate the acts and interests of elder children and elders, and that this period is one which is almost completely absent from the life of better-class children in Europe and which exists only to a small degree among peasants and proletarians. When speaking of these amusements of the children, the natives will frequently allude to them as “copulation amusement” (*mwaygini kwayta*). Or else it is said that they are playing at marriage. It must not be imagined that all games are sexual. Many do not lend themselves at all to it. But there are some particular pastimes of small children in which sex plays the predominant part. Melanesian children are fond of “playing husband and wife”. A boy and girl build a little shelter and call it their home; there they pretend to assume the functions of husband and wife, and amongst those of course the most important one of sexual intercourse. At other times, a group of children will go for a picnic where the entertainment consists of eating, fighting, and making love. Or they will carry out a mimic ceremonial trade exchange, ending up with sexual activities. Crude sensual pleasure alone does not seem to satisfy them; in such more elaborate games it must be blended with some imaginative and romantic interest”.

Thus, “[w]e cannot consider puberty as a *conditio sine qua non* of sexual interest or even of sexual activities, since non-nubile girls can copulate and immature boys are known to have erections and to practise *immissio penis*” (*ibid.*, p59)¹⁸⁵. Malinowski (1929:p57-8)¹⁸⁶:

“The little ones sometimes play [...] at house-building, and at family life. A small hut of sticks and boughs is constructed in a secluded part of the jungle, and a couple or more repair thither and play at husband and wife, prepare food and carry out or imitate as best they can the act of sex. Or else a band of them, in imitation of the amorous expeditions of their elders, carry food to some favourite spot on the sea-shore or in the coral ridge, cook and eat vegetables there, and “when they are full of food, the boys sometimes fight with each other, or sometimes *kayta* (copulate) with the girls”. When the fruit ripens on certain wild trees in the jungle they go in parties to pick it, to exchange presents, make *kula* (ceremonial exchange) of the fruit, and engage in erotic pastimes”.

The attitude of the grown-ups and even of the parents towards such infantile indulgence is

“either that of complete indifference or that of complacency--they find it natural, and do not see why they should scold or interfere. Usually they show a kind of tolerant and amused interest, and discuss the love affairs of their children with easy jocularity. 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. The infantile sexual act, or its substitute, is regarded as an innocent amusement. “It is their play to *kayta* (to have intercourse). They give each other a coconut, a small piece of betel-nut, a few beads or some fruits from the bush, and then they go and hide, and *kayta*”. But it is not considered proper for the children to carry on their affairs in the house. It has always to be done in the bush” (p56).

Malinowski is sure to document the transition to “adolescence”:

“As 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

¹⁸⁵ Malinowski (1916:407,n2): “The sexual freedom of unmarried girls is complete. They begin intercourse with the other sex very early, at the age of six to eight years”. See Malinowski, B. (1916) *Baloma; The Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands*, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 46:353-430

¹⁸⁶ Malinowski, B. (1929) *The Sexual Life of Savages in Northwestern Melanesia*. New York: Horace Liveright. Critical passage reprinted in Suggs, D. N. & Miracle, A. W. (Eds., 1993) *Culture and Human Sexuality: A Reader*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/ Cole, p80-90. For a discussion of the work, see Sprenger, G. (1997) *Erotik und Kultur in Melanesien*. Hamburg: Lit Verlag

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”.

Kurtz (1991:p79-83)¹⁸⁷ 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. This was contested by Spiro, but may not contrast with later reports. By 1988, Weiner¹⁸⁸ pretty much steps over Trobriand childhood sexuality, although writing at length about “youth”. There is one sentence, though: “By the time children are seven or eight years old, they begin playing erotic games with each other and imitating adult seductive attitudes. Four or five years later, they begin to pursue sexual partners in earnest” (p67).

Austen¹⁸⁹ had not disagreed with Malinowski that “intercourse between the sexes begins at such an early age”. Schiefenhövel, on the basis of personal research, likewise “essentially confirmed” Malinowski’s picture (1990:p406), but did not agree to the ages attributed to children and adolescents, given the slower pace of growth as compared to European cohorts (Bell-Kranhals and Schiefenhövel, 1986¹⁹⁰; cf. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1989:p247¹⁹¹).

Spiro (1982; 1992)¹⁹² further discusses the psychodynamic significance of Trobriand Island boys’ early sexual experiences.

There are no initiations (1927:p59). Infants could be betrothed.

Duau: Normanby Island (New Guinea) (Róheim)

Róheim (1941)¹⁹³ detailed Normanby doll play of children, which is polymorphously coital. In a later article (1943)¹⁹⁴ the author states that, in the context of a marriage game, “[t]hey also play at coitus, doing it anyhow till they are told the proper way. If they hear that their father or mother has gone with another man or woman, they will imitate them”. When playing at chopping trees, they sharpen their hands (the axe) on each other’s anuses.

Manus (New Guinea) (Mead) (3,3,4-4,3,3;8,8;A)

¹⁸⁷ Kurtz, S. N. (1991) Polysexualization: a new approach to Oedipus in the Trobriands, *Ethos* 19:68-101

¹⁸⁸ Weiner, A. B. (1988) *The Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

¹⁸⁹ Austen, L. (1934/5) Procreation among the Trobriand Islanders, *Oceania* 5:102-13, at p103

¹⁹⁰ Bell-Kranhals, I. N. & Schiefenhövel, W. (1986) *Repu et de bonne reputation*, *Bull Ecol & Ethol Hum* 1/2:128-40

¹⁹¹ Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I. (1989) *Human Ethology*. New York: De Gruyter

¹⁹² Spiro, M. (1982) Oedipus in the Trobriands. Chicago: Chicago University Press; Spiro, M. (1992) Oedipus Redux, *Ethos* 20,3:358-76

¹⁹³ 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. See also Schwartzman, H. B. (1978)

Transformations: The Anthropology of Children’s Play. New York & London: Plenum, p154-5

¹⁹⁴ Róheim, G. (1943) Children’s games and rhymes in Duau (Normaby Island), *Am Anthropol* 45:99-119

Mead (1930)¹⁹⁵, on the Manus, says little on child sexual behaviour. Perhaps the “[h]abits of rough and tumble sex play, established in youth” persist as adult foreplay. However, the children masturbate in hard-to-find solitude and surrounded by shame [1953:p101, 102]¹⁹⁶. Manus girls were betrothed at age 8 or 10 (Mead, 1956:p31)¹⁹⁷. “Engaged girls should not run about too much with younger children, should not play with boys, should stay at home and make bead work for their dowries” (Mead, 1947:p9)¹⁹⁸ arrangements ideally made for children of two male cross-cousins (Mead, 1934:p228)¹⁹⁹. The taboos associated with this fact continuously disturbed the normal constellations in children’s play groups (Mead, 1937:p221)²⁰⁰. An adolescent must not see his betrothal before marriage, “and then only for a brief instant”; men, without exception would be ignorant of menstruation (Fortune, 1965 [1969:p89, 82, 149]²⁰¹). Thus, “[f]irst menstruation is believed to be due to the hymen breaking. [...] As it is understood, first menstruation is believed to come as a matter of course, naturally. The men think that a girl’s first sexual intercourse produces the next menstruation. They conclude that sexual intercourse causes menstruation. [...] When one urges upon them that Manus girls menstruate [...] they take the statement as an insult upon the chastity of their girls” (p82-3). Whereas children’s play formerly was found to be “empty of any content which imitated adult social relations”, including betrothals and marriage, they were later found to “play house, they build very tiny houses and also houses big enough to get inside, and play at housekeeping”. Nothing, however, was said about sexual imitations (p364, 366). Boys of four or five, however, begin to imitate displays of phallic “athletics” as is integrated in ceremonial dances (p51, 130).

Lesu (New Guinea) (Powdermaker) (2,2,2+,2+,2,2;8,8;E)

Powdermaker (1933:p85)²⁰²: “[...] the children of both sexes may be found on the sandy beach playing at ritual dancing, or imitating adult life in their sexual play, which consists in the boy and girl standing very close together, [their] sexual organs [...] touching [...] but not penetrating. It is usually done quite openly in public and the adults smile [...] and regard it as the natural order of things. This kind of play occurs from the age of about four. Occasionally a boy and a girl will steal away in the bush [...] which is merely imitating the adult in more detail”. The women practise heel masturbation, a position learned and indulged in from about age six (p276-7).

¹⁹⁵ Mead, M. (1930) *Growing Up in New Guinea*. New York: William Morrow. Mentor ed., 1953. See also Whiting, J. & Child, I. (1953) *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, p79

¹⁹⁶ Ford and Beach (1951:p181), *op.cit.*

¹⁹⁷ Mead, M. (1956) *New Lives for Old*. London: Gollancz

¹⁹⁸ Mead, M. (1952) Adolescence in primitive and in modern society, in Swanson, G. E., Newcomb, T. M. & Hartley, E. L. (Eds.) *Readings in Social Psychology*. Rev.ed. New York: H. Holt, p531-8. Originally (1947), p6-14

¹⁹⁹ Mead, M. (1934) Kinship in the Admiralty Islands, *Anthropol Pap Am Mus Nat Hist* 34,Pt.II:183-358

²⁰⁰ Mead, M. (1937) The Manus of the Admiralty Islands, in Mead, M. (Ed.) *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*. New York & London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., p210-39

²⁰¹ Fortune, R. F. (1965) *Manus Religion*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1965 pr.

²⁰² Powdermaker, H. (1933) *Life in Lesu: The Study of a Melanesian Society in New Ireland*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Quoted by Róheim, G. (1952) The anthropological evidence and the Oedipus complex, *Psychoanal Quart* 21:537-42, p539-40; Ford and Beach (1951:p192), *op.cit.*

Paiela (New Guinea) (Biersack)

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)²⁰³. The boy's puberty rite include periodical seclusion with an imaginary "ginger woman" to have her grow him into marriage, using "her", it seems, as a rehearsal wife (p252); sexual intercourse is tabooed during the ritual period. Genitals are considered so obscene, that one does not look at or touch one self's (p244); sexual intercourse is equated with seeing the genitalia.

²⁰³ Biersack, A. (1982) Ginger Gardens for the Ginger Woman: Rites and Passages in a Melanesian Society, *Man*, New Series 17,2:239-58

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Aboriginal Australia

“Nachiti! Murantani!” (No! White Man!)¹

“’Bin da ’ba:ba:n ’ma:nu” (Wings fly away get it)²

¹ Spoken by a “grandmotherly figure” to eleven to fourteen-year-olds engaged in horseplay, as observed by Pilling (1992:p29), *cit. infra*

² Sung in girl’s flower chasing. See Berndt and Berndt (1944:p225), *cit. infra*

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Generalia

Sexual behaviour development in Australia frequently enters discussions on initiations (e.g., Bettelheim)³ and mores (Brongersma; Money)⁴. The (sexual) happiness of the Aboriginal child, however, is subject to academic dispute (DeMause, 1988)⁵. As far as the childhood case goes, the collected references portray a culture of sexual socialisation akin to Malinowski's Trobriand case, a culture, however, largely bankrupt due to the introduction of the Occidental (see further).

SCCS Ratings

Only one Australian tribe is coded: the **Tiwi** (3,3,3,3,-,2,-,8). The **Aranda** (eHRAF) proved entirely unratable (-,-,-,-,-,-,-,-;G3).

"Coitarche"

The original Australians were famous for their coital precocity. Eyre (1845, II:p320)⁶ noted that "the life of an Australian woman is nothing more than uninterrupted prostitution [...]. From age ten she has intercourse with boys of 14 and 15" [etc.]. Howitt (1891:p60-1)⁷ quotes O'Donnell on the **Kunandaburi** tribe: "[...]. Female children during their infancy are given by their parents to certain men or boys, who claim them as soon as they arrive at puberty, and often before". The marriage is then consummated by the "Abija", who helps dragging her away, and subsequently, by "all males in the camp [...], not even excepting the nearest male relatives of the bride", in a ceremony lasting for days. Thus, Howitt (1904:p260-1)⁸ seemed to have assumed that prepubertal intercourse did not customarily exist in Australia. This may well be true judging from the marital context. As mentioned by Taplin (1879:p93)⁹ among the **southern Kukatha** tribe no sexual intercourse occurred until after puberty. The age of native marital consummation was judged to be between 14 and 15 (Spencer and

³ Bettelheim, B. (1962) *Symbolic Wounds*. New York: Collier Books, p64

⁴ Brongersma, E. (1987) *Jongensliefde*, Deel 1. Amsterdam: SUA, p123-4

⁵ DeMause, L. (1988) On writing childhood history, *J Psychohist* 16,2:135-71. Cf. *id.*, *The Emotional Life of Nations*, Ch. 6. Also Bennett, cited by Lake, M. (1993) Colonised and Colonising: the white Australian feminist subject, *Women's Hist Rev* 2,3:377-86, at p381, 382

⁶ Quoted by Ploß and Bartels, II. See Eyre, E. J. (1845) *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* [etc.]. London: Boone. Vol. 2. "Puellæ teneræ a decimo primum anno, et pueri a decimo tertio quarto, inter se miscentur".

⁷ Howitt, A. W. (1891) The Dieri and Other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 20:30-104

⁸ Howitt, A. W. (1904) *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*. London: Macmillan

⁹ Taplin, G. (1879) *The Folklore, Manners, Customs and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines*. Adelaide

Gillen, 1899:p257)¹⁰, and between ten and twelve (Malinowski, 1913:p257)¹¹. On the other hand, premenarchal coitus in Australia was assumed to be common by Fehlinger ([1921:p125])¹² and mentioned by Piddington (1932:p83)¹³ for the **Karadjeri** (Western Australia). Stanner (1933:p14, 15)¹⁴ reports for North-Eastern (Daly River) tribes that although “sexual relations are not supposed to take place before puberty”, a betrothed girl may stay in camp with her future husband until this takes place. Anyway, “even before puberty children are making crude sexual experiments”. Drechsel (1985:p747)¹⁵ states:

“Die Jugend führt vor Beginn der Geschlechtsreife und vor Beginn der Initiation der Männer ein recht ungezwungenes Leben, in unserem Sinne fast antiautoritär. Sie übt schon frühzeitig mimetisch das Sexualverhalten ein. Die Erwachsenen fördern dies, und es dient ihnen zur Erheiterung. Sexualekontakte vor der Geschlechtsreife sind üblich. Mit dem Beginn der Initiation soll aber bei den Jungen Männern das lockere Sexualeben aufhören. Die Mädchen werden entsprechend den Abkommen mit etwa 9 Jahren ihrem versprochenen Ehemann übergeben, der das Mädchen im Laufe der nächsten Jahre allmählich in die ehelichen Pflichten einweist”.

Adultery is condoned according to the institution of the so-called “Love Magic”, or more precisely, the *Wongi* institution, as it used to be widely distributed on the continent. Wongi relations would begin at age 14 for boys and age 11 for girls (p750). Röheim for the Aranda: “Let us suppose that a little girl has been promised to a man who is about the age of her father. She is hisnoa of course, according to the classificatory system of relationship, but he will not have intercourse with her till the signs of puberty become noticeable. These are: the development of the public hair, the breasts and, in a minor degree, the first menstruation. From time to time he will 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”.

Maddock ([1972] 1973:p58, *references footnoted*)¹⁶ conveniently sums up some later observations on “coitarche” age: “A **Tiwi** girl took up cohabitation when eight or ten according to Jane Goodale (1962)¹⁷, fourteen according to Hart and Pilling (1960); a **Walbiri** when nine or twelve (Meggitt, 1962, 1965)¹⁸; a **Wanindiljaugwa** when nine (Rose, 1960)¹⁹; and a **Pidjandjara**, among women married first at an unusually late age, when in her late teens or

¹⁰ Spencer, B. & Gillen, F. (1899) *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*. London: Macmillan

¹¹ Malinowski, B. (1913) *The Family Among Australian Aborigines: A Sociological Study*. London: London University Press. See also Benedict, R. ([1948]) Child marriage, in Seligman, E. R. A. & Johnson, A. (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. New York: MacMillan. Vol.III, p395-7, p396

¹² Fehlinger, H. ([1921]) *Sexual Life of Primitive People*. London: Black

¹³ Piddington, R. (1932) Karadjeri initiation, *Oceania* 3,1:46-87. Thus, “[...] girls are married and may have sexual intercourse with their husbands before puberty [...]”.

¹⁴ Stanner, W. E. H. (1933) The Daly River tribes, a report of field work in North Australia (cont’d), *Oceania* 4,1:10-29

¹⁵ Drechsel, P. (1985) Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung bei den australischen Ureinwohnern, in Müller, E. W. (Ed.) *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung*. München: K. A. Freiburg, p717-58

¹⁶ Hart, C. W. & Pilling, A. R. (1960) *The Tiwi of North Australia*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

¹⁷ Goodale, J. C. (1962) Marriage contracts among the Tiwi, *Ethnology* 1:452-66

¹⁸ Meggitt, M. J. (1962) *Desert People: A Study of the Walbiri Aborigines of Central Australia*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson; Meggitt, M. J. (1965) Marriage among the Walbiri of Central Australia, in Berndt, R. M. & Berndt, C. H. (Eds.) *Aboriginal Man in Australia*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, p146-66

¹⁹ Rose, F. G. G. (1968) *Australia Revisited*. Berlin: Seven Seas

even early twenties (Yengoyan, 1970)²⁰. The husband would probably have reached forty in **Tiwi**, thirty if **Walbiri** or **Wanindiljaugwa** and the late twenties if **Pidjandjara**". Curr (1886, I:p107, as cited by Ronhaar)²¹ speaks of cohabitation at age eight, Sadler (p8, as cited by Ronhaar)²² at age ten. Von Miklucho-Maclay (1880:p88-9, as cited by Ronhaar)²³ speaks of age stratified sexual intercourse with girls before puberty.

Early and Age Asymmetric Marriage / Betrothal

As might be inferred from the preceding paragraph, early and age stratified betrothal is said to have been universal in many tribes²⁴, some times even before birth²⁵. Inherent in the gerontocratic marriage system, the elder effect a monopoly on the younger women and have more polygamous occasion. Elkin (1954:p123)²⁶ states that "infant betrothal is the normal thing; indeed a woman's daughter is promised to a man or the latter's son or nephew before she is born". "Among **Yuwaaliyaay** people, [...] infant betrothal appears to have been the norm"²⁷. Among the aborigines of the Wheelman tribe a baby girl is betrothed to a youth or man; he "grows" her, or supports her growing up (Hassell, 1936:p682)²⁸. Parker²⁹ notes on the **Euahlayi** tribe: "At whatever age a girl may be betrothed to a man ["There is often a baby betrothal called Bahnmul"] he never claims her while she is yet Mullerhgun, or child girl; not until she is Wirreebeeun, or woman girl". Withnell³⁰: "When the man considers it is time that he should take the damsel promised to him, he makes a demand to her father or uncle, and

²⁰ Yengoyan, A. A. (1970) Demographic factors in Pitjandjara social organization, in Berndt, R. M. (Ed.) *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology*. Perth: University of Western Australia Press, p70-91, see p89

²¹ Curr, E. M. (1886) *The Australian Race*. Vol. I. Melbourne & London; Ronhaar, J. H. (1931) *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*. Groningen [Holland]: Wolters / London: D. Nutt, p329

²² Ronhaar (1931:p329), *op.cit.*

²³ Von Miklucho-Maclay (1880) Einige Mittheilungen über die Mika-Operatione und über das sexuelle Leben der Australier. *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*; Ronhaar (1931:p330), *op.cit.*

²⁴ For some references, see Brown, A. R. (1913) Three Tribes of Western Australia, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 43:143-94, p185; Howard, G. E. (1964) *A History of Matrimonial Institutions*. New York: Humanities Press. Vol. I, p181. Coates (1997): "Infant betrothal was an important aspect of Aboriginal cultures and was often associated with men's ritual activities, especially circumcision. In the Western desert region, for example, the main circumciser had to promise one of his daughters to the novice in compensation for having ritually "killed" him. Girls were often given to their husbands while still prepubertal, but coitus did not usually commence until her breasts had grown. In this context, girls may have had their first sexual experience by the age of 9 and boys by the age of 12". Also Crul, Th. W. (1942) *Het Huwelijk bij de "Ethnologische Oervolken"*. Dissertation. Leiden [Holland]: A. W. Sijthoff, p83 et seq.; Wood, J. G. / Rissik, G. H. (1875) *De Onbeschaafde Volken [...]*. Rotterdam: Jacs. G. Robbers, p72: "De verlovings geschiedt op zeer jeugdigen leeftijd; het meisje is dikwerf toegezegd als zij nog een kind is".

²⁵ Westermarck, E. ([1901]) *The History of Human Marriage*. London: MacMillan. Third ed., p214. Westermarck refers to Waitz-Garland (vi, p772); Wilkes (II, p195); Sturt (II, p284 et seq.); Bonney, *J Anthropol Instit* 13:129, 301; Cameron *J Anthropol Instit* 14:352]

²⁶ Elkin, A. P. (1954 [1938]) *The Australian Aborigines: How to Understand Them*. 3rd ed. London

²⁷ Keen, I. (2002) Seven Aboriginal marriage systems and their correlates, *Anthropological Forum* 12,2:145-57, at p147

²⁸ Hassell, E. & Davidson, D. S. (1936) Notes on the ethnology of the Wheelman tribe of Southwestern Australia, *Anthropos* 31,5/6:679-711

²⁹ Parker, K. L. (1905) *The Euahlayi Tribe: A Study of Aboriginal Life in Australia*. Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty

³⁰ Withnell, J. G. (1901) *The Customs and Traditions of the Aboriginal Natives of North Western Australia*. Roebourne

they order the girl to go to his camp [...]” (p16). Similarly, Calvert³¹ mentions that “[...] a female child is betrothed, in her infancy, to some native of another family, necessarily very many years older than herself. He watches over her jealously, and she goes to live with him as soon as she feels inclined”. Spencer and Giller ([1927, II:p469-70) also mention betrothal of **Aranda** girls “many years before the is born”. Radcliffe-Brown (1913:p184)³² states that “marriages are arranged before children are born”. Provis writes in Taplin (1879:p93) of the **Streaky Bay South** aborigines that there can sometimes be seen “the incongruous spectacle of a little child betrothed to a grown man. The girl is called his *Kur-det-thi* (future wife). They sleep together, but no sexual intercourse takes place till the girl arrives at the age of puberty”. Schürmann writes in Woods (1879:p222)³³ of the **Port Lincoln** tribe that “long before a young girl arrives at maturity, she is affianced by her parents, to some friend of theirs, no matter whether young or old, married or single”. Howitt (1904:p197) for the **Wolgal** tribe reports that “a girl is promised as a mere child to some man of the proper class, he being then perhaps middle aged or even old”. Betrothal occurred when “quite young”, states Bonney (1884:p129)³⁴. Child betrothal and marriage is noted for **Arnhemland** (Webb, 1944:p65)³⁵. “A child a year old will sometimes be betrothed to an old man, and it will be his duty to protect and feed her, and (unless she is stolen by some one else) when she is old enough she becomes his wife. In the case of a husband’s death his wife belongs to the oldest man in his family, who either takes her himself or gives her to some one else” (Forrest, 1876:p317)³⁶. Rowley stated that “[f]emale children are betrothed as soon as they were born” (Greenway, Honery et al., 1878:p262)³⁷. Strehlow (1913): “Children are betrothed in infancy, usually at two or three years age. [...] When the boy is ten or twelve years old, he is informed that he must wait for marriage until his beard has grown and shows its first grey hairs”. “Strehlow has set out the method of betrothal of a boy to a girl-child among the **western Loritja** people, and states that it is somewhat later than with the Aranda, say between four and ten years. My own observations lead me to believe that instead of the betrothal being arranged for the son it is more often arranged for the man himself” (Chewings, 1936)³⁸. Rose (1960:p17)³⁹ notes for the **Groote Eylandt** Aborigines: “Girls are normally promised as wife to men 20 or 30 years their senior before birth”. However, she runs the risk of dying of being stolen by another man before puberty. Girls go to live with their husbands at age 8 to 10.

³¹ Calvert, A. F. (1894) *The Aborigines of Western Australia*. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Limited, p22

³² Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. (1913) 'Three Tribes of Western Australia, *J Royal Anthropological Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 43:143-95

³³ Woods, J. D. (1879) *The Native Tribes of South Australia*. Adelaide

³⁴ Bonney, F. (1884) On Some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 13:122-37

³⁵ Webb, T. T. (1944) *From Spears to Spades*. 2nd ed. Melbourne

³⁶ Forrest, J. (1876) On the Natives of Central and Western Australia, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 5:316-22

³⁷ Greenway, Ch. C., Honery, Th. Et al. (1878) Australian Languages and Traditions, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 7:232-74

³⁸ Chewings, Ch. (1936) *Back in the Stone Age: The Natives of Central Australia*. Sydney, Australia: Angus & Robertson, limited

³⁹ Rose, F. G. G. (1960) *Classification of Kin, Age Structure and Marriage amongst the Groote Eylandt Aborigines*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. Cf. p69-73

Thomson (1933:p509)⁴⁰ remarked: "There is in this society nothing approaching the sexual licence that Professor Malinowski [⁴¹] found to be the regular thing before marriage in the Trobriands. In the **Koko Ya'o** tribe a girl has normally no sexual experience before marriage, for she is married actually before puberty, even before she is physiologically capable of bearing children. Prior to this she lives at her parent's fireside, and even during the day she is under the constant surveillance of her mother, whom she accompanies in her daily quest for food. The reason that the natives give for this child-marriage is that the girl will not be afraid of her husband if she grows up with him". The **Yolngu** practiced prenatal betrothal (Money and Erhhardt, 1973 / 1996:p142)⁴², 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".

"According to the ideal of the past, by this time [adolescence] a girl should be securely ensconced in her marital household with a man she had been promised to from infancy if not before she was born. In 1981, however, this ideal was realised by no one" (Burbank, 1988:p102).

Sex "Rehearsals"

Sharp (1934:p430)⁴³ marks for the North-Eastern **Yir-Yoront**: "The sex dichotomy begins early in life [as seen in] obscene and abusive language, in modesty regarding in bodily functions [...] in childish sexual experimentation, and formally, in the custom for small girls of wearing a pubic apron until the pubic hair appears and an artificial covering is no longer deemed necessary". In Arnhemland, there is the establishment of a brother-sister taboo at age seven (Hiatt, 1964:p125)⁴⁴. This gender awareness is outstanding in most tribes. A relative separation of the sexes occurs when boys join the (bachelor's) camp (*jiridji* for some tribes), and girls joins the women's camp. The age at which this occurs is variable, rising up to subincision age, which is predominantly postpubescent (Basedow, p124-5).

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 grass), which, according to Róheim (1938:p346) is "slandorous as it indicates that the boy's penis is devoid of semen".

⁴⁰ Thomson, D. F. (1933) The Hero Cult, Initiation and Totemism on Cape York, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 63:453-537

⁴¹ → *New Guinea, Trobrianders*

⁴² Money, J. & Ehrhardt, A. A. (1973/1996) *Man & Woman, Boy & Girl*. London: Aronson

⁴³ Sharp, L. (1934) The social organization of the Yir-Yoront tribe, Cape York Peninsula, Part I, *Oceania* 4:404-31

⁴⁴ Hiatt, L. R. (1964) Incest in Arnhemland, *Oceania* 35,2:124-8

Lacking a substantial (conscious) association with conception⁴⁵ (e.g., Lommel), many of the Australians regard all intercourse in the light of play. However, Strehlow (II:p52)⁴⁶ remarks that both **Arunta** and **Leritja** tribes enlightened their children on the reproductive cycle of animals. The matter of conceptive knowledge is discussed by Read (1918:p147-8)⁴⁷, who argues: "That among many savages [sexual] intercourse is common before puberty, and therefore resultless, seems to me unimportant; because the change of sexual life at puberty is deeply impressive and well known to savages". I may remark here that this point awaits exploration. The idea may indeed be fostered by an absence of coital pause since childhood, combined with the observation that, for reasons not clearly understood, "the girls seem to be sterile for several years after puberty" (Wallace, 1961:p194).

Money et al. (1970)⁴⁸, on the Arnhem Land **Yolngu**, questioned that children learned from parents, except by chance; in fact, *no* sex education would be given. Instead they learn from "children scarcely older than themselves" up to teens spied in the bush. The "coital play" of four- to six-year-olds is performed in the context of playing house, and involves thrusting motions [...], possibly with the use of intromission of a finger or stick. During middle childhood, "children may sometimes engage in sexual play. Heterosexual play is unlikely, and so is homosexual play between boys. The sexual play between girls is not unambiguously "homoerotic", for it occurs as an improvisation in a game of house. When the time comes for the mother and father to have intercourse, then one girl improvises a penis with a piece of a stick, and puts it in the vagina of the other". Thus, "[c]hildren's play may include rehearsal of copulation, though childhood sex is not an unostentatious feature of the culture". Young (prepubertal) boys would take the feminine role in interfemoral intercourse with older, "rebellious" adolescents. Róheim (1950:p141,169)⁴⁹: "Homosexuality plays a conspicuous role in the life of a young girl [using] little sticks wound around at the end so as to imitate the glans penis [...]. All the virgin girls do this [...]. One of them plays the male role and introduces the artificial penis into her cousin's vagina [...] they then rub their two clitorises together [...]. At the age of eight or ten boys and girls frequently have their own little houses [...]. They do it first to their little sisters. Sipeta says that her older brothers every evening before they went to the girls would pet her this way".

⁴⁵ Montagu, A. (1937) *Coming into Being among the Australian Aborigines*. Florence, KY, US: Taylor & Francis /Routledge. The psychodynamic peculiarities of the ignorance are discussed by Róheim, G. (1938) The nescience of the Aranda, *Br J Med Psychol* 17:343-60

⁴⁶ Strehlow, C. (190-20) *Die Aranda und Loritja Stamme in Zentral-Australien*. Frankfurt am Main: Baer & Co. Vol. II

⁴⁷ Read, C. (1918) No Paternity, *J Royal Anthropol Inst Great Britain & Ireland* 48, Jan-Jun:146-54

⁴⁸ 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. Reprinted in Kearney, G. et al. (Eds.) (1973) *The Psychology of Aboriginal Australians*. A Book of Readings. Sydney: John Wiley, p395-416; also in Byrne, D. & Byrne, L. (1977) *Exploring Human Sexuality*. New York: Harper & Row, p78-88; and in Money, J. & Musaph, H. (Eds.) (1977) *Handbook of Sexology*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, p519-41. See also Money and Ehrhardt (1973/1996:p141-4), *op.cit.*, and Money, J. (1976 [1986]) Childhood: the last frontier in sex research, *The Sciences* 16,6:12ff. Reprinted in Money's 1985 *Venuses Penuses*. Buffalo: Prometheus, p520-5, see p521-2. Comment on the article in Brown, W. A. (1972) Letter to the Editor, *Br J Med Psychol* 45:p85-6

⁴⁹ Róheim, G. (1950) *Psychoanalysis and Anthropology: Culture, Personality and the Unconscious*. New York: International Universities Press

Money's excursion notes and subsequent use of the concept "sexual rehearsal play" were contested by Colapinto (2000, see p86-91)⁵⁰, who posited some compromising allegations only partially contested by Money. Sexual rehearsal theory was first⁵¹ verbalised in the 1970 article on Arnhemland Aboriginals, based on a two-week visit by Money in 1969. Money's "observations" would be based on a single, dubious remark by a child, Colapinto argued, stating co-author Cawte denied every knowledge of the phenomenon [!]. This latter argument is quite contrary expectation given the existing literature even at that time. Moreover, five years before Money's visit, Cawte (1964:p181)⁵² wrote on a North-Western tribe: "The children, accustomed to their parents' sexual intercourse, play sexual games at the age of four with the realism that would horrify a Western mother. The schoolteacher tries to teach them alternatives such as hide-and-seek [*sic*] but "they never get it off their minds". (Arguing in favour of Money's ideologies on paraphilic development, all "sexual perversions", not paraphilias, occurred in subadults, and no adulthood paraphilias were mentioned here.)

Be these accusations as they may, much can be said in the defence of Money's "observations" as contrasting Euro-American concepts of coitarche. At the same time of Money's visit, Abbie (1969:p202)⁵³ remarks: "The children, like children everywhere, play "grown-ups" and "mothers and fathers", and being better informed than most white children they carry the game further and attempt to bring it to its logical conclusion. No doubt the more physically precocious succeed. [...] Aboriginal parents tend to view it with amused indulgence provided the proper kinship relations are observed- in the north at least". Róheim (1932:p91)⁵⁴ on Central Australian Aboriginals: "We may confidently affirm that there is no latency period in the life of these people, no period in which they do not make more or less successful attempts at coitus" (cf. 1956:p3)⁵⁵. Róheim relates that "their only, and certainly their supreme, game was coitus" (Róheim, 1962:p207; 1941 [1969:p157])⁵⁶. Róheim (1974:p76-120)⁵⁷ made an extensive study of children's play sessions both in camp and in the bush using animal puppets. The play reveals much "orificial" material, and a large amount of coital enactments. *Native* dolls may also provide outlets of sexual material; in at least some

⁵⁰ Colapinto, J. (2000) *As Nature Made Him: The Boy Who Was Raised as a Girl*. New York: HarperCollins

⁵¹ The theme of coital rehearsal play was prevalent in his 1968 *Sex Errors of the Body* [p69], and in an earlier article in 1963. See Money, J. (1963) Psychosexual development in man, in Deutsch, A. (Editor-in-chief) *The Encyclopedia of Mental Health*. New York : F. Watts. Second printing. Vol. 5, p1678-1709

⁵² Cawte, J. E. (1964) Tjimi and Tjagolo: ethnopsychiatry in the Kalumburu people of North-Western Australia, *Oceania* 34,3:161-90

⁵³ Abbie, A. A. (1969) *The Original Australians*. London: Frederick Muller. Atkinson, Alan and Aveling, Marian, p202

⁵⁴ Róheim, G. (1932) Psycho-analysis of primitive cultural types, *Int J Psycho-Anal* 13,1:1-224

⁵⁵ Róheim, G. (1956) The individual, the group, and mankind, *Psychoanal Quart* 25:1-10

⁵⁶ Róheim, G. (1962) The Western Tribes of Central Australia: Childhood, in Muensterberger, W. & Axelrad, S. (Eds.) *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society*, Vol. II. New York: International Universities Press, p207. See also Róheim, G. (1952) The anthropological evidence and the Oedipus complex, *Psychoanal Quart* 21:537-42, p537-9. Róheim (1932:p87): "In playing with the children, I was [...] able to get irrefutable proof of Melanie Klein's view, viz. that onanistic phantasies were the stuff that games are made of".

⁵⁷ Róheim G. (1974) *Children of the Desert*. New York: Basic Books. Vol. I

tribes, the genital organs are said to be the “most prominent part” of the dolls (Hernández, 1941:p132)⁵⁸.

The doll case being typical of other societies (→Vol. II, §6.2.13), sex games appear to have been “typical”, in the sense of quasi-sexual / borrowed scripts. Warner (1937:p75)⁵⁹ noted house-playing among the **Murngin**. “They are fully aware of the sexual act and of sex differences. About the time facial hair appears upon a boy and the breasts of a girl swell, that is, when sexual intercourse is in their power and of interest to both, they start making love trysts in the bush. They may not copulate at first, but they simulate the act in close contact”. A forty-five year old man reveals of his childhood ([1958:p569-70]⁶⁰):

“When we little boys and girls played together we did it by ourselves so that no one could see. We were ashamed if we thought older people were watching and listening to what we were doing. We said things to each other about sexual intercourse and other sexual things which we did not understand. The other day I heard a little girl say to the little boy she was playing with, “You are my husband. I am your wife. Come have sexual intercourse with me”. That was the kind of thing we said to each other. I laughed because I remembered when we said those things and we did not know what they meant. She said it because it was part of their game. But when we grew larger we did find out and some of us became sweethearts”.

Richter (1962:p270-1)⁶¹ reports:

“Die sexuelle Spielereien gehen, solange die Kinder noch klein sind, in aller Öffentlichkeit vor sich. Später nutzen Jungen und Mädchen die Ruhestunden der Erwachsenen aus, um sich in den Busch zu stehlen, Mann und Frau zu spielen und Erfahrungen auszutauschen. Mit 9 Jahren, stellenweise auch noch früher, haben kleine Mädchen ihren ersten sexuellen Verkehr; sie stehen dann also 2 bis 3 Jahre vor ihrer Menarche. Ihre ersten Partner sind meist ältere, bereits initiierte Jungen. [...] Oft erweitern die Mädchen selbst oder mit Hilfe einer Freundin ihr Hymen mit dem Finger. [...] Mutuelle Onanie zwischen Frauen und Mädchen ist weit verbreitet [...]. Ebenso ist das Vorkommen von Päderastie belegt, und zwar nehmen sich 17- bis 18jährige Jugendliche, um die Zeit bis zu ihrer Verheiratung zu überbrücken, gern 10jährige Knaben als Liebhaber”.

Children learn about sexual relations “in broad outline” at a “very early” age (Berndt and Berndt, 1971:p118-9)⁶². Berndt and Berndt (1964 [1977:p164])⁶³: “Sometimes children play at “husbands and wives” with separate windbreaks, making little fires and pretending to cook food. Sometimes there are games of adultery, one little boy running off with the wife of another⁶⁴”. Kinship codes are enforced leniently. Berndt and Berndt (1946:p69)⁶⁵: “[...] very small children try to carry out among themselves actions similar to those of their parents

⁵⁸ Hernández, Th. (1941) Children among the Drysdale river tribes, *Oceania* 12,2:122-33. Hernández (further) remains silent on sexual life.

⁵⁹ Warner, W. L. (1937) *A Black Civilization*. New York: Harper

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, rev ed.

⁶¹ Richter, B. (1962) Kinderleben bei den Eingeborenen Australiens [Teil II+III], *Prax Kinderpsychol & Kinderpsychia* 3:266-71; 294-303

⁶² Berndt, C. H. & Berndt, R. M. (1971) *The Barbarians*. London: C. A. Watts & Co.

⁶³ Berndt, R. M. & Berndt, C. H. (1964 [2nd ed., 1977]) *The World of the First Australians*. Sydney: Ure Smith. See also Bettelheim, B. (1954 [1962]) *Symbolic Wounds*. London: Thames & Hudson, p64-5

⁶⁴ Adults pretend erotic advances at babies jokingly calling them husband and wife, and commenting on the size of their penis. “In some areas children are said to have no sexual desires before they are about five or six years old. [...] From about six or seven onward [...] they spend a fair amount of time in erotic play, or in talking about it, even in the pre-pubertal period when the tendency for the two sexes to keep their play activities is more clearly distinct than before”.

⁶⁵ Berndt, R. M. & Berndt, C. H. (1946) The eternal ones of the dream, *Oceania* 17:67-78

during coitus. [...] Parents will joke about their children's genitalia or immature erotic experiments, or ignore them as they feel inclined. Dozens of such examples from various parts of southern, central, and northern Australia might be cited if space were available. [...] a boy of three or four years will call out in fun (knowing that he will provoke amusement from adults) that he wants to copulate, while an older girl will lift him up under the armpits, saying, "Ah, you want to [copulate] 'longa me? Come on, [copulate], make 'im long one 'longa me" - at the same time lifting and rubbing him against the front of her body to the diversion of all concerned". Hippler (1978)⁶⁶ also observed that "intersexual play occurs [...] pelvic thrusting and lying on one another as well as genital manipulation are common". Hiatt (1965:p105-6)⁶⁷ quotes the experience of a man who, presumably as a child himself, followed four children into the bush: "[...] The boys used saliva to lubricate the girl's vaginas. They couldn't get the penis in. Edgar called Dora "mother", and Wallace called Charlotte "ZD", but we were too young to care much about the wrong kinship categories. We just copulated with anyone. But I thought to myself, "The mother of those girls will be every angry when they find out what they've been up to" ". Berndt and Berndt (1951:p86-7)⁶⁸ in Arnhem Land repeatedly sketched the attitude configuration typical of many Oceanic people: "When such activities are carried out in play with children of the same age or older, they usually cause much merriment among the onlookers, who make lewd and suggestive comments. The fact that such erotic play serves as a sexual stimulant to the children does not seem unduly to worry the adults, who say placidly: "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" (see also Berndt, 1976:p6, 33, 126)⁶⁹. Intercourse, however, may have been encouraged when "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, 1951:p21). The **Ooldea** aboriginals believe that the 'di:dji'pulka (age three or four to pubarche) has no sexual desires (Berndt and Berndt, 1943:p252-3, 276; 1944:224)⁷⁰. Among **Central** Australians, boys and girls may not before puberty eat large lizard for if they do so they will acquire an abnormal craving for sexual intercourse⁷¹. However, latency is nonexistent: "Small children play in the bush away from the main camp. Although it is collective play, there is the tendency to choose partners after a time and to depart in pairs to the secrecy of the bushes" [...] Bands of children wander on the sand-hills, often indulging in erotic play during such games as "father and mother" ". The play may even reveal adult secrets: "Coitus a tergo was denied, yet it undoubtedly occurred as shown by the behavior of the children during the play hours [...]" (Róheim, [1958:229])⁷².

⁶⁶ Hippler, A. (1978) Culture and Personality Perspective of the Yolngu of Northeastern Arnhem Land: Part I-Early Socialization, *J Psychol Anthropol* 1:223-44

⁶⁷ Hiatt, L. R. (1965) *Kinship and Conflict*. Canberra: Australian National University

⁶⁸ Berndt, R. M. & Berndt, C. H. (1951) *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*. New York (NY): Viking Fund

⁶⁹ Berndt, R. M. (1976) *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

⁷⁰ Berndt, R. M. & Berndt, C. H. (1943) A preliminary report of field work in the Ooldea region, Western south Australia (con'd.), *Oceania* 13,3:243-80; 14,3:220-49

⁷¹ Spencer & Gillen (1899:p471-3), *op.cit.*; Crawley, E. (1927) *The Mystic Rose*. New York: Boni & Liveright. Vol. I, p232-3

⁷² Róheim, G. (1958) The Western tribes of central Australia: their sexual life, in Muensterberger, W. & Axelrad, S. (Eds.) *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*. Vol. V. New York: International Universities Press, p221-45

The crossing of sexual (copulatory) themes and child actors appears in Aboriginal mythology. The children also seem to participate in coitomorphic behaviours as performed in mock rituals. Schidlöf (1908:p9)⁷³ cites Buchner who noted childhood participation in such dances, in which "[...] bei dem Meke-Meketanz außerhalb des Reigens der großen mehrere kleine Jungen sich paarweise einander gegenüberstellten, einander umfaßten und nach dem Takte der Musik obscöne Bewegungen machten, die an Deutlichkeit nichts zu wünschen übrig ließen. Die anwesenden Eltern lachten und schrien vor Freude, namentlich die Weiber, die sich über das Gebahren ihrer sechsjährige Sprößlinge ganz außerordentlich amüsierten"⁷⁴.

Some later sources include Tonkinson (1978:p66-7)⁷⁵: "For the first half-dozen or so years of their lives, the children usually play in mixed-sex groups and their games sometimes include "making camp" and "mothers and fathers". This at times includes attempts at sexual intercourse, and the staging of adultery, elopement, and so on. This amuses adults, who turn a blind eye to such erotic play, although an older relative may mildly scold them if the couple concerned stands in an "incestuous" relationship, as a reminder about the correct behaviors they will have to observe as adulthood approaches". Pilling (1992:p28)⁷⁶ mentioned "intercrural sexual stimulation" by two five-year-old boys, and masturbation of a dog by an eleven-year-old. Boyer et al. (1990:p292)⁷⁷ stated that "[a]lthough adult homosexuality is denied, many games involve heterosexual and homosexual cohabitation" in young Pitjajtjara children. Coates (1997)⁷⁸ mentions anecdotal "sexual rehearsal play" when talking about the nonindigenous population, and deems it as common as anywhere. However, aboriginal "[g]irls were often given to their husbands while still prepubertal, but coitus did not usually commence until her breasts had grown. In this context, girls may have had their first sexual experience by the age of 9 and boys by the age of 12".

Erosion of Aboriginal Patterns

Tonkinson (1974:p122, 124)⁷⁹: "Even their [preschoolers] periodic attempts to imitate the sexual activities of their elders are viewed by the latter with light-hearted indifference and do not provoke adult interference". Tonkinson relates that missionaries set up dormitory systems⁸⁰ to break up the coital quests, with only partial success. This was already observed

⁷³ Schidlöf, B. (1908) *Das Sexualleben der Australier und Ozeanier*. Leipzig: Leipziger Verlag

⁷⁴ Schidlöf (1908:p12) further names Ribble and Rubania as having noted child-child coitus.

⁷⁵ Tonkinson, R. (1978) *The Mardudjara Aborigines*. New York (Etc.): Holt, Rinehart & Winston

⁷⁶ Pilling, A. R. (1992) Homosexuality among the Tiwi of North Australia, in Murray, S. O. (Ed.) *Oceanic Homosexualities*. New York & London: Garland, p25-31

⁷⁷ Boyer, R. M. et al. (1990) An ethological and Rorschach study of three groups of Australian Aborigines: the Yolgnu, the Pitjajtjara and the "Dark People" of Bourke, in Boyer, L. B. & Brotnick, S. A. (Eds.) *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society*, Vol. 15: *Essays in Honor of Paul Parin*. Hillsdale, US: Analytic Press, p271-310

⁷⁸ Coates, R. (1997) Australia, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 1. Quoted from the online edition

⁷⁹ Tonkinson, R. (1974) *The Jigalong Mob*. Menlo Park, CA: Cummings

⁸⁰ See also Burbank, V. K. (1988) *Aboriginal Adolescence*. New Brunswick & London: Rutgers University Press

by Lommel (1949/50:p158)⁸¹: “Sexual intercourse starts at an early age, but is frowned upon by older people, as it should begin only after initiation. On the stations and missions old people lose their influence on the younger and alert persons who are able to understand the new law which is brought by the white men”. Still, “[t]here exists a special expression for sexual intercourse between young boys and girls: *jan jan* (**Unambal** and **Worora** tribe)”. By the time of 1981, a report by Hamilton⁸² (p76, 104) suggests that coital play may have gone underground (or rather, bushward): “No activities that could be called “sex play” were ever observed in the camps and there was nothing to suggest that if they occurred out of sight of adults anyone was concerned. [...] Adults deny the occurrence of homosexual play among the boys [ages 5-9] although they admit to heterosexual play between children before they can “understand” ”⁸³.

In 1935, Kaberry⁸⁴ would warn that “[s]ome missionaries have yet to grasp the elementary fact that needle work, cooking, housework and an occasional picnic do not in themselves constitute an adequate substitute for sexual experience” (p402). Despite these attractiva, Kaberry (1939:p66)⁸⁵ could report that “[c]hildren of both sexes romp together, fight, squabble, wrestle, and indulge in crude sexual play [...] young girls of eight or ten play with the boys in the camp when the others are asleep at midday or away in the bush”. By the 1980s, Cowlshaw⁸⁶ refrains from discussing sexual behaviour socialisation altogether. This is remarkable given his earlier PhD thesis on the matter⁸⁷.

Exploring contemporary Australian Aboriginal adolescent sexualities, Burbank⁸⁸ suggests that the girls’ sexual and reproductive freedom is supported by the confluence of three factors: diminished force of ideologies that might circumscribe women’s behaviour, control of male violence, and cultural appreciation of both motherhood and children.

Initiation: Sexological Implications

Róheim interprets the sexual meaning of **Aranda** male initiation as follows: “It is quite evident that the mystery [of sex] revealed is the primal scene and that parental coitus is reenacted in each totemic ceremony. What are the principal differences between the original

⁸¹ Lommel, A. (1949/50) Notes on sexual behaviour and initiation, Wunambal tribe, North-Western Australia, *Oceania* 20:158-64

⁸² Hamilton, (1981) *Nature and Nurture: Aboriginal Child-Rearing in North-Central Arnhem Land*. Canberra: Humanities Press

⁸³ Indeed, “the intense fantasy games which European boys of this age indulge in [...], including “doctors” were apparently absent”.

⁸⁴ Kaberry, Ph. M. (1935) The Forest River and Lyne River tribes of North-West Australia, *Oceania* 5:408-36

⁸⁵ Kaberry, Ph. M. (1939) *Aboriginal Woman*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

⁸⁶ Cowlshaw, G. (1982) Socialisation and Subordination Among Australian Aborigines, *Man* New Series 17,3:492-507

⁸⁷ Cowlshaw, G. K. (1979) *Women's Realm: A Study of Socialisation, Sexuality and Reproduction among Australian Aborigines*. PhD thesis, University of Sydney

⁸⁸ Burbank, V. K. (1995) Gender Hierarchy and Adolescent Sexuality: The Control of Female Reproduction in an Australian Aboriginal Community, *Ethos* 23,1:33-46

and the symbolic form? In the rite the end pleasure is not represented. The ritual offers another form of gratification to the son, that of interrupting the father in the sexual act. He is no longer excluded; he is initiated into the sexual mystery. This indeed is the “official”, that is, the conscious, meaning of the initiation rite, which introduces the sons into the hitherto forbidden realm of sex” (*Eternal Ones of the Dream*).

The boy typically enters a ceremonial curriculum before puberty. In the (mostly) postpubertal stages this variably included circumcision, or subincision⁸⁹ (*mika*) (overview by Engelhart, 1998:p69-73⁹⁰; cf. Zeller⁹¹). The erotogenetic motivations, or effects, are debated (e.g., Basedow, p147-8 *et seq.*; Berndt, 1951).

Falkenberg and Falkenberg (1981:p77-8)⁹² state that, although prohibited, immature uncircumcised boys from the **Marinbata** tribe, use prepubertal and neopubescent girls of their own clan after being turned down by older girls of other clans. They use secretions of a specific orchid (*tjalamajin*) applied to the penis as a lubricant; a modern substitute is soap. Precircumcision intercourse is discouraged by the adults males by the prospect of the induration of the preputial sinew, producing a more painful circumcision, and a blackening of the interior mucus, producing a stigma to be revealed at initiation. The boys, however, secure the others that this is untrue. Among the **Warramunga** the foreskin may be put in the burrow of a ground spider after circumcision, “[...] in which case it is supposed to cause the penis to grow” (cited by Róheim).

“Genital Parenting”

(→Vol. II, ch.9)

Róheim states that Australian mothers “lie on their sons in the [female on top] position [⁹³] and freely masturbate them” at night” (1950; 1964:p194, 231; see also 1974:p244⁹⁴; also Berndt

⁸⁹ E.g., Spencer, B. (1914) *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*. London: Macmillan & Co., Ch. 3; Pounder, D. J. (1983) Ritual mutilation. Subincision of the penis among Australian Aborigines, *Am J Forensic Med Pathol* 4,3:227-9; Jones, I. H. (1969) Subincision among Australian western desert Aborigines, *Br J Med Psychol* 42,2:183-90; Morrison, J. (1967) The origins of the practices of circumcision and subincision among the Australian aborigines, *Med J Aust* 21;1,3:125-7; Cawte, J. E., Djagamara, N. & Barrett, M. G. (1966) The meaning of subincision of the urethra to aboriginal Australians, *Br J Med Psychol* 39,3:245-53; Lobdell, J. E. (1975) Considerations on ritual subincision practices, *J Sex Res* 11,1:16-24; Róheim, G. (1949) The symbolism of subincision, *Am Imago* 6:321-8; Singer, P. & Desole, D. E. (1967) The Australian subincision ceremony reconsidered: vaginal envy or kangaroo bifid penis envy, *Am Anthropol* 69,3/4:355-8; Cawte, J. E. (1968) Further comment on the Australian subincision ceremony, *Am Anthropol* 70,5:961-4; Basedow, H. (1927) Subincision and Kindred Rites of the Australian Aboriginal, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 57:123-56. Also Berndt, R. M. (1951) Subincision in a non-subincision area, *Am Imago* 8:165-79

⁹⁰ Engelhart, M. (1998) *Extending the Tracks: A Cross-Reductionistic Approach to Australian Aboriginal Male Initiation Rites*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International

⁹¹ Zeller, M. (1923) *Die Knabenweißen*. Bern: Paul Haupt, p66-78

⁹² Falkenberg, A. & Falkenberg, J. (1981) *The Affinal Relationship System*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget

⁹³ Illustrated by Thomson, in White, I. (1993) Kinder der Traumzeit, in Van de Loo, M. & Reinhart, M. (Eds.) *Kinder: Ethnologische Forschungen in Fünf Kontinenten*. München: Trickster Verlag, p367-81, see p377. This position is also associated with certain rituals.

⁹⁴ Róheim, *Op.cit.*; Róheim, G. (1964) The Western Tribes of Central Australia: The Alknarintja, in Muensterberger, W. & Axelrad, S. (Eds.) *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society*, Vol. III. New York: International Universities Press.

& Berndt, 1946:p69)⁹⁵. According to Róheim (1932), mother and child may lie in intercourse position (p54), and mothers practice infant genital play (p55, 87). The father, but not the mother, is used to mouth and “gently bite” the external genitalia of the child, as if eating them (1932:p183). This is also observed by Boyer et al. (1990:p291)⁹⁶. Equally, Hippler (1978:p235)⁹⁷ stated that among the **Yolngu**, “the child is sexually stimulated by the mother [...]. Penis and vagina [⁹⁸] are caressed [...] clearly the action arouses the mother. Many mothers develop blissful smiles or become quite agitated (with, we assume, sexual stimulation) and their nipples apparently harden during these events. Children [...] are encouraged to play with their mothers’ breasts, and [...] are obviously stimulated sexually [...]”. Money and Ehrhardt (1973/1996:p142) add: “In former times infants might be pacified by fondling of their genitals, but this practice is not obvious today”.

Meno- , Pubo- and Thelopoetic Concept of Coitus

(→Vol.II, §11.1.1)

Meggitt (1962:p272)⁹⁹ says that **Walbiri** aborigines (Australia) regarded having sex with prepubescent wives as helping to induce maturation. This idea was seen in many indigenous tribes. As reviewed by Merlan (1986:p480-1, *references footnoted*)¹⁰⁰:

“We find it reported across the continent that female sexual maturity is attributed to the actions of men, either through intercourse, the performance of rites, or both. Warner (1937:p75)¹⁰¹ reports of the Murngin that they believe “menstruation is due to the sexual act [...]”. Hamilton (1981:p19)¹⁰² likewise reports of the neighbouring Anbarra people that all female informants agreed “no girl could “get blood” until a man had helped her by copulation”. Goodale (1971:p45)¹⁰³ says the Tiwi consider sexual intercourse “the direct and only cause of breast formation, growth of pubic and axillary hair, menarche, and subsequent menstrual periods”. Spencer and Gillen (1899:p459-60)¹⁰⁴ had reported men’s inducing female physical maturity among central groups by causing breasts to grow (cf. Berndt, 1950:p26; Kaberry, 1939:p97)¹⁰⁵”.

The **Aranda** practiced thelopoesis (Drechsel, p730). Ceremonial thelopoesis was also seen in Queensland (Roth, 1897¹⁰⁶:p174, as cited by Thomas, 1899:p254-5)¹⁰⁷.

⁹⁵ *Op.cit.* Also cited by Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilizationprocess*. 2nd ed., p201/416n25

⁹⁶ *Op.cit.*

⁹⁷ *Op.cit.*

⁹⁸ Berndt and Berndt (1946:p69) did not note stimulation practised on females.

⁹⁹ *Op.cit.*. Also cited by Merlan (1986:p490n15), *cit.infra*

¹⁰⁰ Merlan, F. (1986) Australian Aboriginal conception beliefs revisited, *Man*, NS 21,3:474-93

¹⁰¹ *Op.cit.*

¹⁰² *Op.cit.*

¹⁰³ Goodale, J. (1971) *Tiwi Wives: A Study of Women of Melville Island, Northern Australia*. Seattle: University of Washington Press

¹⁰⁴ *Op.cit.*

¹⁰⁵ *Op.cit.*

¹⁰⁶ Roth, W. E. (1897) *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*. Brisbane: Edmund Gregory, Government Printer

¹⁰⁷ Thomas, Th. I. (1899) The Psychology of Modesty and Clothing, *Am J Sociol* 5,2:246-62

Boy-Wives

A boy-wife system is known to have existed among the Aboriginal Australians around the end of the nineteenth century (Murray, 1992:p3-9¹⁰⁸; Richter, *vide supra*; Strehlow, 1915:p98¹⁰⁹; Klaatsch¹¹⁰, as cited by Layard citing Radcliffe-Brown¹¹¹ and by Basedow, p147¹¹², although its exact homosexual nature or function is variably interpreted (Karsch-Haack, 1911:p82-90¹¹³ [also cited by Bryk, 1931 [1974:p115]¹¹⁴; Róheim, 1929¹¹⁵:p189; Mathews, *vide infra*; Greenberg, 1988:p35-6¹¹⁶). The custom took place with boys until their first subincision, their status designated as *Chookadoo*¹¹⁷ (age 5), or *Mullawongah*¹¹⁸ (age 5-7). Other authors mention ages of 10 (Richter), 10-12¹¹⁹, and 10-11¹²⁰. The *Mullawongah* is brought in erection by manipulation, and the penis is inserted into the subincised penis of an elder, who then ejaculates (Purcell,

¹⁰⁸ Murray, S. O. (1992) Age-stratified homosexuality: introduction, in Murray, S. O. (Ed.) *Oceanic Homosexualities*. New York & London: Garland, p3-23

¹⁰⁹ Strehlow, C. (1913-5) Das soziale Leben der Aranda und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien, *Veröffentlichungen aus dem Städtischen Völker-Museum* 1,4:1-108. Strehlow writes: "Pederasty is a recognized custom among the Arunta and has a name, *kwalanga*. It prevails especially among the Western Loritja and tribes north of the MacDonnell Range, the Katitja, Ilpara, Warramunga, etc. Commonly a man, who is fully initiated but not yet married, takes a boy ten or twelve years old, who lives with him as a wife for several years, until the older man marries. The boy is neither circumcized nor subincized, though he may have ceased to be regarded as a boy and is considered a young man. The boy must belong to the proper marriage class from which the man might take a wife".

¹¹⁰ Klaatsch, H. (1907), *Report Austral Assoc Adv Sci* 11:[581-2]

¹¹¹ Cited by Layard, J. (1942) *Stone Men of Malekula*. Ondon: Chatto & Windus, p487n2: "[...] according to Professor Radcliffe-Brown quoting from Klaatsch, in the southern part of the Kimberley district of Western Australia, where there is a 4-section system of kinship, the rules governing homosexual intercourse are in fact similar to those governing marriage. That is to say that it is there the custom for a man before marriage to take as a boy-lover a member of the prescribed kinship section from which he must later obtain his wife, and who is therefore sociologically equivalent to the wife's brother and sister's husband, such intercourse being forbidden with a boy of any other kinship section as strongly as if the relation were a heterosexual one. The custom differs from that among the Big Nambas in that, in Western Australia, homosexual intercourse is not usual after marriage [...]"

¹¹² Passing references in Martinson, F. M. (1973) *Infant and Child Sexuality: A Sociological Perspective*. St. Peter, MN: The Book Mark, p111; Martinson, F. M. (1994b) *The Sexual Life of Children*. Westport, Conn: Bergin & Garvey; O'Carroll, T. (1980) *Paedophilia: The Radical Case*. London: Peter Owen

¹¹³ Karsch-Haack, F. (1911) *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker*. München: E. Reinhardt

¹¹⁴ Bryk, F. (1931) *Die Beschneidung bei Mann und Weib*. New Brandenburg: Gustav Feller. English transl. by David Berger, MA (1934) *Circumcision in Man and Woman*. New York: American Ethnological Press, and AMS Press (1974)

¹¹⁵ Róheim, G. (1929) Dying Gods and Puberty Ceremonies, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 59:181-97

¹¹⁶ Greenberg, D. F. (1988) *The Construction of Homosexuality*. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press

¹¹⁷ Hardman, E. T. (1889) Notes on some habits and customs of the natives of Kimberley district, *Proc Royal Instit Anthropol* 1,S,e:[p73-4]

¹¹⁸ Purcell, B. H. (1893) Rites and customs of Australian Aborigines, *Zeitschr Ethnol* 25:286-9, see p287

¹¹⁹ Strehlow (1915:p98), *op.cit.*; Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Row, p132

¹²⁰ Kaberry (1939:p257), *op.cit.*

1893:p287¹²¹; Westermarck, 1908, II:p460, n5, 466¹²²; Westermarck, 1909:p113, 117¹²³; Merzbach, 1909:p388¹²⁴; Karsch-Haack, 1911:p83; Adam, 1986:p29-30)¹²⁵.

As for the actual performance involved, Mathews (1907:p158-9)¹²⁶ writes [*orig. footnotes*]:

“This custom [boy companions for men] has given rise to a widespread belief among the white population that pederasty is practiced; but from very careful inquiries made by friends at my request, I am led to the conclusion that the vice indulged in between the man and the boy is a form of masturbation only. A resident of the Victoria River informs me that girls who are too young to admit of natural intercourse with them are sometimes used by the men in precisely the same manner as the boys, except that the little girls do not accompany them. I have original descriptions of how the vice is carried out, but the details are not suitable for publication. Mr. E. T. Hardman, during his travels in the Kimberley district of Western Australia in 1883-4, observed the custom of single men being presented with what he calls “a boy wife”. He says: “There is no doubt they have connexion, but the natives repudiate with horror and disgust the idea of sodomy”¹²⁷. Mr. A. G. B. Ravenscroft published some details in 1892 of this practice among the Chingalee tribe at Daly Waters in the Northern Territory, which go to confirm my statement that the indulgence is practically masturbation¹²⁸”.

Rose (1960:p20, 221-2) mentions no homosexuality as part of the “guardian/initiate institution” among the **Groote Eylandt** Aborigines, which practice had broken down around 1940. He does note their social equivalence to girls:

“[i]n the same way as a girl is promised as wife to a man, her brother is promised before or shortly after birth to his sister’s prospective husband as an initiate. After the boy is circumcised as about 9 years he goes to live with the older man and remains with him until he is about 17 years old, when he is ceremonially released [...]. The initiates could be stolen, or exchanged as gifts in the same way as young girls could be”.

This custom of boy servants was noted by other ethnographers¹²⁹ not mentioning sexual transactions, boys of pubertal age being “caught”, greased, ochred, and instructed in return of his waiting upon his *Ganitch* (sister’s husband).

During the Bora ritual for **Kamilaroi** boys (Mathews, 1896:p333-4)¹³⁰, “obscenity” takes place between the men and the boys.

¹²¹ Purcell, B. H. (1893) Rites and customs of Australian Aborigines, *Zeitschr Ethnol* 25:286-9, see p287

¹²² Westermarck, E. (1908) *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*. London: Macmillan & Co. Vol. 2

¹²³ Westermarck, E. (1909) *Sexualfragen*. Leipzig: W. Klinkhardt

¹²⁴ Merzbach, G. (1909) *Die Krankhaften Erscheinungen des Geschlechtssinnes*. Wien & Leipzig: A. Hölder

¹²⁵ Adam, B. D. (1986) Age, structure, and sexuality: reflections on the anthropological evidence on homosexual relations, *J Homosex* 11,3/4:19-33

¹²⁶ Mathews, R. H. (1907) Notes on the Aranda Tribe, *J Proc Royal Soc New South Wales* 41:146-63

¹²⁷ *Proc Roy Irish Academy*, Series 3, Vol. I, p74 [*orig. footnote*]

¹²⁸ *Trans Roy Soc S Australia*, Vol. 15, p121 [*orig. footnote*]. See Ravenscroft, A. G. B. (1892) Some habits and customs among the Chingalee tribe, Northern Territory, S. A., *Trans Roy Soc S Australia* 15,2:121-2

¹²⁹ E.g., Howitt, A. W. (1885) The Jeraeil, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kurnai Tribe, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 14:301-25, at p324

¹³⁰ Mathews, R. H. (1896) The Bora, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribe. Part II, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 25:318-39. “Most of the positions and gestures are very obscene, and some of them disgusting”.

Genital Morphology Preparation

Introcision (the enlargement of the vaginal opening by tearing or cutting the perineum) was practised among some of the aboriginal Australians (**Aranda**, basically) in order to facilitate the first experience of sexual intercourse (Head, 1978; Cook, 1979; Huelsman, 1976)¹³¹, which may have been immediate, forceful and with multiple partners (Favazza, 1987:p159)¹³².

[When a young woman of the Queensland tribes shows signs of puberty, two or three men take her away, and she has to submit to intercourse with all. After this, she is considered eligible for marriage¹³³.] The **Spinifex** group also practised ritual hymenotomy, but did not include ritual intercourse. The pubic hairs are shaved to “make it nice and ready for coitus”. Its timing was after menarche, at age 14 to 15 (Drechsel, p730). The Walbiri and Tiwi did not practise introcision.

Kubary (as cited by Ronhaar)¹³⁴ states that among the **Wakka**,

“[t]he mothers make the girls fit for copulation prematurely, by breaking the hymen with their fingers. This operation is secret, it is true, but takes place all the same. The mother moreover admonishes the girl to demand proper payment for her favours. The mother sees to it that at the copulation no inconvenience is experienced due to the early age of the girl, by regularly stretching the vulva by little rolls of leaves [...]. The mother sends the child out on her first sexual adventures”.

Lommel¹³⁵ speaks of the **Wunambal** tribe when mentioning

“[...] a rather clumsily executed defloration to make a girl “ready” for intercourse. After that, so it is said, a girl lived for some time until her marriage in promiscuity with all those men to whom she was according to her relationship an eligible wife. This custom still prevails, so I was told, in missions where it is officially prohibited and therefore practised secretly at night only. [...] The crude defloration is performed by an elder man of the same marriage-group as the girl. He, so I was told, wraps round his finger some thread spun from kangaroo-hair, and executes the defloration with it. After that the men of her intermarrying group who happen to be present have intercourse with her” (p159, 160).

¹³¹ 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

¹³² Favazza, A. R. (1987) *Bodies Under Siege: Self-mutilation in Culture and Psychiatry*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

¹³³ Westermarck, *Marriage*, Vol. 1, p171

¹³⁴ Ronhaar (1931:p340), *op.cit.*

¹³⁵ *Op.cit.*

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North-American Natives

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Introduction

Eastman's *Indian Boyhood* (1902)^{1[1]} does not reveal a clue to sexual development. This may be indicative of a reserved attitude, or of the truth. Anyway, as Karsch-Haack (1901 [1983:p243])^{2[2]} notes some authors in the middle of 19th century^{3[3]} dedicated the racial decay of New Caledonian man to "countless immoralities" ("beispiellosen Ausschweifungen") perpetrated by women "from childhood on". According to Bales et al. (1994)^{4[4]}:

"On the whole, American Indian societies were more permissive than any of the European Christian nations that began the conquest of Native America in the late 15th century. Among Indians, virginity was not necessarily prized in either sex. Sexual experimentation was regarded as ordinary adolescent behavior, and many tribes permitted—indeed expected— young people to gain sexual experience before marriage. [...] As in other cultures, Native American sexual life and identity developed during childhood. The process varied from tribe to tribe in native North America, but most children learned about sexuality from adult behavior and talk. In the **Qipi** Eskimo society of the eastern Arctic, for example, parents taught about sex through play and example. Mothers and fathers openly touched, kissed, and admired their babies' genitals during infancy. Sexual play among Eskimo children continued well into adolescence. Children talked openly about sexual experiences, and parents took these discussions as a sign of normal child development. Nevertheless, parents discouraged masturbation during childhood. These people did not admire *berdache* behavior and thought that masturbation was a precursor to homosexuality".

Williams^{5[5]} observes that sex was not interpreted as a sin, or as restricted to some reproductive role, instead as a "major blessing from the spiritual world, a gift to human beings freely enjoyed from childhood to old age. [...] Children's sexual play was more likely to be regarded by adults as an amusing activity than as a cause for alarm. This casual attitude of child rearing continued to influence people as they grew up, and even after their marriage".

Addressing "the typical American Indian as it was before he knew the white man", Eastman^{6[6]} states that within marriage ceremonials, "[e]ach girl [...] approached the sacred rock and laid her hand upon it with all solemnity. This was her religious declaration of her virginity, her vow to remain pure until her marriage. If she should ever violate the maidens' oath, then welcome that keen knife and those sharp arrows!".

Voget (1961:p99-100)^{7[7]} sketches the rather "inclusive" sexual life of young native Americans, including bestiality, homosexual encounters, coital pretence, contests, quasi-introductions, etc.:

^{1[1]} Eastman Ch. A. (1902) *Indian Boyhood*. University of Nebraska Press, Omaha

^{2[2]} Karsch-Haack, F. (1901) Uranismus oder Päderastie und Tribadie bei den Naturvölkern, *Jb Sex Zwischenst* 3:72ff. Reprinted 1983 (Schmidt, W. J. (Ed.), Vol.1:p229-96

^{3[3]} Stein, C. & Hörschelmann, F. (1855) *Handbuch der Geographie und Statistik für die Gebildeten Stände*. 7th ed. Vol. 1 Leipzig: Hinrichs, p353

^{4[4]} Bales, R., Weil, T. & Murdock, T. (1994) Indians: Native North Americans, in Bullough, V. L. & Bullough, B. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*. New York & London: Garland Publ.. Inc.

^{5[5]} Williams, W. L. (1990) Indians of North America, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol. I, p593-5

^{6[6]} Eastman, Ch. (1911) *The Soul of the Indian: An Interpretation*. Boston, Mass., [etc.]: Houghton Mifflin [etc.]

^{7[7]} 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

"Preadolescent gangs of boys served as a special source for sexual knowledge and experimentation. Such a group of **Tenetehara** boys would attempt to lure young girls into the bush, where they would attempt intercourse and other sex play. [...] Sexual contests of one kind or another were conducted by **Crow** gangs. The erect penis would be measured against that of another claimant to determine the larger and they would divide according to clans and bet on champions who would attach a line to the penis and then drag a stone as far as possible. Like the **Mohave**, **Crow** youths would bet on ejaculation distance. A large penis was prized and preadolescents would pull on the pubic hair to stimulate growth and sometimes they would put on an irritating plant juice on the penis to make it swell. [...]. Both boys and girls seem to have graduated to heterosexual contacts at an early age. Societal recognition of the fact is afforded by the brother-sister respect-avoidance behavior commonly initiated between the ages of 7 and 10. **Chaco** boys chased girls and openly tried to touch the vulva, and if a girl were caught they might attempt intromission. **Kwakiutl** boys of 6 or 7 would build little shelters in the forest and play house with girls of comparable age, lying with them in imitation of adult copulation. Play imitative of domestic life seems to have provided initial sexual contacts in many societies. [...] Crow boys of 8 and 9 were invited by pubescent and sometimes older girls to urinate in lieu of ejaculation".

A white informant told Erikson ([1963:p126])^{8[8]} that "Indian parents not only let their children masturbate, they teach them to masturbate". In study by Havighurst and Neugarten (1955)^{9[9]} comparing white American and Indian children and adolescents, the category "sex" was commented upon only by a few subjects (p101, 109). The Navaho Mountain child responded in the highest rate (5%), however "repeatedly warned against transgressing the sex taboo". Responses are not detailed any further.

For a very brief identification of puberty, courtship and marriage customs, see Prizker^{10[10]}.

Berdaches (with a Reference to Ontogeny)

Native ideologies on the ontogeny of a berdache are ethnically diverse (Callender and Kochems, 1983:p451-3)^{11[11]}. Associated cases, however, typically include statements on active, early intervention^{12[12]}. Trexler (2002)^{13[13]} argues that the executive power to assign a small

^{8[8]} Erikson, E. ([1963]) *Childhood and Society*. Second, revised and enlarged edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

^{9[9]} Havighurst, R. J. & Neugarten, B. L. (1955) *American Indian and White Children: A Sociopsychological Investigation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

^{10[10]} Prizker, B. M. (1998) *Native Americans: An Encyclopedia of History, Culture and Peoples*. 2 vols. Santa Barbara, CA [etc.]: ABD-CLIO

^{11[11]} Callender, Ch. & Kochems, L. M. (1983) The North American Berdache, *Curr Anthropol* 24,4:443-70

^{12[12]} As taken from Carpenter, E. (1914) *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk*. Am. ed. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, chs. 1 and 2 (*all italics mine*): "Every temple or chief house of worship keeps one or two men, or more, according to the idol - who go about attired like women, *even from their childhood*, and talk like women, and imitate them in their manner, carriage, and all else". [Cieza de Leon (1554) *La Chronica del Peru*. Antwerp, ch. 64]. "Has a boy with a pretty face also a graceful demeanour? The mother no longer permits him to associate companions of his own age, but clothes him and brings him up as a girl. Any stranger would be deceived as to his sex, and when he is about fifteen he is sold for a good round sum to a wealthy personage. [footnote omitted] 'Choupans', or youths of this kind are highly prized by the Konyagas. On the other hand, there are to be met with here and there among the Esquimaux or kindred populations, especially in Youkon, girls who decline marriage and maternity. Changing their sex, so to speak, they live as boys, adopting masculine manners and customs, they hunt the stag, and in the chase shrink from no danger; in fishing from no fatigue. [...] The priests in office do not leave the recruiting of their pupils to chance; they make choice *at an early age* of boys or girls" [Elie Reclus, nd, *Primitive Folk* (Contemporary Science Series). London: Walter Scott Studies, p68,

boy's gender was vested in parents, rather than being the boy's free choice. Sources on berdache stress cross-sex occupational preferences in childhood (Whitehead, 1981 [1986:p87]^{14[14]}).

Data on the age of first homosexual behaviour are probably rare (see Roscoe, 1994)^{15[15]} which leaves the point of berdache's sexual inauguration blank in most cases. "While growing", Arctic berdache boys engaged in homosexual behaviour as passives^{16[16]}. Late 17th century Illinois men, not satisfied by their women as they were not sufficiently forthcoming, sexually trained groups of boys "from childhood" as passives to satisfy their needs^{17[17]}.

Menarche Rites

Menarchal rites used to be common feature of native coming-of-age.

As reviewed elsewhere^{18[18]}, in California these include that of the Shasta (Silver 1978:p215), Achumawi (Olmsted and Stewart 1978), Chimariko (Silver 1978:p209), Modoc (Ray 1963), Yuki (Gifford 1965:p69-70), Ninesan (Powers 1976:p423), Concow Maidu (Jewell 1987:p102), Lake Miwok (Callaghan 1978:p268), Wintu (Du Bois 1935:p53), Gabriellino (Johnston 1962:p63), but not Yokuts (Spier 1978:p479) and Tübatulabal (Voegelin 1938:p46-7). Comparable female puberty ceremonies were held by all the Juaneño: Serrano and Pass, Desert and Mountain Cahuilla. In others, transition ceremonials were not associated with menarche (Cupeño), or with the menarche of one of several participants (Luiseño).

Achumawi ceremonies were social festivals "with members of neighboring villages invited, much singing of ribald songs, and, on one day of each session, sexual intercourse" (Olmsted and Stewart 1978:p232). The **Modoc** also celebrated a girl's first menses with a dance of notification, which was essentially a way of publicizing the fact that the girl was now ready for marriage. The festival also provided a period of "social pleasantries, love making, and

71, speaking of the "**Inoits**" [Inuit]; "The male wizards are obliged (as it were) to leave their sex, and to dress themselves in female apparel, and are not permitted to marry, though the female ones or witches may. They are generally chosen for this office *when they are children*, and a preference is always shown to those who at that early time of life discover an effeminate disposition. They are clothed *very early* in female attire, and presented with the drum and rattles belonging to the profession they are to follow". [Thomas Falkner (1775) *Description of Patagonia and of the Neighboring Countries of South America*. Hereford & London. German translation, Gotha, 1775, p117]

^{13[13]} Trexler, R. C. (2002) Making The American Berdache: Choice or Constraint? *J Soc Hist* 35,3:613-36. Cf. Benjamin, H. (1966) *The Transsexual Phenomenon*. New York: The Julian Press, Inc.

Publishers, esp. Appendix C: Transsexualism: Mythological, Historical, And Cross-Cultural Aspects
^{14[14]} Whitehead, H. (1981) The bow and the burden strap: a new look at institutionalized homosexuality in native North-America, in Ortner, Sh. B. & Whitehead, H. (Eds.) *Sexual Meanings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p80-115. Reprinted in Abelove, H. (Ed., 1993) *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, 498-527

^{15[15]} Roscoe, W. (1994) How to Become a Berdache: Toward a Unified Analysis of Gender Diversity, in Herdt, G. (Ed.) *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. New York: Zone Books, p329-72

^{16[16]} Sauer, M. (1802) *Account of Billing's Expedition*. London, p160. As cited by Trexler (2002:p618), *op.cit.*

^{17[17]} Quaife, M. M. (Ed., 1947) *The Western Country in the 17th Century: the Memoirs of Lamothe Cadillac and Pierre Liette*, Chicago. As cited by Trexler (2002:p624), *op.cit.*

^{18[18]} <http://www.cabrillo.cc.ca.us/divisions/socsci/anthro/index/menstruation.html>

sexual experimentation for young men and women, particularly the unmarried" (Ray 1963:p72). This announcement function was also described for the **Gabrielino**.

Early Betrothal / Marriage

At the beginning of the 16th century among Native Americans, an Amerindian mode of reproduction was the norm - universal marriage near the age of puberty^{19[19]}. Marriages among the **Point Barrow** Eskimo are "usually arranged by parents, sometimes when principals are mere children"^{20[20]} (cf. Sumner, 1906:p382-3)^{21[21]}. Among the Behring Strait Eskimo, "[f]rom the lower **Yukon** to the **Quskokwin** child-betrothals [are] common". The girl may be four or five^{22[22]}. Among the Central Eskimo, children are generally betrothed when very young, but these engagements may be broken off at any time^{23[23]}. "[...] [I]n traditional **Copper Inuit** society, females were often betrothed or married before the onset of puberty" (Condon, 1987; Damas, 1972, 1984)^{24[24]}. Among the **Pomo** Indians, child betrothal was common (Bean, 1978; Essene, 1942:p29; Gifford and Kroeber 1937:p148-9, 190-1)^{25[25]}. Among the **Blackfoot**, child marriage is a recent historic fact; thus, "informants, speaking of the period of the latter half of the nineteenth century, placed the age of marriage for girls between ten and sixteen and that of men at thirty-five, rarely at less. It is during this period that we get the first cases of child marriage. Fathers now wished to marry off their daughters as early as possible in order to realize the bride price" (Lewis, 1973)^{26[26]}. Among the **Thompson River** Indians, girls are often betrothed while in infancy to men sometimes 20 years older^{27[27]}. Addressing the Eskimo to the **North of Churchill**, Franklin^{28[28]} stated that "as soon as a girl is born, the young lad who wishes to have her for a wife goes to her father's tent and proffers himself. If accepted, a promise is given which is considered binding, and the girl is delivered to her betrothed at the proper age". As cited by Westermarck ([1901:p213]), early betrothals are among the established customs of the **Chippewyans**^{29[29]},

^{19[19]} McCaa, R. (1994) Marriageways in Mexico and Spain, 1500-1900, *Continuity & Change* [Great Britain] 9,1:11-43

^{20[20]} Murdock (1892:p410); Parsons, E. C. (1906) *The Family*. New York & London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, p70

^{21[21]} Sumner, W. G. (1906) *Folkways*. Boston [etc.]: Ginn & Co.

^{22[22]} Nelson, E. W. (1899) The Eskimo About Behring Strait. 18th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part.1, p291-2; Parsons (1906:p70)

^{23[23]} Boas, F. (1888) *The Central Eskimo*. 6th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology; Parsons (1906:p70)

^{24[24]} Condon, R. G. (1987) *Inuit Youth: Growth and Change in the Canadian Arctic*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. Damas, D. (1984) *Copper Eskimo*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press: "Marriage was arranged during infancy or at birth, and in most documented cases, betrothal was arranged between some sort of cousins. Marriage was acknowledged when both of the betrothed, or more frequently, when the girl reached puberty". Damas, D. (1972) *The Copper Eskimo*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc.: "Child betrothal was widely practiced. Marriages were usually contracted early in the childhood of the pair"; [...] [D]uring the period 1925-1955 [...] [c]hild betrothal was still common and began to fade only in the centralized communities of the contemporary period".

^{25[25]} Bean, L. J. (1978) *Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution

^{26[26]} Lewis, O. (1973) *The Effects of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*. Seattle; London: University of Washington Press

^{27[27]} Teit (1900:p321); Parsons (1906:p73-4)

^{28[28]} Franklin, *Journey*, p263, as cited by Westermarck (1901, 3rd ed.), p123. Other data on early engagements among the Eskimo would be found in Hall, *Arctic Researches*, p567; "Das Ausland", 1881, p698; Cranz (I, p146); Wiatz, III:p308)

^{29[29]} Richardson (II, p23); Mackenzie (cxxxiii)

Inland Columbians^{30[30]}, **Botocudos**^{31[31]}, **Patagonians**^{32[32]}, and other Native American peoples^{33[33]}.

Contemporary Coitarche

In a study on adolescents (Edwards, 1992)^{34[34]}, the average age of first sexual intercourse among sexually active students was 13.6 years among males and 14.2 years among females.

^{30[30]} Bancroft (I, p276 *et seq.*); Mayne, *Four Years in British Colombia and Vancouver Islands*, p276 (Nutkas)

^{31[31]} Van Martius (I, p322)

^{32[32]} Falkner (p124); Kind and Fitzroy (II, p152 *et seq.*)

^{33[33]} Shoshones (Lewis & Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*, p307), Arawaks (Schomburgk, II, p460; Brett, p99 *et seq.*), Marcusis (Van Martius, I, p645)

^{34[34]} Edwards, S. (1992) Among Native American Teenagers, Sex Without Contraceptives is Common, *Fam Plann Perspect* 24,4:189-91

Ethnographic Particularities

Stewart (1960)^{35[35]} presented observations on sexual socialization among the **Cowichans** of Vancouver Island, compared with the **Utes**.

Pomo (Eastern Pomo:3-,3-,3-,3-,2,2;7,5) ([eHRAF](#)) (North America)

Among the Pomo Indians, child betrothal was common (Bean, 1978; Essene, 1942:p29; Gifford and Kroeber 1937:p148–9, 190-1)^{36[36]}. Before the Ghost ceremony, a boy must not have had sexual intercourse (Loeb, 1926)^{37[37]}. Loeb: “Before puberty [the girl] was allowed to play with boys, but after this period she was carefully watched. Some families allowed their girls to be promiscuous with young men after puberty, but these families were the exceptions. It was some years after puberty before girls married”. Powers (1877)^{38[38]}:

“One matter is notable among these Eel River Indians—I observed it more especially among the Kai Pomo—and that is the extreme youthfulness of both sexes when they arrive at the age of puberty. In the warm and sheltered valley of South Fork (however bleak the naked mountain-tops may be in winter), it was a thing not at all uncommon, in the days of the Indians' prosperity, to see a woman become a mother at twelve or fourteen. An instance was related to me where a girl had borne her firstborn at ten, as nearly as her years could be ascertained, her husband, a white man, being then sixty-odd. For this reason, or some other, the half-breeds on Eel River are generally sickly, puny, short-lived, and slightly esteemed by the fathers, who not unfrequently bestow them as presents on any one willing to burden himself with their nurture”.

Comanches (2-,2,3,2+,3,3;5,5) (North America)

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:p128)^{39[39]} state that small children play “chief” choosing wives. “The more precocious dallied in sexual experimentation. “One day we played at being married. I did my best to make a baby with my wife”, said Post Oak Jim”. “Although youngsters were not subject to moral censure for sexual activity, it was encouraged. Boys, during the period of their preadolescent gang life, ignored the girls to a great degree”. At adolescence, when they become “positively bashful”, this changes: the girls visit the boys. Linton (1945:p75)^{40[40]} states the following: “Sexual play between children began at an early

^{35[35]} Stewart, J. L. (1960) The problem of stuttering in certain North American Indian societies, *J Speech & Hearing Disord* 6:87

^{36[36]} Bean, L. J. (1978) *Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution

^{37[37]} Loeb, E. M. (1926) *Pomo Folkways*. Berkeley: University of California Press

^{38[38]} Powers, S. (1877) The Pomo, in *Tribes of California*. Washington: Government Printing Office, p146-95, 204-17, 491-517

^{39[39]} Wallace, E. & Hoebel, E. A. (1952) *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma

^{40[40]} Linton, R. (1945) The Comanche, in Kardiner, A. (Ed.) *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*. New York: Colombia University Press. 1956 reprint, p47-80

age, and was carried out on quite freely as long as the two children were not brother and sister. The Comanche paid no attention to virginity; they took these childhood relations more or less for granted". Further (p138, 156), free masturbation would decline after acquisition of the loin cloth, the children would "imitate" adult modesty. Much clandestine sex play, both heterosexual and homosexual, occurred; children would imitate adult obscenity. Children's behaviour indicated a knowledge of the relation between copulation and conception (p138).

Flathead (North America)

Turney-High (1937:p77)^{41[41]} stated that children were not allowed to romp in the lodge, and put to bed with the dark. "Therefore, if children refrained from sexual precocity, [they] were seen rather than heard [...]". Anyway, the pubertal girls were "well aware of the ordinary fact of sex [since] [t]he crowded lodges took care of that". Girls were warned for menarche. "In 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" (p82). There was considerable premarital sex (p82-4). A type of child marriage or betrothal was far from uncommon (p86), but consummation was said not to be "precocious". Normaliter, girls married four years after puberty.

Menominee (North America)

Spinler (1977:p444)^{42[42]} noted: "Children receive little instruction about sex- but they need little since its natural manifestations are apparent in the close quarters of a shack or hut. Masturbation is rather casually discouraged".

Papago (3-,3,3-,3+,2,3+,5,4) (North America)

A Papago woman remembers that "love thoughts, unlike rumours on the Sioux, did not arise till child-bearing age, the girls working and playing "with the thought of establishment in mind" (Underhill, 1936 [1979:p92])^{43[43]}. It was felt that marriage should synchronise with the awakening of sex interest and some informants appoint 12 as a marriageable age for a girl (Underhill, 1939 [1969:p179])^{44[44]}. The husband may be 16 or 17. After polluarche, a boy

^{41[41]} Turney-High, H. H. (1937) *The Flathead Indians of Montana*. Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association

^{42[42]} Spinler, G. (1977) The Menominee, in Spindler, G. & Spindler, L. (Eds.) *Native North American Cultures*. New York [etc.]: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p361-498

^{43[43]} Underhill, R. M. (1936 [1979]) *Papago Woman*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

^{44[44]} Underhill, R. M. (1939) *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*. Columbia University Contributions in Anthropology 30. New York: AMS, 1969 reprint

asked his father to find him a wife (p94). Adults are, “when sober, prudish in regard to sex. All references are subsumed under the category of *malas palabres* (bad words)” (p102).

Cheyennes (North America)

Cheyenne girls, “famous among all Western tribes for their chastity” wore chastity belts which was assumed upon puberty (Llewellyn and Hoebel, 1941:p176-7, 261)^{45[45]}. In theory, a girl had no say in marital arrangements; in practice, she sometimes did. However, little boys and little girls court each other in elaborate “camp” play, including going to bed [no sexological inferences are made here] (Grinnell, 1923, I:110-5)^{46[46]}. A Cheyenne boy was expected to court a girl over a duration of one to five years, she being courted by five up to twelve young men at the same time (I, p137-8).

Additional refs.:

-- Hoebel (1960)^{47[47]}

Arapaho (North America)

Sister Hilger (1952)^{48[48]} says little on Arapaho sexual development. Except from nude play in the water (p112), games that were prohibited after the girls showed signs of physical maturity, no observations are made. Late preadolescents have one or more chums (best playmates) before entering the boy’s ceremonial lodge at age 12. Girl’s childhood proper ends at puberty (p110, 111).

Sanpoil (North America)

“[...] [T]he Sanpoil thrash soundly any child who exhibits behavior that is at all suggestive of homosexual tendencies” (Ford and Beach, 1951:p129).

Sioux (North America)

^{45[45]} Llewellyn, K. N. & Hoebel, E. A. (1941) *The Cheyenne Way*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press

^{46[46]} Grinnell, G. B. (1923) *The Cheyenne Indians*. Vol. 1. New Haven: Yale University Press. Also quoted by Llewellyn and Hoebel (1941:p245), *op.cit.*

^{47[47]} Hoebel, E. A. (1960) *The Cheyennes: Indians of the Great Plains*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

^{48[48]} Hilger, M. I. (1952) *Arapaho Child Life and Its Cultural Background*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office

Data on actual behaviours are few, perhaps because there is “great restraint about mentioning sexual matters to outsiders (MacGregor, 1946:p194)^{49[49]}. Sioux fathers would lean their sons to masturbate and encourage them to do so on a regular basis (Sarlin, 1975:p377)^{50[50]}. Hassrick (1964)^{51[51]} states: “Even little people’s games such as the Packing Game, First Love and Elope. These games “involved playing as make-believe lovers and parents” (p112), and received “direct impetus by the elders” (p277). They were played at ages 8 to 11, whereas they probably stopped after strict sex segregation soon after age 11. However, Erikson (1945 / 1949:p215)^{52[52]} observed that boys were allowed more bodily freedom than girls before this age.

Crow (North America)

Some of the unilaterally male freedom is reviewed by Voget (1961:p99-100)^{53[53]}: “Sexual contests of one kind or another were conducted by Crow gangs. The erect penis would be measured against that of another claimant to determine the larger and they would divide according to clans and bet on champions who would attach a line to the penis and then drag a stone as far as possible. Like the Mohave, Crow youths would bet on ejaculation distance. A large penis was prized and preadolescents would pull on the pubic hair to stimulate growth and sometimes they would put on an irritating plant juice on the penis to make it swell. [...]. Crow boys of 8 and 9 were invited by pubescent and sometimes older girls to urinate in lieu of ejaculation”. Crow Indian children would play “wife abduction” (Lowie, 1935 [1956:p38])^{54[54]}. “In the formative years [childhood] sexual interest was left to the boys and girls, who formed their own gangs and united to play at breaking, moving and pitching camp like married couples. [...] once he was six or seven a brother could no longer play with or be alone with a sister, for this would mean that he did not hold her in respect (Voget, 1964:p495)^{55[55]}. “A grandmother, especially from a better family, was much interested in the virtue of her granddaughter, and might instruct her in the wearing of a “chastity belt”(p497)^{56[56]}.

^{49[49]} MacGregor, G. (1946) *Warriors without Weapons*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

^{50[50]} Sarlin, Ch. N. (1975) Masturbation, Culture and psychosexual development, in Marcus, I. M. & Francis, J. J. (Eds.) *Masturbation*. New York: International Universities Press, p349-80

^{51[51]} Hassrick, R. B. (1964) *The Sioux*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press

^{52[52]} Erikson, E. H. (1945) Childhood and tradition in two American Indian tribes, *Psychoanal Study Child* 1:319-50. Reprinted in Haring (1949 [1956:255-86]), *op.cit.*

^{53[53]} 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

^{54[54]} Lowie, R. H. (1935[1956]) *The Crow Indians*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

^{55[55]} Voget, F. W. (1964) Warfare and the integration of Crow Indian culture, in Goodenough, W. H. (Ed.) *Explorations in Cultural Anthropology*. New York [etc.]: McGraw-Hill, p483-509

^{56[56]} Cf. Lowie (1912:p220), *Social Life of the Crow Indians*

Zuni, Zuñi (2,2,3-,3,2,4-;6,2) (North America)

Leighton and Adair (1966:p67)^{57[57]}: “When the boys and girls are about six or seven years old, they will occasionally indulge in sex play. The boys get on top of the girls and play at having sexual intercourse in imitation of their parents, whom they have probably observed in the house sleeping quarters. Or they may have learned of intercourse from watching farm animals”. “Frequently a boy’s first sexual experience is with an older woman, perhaps with a married woman who has been divorced [*sic*], simply because she is not carefully watched by her parents”. There is mentioning of a “double standard” boys being expected to have sexual relations before marriage, though condemned. Roscoe (1991:p35)^{58[58]} stated that, “Boys and girls might engage in sex play as early as the age of six or seven”. Again, this would in part be the resultant of single-room housing. According to Benedict (1934)^{59[59]}, “[m]arriage is arranged almost without courtship”. Boys and girls were supposed not to have any more interaction than incidental acquaintances, so that “certainly there are many Zuñi women today who were married with no more preliminary sex [social] experience than this”.

Kutenai (Lower Kutenai: 3,3+,3,3+,3+,3+;4,4) (North America)

Turney-High (1941 [1969:p126])^{60[60]} states that chiefs agree that children’s chastity training is “complete” and effective. The rape of girls would not be met with positive punishment, since “if she had remained in her own lodge at night such a thing could not have taken place”. The rights and duties of marriage were lectured from age five or six (p131). Girls’ house-playing (p118) nevertheless probably lacked an explicit element despite the general realism *enforced by the mother*.

Navaho, Navajo, Diné (North America)

Leighton and Kluckhohn (1948:p35, 54-5, 87, 88)^{61[61]} provide specific impressions on children’s sexual excursions. Masturbation is “accepted as a normal part of the young child’s life”, and “the mother may stroke the naked genitals of a nursing child with her hand. Some observations indicate that she does this more often with boys than with girls. This practice and the differing structure of the external sex organs may cause boys to react more strongly than girls to the cessation of nursing”. Girls are taught to keep their skirts down to prevent someone seeing up their dress “go blind” (p101). Unlike “infantile masturbation”, “children

^{57[57]} Leighton, D. C. & Adair, J. (1966) *People of the Middle Place: A Study of the Zuni Indians*. New Haven: HRAF

^{58[58]} Roscoe, W. (1991) *The Zuni Man-Woman*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press

^{59[59]} Benedict, R. (1934) *Patterns of Culture*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company

^{60[60]} Turney-High, H. H. (1941 [1969]) *Ethnography of the Kutenai*. New York: Kraus Reprint

^{61[61]} Leighton, D. & Kluckhohn, C. (1948) *Children of the People: The Navaho Individual and his Development*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

who are approaching the age when they might indulge in heterosexual activities are frequently and strongly warned against them. "We tell even little children that boys and girls must not touch each other. They can play together but they must not touch each other. We say to the girl that a boy may bite her ear off, or the boy may get mad and break her head with a stone". Small boys are sometimes told that the girl's vagina will bite off or injure the penis [...]. All such warnings, which might be motivated only by the practical consideration of protecting immature children from too much sexual experimentation and preventing pregnancy in adolescent girls, stress the danger of sex and are couched in terms that might implant a lasting uneasiness about the sex act".

Kluckhohn (1947:p68, 77; 1948)^{62[62]} observed that mothers tickle the genitals of nursed infants. The erotic freedom of infancy is linked to the rarity of adult impotence and frigidity (p60). Little is said about older children. An autobiographical account (Dyk, 1938)^{63[63]} reveals that seven or eight-year-old boys may be told girls will bite their genitals off, or have vaginae dentatae (p44-5). Before this, boys and girls play together freely, and may imitate the copulation of goats "every day" (p10-1).

Proskauer (1980:p46-7)^{64[64]} relates:

"The discipline and sexual instruction of Navajo children is primarily the task of the maternal uncle and aunt. Father and mother are usually seen more as benign providers of care and gifts. Sex education begins early, around toddler age, when the child's first striving toward autonomous mobility makes him eligible for the sexual joking and teasing that go on openly in Navajo social gatherings. 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". She might instruct her niece how to catch boys at the Squaw dance. In addition to this frank teasing, children are exposed to the sight and sound of sexual intercourse from birth in the one-room hogan. [...] Children have ample opportunities for sexual play and exploration while out herding the sheep or off by themselves at ceremonial gatherings. Girls and women are generally the more sexually aggressive throughout life".

"When I reached puberty, my mother advised me that I could no longer play with my brothers as I had as a girl child. I was a young woman and expected to behave as such. My brothers were advised that I was to be treated with appropriate behavior"^{65[65]}.

Additional refs:

-- Bailey (1950:p13-15)^{66[66]}

^{62[62]} Kluckhohn, C. (1947) Some Aspects of Navaho Infancy and Early Childhood, in Róheim, G. (Ed.) *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*, Vol.1. New York : International Universities Press; Kluckhohn, C. (1948) Some Aspects of Navaho Infancy and Early Childhood, *Am Anthropol* 50:536ff. Also in Haring ([1949], p396-407). See also Stephens (1962:p20-2), *op.cit.*

^{63[63]} Dyk, W. (1938) *Son of Old Man Hat*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Relevant pages include p10, 44, 46, 97, 119, 137, 208

^{64[64]} Proskauer, S. (1980) Oedipal equivalents in a clan culture: Reflections on Navajo ways, *Psychia* 43,1:43-50

^{65[65]} Tohe, L. (2000) There is No Word for Feminism in My Language, *Wicaso Sa Rev*, Fall:103-10

^{66[66]} Bailey, F. L. (1950) *Some sex beliefs and practices in a Navaho community*. Cambridge: Peabody Mus Am Archeol & Ethnol 12, Harvard Univ

Mohave (North America)

The sexual life of the Mohave was extensively researched by George Devereux^{67[67]}. Devereux chooses to discuss sexual socialisation matters apart from the global pedagogical realm (1950:p94)^{68[68]}. Devereux (1951:p95-6)^{69[69]}: “Personal experience was [as was the route of the ear] an important source of information. Although, with the exception of prosperous older men who married child-wives, and of a few dissolute women, Mohave adults seldom if ever cohabited with children, the sexual skills of adults were relayed to the very young through adolescents, who cohabited both with adults and with preadolescents”. “In other words, the technique of sexual acts seeped down to the younger generation through the adolescents, who were the intermediate link in the sexual chain connecting children and adults”.

According another quote (Williams, 1986), however, Devereux stated that “[m]any children cohabited with each other *and even with adults* long before puberty; the latency period was conspicuous by its absence” [ital.add.].

Boys were used as escorts of prostitutes as witnesses of eventual misbehaviour of their clients^{70[70]}. The Mohave believed in the possibility of orgasm in small children. Mohave “playing house” (p101-3) was not discussed as related to play coitus, although “the present play pattern of Mohave children has been so deeply influenced by American toys and ideas, that it is no longer possible to make direct observations of aboriginal forms [...]”. Ultimately, and most probably, there is “amused tolerance”. Children formed at least temporarily stable affairs, in which coital play took place “sometimes as early as the fifth year of life, small girls being usually deflowered^{71[71]} by boys belonging to their play group, while older ones were sometimes seduced by adolescents or adult men”. The same pattern was noted for boys.

^{67[67]} Devereux, G. (1936) *Sexual life of the Mohave Indians.*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Berkeley, California, p32; Devereux, G. (1937) Institutionalized homosexuality of the Mohave Indians, *Hum Biol* 9:498-527. Reprinted in Ruitenbeek, H.M. (Ed.) *The Problem of Homosexuality in Modern Society*. New York : Dutton & Co., p183-226; and in Dynes, W. R. & Donaldson, S. (Eds., 1992) *Ethnographic Studies of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland, p136-65; Devereux, G. (1938) L'évoûtement chez las Indiens Mohave, *J Soc Américanists de Paris* 29:405-12; Devereux, G. (1940) Primitive psychiatry I, *Bull Hist Med* 8:1194-213; Devereux, G. (1948) Mohave zoophilia, *Samiska* 2:227-45; Devereux, G. (1950a) Heterosexual behavior of the Mohave Indians, in Róheim, G. (Ed.) *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*, Vol. II. New York: International University Press, p85-128; Devereux, G. (1950b) Mohave Indian autoerotic behavior, *Psychoanal Rev* 37:201-20. Discussed in *Ann Survey Psychoanal* 1(1950), p92, 304-5; Devereux, G. (1950c) The psychology of feminine genital bleeding; an analysis of Mohave Indian puberty and menstrual rites, *Int J Psychoanal* 31:237-57. Discussed in *Ann Survey Psychoanal* 1(1950), p305-6; 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. Discussed by Devereux, G., in *Ann Survey Psychoanal* 2(1951), p502-5; Devereux, G. (1951b) Mohave Indian Verbal and Motor Profanity, in Roheim, G. (Ed.) *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*. New York: International Universities Press. Vol 3., p99-127. More on Mohave children in Devereux, G. (1950c) Amusement and Sports of Mohave Indians Children, *The Masterkey* 24:143-52; Devereux, G. (1950d) Notes on the Developmental Pattern and Organic Needs of Mohave Indian Children, *Transact Kansas Acad Sci* 53,2:178-85; Devereux, G. (1950e) Status, Socialisation and Interpersonal Relations of Mohave Children, *Psychiatry* 13,4:489-502; Devereux, G. (1968) L'image de l'enfant dans deux tribus, mohave et sedang et son importance pour la psychiatrie infantile, *Rev Neuropsychia Infantile* 16,4:375-90. See also his 1951 *Reality and Dream: Psychotherapy of a Plains Indian*. New York: IUP; Italiaander, R. (Ed., 1969) *Weder Krankheit Noch Verbrechen*. Hamburg: Gala, p91-8; and Williams, W. (1986) *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press, p89-90

^{68[68]} Devereux, G. (1950) Education and Discipline in Mohave Society, *Anthropol Quart* 23,4:85-102

^{69[69]} Devereux (1951a), *op.cit.*

^{70[70]} Devereux, G. (1948) The Mohave Indian Kamalo:y, *J Clin Psychopath* 9:433-57

^{71[71]} See also Devereux (1951b:p125), *op.cit.*

Incest was avoided. Generally, “parents seem to have tried primarily to encourage their children to avoid sexual acts which would have been scandalous even among adults”. Nettle^{72[72]}, characterising the early twentieth century Mohave Reservation, complained that no ten-year-old Mohave girl was still a virgin. Informants told Wallace (1948)^{73[73]} that coitarche took place before puberty, and were considered commonplace. Devereux (1937:p499 [1963:p184-5; 1992:p137]) noted that

“[c]asual homosexual relations in early childhood were frequent in the past and, according to my informants, seem to be on the increase at the present time. “Nowadays the kids at school don’t get a chance to play with the opposite sex and therefore they go off into the bushes and copulate with other boys or girls”. [...] Water games were especially favorable for sexual intimacy, which, however, seldom if ever led to actual sex relations in the water because the Mohave believe that intercourse in the water causes a certain disease in women. [...] Not seldom older boys got hold of one of their comrades, pulled back his foreskin, and smeared mud on the exposed gland. Mutual masturbation was not absent but rather uncommon. Older boys, however, often performed forced rectal intercourse on their younger playmates. [...] Adults seldom had sexual intercourse with children of their own sex, although betrothal of young girls to old men or seduction of very young boys by adult women was not rare”.

Devereux (1950c:p238, 247) states that many girls were deflowered before puberty while it being “possible that in late aboriginal times, and during the early reservation days, few girls were virgins by the time they reached puberty”. Mohave children held masturbation and urination contests. They played house, and examined the opposite sex genitals; “[...] such activities usually culminated in intercourse”.

Blood Indians (Blackfoot; Alberta, Canada) (North Americas)

McClintock (1910:p184-5)^{74[74]} revealed that, chastity being held “of supreme importance”, Blackfoot girls were proposed for marriage by their parents generally when aged 14, “and sometimes as young as eight”.

Goldfrank (1951:p73-5)^{75[75]} commented on the precocious knowledge of these Indians. Also, “[s]ex play between brothers and sisters is strongly tabooed, but in the young years it is not uncommon”. Enuresis is said to derive from this practice. An informant reports coital imitation at age 6 without penetration. “It was not uncommon for a girl of eight to initiate a boy of five or six into the mysteries of sex, or for a group of teen-age boys to have relations with one or more girls of ten or twelve in the bushes during such times as the sun dance”.

^{72[72]} Nettle, M. A. I., *Mohave Women*. MS of a lecture delivered before a woman’s club, Parker, Arizona, as cited by Devereux (1951:p105), *op.cit.*

^{73[73]} Wallace, W. J. (1948) Infancy and childhood among the Mohave Indians, *Anthropol Quart* 21:19-38

^{74[74]} McClintock, W. (1910) *The Old North Trail*. London: Macmillan & Co.

^{75[75]} Goldfrank, E. S. (1951) Observations on sexuality among the blood Indians of Alberta, Canada, *Psychoanal & Soc Sci* 3:71-98

Goldfrank (1966:p20)^{76[76]}: “In the children’s play camp [...] age-grades were frequently forgotten and boys and girls imitated the life of adults. Some chose to be husband and wife, others mother and child. Pointed Plume says, Usually we had partners, but my older sister almost always played with me. I was her son. She thought it safest if she took care of me, because I was a *minipoka*. No such supervision was given a Ned Sloane. He frankly tells of his sex play with a little girl of five”.

A native account reveals^{77[77]}:

“My grandmothers didn't usually learn about childbirth until they were ready to have their first children. I was raised this way, too, and it is one of the things about our customs that I have never understood. As a young girl I used to ask my mother about having children. Either she would ignore me or she would say: “When the time comes, you’ll find out about it”. She was raised the same way, and so was her mother. My girl friends and I sometimes traded gossip and rumors about the subject, but we never really knew much about it. Some of the things we heard were good, and some were horrifying. [...] If it was a first pregnancy then the mother-to-be was given advice by an older woman with more experience, often a sister-in-law. or the mother-in-law. Some tribes had elaborate ceremonies for girls reaching puberty, but ours did not. Even today a lot of girls in our tribe are really in the dark about having children. With the modern lack of discipline, this has created many problems”.

Parental control was rigid:

“Little kids used to be left to play together, and in the summer they often went naked. But as soon as they got old enough to know the difference between boys and girls, they were separated. From then on the girls were watched carefully by their mothers and aunts, and no boys were allowed near them. If they did anything that might bring a bad name to the family they were punished quite severely—mostly by their own brothers” (p199-200).

Fraternal control was also harsh:

“Brothers and sisters were taught to respect each other from an early age. Girls were never allowed to dress improperly in front of their brothers. Some of these customs have gone on to the present time, I can tell you. I was the only girl in my family, and I had six brothers who watched over me. These customs sure caused me and some of my friends a lot of tears and heartaches—like when we had boy friends of whom our brothers didn't approve, or when we wanted to be in style and wear shorter skirts”.

***Walapai* (North America)**

According to MacGregor^{78[78]}, there are girl but not male initiation ceremonies. An informant: “When a boy has nocturnal emissions, no ceremonies or significance are attached to them. As a rule boys do not tell about them. When I have them, I dream about my relatives at the time”. Another informant: “A boy becomes interested in girls when he is about fourteen

^{76[76]} Goldfrank, E. S. (1966) *Changing Configurations in the Social Organization of a Blackfoot Tribe During the Reserve Period (the Blood of Alberta, Canada)*. Seattle; London: University of Washington Press

^{77[77]} Hungry Wolf, B. (1980) *The Ways of my Grandmothers*. New York: Morrow

^{78[78]} Knifen, F., MacGregor, G., McKennan, R., Mekeel, S. & Mook, M. (1935) *Walapi Ethnography*. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 42, p136-40

years old, but does not begin to have intercourse until sixteen. The girls are usually younger. The parents of a girl who has been having occasional intercourse with a boy may make her marry him two or three years later. Most people nowadays have promiscuous intercourse before they are married". A third: "Promiscuity does not result in much illegitimacy because it is too occasional. The young people are afraid to have intercourse regularly" (cf. McKennan, p147).

Yokuts (eHRAF) (Lake Yokuts: 3,3,3,3,-,-;8,-) (North America)

Marriage was arranged by parents when the girl is 10-15, marriage following when aged 20 (Gayton, 1948:p194)^{79[79]}. Undesired sexual intercourse in adolescence is feared, and the girl stayed close to home or companions. Also, "The mother would tell the girl about having babies when she was small [...] [author's note: "Presumably the lore, so to say: there was no concealment of sex in this intimately housed society"]".

"They frequently arranged betrothals at puberty and made every effort to see that the marriage not only took place, but continued. [...] The actual puberty ceremony, which was looked upon as a betrothal ceremony, a declaration of intentions by both families concerned, was made by a boy's mother. The parents had previously reached an agreement in the matter" (Gayton, 1948, I). "The girl might be betrothed, though not irreversibly, at puberty; marriage would take place some years later" (Spier, 1978)^{80[80]}. "The marriage pact concluded with a feast. Sometimes such arrangements were made before the two individuals involved had reached puberty" (Wallace, 1978)^{81[81]}.

Assiniboine (eHRAF) (North America)

In the past, age-stratified intercourse apparently awaited girl's puberty: "If a man's wife dies, he has a pre-emptive right to her younger sister, and if the girl is still immature she is kept for him until puberty"^{82[82]}.

Huron (2,2,2,2,2,-,2;-8,8) (North America)

^{79[79]} Gayton, A. H. (1948) *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography*. Vol II: Northren Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press

^{80[80]} Spier, R. F. G. (1978) Foothill Yokuts, in Heizer, R. (Ed.) *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol.8. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, p471-84

^{81[81]} Wallace, W. J. (1978) Southern Valley Yokuts, in Heizer, R. (Ed.) *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol.8.. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, p448-61

^{82[82]} Lowie, R. H. (1909) *The Assiniboine*. New York: The Trustees

Sagard (1632, II:p160, as cited by Ronhaar and Tooker)⁸³[83] speaks of “very early” immorality and prostitution. Talbot (1949:p58, as cited by Mees⁸⁴)⁸⁵ claimed that “[...] females prostituted themselves as early as they could, and fathers and mothers were panderers for their own daughters”. As reviewed by Mees, “[t]he Huron were very open about their sexuality. They engaged in sexual expression soon after puberty and premarital sexual relations were considered to be perfectly normal [Trigger]⁸⁶. Promiscuity was characteristic of if not encouraged among the youth. Each village had its ‘procurers’ whose sole occupation was to bring young men and women together for intercourse [Anderson]⁸⁷”.

Pawnee (Skidi P.: 2,2,2+,3,3,4;5,2) ([eHRAF](#)) (North America)

The Central North American Skidi Pawnee children played house, according to Dorsey and Murie (1940:p96-7)⁸⁸[84]:

“Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents. Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this early intimacy would ultimately end in a marriage according to the rites of the tribe, but the girl was not allowed to exercise much choice in the selection of a husband”.

There is no formal ceremony to mark boy’s puberty. From the time he is taken in charge by his mother’s brother’s wife, until marriage, “he maintained sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately after having had intercourse with this woman”, as her real husband was off hunting or on the warpath. No such custom existed for girls, “as they were supposed to remain virgin until marriage”.

⁸³[83] Sagard, Th. F. G. le (1632) *Le Grand Voyage au Pays des Hurons*. Paris; Ronhaar, J. H. (1931) *Woman in Primitive Motherright Societies*. Groningen: Wolters/ London: D. Nutt, p335; Tooker, E. (1964) *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, p125

⁸⁴ Mees, M. C. (1997) Teach Them the Moral Way of Living: The Meeting of Huron Sexuality and European Religion, *Student Historical J* [<http://www.loyno.edu/~history/journal/1997-8/Mees.html>]

⁸⁵ Talbot, F. X. (1949) *Saint Among the Hurons*. New York: Harper & Brothers

⁸⁶ Trigger, B. (1987) *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*. Kingston: McGill-Queens’s University Press, p48-9

⁸⁷ Anderson, K. (1991) *Chain Her By One Foot: The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France*. London: Routledge, p78

⁸⁸[84] Dorsey, G. A. & Murie, J. R. (1940) *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society*. Prepared for publication by Alexander Spoehr. Chicago: Field Museum Press. Anthropological series Field Museum of Natural History 27,2, p65-119

Seminole ([eHRAF](#)) (North America)

Garbarino (1972:p72)⁸⁹:

“While there is no talk of school problems or jobs, there is still an intimacy between mothers and their daughters in the form of education about sex and the body functions. Reproduction and other biological facts are openly discussed among the women and girls as perfectly normal occurrences, although one informant reported that her mother was embarrassed by the “facts of life” and refused to discuss sex with her. The girl believed that her mother thought “sex was dirty,” and the girl was disturbed that she could not be frank with her mother”.

Further (p81):

“First marriage usually takes place in the late teens for both sexes, and a girl is supposed to be a virgin at the time of her first marriage. However, it is widely believed that there are no virgins among the older teenagers. Formerly, punishment for adultery, incest, and loss of virginity before marriage was meted out at the Green Corn Dance, but there is no punishment for any of these acts any more”.

Hopi ([eHRAF](#)) (North America)

According to Eggan^{90[85]}, “[t]here was little, if any, interference with sexual experimentation and few restraints of any sort before five or six years of age. Unfortunately this Utopia ended abruptly, for initiation into ceremonial life usually came at a very early age [...]”. An old Hopi “insisted that any boy who had intercourse with a girl would stop growing and become a dwarf”^{91[86]}. Simmons (1940) sketches a rather detailed picture of Hopi boyhood sexuality. Quoting from a passage on genital teasing:

“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. I liked to play with them but I was afraid of their rough husbands and thought they would castrate me. It was a long time before I could be sure that they meant only to tease”. The father did not partake in this teasing (p40). As I grew older [...] [t]he rough

⁸⁹ Garbarino, M. S. (1972) *Big Cypress: A Changing Seminole Community*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

^{90[85]} Eggan, D. (1944) Hopi Marriage and Family Relations, *Marr Family Living* 6,1:1-2+6

^{91[86]} Simmons, L. (1942) *Sun Chief*. New Haven: Yale University Press

grandfathers kept teasing me about my penis and threatening to take it from me. They made me believe that it was the most important part of my body"^{92[87]}.

Castration threats seem to be a Hopi peculiarity. "Another time this man tied him like a billy goat to be cut and made a realistic pretence of castrating the four- or five-year-old boy for "trying to make love to my wife" " (cited by Aberle). However: "Castration threats seem no longer to be made with any frequency, and some of the excesses of the ritual teasing have been abandoned"^{93[88]}.

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"^{94[89]} (Oswalt, [1973:p425])^{95[90]}. Aberle (1951:p22)^{96[91]}: "The male infant often receives genital stimulation while nursing and in other situations [...; cf. p46]. Childhood masturbation is a matter of no concern to Hopi parents. Adults and older children casually play with the genitals of young male children (D. Eggan, 22, p. 365)^{97[92]}. Children are not formally instructed in sexual matters in childhood, but a child's public imitation of what he saw in the sleeping room creates no disturbance. Children, however, are warned against heterosexual relations. They are told that young girls can bear children, but that the bearing of a child by a young girl would bring the world to an end. Boys are warned that heterosexual relations will bring about premature old age". In addition, Titiev ([1944] 1971:p30)^{98[93]} states: "Babies are soothed by stroking their genital organs"^{99[94]}; affairs of sex are freely discussed in the presence of youngsters; parents make little effort to conceal their marital relations even though they sleep only a few feet from growing children^{100[95]}; little boys are taught all manner of obscene remarks and actions when they serve as clowns; and adult women during clown performances do not hesitate to simulate copulation with pre-adolescent boys"^{101[96]}. The Beagleholes mention a "family game" among the Hopi, although "[n]o details were given [by the father of several children] as to how far this game actually went, e.g., whether there was simulated copulation or the like" (1935:p43)^{102[97]}. A Hopi told Simmons (1942:p79)^{103[98]} on his boyhood: "One day when I was playing with a boy named Felix, we found one of his grandmother's hens on her nest. "Felix", said I, "let's make good use of that hen". We watched her until she cackled and came off. Then we caught her and took her down the hill to a good hiding place in the bushes. There we attempted intercourse with her, Felix

^{92[87]} "[...] every male child was tickled in his private parts by adults who wished to win smiles and sometimes to stop crying. No doubt other children, including my brother and sister, played with me in the same way" (p34).

^{93[88]} Schlegel, A. (1979) Sexual antagonism among the sexually egalitarian Hopi, *Ethos* 7,2:124-41, see p124. As Schegel notes: "These institutionalized forms of aggression are emotionally salient and are greatly enjoyed (except by the small victim of the castration threat) [...]"

^{94[89]} See also Titiev, M. (1971) *Old Oraibi: A Study of the Hopi Indians of the Third Mesa*. New York: Kraus Reprint Co. Reprint of 1944 edition, p30. "[...] adult women during clown performances do not hesitate to simulate copulation with pre-adolescent boys".

^{95[90]} Oswalt, W. H. (1973) *This Land was Theirs*. Second edition. New York: J. Wiley & Sons

^{96[91]} Aberle, D. (1951) *The Psychosocial Analysis of a Hopi Life-History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

^{97[92]} Eggan, F. (1950) *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press

^{98[93]} Titiev (1971), *op.cit.*

^{99[94]} Noted by Ford and Beach (1951:p188) and Stephens (1971:p407)

^{100[95]} All these items were gathered at Oraibi but similar data are given in Beaglehole, E., and P., 1935, p39-41. Other details may be found under the title "A Few Sex Practices" in Part Three [orig.footnote].

^{101[96]} See Parsons, E. C. ([1969]) *The Hopi Journal of Alexander M. Stephen*. New York: AMS Press, [1969]. Reprint of 1936 edition. Vol.1, p366

^{102[97]} Beaglehole, E. & Beaglehole, P. (1935) *Hopi of the Second Mesa*. Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association

^{103[98]} *Op.cit.*

following me. She tried to squawk, but we choked her off. When we were through she looked pretty weak and wobbly. "Well", I suggested, "she is nice and fat; let's cook and eat her" ". Dennis (1940:p78)^{104[99]} observes:

"Young children are warned against erotic experimentation with members of the opposite sex by the pretense that even children may bear babies. A girl is told that if a girl of eight or nine years were to have a baby, all the people would die and the world would come to an end. In addition, the girl is appealed to not to disgrace her family. A boy is told that sexual experience will cause him to stop growing, so that he will be a dwarf. He is also warned that if he has sex relationships at an early age he will grow old prematurely. Both 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".

Schlegel (1973)^{105[100]} states that the 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". On the other hand (youngsters of either sex are under so little constraint in matters of sex that it is not surprising to find that pre-marital affairs are taken for granted and readily condoned" (cf. Goldfrank, 1945 [1956:p310])^{106[101]}. There is no formal recognition of boy's attainment of puberty (ages 12-3) (cf, Dennis, p78; the same for girls, p79), and soon spend their nights in the *kivas* rather than at home (Titiev). Titiev (1971)^{107[102]} learned that boys aged nine would already sleep in the kiva, "and is thus groomed in the art of *dumaiya* [clandestine visits for sexual purposes], so that at adolescence he will lose no time in getting started on his sex career". Girls were instructed at menarche, but the seclusion ritual was no longer consistently observed (Dozier, 1954:p328)^{108[103]}.

Schlegel (1989)^{109[104]}:

"In an earlier writing (Schlegel 1975)^{[110[105]]} I discussed the part the women of the father's clan, the "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. It is these women who take the adolescent girl through the ceremony that moves her from childhood into social adolescence and prepares her to reach adult status through marriage. The sexual joking that takes place between a boy and the women of his father's clan can also be explained, I believe, by the association between fertility and the father's side of the kin group. The gift of the kachina doll to the daughter, then, is in my view another aspect of this association, between father's side and the individual's precious fertility".

^{104[99]} Dennis, W. (1940) *The Hopi Child*. New York: John Wiley & Sons. See also Whiting, J. & Child, I. (1953) *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, p83-4

^{105[100]} Schlegel, A. (1973) The adolescent socialization of the Hopi girl, *Ethnology* 12:449-62

^{106[101]} Goldfrank, E. S. (1945/1956) Socialization, personality, and the structure of Pueblo society, *Am Anthropol* 47:516-39. Reprinted in Haring (1956), 3rd.ed., p303-27

^{107[102]} Titiev, M. (1971) *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: Change and Continuity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

^{108[103]} Dozier, E. P. (1954) *The Hopi-Tewa of Arizona*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press

^{109[104]} Schlegel, A. (1989) Fathers, Daughters, and Kachina Dolls, *Eur Rev Native Am Stud* 3,1:7-10 p.

^{110[105]} Schlegel, A. (1975) Hopi Joking and Castration Threats, in Kinkade, M. D. (Ed.), *Linguistics and Anthropology: In Honor of C. F. Voegelin*. Lisse: Peter de Ridder Press

Brandt (1954:p196-200)^{111[106]} states that the Hopi practice trial marriage, with wedding preparations begun with pregnancy. Boys and girls play at marriage, including intercourse, without an adult attempt to stop it. The same is true for masturbation. Sex matters are discussed freely in front of children. The issue of age disparate sexual intercourse of a grown man with a young girl is not seen as horrible as whites would. "To the Hopi mind this experience, even for a child of ten or twelve, need not necessarily be unpleasant; and, although Hopi were deliberately queried on the point, they gave no indication that they thought any psychological damage would result" (p205-6).

No association with initiation rites and sexual behaviour curricularisation is noted.

Thompson (1950:p109)^{112[107]} mentions "a marked rise in the instinctual urges at adolescence", but this is not explored.

Honigsmann (1972:p139)^{113[108]}: "However vaguely sex is defined by the young person, it is not perceived as evil. The force of the maturing sex impulse halts the introversive trends so apparent at the threshold of puberty that an easier acceptance of outside contacts takes place. Boys achieve sex indulgence more easily than girls. Hopi girls are not allowed to roam around and must avoid showing themselves to be boy-crazy".

A female Hopi autobiography^{114[109]} reveals:

"It was while I was at home this time that my mother told me about the sex side of life, although even when I was younger she had not neglected that subject. She didn't try to make it sound nice nor beat about the bush but told me in plain language so I would understand. When my sister was married and my mother went to help at her wedding ceremony, I was quite young. She told me then, "Never sleep away from me, even in the same house with your father and brothers. If I am away overnight you sleep in the bed with your grandmother. [...] When a girl starts menstruating, then her mother teaches her the Hopi moral code, which is that she is to keep herself a virgin until she is married — that before marriage it is wrong, but at the time of her marriage it is right and proper. If she is attacked by a man she is to fight real hard and never yield, and a properly placed kick will stun a man for a while. After marriage, be true to your husband as long as you live. It will make a much better marriage if a girl keeps herself morally clean. It might break up your marriage if your man finds out that your past life has been bad. Even so, you would have to spend your life in the hereafter together. [...] Mothers caution little girls to avoid bodily contact with boys, even their brothers, because the urge or desire is stronger in a man than in a woman, and to put your arms around him will awaken the desire. So when Hopi young people dance, they do not hold hands or touch each other. In most ceremonial dances a man dresses and takes the part of the woman dancer" (p117-8).

Paiute (Wadadika Paiute: 3,3+,3,3+,3,3;6,5;G3)

Whiting (1942 [1950:p105])^{115[110]}: "Children are told not to finger their genitals. Girls are told that they will wear out their genitalia if they sleep on their stomach or ride horseback too much. Children are told not to look at other people's bodies. Informants claimed that

^{111[106]} Brandt, R. B. (1954) *Hopi Ethics*. Chicago: Chicago University Press

^{112[107]} Thompson, L. (1950) *Culture in Crisis*. New York: Harper & Brothers

^{113[108]} Honigsmann, J. J. (1972) North America, in Hsu, F. (Ed.) *Psychological Anthropology*. New ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, p121-65

^{114[109]} Sekaquaptewa, H. ([1969]) *Me and Mine: The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press

^{115[110]} Whiting, B. B. (1942) *Paiute Sorcery*. New Haven: Yale University. 1950 reprint, New York

masturbation did not exist". A girl could, and would, marry immediately after pubescence rites (Kelly, 1932:p163, 164)^{116[111]}, though a general agreement stated that this was "too young"; boys married at age 20. Matches are frequently arranged, or parental pressure was involved. Steward (1933:p291)^{117[112]} notes: "Children were not instructed in sex". Either family initiated a match when the children reached puberty, and thereafter, female chastity was to be guarded by the boy (p295).

Nootka (North America)

"As for chiefs, it is not uncommon for them to purchase wives but eight or ten years old. While purchase is made at such early age, the young brides remain under parental care until they are sixteen years old or thereabouts" (Koppert, 1930:p49-50)^{118[113]}.

Quinault (eHRAF) (North America)

Storm (1990)^{119[114]}:

"A girl of twelve or thirteen was ready for marriage and by that time, as well as trained in spiritual beliefs and routine medicine, she could cook, weave, make baskets, and tend smaller children expertly. In other words, she exhibited all the housekeeping and child rearing abilities we associate today with women in their thirties".

"After her fifth menses had passed the girl's mother invited the women and a few old men of the village to a feast. The day was spent in singing songs, dancing, and feasting. At the end each guest received a present. Her long stay in the dark cell was now over. But her companion remained with her constantly, and she continued her daily baths. She was now regarded as eligible for marriage, and ordinarily did marry within a short time" (Olson, 1936:p105-6)^{120[115]}.

Cajuns (eHRAF) (North America)

^{116[111]} Kelly, I. T. (1932) *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute*. Berkeley: University of California Press

^{117[112]} Steward, J. H. (1933) Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, *Univ Califor Publ Am Archeol & Ethnol* 33,3:233-350

^{118[113]} Koppert, V.A. (1930) The Nootka family, *Anthropol Quart* 3,1/4:49-55

^{119[114]} Storm, J. M. (1990) *Land of the Quinault*. Taholah, Wash.: Quinault Indian Nation

^{120[115]} Olson, R. L. (1936) *The Quinault Indians*. Seattle, Wash.: The University of Washington. Yet: "Young men ordinarily did not contemplate marriage until the all-important supernatural power had been acquired, but girls were regarded as fit for marriage as soon as they had completed the five months of seclusion. From that time until marriage the girl was closely watched lest she have affairs and become pregnant. Marriage was largely regulated by the parents, yet the wishes of the young were seldom violated". CF. Storm, *op.cit.*: "Having gone through her rituals of several months, the girl was ready for marriage".

Tentchoff (1977:p105-6)^{121[116]} speaks of the double standard in the Louisiana community”:

“Traditionally and ideally Cajuns and black Creoles expect women to be virtuous and “pure”, to be virgins at the time of marriage, and to be faithful to their husbands. Young girls are traditionally kept close to the family hearth and chaperoned to dances where a watchful eye is kept on them at all times. Adolescent boys and men, on the other hand, are expected to be sexually active. Adolescents (whom I had an opportunity to observe) brag about their exploits with girls (always, they claim in other villages or in town). They may swagger as they recount their adventures and laugh at the suggested use of contraceptives”.

Ancelet (1991)^{122[117]}:

“In Acadian [now Nova Scotia], life courtship and marriage were usually a matter for teenagers. Sexual mores were strictly governed by the church law and by mothers. Young girls were almost always escorted to places of courtship, like dance halls, by their parents or at least by an older brother or uncle, who diligently chaperoned the maiden’s honor. A young boy with serious intentions had to make official visits to the family home, usually on Sunday afternoon, to negotiate with the young girl’s father. Couples were almost never left alone until well into their courtship, and even then only in a quasi-public place like the front porch swing”.

Kaska (Nahane; 3+,3+,3-,3-,3+,3+,6,6;G3) (North America)

The Kaska believed that childhood masturbation would cause insanity (Underwood and Honigmann, 1947:p561/1956:p749)^{123[118]}. Masturbation “is discouraged with threats of insanity. It is important to note, however, that parents sincerely believe insanity to be a possible consequence of masturbation”. Honigmann (1949:p161-2)^{124[119]} states that eighteen is commonly given as the age when sexual relations “can safely be begun. Most girls begin when they are fifteen or younger. [...] Ideally, premarital sexual intercourse is disapproved of, particularly for girls”. A girl of 13 “showing a tendency toward promiscuity” was beaten “just like a dog” by her mother, herself having a “widespread reputation for past promiscuity”. Informants report homosexual behaviour occurring “following puberty” and largely in “consequence of sexual frustration”. Adolescents may include a “swift coital-like rhythm” in their wrestling. Men might “fool” with boys the way they “fool” with women. “Attitudes toward infantile sexuality were not observed or reported. In its early years, of course, a baby, being closely bound and heavily diapered, has little opportunity to explore its genitals” (p180). Childhood masturbation is reprimanded (p183), which is in tune with the general restriction applied in this phase.

“No effort is made to give a child sex instruction, and since people rarely discuss sexual topics, children are limited in the information which they might acquire about this subject. Sexual prohibitions are explained obliquely and with many euphemisms, so that the prevailing attitude toward sex as something highly personal and restricted cannot fail to be transmitted. On the other hand, some

^{121[116]} Tentchoff, D. (1977) *Speech in a Louisiana Cajun Community*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International

^{122[117]} Ancelet, B. J. (1991) *Cajun Country*. Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi

^{123[118]} 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, New York: Syracuse University Press. 3rd. Ed., p745-66

^{124[119]} Honigmann, J. J. (1949) *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society*. New Haven: Yale University Press

awareness of sexuality may be gained when a child loiters in the mixed company of adolescents and unmarried young people, who engage in sexual teasing and sometimes make threats or references without regard of the presence of youngsters. Since parents and children sleep in the same dwelling room, it is likely that children are early exposed to sexual activities, the meaning of which is not explained. When adults are intoxicated there is also a relaxation of sexual taboos from which youngsters are not protected. A sense of modesty begins to be inculcated in the child when he is three or four years old, and children of that age will not urinate or defecate in the presence of other people. Now the mother also warns a child of any indecent exposure in a public place" (p186).

At puberty, teasing turns to sexual teasing. Marriage should not be precocious, preferably at age 19 for both sexes.

Honigmann (1954:p120)^{125[120]}: "Children of the same sex could urinate and defecate together in the bush but children of the opposite sex were early prohibited this degree of intimacy. [...] Children were dissuaded from sex play by parents pointing out how it threatened a boy's hunting prowess and could cause a girl's death. Sexual curiosity met the warning: "Your eyes are going to be blind". A masturbator's hands were whipped with a willow switch". "Although any connection between the menstrual flow and hymenal bleeding was denied, people asserted that the initiation of sexual relations brought on menarche some five years later. As Ford points out, in conjunction with considerable premarital intercourse such a belief "would only rarely be challenged by contradictory facts". Girls knew from the warnings they had received that sexual relations led to bleeding, and not uncommonly a girl noticing the onset of menstruation seized her blanket and shamefully ran off. The mother followed, seeking her daughter where the latter hid under a tree. The girl was asked the name of the boy who had "started" her". Children were behaving indecent when uncovered beyond the age of 3, obscene drawings by children were punished.

Gros Ventre (2+,3+,3,4,3,-,-;8,-) (North America)

The belief that coitus would bring about menarche was also noted by Flannery (1953:p127, cited by Paige and Paige, 1981:p81)^{126[121]}.

Yurok (2+,2+,2+,-,-,3,-,6) ([eHRAF](#)) (North America)

Erikson^{127[122]} (p87-8) observed that "[...] sex as such is viewed with leniency and some humor. Masturbation, for example, is admitted, but said to yield to a mild discouraging attitude. The Yurok do not expressly approve of, nor are they insensitive to, the habits of self-indulgence which have so prominent a place in the clinical complaints of parents in our

^{125[120]} Honigmann, J. J. (1954) *The Kaska Indians*. New Haven: Yale University Press

^{126[121]} Flannery, R. (1953) *The Gros Ventre of Montana: Part I: Social Life*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America; Paige, K. E. & Paige, J. M. (1981) *The Politics of Reproductive Ritual*. Berkeley (etc.): University of California Press

^{127[122]} Erikson, E. H. (1943-43) Observations on the Yuok: childhood and world image, *Univ Calif Publ Am Archeol & Ethnol* 35:257-301

culture. [...] In adolescence, when the relationship to the opposite sex becomes important, the young York can look back on a childhood of free play with other children, during which at least the body surface of the other sex had in no way remained a secret. 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”.

Ute (Colorado)

Opler (1963:p146-7)^{128[123]}: “Before puberty [...] sex play and sex interest were sternly discouraged”. This is predominantly avoidance of sibling incest; however: “Immature boys and girls were openly warned against sexual intimacy even with non-relatives on the grounds that illness resulted from premature sexual relations. [...] Between relatives of the same sex, however, a great deal of good-natured salacious banter occurred, usually directed toward younger relatives in conformity to the one-way respect attitudes of the Ute”.

Apache (Chiricahua [Eastern] Apache: 3-,3,4,4+,3,4;1,1;B?;A) (North America)

Opler (1941:p79)^{129[124]} on the Chiricahua Apache states that “[s]exual precocity is rare and sternly discouraged. The one account of such misbehaviour which was obtained was that of a seven-year-old boy charged with trying to throw down little girls and molest them”. An informant claims that he never heard of sex play, but if caught, they would be whipped (p79). Realistic house-playing is discontinued at age 6 or 7. “A girl should come to her first menses and her puberty rite a virgin”,

Boyer (1979:p69)^{130[125]} sketches another image: “Today young children have actual sexual relations. Sometimes teenage boys have intercourse with girls of latency age, and adolescent girls are known to have prepubescent and neopubescent boys service them”. Homosexual play, which is quite public, is prevalent, although true homosexuality is said to be rare. Boyer (1964:p230, 233)^{131[126]} had already argued:

“In addition to mutual exploratory behavior in the sort usually reported in western cultures, among these Indians [Apache], sexual intercourse occurs with very small children. Men reported to me that they

^{128[123]} Opler, M. K. (1963) The Southern Ute of Colorado, in Linton, R. (Ed.) *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smit, p119-203

^{129[124]} Opler, M. E. (1941) *An Apache Life-Way*. Chicago, IL. Relevant pages include 33, 77, 79-81, 154. Also quoted by Whiting and Child (1953:p82-3), and Fox, J. R. (1962) Sibling incest, *J Sociol* 13:128-50, see p138-9. Also Ford and Beach (1951:p129, 180) and Whiting and Child (1953:p82-3).

^{130[125]} Boyer, L. B. (1979) *Childhood and Folklore: A Psychoanalytic Study of Apache Personality*. New York: Library of Psychological Anthropology

^{131[126]} Boyer, L. B. (1964) Psychological problems of Apaches, *Psychoanal Stud Soc* 3:203-77

had been seduced before they were six years old by teen-age girls. They said they, in turn, had had intercourse with girls four and five years of age when they reached their own adolescence. It is impossible that adults do not know of the outhouse sexual relations of children. Anyone walking near outside toilets will hear the children's giggles and panting from time to time".

There is little evidence of masturbation and homosexuality among children. The Apache correct infantile genital handling (Boyer, 1982:p98)^{132[127]}.

Speaking of the Western Apache, Goodwin (1942 [1969:p284-5])^{133[128]} remarks: "The material on sex knowledge and play among Apache children is exceedingly limited". There is much occasion for animal scenes, and overhearing of conversations. Free heterosocial play until eight if followed by a seemingly spontaneous withdrawal completed by age 11 or 12. Girl's extreme "self-consciousness" begins before puberty, while "[e]xposing private parts is strictly avoided, and even small girls and babies of no more than a year are taught not to do it (Goodwin, 1942:p456)^{134[129]}. There are occasional prepubertal marriages on authority of the girl's family.

Kiowa-Apache (North America)

Before adolescence, children belonged to the Rabbit group (McAllister, 1937 [1955]^{135[130]}). In their dancing and feasting, there would be occasion for "horseplay and occasionally obscenity". No formal training of children, and no social recognition of menarche. Sexual experience "undoubtedly" began earlier than marriage. Parents, brothers and other kin were to watch and chaperone the girl, but there were occasions to circumvent this "theoretical" organisation.

Mantagnais / Naskapi (3,3,3,3,3,3+;2,2) (North America)

According to Burgesse (1944:p17)^{136[131]}, an informal separation of the sexes is manifest at age eight.

San Ildefonso (New Mexico, North America)

In New Mexico Hammond saw coital play encouraged by adults of both sexes (1913, VI:p36-7, as cited by Brongersma, 1987:p124). Whitman (1963:p423)^{137[132]}: "Children do not joke

^{132[127]} Boyer, L. B. (1982) *Kindheit und Mythos*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta

^{133[128]} Goodwin, G. (1942) *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*. Tuscon, Ariz.: University of Arizona Press. 1969 repr.

^{134[129]} *Op.cit.* Quoted in Whiting and Child (1953:p85)

^{135[130]} McAllister, J. G. (1955) Kiowa-Apache social organization, in Eggan, F. (Ed.) *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*. Second enlarged ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p99-169

^{136[131]} Burgesse, J. A. (1944) The woman and child among the lac-St.-Jean Montagnais, *Primitive Man* 17:1-18

about sex or play sexual games. About the age of nine the sexes tend to separate [*sic*]". Whitman (1947:p51-2)^{138[133]} states: "On questions of sex the people of San Ildefonso are extremely reticent. Children are taught at an early age not to ask about it. They are told that they are too young to know about such things. In general we found comparatively little interest in the subject expressed either in word or action. Upon careful observation we learned that from about the age of six to the age of ten or eleven small boys do not discuss sex among themselves or refer to their own genitalia or to those of others. Few jokes in relation to sex are made by adult men [...] The exposure of the genitalia of little boys and girls appeared to be taken for granted by older groups [...]. We were told that when girls reach the age of thirteen, probably at the time of puberty, conception is explained to them by their mothers. Fathers council their sons of about the same age. From the age of twelve, girls who show any interest in boys are said to be "crazy" about them. I have heard the same expression applied to boys who took an interest in girls". In general, children are told "when they are big", and shielded from anything that might horrify them. Even in adolescence, "[b]oth boys and girls evince little interest in each other" (p64). They were both "usually virgins until about the age of sixteen, when they "run around" with partners of about their own age" forming "liaisons" that are "brief, and though tolerated [...] not approved, especially in the case of girls. [...] Older men do not run after young girls, nor do older women solicit young men" (p70-1).

Powhatans (North America)

A Powhatan girl becomes marriageable at puberty and the man has to persuade her into marriage by giving her presents of meat, fish and wild plant foods^{139[134]}.

Iroquois ([eHRAF](#)) (North America, Canada)

"Early sexual curiosity and experimentation were regarded as a natural childish way of behaving, out of which it would, in due time, grow" (Wallace, 1972 [1969:p35])^{140[135]}. At puberty, a ceremonial gathering takes place with requires abstinence of sexual activity, "which they had been free to indulge, to the limits of their powers, before" (p37). There is also a "mild puberty ritual" at menarche.

Newhouse (1998)¹⁴¹:

^{137[132]} 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

^{138[133]} Whitman, W. (1947) The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso, a changing culture, in Whitman, M. W. (Ed.) New York: Colombia University Press

^{139[134]} Miller, R. R. (1985) *Mexico: A History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press

^{140[135]} Wallace, A. F. C. (1972[1969]) *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*. New York: Vintage Books

¹⁴¹ Newhouse, D. (1998) Magic and joy: Traditional Aboriginal views of human sexuality, *Canadian J Human Sexuality* 7,2:183 et seq.

“Traditional Aboriginal societies [...] believed that sexuality was powerful. It was awakened at puberty, and in many societies, there was a series of rites and rituals for both boys and girls which were designed to instill within the individual an understanding of the nature of this power and the way in which this power was to be harnessed and used. These rites taught men their duties and obligations as men, and more importantly, their duties and obligations as sexual beings. They were not to use their sexuality to cause harm to others, and were to respect its power”.

A personal experience contrasts this image:

“I grew up in a traditional Longhouse household in the Six Nations community. I did not learn the things there that I have talked about. It has been hard to uncover them. I grew up learning about sex and sexuality from those around me. I learned to hide and deny my own sexual nature. I learned these lessons from those around me. I felt shame at my first sexual experiences, and I learned to regard my own sexuality as shameful and dirty. Sex was something that one did in the dark. I learned to be afraid of the power of my sexuality”.

Chipewyans, Chippewa ([eHRAF](#)) (North America)

Among the Chipewyans, “sexual activities were commonly observed by children from a tender age and did not merge as a subject of conversation among young people^{142[136]}”. Snowdrift “children have seen a corpse by the time they are seven or eight years old and have witnessed their parents or married siblings performing sexual intercourse. Children do not often joke or even talk about sexual matters, presumably because it is so much a part of everyday observation as to be hardly worth talking about (VanStone, 1963/1965:p55-6)^{143[137]}. Sister Hilger (1951:p156)^{144[138]} has no arguments on childhood sex life. She states that a girl was of marriageable age as soon after puberty as she was able to do all the work expected of a housewife. Some informants, as was also indicated by Pierz in 1855^{145[139]}, married at age 14. Authors (Hilger, p53; Pierz, Densmore, 1929:p72) mention that the girl was watched closely by her mother, and old informants report that she did not know her spouse before the day of actual marriage, arranged by parents. Few girls received any instructions regarding menstruation before it occurred, at age 12-15 (p50). “An interpreter was certain “that girls today were bad because mothers gave them full instructions about all these things”. Several informants were convinced “that girls learned too much in the American schools: there they learn everything long before they should know it!”. Boy’s puberty was not ritually marked (p168), girls were segregated at the occasion; childhood ended with puberty.

^{142[136]} Oswalt (1973), *op.cit.*, p71

^{143[137]} VanStone, J. W. (1963) *The Snowdrift Chipewyan*. Ottawa, Ont.: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources; VanStone, J. W. (1965) *The Changing Culture of the Snowdrift Chipewyan*. Ottawa, Ont.: National Museum of Canada

^{144[138]} Hilger, M. I. (1951) *Chippewa Child Life and its Cultural Background*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution

^{145[139]} Pierz, F. (1855) *Die Indianer in Nord-Amerika* [etc]. St. Louis

Shuswap (North America)

Among the Shuswap (Teit, 1909:p590)^{146[140]}, 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”.

Omaha (3-,3+,3+,4,2+,3;2,2) (North America)

Mead (1932:p189-91)^{147[141]} relates that traditionally girls were instructed by grandmothers. Rated “essentially puritanical”, young girls were “bred to modesty and fear, and chaperoned on all occasions” (cf. p120-1). There are few remarks on childhood, except that “[h]omosexual sex play among children is reported and this may partly account for the lack of frigidity in adult women”. Also, “[b]ecause of the fear of homosexuality, the older girls are discouraged from showing too much personal interest in the younger ones” (p119).

Klamath (2+,2+,-,3+,3-,3-,2,2) (North America)

“Until the age of six or seven, boys and girls play together as much as they wish. When a bit older they will be warned not to be intimate with members of the opposite sex, but young children often play at “man and wife” in imitation of their elders, using the proper status terms for husband and wife and pretending to keep house. The boys go off to hunt, and the girls wait for them to bring meat home to cook. Such play is not discouraged, nor is it apparently encouraged” (Pearsall, 1950)^{148[142]}. The history of a 33-year-old female Klamath was less merriful: “She received no direct sex training, and was 18 before she discovered the significance of her menses. Her first sexual experience was at 8, when she was molested by a cousin” (Clifton, 1963)^{149[143]}. Girls usually marry within a year of puberty, which is marked, at least among the well-to-do, with a big dance. Betrothals may have been arranged while the couple were yet pre-adolescent, presents having been exchanged by the families. [...] it does happen that an older man marries a young girl”. A girl’s consent is not necessary but “the majority of marriages follow the desire of the couples” (Spier, 1930:p45, 68)^{150[144]}.

^{146[140]} Teit, J. A. (1909) *The Shuswap*. Leiden: Brill. [Vol.II, part 7]

^{147[141]} Mead, M. (1932) *The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe*. New York: AMS Press

^{148[142]} Pearsall, M. (1950) *Klamath Childhood and Education*. Berkeley: University of California Press

^{149[143]} Clifton, J. A. (1963) *Klamath Personalities: Ten Rorschach Case Studies*. Lawrence, Kansas: Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Kansas

^{150[144]} Spier, L. (1930) *Klamath Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press

“Erotic” songs pass under the name of *pilpil* or puberty songs (Gatschet, 1890)^{151[145]}. “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”.

Ojibwa (Northern Sa[u]lteaux: --,2,2+,3,3;5,5;G2) (eHRAF) (North America)

“All women once had toothed vaginas, and until Wisekedjak, by accident, discovered the pleasure of sexual intercourse, no one knew about it”^{152[146]}.

Although listed as a “sexually permissive” society by Ford and Beach (1951:p188), ethnographic accounts are remarkably silent about Ojibwa childhood sexual freedom. Recent writings focus on sexual abuse. Landes (1937a:p14)^{153[147]} comments on sexual training, but it does not prove to be particularly permissive. Rather, “the moral sentiments are vigorous and even little girls are drilled to know that it is forbidden to flirt with little boys of the phratry” (p36). The sexes tend to be avoidant of the other from about age eight. However, “Children saw their parents together, and then later they would imitate their parents. After a while, imitation was replaced by real experience. Still, at puberty, the mother tells her daughter, “Don’t let a man get near you” ” (p72). “However, the childhood habits [“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”], and the insistence of boys and men, nullify this caution, and almost every girl bears one or more illegitimate children” (Landes, 1937b:p122)^{154[148]}.

“Sexual avoidance does not begin until about the age of eight” (Dunning, 1959:p99)^{155[149]}. Dunning speaks of “a fairly general practice of pre-marital sexual relations, from shortly after puberty” (p146). Sexual use of the children in church-operated residential schools by ministers, priests, nuns, and teachers was said to be widespread^{156[150]}. The Ojibwas felt that the *vision fast* should occur before the child engaged in any sexual activity (Vecsey, 1983:p125-6)^{157[151]}, specifically not sexual intercourse (Hallowell, 1966 [1976:p464])^{158[152]} (one informant states it occurred first at age 13).

^{151[145]} Gatschet, A. S. (1890) *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon*. Washington: Gov’t. Print. Off.

^{152[146]} Hallowell, A. I. (1991) *The Ojibwa of Berens River, Manitoba: Ethnography into History*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers

^{153[147]} Landes, R. (1937) *Ojibwa Sociology*. New York: Columbia University Press

^{154[148]} Landes, R. (1937b) The Ojibwa of Canada, in Mead, M. (Ed.) *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*. New York & London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., p87-126

^{155[149]} Dunning, R. W. (1959) *Social and Economic Change among the Northern Ojibwa*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

^{156[150]} Lavalee, M. A. (1968) Too Little Too Late, *Arbos* 5,2:[26–9, 35]

^{157[151]} Vecsey, Ch. (1983) *Traditional Ojibwa Religion and its Historical Changes*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society

^{158[152]} Hallowell, A. I. (1966) The role of dreams in Ojibwa culture, in Von Grunbaum, G. E. & Caillois, R. (Eds.) *The Dream and Human Societies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p267-92 [eHRAF]

Shkilnyk (1985)^{159[153]}:

“The young people of the reserve have no role models to follow. They see their parents’ indifference to sexual taboos designed to protect the species from deformity and genetic weakness. They see the adults’ behavior during drinking parties. And they note that the old precepts of courtship and marriage are not relevant to social relations. As a result, the traditional Indian idea that a man and woman should constitute a “family unit” prior to consummating their union through sexual relations is no longer an operative principle. Today, the young girls desperately want to conceive, because a child gives them something to live for and someone to love; they don’t care about the conditions of its conception. Young people engage in sex at an early age, and girls just beyond puberty bear children”.

Hallowell (1949 [1955:p294])^{160[154]} observed that “[...] 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”.

“Nothing of a sexual nature is systematically concealed from children as they grew up. The sexual side of life is an open book. [...] it is impossible for children living in such close proximity to their parents, either in the old-fashioned wigwam or the more modern log cabin, to escape being aware of the “primal scene”. While I do not have sufficient information from which to generalize about the incidence of sex play among prepubescent children, there is no doubt that it occurs. Nonetheless, some phases of it are considered wrong. [This would be indicated by a grown man suffering from a urogenital affliction blaming this on a childhood sex game in a little mock wigwam where a girl put a thimble on his erect penis]. [...] sexual references always go unmasked” (p296).

In former days a boy had to be pure (avoiding *all* heterosocial contact) for obtaining his vigil. Hallowell suggests that “[...] the motivation was strong enough to have reduced overt sexual behavior in the privileged period to a minimum”. Postpubertal premarital rendezvous were associated with dances, and were apparently “tolerated”.

Tinglit ([eHRAF](#)) (North America)

Among the Tlingit Indians, “[g]irls and boys before puberty were permitted the greatest familiarity with one another. There was no effort on the part of the elders to prevent the natural sex relations that developed in the growing children. But after puberty all this was changed. The initiated girl was not permitted to have any sexual relations, for her chastity was highly regarded by everyone. Parents made their daughter sleep on a shelf above their own bed to make sure that she would not be molested” (Oberg, 1937:p28^{161[155]}; see also De

^{159[153]} Shkilnyk, A. M. (1985) *A Poison Stronger than Love: The Destruction of an Ojibwa Community*. New Haven: Yale University Press

^{160[154]} 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. Reprinted in Hallowell, A. I. (1955) *Culture and Experience*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, p291-305

^{161[155]} Oberg, K. (1937) *The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago

Laguna, 1972^{162[156]}). Therefore, the duration of pubertal seclusion was a measure of rank, a custom noted back in 1805 (Von Langdorff, 1814, II:p133)^{163[157]}.

Cherokee (North America)

Additional refs.:

-- Sears, J. T. (2002) Out of harmony on the Cherokee Boundary: Clinics, culture and the sex ed curriculum, *Sex Educ* 2,2:155-69

Kwakiutl (North America)

Kwakiutl boys of 6 or 7 would built little shelters in the forest and play house with girls of comparable age, lying with them in imitation of adult copulation (Voget, 1961). Rohner (1967:p97)^{164[158]} writes:

"Children become at least superficially aware of sex at an early age because homes offer little privacy. Children hear about and see adults in bed together during parties, are exposed to the speech of adults and older children [cf. p96], and in many ways come into direct and indirect contact with sex. Bodily modesty is typical of older children and adults, but small children often go without pants or other clothing, especially within their homes. Young children to about the age of seven occasionally explore or manipulate their genitals when they believe they are not being observed, but they rarely do it publicly at later ages. Parents do not instruct children in sexual matters".

Few girls knew about menstruation when it happened. Courtship is an important activity during adolescence, but "little overt romantic behavior is manifested publicly" (p99-100).

Shoshone (North America)

Shimkin (1947:p303)^{165[159]}: "Masturbation was common among both sexes (it occurs repeatedly in mythology), but was regarded with indifference, being neither repressed nor encouraged". Of girls, it was said that they did not "run around before marriage". Girls are instructed in the menstrual hut, while the core of male adolescence consisted of "a constant battle between social, homosexual society and private heterosexual intimacy" (p305).

^{162[156]} De Laguna, L. (1972) *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, p515B

^{163[157]} Ref. By Emmons, G. Th. (1991) *The Tlingit Indians*. Seattle, New York: University of Washington Press

^{164[158]} Rohner, R. P. (1967) *The People of Gilford: A Contemporary Kwakiutl Village*. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada Bull. 225

^{165[159]} Shimkin, D.B. (1947) *Childhood and Development among the Wind River Shoshone*. Berkeley, CA [etc.]: University of California Press

Dakota (North America)

When a girl is six she is subtly encouraged to “cover up”, without explanation (Mirsky, 1937:p420-1)^{166[160]}. From age seven or eight she is (made) self-conscious about play with boys, which makes only little children suitable play mates. “They play house, with the young girl taking over the mother role and the little ones acting as her children. But because there is no boy of her own age in the group, there is no sex play, no playing at marriage or mates”. Being supervised continuously, her “sex behaviour is constantly the subject of admonitions and sermons”. The difference in sexual status ends with marriage.

Lakota (North America)

Additional refs.:

-- Bol, M. C. & Star Boy Menard, N. Z. (2000) ‘I saw all that’: a Lakota girl’s puberty ceremony, *Am Indian Culture & Res J* 24,1:25-42

Eskimo

(Igulik/Igalik, Boint Barrow, Ammassalik [Greenland], Copper Inuit, Athabascans, Inupiat)

Early / Age-Stratified Marriage

For a discussion on Inuit age of marriage, see Smith and Smith (1994:p599-600, n12)^{167[161]}. According to Rasmussen (1931:p472), the Netsilik nuptial age of is 14. According to Malaurie (1956:p79)^{168[162]}, writing about the Northern Greenland Eskimos, “only at about twenty or twenty-four years, when the young hunter is capable of keeping a family, does marriage take place”. Arima (1984:p455)^{169[163]} states that marriage among Caribou Eskimo usually occurred “when the girl reaches puberty”, but he does not indicate the typical age of the groom. Citing various sources, Gilberg (1984:p586-7)^{170[164]} notes that among the Polar Eskimo “girls often

^{166[160]} Mirsky, J. (1937) The Dakota, in Mead, M. (Ed.) *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*. New York & London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., p382-427

^{167[161]} Smith, E. A. & Smith, S. A. (1994) Inuit Sex-Ratio Variation: Population Control, Ethnographic Error, or Parental Manipulation? *Curr Anthropol* 35,5:595-624

^{168[162]} Malaurie, J. (1956) *The Last Kings of Thule*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell

^{169[163]} Arima, Eu. (1984) Caribou Eskimo, in Damas, D. (Ed.) *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol.5. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, p447-62

^{170[164]} Gilberg, R. (1984) Polar Eskimo, in Damas, D. (Ed.) *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol.5. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, p577-94

married between the ages of 12 and 16" while "most men did not marry until their midtwenties", a situation attributed to the excess of males in the population. Damas (1975:p412)^{171[165]} states that "girls married quite young in the areas where the sexes were skewed, even before puberty in some cases", but that young men were often unmarried at age eighteen or twenty.

Play Sexuality

A. Bertelsen (cited by Brusendorff and Henningsen, 1963:p34)^{172[166]} noted that, on more than one occasion, Eskimo fathers, having surprised five or six-year-olds at attempts at intercourse with little girls, assembled everyone in the settlement to feed them and celebrate "the son's growing to be a man". According to Bertelsen, "it is not rare for children of twelve to have sexual intercourse [while at examinations] practically no virgins of more than 16 were found" (*ibid.*). Von Wrangell (1839:p219-20)^{173[167]} indicated that a virgin over the age of 12 was rarely found on the Aleutian Islands (*Aleut*:2+,2+,2+,3,2,2;4,4).

Due to the absence of conversational taboos in the presence of children, there was no secret for them after age 7 or 8 (Hawkes, 1916:p119; Fehlinger, 1926:p19)^{174[168]}. Kjellström (1973:p25)^{175[169]} further noted that Eskimo boys learn from free observation. The actual sex act "was included in the repertory of games to imitate the copulation between their elders, and the heterosexual contracts started already in childhood. Coitus was practiced during puberty, and sometimes even before puberty. On West Greenland it was not infrequent to have coitus as from the age of 12 years". Speaking of the **Sallumiut** (Takamiut), Graburn (1969:p190-1)^{176[170]} states that traditionally, "Eskimo life was very open, and children learned all about sex from babyhood. Among boys sex activities were initiated at puberty or a little after". The modern pattern of sexarche is estimated at age 16 or 17 for boys, and at 12 or 13 for girls.

Spenner (1959 [1976:p244-5])^{177[171]} states: "Heterosexual experimentation in late childhood was apparently not unusual [and] boys and girls, around the age of puberty, might go off together on excursions away from the community and engage in sexual relations". Also (p202), a child bride on Nunivak had sexual intercourse before she reached puberty; among

^{171[165]} Damas, D. (1975) Demographic aspects of Central Eskimo marriage practices, *Am Ethnologist* 2:409-18

^{172[166]} Brusendorff, O. & Henningsen, P. ([1960]1963) *Love's Picture Book*. Vol.3: Exotic horizons. Copenhagen: Veta

^{173[167]} Von Wrangell, F. (1839) *Statistische und Ethnografische Nachrichten über die Russischen Besitzungen an der Nord-Westküste von Amerika*. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Russischen Reiches 1. St. Petersburg. Cited by Kjellström (1973:p24).

^{174[168]} Hawkes, E. W. (1916) *The Labrador Eskimo*. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau. Reprinted 1970; Fehlinger, H. (1926) *Geschlechtsleben und Fortpflanzung der Eskimo*. Bonn: Marcus & Webers

^{175[169]} Kjellström, R. (1973) *Eskimo Marriage* (Transl.). Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet

^{176[170]} Graburn, N. H. H. (1969) *Eskimos Without Igloos*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

^{177[171]} Spenner, R. F. (1959[1976]) *The North Alaskan Eskimo*. Toronto: General Publishing Company

the kuskowagamiut a shaman was the first to have intercourse with a girl^{178[172]}. However, the **Nunamiut** girl “should not have sexual intercourse or be approached until after her second menstruation (Gubser, 1965:p208)^{179[173]}. Rasmussen (1931:p197)^{180[174]}, as quoted by Balikci (1970:p160)^{181[175]}: “At a very early age children know all about the problems of propagation, indeed to such a degree that copulation enters into their games. They make small tent rings that are usually called places where one plays at copulation. The result is that the boys and girls lie together at a very early age, sometimes at ten or twelve, and it does happen that adults will lie with little girls that are not yet nubile”.

Early sex life among the Eskimo is probably heterogenous. This is suggested by Briggs (1975)^{182[176]}. Briggs states that “**Qipi** children [...] learn about [sexual] intercourse, sometimes as soon as they join a play-group; and they practice it, too, or watch their friends doing so, hidden by the rough shore ice at the edge of the camp- an activity laughed at by their elders. But **Utku** children [...] are much more restrained, sexually [...]. [In Utku children] there is no courtship and very little sexual conversation or play of any sort- none at all in the case of girls, though adolescent or preadolescent boys may be teased by older men, who ask if they have any pubic hair yet or playfully pretend to grab at their genitals” (p174, 177). In wintertime, male may have “approached” children, although intercourse would be prevented by the family (Jenness, 1922:p239)^{183[177]}. Among the Utku Eskimos, “the genitals of *small* children are the object of public admiration and affection. This is true of boys as well as girls (Briggs, 1986)^{184[178]}. “Generally speaking, boys and girls grow up like wild plants, without much care or attention from the time they can run about till they approach puberty” (Jenness).

Oswalt (1963:p44)^{185[179]} states:

“Sexual differences and bodily functions are regarded casually from early childhood. Small children often go about the house or outside in the summer wearing nothing more than a shirt. Children also freely urinate and defecate before one another, and they often peek into the windows of a bathhouse where men and women are bathing. Boys and girls play together from the toddler stage to that of marriage, with little or no adult supervision. Schoolchildren sometimes play hide-and-seek in the tall grass behind the village, and during this play there may be talk of sexual organs and activities as well as some experimenting. Sexual interests are further manifested in close body contact during play. Boys and girls lounge on the beds or bump against each other and giggle. They may also grab at each other’s pubic region. [...] When a group of [adolescent] boys passes a group of girls on a path, often a boy will grab at the pubic region of a girl; the latter is usually aware of his intentions and quickly moves his hand aside. Courtship activities bring adolescents together in the late evening, but during the day a boy never walks with a girl in the village and seldom speaks to one more than to say few words or tease her”.

^{178[172]} Von Wrangell (1839), *op. cit.*; Lantis, M. (1946) The social culture of the Nunivak Eskimo, *Transact Am Philosoph Soc* 35,3:153-323, see p225, 233-4

^{179[173]} Gubser, N. J. (1965) *The Nunamiut Eskimos*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press

^{180[174]} Rasmussen, K. (1931) *Intellectual Culture of the Eskimos*. Reports of the 5th Thule Expedition, Vol.8. Copenhagen

^{181[175]} Balikci, A. (1970) *The Netsilik Eskimo*. New York: Natural History Press

^{182[176]} Briggs, J. L. (1975) Aggression in Eskimo groups, *Psychoanal Stud Soc* 6:134-203

^{183[177]} Jenness, D. (1922) *The Life of the Copper Eskimo*. Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, Vol. XII. Ottawa. Reprinted 1970

^{184[178]} Letter to Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess*. 2nd ed., p416n27

^{185[179]} Oswalt, W. (1963) *Napaskiak: An Aaskan Eskimo Community*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press

Savishinsky (1974:p127)^{186[180]} noted for the **Hare**: “Children are allowed the freedom of the village during all ingatherings, and no attempt is made to shelter them from brew parties, or from their sexual and aggressive overtones. Young people learn to adjust to drunken behavior with an accomplished air of stoicism and resignation, and people this become socialized to drinking patterns, violence, and sexuality at a young age”. Due to the small houses, “[c]hildren are exposed to and witness sexual relations [of parents] from a young age, which helps foster the people’s easy acceptance of sexuality among adults and adolescents” (p123).

Auto-Erotic Asphyxia

Stearns (1953)^{187[181]} reports the following: “Anthropologists have reported that Eskimo children hang themselves in some game, probably sexual [...]”. While reported in many societies, parental asphyxia practices during intercourse seem to be imitated by children, and sometimes incorporated in (mutual) masturbation. Freuchen (1961:p212)^{188[182]}: “The Eskimos [...] 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”.

Diamond et al. (1990)^{189[183]} agree: “Eskimo children have been reported to seek unconsciousness as a delightful game”^{190[184]}. Resnick (1972)^{191[185]} states: “Children of Shoshone-Bannock Indians play games where suffocation is a part of the game”. De Cocola and King report a fatal case (1986:p185-7)^{192[186]}:

“Now here again was an opportunity to toy amorously with their new-found playmates, and the youngsters were not going to waste precious moments idly on the sidelines, passively watching the oldsters dance and sing. They left to make their own fun. But tragedy struck them dramatically that night during their sexually oriented hanging game. By no means the children’s most popular pastime--that honor went to blind man’s bluff--the hanging game was usually played by thrill-seeking youngsters during the Eskimos’ great spring assemblies, or at other large gatherings of several families. To my knowledge, adult Eskimos did not indulge in it. The boys had placed a piece of driftwood atop an igloo’s dome, tied a sealskin thong around the wood, lowered the other end of the narrow strip of skin through a small hole in the snow roof, and made a lasso at its dangling end. On this occasion a tall, slim 12-year-old boy named Attiguyok used a block of fresh snow underfoot to allow him to reach up and place the sealskin loop around his neck. With his hands tied, he then pressed his feet down against the snowy support until the leather noose tightened about his neck. This maneuver

^{186[180]} Savishinsky, J. S. (1974) *The Trail of the Hare*. New York [etc.]: Gordon & Breach Science Publ.

^{187[181]} Stearns, A. W. (1953) Cases of probable suicide in young persons without obvious motivation, *J Maine Med Assoc* 44:16ff

^{188[182]} Freuchen, D. (1961) *Peter Freuchen’s Book of the Eskimos*. Cleveland, OH: The World Publishing Company

^{189[183]} Diamond, M., Innala, S. M. & Ernulf, K. E. (1990) Asphyxiophilia and autoerotic death, *Hawaii Med J* 1:11-16, 24

^{190[184]} Freuchen, *op.cit.*, p212; Walsh, C. et al. (1977) Autoerotic Asphyxial Deaths: A Medicolegal Analysis of Forty-Three Cases, *Legal Med Ann*, 155-82

^{191[185]} Resnik, H.L.P. (1972) Erotized Repetitive Hangings: A Form of Self-Destructive Behavior, *Am J Psychother* 26,1:4-21

^{192[186]} De Cocola, R. & King, P. (1986) *The Incredible Eskimo: Life Among the Barren Land Eskimo*. Surrey, B.C.; Blaine, Wash.: Hancock House

decreased the flow of oxygen to his brain, and heightened his sexual arousal as he was masturbated by some of the young spectators near him. Unfortunately at that moment, word came from beyond the igloos confines that a dog team was approaching the camp. Ever-curious, the children scrambled outside to have a look at the latest arrivals, leaving a helpless, struggling Attiguyok alone to his fate. The partly flattened block of fresh snow, which had supported him, gradually gave way under his feet and he choked to death. By the time his playmates finished welcoming the newcomers to their campsite and returned to their unfinished hanging game, Attiguyok was dead. The children's agonizing cries for help then reached the adults who were blithely singing and dancing in the big igloo. Two male dancers, whom I recognized as Immerak from Hanimok River and Aliknak from Perry River, responded immediately and I followed them. Groups of youngsters milled around the entrance to the fateful igloo, excitedly muttering misgivings such as "Attiguyok is dead! He's hanging in the igloo!" We crept through the narrow passage of the igloo to be confronted with the motionless body of the thin-faced, stubbynosed, open-mouthed lad. His feet barely touched the crumbled block of snow, while his breeches were pulled down to his knees, exposing his genitals.

Immerak and Aliknak pulled up the boy's pants to his waist and lowered his body on to the snow floor. I tried my best to revive Attiguyok, but it was too late. Sorrowful wails now emanated from the big igloo as its adult occupants ran toward us with shouts of "It's too bad, too bad! The little man is dead!" Particularly pathetic were the mournful outcries of Attiguyok's parents who had come for the Celebration of Spring from a little place called Kilinguyak on Kent Peninsula". Attiguyok's body was taken to his family's tent where it was placed in a *krepik* (sleeping bag) in the customary reclining position with the legs bent, and secured like a bundle of furs--ironically--with sealskin thongs. Traditionally, too, the body was placed behind the tent where it would remain for the next three days.

Although Attiguyok's death understandably put a damper on their festivities, it was temporary and the adults returned to the *kalgik* to continue dancing and singing throughout the night. The children, too, resumed their frolic as if nothing untoward had happened. But they did not go back to their hanging game".

Ammassalik (Greenland)

"Complete sex freedom exists before and after marriage". "As soon as a youth puts on a natit, the woman begins to smile and he is ready for marriage. When the girls put on their natit in a topknot as a sign that they are ready for marriage. Neither boy nor girl needs any further preparation for marriage. Each can carry on the work that is required of him; they have liberal sex knowledge, for there is no privacy achieved or desired in sex; they have no social structure to learn, no formalized ritual. They are as they are and that is the way the society takes them" (Mirsky, 1937:p77)^{193[187]}.

Qipi

^{193[187]} Mirsky, J. (1937) The Eskimo of Greenland, in in Mead, M. (Ed.) *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*. New York & London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., p51-86

Briggs (1975)^{194[188]}: “**Qipi** children [...] learn about [sexual] intercourse, sometimes as soon as they join a play-group; and they practice it, too, or watch their friends doing so, hidden by the rough shore ice at the edge of the camp- an activity laughed at by their elders”. Bales et al. (1994)^{195[189]}:

“In the Qipi Eskimo society of the eastern Arctic, for example, parents taught about sex through play and example. Mothers and fathers openly touched, kissed, and admired their babies' genitals during infancy. Sexual play among Eskimo children continued well into adolescence. Children talked openly about sexual experiences, and parents took these discussions as a sign of normal child development. Nevertheless, parents discouraged masturbation during childhood. These people did not admire *berdache* behavior and thought that masturbation was a precursor to homosexuality”.

Point Barrow

According to Murdock (1892:419)^{196[190]}, promiscuous sexual intercourse between married or unmarried people or even among children appears to be looked upon simply as matter for amusement.

Copper Inuit (2-,2-,2-,2-,-,-,-;EF) ([eHRAF](#))

De Cocola and King (1986:p85)^{197[191]} described the intergenerational transmission of Copper Inuit 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 [Briggs^{198[192]}” was explained that “[When we [Inuit] tell the puppy to bite the little boy’s penis off], we aren’t trying to make [him] afraid, we’re celebrating his maleness”; “We tell children their genitals are bad in order to make them feel a little bit careful” [...]”. 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 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!” ”.

^{194[188]} Briggs, J. L. (1975) Aggression in Eskimo groups, *Psychoanal Stud Soc* 6:134-203

^{195[189]} Bales, R., Weil, T. & Murdock, T. (1994) Indians: Native North Americans, in Bullough, V. L. & Bullough, B. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*. New York & London: Garland Publ.. Inc.

^{196[190]} Murdock, J. (1892) *Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition*. 9th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. Cited by Parsons, E. C. (1906) *The Family*. New York & London: Putman, p124

^{197[191]} De Cocola, R. & King, P. (1986) *The Incredible Eskimo: Life Among the Barren Land Eskimo*. Surrey, B.C.; Blaine, Wash.: Hancock House

^{198[192]} Briggs, J. L. (1999) *Out of the Garden of Eden: Morality Play in the Life of an Inuit Three-Year-Old*. Online paper, adapted from Briggs’s *Inuit Morality Play*. Yale University Press, ch. 5 <http://anthro-globe.com/bin/artdetail.cgi?download=5>

McElroy (1977, II:p268)^{199[193]} gives some observations on Inuit childhood: among these, “Girls try to do the same [urinating off the cliff], holding their clitoris up and arching their back, laughing at their lack of success”. Jeness (1922)^{200[194]} stated:

“Whatever the causes may be sexual immorality is certainly very rife amongst them, and as certainly disregarded as a matter of no importance. Even the children are doubtfully pure. A married man deliberately mishandled a little girl in the presence of other people, and his action met with no condemnation. The relatives would doubtless interfere if the children were subject to any annoyance, but as long as no trouble arises no one takes any notice. I never knew of any girl being a mother before she is married, for the simple reason that girls always marry about puberty”.

Condon (1987)^{201[195]} notes:

“Adolescent sexual-activity commences with little or no knowledge of reproductive physiology. All the teenagers we interviewed stated that their parents had given them no advice whatsoever about sex or pregnancy. In most cases, mothers even avoid discussing the implications of menarche with their daughters. When one young girl had her first menses and asked her mother what was happening to her, the mother simply replied that she was “growing up”. The father of three daughters stated that most parents are just too shy and embarrassed to discuss such things with their children. The lack of parent-child discourse regarding sexuality may be due also to parental ignorance regarding reproductive physiology. Because of the lack of sexual knowledge, some girls who have become pregnant may not realize it until the second or even third trimester of their pregnancy” (p143-4).

“[...] we note that older boys display a clear preference for interacting in large same-sex groups even as they are developing an interest in more intimate dyadic cross-sex interaction. One explanation is that while these older boys prefer the companionship of same-age and same-sex companions, they are not completely disinterested in the opposite sex. In fact, it may be that awakening sexual interest in the opposite sex leads these older boys, and older girls, to seek out more intimate contact with potential sexual partners outside of the mixed-group context. Thus while young boys and girls are likely to limit their contact with the opposite sex to mixed play groups, older teenagers begin to develop dating relationships and cross-sex friendships that are an outgrowth of initial contacts established within mixed-sex groups. Even as teenage boys spend much time in large same-sex groups, they tend to increase contact with the opposite sex in intimate cross-sex dyads. The fact that boys spend significantly less time in mixed-sex groups than in same-sex groups may not necessarily be due to any conscious segregation between the sexes, but simply because they enjoy the thrill of competitive sports play, in which teenage girls do not participate”.

Condon (1983)^{202[196]}: “Due to the high value placed upon newborns, the unwed mother, regardless of age, is rarely chastised for her sexual awakening”.

Additional refs:

-- Saladin d'Anglure, B. (2000) [Pijariurniq: Inuit performances and rituals of the first time], *Études Inuit* 24,2:89-113

199[193] McElroy, A. (1977) *Alternatives in Modernization: Styles and Strategies in the Acculturative Behavior of Baffin Island Inuit*. New Haven: HRAF. Vol. II

200[194] Jeness, D. (1922) *The Life of the Copper Eskimo*. New York : Johnson Reprint Corporation

201[195] *Op.cit.*

202[196] Condon, R. (1983) *Inuit Behavior and Seasonal Change in the Canadian Arctic*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press

Ingalik (3,3,3,3,3,3;7,7)

Among the Ingalik (Osgood, 1958:p217)^{203[197]} girls instruct boys “whose sex life has not properly begun”, while being instructed themselves by older boys and grown men. Also, “[a] boys and a girl who like each other may make a little grass house away from the village in the summertime. The boy sneaks back and takes one or two fish from the drying rack. This they eat for “supper”. Afterward they go to “bed” and engage in various degrees of sex play. Not infrequently, two boys and two girls will make a “house” together, thus following their parent’s pattern of two-family association. Then they will pair off for the “night”. This type of activity starts at about the age of six or seven. [...] The girls generally go home earlier in the evening leaving the boys together to discuss their experiences (p228-9)”. A girl would be told by her mother that she will “have pups” if she “plays” with the boys. “Threats are not always effective, however” (p180). Children must not talk sex in mixed company (p183). Child marriage is rare, in which cases sexual intercourse would be delayed (p198). Mary-Rousselière (1984:p440)^{204[198]}: “[...], especially in the evening, [Igalik Eskimo boys and girls] played a game involving a wolf. Adults often participated in these games, which sometimes took on pronounced sexual overtones”.

De Laguna (1972:p515B)^{205[199]} reports parental play among the Tlingit of Yakutat Bay in south-eastern Alaska. According to an informant, this play had gained in its sexual implications: “Children, that is girls who were not yet adolescent and boys old enough to go hunting but not old enough to marry, indulged in sexual games on the sly. They “play house, like husband and wife... Them days they just play together, just play man and wife--nothing wrong. But nowadays they get into mischief... Johnny cuddle up with the girls, and I don’t know nothing. We’re little kids. And the big grown up girls [almost adolescent] know something about the business, you know”.

Iñupiat, Inupiat (Alaska)

Chance (1990)^{206[200]}:

“In general, there was no aura of shame or secrecy about excretory functions, and no reticence in discussing them. During the course of her field work, young girls might say to Jean Briggs “don’t look”, but girls under four and all boys urinated unconcernedly anywhere out of doors”.

Boys and girls in their early teens rarely paired off, most social contacts being sought with the group rather than a given individual. Youths might tease each other with the comment, “You interested in him,

^{203[197]} Osgood, C. (1958) *Ingalik Social Structure*. New Haven: Yale University Press

^{204[198]} Mary-Rousselière, G. (1984) Iglulik, in Sturtevant, W. C. (Ed.) *Handbook of North American Indians*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution. Vol.4, p431-46

^{205[199]} De Laguna, L. (1972) *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, p515B

^{206[200]} Chance, N. A. (1990) *The Inupiat and Arctic Alaska*. Harcourt Brace. [from an online adaption]

right?" but it was not until the age of fifteen or sixteen that Inupiat young people developed a strong interest in members of the opposite sex. At this time, boys began to seek out a particular girl, pay special attention to her, talk with her more than with others, sit beside her in church, and in other ways let her know of his interest. However, except in the most sophisticated segment of the Barrow teenage world, physical demonstrativeness in front of others was deemed improper. And even in Barrow, putting an arm around a girl's shoulder or giving her a squeeze was done in a joking manner - for any open evidence of affection would embarrass both the girl and her friends. Boys rarely visited girls in their homes unless older family members were there; and it was even less common for a girl to visit a boy's home. But as male youths became older, they attempted to arrange clandestine meetings by passing notes at school suggesting a time and place. By the middle teens, girls were very much aware of boys' attentions. Their conversations centered around boys and their activities; they dressed for them, giggled about them, and showed each other secret pictures of their favorite boy friends. The late teens brought more sexual experimentation. Girls did not regularly solicit such involvement, but once initiated, frequently continued. Finding a secluded meeting place presented problems, particularly in winter. Homes of young married couples were often available, although privacy was limited. Parents sometimes expressed concern over this kind of activity, but seldom voiced such opinions openly or directly. Religious precepts did not condone premarital sex, but this seemed to have little effect on the youth's behavior. In earlier times, no clearly defined restrictions were imposed. At infancy, children soon became aware of others sexual activity. By puberty, young men and women occasionally traveled together away from the village, at which time they might contract a quasi-married relationship. Trial marriages were also common - although unbridled promiscuity was viewed with disapproval".

Athabascans (Alaska)

Hippler (1974:p58-60)^{207[201]}: "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". Both sexes are threatened by dire outcome might they "explore" sexually. Thus, "[w]e believe little experimentation occurs before the teen years, but this is not certain, and there is at least hearsay and secondhand evidence of a significant amount of prepubescent sexual activity for certain individuals" (Hippler et al., 1975:p228)^{208[202]}.

^{207[201]} Hippler, A. E. (1974) Patterns of Sexual Behavior: The Athabascans of Interior Alaska, *Ethos* 2:47-68

^{208[202]} Hippler, A. E., Boyer, L. B. & Boyer, R. M. (1975) Alaskan Potlatch ceremony, *Psychoanal Stud Soc* 6:204-34. "In puberty and in early pubescence, girls tend to tease older men (men in their twenties) into rape attempts when the men are drunk; and then to run away".

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Introduction: In the Land of Child Sexology

The sex life of the American child may be regarded as the most researched and discussed of all communities. On a parallel level, there is a growing body of cinematographic representation of American sexual liminality and transitionality (consider *The Wonder Years*' pilot episode for a start; first broadcasted Jan. 31, 1988). "Child sexology" is sporadically recognised as a specific, yet neglected, discipline (John Money), with experts, monographs, and even a number of apparent subdisciplines. Childhood sexual behaviour is nowhere more researched numerically, statistically, and phenomenologically in whatever period of time. This, however, could well be true for most if not all aspects of (human) sexual life, at least in the latter half of the 20th century. Americans are sexologists, and they are not too embarrassed to discuss "developmental" matters as well. Most research is motivated by clear secondary agenda. The successful *Child Sexual Behavior Inventory* (Friedrich et al.) was obviously designed to measure behaviours "symptomatologic" of "abuse". This is illustrated by the frequency of its use in clinical research, as opposed to its application in apparent pursuits of the American "normative"^{1[1]}. Today, its diagnostic value may be uncontested, and its application in the US probably next to universal. One recalls that the "Rosenfeld studies" in the 1980s, examining a range of sexual socialisation related items, including primal scene exposure (1980)^{2[2]}, cross-generational co-sleeping (1982)^{3[3]}, modesty (1984)^{4[4]}, touching parents' (M/P) genitals, breasts (1986)^{5[5]} and cross-generational co-bathing (1987)^{6[6]}, were related to the tentative categorisation of "abuse", Rosenfeld's original agenda (e.g., 1977)^{7[7]} (cf. Lewis and Janda, 1988)^{8[8]}. Apart from a range of abuse issues (e.g., virtual child pornography), the American record accommodates a large number of other typifying issues, including early gender disturbance, the origin of homosexuality, the hardship of gay adolescence, gay teachers, routine neonatal circumcision, the social implications for "precocious" puberties (particularly following a 1997 *Pediatrics* article), organised as well as what is identified as "academic" advocacy for the paedophilic cause, Freud's "seduction" curriculum, parental access control to Internet available erotic representations, teenage

^{1[1]} As far as I have been able to survey in 2001, the diagnostic application was used in thirty-one studies in this respect.

^{2[2]} Rosenfeld, A. et al. (1980) The primal scene: a study of prevalence, *Am J Psychia* 137,11:1426-8. Cf. Ramey, J. W. (1972) Communes, Group Marriage, and the Upper-Middle Class, *J Marriage & Fam* 34,4:647-55, at p650

^{3[3]} Rosenfeld, A. (1982) Sleeping patterns in upper-middle-class families when the child awakens ill or frightened, *Arch Gen Psychia* 39:943-7. Cf. Schweder, R. A. et al. (1995) Who Sleeps by Whom Revisited: A Method for Extracting the Moral Goods Implicit in Practice, *New Directions for Child Developm* 67:21-39

^{4[4]} Rosenfeld, A. et al. (1984) Parental perceptions of children's modesty: a cross-sectional survey of ages two to ten years, *Psychia* 47:351-65

^{5[5]} Rosenfeld, A. et al. (1986) Determinants of incestuous contacts of parent and child: frequencies of children touching parents' genitals in a non-clinical sample, *J Am Acad Child Psychia* 25:481-4

^{6[6]} Rosenfeld, A. et al. (1987) Family bathing patterns: implications for cases of alleged molestation and for pediatric practice, *Pediatrics* 79,2:224-9

^{7[7]} E.g., Rosenfeld, A. (1977) Sexual misuse and the family, *Victimol* 2,2:226-35

^{8[8]} Lewis, R.J., & Janda, L.H. (1988) The relationship between adult sexual adjustment and childhood experiences regarding exposure to nudity, sleeping in the parental bed, and parental attitudes toward sexuality, *Arch Sex Behav* 17,4:349-62

"abstinence", what the Media are doing, etc. This adds up to a rather extensive and in fact unparalleled sexologising of childhood trajectories.

Additional refs.:

-- Frayser, S. G. (2003) Cultural Dimensions of Childhood Sexuality in the United States, in Bancroft, J. (Eds.) *Sexual Development in Childhood*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

-- Mason, M. A. & Fass, P. (Eds., 1999) *Childhood in America*. New York: New York University Press. See a collection of 12 articles under the heading "sexuality" (p497-534)

Sexual Behaviour Socialisation: Historical Notes (particularly 1930s-1980s) and the "Masturbation" Discourse^{9[9]}

Among 17th-century Maryland immigrants, some girls may have married at age twelve and averages were found of 16.5 (Carr and Walsh, 1977:p564)^{10[10]}. Demographics of the 18th century Quakers show a minimum age of fifteen, and averages over twenty (Wells and Zuckerman, 1972:p416-8)^{11[11]}. There is little record of sexual mores regarding the young of this period. "A young person growing up in colonial America learned about sexuality from two primary sources: observation within the family and moral instruction from parent and church. [...] Childhood observation of sexual activity is common in agricultural societies, and all regions remained agricultural throughout the colonial period. [...] Children also learned sex in the home. The small size of colonial dwellings allowed children quite early in their lives to hear or see sexual activity among adults. [...] Whatever they observed, children learned early on that sexual behavior ought to be limited to marriage" (D'Emilio and Freedman, 1988 [1989:p16-20]^{12[12]}). Adolescents seemed to have ample opportunity for congress, whether it be by means of "bundling" (spending the night fully clothed) or not.

By the late 1890s, a coalition of moral and sanitary reformers stressed that "innocence is not ignorance", and a number of works on sex education appeared in that decade (Burnham, 1973^{13[13]}:p898; see also Cable, 1972 [1975:p113-23]^{14[14]}). In 19th century America, the task of sexual instruction to the children, both male and female, was given to the mother. Aside from this traditional role as the transmitter of morality, the nature of instruction could be

^{9[9]} Some historical observations may be appreciated through: Sunle, R. (1955) Early nineteenth-century American literature on child rearing, in Mead, M. & Wolfenstein, M. (Eds.) *Childhood in Contemporary Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, at p157-8. Cf. Wolfenstein, M. (1955) Fun morality: an analysis of recent American child-training literature, in Mead, M. & Wolfenstein, M. (Eds.) *Childhood in Contemporary Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, at p169, 170; Wolfenstein, M. (1953) Trends in infant care, *Am J Orthopsychia* 23:120-30. Reprinted in Brackbill, I. & Thompson, G. G. (1967) *Behavior in Infancy and Early Childhood*. New York: Free Press, p473-83, esp. at p475-6. See also Wickman, E. K. (1929) *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*. New York: Commonwealth Fund

^{10[10]} Carr, L. G. & Walsh, L. S. (1977) The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland, *William & Mary Quart*, 3rd. Ser., 34,4:542-71

^{11[11]} Wells, R. V. & Zuckerman, M. (1972) Quaker Marriage Patterns in a Colonial Perspective, *William & Mary Quart*, 3rd. Ser., 29,3:415-42

^{12[12]} D'Emilio, J. & Freedman, E. B. (1988) *Intimate Matters*. New York: Harper & Row. 1989 ed.

^{13[13]} Burnham, J. C. (1973) The Progressive Era Revolution in American Attitudes Toward Sex, *J Am Hist* 59,4:885-908

^{14[14]} Cable, M. (1972) *The Little Darlings*. New York: Ch. Scribner's Sons. 1975 printing

viewed as “maternal seduction” (Strong, 1973:p460-5)^{15[15]}. In the 1920s, Freudian dogma on infantile sexuality was taken its place only slowly (Steere, 1986:p762-3)^{16[16]}.

Isaac Baker Brown, a gynaecologist elected president of the Medical Society in 1865, believed that hysteria and nervous complaints in women was due to masturbation and that clitoridectomy was the key to their restoration. He was eventually expelled from the society, not because of cruelty or coercion of his patients, but because he offended the society’s professional norms by publishing papers in a popular journal (Scull and Favreau, 1986)^{17[17]}.

Huschka (1938)^{18[18]} studied parental masturbation threats in 320 New York children referred to a general paediatrics clinic for psychiatric consultation. Of the 142 (44.4%) of the children aged 1-14 years known to have “masturbated”, 73.3% of the cases were dealt with “destructively”: actually punishment or severe threat. There were no exact ages at which the children were threatened. Especially illustrative are the verbatim statements (p347-52). Three contemporary studies by Hattwick et al.^{19[19]} demonstrated an interest in the handling of sex organs, and sex curiosity, in nursery school children. Macfarlane (1939)^{20[20]} also studied masturbation, stating it had “no trends with age for the preschool period”, and a surplus in the first five years of “only” children versus those with siblings (p16, 20). According to a comparison by MacClenathan (1934)^{21[21]}, “masturbation” ranked third most undesirable among Brooklyn elementary school teachers’ “undesirable modes of behaviour” (after stealing and temper outbursts)^{22[22]}, seventh among mothers attending a “child-study” class, and 21st among a sample of seven unselected parents (p331-2). Yourman (1932)^{23[23]} 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 (p335). It must be reckoned that at least some adolescent boys still struggled with the “truth” of masturbation in the late 1930s (e.g., Crampton and Partridge, 1938:p70-1)^{24[24]}. A Freudian approach could even sketch a situation in which “many white Americans live[d] in the shadow of unconscious fear, anxiety, and insecurity originating from the threats and punishments of early sex training”, given that “[i]nterference with the pleasurable gratification of early sex desire is the supreme trauma of childhood” (Golightly, 1947:p130)^{25[25]}. It should also be argued that for parents, not unlike their European counterparts, sex “education” was recommended only in the context of curricularisation.

^{15[15]} Strong, B. (1973) Toward a History of the Experiential Family: Sex and Incest in the Nineteenth-Century Family, *J Marriage & Fam* 35,3:457-66

^{16[16]} Steere, G. H. (1986) Freudianism and Child-Rearing in the Twenties, *Am Quart* 20,4:759-67

^{17[17]} Scull, A. & Favreau, D. (1986) The clitoridectomy craze, *Soc Res* 53,2:243-60

^{18[18]} Huschka, M. (1938) The incidence and character of masturbation threats in a group of problem children, *Psychoanal Quart* 7:338-56

^{19[19]} Hatwick, LaB. A. (1937) Sex differences in behavior of nursery school children, *Child Developm* 6,4:343-55; Hatwick, LaB. A. & Sanders, M. K. (1938) Age differences in behavior at the nursery school level, *Child Developm* 9,1:27-47; Alstyne, D. van Hatwick, LaB. A. (1939) A follow-up study of the behavior of nursery school children, *Child Developm* 10,1:43-72

^{20[20]} Macfarlane, J. W. (1939) The Guidance Study, *Sociometry* 2,3:1-23

^{21[21]} MacClenathan, R. H. (1934) Teachers and Parents Study Children’s Behavior, *J Educ Sociol* 7,5:325-33

^{22[22]} Also listed among 50 items were “interest in the other sex” and “obscenity”.

^{23[23]} Yourman, J. (1932) Children Identified by Their Teachers as Problems, *J Educ Sociol* 5,6:334-43

^{24[24]} Crampton, C. W. & Partridge, E. D. (1938) Social Adjustments Associated with Individual Differences Among Adolescent Boys, *J Educ Sociol* 12,2:66-72

^{25[25]} Golightly, C. L. (1947) Race, Values, and Guilt, *Social Forces* 26,2:125-39

Thom (1927, as quoted by Hardyment, 1983:p203)^{26[26]} stated that “[s]exual instruction should be given before unnatural gratifications of this instinct have led to the formation of habits that undermine the moral stamina of the child by developing a degrading sense of inferiority”. Thom would have been disappointed to take note of the Kronhausens reporting in 1960 that “[a]mong over two hundred, there were scarcely one or two students who indicated in their histories that they had received anything even faintly resembling adequate sex education in the home- or, for that matter, anywhere else [...]” (p29). One way or the other, “[s]tudent after student reported that adults interfered with their early sexual explorations and that this interference was, more often than not, interpreted by the children as an emotional threat [...]” (p63). The sex education given to 69 college girls was perceived less than rather adequate in some 50 girls (Ellis)^{27[27]}. Stendler (1950:p125)^{28[28]} found that “sex education” was a low priority for women’s mags during 1890-1948. Renaud and Floyd (1961:p790)^{29[29]} found that “[n]o subject reported receiving what he considered an adequate orientation to sexuality, communicated in a tension-free atmosphere, from a member of his family. Most reported occasions on which the topic was broached embarrassedly, often by the mother. Ordinarily, the information was deemed inadequate, or poorly timed”. The writes felt “impressed with the amount of repression or suppression concerning childhood sexual memories. Involuntary contradictions, confusion of ages, or implausible replies (“Well, I just never thought about anything like that until I was thirteen” - on a question concerning masturbation) characterized roughly one third of the interviews”.

In a report by Davis and Havighurst (1946)^{30[30]}, “[t]hree times as many white middle-class as compared to lower-class children are reported as masturbating. Twice as many Negro middle-class children as compared with Negro lower-class children are reported as masturbating” (p707-8). The data on both Boston and Eugene indicated that lower-class parents are significantly less permissive than middle-class contemporaries. In addition, both lower- and middle-class fathers differed significantly from their wives, “the only comparison in which there are differences both on sex of parents and social status” (Littman et al., 1957:p701)^{31[31]}. Leslie and Johnsen (1963:p924-5)^{32[32]} found that middle- and upper-class mothers could in 1949 be rated as more permissive in their *concept* of sex and modesty “training” than, in their eyes, their mothers in the 1930s, but the generational gain was rather small for their factual toleration of masturbation and sex play. It was less vigorously punished, though. In 1957, low rates (9%) of masturbation among children aged 5-15 were found in intact homes, versus 12% in broken homes (Russell, 1957:p126)^{33[33]}.

^{26[26]} Thom, D. (1927) *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child*. New York: Appleton; Hardyment, Ch. (1983) *Dream Babies*. London: J. Cape

^{27[27]} Ellis, A. (1947) Questionnaire Versus Interview Methods in the Study of Human Love Relationships, *Am Sociol Rev* 12,5:541-53, at p549

^{28[28]} Stendler, C. B. (1950) Sixty Years of Child Training Practices, *J Pediatrics* 36:122-34

^{29[29]} Renaud, H. & Floyd, E. (1961) Life history interviews with one hundred normal American males: “Pathogenicity” of childhood, *Am J Orthopsychia* 31:786-802

^{30[30]} Davis, A. & Havighurst, R. J. (1946) Social Class and Color Differences in Child-Rearing, *Am Sociol Rev* 11,6:698-710. Cf. Sewell, W. H. (1961) Social Class and Childhood Personality, *Sociometry* 24,4:340-56, p344

^{31[31]} Littman, R. A., Moore, R. C. & Pierce-Jones, J. (1957) Social Class Differences in Child Rearing: A Third Community for Comparison with Chicago and Newton, *Am Sociol Rev* 22,6:694-704

^{32[32]} Leslie, G. R. & Johnsen, K. P. (1963) Changed Perceptions of the Maternal Role, *Am Sociol Rev* 28,6:919-28

^{33[33]} Russell, I. L. (1957) Behavior Problems of Children from Broken and Intact Homes, *J Educ Sociol* 31,3:124-9

Major studies were conducted by Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1954/1964:p274-6^{34[34]}; 1957:p176-217)^{35[35]}, and Sears et al. (1965:esp. p60-1, 64-7, 74, 160-1, 189-92, 194-7, 237-8)^{36[36]}. According to the former study,

“[a] fairly large number of incidents of sex play among neighborhood children were reported and described by the mothers; among the upper-lower [class] mothers, the reaction was generally one of shock and shame, and the children were punished. Upper-middle mothers discouraged the more active forms of sex behavior, but more often by separating the children or admonishing them than by punishment, and they seemed to react with less emotional intensity” (1964:p275).

As reviewed by Bronfenbrenner (1958:p413)^{37[37]} four studies covering the period 1932-1952 found class differences in “permissiveness toward sex impulse expression”, with “no suggestion of a shift over the somewhat truncated time span”.

In Orchard Town, parents are careful not to allow their young children to see them having intercourse (Fisher and Fisher, 1963:p949-50)^{38[38]}. One might get the impression that preadolescent sexuality is predominantly occupied with joking and sexual discussions (p1006-8). By 1968 Spock argued: “We were all brought up to be disturbed by it [masturbation], and we can never unlearn that. We can’t be comfortable with our children if they are doing things we dislike” (Hardyment, p271).

In the 1960s, mothers were embarrassed to discuss genital play of infants, denied its existence and smacked the baby for it, with very obvious class distinction (Newson and Newson, 1963 [1965:p127-32, 200-3])^{39[39]}. Punishment among the “admitters” varies from 93% in the lowest to 25% in the highest class. According to the authors’ extensive discussion of sex matters (Newson and Newson, 1968:p346-86)^{40[40]}, the upper class “wife of” tended to feel that guilt was unhealthy, whereas the lower class operated according to the aim to instil a sense of guilt into the child. Parents would tell boys that their sexual part would “drop off” or smack him. Overall, 48% of class V mothers would use punishments or threats to genital play, opposing a low 5% in (upper) classes I and II. An essential distinction was noted between *seeing* and *looking* of four-year-olds, this being an interesting fact considering the finding that 13% slept in the parents’ room. The previous “seems to be based on the principle

^{34[34]} Maccoby, E. E., Gibbs, P. K. etc. (1954) Methods of child-rearing in two social classes, in Martin, W. E. & Stendler, C. B. (Eds.) *Readings in Child Development*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, p380-96. Reprinted in Stendler, C. B. (Ed., 1964) *Readings in Child Behavior and Development*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, p272-87

^{35[35]} Sears, R. R., Maccoby, E. E. & Levin, H. (1957) *Patterns of Child Rearing*. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson. Cf. McCandless, B. R. (1967) *Children; Behavior and Development*. 2nd.ed. London [etc.]: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p134-8

^{36[36]} Sears, R. R., Rau, L. & Alpert, R. (1965) *Identification and Child Rearing*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. See also Maccoby, E. E. & Jacklin, C. N. (1974) *The Psychology of Sex Differences*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, p329-31; Grinder, R. E. (1962) Parental childrearing practices, conscience, and resistance to temptation of sixth-grade children, *Child Developm* 33,4:803-20

^{37[37]} Bronfenbrenner, U. (1958) Socialization and social class through time and space, in Maccoby, E. E., Newcomb, T. M. & Hartley, E. C. (Eds.) *Readings in Social Psychology*. 3rd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p400-25

^{38[38]} Fisher, J. L. & Fisher, A. (1963) The New Englanders of Orchard Town, U.S.A., in Whiting, B. B. (Ed.) *Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing*. New York: Wiley, p873-1010

^{39[39]} Newson, J. & Newson, E. (1963) *Patterns of Infant Care in an Urban Community*. London: Allen & Unwin. 1965 Penguin

^{40[40]} Newson, J. & Newson, E. (1968) *Four Years Old in an Urban Community*. London: G. Allen & Unwin

that it is all right for children to know about sex differences provided they are not actively aware that they know" (p375).

Westbrook (1970:p393)⁴¹ found that 1966-7 New York teachers rated "masturbation" and "sexual behavior with other children" (classified as "aggressive items") as 3.059 and 3.227 (resp.) on a 1 to 4 seriousness scale (ranking 4th and 8th on a list of 43 items). A 1974 study^{42[41]} of foster mothers showed "a somewhat Victorian attitude in which the child's individuality of behavior and sexual curiosity were repressed".

In recent decades a number of studies have emerged providing an insight to American parental attitudes and practices in sexual socialisation and curricularisation.

The *Project of Human Sexual Development's* in-depth study^{43[42]} of 1,461 parents of preadolescent children demonstrated that most sexual learning at home is informal and indirect. Although parents would like their children to be better educated about sexuality than they themselves were, the great majority are ambiguous about their own sexual values and reluctant to discuss most aspects of the subject with their children. Analysis of ten years' research revealed that another prominent influence on the young child's sexual learning, television programming, was "saturated with messages about many dimensions of sexual life". [Janus and Janus (1985)^{44[43]} found that peripubescent and teens (8-17) were increasingly exposed to explicit songs via their music culture. They found a "crucial age" of 14, with a precipitous drop in parental concern for sexual control^{45[44]}.] Reporting on the 1978 study by Roberts, Kline and Gagnon, including interviews with a stratified random sample of 1,482 parents of three to eleven-year-olds, Gagnon (1985)^{46[45]} found that less than 5% of parents actually "approved" of the practice when confronted with it. A large majority "accepted" it, a smaller majority found it "all right", but less than half wanted children *as adolescents* to have a positive attitude toward the practice.

The above sketch of American studies can be augmented by many more formal studies^{47[46]}. Recently, Halstead and Waite (2001)^{48[47]} found that the family was the main source of sexual information for the girls, but friends and the media for the boys.

⁴¹ Westbrook, A. (1970) Teachers' Recognition of Problem Behavior and Referrals of Children to Pupil Personnel Services, *J Educ Res* 63,9: 391-4

^{42[41]} Paulson, M. J. et al. (1974) Child-rearing attitudes of foster home mothers, *J Commun Psychol* 2,1:11-4

^{43[42]} Roberts, E. J. (1982) *Children's Sexual Learning: An Examination of the Influence of Parents, Television, and Community Service Providers*. Diss., Harvard University

^{44[43]} Janus, S. S. & Janus, C. L. (1985) Children, sex, peers, culture: 1973-1983, *J Psychohist* 12,3:363-9

^{45[44]} Cf. Janus, S. (1981) *The Death of Innocence: How Our Children are Endangered by New Sexual Freedom*. New York: William Morrow & Co.; Janus, S. & Bess, B. (1976) Latency: fact or fiction? *Am J Psychoanal* 36:339-46. Revised in Constantine, L. & Martinson, F. (Eds., 1981) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., p75-82

^{46[45]} Gagnon, J. H. (1985) Attitudes of parents to pre-adolescent masturbation, *Arch Sex Behav* 14,5:451-66. Cf. Gagnon, J. & Roberts (1980) Parent's messages to pre-adolescent children about sexuality, in Samson, J. (Ed.) *Childhood and Sexuality*. Montreal: Éditions Études Vivantes, p275-86

^{47[46]} Consider Sink, M. F. (1983) *A Survey of Mental Health Professionals' Attitudes Toward the Sexual Socialization of Children by their Parents*. Dissertation, Florida State University; Hepburn, Ei. H. (1980) *Sexual Socialization and the Development of Sexual Attitudes and Values in an Upper and Upper-Middle Class Population*. Diss., University Of Pennsylvania; Spanier, G. B. (1973) *Sexual Socialization and Premarital Sexual Behavior: An Empirical Investigation of the Impact of Formal and Informal Sex Education*. Diss., Northwestern University; Lawrence, M. J. (1996) *A Survey of Plans that Urban Parents Have for the Sexuality Education of Their Preschool Children and the Implications for Development of Age-Appropriate Curriculum*. Diss., Wayne State University

Selected additional refs.:

- Sewell, W. H., Mussen, P. H. & Harris, Ch. W. (1955) Relationships Among Child Training Practices, *Am Sociol Rev* 20,2:137-48
- Wormser, R. (1996) *American Childhoods: Three Centuries of Youth at Risk*. New York: Walker & Company. Chapter 4, "Sex and Romance"
- Beisel, N. (1998) *Imperiled Innocents: Anthony Comstock and Family Reproduction in Victorian America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- West, M. I. (1983) *Defenders of Childhood Innocence: Reformer Responses to Children's Culture in America, 1878-1954*. PhD Dissertation, Bowling Green State University [DAI-A 45/05, p1503, Nov 1984]

Swan (1980)⁴⁹[48] provides a short history of American sexual education practices, using DeMause's *Psychogenic Modes* of childhood in the West. A further brief impression was offered by Martinson (1973:p17-8)]

Consent Issues: Historical Notes

The records of the Ingham County, Michigan, courts during 1850-1950 show that the county was more concerned than most with upholding the state's underage statute in cases when there was evidence of consent (Parker, 1994)⁵⁰[49]. Punishment of males involved in consensual sex with underage females varied greatly depending on how well acquainted the man was with the girl and on the age of the female. Also, when girls filed complaints against multiple defendants, the men usually received lighter sentences. Ingham County's prosecution of statutory rape cases reflected the fear that young women and girls, who were viewed as less sensual than men, might become prostitutes because of early sexual experiences.

Statutory rape laws became part of the American legal system through English common law. As in England, early law-makers adopted 10 as the age of consent. During the 19th century, states gradually raised the age of consent, in some cases to 21. However, in Delaware the age of consent was seven until it was raised to 16 in 1973⁵¹[50]. In 1893, the age of consent in Massachusetts was advanced by statute from ten to sixteen⁵²[51]. Seventeenth century New Haven's sodomy law, as opposed to that of New England, *specifically* condemned anal intercourse with a child, and vaginal penetration of a prepubertal girl, that is, "carnal

⁴⁸[47] Halstead, J. M. & Waite, S. (2001) "Living in different worlds": Gender differences in the developing sexual values and attitudes of primary school children, *Sex Educ* 1,1:59-76

⁴⁹[48] Swan, R. W. (1980) Ssex Education in the home: the U.S. experience, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 6,2:3-10

⁵⁰[49] Parker, K. R. (1994) "To protect the chastity of children under sixteen": statutory rape prosecutions in a Midwest county circuit court, 1850-1950, *Michigan Hist Rev* 20:49-79

⁵¹[50] Bryant, C. D. (1982) *Sexual Deviancy and Social Proscription*. New York: Human Sciences Press, p306

⁵²[51] Ferdinand, Th. N. (1967) The Criminal Patterns of Boston Since 1849, *Am J Sociol* 73,1:84-99, p91n14

knowledge of [...] [the] unripe vessel of a girl" (Godbeer, 1995:p267-8)^{53[52]}. In 18th century Maryland, at common law, having sex with a girl under ten years old was considered statutory rape. It was a capital crime in Maryland until the *Act Concerning Crimes and Punishments* was passed in 1809. It gave judges discretion to sentence statutory rapists to either death or incarceration. The law remained unchanged until the late 1800s, when the state legislature passed laws raising the age of consent to 14, declaring the insane incapable of consent and stating that having sex with a girl under 16 was a misdemeanour. In 1899 Congress passed laws criminalising sex with chaste women between 16 and 21 in the District of Columbia and the territory of Alaska. These acts defined sex with a girl under 16 as rape, and imposed a punishment of life imprisonment if the victim was under 12, or 3-20 years in prison if she was 12-16.

As late as 1934, eleven states still upheld medieval laws of marriageability age *with parental consent* of 14 for boys and 12 for girls^{54[53]}. Contemporary data (Graupner, p448-50)^{55[54]} address typical ages of 14 and 16. As reported by an earlier study in on 1996 legislation, the age of consent in 28 states currently is 16 years, in most of the remaining states it was 17 or 18, although in one state it was 15 years, and in another, 14 years^{56[55]}.

It is not clear how much consent laws are informed by the need for curricularisation. In a 1997 study by Miller et al. (1998)^{57[56]} among Kansas district attorneys, it appeared that fifty-three percent thought the law should not specify age differences between the partners.

Selected Additional refs.:

-- Densen-Gerber, J. & Dugan, J. R. Jr. (1989) The United States age-of-consent laws governing the sexual conduct of minors: A rationale for national uniformity; an overview of the present law; a proposal for reform, in Rosner, R. & Schwartz, H. I. (Eds.) *Juvenile Psychiatry and the Law*. Critical Issues in American Psychiatry and the Law, Vol. 4. New York: Plenum Press, p145-80

-- Lindenmeyer, K. (2000) *Adolescence, Marriage, and Parenthood in the Twentieth Century U.S.* Paper Presented at History of Childhood in America Conference, Washington, D.C., August 5-6

-- O'Neil, M. L. (2000) *'Act your Age!': Law, Culture and the Boundary between Child and Adult*. PhD Dissertation, University of Kansas [DAI-A 61/07, p2775, Jan 2001], chapter 4: *Statutory Rape: The Protection of Young, White Womanhood*, p112-37

^{53[52]} Godbeer, R. (1995) "The Cry of Sodom": Discourse, Intercourse, and Desire in Colonial New England, *William & Mary Quart*, 3rd. Ser., 52,2:259-86

^{54[53]} Goodsell, W. (1934) *A History of Marriage and the Family*. Rev. ed. New York: MacMillan, p475-6. This condition of "child" marriage was considered by the author as "a social stupidity".

^{55[54]} Graupner, H. (2000) Sexual consent: The criminal law in Europe and overseas, *Arch Sex Behav* 29,5:415-61

^{56[55]} Donovan, P. (1997) Can Statutory Rape Laws be Effective in Preventing Adolescent Pregnancy? *Fam Plann Perspect* 29,1:30-4+40. An overview of state-specific rulings is offered at p31. Cf. Nathanson, C. A. (1991) *Dangerous Passage: The Social Control in Women's Adolescence*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. See also Riegel, R. E. (1968) Changing American Attitudes Toward Prostitution (1800-1920), *J Hist Ideas* 29,3:437-52, at p451. Occasionally, uniformity was debated, e.g., Densen-Gerber, J. & Dugan, J. (1989) The United States age-of-consent laws governing the sexual conduct of minors: A rationale for national uniformity; an overview of the present law; a proposal for reform, in Rosner, R. & Schwartz, H. I. (Eds.) *Juvenile Psychiatry and the Law*. New York, NY, US: Plenum Press, p145-80

^{57[56]} Miller, H. L. et al. (1998) Issues in statutory rape law enforcement: the views of district attorneys in Kansas, *Fam Plann Perspect* 30,4:177-81

-- Odem, M. (1995) *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press

Further documents and bibliography via <http://womhist.binghamton.edu/aoc/doclist.htm> .

Gender Bias

As a good indication of the American academic approach to socialisation, Spanier (1976:p42)^{58[57]} includes five elements in what he names the “sexualisation” process: gender identity development; gender role development; sex object preference development; acquisition of sexual skills, knowledge, and values; and development of “sexual attitudes” or “disposition to behave”. Apart from the at least partial confusion of the last two, it appears that the concept of “sex” is engulfed and presented by the concept of “gender”; “sex” is a relation between genders. This is very apparent in the medical and psychiatric history of homosexuality, and the intense academic interest in atypical gender development, especially in boys. To some authors, this has suggested what has been called a “latent homophobia”, perhaps one of the major hidden agendas in the issue of sexual “abuse” of boys.

Childhood Sexual Behaviour and Socialisation: Quantitative Studies

A major symbolic disjuncture is bound up in the transition from the sexually innocent child to the publicly sexual teen, authors^{59[58]} argue. In any case, no obvious ritualism enters the stage of American sexual coming-of-age, and no legal transitions coincide with pubescence. If anything, transitional ‘rites’ in American society are currently informed by commercial interpretations of the medical-hygienic approach^{60[59]}, an approach that tends to inform the negative sides of an ambivalent^{61[60]} sexology culture. This renders the chronological localisation of the “child” problematic. To limit discussions to childhood sexuality, as in the following section, then, invites a concentration on arbitrary numerics uninformed by gender (which further illustrates the concept of American puberty).

Additional refs.:

^{58[57]} Spanier, G. B. (1976) Formal and informal sex education as determinants of premarital sexual behavior, *Arch Sex Behav* 5,1:39-67

^{59[58]} Thorne, B. (1991) *Lip Gloss and “Goin’ With”: Multiple Gender Meanings in the Transition to Early Adolescence*. Paper for the American Sociological Association

^{60[59]} Hufnagel, G. (1999) A cultural analysis of the evolution of menarche and menstruation: Implications for education, *DAI-A* 60(6-A):2256.

^{61[60]} Becker, G. (1984) The Social Regulation of Sexuality: A Cross-Cultural Perspective, *Curr Perspect Soc Theory* 5:45-69

-- *Politicizing Puberty*. Discussion launched from <http://www.nerve.com/dispatches/voicebox/puberty/>

Sexual Behaviour

Qualitative studies include the following subcategories: (1) so-called “normative” category, usually defined as occurring in a presumably non-sexually abused sample; (2) so-called “reactive” category; that is, sexual phenomena in relation to alleged or proven history of age disparate sexual contacts (diagnostic and prognostic behaviour inventories, doll studies, drawing studies, etc.); (3) so-called “problematic” category; that is, sexual behaviour phenomena in relation to “sexual behaviour problem” categories. At least on the second and third category, very large bibliographies can be compiled.

1. American “Normative” Sample Studies: Implications for Curricularisation

A considerable number of studies include data on childhood phase or age brackets, data to be sought in the left extreme of visual presentations and the upper extreme of tables. There appears to be a wide variation in both the investigation and presentation of age-plotted sexual behaviour.

Preliminary CSBI data were published in 1986, but the first publication recognised as such was delayed until 1991^{62[61]}. Selected data before this time include communications by Friedrich et al. (1989), and Friedrich’s 1991 monograph (p78-82).

The initial CBSI results (Friedrich et al., 1991) were specific for 2-6 and 7-12 age groups.

“Because of the developmental transition that occurs as a child enters school, age ranges 2 through 6 and 7 through 12 years were considered separately [...]” (p459). The grand-scale updates (Friedrich et al., 1998; also Schoentjes et al., 1999) make a distinction in 3 groups: 2-5, 6-9, and 10-12. This was decided on the basis of an age-plot for all 38 items showing some increase until age 5, and, and, less obvious, drops at 5 and again at 9 (although increases exist for boys of 11, and for girls of 12). They neglect their former observation that

“[d]evelopmental transitions in sexual behavior will reflect the parent’s ability to observe the child”, and also that “observation” may be more complex a concept that to be measured on the basis of “ability” (active, passive opportunity) solely. The school argument is likewise dropped^{63[62]}.

^{62[61]} Friedrich, W., Grambsch, P. et al. (1991) Normative sexual behavior in children, *Pediatrics* 88,3:456-64; Friedrich, W., Fisher, J., Broughton, D., Houston, M. & Shafran, C. R. (1998) Normative sexual behavior in children; a contemporary sample, *Pediatrics* 101,4:693 (abstract); Normative data are also found in Friedrich, W. (1990) *Psychotherapy of Sexually Abused Children and Their Families*. New York: WW Norton & Company; Friedrich, W., Grambsch, P. et al. (1992) Child sexual behavior inventory: normal and clinical comparisons, *Psychol Assessm* 4,3:303-11; Friedrich, W. N. et al. (2001) Child Sexual Behavior Inventory: normative, psychiatric, and sexual abuse comparisons, *Child Maltreatm* 6,1:37-49

^{63[62]} The before-2 zone remains an interesting one, since abuse of preverbal children is more of a diagnostic challenge than afterwards.

Another illustrative case is provided by Kilpatrick (1992)^{64[63]} who used a questionnaire *per primum* specified for age groups 0-6, 7-10, 11-14, 15, 16, and 17 (printed in full, p148-84). It seems that age specificity becomes parabolically significant, trustworthy, memorable or interesting, yet legitimisation was not offered (p52).

1.1 YRBS: "Preteen" Coitarche

The YRBS, *Youth Risk Behavior Survey*, includes a question on the coitarchal age. The figures for "less than 13 years old" are 8.7 in 1990 (Q64), 11.7 in 1991 (6.6% less than 12 years old; Q49), 12.1 in 1993 (6.5% less than 12 years old; Q58), 12.4% in 1995 (6.9% less than 12 years old; Q57)^{65[64]}, 10.0% in 1997 (5.3% less than 12 years old; Q57), 22.1% in 1998 (ASYRBS, weighted percentages, Q57; 11.2 less than 12 years old), 8.3 in 1999 (4.4, weighted percentage, less than 12 years old; Q58).

In a state plot of 1997 figures, figures were as high as 12.5 (Baltimore females) and 39.7 (Baltimore males), which produces the highest state percentage of 24.0. Other areas with male percentages above 30 include Mississippi (34.7), Virgin Islands (41.7)^{66[65]}, Detroit (36.2), and New Orleans (35.2).

In an ethnical plot of 1997 figures, 33.3% of male and 11.0% of female non-Hispanic blacks had their coitarche before age 13, as opposed to 4.6% in male and 3.2% in female non-Hispanic whites. Hispanics followed an intermediate track (11.4 for males, and 3.4 for females). The same plot for 1998 figures shows roughly the same configuration, but in considerably higher absolutes^{67[66]}. In 1999, figures are again considerably lower^{68[67]}.

2. American Reactive Sexualities

Tobin (2001)^{69[68]} discussed three interrelated phenomena that in the past decade or so have swept through American early childhood education: (1) a "moral panic" about sexual abuse in preschools; (2) the prohibition of physical contact, both among children, and between children and their adult caretakers; and (3) the disappearance of psychoanalysis as a source of knowledge and a guide to good practice. Evidence is presented from the author's review of 72 years of early childhood education textbooks, showing a decline in the influence of Freud and a shift in the presentation of sexual curiosity from a normal feature of childhood to a symptom of abuse. Another source of evidence is from a study using 20 focus groups of American early childhood educators' panicky responses to scenarios depicting sexuality in

^{64[63]} Kilpatrick, A. (1992) *Long-Range Effects of Child and Adolescent Sexual Experiences: Myths, Mores, Menaces*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Earlbaum

^{65[64]} In the NCHRBS, coitarche before 13 years is as low as 3.0% [!].

^{66[65]} The absolute extreme. The female figure was as low as 5.1.

^{67[66]} Whites (M/F): 22.2/12.5; blacks: 47.5/15.5; Hispanics: 29.2/7.8.

^{68[67]} Whites (M/F): 7.5/3.5; blacks: 29.9/11.4; Hispanics: 14.2/4.4.

^{69[68]} Tobin, J. (2001) Childhood sexuality after Freud: The problem of sex in early childhood education, in Winer, J. A. & Anderson, J. W. (Eds.) *The Annual of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. XXIX. Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, p179-98

preschool settings. Many use the term *hysteria*^{70[69]}, apparently legitimate narrative from 1990 to the present.

Authors suggest the American early touch curriculum is changing its face^{71[70]}, with potential pleasures of both parties “erased”. This may not prove a very specific culture trait. In England (Skelton, 1991)⁷² and Australia (Sumsion, 1999)⁷³, too, male teachers have come to represent a problematic factor in educational settings.

As indicated in [3 tables](#), *numeric* studies that intend to investigate the change of sexual behaviour after a socially stigmatised index experience in children number, according to a personal counting in 2001, at 91 (presenting original data). *Numeric* studies that intend to investigate (the change of) sexual behaviour as measured after, or in relation to, index stigmatised experiences in children *by the means of dolls* number, according to a collateral counting, at 32. A further 22 *numeric* studies investigated sexual phenomena in drawing assignments, of which at least ten are situated in the context of abuse allegations. Almost all of these studies are American, the genre originates in North America, and it can be hypothesised that the few “foreign” studies are “reactive” to this genre themselves.

“Traumatic” sexual behaviour reactivity has probably been a worry for a long time, though the systematic sexological literature is still quite new, some twenty years. Before this period, there have been incidental remarks on this topic, and virtually no therapeutic suggestions, diagnostic expansion or attempts at medicalisation.

3. American Sexual Behaviour Problem Categorisation

This genre seemed to have started off with two articles published in 1988^{74[71]}, and set out a sizeable number of articles, manuals and monographs on the question of categorisation of

^{70[69]} Cockburn, A. (1990) Abused Imaginings, *New Statesman & Soc* 3, 85, Jan. 26:19-20

^{71[70]} Del-Prete, T. (1996) Hands Off? The Touchy Subject of Physical Contact with Students, *Our Children* 22,2:34-5; Johnson, R. (1997) The “no touch” policy, in Tobin, J. J. (Ed.) *Making a Place for Pleasure in Early Childhood Education*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p101-18; Krivacska, J. J. (1993) Antisexualism in Child Sexual Abuse Prevention Programs-- Good Touch, Bad Touch ... Don't Touch? *Iss Child Abuse Accus* 5,2; Johnson, R. T. (2000) *Hands Off! The Disappearance of Touch in the Care of Children*. New York: Peter Lang. The problem is not new: Mazur, S. & Pekor, C. (1985) Can teachers touch children anymore? Physical contact and its values in child development, *Young Children* 40,4:10-2; King, J. R. (1998) *Uncommon Caring: Learning from Men Who Teach Young Children*. New York & London: Teachers College Press, Columbia University. See esp. section p76-83; Heller, Sh. (1999) Touch Taboos, *Mothering*, 96:44 et seq. It may likewise not be confined to American territory: Schmauch, U. (1996) Körperberührung unter Generalverdacht? Zur Skandalisierung und Tabuisierung von sexuellem Kindesmissbrauch, *Zeitschr f Sozialisationsforsch & Erziehungssoziol* 16,3:284-98

⁷² Skelton, Ch. (1991) A Study of the Career Perspectives of Male Teachers of Young Children, *Gender & Educ* 3,3:279-89

⁷³ Sumsion, J. (1999) Critical Reflections on the Experiences of a Male Early Childhood Worker, *Gender & Educ* 11,4:455-68

^{74[71]} Johnson, T. C. (1988) Child perpetrators-Children who molest other children: Preliminary findings, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 12,2:219-29; Cantwell, H. (1988) Child sexual abuse: very young perpetrators, *Child Abuse & Negl* 12,4:579-82. Lay representations were piling up during the 1990s: Terry, S. & Kunz, A. (1991) Sins of the innocent, *Rolling Stone*, 10/31/91; 616:67 et seq.; Gelman, D. & Gordon, J. (1992) When kids molest kids, *Newsweek*, 3/30/92; 119,13:68 et seq.; Casey, K. (1995)

“sexually problematic behaviour”. Problematic sexual behaviour in childhood has a diverse history, but “professionalised” and clinically oriented categorisation did not start without a solid motivation by “abuse experts” perhaps widening their territory. Observations by first- and second-grade teachers towards the “sexual behaviors” of their 29 kindergarten students over a 6-month period suggest that more behaviours were problematic than “normal”^{75[72]}. Of the 378 sexual behaviours that were observed, 162 were determined to be “within the normative range of children’s sexual behavior”; whereas a total of 184 behaviours were identified as “problematic or potentially problematic, requiring varying levels of adult intervention, including therapeutic follow-up”.

The format appears to be followed in a recent **Swedish** study (Långström et al., 2002)^{76[73]}, while clinical interpretations also appear in (peripheral) **Dutch** articles^{77[74]}. These papers illustrate the dissemination of an American ethos, as judged by their historical timing and format.

‘Avoidancies’

1. Kinship Avoidancy in Childhood

The legal or clinical norms in onset age of perpetration covered by the term sibling incest are variable. The classification of prepubertal (sibling) incest perpetrators did not gain ground until well into the 1990s. A review of some studies on sibling incest reveals the norms in onset age of perpetration covered by the term: 13-18 (Becker et al., 1986)^{78[75]}, 9-20 (Smith and Israel, 1987)^{79[76]}, 12-19 (O’Brien, 1991)^{80[77]}, 12-19 (“adolescence”; Worling, 1995)^{81[78]}, 11-15 (Laviola, 1989)^{82[79]}, 8-21 (Laviola, 1992)^{83[80]}, 11-14 (Adler and Schultz, 1995)^{84[81]}, and 9-15 (Carter and

When children rape, *Ladies’ Home J* 112,6:112 et seq.; Horowitz, C. (1996) Kids who prey on kids, *Good Housekeeping* 223,4:94 et seq.; Will, G. F. (1999) Six-Year-Old Harassers? *Newsweek*, 06/07/99; 133,23:88

^{75[72]} Kaeser, F., DiSalvo, C. & Moglia, R. (2000) Sexual behaviors of young children that occur in schools, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 25,4:277-85

^{76[73]} Långström, N., Grann, M. & Lichtenstein, P. (2002) Genetic and Environmental Influences on Problematic Masturbatory Behavior in Children: A Study of Same-Sex Twins, *Arch Sex Beh* 31,4:343-50

^{77[74]} Huizinga, A. (2000) “Een gezonde Hollandse jongen”: seksueel agressief gedrag van kinderen *VKMag* [Dutch] 14,2:10-1

^{78[75]} Becker, J. Kaplan, M. et al. (1986) Characteristics of adolescent incest sexual perpetrators, *J Fam Viol* 1,1:85-97

^{79[76]} Smith, H. & Israel, E. (1987) Sibling incest: a study of the dynamics of 25 cases, *Child Abuse & Negl* 11,1:101-8

^{80[77]} O’Brien, M. J. (1991) Taking sibling incest seriously, in Patton, M. Q. (Ed.) *Family Sexual Abuse*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, p75-92

^{81[78]} Worling, J. R. (1995) Adolescent sibling-incest offenders, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 19,5:633-43

^{82[79]} Laviola, M. (1989) Effects of older brother-younger sister incest: a review of four cases, *J Fam Viol* 4,3:259-74

^{83[80]} Laviola, M. (1992) Effects of older-brother-younger sister incest: a study of the dynamics of 17 cases, *Child Abuse & Negl* 16:409-21

^{84[81]} Adler, N. & Schutz, J. (1995) Sibling incest offenders, *Child Abuse & Negl* 19,7:811-9

Van Dalen, 1998)^{85[82]}. There are few if any studies that prove a parental differential on socialization of sibling and nonsibling sexual contacts in childhood.

In a pioneering survey^{86[83]} of 796 undergraduates at six New England colleges and universities, 15% of the females and 10% of the males reported some type of sexual experience involving a sibling. One-fourth of the experiences could be described as exploitative either because force was used or because there was a large age disparity between the partners. Reactions to the experiences were equally divided among those who considered them positive and those who considered them negative. Females were more likely than males to have been exploited and feel badly about it. Few participants of either sex ever told anyone.

Further questionnaire data were collected from 526 undergraduate college students by Greenwald (1987)^{87[84]}. Of this sample 5% reported having had only a sibling sexual encounter, 12% reported having had both a sibling and a nonsibling childhood sexual experience, 45% reported having had only a nonsibling sexual experience, and 39% reported no sexual experience with another child prior to age 13. Thirty one percent of the sibling sexual experiences involved physical contact with genitalia, however the modal experience involved showing or observing genitalia. Forty-one percent of the nonsibling childhood sexual experiences also involved genital contact. Individuals felt more negative and guilty about sibling sexual experiences, and believed them to be more immoral, uncommon, abnormal, socially unacceptable, and harmful to their partners, than did subjects with nonsibling sexual experiences, and especially so if genital contact were involved. However, negative reactions to sibling sexual experiences were moderated when subjects also had a preadolescent nonsibling sexual experience in addition to their sibling encounter. No differences were found between the sibling, nonsibling, and no experience groups on a variety of adult sexual adjustment and sexual behaviour measures.

2. "Age Avoidancy" and Preference in Childhood

Freund and Kuban (1993; Freund, 1994)^{88[85]} investigated age and gender orientation in childhood curiosity for visual nudity as an "indicator of developing erotic interest". Apart from this study, hardly anything is known about erotic age orientation development. Preadolescent age / phase patterning (i.e., in the hypothetical period of "lovemap" formation) thus remains unclear. This is a rather remarkable fact, given the enormous pile of

^{85[82]} Carter, G. S. & Van Dalen, A. (1998) Sibling incest: time limited group as an assessment and treatment planning tool, *J Child & Adolesc Group Ther* 8,2:45-54

^{86[83]} Finkelhor, D. (1980) Sex among siblings: a survey on prevalence, variety, and effects, *Arch Sex Behav* 9,3:171-94; Finkelhor, D. (1981) Sex between siblings: sex play, incest and aggression, in Constantine, L. & Martinson, F. (Eds., 1981) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., p129-49

^{87[84]} Greenwald, E. R. (1987) *The Long-Term Effects of Preadolescent Sibling and Nonsibling Childhood Sexual Experiences*. Dissertation, University Of Vermont And State Agricultural College; Greenwald, E. R. & Leitenberg, H. (1989) Long-term effects of sexual experiences with siblings and nonsiblings during childhood, *Arch Sex Behav* 18,5:389-99

^{88[85]} 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

(though mostly hypothetical) literature on erotic gender preference development^{89[86]}. The fact is even more significant in the light of the recent explosion of professionalism on the subject of sexual behaviour problem categorisation. This generally reflects the non-recognition of erotic orientations in children, although studies on erotic gender orientation development suggest a significant role for the period before pubescence.

An “evolutionary” developmental (apparently, adolescent) age preference pathway has been demonstrated for age difference tolerance (attractiveness, maximum/ minimum age differential) for dating (Kenrick et al., 1996)^{90[87]}, while many studies have focussed on partner age in first intercourse. Results showed an optimum attraction of twelve-year-old males to female dating partner age of 4 to 5 years above their own (which is similar to optimum difference tolerance), with mean tolerance ranges between -1.57 to 6.0 years for ages 12 to 18, and increasing ranges with age.

3. “Sexual Avoidance” and Preference in Childhood

Data on the socialisation of same-sex sexual behaviours are rare. Berges et al. (1983:p97-8)^{91[88]} stated that “fewer parents reported setting specific limits on physical contact between same sex children than had done so for children of their opposite sex friends”.

Childhood Sexual Behaviour and Socialisation: Qualitative Studies

A number of papers and monographs include the sexual histories of Americans at a descriptive level^{92[89]}. Apart from numerous dissertations^{93[90]}, a descriptive study of sexual

^{89[86]} According to author’s preliminary literature review.

^{90[87]} Kenrick, D. T., Gabrielidis, C., Keefe, R. C. & Cornelius, J. S. (1996) Adolescents’ Age Preferences for Dating Partners: Support for an Evolutionary Model of Life-History Strategies, *Child Developm* 67,4: 1499-1511

^{91[88]} Berges, E. T. et al. [The Study Group of New York] (1983) *Children & Sex. The Parents Speak*. New York: Facts on File

^{92[89]} Thorne, B. & Luria, Z. (1986) Sexuality and gender in children’s every daily worlds, *Social Problems* 33,3:176-90. Based on a 1985 paper for the American Sociological Association; 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; 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; Halloran, J. (1995) *The Sexual Education of Ten Men*. Diss., Temple University (DAI-A 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*). 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.,

socialisation is offered in the book *Children and Sex* (1983)^{94[91]}, based on interviews with 225 primarily middle class parents of children aged 3-11, a sample selected to include parents “of diverse philosophical positions who could grapple with our questions and articulate their responses in a coherent and thoughtful way” (xvi). The predominantly positive attitudes, for instance on “masturbation” (p116, 119, 121), may or may not be indicative of this bias.

In retrospective surveys, sexual lexicon development in children has been demonstrated to be gender biased (Gartrell and Mosbacher, 1984)^{95[92]}. Names were found to be derivative, euphemistic and pejorative. American parents have occasionally been uncovered to practice this form of curricularisation^{96[93]}, but the allegation that this is a American curiosum remains to be disproved.

The sociology of childhood sexuality lists a number of classics, which demonstrate the evolution of perspectives.

0. Kinsey

The Kinsey studies (1948, 1953) were not the first American to argue on such cultural problems, as their literature study points out. It was, however, a very definite anti-American voice at the address of educators. Kinsey’s grasp of childhood, however, was as hollow as his entire idea on sexuality, as demonstrated by his debatable search for childhood orgasm.

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]; Bell, A. P., Weinberg, M. S. & Hammersmith, S. K. (1981) *Sexual Preference*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, see p96-113, 164-80. See also Reiss, I. L. & Reiss, H. M. (1990) *An End to Shame: Shaping our Next Sexual Revolution*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, p49-60; Jay, K. & Young, A. (1977/9) *The Gay Report*. New York: Summi, p41-51, 83-104; Ribal, J. E. (1973) *Learning Sex Roles: American and Scandinavian Contrasts*. San Francisco, Calif.: Canfield

^{93[90]} E.g.,

^{94[91]} Berges et al. (1983), *op.cit.*

^{95[92]} Gartrell, N. & Mosbacher, D. (1984) Sex differences in the naming of children’s genitalia, *Sex Roles* 10,11/12:869-76

^{96[93]} 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 Labeling: 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 & Psychoanalysis* 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 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

1. 1960s: Broderick

The Broderick studies^{97[94]} offered interesting material on pre- and peripubescent sociosexual patterning. Broderick set out to issue “a pyramidally structured set of stages which most preadolescent boys and girls undergo in pursuit of social heterosexual maturation” (B&R, 1968:p100). His studies were legitimised by the observation that “new patterns are emerging which promise to revolutionize boy-girl relationships at these ages” in America of the late 1950s: “We set ourselves the task of documenting the mergence of new norms in the relationships between the sexes among youth 10-13 years of age [...]. While old patterns of hostility and withdrawal are not dead, new behaviors and relationships are developing, based on a greater understanding and sharing of value orientations” (B&F, 1961:p27, 30). Broderick also ventured into America’s “subcultures” demonstrating that “the pattern of socio-sexual development in the Negro subculture may differ markedly from that of the dominant culture” (B., 1965:p203).

2. 1970s: Martinson

Invaluable work has been done by Martinson (1973, 1974)^{98[95]}. Remarkably, Martinson did not initially find a publisher for his work^{99[96]}, and had it printed privately. A later (1994)^{100[97]} monograph, basically a remake of the 1973 original, further included the data of a second smaller inquiry^{101[98]}, while a number of articles dealt with Martinson’s impressions^{102[99]}.

^{97[94]} Broderick, C. B. & Fowler, S. E. (1961) New Patterns of Relationships Between the Sexes Among Preadolescents, *Marriage & Fam Living* 23,1:27-30; Broderick, C. B. (1964) How the Sex Drive Develops, *Sexology* 30, June:780-4; Broderick, C. (1965) Social heterosexual development among urban negroes and whites, *J Marriage & Fam* 27, May:200-3; Broderick, C. B. (1966a) Sexual Development Among Pre-Adolescents, *J Social Issues* 22,2:6-21. Reprinted in Juhasz, A. (Ed., 1973) *Sexual Development and Behavior: Selected Readings*. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, p20-35, and in Lasswell, M. E. & Lasswell, Th. E. (1973) *Love Marriage Family: A Developmental Approach*. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman & Co., p47-54; Broderick, C. B. (1966b) Socio-sexual development in a suburban community, *J Sex Res* 2,1:1-24; Broderick, C. B. (1968) Preadolescent sexual behavior, *Med Asp Hum Sex* 2,1:20-9; Broderick, C. B. & Rowe, G. (1968) A Scale of Preadolescent Heterosexual Development, *J Marriage & Fam* 30:97-101; Broderick, C. B. & Weaver, J. (1968) The perceptual context of boy-girl communication, *J Marriage & Fam* 30:618-21; Broderick, C. B. (1969) Normal socio-sexual development, in Broderick, C. B. & Bernard, J. (Eds.) *The Individual, Sex, and Society*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, p23-39; Broderick, C. B. (1970a) *Kinder- und Jugendsexualität*. Reinbek: Rowohlt. 1971 Dutch translation; Broderick, C. B. (1970b) Is the “latent period” really latent? In Rubin, I. & Kirkendall, L. (Eds.) *Sex in the Childhood Years*. New York: Association Press, p135-8; Broderick, C. B. (1972) Children’s romances, *Sexual Behavior*, May:16-21

^{98[95]} 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. Also Lindahl & Martinson, F. (1973) *The Sexual Socialization of Children: 4-5 Year Olds in a Minnesota Community*. Unpublished manuscript

^{99[96]} Mazur, Th. & Money, J. (1976) Book review, *Arch Sex Behav* 5,2:183-4

^{100[97]} Martinson, F. M. (1994) *The Sexual Life of Children*. Westport, Conn: Bergin & Garvey

^{101[98]} 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

^{102[99]} Martinson, F. M. (1976) Eroticism in infancy and childhood, *J Sex Res* 12 :251-62; Martinson, F. M. (1977a) Erotisme du nourrisson et de l’enfant, *Cahiers de Sexol Clin* 3,6 :561-73 ; Martinson, F. M. (1977b) Eroticism in childhood: a sociological perspective, in Oremland, E. K. & Oremland, J. D. (Eds.) *The Sexual Gender and Young Children: The Role of the Educator*. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, p73-82; Martinson, F. M. (1979) Infant and child sexuality : capacity and experience, in Cook, M. &

The new data which the 1973 study offers comes from several sources: from over one thousand sex histories that Martinson collected from college students while teaching courses in human sexuality and marriage and the family, from interviews with two hundred unwed mothers receiving case work services through a large private child-care agency in the Upper Midwest, and from case material obtained in six communities. Four of the communities were in the Upper Midwest- two rural, one inner city, and one suburban. The other two communities were in the urban industrial Northeast- one an urban residential area and the other an outlying community. Allegedly, Martinson also incorporated previously unpublished data from Kinsey's interview notes on a sample of children two to five years of age.

3. 1980s: Thorne and Luria

In a many-times reprinted paper, Thorne and Luria set out to detail the schoolyard experience of sexuality and gender^{103[100]}. Selected papers before its appearance, and many after, add to this school "ethnographic" approach (see **Vol. II, Appendix III** for a full review). The paper is considered a pioneering classic in this genre of study.

America Compared

1. Sexual Behaviour Socialisation Compared

Wilson, G. D. (Eds.) *Love and Attraction*. Oxford [etc.]: Pergamon, p489-91; Martinson, F. M. (1980a) Childhood sexuality, in Wolman, B. B. & Money, J., Eds. (1980) *Handbook of Human Sexuality*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., [p33]; Martinson, F. M. (1980b) Child sexuality: trends and consequences, in Samson, J. (Ed.) *Childhood & Sexuality: Proceedings of the International Symposium*. Montreal: Editions Etudes Vivantes, p41-55; Martinson, F. M. (1981a) Eroticism in infancy and childhood, in Constantine, L. & Martinson, F. (Eds.) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., p23-35; Martinson, F. M. (1981b) Preadolescent sexuality: latent or manifest?, in Constantine, L. & Martinson, F. (Eds.) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., p83-93; Martinson, F. M. (1991/1997) Sexual development in infancy and childhood, in Ryan, G. D. & Lane, S. L. (Eds.) *Juvenile Sexual Offending: Causes, Consequences, and Correction* (first and new & rev. ed.). San Francisco, CA, US: Jossey-Bass Inc, Publishers, p57-82/36-58; Martinson, F. M. (1994) Children and sexuality, Part II : Childhood sexuality, in Bullough, V. L. & Bullough, B. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*. New York [etc.]: Garland, p11-6. See also Martinson, F. M. (1997) Pioneer researcher in childhood sexuality, in Bullough, B., Bullough, V. et al. (Eds.) *How I Got into Sex*. Amherst: Prometheus, p290-6

^{103[100]} Thorne, B. & Luria, Z. (1986) Sexuality and gender in children's every daily worlds, *Social Problems* 33,3:176-90.

Ford and Beach (1951:p185-7)^{104[101]} rates “American society”, probably arguing for the White middle-class population, as “clearly restrictive”. Whiting and Child rated American middle class society as just below the least indulgent of the primitive societies, “but still not extremely low on the basis of the absolute estimate of the judges” (p79). The American group was judged to be rather extreme in the severity with which children were punished for masturbation, and was given the same ratings as the most extreme of the primitive sample. However, in over-all severity of sexual socialisation, it fell halfway between the median and the upper extreme of the primitive sample. A comparison of “primitive societies” with the American middle-class (p114) produced a difference in initial sexual indulgence (9.7 vs 12, resp.) but not in socialisation severity (9.1 vs 9, resp.). Frayser (1994:p209-10)^{105[102]} reviewed that American authors rate US attitudes “restrictive, particularly in regard to children’s sexual behavior”. So much so, parental repression would endanger the child (Finkelhor, 1980)^{106[103]} by making them “more vulnerable”. However, Frayser (1985:p361-422)^{107[104]} had earlier argued that repression is an obsolete designation better suited for 19th-century attitudes.

Three pre-1970 studies that compare sexual socialisation “severity” with Asian (Chinese), European (Switzerland) and Latin American (Puerto Rican) samples suggest that U.S. attitudes have been more liberal.

Scofield and Chin-Wan (1960)^{108[105]} found that oral, sex, dependence and aggression training are all more severe for **Chinese** generally than for Americans, the exception being toilet training. Compared to immigrant Chinese, Euro-Americans are more accepting of nudity^{109[106]}. Jarecki (1961a;b)^{110[107]} asked 2 groups of 40 mothers in the United States and in **Switzerland** about stuttering, weaning, *masturbation* (p348, 350-1), lying, and bed wetting. There were significant differences in attitudes. Swiss mothers placed more stress on heredity and poor upbringing, and were more strict in demanding mature behaviour. Swiss mothers seem to view their children quite early as “little adults”, while American mothers see them as “kids” and allow them to behave like children much longer. The difference on masturbation attitudes, however, is much smaller than the other themes, in fact smallest and nonsignificant. 60.0% of Swiss and 57.1% of American parents described psychic^{111[108]} and some 20% in both samples described physical damage as a result of the practice. Some 15% in both samples referred to moral and social laws, and only 5% in both samples did not see any danger. In a

^{104[101]} Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Row

^{105[102]} Frayser, S. G. (1994) Defining normal childhood sexuality: An anthropological approach, *Ann Rev Sex Res* 5:173-217

^{106[103]} Finkelhor, D. (1980) Sexual socialization in America: high risk for sexual abuse, in Samson, J. (Ed.) *Childhood & Sexuality: Proceedings of the International Symposium*. Montreal: Editions Etudes Vivantes, p641-8

^{107[104]} Frayser, S. G. (1985) *Varieties of Sexual Experience: An Anthropological Perspective on Human Sexuality*. New Haven: HRAF Press

^{108[105]} Scofield, R. W. & Chin-Wan, S. (1960) A comparative study of the differential effect upon Chinese and American child training practices, *J Soc Psychol* 52,2:223ff

^{109[106]} Rothbaum, F., Morelli, G., Pott, M. & Liu-Constant, Y. (2000) Immigrant-Chinese and Euro-American parents' physical closeness with young children: themes of family relatedness, *J Fam Psychol* 14,3:334-48

^{110[107]} Jarecki, H. G. (1961a) Die Einstellungen von Müttern zu Problemen der Kindererziehung: Eine vergleichende Voruntersuchung, *Psychol Ekon Prax* [Czechoslovakia] 20:111-35; Jarecki, H. G. (1961b) Maternal attitudes toward child rearing: A cross-cultural pilot study, *Arch Gen Psychia* 4:340-56

^{111[108]} “Dangers of rape; perversions; sex crimes; leads to insane asylum; thinks about it; homosexuality; more susceptible to men who want to take the child with them; weakens loss of sense of shame (sic); can lead to domination by lust; later less satisfaction from spouse; emotional coldness; etc.)”

comparison of data on the US^{112[109]} with **Puerto Rico**, pressure for modesty rules, restrictiveness against masturbation and against mutual sex play were significantly higher for the Puerto Rico sample (Landy, 1959 [1965:p201-2])^{113[110]}.

Qualitative accounts seem to confirm these findings.

In contrast to in America, the masturbation of a small boy makes **French** mothers, “[...] and sometimes fathers, uneasy; it is actively combated” (Dolto)^{114[111]}.

Later qualitative accounts, however, offer a mixed, predominantly contrasting view.

Ribal (1973)^{115[112]} studied 36 case studies written by American, **Swedish** and **Danish** college students about sexual learning and development during childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood, with comments by a student from the other culture. Using this material, Straver (1986:esp. p28-70)^{116[113]} compares the North American and **Scandinavian** case from an interactionist perspective (**Vol.II, §1.1.3.3**). Martinson (1994)^{117[114]}, having published his original material at the time of Ribal’s work, cites Hagerfors [?], who

“[...] speaking about sex activity in a Swedish nursery, complained that the children sometimes closed themselves in the private area, an area provided for children in **Swedish** nurseries, engaged in sex play, and talked only about sex. The staff told the parents what was going on but otherwise played no part in it except to say something like, “Stop harping on that, now we are going to do something else; we don’t want to hear any more about penises”. Scandinavian children generally are more sexually knowledgeable than American children; they are not necessarily more or less likely to engage in sex play, but the type of play reflects their greater knowledge. That young children are sexual and can be expected to engage in some sexual activity is more accepted in Scandinavia than in the United States. [...] Behavior that I found was still treated as child sex play in Scandinavia, at least up until 1984 (Aigner and Centerwall 1984)^{118[115]}, was treated as perpetrator-victim behavior in the United States”.

Brougere and Tobin (2000)^{119[116]} claim that “there is a radically different conception between the American and French interpretation of sexual behavior patterns expressed in games between children in nursery schools. In the US, statistics principally focus on medical interpretations and sexual abuse, and engender panic-stricken moral questions on that score. French nursery school teachers are much more willing to use hard-won teaching methods and avoid mentioning the theme of sexuality with children under their responsibility”. The authors attempt to understand the cultural ideology and reasoning for each nursery school system from his analysis of interviews of groups of children who had to perform playlets.

^{112[109]} Maccoby (1954:p382-4)

^{113[110]} Landy, D. (1959) *Tropical Childhood*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965 ed.

^{114[111]} Dolto, F. (1955) French and American children seen by a French child analyst, in Mead, M. & Wolfenstein, M. (Eds.) *Childhood in Contemporary Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p408-23, at p418, 419

^{115[112]} Ribal, J. E. (1973) *Learning Sex Roles: American and Scandinavian Contrasts*. San Francisco, Calif.: Canfield

^{116[113]} 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

^{117[114]} Martinson, F. M. (1994) *The Sexual Life of Children*. Westport, Conn: Bergin & Garvey

^{118[115]} Aigner, G. & Centerwall, E. (1984) *Barnas Kjaerlighetsliv*. Oslo: Pax Forlag

^{119[116]} Brougere, G. & Tobin, J. (2000) Culture et sexualité enfantine a l'école maternelle: Étude comparée entre les États-Unis et la France, *Éducation & Sociétés* 2,6:167-85

2. Childhood Sexual Behaviour Compared

Schematic comparisons of pre-Kinsey data are offered by Harvey (1932, 1935)^{120[117]}. As a first specific and mature attempt to delineate boy's normative sexual development, Ramsey (1943a,b; 1950)^{121[118]} collected 291 complete sex histories, as obtained by the author in personal interview. Ages included 10 to 20 years, 85% 12 to 16. He presents figures of preadolescent sex play, preadolescent intercourse, etc. Finger (1947) questioned 111 male college students aged 17 to 23 about their "firsts" of masturbation, and hetero- and homosexual experiences. "Kinsey" data are compared for subgroups (Van Wyk and Geist, 1984)^{122[119]} and trends (Reiss, 1961)^{123[120]}, with 1943 data by Ramsey (Broderick, 1966)^{124[121]}, with **Japanese** data by Asayama (Asayama, 1957a,b)^{125[122]}, with data by Klausner (1961)^{126[123]}, with data by Rennert (1966, 1967)^{127[124]}, with data by Reng and Schoof (Reng, 1968)^{128[125]}, with data from a number of studies (Fröhlich and Szewczyk, 1970)^{129[126]}, with 1978 data by Bell and Weinberg (Weinberg & Williams, 1980)^{130[127]}, with 1985 data by Wyatt (Wyatt, Peters and Guthrie, 1988a,b)^{131[128]}.

Goldman and Goldman's landmark cross-national study compared data on sexual sophistication (1981)^{132[129]} in **Australian, English, North-American and Swedish** 5-15-year

^{120[117]} Harvey, O. L. (1932) Some statistics derived from recent questionnaire studies relative to human sexual behavior, *J Soc Psychol* 3:97-100; Harvey, O. L. (1935) The institutionalization of human sexual behavior: a study of frequency distributions, *J Abn & Soc Psychol* 29: 427-33

^{121[118]} Ramsey, G. V. (1943a) The sexual development of boys, *Am J Psychol* 56:217-33; Ramsey, (1943b) The sex information of younger boys, *Am J Orthopsychia* 13:347-52; Ramsey, (1950) *Factors in the Sex Life of 291 Boys*. Published by author

^{122[119]} Van Wyk, P. H. & Geist, C. S. (1984) Psychosocial development of heterosexual, bisexual and homosexual behavior, *Arch Sex Behav* 13,6:505-44

^{123[120]} Reiss, I. L. (1961) Standards of sexual behavior, in Ellis, A. & Abarbanel, A., (Eds.) *The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior*. Vol. II. New York: Hawthorn Books, p996-1004

^{124[121]} *Op.cit.*

^{125[122]} Asayama, Sh. (1957a) Comparison of sexual development of American & Japanese adolescents, *Psychologia* 1:129-31

^{126[123]} Klausner, S. Z. (1961) Sex life in Islam, in Ellis, A. & Barbanel, A. (Eds.) *The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Hawthorn Books, p545-57

^{127[124]} Rennert, H. (1967) Die geschlechtliche Entwicklung der heutigen Jugend am Beispiel unserer Medizinstudenten, in Schwarz, H. (Ed.) *Jugendprobleme In Pädagogischer, Medizinischer und Juridischer Sicht*. Jena: Fisher

^{128[125]} Reng, B. (1968) Das sexuelle Verhalten junger weiblicher Prostituierten, in Reng, B. & Redhardt, R. (Eds.) *Prostitution bei Weiblichen und Männlichen Jugendlichen*. Stuttgart: Enke, p1-57

^{129[126]} Fröhlich, H. & Szewczyk, H. (1970) Sexualerfahrungen von Berliner Jugendlichen, *Probl Erg Psychol* 32:17-36

^{130[127]} Weinberg, M.S. & Williams, C.J. (1980) Sexual Embourgeoisment? Social Class and Sexual Activity: 1938-1970, *Am Sociol Rev* 45,1:33-48

^{131[128]} Wyatt, G., Peters, S. & Guthrie, D. (1988a) Kinsey revisited, Part I: Comparisons of the sexual socialization and sexual behavior of white women over 33 years, *Arch Sex Behav* 17,3:201-39; Wyatt, G., Peters, S. & Guthrie, D. (1988b) Kinsey revisited, Part II: Comparisons of the sexual socialization and sexual behavior of black women over 33 years, *Arch Sex Behav* 17,4:289-332

^{132[129]} 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) Sources of sex information for Australian, English, North American and Swedish children, *J Psychol* 109:97-108; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1982) How children perceive the origin of babies and the roles of mothers and fathers in procreation: a cross-national study, *Child Developm* 53:491-504; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1983) Children's perceptions of sex differences in babies and adolescents: a cross-national study, *Arch Sex Behav* 12,4:277-94; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1984) An overview of children's sexual thinking: a comparative study of Australian, English, North-American and Swedish 5-15-year olds, in Segraves, R. T. & Haeberle, E. J. (Eds.) *Emerging Dimensions of Sexology*. New York. Praeger, p57-67; Goldman, J. (1990) Children's

olds, but neglected sexual behaviour categories. American data are compared with non-American data statistically on only two occasions (Friedrich, Sandfort, Oostveen and Cohen-Kettenis, 2000; Larsson, Svedin and Friedrich, 2000)^{133[130]}. CSBI scores on non-American children are available only on **Dutch**^{134[131]}, **Belgian**^{135[132]} and **Swedish**^{136[133]} children.

American children are found to be observed less frequently to behave sexually. This appears to be a pancurricular theme. Luckey and Nass (1969)^{137[134]}, for instance, found that rates of reported sexual behaviour are lowest among North American subjects, coupled with the fact that North American subjects more strongly believed a satisfying life included marriage and prefer coital partners to be marital partners.

Whitam and Mathy (1986:p44-52)^{138[135]} provide some indication of sexual development (attraction in childhood sex play, gender of first sexual contact, age of first sexual contact, age of first sexual attraction, age of realisation of sexual orientation) among **Brazilian**, as compared to **Guatemalan**, **Philippino** and North American, hetero- and homosexuals.

Sexual Curriculum Rigidity

Child-rearing books and manuals from the early twentieth century indicate that pediatricians and developmental psychologists were prone to divide the life course of children into increasingly precise chronometrical stages (LaRossa and Reitzes, 2001)¹³⁹. Gesell and Ilg's^{140[136]} classic work on child development indeed addressed the sex topic with considerable confidence. They presented developmental behavioural pathways relative to sexual compartments precise on 4 weeks (1943:p324-6), and 1 year (1946:p322-5;1956:p287-9), respectively. With the arrival of CSBI, this rigid scheduling attitude seems rather invariable over the decades. Americans apparently are used to "experts" telling them what will happen

sexual thinking: a research basis for sex education in schools, in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology*. Vol. 7. Amsterdam; Elsevier, p211-31

^{133[130]} Friedrich, W., Sandfort, Th., Oostveen, J. & Cohen-Kettnis, P. (2000) Cultural differences in sexual behavior: 2-6 year old Dutch and American children, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 12,1/2: 117-29; Larsson, I., Svedin, C.G. & Friedrich, W.N. (2000) Differences and similarities in sexual behaviour among pre-schoolers in Sweden and USA, *Nordic J Psychia* 54,4: 251-7

^{134[131]} Oostveen, J., Meulmeester & Cohen-Kettenis, P. (1994) Seksueel gedrag van kleuters, *Ned Tijdschr Geneesk* 138,44: 2200-4; Cohen-Kettenis, P. & Sandfort, Th. (1996) Seksueel gedrag van kinderen: een kwalitatief onderzoek onder moeders, *Tijdschr Seksuol* 20:254-65

^{135[132]} Schoentjes, E., Deboutte, D. & Friedrich, W. (1999) Child sexual behavior inventory: a Dutch-speaking normative sample, *Pediatrics* 104,4:885-93; Sandfort, Th. & Cohen-Kettenis, P. (2000) Sexual behavior in Dutch and Belgian children as observed by their mothers, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 12,1/2:105-15

^{136[133]} Larsson, I. & Svedin, C. G. (2001) Sexual behaviour in Swedish preschool children, as observed by their parents, *Acta Paediatr* 90,4:436-44

^{137[134]} Luckey, E. B. & Nass, G. B. (1969) A comparison of sexual attitudes and behavior in an international sample, *J Marr & Fam* 31,2:364-79

^{138[135]} 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

¹³⁹ LaRossa, R. & Reitzes, D. C. (2001) Two? Two and One-Half? Thirty Months? Chronometrical Childhood in Early Twentieth Century America, *Sociological Forum* 16,3:385-407

^{140[136]} Gesell, A. L., Ilg, F. L. et al. (1943) *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today*, New York: Harper, p333-46; Gesell, A. L., Ilg, F. L. et al. (1946) *The Child From 5 to 10*. London: Hamilton, p322-5; Gesell, A. L., Ilg, F. L. & Ames, L. B. (1956) *Youth: The Years From 10 to 16*. New York: Harper & Brothers, p287-90

in their “normal” child, preferably to the precise minute. A late survey by Michael et al. (1994)^{141[137]} almost entirely neglects childhood in discussing “sex in America” (first ranking index entries are abuse, AIDS, and drugs), diagrams being cut off at age 12.

Immigrant Patterns of Adolescent Courtship: Americanisation of Sexual Curricula

America may be hypothesized as a “melting pot” of sexual socialisation cultures. This is well documented for the adolescent case, and with a coitocentric perspective. Less well known are subcultural differences in approaches of the “childhood” case. The erosion and conservatism in initiatory courtship patterns among first, second and third degree immigrant families has been the matter of some study, revealing a culturally diversion in acculturation difficulties between parental and adolescent.

Some Cross-Cultural Studies: A Clue to American Childhood Sexualities

In a study by Abramson and Imai-Marquez (1982)^{142[138]}, sex play was a part of a multi-item Inventory of “sex guilt” studied among Japanese-Americans (p231), but no statements are made regarding this specific measure. Abramson et al. (1983)^{143[139]} compared Mexican-American, Black American, Caucasian American and Japanese-American attitudes and experiences on childhood (age 1-10) sexual education. Although a few cross-cultural effects remained significant despite the influence of a covariate, most of the findings were biased by a concomitant (i.e., demographic).

Harman and Johnson (1995)^{144[140]} questioned 17 Asian, 85 African American, 301 Caucasian, and 71 Hispanic undergraduates regarding the age at which they understood what sexual intercourse was and who told them. Caucasians became aware of sex at the earliest age (mean age 11.16 yrs), followed by African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians, respectively. All groups indicated that (1) friends were the most frequent source of information regarding sex; (2) they wanted themselves, as parents, to be the primary sex educators for their children; (3) they would begin their children's sex education earlier; and (4) they would give their sons and daughters differing information regarding sex.

^{141[137]} Michael, R. T., Gagnon, J. H. et al. (1994) *Sex in America: A Definitive Survey*. London: Little, Brown & Co.

^{142[138]} Abramson, P. R. & Imai-Marquez, J. (1982) The Japanese-American: a cross-cultural, cross-sectional study of sex guilt, *J Res Personal* 16:227-37

^{143[139]} Abramson, P. R., Moriuchi, K. D., Waite, M. S. & Perry, L. B. (1983) Parental attitudes about sexual education: cross-cultural differences and covariate controls, *Arch Sex Behav* 12,5:381-97

^{144[140]} Harman, M. & Johnson, J. A. (1995) Cross-cultural sex education: Aspects of age, source, and sex equity, *TCA J* 23,2:1-11

1. African Americans

1.1 Sexual Climate

Childers (1936)^{145[142]} found that negro children of the lower class exceptionally free from constraint in relating details of their sex lives. Living in homes where both parents work, they began sex play as they do any other game of spontaneous origin, frequently at 5 or 6 years of age. A black American slum mother remarked:

“These kids grow up fast in this project. The five and six year olds heifers [girls] know as much about screwing as I do. My six year old boy has already punched [had intercourse with] two or three of these fast chicks and I’m teaching my four year old boy how to be a lady killer too. I can’t hide the facts of life from them because they can see them every day on any stairway, hall, or elevator in the project” (Hammond and Ladner, 1969:p43-4^{146[143]}; also quoted in Rainwater, 1970 [1973:p349])^{147[144]}.

It should be noted that this attitude is in sharp contrast to communications by Radin and Kamii (1965:p143)^{148[145]} on lower-class Negro mothers. They are said to be “very disturbed by any evidence of sexuality and aggressiveness in their children and want to suppress it whenever it appears”. Bender (1939:p224-5)^{149[146]} found somewhat more reserve to talk about sexual subjects; she found “no preference for heterosexual experiences or feelings of taboo against so-called perversions. Where their sex life was really unrestrained it was allosexual. Many Negro children suffered from guilt over masturbation and castration fears and hysterical attitudes towards sexual urges and other mechanisms in relation to their sex life in no way dissimilar to those of white children”.

The Chicago slum experience was described in a first hand account by Yates (1978:p93-9)^{150[147]}:

“Erotic activities in the hallway were an intriguing substitute for toys. [...] Children soon learned to stimulate themselves and others. One enterprising four-year-old was observed proficiently penetrating his five-year-old sister. Others wriggled atop one another, groaning and grunting in succinct imitation. Descriptive words were used, most often incorrectly. When I questioned one boy about a term he used while pummeling another, he was puzzled and then happily described it as “mother’s dirty butt.” Once children entered school, they were exposed to the mysteries and the perils of the alley. [...] Sex play was a pallid term for what existed in the alley. Coitus commenced as early as age four, although ejaculation was generally absent until after age ten. Most young girls returned home directly after school,

^{145[142]} Childers, A. T. (1936) Some notes on sex mores among negro children, *Am J Orthopsychia* 6,3:442-8

^{146[143]} 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

^{147[144]} Rainwater, L. (1970) *Behind Ghetto Walls: Black Families in a Federal Slum*. London: Allen. Pelican, 1973

^{148[145]} Radin, N. & Kamii, K. (1965) The child-rearing attitudes of disadvantaged negro mothers and some educational implications, *J Negro Educ* 34,2:138-46

^{149[146]} Bender, L. (1939) Behavior problems in Negro children, *Psychiatry* 2,2:213-28

^{150[147]} Yates, A. (1978) *Sex Without Shame*. New York: William Morrow

observing their mothers' admonitions and their own better judgement. A few ran with the boys, buying protection and acceptance in the gang through sex. [...] The sex act itself was brief, at best a barter, at worst a rape. [...] In the slum sex and anger are companions from earliest childhood. The toddler observes its mother used, abused, and abandoned by her consorts. Occasionally she abuses her mate. The child himself is the recipient of abrupt physical punishment and is abandoned daily in the hallway. Once there, he is subjected to a series of sexual and aggressive assaults, until with growth, he becomes the master of the corridor. The microcosm of the hallway later becomes the macrocosm of the alley".

Thus, "[p]readolescent sexuality [coitus] among urban, minority youth is considered within a normative developmental context"^{151[148]}.

1.2 Dozens^{152[149]}

Formerly, children of both sexes would be exposed to what is referred to as the *Dozens*^{153[150]}, and would get their opportunities to practice at this type of "folklore" at an early age. Schulz remarks:

"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".

According to a study by Walker (1945)^{154[151]} on 52 unwed Negro mothers, the time of acquaintance with sex is a pre-adolescent event. Nonetheless, on the basis of clinical experience in New York, Kardiner and Ovesey (1962)^{155[152]}:p68-9, as cited by Bernard, 1966^{156[153]}:p138) found that

"[i]n the lower class, the overt teachings about sex are Victorian for both males and females. However, although sex taboos are universally taught, explicitly or implicitly, it is rare they are enforced with beatings [...] The sexual education of the lower-class female is a bit more thorough. She is generally taught Victorian morality [...] Shame is invoked as the chief sanction. Later, the emphasis is more that sex should be associated with love [...] In the middle-class [...] there is more freedom [...] in discussing sex with parents, and [...] few instances of intimidation [...] The middle-class female is much like her white sister [sic]. Sex education is rigidly puritanical [...] and sex as an expression of love is highly stressed. The same is true of continence as a virtue. There is, however, little terrorization".

^{151[148]} Paikoff, R. L. (1995) Early heterosexual debut: situations of sexual possibility during the transition to adolescence, *Am J Orthopsychia* 65,3:389-401

^{152[149]} Cf. GUS Vol. II, §4.5.1

^{153[150]} Berdie, R. F. (1947) "Playing the Dozens", *J Abnorm & Soc Psychol* 42:120-1; Golightly, C. L. & 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 (1969:p67-9); Abrahams, R. D. (1962) Playing the Dozens, *J Am Folkl* 75:207-20

^{154[151]} Walker, D. R. (1945) The Need of Sex Education in Negro Schools, *J Negro Educ* 14,2:174-81

^{155[152]} Kardiner, A. & Ovesey, L. (1962) *The Mark of Oppression*. New York: Meridian Books

^{156[153]} Bernard, J. (1966) *Marriage and Family among Negroes*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall

1.3 Sexual Behaviour

Schulz (1969)^{157[154]} states that boys were earlier engaged in homosexuality than girls, but the reverse in the case of heterosexuality (p69). The girl obtains sexual information from peers, sibs and parents, and “does not enter the sexual arena defenceless”. Rather violent sex play is “a common, overt theme. Sex is regarded as natural, and as long as it is done with some discretion (that is, not in plain view of adults) little is done to guide its progression. [...] Sex is not discussed in the homes. Most boys and girls discover for themselves, and discuss their discoveries with their close friends, the girls quite frequently with older sisters. As a result, there is little understanding about sexual matters despite great practical experience” (p46). Girls are said to “please” their boyfriends with intercourse when entering high school. The average age at which respondents indicated they thought youth begin heterosexual relations was 14.2. The data for homosexual relations were 15.7, playing the dozens: 10.8; kissing and (being) felt up: 12.9; and an active or passive role in pregnancy: 15.8 (1966 data by Stromberg, as adapted by Schulz, p66).

Johnson (1941:p224-41)^{158[155]} discusses at length the sexual coming of age of blacks as indicated by interviews. For the “folk Negro”, “[s]ex play in some instances began young- as early as 7 and 8. Sometimes the children were imitating an older couple. In some instances they were of different ages and the older child would be the initiator. The age most frequently mentioned for beginning this sex play were 12 to 14. [...] The older boys refer to sex experiences beginning at the age of 12 or younger. Sex play between children of 6 to 8 is not uncommon, and active relations may occur at 12 or 13”. In Middle-class youth, “there is considerable sex play, but there is also more recognition of the social censure of this behavior and increased fear of social consequences”. Among the upper-class girls, “active sex experience usually does not occur before marriage”.

“Boys acquire sex information principally from the talk of contemporaries and older boys. Most of them are unable to recall exactly how sex information was acquired. In a few cases information was supplemented by books or instruction in school. [...] Girls in families that are more stable and advanced culturally are usually warned by parents against having sex relations. Mothers usually give the girls instructions on the care of themselves during menstruation”. This picture is confirmed by autobiographies (e.g., Williams, 1985:p223, 228)^{159[156]}.

According to a study on 300 African-American 9 to 15-year-olds (Romer, Black et al., 1994)^{160[157]}, 13.6% of girls indicated having had “sex” at age 12, opposing a figure of 63.2% (!)

^{157[154]} Schulz, D. A. (1969) *Coming Up Black: Patterns of Ghetto Socialization*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall
^{158[155]} *Op.cit.*

^{159[156]} Williams, M. D. (1985) Childhood in an urban Black Ghetto: two life histories, in Hiner, R. & Hawes, J. M. (Eds.) *Growing Up in America*. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, p221-35

^{160[157]} Romer, D., Black, M. et al. (1994) Social influences on the sexual behavior of youth at risk for HIV exposure, *Am J Publ Health* 84-6:977-85

for boys. 25% of nine-year-old boys claimed the same, and by the age of 15, all of them did. In a second study (Romer, Stanton et al., 1999)^{161[158]} figures are slightly lower.

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- ◆ Westney, O. E., Jenkins, R. R., Butts, J. D. & Williams, L. (1984) Sexual development and behavior black preadolescents, *Adolescence* 19,75:557-68
- ◆ Wyatt, G., Peters, S. & Guthrie, D. (1988) Kinsey revisited, Part II: Comparisons of the sexual socialization and sexual behavior of black women over 33 years, *Arch Sex Behav* 17,4:289-332
- ◆ Zabin, L. S., Smith, E. A. & Hirsch, M. B. (1986) Ages of physical maturation and first intercourse in black teenage males and females, *Demography* 23,4:595-605

^{161[158]} Romer, D., Stanton, B. et al. (1999) Parental influence on adolescent sexual behavior in high-poverty settings, *Arch Ped & Adol Med* 153, 10:1055-62

2. Cuban Americans (eHRAF) (→Cuba)

Girls' puberty was symbolised by a dance feast, at which, traditionally, it was the mother's duty to instruct her daughter about sex (Boone, 1989:p151-2)^{162[159]}. However: "In this case, the mother and daughter both laughed at this custom, as it seems never to have been followed". Boone:

"Cuban women's views of sex are in general quite positive. It is not a topic that they dwell on, but neither is it a topic they avoid except with their daughters. Second generation women complain that their mothers gave them little or no information either before or at the time of their marriages. For females, sexuality is not supposed to exist until marriage. For males, it is a sign of masculinity before and after marriage. From all available information, it appears that Cuban women are virgins at the time of marriage, or, if not, have had very limited experience, often only with their fiancés. There is some evidence that this varies by race and class among Washington Cubans, although virginity at marriage is maintained as an ideal among all Cubans".

One woman pointed out : "Without pre-marital sexual restraint, a woman is unfit for a good marriage. I don't like freedom. One of the best things in life for a woman is marriage. You couldn't get married in Cuba if you were too free. You wouldn't be the right person to be the mother of his children".

"The perpetuation of courtship customs is the result of two very strong and traditional belief systems. First, the idea persists that single encounters between boys and girls "who are not mature" invites irresponsible behavior on the part of the girls. Sexual advances on the part of young men are not considered irresponsible as much as they are "naturally mischievous". This does not diminish the concern of the parents, however. Since chastity before marriage for girls is still a mark of family responsibility, if not status, it is highly prized by both males and females. From all accounts, it is not simply an ideal but a reality. Sexual instruction is minimal, although second generation mothers feel some need to be more informative. Sexuality is a matter that mothers traditionally refrain from discussing with their daughters. The eventual husband of the girl, because he is still usually older and supposedly more experienced, is expected to provide all the instruction needed. This is true mainly of heterosexual relations, as most mothers are quite sympathetic and somewhat more informative about menstruation and body development. Discussion of sexual matters is thought to invite experimentation, as is single dating. A belief in male predation persists, and mothers are concerned about their children of both sexes. Cuban women were accustomed to much more stringent supervision by relatives, maids, and school officials in Cuba. In addition, the neighborhood itself functioned as a chaperone as well as a general guardian. In America, Cuban mothers fear their children walking distances to bus stops, or being alone anywhere outside the household" (p191-2).

García (1996)^{163[160]} argued that "[a]ttitudes toward sexuality remain as rigid as they did in Cuba".

3. North American Hasidic Jews (→Middle East)

^{162[159]} Boone, M. S. (1989) *Capital Cubans: Refugee Adaptation in Washington, D.C.* New York: AMS Press

^{163[160]} García, M. C. (1996) *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1951-1994*. Berkeley ; Los Angeles & London: University of California Press

Jews are known to have been more harsh, at least less “rational” in their attitude to masturbation^{164[161]}.

These Jews have been located among the most sexually “repressive” in the world. “Since the sexes have been separated since childhood the anticipated sexual encounter following the marriage ceremony is a matter of great moment and anxiety” (Mintz, 1992:p64)^{165[162]}.

“Ideally, neither men nor women have any sexual experience before marriage; because this area is rarely ever discussed, however, little information on the subject exists. On the Shabbes some Rebbes often obliquely caution parents to guard their children from committing the sin of masturbation. [...] The Hasidic girl is carefully shielded from boys from her early years until her marriage. Matters relating to sex are never discussed. There is no preparation for the bodily changes that take place at puberty, nor is there much exchange between mother and daughter concerning marital relations” (Mintz, 1968)^{166[163]}. Still, young couples “are warned that the performance of the sexual act must be in the line of duty along with other religious observances, but at no time should it serve as an “abominable deed of passion and lust” (Poll, 1962:p56)^{167[164]}. Rubin (1972)^{168[165]} states:

“Both bride and groom have received instruction from their respective parent of the same sex regarding sexual experience, in spite of the fact that parents assume their youngsters to have acquired the necessary information from reading and hush-hush conversation with peers. [...] Available evidence indicates little if any indulgence in masturbation, though transgression does not seem to meet with severe sanctions beyond strong disapproval or slight slapping of the offender’s hands. Similar behavior was observed with regard to heterosexual play, except that in this case control is accomplished by strict separation of the sexes, both within and outside the home, a separation that begins almost at birth [p126-7]. [...] Boys are gradually introduced to the subject of sex in school, where, accompanied by a degree of embarrassment, they encounter it in the Bible, the Talmud, and the law codes. Girls, on the other hand, are formally kept ignorant until immediately before marriage”.

Against all odds, the author found “traces of autoerotic behavior among boys between puberty and marriage, but it is impossible to even guess at its extent”.

Thus, there appear to be few if any data on children’s sexual experiences.

Additional refs.:

-- Featherman (1995)^{169[166]}

^{164[161]} Brim, O. G. et al. (1962) *Personality and Decision Processes*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, p221-2, 223-4

^{165[162]} Mintz, J. R. (1992) *Hasidic People: A Place in the New World*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

^{166[163]} Mintz, J. R. (1968) *Legends of the Hasidim*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press

^{167[164]} Poll, S. (1962) *The Hasidic Community of Williamsburg*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc.

^{168[165]} Rubin, I. (1972) *Satmar: An Island in the City*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books

^{169[166]} Featherman, J. M. (1995) Jews and sexual child abuse, in Fontes, L. A. (Ed.) *Sexual Abuse in Nine North American Cultures: Treatment and Prevention*. Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc; Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc., p128-55

4. Arab Americans (→Arabs) (eHRAF)

Sources state the changing of courtship routines to American form, including relaxation of familial mate selection, interracial avoidance and escortage (Elkholy, 1966; Cainkar, 1991:p305)^{170[167]}.

Abu-Laban (1980)^{171[168]}:

“For Canadians of Arab origin, both Christians and Muslims, the traditional ethnic pattern of mate selection stands in sharp contrast to the usual Canadian practices. For example, in Arab families, the power and influence of the larger family unit is dramatized through the continued existence of the institution of arranged marriage. Usually the choice of spouse is not left to the whims of individual decision or romantic love, but instead is a decision made (sometimes arbitrarily) by parents and other senior family members, particularly males. Traditionally, prospective partners would not have been consulted regarding their own preferences. For a young woman to have indicated a preference, or even worse an attraction, to a particular man, would have been a violation of the modesty code which demanded strict segregation of the unmarried female from either knowledge of or observation by eligible males. Such seclusion, previously symbolized by the veil, particularly among Muslims, meant that dating and courtship, as known in Canada, were virtually non-existent”.

Jabbra (1991)^{172[169]} notes the same:

“Despite the continued importance of the household as an agency of socialization for children, it takes its place alongside other agencies: schools, peer groups, and the mass media. Conflicts emerge between children (particularly daughters) and parents over issues of symbolic and material importance: dating, courtship, and marriage; autonomy and independence”.

5. Italian Americans, Canadians (→Italy) (eHRAF)

The strict regulations of female premarital life are noted by Yans-McLaughlin (1943)^{173[170]}:

“The male family members were responsible for protecting female chastity and a woman’s desirability as a future wife^{174[171]}; indeed, the family honor stood invested in a girl’s virginity. Usually women did not leave their homes unchaperoned. A woman’s behavior reflected both her moral character and her

^{170[167]} Elkholy, A. A. (1966) *The Arab Moslems in the United States: Religion and Assimilation*. New Haven: College & University Press; Cainkar, L. (1991) Palestinian-American Muslim women: living on the margins of two worlds, in Waugh, E., Abu-Laban, Sh. M. & Qureshi, R. B. (Ed.) *Muslim Families in North America*. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, p282-357

^{171[168]} Abu-Laban, B. (1980) *An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart

^{172[169]} Jabbra, N. W. (1991) Household and family among Lebanese immigrants in Nova Scotia: continuity, change and adaption. [Calgary, Alta.]: [s.n.], 1991. p39-56 [eHRAF]

^{173[170]} Yans-McLaughlin, V. (1943) *Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

^{174[171]} Covello, *Italo-American School Child*, p313 [orig. footnote]

family's prestige—brutal vendettas followed insults to her. The strict surveillance continued through the courtship period, so that husband and wife found themselves alone for the first time on their wedding night"^{175[172]}.

Later, Alba (1985)^{176[173]} was to note:

"The shift in the position of women and the structural forces producing it are most visible in relation to courtship and marriage. The control exercised in southern Italy by parents, and the family generally, over the marriages of their children hinged on greater knowledge of the field of eligibles. But this was a knowledge acquired over many years in a fairly static village, with a stable complement of families, and it largely disappeared in the new setting. Parents who attempted to maintain the same control in an American city placed their daughters in a difficult position, as this plaintive description by one second-generation Italian-American woman reveals: "Our parents think you can just sit home and wait for a man to come asking for your hand—like a small town in Italy". She added a remedy that made sense only in the American environment, "They don't realize that here a girl has got to get out and do something about it"^{177[174]}. Many apparently did do something about it, slipping away without their parents' knowledge to go to dances or meet men. But still there was a lot of confusion over the proper limits on the behavior of young women. Some were allowed great freedom, others were kept at home as they would have been in southern Italy, and the situations of the majority were in between these two extremes. There were even variations within the same family, as the struggle between the generations was most intense for the oldest daughters, and parental resistance often abated for the younger sisters^{178[175]}".

A comparative pattern was noted for Italian Canadians (Icovetta, 1993)^{179[176]}.

6. North American Armenians (eHRAF)

According to Wallis (1965)^{180[177]}, the native pattern of courtship was nihil. "There is no courtship, the marriage being arranged by the parents of the boy and girl. It usually takes place at an early age" (p22-3). Little had apparently changed in Fresno, California: "The custom of betrothal by parents, common in Armenia, is still practised in modified form here. There is little courtship among boys and girls, who associate but little, and are usually married at an early age, the girls frequently at the age of sixteen. Even at the high school boys associate practically not at all with girls and such association is generally discouraged by parents as undesirable".

^{175[172]} Whyte, W. F. (1944) Sicilian Peasant Society, *Am Anthropol* 46:[p71]; MacDonald, *Italy's Rural Social Structure*, p447-8; Covello, p302-7 [orig. footnote]

^{176[173]} Alba, R. D.(1985) *Italian Americans: Into the Twilight of Ethnicity*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

^{177[174]} Ware, *Greenwich Village*, p. 182 [orig. footnote]

^{178[175]} *Ibid.*, p180-8

^{179[176]} Icovetta, F. (1993) *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto*. Montreal; Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press

^{180[177]} Wallis, W. D. (1965) *Fresno Armenians (to 1919)*. Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press

7. North American Hmong (→Hmong) (eHRAF)

Scott (1986)^{181[178]} gives an account of Hmong courtship:

“The prospective partners were usually relatively young, the girl being around fourteen and the boy, around eighteen. The formal marriage procedure was initiated by the boy’s father and older married brothers, or, if they were not available, by other closely related male agnates, who would make a formal request in his behalf to the prospective bride’s parents. In most cases, the girl had already given the boy her consent during a clandestine courtship, which usually involved sexual relations. These liaisons, if not openly condoned, were expected and even tacitly accepted as a means of ensuring happy marriages, as long as they were kept out of public view, and especially out of that of the girl’s parents and older brothers” ([p79-80]).

It also includes songs: “Hmong learn to sing the songs by watching and imitating the other Hmong who know them. The songs are related to courtship. One Hmong interviewed said, “When a boy sings a song to a girl, she feels happy and sings it back to him. When he hears her sing it back to him he is very happy. He will again sing the song to the girl. They can sing the song all day long” ” (Ukapatayasakul, 1983)^{182[179]}. Word has it that the cultural transmission of these songs is eroding in America: “Over the last couple of years, I have heard complaints from elders that the young people don’t know the love songs anymore. They don’t know the appropriate courtship, marriage and funeral songs” (Weinstein-Shr, 1987:[p117])^{183[180]}.

Donnelly (1994)^{184[181]} has made a careful analysis of Hmong courtship *in terra ignota*, Seattle, Washington. Traditionally,

“In Laos, getting married for the first time generally involved courting, choosing a mate, and an elopement (called catch-hand marriage) with the girl staying at the boy’s house for three days; or alternatively the boy making a formal request to the girl’s family, raising the bride wealth, contract negotiations” (p114).

After resettlement, adaptations were, in one way, practical:

“The new American environment clearly produces many stylistic changes in Hmong courtship. A boy can no longer softly play the mouth harp outside the house wall where a girl lies sleeping, because apartment walls are made of solid materials, not woven bamboo or unchinked boards. He cannot get her attention inconspicuously at night, nor can he slip into the house to wake her as before, because now the door is locked—so elopements no longer start from home as they traditionally did. Girls’ Hmong-style costumes (worn mainly now at New Year celebrations) may be bought or partly bought, so the quality of workmanship no longer necessarily expresses the diligence and skill of the girl. The youth’s automobile has become a vital tool of courtship”.

^{181[178]} Scott, G. M., Jr. (1986) *Migrants without Mountains: The Politics of Sociocultural Adjustment among the Lao Hmong Refugees in San Diego*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms

^{182[179]} Ukapatayasakul, B. B. (1983) *Hmong Refugee Economic Adjustment in a California Community*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International

^{183[180]} Weinstein-Shr, G. (1987) *From Mountaintops to City Streets: An Ethnographic Investigation of Literacy and Social Process among the Hmong of Philadelphia*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International

^{184[181]} Donnelly, N. D. (1994) *Changing Lives of Refugee Hmong Women*. Seattle: University of Washington Press

Other peculiarities are more structural:

"In America, the Hmong adolescents I knew did not go out on dates. A girl may go with her friends to watch a soccer game if a particular boy is playing (as I saw in Seattle), or a boy may spend a lot of time visiting relatives on his mother's side if a particular girl lives there (as I saw in the Midwest). Usually, in the presence of family members, neither speaks to the other out of the ordinary way. Signals of mutual attraction between these eligible Hmong adolescents are still hidden from the older generation, or if parents observe such signs, it is still considered very bad form to take notice, as it was in Laos. This reserve between generations helps put a face of free choice on courtship, but also made it hard to observe. [...] Direct courtship (that is, conversations and touching) still appeared to last typically only a few days, with the boy initiating the contact. Before talking seriously to the girl, he still might go to his older male relatives, who would feel obliged to help him pay the bride wealth (*nge mis*). This contribution let them influence his choice, but they would not feel they could definitively reject any girl. This was unlike the situation in Laos, where many fathers had more power, especially since boys married before they were capable of supporting a family".

Schooling has an impact on traditional definitions of social maturity:

"Besides a lack of direct observation, another problem is that the practices of Hmong courtship are changing very rapidly, especially as young Hmong stay unmarried long enough to enter college, and educated girls make plans for careers. Even so, I can suggest one immediate structural change, following upon the observation that while Hmong girls attended American schools, educated girls quickly fell into disfavor as wives, since traditional parents wanted obedient daughters-in-law and urged their sons to choose compliant girls (often fitting their own preferences). This immediately widened the age gap between males who often waited to finish community college before marrying and girls who wed before finishing high school. Most Hmong girls in America are married by age sixteen—in one study of Hmong in San Diego, all were married by this age (Rumbaut and Weeks, 1986:p438)^{[185][182]}. Many Hmong still define social maturity for girls in terms of passing puberty, but education is entering the definition of maturity for boys".

Lynch (1996:p260)^{186[183]}:

"The youthful focus of the New Year is primarily due to its importance as a courtship arena. The New Year in Laos was the time of year when families gathered together to bring young people into contact with potential mates from other villages. In the American context, courtship is still a primary function of the celebration. The courtship ritual ball toss game ^{[187][184]} played at the New Year in Laos is still played in the United States and provides a way for young people to get acquainted. As a ball is tossed back and forth, young girls and boys get to know each other. In Laos they sang a style of call and response poetry. While this is still sometimes practiced in the United States, many of the young people no longer know how to do it" (cf., Lynch, 1995:p116-7)^{188[185]}.

One reporter states that Hmong parents blame the occurrence of early marriages on the American ideals of freedom and independence; opportunities provided by schools for young

^{185[182]} Rumbaut, R. G. & Weeks, J. R. (1986) Fertility and Adaptation: Indochinese Refugees in the United States, *Int Migration Rev* 20,2:428-65

^{186[183]} Lynch, A. (1996) Transmission and reconstruction of gender through dress: Hmong American New Year rituals, *Clothing & Textiles Res J* 14,4:257-66

^{187[184]} See Anderson, C. J. (1986) *A Collection of Hmong Games*. Master's paper, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

^{188[185]} Lynch, A. (1995) Hmong American New Year rituals: generational bonds through dress [eHRAF] 111-20

people to meet; sex education; television and peer example (Hammond 1988)^{189[186]}. However, “[r]ather than seeing these factors as encouraging early marriage per se, other Hmong justify seeking young brides as a way of *protecting* young women from these influences. One opinion frequently offered by concerned young men cites several instances in which wives have left their husbands and families for a new life with an American man; they feel that working outside the home and too much education make women too independent. It’s better to marry a girl while she’s still young and innocent, so you can teach her to think correctly” (Peterson, 1990:[p160])^{190[187]}.

8. Serbian Americans (→Serbs) (eHRAF)

Simic (1983)^{191[188]} notes:

“Perhaps one of the areas of most acute conflict between Serbian immigrants and their children was that of courtship, sexuality, and marriage. On the one hand, parents attempted to exert influence on the selection of a mate and to impose what were by American standards strict codes of sexual morality; while on the other, their children were often attracted by the freedom American young people enjoyed to openly associate with the opposite sex and to choose their own marriage partners. For example, among the narratives collected from American-born Serbs in California a number of middle-aged female informants reported that they had experienced almost complete chaperonage until marriage, while others related that they had led “double lives”, with one standard for Serbian contexts and another for American” (p30-1)^{192[189]}.

9. Chinese Americans, Canadians (→China) (eHRAF)

Glick (1980:p177)^{193[190]} noted:

^{189[186]} Hammond, R. (1988) Young Love: Teen Marriage Threatens the Progress of Minnesota’s Hmong, *Twin Cities Reader*, June 15–21

^{190[187]} Peterson, S. N. (1990) *From the Heart and the Mind: Creating Paj Ntaub in the Context of Community*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International

^{191[188]} Simic, A. (1983) The Serbian family in America: cultural continuity, syncretism, and assimilation. [eHRAF] [Chicago, Ill.]: North American Society for Serbian Studies, 1,4:21-35

^{192[189]} It is noted that parental conservatism was apparently not unsuccessful. “In fact, parents often succeeded in at least partially imposing their customs and standards on their American-born children. Sometimes they were so successful in this that, in the words of a Serbian parish priest, “their children were just like the old-timers from Yugoslavia”. It is significant that the inculcation of conservative sexual and social values is inexorably tied to the perpetuation of filial and ethnic sentiments, and those who are most alienated from their parents also appear to be those who are most estranged from their national heritage. Thus, while many individuals have been lost to the Serbian community because of generational and cultural conflict, at the same time there has been a continuity from generation to generation of core ethnics who have maintained parental values and identity”.

^{193[190]} Glick, C. E. (1980) *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii*. Honolulu: Hawaii History Center; University Press of Hawaii

"Marriages between Hawaii-reared Chinese girls and Chinese migrants in Hawaii also helped to forge bonds within the migrant community. Many of these marriages were "matched", often as the girl was reaching late adolescence, by a go-between who also assisted in the marital arrangements and acted as a sponsor of the marriage. This type of marriage was an approximation of traditional village customs -- there was nothing like a Western courtship and the bride and groom saw little of one another before the wedding".

However, Hoe (1976)^{194[191]} mentioned on Chinese Canadians:

"Under Western influences, the Chinese marriage ritual has undergone radical changes. The younger generation is more attuned to the changes of the times and believes in courtship and romantic love. Although consultation with parents before marriage is still maintained, arranged marriages through a match-maker are practically non-existent. However, the exchange of rings and the giving of gifts to the prospective bride's family are still carried on. There is, however, no longer any bride price".

Nee (1986:p153)^{195[192]} notes on San Francisco Chinatown:

"For both men and women of the American-born generation, the conception of courtship and marriage also differed significantly from that of their parents. As in American culture, romantic love, together with practical considerations such as family background, education, and career potential, were seen by them as the basis for choosing a partner in marriage. They conceived of marriage as a union between two individuals rather than a matter which the family decides, and thus rejected their parents' efforts to arrange marriages for them. Although many parents strongly encouraged their children to follow the village custom of marrying somebody outside of the family name whose parents came from a nearby village, such practices declined among the American-born generation" (see also Weiss, 1974:p85-6 for congruent arguments)^{196[193]}.

A similar pattern is noted in New York Chinatown (Wong, 1982:p63)^{197[194]}:

"Marriage is no longer by parental arrangement. Western "romantic" marriage, where courtship precedes marriage has been adopted. In selecting mates, they are concerned with companionship, common interests, and mutual affection. Their attitudes toward sex, dating, marriage, and careers differ little from other Americans".

10. Chicanos, Mexican Americans (eHRAF)

"Traditionally mothers did not prepare their daughters for menstruation, sexual intercourse, pregnancy, or childbirth. Such matters were considered bodily functions, somewhat dirty, shameful, to be hidden from view even of oneself, and thus to be virtually invisible to the well-mannered girl. The taboo was sufficiently strong that violation was termed "a holy sin." No confidences between sisters, or games, or jokes within friendship groups elucidated sexual matters for the young Mexican girl. There was close supervision of the girl in mixed groups

^{194[191]} Hoe, B. S. (1976) *Structural Changes of two Chinese Communities in Alberta, Canada*. Ottawa, Ont.: National Museums of Canada

^{195[192]} Nee, V. G. (1986) *Longtime Californ': A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press

^{196[193]} Weiss, M. S. (1974) *Valley City: A Chinese Community in America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, p85-6

^{197[194]} Wong, B. P. (1982) *Chinatown, Economic Adaptation and Ethnic Identity of the Chinese*. Fort Worth, Tex.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc.

outside the household. Girls reached menarche somewhat later under poorer nutritional conditions, and the preferred age of marriage was 15 years. This system functioned effectively to prevent premarital conceptions and to provide two parents and an extended kin group for every newborn" (Acosta Johnson, 1980)^{198[195]}.

"Strong taboos existed traditionally against the discussion of sexual information or the recognition of pregnancy. The protection of young girls from early entry into sexual unions was the rationale for the perpetuation of the first taboo [...]" (p71). "The pregnant woman and fetus were protected in their delicate condition by never drawing attention to themselves. Thus, informants reported that as children they never noticed that any of their female kin were pregnant. [...] On the day of a birth in the family, the children were distracted from the event by being sent on an errand, usually to the house of a relative far enough away to cause some delay. On their return they would find the new baby and would be told an airplane had brought it. Respondents laughed a bit incredulously to discover that each had unquestioningly believed that explanation until the moment of birth of their own first child. It was a considerable shock to the primipara to comprehend that her baby grew inside her body, and then that he did not emerge magically from the umbilicus but painfully by the vaginal route". "The lack of communication between mothers and daughters concerning sex and reproduction was encouraged by church norms. [...] The women had not learned about sex and reproduction from their mothers, nor would they teach their daughters that information" (Whiteford, 1980:p113)^{199[196]}.

[Additional refs.: Horowitz, R. (1983) *Honor and the American Dream: Culture and Identity in a Chicano Community*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers U Press. Ch. 6; Dietrich, L. C. (1998) *Chicana Adolescents: Bitches, 'Ho's, and Schoolgirls*. Occasional paper, Westport, CT; Day, R. D. (1992) The transition to first intercourse among racially and culturally diverse youth, *J Marriage & Fam* 54,4:749-62; Augenbraum, H. & Stavans, I. (Eds., 1993) *Growing Up Latino: Memoirs and Stories. Reflections on Life in the United States*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin; 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 & Adolesc Social Work J* 7,4:301-18

11. Mormons

Whiting et al. (1966/1974:p169-70, 182)^{200[141]} argued that Mormons keep the most rigid control over courtship [compared to Zuni and Texan patterns]. "Dancing is favored and even kissing games are sponsored by adults, but there is a strong feeling that all cross-sex interaction should occur in the presence of the parental generation". There is some unchaperoned dating from age 14 or 15.

^{198[195]} Acosta Johnson, C. (1980) Breast-feeding and social class mobility: the case of Mexican migrant mothers in Houston, Texas, in Melville, M. B. (Ed.) *Twice a Minority: Mexican-American Women*. St. Louis, Missouri: Mosby, p66-82

^{199[196]} Whiteford, L. (1980) Mexican American women as innovators, in Melville, M. (Ed.) *Twice a Minority*. St. Louis, Missouri: Mosby, p109-26

^{200[141]} Whiting, J. W. M., Chasdi, E. H., Antonovsky, H. F. & Ayres, B. Ch. (1974) The learning of values, in Levine, R. A. (Ed.) *Culture and Personality*. Chicago: Aldine, p155-87. Orig. in Vogt, E. Z. & Albert, E. M. (Eds., 1966) *Peoples of Rimrock*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

Side-Stream and Counter-Hegemonic Sexual Experiences: Closing in on the Mainstream Cultural Compartment

1. The Commune Experience

Johnston and Deisher (1973:p324-5)^{201[197]} found that children in a permissive American commune related to sex as something interesting and enjoyable but not as of central importance to their play activity. Berger (1977, 1984; Berger and Hackett, 1974:p168-9, 172)^{202[198]}, Martinson (1973:p18-9) and Yates (1978:p14, 40-2) comment on the nonorthodox erotic boundaries between generation in communes.

2. The Abuse Experience

It is observed that, legally, the child's sexual purity is valued more than its very life (Krivacska, 2001)^{203[199]}, an absurdity that at times indeed defies the proverbial "grano salo". This purity very much depends on the definition of "abuse" which has become institutionalised only in the 1980s.

In a 1992 study^{204[200]}, girls who had their first sexual experience before age 11 years or with a male 2 or more years older were considered to be abused. De Jong (1989)^{205[201]} used an age difference of greater than or equal to 5 years as indicative of abusive behaviour for a "perpetrator" mean age of 16.2 years for cousins and 15.5 years for siblings. One study^{206[202]} defined "sexual abuse" as "any unwanted sexual contact with a person at least five years older than the respondent, or with any family relative, regardless of age difference".

^{201[197]} Johnston, C. M. & Deisher, R. W. (1973) Contemporary communal child rearing: a first analysis, *Pediatrics* 52,3:319-26

^{202[198]} Berger, B. M. & Hackett, B. H. (1974) On the decline of age grading in rural hippie communes, *J Social Issues* 30,2:163-83; Berger, B. M. (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 Gender and Young Children: The Role of the Educator*. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, p159-63; Berger, B. M. (1981) Liberating child sexuality: a commune experience, in Constantine, L. & Martinson, F. (Eds.), (1981) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., p247-54

^{203[199]} Krivacska, J. (2001) Societal myths about sex offending and consequences for prevention of offending behavior against children and women, *Iss Child Abuse Accus* 11,1

^{204[200]} 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

^{205[201]} De Jong, A. R. (1989) Sexual interactions among siblings and cousins: experimentation or exploitation? *Child Abuse & Negl* 13,2:271-9

^{206[202]} 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

Tobin (1997)^{207[203]} argues that Americans are projecting moral panic into the preschool setting. A study is presented in which focus groups of preschool teachers from the US and Ireland were assembled to discuss a series of stories, each dealing with a problematic issue involving young children, their teachers, and sex. Discussions revealed that teachers have become increasingly governed by their awareness of how their actions will be second-guessed by the most cynical of possible audiences, they have reduced the freedom they give young children to explore their sexuality, and they have denied themselves and the children the pleasures of each other's touch.

Largely an American party, authors have argued that "child" sexual "abuse" prevention agendas illustrate sex-opposing principles^{208[204]}, or at least run the risk of *transgressing* to curricular "sexuality prevention" agendas^{209[205]}. These allegations are hard to substantiate, impossible to verify and are not impressive cross-culturally. The n (alleged idiosyncratic) "antisexualist" orientation is always categorical, always curricular, and always integrated within larger oppositional frameworks, which are always positively legitimised.

Americans seem apt to accuse every single researcher of childhood sexuality as promoting illegal practices. Even Marie Calderone was accused of promoting intergenerational sex, as discussed in an informal colloquium of Borneman with Calderone^{210[206]}. Age patterning has become an increasingly important clinical issue in American mental health curriculum, even within classically recognised age domains. Age configuration has become one of the most determining factors in sexological justice and medicine, where formally it was gender configuration. Research by Rind et al. (1998)^{211[207]} suggesting caution on the use of terms and interpretations associated with age disparate sexual contacts raised a series of ferocious attacks on the authors^{212[208]}. In August of 1999, the US Congress issued a joint resolution

^{207[203]} Tobin, J. J. (1997) Playing doctor in two cultures: The United States and Ireland, in Tobin, J. J. (Ed.) *Making a Place for Pleasure in Early Childhood Education*. New Haven, CT, US: Yale University Press, 119-58

^{208[204]} 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

^{209[205]} 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]

^{210[206]} Borneman, E. (1985) *Das Geschlechtsleben des Kindes*. München: Urban & Scharzenberg, p135-43, esp. p142

^{211[207]} Rind, B., Tromovitch, P. & Bauserman, R. (1998) A meta-analytic examination of assumed properties of child sexual abuse using college samples, *Psychol Bull* 124,1:22-53; Rind, B. & Tromovitch, P. (1998) A Meta-Analytic Review of Findings from National Samples on Psychological Correlates of Child Sexual Abuse. *J Sex Res* 34,3:237-55

^{212[208]} For a recent discussion of the original article, see Ondersma, S. J., Chaffin, M., Berliner, L., Cordon, I., Goodman, G. S. & Barnett, D. (2001) Sex with children is abuse: comment on Rind, Tromovitch, and Bauserman (1998), *Psychol Bull* 127,6:707-14; Dallam, S. J., Gleaves, D. H., Cepeda-Benito, A., Silberg, J. L., Kraemer, H. C. & Spiegel, D. (2001) The effects of child sexual abuse: comment on Rind, Tromovitch, and Bauserman (1998), *Psychol Bull* 127,6:715-33; Rind, B., Tromovitch, P. & Bauserman, R. (2001) The validity and appropriateness of methods, analyses, and conclusions in Rind et al. (1998): A rebuttal of victimological critique from Ondersma et al. (2001) and Dallam et al. (2001), *Psychol Bull* 127,6:734-58

censuring the APA, “perhaps the first occasion in our country’s history that our nation’s highest legislative body actually censured a professional organization for the publication of scientific findings” (Krivacska, 2001)^{213[209]}.

3. The Gang Experience

Schneider (2000)^{214[210]} draws a parallel between post-war New York male gang life and ritualised transitions. As excerpted:

“Gang members’ attitudes about sexuality were part of a widespread working class sex code [ref omitted]. Gang members frequently viewed girls in a purely instrumental fashion, and intimacy—with its demand for openness and vulnerability—seemed difficult or even beyond their reach. Relationships with girls simply provided another realm of competition among males, in which gang members established precedence over one another, or they provided an opportunity for gang members to reaffirm their bonds. Gang boys earned respect by getting girls, either for themselves or for fellow gang members for ritualized rape. [...] Gang members also reinforced their masculinity through assaults on gay men. Some subset of gang members engaged in same-sex relations with older males usually for cash or drugs. Poor and usually in need of some material goods, gang boys approached same-sex relations with the same utilitarian attitude they regarded heterosexual relations. Some specialized as “fag rollers” and would pick up men and then rob and beat them, justifying their brutality as punishment of “fairies”. As long as they did not play the “female” role and be penetrated, or limited themselves to being fellated, same-sex relations did not threaten their masculinity. Older working class cultural norms that did not identify a male as gay as long as he was dominant continued to be prevalent among these youths, much to the bewilderment and consternation of middle class observers [ref omitted]. Violence against gay men may have been a way of resolving homoerotic tensions within the gang. Boys found the gang as their major source of comfort and friendship, and feelings of intimacy that arose could only have been confronted indirectly. Gang rape, with its elaborate ritual and sexual display, undoubtedly aroused homoerotic feelings among the participants. Feelings of desire, when projected on to others who were then punished, could be safely purged from the group”.

The sex life of youth gang members appears to be “early” even in American terms. Of 1,801 juvenile detainees (219 girls and 1,374 boys), of whom nearly 47% belonged to a gang, 62% reported onset of sexual intercourse by age 12 and by age 14 89% were sexually active^{215[211]}. Not confined to American gang life^{216[212]}, in-group sexual negotiations have been identified as problematic, particularly as sexist, exploitative and health-endangering.

^{213[209]} Krivacska, J. (2001) Societal myths about sex offending and consequences for prevention of offending behavior against children and women, *Iss Child Abuse Accus* 11,1

^{214[210]} Schneider, E. C. (2000) *Performing Masculinity: Streetgangs in Postwar New York*. Paper Presented at History of Childhood in America Conference, Washington, D.C., August 5 and 6

^{215[211]} Morris, R. E., Harrison, E. A., Knox, G. W. & Tromanhauser, E. et al. (1995) Health risk behavioral survey from 39 juvenile correctional facilities in the United States, *J Adolesc Health* 17,6:334-44

^{216[212]} E.g., Miller, W. B. (1973) Race, Sex, and Gangs: The Molls, *Trans-Action* 11,1:32-5

The Sexual Life of the American Child: A Minor Impression

Many authors have given compact chronological overviews of American sexual development (e.g., Haroian, 1986:p332-43)^{217[213]}. An obvious (but infrequently applied) distinction can be made between the semi-public and the private sphere.

As reviewed in full elsewhere^{218[214]}, school environments provide the primary erotic and sexual playground for children in industrialised societies^{219[215]}. At least in 1998, nursery school teachers feel that sexual development “constitutes an important aspect of children’s personality” (Kakavoulis)^{220[216]}. Wallis and Van Every (2000)^{221[217]} typified primary schools as “institutions structured by gender and (hetero)sexuality [...] which, in their practices, construct heterosexualized masculinities and femininities”^{222[218]}. Renold (2000)^{223[219]} portrays primary school as “a key cultural arena for the production and reproduction of sexuality and sexual identities”.

Using something of a participant method, Best (1983)^{224[220]} 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). Children’s public life contains a variety of “heterosexually charged rituals” (Thorne and Luria, 1986)^{225[221]}, 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 because of their “inappropriate” touch. 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. In one study^{226[222]}, 377 14 and 15 year olds listed the pejoratives they heard at

^{217[213]} Haroian, L. (1986) Psychosexual disorders, in Reisman (Ed.) *Behavior Disorders in Infants, Children and Adolescents*. New York: Random House, p319-44

^{218[214]} Cf. GUS, Vol. I, Appendix III

^{219[215]} 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 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

^{220[216]} 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

^{221[217]} Wallis, A. & Van Every, J. (2000) Sexuality in the Primary School, *Sexualities* 3,4:409-23

^{222[218]} Cf. 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”

^{223[219]} Renold, E. (2000) “Coming Out”: Gender, (Hetero)Sexuality and the Primary School, *Gender & Educ* 12,3:309-26

^{224[220]} Best, R. (1983) *We’ve All Got Scars*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

^{225[221]} *Op.cit.* Cf. Thorne, B. (1993) *Gender Play: Girls and Boys in School*. New Brunswick, NJ.: Rutgers University Press

^{226[222]} 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

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 the fourth grade, a very powerful use of homophobic terms occurs prior to puberty, which would, Plummer argues, rarely carry “sexual connotations” [sic]^{227[223]}. Sexism, homophobia, and harassment were said to make American schools “a highly sexualised site” (Epstein, 1997)^{228[224]}. Epstein (1996)^{229[225]} 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 “homosexual tease” is noted in American third graders (e.g., Voss, 1997:p245)^{230[226]}.

The closest assessment of contemporary children’s “private” sexual life is provided by instances where such privacy apparently failed or was betrayed: parental observation. The few collections of anecdotal accounts include some instances of “getting caught”, but this generally seems a peripheral experience in the whole of the curriculum. The traumatology of unpremeditated parental discovery, even if formally non-consequential, is rarely elaborated upon (all *op.cit.*):

Martinson (1973) records a few cases, as did Morrison et al. (1980:p22-4) and Ribal (1973). Yates (1978:p53, 170, 196, 198, 201) seems to assume that avoidance of “getting caught” is a major “principle” in childhood sexuality. By 1994, Hite ([1994:p109]), however, states it is a “surprisingly rare” occurrence.

^{227[223]} 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. Plummer, D. (1999) *One of the Boys: Masculinity, Homophobia and Modern Manhood*, New York: Haworth Press; 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

^{228[224]} Epstein, D. (1997) Boyz’ own stories: masculinities and sexualities in schools, *Gender & Educ* 9,1:105-15

^{229[225]} 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

^{230[226]} 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

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- Gordon, M. (1968) Infant Care Revisited, *J Marriage & Family* 30,4:578-83
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Caribbean Sexual Development: General Statements

Caribbean sexuality is typified by a double standard (e.g., Wilson, 1969:p71-3)¹ historically informed by Spanish and Victorian English (Jamaica) values (e.g., Green, 1960:p31, 33)². Many authors (e.g., Francoeur, 1990:p98-101)³ have provided baseline sketches of Latino sexuality, but few analyses have clarified formative and pedagogical aspects. Accounts on native concepts of sexual standards and development are less voluminous than is the Latin case. Beals (1961:p605)⁴, for instance, provides an account that offers little coherence:

“Masturbation is performed openly, even on public thoroughfares, by Tarascan children. But among the Quechuas it is discouraged by stories of loss of memory, possible insanity, danger of tuberculosis, or the drying up of the bone marrow [...] Female masturbators and child lebbians are called Mimetera (Caresser), Linguista (tongue caresser), Little Pitcher-drinkers, Those-who-think-they-are-babies, Breast-suckers, Little Calves, Those-who-go-down-to-the-well”.

Writing on the Caribbean as a whole, Carrim (2000:p25-6, 62-3)⁵ argues:

“Neilson Waite [6] sees the socialization process in general and the lack of information in particular as major factors in female attitudes toward sexuality (35-38). At a young age the socialization process for girls regarding proper sex behavior and modesty begins. Girls’ activities are sharply curtailed at puberty. Activities outside of the house must have purpose; that is, to fetch water, to buy groceries, to collect mail at the post office. By contrast, the boys’ activities are comparatively free; leaving the house requires no particular purpose (Chevannes, *Sexual Practices* 5)[7]. Puberty rituals are lacking throughout the Caribbean and parents rarely discuss sexuality with their children. Often girls enter menarche confused and ignorant of what is happening (Chevannes, *Sexual Practices* 5). Adolescent females are pressured to stay away from men, yet are seldom given an adequate understanding of their own sexuality. Although sexuality is generally not discussed with adolescent males either, the socialization process is significantly different. Freedom to experience sexual intercourse is encouraged for the males, either by the many examples they see or tacitly by the parents’ silence. Sexual behavior is generally tolerated in male children and adolescents and may even be viewed with amusement (Chevannes, *Sexual Practices* 5). The peer group is the major source of information regarding sexual practices for adolescents, but especially for males. Usually older males educate younger males in this regard. Magazines, books, and the cinema supplement sex education for many Caribbean adolescents (Chevannes, *Sexual Practices* 5). The socialization process begun in childhood and continued in adolescence is perpetuated in adulthood”.

¹ Wilson, P. J. (1969) Reputation and Respectability: A Suggestion for Caribbean Ethnology, *Man*, N. S. 4,1:70-84

² Green, H. B. (1960) Comparison of nurturance and independence training in Jamaica and Puerto Rico, with consideration of the resulting personality structure and transplanted social patterns, *J Soc Psychol* 51:27-63

³ Francoeur, R. T. (1990) Current religious doctrines of sexual and erotic development in childhood, in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology volume VII: Childhood and Adolescent Sexology*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, p80-112

⁴ Beals, C. (1961) Sex life in Latin America, in Ellis, A. & Abarbanel, A. (Eds.) *The Encyclopaedia of Sexual Behavior, Volume 2*. London: W. Heinemann, p599-613

⁵ Carrim, Rh. L. (2000) *Attitudes toward Sexuality and Spiritual Well-Being among Nazarene Pastors in the English-Speaking Caribbean*. Diss., Faculty of Asbury Theological Seminary

⁶ Waite, N. A. (1993) *Caribbean Sexuality: A Pastoral Counsellor Looks at Family Patterns and the Influences of Culture on Caribbean People*. Winston-Salem, NC: Moravian Church in America

⁷ Chevannes, B. (1992) *Sexual Practices and Behaviour in Jamaica: A Review of the Literature*. Washington, D.C.: AIDSCOM Academic for Educational Development

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- Lundgren, R. (2000) *Protocolos de Investigación para el Estudio de la Salud Sexual y Reproductiva de los Adolescentes y Jóvenes Varones en América Latina*. Washington, DC: Organización Panamericana de la Salud
- Pick de Weiss, S. & Vargas-Trujillo, E. (1990) Conducta sexual y reproductiva de los adolescentes en América Latina, *Avances en Psicol Clin Latinoam* 8:11-41
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Historical Notes

Burg (1995:p121-32)⁸ details the use of boys by Buckateer pirates.

Current Age of Consent and Sexual Intercourse

For details, one is to consult ECPAT⁹. [Contemporary AoC figures are presented in the →South America chapter].

Data¹⁰ suggest that median female coitarche ages in Latin America and the Caribbean of the late 1980s/begin 1990s lie between 17.8 and 20.0. Singh et al. (2000¹¹:p25; see further Wulf and Singh, 1991)¹² found female median ages ranging from 16.9 (Jamaica) to 19.6 (Peru) years. This compares to male figures of 15.4 (Jamaica) to 17.8 (Haiti). Median female marriage ages ranged 18.6 (Guatemala, 1987) to 21.2 (Brazil, 1986; Colombia, 1990)¹³.

⁸ Burg, B. R. (1995) *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition: English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean*. New York & London: New York University Press

⁹ ECPAT International, Online Database

[http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/online_database/index.asp]

¹⁰ Cauley, A. P. et al. (October, 1995) *Meeting the Needs of Young Adults*. *Population Reports* 23,3. Population Information Program, Center for Communication Programs, The Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, Baltimore, Maryland, table 2

¹¹ Singh, S., Wulf, D., Samara, R. & Cuca, Y. P. (2000) Gender Differences in the Timing of First Intercourse: Data from 14 Countries, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 26,1:21-8, 43

¹² Wulf, D. & Singh, S. (1991) Sexual activity, union, and childbearing among adolescent women in the Americas, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 17,4:137-44

¹³ Singh, S. & Samara, R. (1996) Early marriage among women in developing countries, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 22,4:148-57, 175, at p151

Ethnographic Peculiarities

Costa Rica / República de Costa Rica

Among the **Talamancan** tribes of former days, a man went up to a child-girl's mother to arrange for their wedding at age twelve "or puberty" (menarche at age 12-14). During this period "the girl would become accustomed to the man and would run to meet him on his visits to receive some little gift" (Stone, 1962:p28)¹⁴. The custom had "almost entirely disappeared". Today, "[t]en-year-old girls may talk about *novios* and exchange love notes with boys, but usually only at fifteen or sixteen do they begin going out alone with boys [...]" (Biesanz et al., 1999:p181)¹⁵.

¹⁴ Stone, D. (1962) *The Talamancan Tribes of Costa Rica*. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum

¹⁵ Biesanz, M. H., Biesanz, R. & Biesanz, K. Z. (1999) *The Ticos*. Boulder [etc.]: Lynne Rienner

Cuba (→Cuban Americans)

“Sexual relations between adolescents are considered premature because the individuals involved are not yet psychologically and emotionally mature or able to bear full responsibility for their actions. Problems related to adolescent sexuality that are occurring with increasing frequency in Cuba include teenage pregnancy, abortions, and marriages and the emotional, financial, and psychosocial difficulties that ensue. Sex education in the schools needs to be improved and made more widely available”¹⁶.

A study of Cuban and Haitian child-rearing practices “clearly demonstrates two divergent parental views of adolescent sexuality” (DeSantis and Thomas, 1987)¹⁷. A study¹⁸ on 218 subjects aged 14-19 reveals that 51% of the sample had sexual intercourse “since early adolescence”, which may be “increasingly early”¹⁹. Duharte Osorio (1987)²⁰ surveyed attitudes of 23 male and 22 female Cuban factory workers aged 21-70 years on knowledge and / or behaviour or attitudes with respect to sexuality and sexual games in children, menstruation, masturbation, first intercourse, etc. A further study²¹ hints at children’s dirty words.

¹⁶ Castellanos-Simons, B. & Gonzalez-Hernandez, A. (1981) La educacion sexual frente al problema de las relaciones sexuales precoces en los adolescents, *Boletin Psicol Cuba* 4,3:44-58

¹⁷ DeSantis, L. & Thomas, J. T. (1987) Parental attitudes toward adolescent sexuality: transcultural perspectives, *Nurse Pract* 12,8:43-8

¹⁸ Martinez Madan, E., Salazar Ramirez, M., Parada Rodriguez, D. M. & Cardoso Campo, A. M. (1992) [The sexuality of adolescents from 14 to 19 in a given population], *Rev Cubana Enferm* 8,2:101-10

¹⁹ Pradere-Campo, E., Perez-Lovelle, R., Martinez-Canalejo, H. & Gomez-Arbesus, Y-J. (?) La adolescente embarazada: Estudio de algunos factores psicossociales, *Rev Hospital Psiquia Habana* 28,4:639-45

²⁰ Duharte Osorio, A. (1987) Valoracion de algunos conocimientos sobre la sexualidad en un grupo de la poblacion [Evaluation of knowledge about sexuality in a population group, *Temas de Trabajo Social* 9,1:1-14

²¹ Malas Palabras: Talking Dirty in Cuban Spanish, *Maledicta* 1977, 1,1:19-22

Antilles

(Martinique, Aruba)

Martinique (Lesser Antilles)

Fragmentary as it is, Labat²² (1724, II:p52, as cited by Karsch-Haack, 1911:p183)²³ came upon Negro children on Martinique, who, the eldest not older than nine years, practiced the marital act under banana trees.

Aruba, Netherlands Antilles

For Aruba, no data are available on childhood or adolescent sexual behaviour socialisation²⁴. Infants are played with like “barby dolls”, not excluding the genitals of both sexes, a practice which has very recently come under the scope of abuse issues. Preliminary sex research²⁵ on adolescents was initially counteracted with the objection to questioning school students on specific sexual practices.

²² Labat, P. (1724) *Nouvelle Voyage aux Isles de L’Amerique 1693-1705*, à la Haya. Vol.II

²³ Karsch-Haack, F. (1911) *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker*. München: E. Reinhardt

²⁴ Piternella, 2002, *personal communication*

²⁵ Piternella, Dissertation in progress, financially supported by the Dr. Mr. E. Brongersma Foundation, Amsterdam

West Indies

(Puerto Rico, Haiti, Jamaica)

According to Rose (1994:[p136-8])²⁶, virtually all St. Lucia women, young and old, reported that at the time of menarche they were grossly ignorant of menstruation. When it does occur [ages 14, 15] they are told, apart from hygienic instructions, not to “play” or “mess” with boys. It is stated that “very little research has actually been conducted on documenting sex relations across the life-cycle” (p186-7). Andre²⁷ argued that differences in the upbringing of male and female children in French West Indian society aim not to determine different attitudes toward sexuality, but rather contrast the sexual and the nonsexual.

Puerto Rico / Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico (eHRAF) (West Indies)

Socialization in Puerto Rico (Baumgartner, 1994 [p182-90])²⁸ 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 on the basis of the encouragement of their mothers as well as fathers and friends²⁹. Little girls are less encouraged to have “boy-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:p384, 285)³⁰. 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 instill a *macho* concept, along with the

²⁶ Rose, J. (1994) *Songs from the Village: An Ethnography of Gender, Reproduction, and Sexuality in St. Lucia, West Indies*. PhD Diss., Southern Methodist University

²⁷ Andre, J. (1985) Le coq et la jarre. Le sexuel et le féminin dans les sociétés afro-caribéennes, *Homme* 25,4/96:49-75

²⁸ Baumgartner, J. M. (1994) *Challenged Manliness: A Social and Symbolic Perspective on Sexuality and Divorce in Puerto Rico*. Diss., University of Michigan

²⁹ Bejin, A. & Guadilla, N. G. (1984) Sept theses erronées sur le machisme latino-américain, *Cah Int Sociol* 31, 76:21-8. For more on Puerto Rican machismo and virginity complex, see Fernandez-Mendez, Eu. (1955) La familia Puertorriquena de hoy: Como la ve el antropologo social, *Pedagog Rio Piedras* 3,2:35-51

³⁰ Mintz, S. W. (1956) Cañamelar: the subculture of a rural sugar plantation proletariat, in Steward, H. J. (Ed.) *The People of Puerto Rico*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, p314-417. Cf. Mintz, S. W. (1951) *Cañamelar: The Contemporary Culture of a Rural Puerto Rican Proletariat*. Unpubl. PhD Diss., Columbia University. Ch. 6, p42. Quoted by Stycos (1955:p42). “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”.

double standard, from early age³¹. "After about the age of five years, boys are no longer subject to the sexual joking, teasing, and play of their parents. This kind of play apparently ends abruptly, and one cannot but wonder at the psychological effects of this". Manners (1956:p146)³² notes: "It is a common practice to stimulate the child erotically by fondling or kissing his genitals- teaching him how "to milk the cow" or "put the car in gear" ". Stycos (1955:p42)³³: "The most striking manifestation of attempts to inculcate machismo occurs in the adult adulation of the infantile penis. By praising and calling a great deal of attention to the penis, the parent can communicate to the child the literal or symbolic value of the male organ". Seda (1956:p291)³⁴ notes: "The masculinity of the boy child is a matter of considerable interest, and parents and friends may play with the boy's genitals until he is around seven years old". Further, "[v]arious sexual aberrations and masturbation were reported among young boys", and adolescents would have homosexual congregations in the fields, with girls in their thoughts. Children must not talk or joke about sex in the presence of adults lest they be considered badly reared. Adult sexual talk is overheard and adult intercourse is observed. At pubescence, boys collect in gangs in which sexual joking becomes "open and articulate, often aggressively homosexual, and aimed at insulting the listener"; unlike girls, the author adds. Girls, in whom sex as such is "deemphasized and hidden" from birth to the start of puberty, are educated sexually by their mother, and experience a restriction of their mobility at puberty. Boys have their first sexual experience with prostitutes (Manners, p147). One study³⁵ among 953 persons (aged 15 to 40, about 33% female) revealed the ambiguity with which sex education is viewed in Puerto Rico.

Catholics overwhelmingly (N=547) thought the home was responsible for sex education; 103 respondents named the school, 5 the Church, and 96 nobody. Montesinos and Preciado (1997)³⁶ stated that "[a]s a result of *marianismo* [³⁷], the Church's opposition, and the reluctance of society and families to acknowledge female sexuality openly, many girls experience their menarche with no formal education about it, and although males are expected to have their first sexual experience before marriage, they do not receive formal education either. Obviously, neither females nor males have any knowledge about the health implications of various sexual practices (Burgos and Diaz-Perez 1985)³⁸. There are no systems or district-wide sexuality education programs [...]"'. "Childhood sexual rehearsal play and sexual exploration no doubt occur in private as they do in many other cultures, but there are no statistics or information on their incidence or extent".

³¹ Cf. Stycos, J. M. (1952) Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico, *Am Sociol Rev* 17,5:572-80, at p574; Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilizationprocess*. 2nd ed., p207-8, 209

³² Manners, R. A. (1956) Tabara: subcultures of a Tobacco and mixed crops Municipality, in Steward, J. H. et al. (Eds.) *The People of Puerto Rico*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, p93-170

³³ Stycos, J. M. (1955) *Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press

³⁴ Seda, E. P. (1956) Nacorá: the subculture of workers on a government-owned sugar plantation, in Steward, J. H. et al. (Eds.) *The People of Puerto Rico*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, p265-313

³⁵ Rivero, E. B. (1975) Educacion sexual en Puerto Rico, *Rev Cienc Soc* 19,2:167-91

³⁶ Montesinos, L. & Preciado, J. (1997) Puerto Rico, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 3. Quoted from the online edition

³⁷ The model of the obedient and docile female.

³⁸ Burgos, N. M., & Diaz-Perez, Y. I. (1985) *La Sexualidad: Analisis Exploratorio en la Cultura Puertorriquena*. Puerto Rico: Centro de Investigaciones Sociales

The above image is solidified by similar accounts. Lewis³⁹ found “danger of seduction by stepfathers, sexual rivalry between sisters, between mother and daughters [and] male children erotically stimulated by their mothers and by other members of the family”. Padilla⁴⁰ reported parents and others regularly masturbating the infant’s penis. Fernández-Marina⁴¹ 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). Green⁴² describes a rural lower class pattern in which “[g]irls are not evaluated as highly as boys: economically they are not as valuable for agriculture, and they bear a lower status generally. While some sex knowledge is obvious in such crowded housing, the boys learn first-hand outside the home what the girls learn only through gossip” (p37).

Some valuable female autobiographical material was collected by Villanueva (1997)⁴³. Girls, who are to become “señoritas” at menarche, are restricted in sex information⁴⁴, and they would be discouraged to play sexually ([p45, 58]). However, others mention satisfactory experiments ([p45, 53, 57]). The atmosphere fits well into the general attitude against premarital intercourse. Landy (1959 [1965])⁴⁵ further deals extensively with childhood sexuality (p107-13, 159-61, 201-2, 236-7). Gender differences are noted in modesty training. Boys’ sex organs are joked about, playfully carressed grabbed in combination with playful castration threats (although the latter was found to be on the decline) (p108). Masturbation is rigidly counteracted by both parents; parents, fathers more than mothers, deny masturbation in their children, but note it in other people’s children. Both parents state they never get questions on sex. In comparison to data on the US⁴⁶, pressure for modesty rules, restrictiveness against masturbation and against mutual sex play were significantly higher for the Puerto Rico sample (p202). Sexual allusions towards dolls were rare (p161).

Wolf (1952)⁴⁷ offered an insight to three subcultures. In *Manicaboa*, information about sex is readily accessible, there is no attempt to hide the facts of life from small children, and no privacy in sexual relations. “There is however little discussion of sex and joking about it,

³⁹ Lewis, O. (1965) *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty San Juan and New York*. New York: Vintage Books, p.xxvi. From the 1968 Panther edition (p30): “There is a remarkable frankness and openness about sex, and little effort is made to hide the facts of life from children. Although the children in the Rios family have many problems, they do not suffer from parental secrecy and dishonesty about sex. The male children are erotically stimulated by their mothers and by other members of the family, who take a pride in the child’s every erection as an indication of his virility and machismo. Masturbation is generally not punished. In the Rios family early sexual experience for boys and girls is accepted as almost inevitable, even though ideally mothers are supposed to keep their young daughters under control”.

⁴⁰ Padilla, E. N. (1951) *Nocora: An Agrarian Reform Sugar Community in Puerto Rico*. Unpubl. PhD Diss., Columbia University. Ch.8, p3. Cited by DeMause (1991) and by quoted by Stycos (1955:p42): “Parents and their friends may play with the genitals of baby boys until the child is about seven years old. The size of the boys’ genitals is talked about as an index of his potential masculinity”.

⁴¹ Fernández-Marina, R. (1961) The Puerto Rican syndrome: its dynamics and cultural determinants, *Psychiatry* 24:79-82

⁴² Green, H. B. (1960) Comparison of nurturance and independence training in Jamaica and Puerto Rico, with consideration of the resulting personality structure and transplanted social patterns, *J Soc Psychol* 51:27-63

⁴³ 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

⁴⁴ Cf. Baumgartner (1994:p313), *op.cit.*

⁴⁵ Landy, D. (1959) *Tropical Childhood*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press

⁴⁶ Maccoby (1954:p382-4), *op.cit.*

⁴⁷ Wolf, K. R. (1952) Growing up and its price in three Puerto Rico sub-cultures, *Psychiatry* 15:401-33

except for a short period among adolescent boys when they feel themselves unobserved by adults (p414). In *Barrio Poyal*, “[a] boy’s sexuality is emphasized when he is a baby; he may be teased by having his penis pulled playfully, and is asked such questions as, “What’s it for?” “. Boys go nude, girls always wear panties (cf. Stycos, 1955:p45-6, relating that mothers find nude boys look more pretty than nude girls. Boys and girls are kept apart for every man, no matter how young, represents a danger to women, no matter how small). “Sex play is frequent among small children, but ceases abruptly around the age of five; sex is de-emphasized from then on, and sexual joking and teasing of boys is discontinued. [...] Until puberty, boys [...] engage in much sexual joking, often of a homosexual nature. The girl’s sexuality is not overtly emphasized until she reaches puberty” (p420, 421). Among the *San José* middle-class (p431),

“[g]irls learn at an early age that their sexuality must be valued and hidden. [...] Masturbation in girls appears to be frequent and to go unrebuked, but masturbation by boys is usually noticed by the mother and stopped by scolding or by diverting their attention. Yet women of this class often tease boys sexually up to the age of two or three, by jocularly kissing or handling their genitals. Little girls are rarely teased in the same way. Boys frequently have had sexual experience with prostitutes by the time they are fifteen, while premarital relations involving girls of the same class are extremely rare [...]. Parents carefully guard their own sex relations from their children, and many girls of this group have no adequate sexual knowledge before they marry. Their first sexual contact is often traumatic. Similarly, many girls have no knowledge of menstruation before its first onset, though older sisters sometimes inform younger sisters about it”.

According to a study by O’neill (1990)⁴⁸, seventeen percent of male students and 17% of female students reported childhood sexual experiences that were classified as child sexual abuse on the same age discrepancy criteria used by Finkelhor (1979).

Padilla (1958)⁴⁹:

“The games of girls are different from those of boys, and this is another device used to keep boys and girls separated. Some games, like baseball, are for boys of all ages, but it is preferred that whatever the game, individuals attach themselves to persons their own age for recreation and play. Hispanos who have grown up in Eastville, however, do not generally follow these rules. Among them are those who openly maintain that there is nothing bad about girls and boys playing together, nor about people of different ages, particularly adults, engaging together in games in the street. “What is bad and dangerous”, said Gloria Pima, a woman who grew up in Eastville, “is that children are not taught the facts of life at home”. She was commenting on why she allows her daughters, ten and eleven, to count boys among their friends”.

“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. As she is supposed to be modest, a little girl is to have her body, and particularly her genitals, covered. Only women—her mother, sisters, or close friends of her mother—can bathe and change her. As an infant in her crib, the tiny girl is covered with a small sheet or other clothing when her diapers are removed. The genitals of the baby boy, on the other hand, are more likely to be displayed. His chest, like that of the baby girl, may be covered for protection against cold, but adults and older brothers and sisters are likely to tease and play with his genitals, kissing them and remarking on their size, commenting that he is a

⁴⁸ O’neill, M. R. (1990) *Puerto Rican and New England College Students’ Reports of Childhood Sexual Abuse and Sexual Experiences: A Comparison Study*. Diss., University Of Massachusetts

⁴⁹ Padilla, E. (1958) *Up from Puerto Rico*. New York: Columbia University Press

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. When the little girl starts to walk and to be toilet-trained, she is told that she should not take her panties off in front of others and that she is not to go around without them. But it is quite usual to see a boy of three or four going about the house pantless. After this age, however, boys are encouraged to cover up in front of strangers and the women of the house [50]. They are called "fresh" and told they should be ashamed of letting women see them in order to train them to wear pants" (p185-6) "Well before a girl is five, she is taught that her chest is to be kept covered, for girls do not show their bodies. A girl is not to let men or boys touch her, nor is she to sit on their laps unless they are her father or her brothers. In turn, the men of her family are to stop caressing and fondling her as they did when she was a baby and starting to walk".

Although a girl is introduced to maternal tasks at an early age,

"[...] she is not supposed to know about sex or even about her own physiological development. Menstruation will take her by surprise, unless she has acquired some notions about it from friends in school or has overheard her father or mother or adult women at home speaking about sex. When she begins to menstruate, she becomes *señorita* (virgin), and the watch on her is intensified. While her brothers become more free as they grow up, more restrictions are placed on the girl (for example, she can no longer go to camp or Friendly Town once she is *señorita*), for she must protect her virginity" (p188).

Alvarez (1988)⁵¹:

"By being closely watched and kept away from men, daughters were externally protected from the perils of their gender. They were left to discover for themselves, however, the nature of their own sexuality. This left many unprepared for later sexual encounters in their relationship: Lucila: Yo no tenía idea de nada. Para mejor decirte yo creía que las mujeres parían por el ombligo. Y ésa es la ignorancia más grande.... I knew nothing. To be more precise I thought that women gave birth through their belly button, and that is truly ignorance. And how was one to open that belly button and take the baby out? Imagine what can result from ignorance and the way one is brought up. And 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. That's why the father of my kids took me for a fool all those years. I didn't know any better. Imagine, he probably was saying to himself: "I brought her from the docks untouched. With her I can do what I want because she doesn't know nothing from nothing". In the process of cultural transmission, old ways get replicated, reformulated, or transformed in the lives of individual families. Doña Lucila and doña Eulalia employed quite divergent strategies and approaches in the socialization of their own daughters. Lucila, for example has learned from her own experience that a strict and repressive family has subjected her to the perils of living in fear and ignorance. She in turn seeks to empower her own daughters by creating a more open and supportive family environment. She presents herself as their friend to whom they can come to help with any problem. She explains to them that they *do* have choices in life (for example, that they don't have to marry the first man that they meet) but that they also have responsibilities to family and home".

Irizarry (1993)⁵² compared adolescent reproductive behaviour of Puerto Rican women in New York and Puerto Rico. Findings from 1982 / 1985 studies "suggest that a higher proportion of unmarried Puerto Rican teenage women in New York had had sexual intercourse than adolescents in Puerto Rico"].

⁵⁰ Cf. Rainwater, L. (1964) Marital Sexuality in Four Cultures of Poverty, *J Marr & Fam* 26,4:457-66

⁵¹ Alvarez, C. (1988) El Hilo Que Nos Une/ The thread that binds us: becoming a Puerto Rican woman, *Oral Hist Rev* 16:29-40

⁵² Irizarry, J. (1993) A comparison of adolescent reproductive behavior of Puerto Rican women in New York and Puerto Rico, *DAI* 53(11-B): 5668

In an interesting paper, Lucca and Pacheco (1986)⁵³ present data on the sexological content of bathroom wall graffiti in 10 Puerto Rican elementary schools, messages and drawings presumed to be manufactured by children aged 6 to 11. "Sexual" content categories occupied a fourth position in girls' bathrooms (15%) and a third position in boys' (27%; p469).

Additional refs.:

-- Comas-Diaz (1995)⁵⁴

-- Fontes (1992, 1993)⁵⁵; Asencio (1999)⁵⁶

Villarruel (1998)⁵⁷ examined sexual norms and attitudes of 49 Puerto Rican and Mexican-American girls aged 10-15 year old, together with 21 of their mothers.

Haiti (2,2+,2,2+,3-,3;2,1; AB) (Republic of Haiti, West Indies)

"In Haiti little boys and girls privately experiment in sexual activity from early childhood until puberty" (Ford and Beach, 1951:p181).

Danielsson ([1956]:p84-5; 1961:p834)⁵⁸ 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"⁵⁹. Small children imitating sexual intercourse were a common sight on all islands. Only children of the same age, however, took part in these sexual games, and it was considered in the highest degree improper and abnormal for an adult to show any interest in them. Any such offence was punished with extreme severity".

In spite of this, Danielsson adds that the "first real intercourse" occurred with "an older experienced person", after practical instruction of its technique. See also Ellis (1782, II:p153, quoted by Diamond, 1990:p433)⁶⁰: "The ladies are very lavish of their favors [...] and some of

⁵³ Lucca, N. & Pacheco, A. M. (1986) Children's graffiti: Visual communication from a developmental perspective, *J Genet Psychol* 147,4:465-79

⁵⁴ Comas-Diaz, L. (1995) Puerto Ricans and sexual child abuse, in Fontes, L. A. (Ed.) *Sexual Abuse in Nine North American Cultures: Treatment and Prevention*. Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc; Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc., p31-66

⁵⁵ Fontes, L. A. (1992) Considering culture and oppression in child sex abuse: Puerto Ricans in the United States, *DAI* 53(6-A):1797; and Fontes, L. A. (1993) Disclosures of sexual abuse by Puerto Rican children: Oppression and cultural barriers, *J Child Sex Abuse* 2,1:21-35. Fontes argues that cultural factors inhibiting disclosure of child sexual abuse include childrearing practices, the value placed on virginity, and taboos against discussing sex.

⁵⁶ Asencio, M. W. (1999) Machos and sluts: gender, sexuality, and violence among a cohort of Puerto Rican adolescents, *Med Anthropol Quart*, NS 13,1:107-26

⁵⁷ Villarruel, A. M. (1998) Cultural influences on the sexual attitudes, beliefs, and norms of young Latina adolescents, *J Soc Pediatr Nurses* 3,2: 69-79

⁵⁸ Danielsson, B. ([1954] 1956) *Love in the South Seas*. (transl. F. Lyon). London: Allen & Unwin

⁵⁹ Cook, J. (1777) *An Account of a Voyage around the World*. Hawkesworth, Ed., Vol.1, p206

⁶⁰ Ellis, W. (1782) *An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage Performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke* [...]. London: Robinson; Diamond, M. (1990) Selected cross-generational sexual behavior in traditional Hawai'i: a sexological ethnography, in Feierman, J. R. (Ed.) *Pedophilia: Biosocial Dimensions*. New York (etc.): Springer, p422-44, see p433

their attachments seemed purely the effects of affection. They are initiated into this way of life at a very early period; we saw some, who could not be more than ten years old”.

In the early 1940s, there was no parental sex education among Haiti peasants (Simpson, 1943:p665)⁶¹. Underwood and Honigmann (1947:p568)⁶² stated that masturbation was prohibited and not observed. Training would be so effective that even erections are not observed [*sic*]. Housing leaves room for minimal privacy only.

A more recent study of Cuban and Haitian child-rearing practices clearly demonstrates two divergent parental views of adolescent sexuality (DeSantis and Thomas, 1987)⁶³.

Jamaica (West Indies)

Green⁶⁴ characterises the rural lower class pattern as follows:

“Sex training in these Jamaican communities [Rocky Roads, Mocca, Negril, Farquhar Beach] does not follow dependence-independence patterns. It is relatively unimportant. Mothers shelter their daughters so that pregnancies will not produce too many mouths to feed- thus undermining economic security- and there is no masculine-feminine modes of behavior, virginity, or fecundity” (p42).

In a study by MacCormack and Draper (1987)⁶⁵, virtually half of female respondents stated a girl passes to the status of Woman at menarche; a quarter stated it coincided with pregnancy, and 6% stated it occurred with the beginning of sex relations. According to data by Roberts and Sinclair (1978:p80)⁶⁶ menarche occurred at a mean age of 14.21 in women under twenty-five, suggesting a one years’ drop over a single generation. According to Brody (1981)⁶⁷, 28% of girls received no information on menarche prior to its first occurrence. Other studies confirm that girls are told very little about menstruation and sex before their first occurrence (Clarke, 1957⁶⁸:p98; Roberts and Sinclair, 1978:p109, 111; Allen, 1982⁶⁹:p26, Thompson, 1982⁷⁰:p27, 30; cf. Blake, 1961⁷¹:p52-6. 72, 76-9; Greenfeld, 1966⁷²:p108-9; Kerr, 1963:p39-41, 67,

⁶¹ Simpson, G. E. (1943) Sexual and familial institutions in Northern Haiti, *Am Anthropol* 44:655-74

⁶² 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

⁶³ DeSantis, L. & Thomas, J. T. (1987) Parental attitudes toward adolescent sexuality: transcultural perspectives, *Nurse Pract* 12,8:43-8

⁶⁴ Green, H. B. (1960) Comparison of nurturance and independence training in Jamaica and Puerto Rico, with consideration of the resulting personality structure and transplanted social patterns, *J Soc Psychol* 51:27-63

⁶⁵ MacCormack, C. P. & Draper, A. (1987) Social and cognitive aspects of female sexuality in Jamaica, in Caplan, P. (Ed.) *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*. London & New York: Tavistock Publ., p143-65

⁶⁶ Roberts, G. W. & Sinclair, S. A. (1978) *Women in Jamaica*. Millwood, NY: KTO Press

⁶⁷ Brody, E. (1981) *Sex, Contraception and Motherhood in Jamaica*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

⁶⁸ Clarke, S. C. (1957) *My Mother Who Fathered Me*. London: George Allen & Unwin

⁶⁹ Allen, S. M. (1982) *Adolescent Pregnancy among 11-15 Year Old Girls in the Parish of Manchester*. Diss., University of the West Indies

⁷⁰ Thompson, T. (1982) *Views of 13-15 Year Olds in High and Secondary School in Hanover Concerning their Parents / Guardians as Sex Educators*. Diss., University of the West Indies

⁷¹ Blake, J. (1961) *Family Structure in Jamaica*. New York: Glencoe

⁷² Greenfeld, S. M. (1966) *English Rustics in Black Skin*. New Haven: College & University Press.

Repeated admonitions about “staying away from boys”, young informants complained, never include a discussion of “what to stay away from”.

80⁷³). As an older source reveals, “[a]t home the attitude of the parents towards sex instruction and masturbation vary. Most mothers tend to avoid giving sex instruction [...]. There is definitely a reticence to discuss sexual matters with children [...] Masturbation is sometimes regarded as an evil [in that it] will impair the virility of the child later on [...]. Some parents, however, “will deliberately encourage their children in premature sexual activities, even with each other”. A girl relates: “[...] I never heard anything from anybody and had to find out things for myself. [...] I never even know what he was doing until he get it in there” (Blake). Puberty may be “the beginning of the period of sex experimentation” (Hendriques, 1953:p131, 133)⁷⁴. “ ‘Boys are not taught as much as girls’. They were not punished as are the girls if their early sex experimentation was discovered, nor did they receive any instruction from their fathers as to the responsibilities of paternity” (Clarke, 1957 [1979:p98]).

Blake (p89-90) mentioned that girls aged 14 engaged in sexual intercourse with mature men upon the bestowal of rather minor gifts, such as a chocolate candy bar. However, it was argued by Sanford (1975:p161-2)⁷⁵ that the girls were rarely taken advantage of.

Boys’ masturbation [genital play, DJ.] is, unlike early sexual experiences, not admitted by mothers, who indicate that they will stop it if seen. One mother would flog the children, reasoning they would “hurt” themselves (Kerr, p41).

Coitarche tends to be scheduled in early adolescence. Olenick reported a low mean coitarchal age of 13.4 for sexually experienced male respondents in 1997 (opposing a mean of 15.9 for females)⁷⁶. According to data collected in the mid-1970s, Brody found that 87.3% of girls had coitache at ages 14-19, the youngest being 9. In a sample of women attending antenatal clinics, Mukerjee (1982:p23)⁷⁷ found that 29% had their first experience at age 15 or younger. In a similar survey, Allen (1982:p29) found that the youngest was 11 and the mode was 14, some three years earlier than girls’ mothers. In a comparative study of young women from St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Murphy (1982:p23)⁷⁸ found a range of ages for first intercourse from 7 to 18, with a modal age of 15 (cf. Rubenstein, 1987:p263-4) ⁷⁹[⁸⁰]. In a study reported by Warren et al. (1988) of sexually experienced adolescents (ages 14-24; 46.8% of males before age 14, 15.3% of females before age 14), first sexual intercourse occurred before

⁷³ Kerr, M. (1963) *Personality and Conflict in Jamaica*. London: Collins

⁷⁴ Hendriques, F. (1953) *Family and Colour in Jamaica*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode

⁷⁵ Sanford, M. (1975) To be treated as a child of the home, in Williams, Th. R. (Ed.) *Socialization and Communication in Primary Groups*. The Hague & Paris: Mouton, p159-81

⁷⁶ Olenick, I. (1999) Among Young Jamaicans, Sex and Childbearing Often Begin During Adolescence, *Intl Fam Plann Perspect* 25,4:206-7

⁷⁷ Mukerjee, D. (1982) *A Study of the Characteristics and Community Leadership Role of Family Planning Acceptors Attending the Community Health Centre [etc.]*. Diss., University of the West Indies

⁷⁸ Murphy, V. J. (1982) *Factors Associated with Adolescent Pregnancy in St. Vincent and the Grenadines*. Diss., University of the West Indies

⁷⁹ Rubenstein, H. (1987) *Coping With Poverty*. Boulder: Westview Press. “Children learn the rudiments of sexual behavior either by eavesdropping on the conversations of adults, through information imparted by older friends, or through youthful experimentation with another child. Initiation into sexual activity is variable. A few girls are sexually active by the age of 10, sometimes with men many times their senior, and a few boys begin to experiment, usually with girls several years older than them, from about the age of eight. Most villagers, however, do not begin full sexual activity until their mid teens”.

⁸⁰ Warren, Ch. W., Powell, D., Morris, L., Jackson, J. & Hamilton, P. (1988) Fertility and Family Planning Among Young Adults in Jamaica, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 14,4:137-41. See also Morris, L. (1988) Young Adults in Latin America and the Caribbean: Their Sexual Experience and Contraceptive Use, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 14,4:153-8

age ten in 14.7% (M) and 0.5% (F); at age eleven in 10.8% (M) and 0.4% (F); at age twelve in 6.3% (M) and 1.2% (F). Mean ages were 14.3 (M) and 16.9 (F); mean ages of first partners were 13.2 for males and 19.7 for females. It was hypothesised that females referred to experiences that occurred later than actual sexarche, and that males were bragging (p138).

Reporting on a 1995 study on 945 Jamaican students aged 11-14 (Eggleston et al., 1999⁸¹; cf. Jackson et al., 1998:p26ff)⁸², 5.8% of girls and 64.4% of boys reported sexual intercourse. The mean ages indicated were as low as 11.3 (girls) and 9.4 (boys). "Forty-five percent of boys reporting sexual activity claimed they first had sexual intercourse at age nine or younger. This unlikely finding suggests that boys overreported their sexual experience. Only four of the 28 girls who reported having had sex said they had intercourse prior to ten" (p81).

"In each group, some boys insisted that a boy might have sex at age eight or nine or younger. A boy at a rural school related how sex at this age might occur: "A boy and a girl a play dolly house- the boy the father and the girl the mother. Them a sleep and things get outta hand. Him start feel her up, you know, them take off clothes, kissing go on...him push it in, she start cry" (*ibid.*).

While survey material typically indicated that girls thought that sexual intercourse should await ages 21 for boys and 22 for girls (boys stated that both sexes should wait till age 20), a "sizable proportion" of boys in discussion groups indicated "that a boy should have sex by age 12 or 13" (p80). Boy's intercourse experience is met with high status among peers; girls are not likely to tell peers, since they would be accused of being called sketels [sluts]. Of course, neither sex is going to tell parents.

In a follow-up study (Eggleston, et al., 2000)⁸³, it was revealed that boys were nearly 14 times more likely to report their sexual experience inconsistently.

Cohen (1955:p279-80, 284)⁸⁴ stated that, although flogged for a variety of reasons,

"[t]here is never any parental interference with erotic or genital play during infancy, childhood or adolescence, save for the imposition of the incest taboo during late infancy. Infants and children, both boys and girls, masturbate frequently and openly without any evidence of guilt and shame. At no time are they punished, teased, or praised by their parents for their autoeroticism; the parents are aware of the erotic play of their children, but never comment on it. [...] Masturbation ceases completely, according to observation and the reports of parents, at about the age of four years and is rarely resumed in adolescence or adulthood. [...] Premarital sexual intercourse begins at puberty for boys and girls. There seems to be few indications of anxiety or guilt surrounding sexual behavior in Rocky Roads".

Additional refs:

-- CRLP (1997) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Latin America and the Caribbean*, p126-44. Also *id.*, *Progress Report*, 2000, p54-62

⁸¹ Eggleston, E., Jackson, J. & Hardee, K. (1999) Sexual Attitudes and Behavior Among Young Adolescents in Jamaica, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 25,2:78-84, 91

⁸² Jackson, J., Leitch, J. & Lee, A. (July, 1998) *The Jamaica Adolescent Study. Final Report*. Women's Studies Project, Family Health International Research Triangle Park, NC, USA

⁸³ Eggleston, E., Leitch, J. & Jackson, J. (2000) Consistency of Self-Reports of Sexual Activity among Young Adolescents in Jamaica, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 26,2:79-83

⁸⁴ Cohen, Y. A. (1955) Character formation and social structure in a Jamaican community, *Psychiatry* 18,3:275-96

Panama / República de Panamá*(Cuna)*

In a 1984 survey (see Morris, 1988)⁸⁵, female age at first sexual intercourse was 16.7.

Cuna / Kuna (3,3+,4-,4,4,4;2,2) (eHRAF) (central region of what is now Panama and neighbouring San Blas Islands)

Marshall⁸⁶ remarks on the early 1940 Cuna:

“Early emphasis on modesty is extended to sexual training, where children are kept as ignorant of sexual matters as possible until marriage; when parents inform them of the sex act in the last stages of the wedding ceremony. Actually, the children have gained a conversational knowledge from their playmates some years before. Homosexual or other sex play is forbidden, and the crowded conditions of the island villages, at least, prevent much of this being carried on. Watching of the birth or sexual acts of animals is forbidden. The inevitable question of ‘Where did the baby come from?’ is answered by replies that the father met a deer in the forest, who was carrying it, or that a dolphin left it on the beach”.

Even animal reproduction is tabooed. Thus, the “point, that everything concerning sex is to be treated with the utmost secrecy, is very strictly upheld among the Cunas, and it is therefore usual that the girls, and even the young men, when they marry are entirely ignorant in these matters. It is hardly credible that this strict taboo on everything that connects with sex is a matter of protecting the child’s innocence, but rather it seems to me to be more likely that it hangs together with the myths about creation [...]” (Nordenskiöld, 1938: p370-1)⁸⁷. “In addition to the evasions and circumlocutions used to maintain sexual ignorance among the children, there are also many euphemisms in the myths and chants wherever mention is made of menstruation or birth, and it is considered very improper—indeed, sinful by some—to speak openly of sexual matters, particularly in mixed groups (Stout, 1938:p38)⁸⁸. A girl’s sexual past is “read” during initiation (Marshall, p244), but no consequences are mentioned.

⁸⁵ Morris, L. (1988) Young Adults in Latin America and the Caribbean: Their Sexual Experience and Contraceptive Use, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 14,4:153-8

⁸⁶ Marshall, D. S. ([1999]) *Cuna Folk: A Conceptual Scheme Involving the Dynamic Factors of Culture, As Applied to the Cuna Indians of Darien*. [New Haven, Conn.: HRAF, 1999]

⁸⁷ Nordenskiöld, E. (1938) *An Historical and Ethnological Survey of the Cuna Indians*. Göteborg, Sweden: Göteborg Museum

⁸⁸ Stout, D. B. (1947) *San Blas Cuna Acculturation: An Introduction*. New York: [s.n.]

Nicaragua / República de Nicaragua

(Soumoo)

In a study among 7789 households in Nicaragua⁸⁹, the median age of coitarche was 17.8 for women and 16.2 for men. At around age 15, around 25% of boys and girls had had their first sexual intercourse. In another study⁹⁰ among 15-19 year old males it was 14 years among sexually experienced subjects. Concepts of male sexual initiation follow a pattern not untypical of Latin America:

“In some cultures, boys are actively encouraged by both their peers and family members to use their adolescent years to experiment sexually. In Nicaragua, for example, where virginity is highly valued among young women, having multiple sexual partners is taken as a sign of virility in young men. Teenage boys face social pressures from older men (including fathers, older brothers, and uncles) to have sex as early as possible. In the recent past, it was not uncommon for Nicaraguan fathers to arrange for their son’s sexual initiation with a sex worker. So while for girls, public disclosure of sexual activity leads to dishonor, bragging about sex is common for boys”⁹¹.

Soumoo / Woolwa (Nicaragua)

Speaking of the 1866-7 period, Wickham (1895:p205)⁹²: “Female children are betrothed to young men whilst they are still almost babies. The custom is that the future bridegroom resides with the father-in-law elect, and overlooks the education of his future wife, until such time [?] as she becomes fitted to be taken to his own lodge. At such time they seem to be much petted, and not a little spoiled”.

⁸⁹ Zelaya, E., Marín, F. M., García, J., Berglund, S., Liljestrand, J. & Persson, L. A. (1997) Gender and social differences in adolescent sexuality and reproduction in Nicaragua, *J Adolesc Health* 21,1:39-46

⁹⁰ Kalk, A. et al. (2001) Influences on condom use among young men in Managua, Nicaragua, *Culture, Health & Sex* 3,4:469-81

⁹¹ Rivers, K. & Aggleton, P. (2001) Adolescent Sexuality, Gender, and the HIV Epidemic, *Bull of Exp Treatm for AIDS* [BETA], Summer-Autumn:35-9, at p38

⁹² Wickham, H. A. (1895) Notes on the Soumoo or Woolwa Indians, of Blewfields River, Mosquito Territory, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 24:198-208

Honduras / República de Honduras

According to a 1996 survey (Remez, 1999)⁹³, males aged 15-24 indicated they initiated sexual “activity” at a median age of 16.3 years (compared to 15.9 for the whole sample aged 15-59); females’ age of first sexual intercourse was 18.3.

⁹³ Remez, L. (1999) In Honduras, Men Now Have an Average of Five Children, but Consider a Family of Three to Be Ideal, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 25,3:154-6

El Salvador

Additional refs:

-- CRLP (1997) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Latin America and the Caribbean*, p91-107. Also id., *Progress Report*, 2000, p39-45

Guatemala / República de Guatemala (→Maya)

Cowgill and Hutchinson (1963)⁹⁴ (as cited by DeMause, 1989)⁹⁵ 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.

In Guatemala, 9.0% of males and 2.6% had their first sexual intercourse at age 12 or below (Herold et al., 1988)⁹⁶. Mean ages were 16.7 (F) and 14.8 (M).

Redfield (1943 [1970:p291])⁹⁷ notes that, within a pattern of casual and unsystematic education typical of the rural Landino, "[s]ome parents will select a serious and special moment in which they convey sex instruction [...]". Traditionally, San Pedro girls, "as in much of native Middle America, were carefully supervised from the time they reached puberty; they could make direct contact with marriageable boys only by devious means. The sexes were separated early in childhood [...]" (Paul and Paul, 1963:p134)⁹⁸.

Wagley⁹⁹ documents that most boys of twelve or thirteen years of age have a special male friend or companion called tukl-haj in Mam) of approximately their own age; this is interrupted by (early) marriage. "There is obviously a warm personal attachment between two companions, but all of my informants denied that it ever became an overt sexual relationship. In fact, one of the main activities of the two companions is to arrange sexual encounters with women" acting as go-betweens (p35-7). They have to because

"[g]irls are warned by their parents when they are ten or eleven years old to stay away from youths and older men. [...] Daughters must be protected so they will be virgins at marriage, and the one reason for the early marriages in Chimaltenango is to be certain that the young wife is a virgin. Only when a girl is not married by the time she is sixteen or seventeen is the vigilance of her parents relaxed enough to give her the opportunity to indulge in a premarital affair. [...] When young girls of thirteen or fourteen years of age do have pre-marital sex experience, it is through seduction by an older man".

Marriages between ten or eleven (boys), and for girls preferably a year earlier, are considered "excellent "because they grow up together" " (p37). "If the couple is already adolescent at marriage, intercourse does generally take place as soon as they have moved to the husband's father's house. When the girl is a virgin, she usually resists her young husband "until she learns" " (p40-1).

⁹⁴ Cowgill, U. M. & Hutchinson, G.E. (1963) Sex Ratio in Childhood and the Depopulation of the Peten, Guatemala, *Human Biol* 35:90-104

⁹⁵ DeMause, L. (1989) The role of adaptation and selection in psychohistorical evolution, *J Psychohist* 16,4:355-71

⁹⁶ Herold, J. M., Monterroso, Eu., Morris, L., Castellanos, G., Conde, A. & Spitz, A. (1988) Sexual Experience and Contraceptive Use Among Young Adults in Guatemala City, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 14,4:142-6+158. See also Morris, L. (1988) Young Adults in Latin America and the Caribbean: Their Sexual Experience and Contraceptive Use, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 14,4:153-8

⁹⁷ Redfield, R. (1943) Culture and education in the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala, *Am J Sociol* 48:640-8. Reprinted in Middleton, J. (Ed., 1970) *From Child to Adult*. New York: Natural History Press, p287-300

⁹⁸ Paul, L. & Paul, B. D. (1963) Changing marriage patterns in a Highland Guatemalan community, *Southwest J Anthropol* 19,2:131-48

⁹⁹ Wagley, Ch. (1949) *The Social and Religious Life of a Guatemalan Village*. American Anthropological Association

Additional refs:

- Bertrand, J. T., Ward, V. & Pauc, F. (1991-2) Sexual practices among the Quiche-speaking Mayan population of Guatemala, *Int Quart Community Health Educ* 12,4:265-82
- CRLP (1997) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Latin America and the Caribbean*, p108-25. Also id., *Progress Report*, 2000, p46-53

Belize

[No data available]

Mexico

(Guadeloupe, Chatino, Zapotec, Nahuatl, Aztec, Mixtecos, Huichol, Kickapoo, Tarahumara, Maya, Tepoztlán, Tzeltal) (→Mexican Americans)

Amuchástegui Herrera¹⁰⁰ studied the concept of virginity and sexual relationships in Mexico, and its historical effect on sex education (2001b).

Some data are available on homosexual behaviour before ejacularche in urban Mexican male homosexuals (Carrier, 1976)¹⁰¹. Carrier states that the “high level of sexual awareness among males in Mexico appears to be partly the result of the sexual stimuli presented them from birth onward by the scolding, joking, and public media. By the time they reach puberty, they are especially aware of the availability and acceptability of effeminate males as alternative sexual outlets”. 26 of 47 had prepubertal homosexual contacts with postpubertal males, 17 of 18 homosexuals scoring high on “effeminacy” had. Carrier (1980:p109; 1985)¹⁰² reported a large proportion of Mexican men had sexual relations with nephews, cousins or neighbours between the ages of 6 and 9.

“Some post-pubertal males utilize pre-pubertal boys as sexual outlets prior to marriage, and, later marriage, continue to utilize both heterosexual and homosexual outlets. [...] [These males] usually initiate sexual encounters with pre-pubertal effeminate boys who are relatives, nephews or cousins, or neighbors. Because of the proximity of these pre-pubertal boys, the interested post-pubertal males may maintain long-term sexual relationships with them. While these homosexual relationships are going on, the older males also have novias [prospective brides], and occasionally have sexual relationships with available neighbourhood girls or prostitutes. The sexual relationships with the younger males are usually terminated when the older males marry. The older males, however, may continue occasional homosexual contacts with older males after marriage”. The pattern seems lateral to a second in which males have durable relationships with novias between the onset of puberty and marriage.

“Adolescent males are [...] pressured while in their early teens, (often at the first signs of puberty) by their brothers, male cousins, and/or friends to prove their masculinity by having intercourse with prostitutes or available neighborhood girls. [...] from an early age onward effeminate males in Mexico are sexual targets for other males. All but one the author’s respondents scoring on the effeminate side as a child (17 of 18) had sexual contacts with older postpubertal males prior to their first ejaculation; 13 of

¹⁰⁰ 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 Virginitad 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. (2001a) *Virginidad e Iniciación Sexual: Experiencias y Significados*. EDAMEX, S.A. de C.V. y Population Council; Amuchástegui Herrera, A. (2001b) The Hybrid Construction of Sexuality in Mexico and its Impact on Sex Education, *Sex Educ* 1,3:259-77

¹⁰¹ Cf. Carrier, J. M. (1976) Cultural factors affecting urban Mexican male homosexual behavior, *Arch Sex Behav* 5,2:103-24

¹⁰² Carrier, J. M. (1980) Homosexual behavior in cross-cultural perspective, in Marmor, J. (Ed.) *Homosexual Behavior: a Modern Reappraisal*. New York: Basic Books; Carrier, J. M. (1985) Mexican Male Bisexuality, in Klein F. & Wolf, T. (Eds.) *Bisexualities: Themes and Research*. New York Hayworth Press, p75-85/ J Homosex 11,1/2

the 17 had contacts between 5 and 10 years of age. [...] Following the onset of puberty, effeminate males continue to be sexual targets for other males [...] many early homosexual encounters [...] are carried out with relatives and friends of the family. This appears to be particularly true for the preadolescent effeminate male. [...] Several of the prepubertal homosexual contacts with relatives, it is interesting to note, were maintained over extended periods of time" (Carrier, 1976:p368, 369, 370)¹⁰³.

Thus, the concept and terminology of unmanly homosexuality is instilled "from early childhood on" (Carrier, 1989:p133)¹⁰⁴. "At the first signs of puberty, Mexican adolescents may be pressured by their brothers, male cousins, friends, or all three to prove their masculinity by having sexual intercourse with either prostitutes¹⁰⁵ or available neighborhood girls. By this time they are also aware of the availability and acceptability of feminine males as sexual outlets". Taylor (1978:p129-30)¹⁰⁶ notes that

"[m]any children have their first homosexual experience in the [steam] bath. For example, J. P. J., the respondent in Georgina Ruiz Garcia's Master's thesis (1975) [¹⁰⁷] relates that he first learned about masturbation from his playmates when he went to bathe together in the bath house of their vecindad (a slum neighborhood)".

Reportedly, prostitution is a road to masculinity¹⁰⁸. Visiting "boys town" brothels on the Mexican side of the border remains "a rite of passage" for some young American men, who cross the border looking for mostly heterosexual adventure (Cantu, 2002:p164n27)¹⁰⁹. The Latin prostitution experience may commonly be like that of Mario Vargas Llosa:

"When he was a child, the word puta [whore] filled him with both horror and fascination. And during adolescence, his experiences with prostitutes are a source of pleasure as well as a nagging guilt for having participated in the degradation of poor women"¹¹⁰.

In a study on Spanish-speaking people of San Jose, Clark (1970:p135)¹¹¹ 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". In a Sierra Tarascan village (Beals, 1946

¹⁰³ Carrier, J. M. (1976) Family Attitudes and Mexican Male Homosexuality, *Urban Life* 5,3:359-75

¹⁰⁴ Carrier, J. M. (1989) Sexual behavior and spread of AIDS in Mexico, *Med Anthropol* 10:129-42

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Espin, 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".

¹⁰⁶ Taylor, C. L. (1978) *El Ambiente: Male Homosexual Life in Mexico City*. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley

¹⁰⁷ Ruiz Garcia, G. (1975) *La Homosexualidad en México*. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

¹⁰⁸ "Young men are encouraged to seek out prostitutes and often boast about such exploits, which provides a superficial source of anxiety-reduction in the area of sex. The prostitute plays a not unnecessary role in this subculture, for she affords a return to the early stage of receiving unconditional acceptance. Masculinity is thus demonstrated by recourse to an older woman or a woman of easy virtue, both of whom may give unconditional acceptance and restore the individual to an earlier state of infantile omnipotence" (Kiev, A. ([1968]) *Curanderismo: Mexican-American Folk Psychiatry*. New York: Free Press).

¹⁰⁹ Cantu, L. (2002) De Ambiente: Queer Tourism and the Shifting Boundaries of Mexican Male Sexualities, *GLQ: J Lesbian & Gay Stud* 8,1&2:139-66

¹¹⁰ Ellis, R. R. (1998) The inscription of masculinity and whiteness in the autobiography of Mario Vargas Llosa, *Bull Latin Am Res* 17,2:223-36, at p229

¹¹¹ Clark, M. (1970) *Health in the Mexican-American Culture*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press

[1973:p178])¹¹² it is claimed that most young people before marriage have no sexual experience. Menarche occurs at about age 14. Originally an Aztec rite, in a girl's Quinceañera, or Latina Sweet Fifteen¹¹³, the sexual is primarily symbolic and "[...] also acknowledged by the instruction and preparation that some parishes use to prepare the young people involved in the quinceañera" (Cantú). "Masturbation by small boys is simply ignored by everyone even though it be in public" (p173). Napolitano¹¹⁴ analysed the celebration of girls' fifteenth birthdays in a low-income neighbourhood of Guadalajara, Mexico:

"The ritual represents the beginning of a phase in a girl's life which will be completed upon her wedding celebration. This period is identified as a time of "illusion", because it is a time when representations of the nature of sexual relations and life differ sharply from the "reality" of life after marriage. [...] The fifteenth birthday celebration coincides with the acknowledgment by the family (especially the father) that a daughter is ready to have a sweetheart (if she does not have one already). The father gives her the *permiso de porta* (literally the license of the door), the authorization to see her boyfriend on the threshold of the house for a set period during the evening. [...] The celebration, through the emotional experience and the symbolism of the ball, the waltz and the dress, formally introduces girls into a "new sexual world", and at the same time "defends" them from it".

Mexican parents adhered to what they called a "discreet silence" on sex matters, causing "blessed ignorance", however condemned by an advisory committee in the 1930s (Ebaugh, 1936)¹¹⁵. The Ministry of Public Education tried to initiate a sexual education program in Mexico City's primary schools¹¹⁶. The project faced powerful opposition from the Catholic hierarchy and parents' organizations, so it was never implemented. Thus, "[s]ex education by the mother was never approached as a part of a young girl's training in traditional families in rural Mexico"¹¹⁷. Davies¹¹⁸:

"Girls are conditioned from an early age to accept that when they grow up, they will become mothers and women come to believe that only the maternal role will truly fulfil them. Simone de Beauvoir emphasises this. She says: 'From infancy, woman is repeatedly told that she is made for childbearing, and the splendours of maternity are forever being sung to her. The drawbacks of her situation - menstruation, illnesses, and the like - and the boredom of household drudgery are all justified by this marvellous privilege she has of bringing children into the world'¹¹⁹".

¹¹² Beals, R. L. (1946 [1973]) *Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. New York: Cooper Square

¹¹³ Cantú, N. E. (1999) La Quinceañera: Towards an Ethnographic Analysis of A Life-Cycle Ritual, *Southern Folklore* 56,1; King, E. (1998) *Quinceañera: Celebrating Fifteen*. [Quinceañera: Celebrando Los Quince]. New York: Dutton Books; Davalos, K. M. (1996) La Quinceañera: Making Gender and Ethnic Identities, *Frontiers* 16,2/3:101-27; Lankford, M. D. (1994) *Quinceañera: A Latina's Journey into Womanhood*. Brookfield, Connecticut: Millbrook Press

¹¹⁴ Napolitano, V. (1997) *Becoming a "Mujercita": Rituals, Fiestas and Religious Discourses*. Paper prepared for delivery at the 1997 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Continental Plaza Hotel, Guadalajara, Mexico April 17-19

¹¹⁵ Ebaugh, C. D. (1936) Mexico Studies Sex Education, *Social Forces* 15,1:81-3

¹¹⁶ Castillo-Troncoso, A. del (2000) La polémica en torno a la educación sexual en la ciudad de México durante la década de los años treinta: conceptos y representaciones de la infancia [The Controversy about Sexual Education in Mexico City during the Thirties: Childhood Concepts and Representations], *Estud Sociol* 18,52:203-26

¹¹⁷ García Manzanedo, H. (1980) Health and illness perceptions of the Chicana, in Melville, M. B. (Ed.) *Twice a Minority: Mexican American Women*. St. Louis, Missouri [etc.]: Mosby, p191-207

¹¹⁸ Davies, L. (nd) Monstrous mothers and the cult of the Virgin in Rosario Castellanos' *Oficio de tinieblas*. Online paper

¹¹⁹ De Beauvoir, S. (1997) *The Second Sex*. Transl. by H. M. Parshley. London: Vintage, p508-9 [orig. footnote]

Girls in the Juan Cuamatzi municipio, Mexico, were strictly controlled in their premarital reputation by their mothers (Nutini, 1968:p85)¹²⁰. Some may marry at age fourteen or fifteen, but commonly courtship begins at this age.

Rubio (1997)¹²¹ stated:

"During early adolescence, 11 to 15 years of age, most adolescents begin to explore in a form of ritualized relationship called *noviazgo*, formally a relationship period prior to marriage. However, during early adolescence, *noviazgos* are commonly established without marriage as a goal. For young adolescents, it is a social way to regulate interpersonal relationships. It appears that the major part of early dyadic sexual exploration takes place in this form, though no formal data exist. At this early age, *noviazgos* are usually of short duration. Once an adolescent has had his or her first *noviazgo*, it is not difficult for either a male or female to continue with subsequent *noviazgo* relationships. Intercourse is usually deferred to a later age. The possibility of having had the first intercourse increases after 15 years of age: the CONAPO (1988)¹²² survey found that the typical age for first intercourse is 14 to 17 years of age for males and 16 to 19 years for females [...]"

Castañeda, García and Langer (1996:p135-6)¹²³ found that the moon analogy still exerts strong influence in the rural (and not the urban) areas of Mexico, some of the questioned women explaining menarche as "The moon *takes advantage* of the women before the man does, that is why she has her *period*. They also said that the moon *breaks* in the woman for the first time". "Often a woman prefers to marry young, between 10 and 14 years old, so a man will enjoy her before the moon" [menarche]. Allowing that the moon is a female deity, possessing male attributes, it might be concluded that "in the deflowering myth of the moon, whereby the moon is a woman, the virginity loss is partial and will be fully accomplished with the human act of the man".

Gutmann (1996:p104-6)¹²⁴ provides a further sketch on Mexican *machismogenesis*. The author marks

"[...] an elaborate performance of emphasis and de-emphasis upon gender distinctions is begun at birth in Santo Domingo. For instance, certain popular expressions about newborns, prompted by an examination of an infant's genitalia, are increasingly, if often jokingly, contested by women in the colonia. For boys, the comments have often been: "¡Qué grande y fuerte! [How big and strong!]" ; "¡Va a tener un pague! [He's going to be quite a catch!]" ; "¡Qué cara inteligente! [What an intelligent face!]" For girls: "¡Qué ojos bonitos! [What pretty eyes!]" ; "¡Qué piernas bonitas! [What pretty legs!]" ; "¡Carne para los lobos! [Meat for the wolves!]" Boys and girls from infancy on are commonly referred to as *papacitos* and *mamacitas*, little daddies and little mommies".

"In refutation of the commonplace that many or most Latin American men have their first sexual escapades with prostitutes, none of the men I interviewed from Colonia Santo Domingo save one admitted to ever having been to a prostitute. Nor had any men taken their sons to prostitutes "to become men. [...] In the survey on sexuality among high school students cited earlier, 20.5 percent of the well-to-do boys reported that their first sexual

¹²⁰ Nutini, H. G. (1968) *San Bernardino Contla: Marriage and Family Structure in a Tlaxcalan Municipio*. University of Pittsburgh Press

¹²¹ Rubio, Eu. (1997) Mexico, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 2. Quoted from the online edition

¹²² Consejo Nacional de Población (1988) *Encuesta Nacional sobre Sexualidad y Familia en Jóvenes de Educación Media Superior, 1988*. Consejo Nacional de Población, México

¹²³ Castañeda, X., García, C. & Langer, A. (1996) Ethnography of fertility and menstruation in rural Mexico, *Soc Sci Med* 42,1:133-40

¹²⁴ Gutmann, M. C. (1996) *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press

relation was with a prostitute (Consejo Nacional de Población 1988:120). Men from upper middle class homes also speak of the convention whereby the father hires a maid with whom his sons can have their first sexual encounters" (p132-3).

Additional refs:

- Baird, T. L. (1993) Mexican Adolescent Sexuality: Attitudes, Knowledge, and Sources of Information, *Hispanic J Behav Sci* 15,3:402-17
- CRLP (1997) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Latin America and the Caribbean*, p145-62. Also id., *Progress Report*, 2000, p63-70
- Moreno-Castellanos, E. (1998) Aspectos estructurales de la identidad sexo-generica en el niño preescolar, *Arch Hispanoam Sexol* 4,2:307-34
- Prieur, A. (1998) *Mema's House, Mexico City: On Transvestites, Queens, and Machos*. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press. See esp. p116-26
- Rubenstein, A. (1998) Raised voices in the cine montecarlo: Sex education, mass media, and oppositional politics in Mexico, *J Fam Hist* 23,3:312 et seq., section "The Politics of Sex Education"

In 16th century Seville (Mexico), the *seises* (choir boys) were castrated to preserve their soprano voices (Spell, 1946:p296)¹²⁵.

Guadeloupe (Mexico)

Additional refs.:

- Simet-Lutin (1980)¹²⁶

Chatino (Oaxaca, Mexico)

Among the Chatino of Oaxaca (Greenberg, personal communication cited in Schlegel and Barry, 1991)¹²⁷, girls marry about age 11, but sexual relations do not begin until menarche is reached.

Zapotecs (Mexico)

According to the sources of Williams (1986)¹²⁸, boys commonly become sexually active with men during early puberty if not earlier¹²⁹. "Boys who later became berdache often began their sexual experiences before puberty" (p99-100; see also p45-54).

¹²⁵ Spell, L. M. (1946) Music in the Cathedral of Mexico in the Sixteenth Century, *Hispan Am Hist Rev* 26,3:293-319

¹²⁶ Simet-Lutin, M. (1980) Sexualité et enfance en Guadeloupe: situation actuelle et développement futur, in Samson, J. (Ed.) *Childhood & Sexuality: Proceedings of the International Symposium*. Montreal: Editions Etudes Vivantes, p311-6; Gourgues, *ibid.*, p317-9

¹²⁷ Schlegel, A. & Barry III., H. (1991) *Adolescence: An Anthropological Inquiry*. New York: Free Press. As cited by Hammel, E. A. & Friou, D. (1996) Anthropology and Demography: marriage, liaison, or encounter? In Kertzner, D. & Fricke, T. (Eds.) *Anthropological Demography: Toward a New Synthesis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p175-200

Nahua (Central Mexico)

Duarte Barbosa¹³⁰ observed defloration of 10-year-old Indian girls by the *lingam* (phallus) in the beginning of the 16th century in southern Dekhan.

Aztec children played marriage from age five (Madsen, 1960:p86)¹³¹.

Aztec (3,4,3,5,4-,4-,4;2,1; pinpointed 1520) (Mexico)

Girls among the ancient Aztec (Nahua) married before age 15, and in many cases before 12 (McCaa, 1997; cf. 1996)¹³²: "Children became adults upon marriage, and most children above the age of 10 years were married (or widowed, separated or abandoned)". Females married very young, according to the narrative evidence from the *Book of Tributes* (Cline, 1993:p31-2)¹³³. Quantitative analysis of these data places the average for females below the age of thirteen, and that for males above age nineteen (McCaa, 1996:p18-27). It was hypothesized that infant marriage was institutional possibly in defense of a high mortality rate.

Mixtecans (Mexico)

"Handling of a child's penis by other children or an adult is expected to have a calming effect" (Ravicz and Romney, 1969:p397)¹³⁴. Children learn about conception "at an early age by asking about cattle that are brought together for breeding purposes. There is little secrecy about the matter although there may be some jesting by the men" (Romney and Romney, 1963:p634-5)¹³⁵.

"Socialization of various kinds of sex behavior, including such things as modesty and imitative sex play and masturbation, is handled in a rather casual way during early childhood. There are no specific or severe rules concerning any of these activities at the beginning of early childhood. [...] there is a gradual learning process regarding modesty during early childhood. Masturbation and imitative sex play

¹²⁸ Williams, W. (1986) *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press

¹²⁹ Chiñas, B. (1984) Isthmus Zapotec Berdaches, *News Anthropol Res Group Homosex* 7:1-4

¹³⁰ *Collecção de Notícias para a História e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas* [etc.] 1813, II:p304ff. Cited by Bloch, I. ([1933]) *Anthropological Studies in the Strange Sexual Practises of All Races and All Ages*. New York: Anthropological Press, p85

¹³¹ Madsen, W. (1960) *The Virgin's Children*. New York: Greenwood

¹³² McCaa, R. (1997) *Child Marriage and Complex Families (Cemithualtin) among the Ancient Aztec (Nahua)*. Colonial History Workshop, University of Minnesota, Jan. 15, 1997. Spanish version published under the title *Matrimonio infantil, cemithualtin (familias complejas) y el antiguo pueblo nahua* in *Hist Mex* 46(1996),1:3-70

¹³³ Cline, S. L. (1993) *The Book of Tributes. Early Sixteenth-Century Nahuatl Censuses from Morelos*. Los Angeles: University of California Press

¹³⁴ Ravicz, R. & Romney, A. K. (1969) The Mixtec, in Wauchope, R. (Gen. Ed.) *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. Austin: University of Texas Press. Vol.7, p367-99

¹³⁵ Romney, K. & Romney, R. (1963) The Mixtecans of Juxtlahuaca, in Whiting, B. B. (Ed.) *Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing*. New York: Wiley, p545-691

between small children are treated with equal casualness. Parents and caretakers tend to be very permissive concerning these activities at the beginning of early childhood and gradually extinguish such activities, mainly through ridicule, toward the end of that stage. The observations of these activities indicate that masturbation and imitative sex play are not particularly common although by no means unusual" (p659-60).

Huichol (Mexico) (2,2,2+,2+,3-,3-,3,3)

Boys and girls play together without restriction; virginity is not valued other than in theory (Klineberg, 1934:p454-5)¹³⁶. Huichol girls are married at age 13 to 18, boys at age 15 to 24 (Grimes and Hinton, 1969:p812)¹³⁷.

Kickapoo (Mexico)

Additional refs.:

-- Diaz-Guerrero, R. (1986) Child and family in Mexico, *J Hum Behav & Learning* 3,3:13-24

Tarahumara (Mexico) (eHRAF)

After the age of seven or eight, girls no longer can play freely with boys, and become very shy for the opposite sex; parents live in fear of sexual assault upon their daughters (Fried, [1951]:p148-9, 168)¹³⁸. Fried (1969:p868-9)¹³⁹ states that girl's modesty begins at age 8. Male sexual intercourse begins with full *tesguinada* participation.

"Girls are taught to be modest in their dress and never expose such body parts as legs, sexual organs, or breasts. Three informants stated that even in marriage the women are still careful about exposing themselves before their husbands. During sexual intercourse wives do not remove their clothes. After the age of seven or eight, girls no longer can play freely with boys. This is the age at which the work assignments of girls and boys become differentiated, the girls now spending their time aiding their mothers, and the boys assisting their fathers. It is assumed that children of this age are able to care for themselves without much supervision. Children range far from home with the herds, but young girls, unlike boys, may not go far from the house if they are unaccompanied. Parents fear that young girls will be sexually assaulted if they are alone, and they communicate this fear to their daughters. It is at this age that girls become very shy of men and boys. This attitude of shyness continues as an outstanding characteristic of the female aspect when she is in the company of a male who is not a close relative. She will never look directly into the eyes of a man, but will gaze down or gaze fixedly at some point in space with one hand against her cheek. It is during the *tesguinada* that this restrained reserve breaks down

¹³⁶ Klineberg, O. (1934) Notes on the Huichol, *Am Anthropol* 36:446-60

¹³⁷ Grimes, J. E. & Hinton, Th. B. (1969) The Huichol and Cora, in Wauchope, R. (Gen. Ed.) *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. Austin: University of Texas Press. Vol. 8, p792-813

¹³⁸ Fried, J. ([1951]) *Ideal Norms and Social Control in Tarahumara Society*. [New Haven, Conn.]: [Yale University]

¹³⁹ Fried, J. (1969) The *Tarahumara*, in Wauchope, R. (Gen. Ed.) *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. Austin: University of Texas Press. Vol. 8, p846-70

under the influence of corn beer, and the woman may become the initiator of the sex act. She tosses pebbles at a man to attract his attention, then walks off to some secluded spot where they can meet. All adult informants (unfortunately they were all males) believed that mothers do not instruct their daughters in matters of sex. They are apparently not even warned of the onset of menstruation, for it is said that girls then become terrified. This first menstruation is not recognized by ceremonial observances. There are no menstrual taboos placed upon women. Active sexual participation is begun with tesguinada attendance. There, from both observation and participation, or at least vicariously through conversation, the young learn of sexual matters. Children have ample opportunity to observe the behavior of adults during tesguinadas held in their houses. Girls at the Indian school of Sisoguichic stated that mothers taught them to be 'ashamed' in the presence of men, not to engage in conversation with them, and not to go off with them alone into the mountains or secluded places. Masturbation by boys was acknowledged by all informants. No particular sentiment against this practice was voiced. There is a joking attitude taken toward it and it is not considered harmful" ([1951:p148-50]).

Maya (Yucatán Peninsula, Mexico, Guatemala) (eHRAF)

Redfield (1934 [1962:p191])¹⁴⁰ on Maya parental sexual enlightenment:

"It is regarded as unwise and improper to explain matters of sex and procreation to children, and no deliberate instruction in the subject is given. All the older people think it best that children should remain ignorant of the changes of puberty, of sexual intercourse, pregnancy and childbirth until they actually experience these phenomena in their own persons. A phrase often used is, "Children ought not to be where the grown-ups are", and sexual matters are before them covered with veils of silence and secrecy. [...] this policy of secrecy with regard to the young people is impossible of exercise in the intimacy and simplicity of the village life. Both girls and boys, at nine and ten years of age, begin to learn and make use of phrases and stories of double meaning or illicit suggestion¹⁴¹. Many, probably most, young children have understanding of the nature of sexual intercourse. This knowledge depends upon individual circumstances. One or two young girls of the village had no knowledge of the sexual act before their marriage, except for the vague explanations of their mothers just before the marriages took place¹⁴². But in most cases, in spite of the policy of secrecy, because they sleep beside their married brothers, children come early to know something of the nature of sexual intercourse, and will sometimes joke with or ask questions of their married elders with a view to embarrass them. It is also true that in the context of animal husbandry sexual matters are subject to scarcely any taboo. An entire family will gather to watch with satisfaction the impregnation of a sow by a boar rented for the purpose. While as a rule children reach adolescence with a strong interest in and usually a fair knowledge of sexual intercourse, they know next to nothing about the changes of puberty or of pregnancy and parturition. The first menstruation comes to the girl as a surprise attended with fear. In the cases known to us the girl secreted herself in alarm or even terror, until found by some older woman who explained the meaning of her soiled garments, and instructed her not to speak of it to anyone. So little do young people know of the course of child-bearing that in many cases the young husband, as well as the wife, will fail to suspect the first pregnancy in its early stages for what it is. Then the girl's mother or some older person will instruct her, or will turn her over to the care of the midwife" (p191-2).

¹⁴⁰ Redfield, R. (1934) *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press [1962 printing]

¹⁴¹ For example, a child in school upon reading a story with the title "Why is it Done at Night?" volunteered an answer to the question as he understood it: "Because it would be seen during the daytime". [orig.footnote]

¹⁴² "I didn't know anything about it till I married. Then my mother explained it all to me. She said I had to sleep with Doso, because now I was a grown woman; and she said I shouldn't tell anyone what was going to happen to me. But I didn't understand well what my mother wanted to tell me, until after I was married." [orig.footnote]

Redfield later (1962:p133)¹⁴³ would note stability in this respect: "As was the case in 1931, the concern of parents over their children is greatest in connection with marriage and first sexual relations, although no particular age is recognized as an age of difficulty; and I do not think that there is any concept of adolescence. [...] Nothing was said to me to suggest that any attempt is made now, as none was made before, to instruct young people in matters of sex; some learn such matters early by observation and chance information; others learn little about it until marriage". Villa Rojas (1945)¹⁴⁴:

"From the age of seven onward, differences of character and interest between the sexes begin to be marked. [...] Topics dealing with sex or reproduction are discussed more privately, or at least such is the intention of adults, in order that they do not come to the knowledge of children [...]. Menstruation appears between the ages of twelve and fourteen and is often regarded by the girls as an unfortunate and unforeseen event. Generally, after it occurs, the mother tries to reassure the girl, and in private explains to her its significance. No ceremony or rite marks this physiological change. [...] By the time they reach adolescence, boys and girls know about sexual relations. Married couples and unmarried members of the household occupy the same room, and sleep in adjacent hammocks, so that children do not remain ignorant of sexual matters for very long" (p146).

Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage (Nash, 1970:p113, 275)¹⁴⁵.

No different view is offered by Elmendorf (1976)¹⁴⁶ "I didn't think that they told their children directly, but it seemed impossible for a child not to learn something about it, living together in such close quarters. I had asked Anita where she and her husband had their sexual life—in the room with the children, or in another room". The women considered it a sin to inform a girl of menstruation before it occurred, or to explain sex before marriage (p7). Pubescent girls begin "pronounced sexual activity" at fourteen, typically with older boys and men (p70).

None of the mentioned authors make statements on sexual behaviour before puberty.

"The genitalia of girls are covered either by short underpants, long huipil, or both. Boys are allowed to run about naked or with short shirts only. By three, however, they are fully clothed. A naked or partially exposed child of three or four is a matter for negative comment by elders" (Press, 1975)¹⁴⁷. "By the time they reach adolescence, boys and girls know about sexual relations. Married couples and unmarried members of the household occupy the same room, and sleep in adjacent hammocks, so that children do not remain ignorant of sexual matters for very long. It is a matter of great concern, however, to see that one never exposes the sexual organs. Both sexes maintain the strictest privacy when bathing or performing natural functions" (Villa Rojas).

¹⁴³ Redfield, R. (1962) *A Village That Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited*. Chicago ; London: Phoenix Books, The University of Chicago Press

¹⁴⁴ Villa Rojas, A. (1945) *The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington

¹⁴⁵ Nash, J. (1970) *In the Eyes of the Ancestors*. New Haven: Yale University Press

¹⁴⁶ Elmendorf, M. L. (1976) *Nine Mayan Women: A Village Faces Change*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Pub. Co.

¹⁴⁷ Press, I. (1975) *Tradition and Adaptation: Life in a Modern Yucatan Maya Village*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press

Tepoztlán (Mexico) (Redfield / Lewis)

Redfield (1930:p139n2)¹⁴⁸ found no information on sex instruction or early sex experience. Lewis (1961)¹⁴⁹ did. "The questions we asked about the sex play of children received a blanket denial from parents, who maintained that their children were innocent and knew nothing of life. But from the life stories we gathered, it was clear that sex play does occur secretly and in games" (p74). "In the past girls when girls married before puberty, it was widely believed that menstruation was caused by sexual intercourse. This belief has still not been entirely eradicated" (p78). Although denied and un-remembered, children might observe parental sexual intercourse (Lewis, 1951:p326)¹⁵⁰. Specifically, (p291): "Sexuality is discouraged from childhood on; sex is a taboo subject within the home. Infant sexuality, masturbation, and sexual play among children, as well as curiosity concerning the bodily functions, is forbidden and punished. It is one of the more important obligations of the parent to keep the children "innocent", or, as they say, "to keep their eyes from being opened". The separation of the sexes for work and play begins from about age seven to ten and is strictly enforced at puberty. [...] Girls are unprepared for menstruation [...]"

Tzeltal (Mexico) (eHRAF)

"Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained", an organisation contrasting the continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to adulthood (Nash, 1970)¹⁵¹.

Stross (1970:p63-4)¹⁵²: "When girls reach eight or so they sometimes play games relating to sex and marriage. One group that I noticed was squatting in a banana grove while the leader passed out unripe bananas to the other girls saying, "this is your wife, and this is your wife, and this is my wife", until each was appointed the care of her own banana-wife. Later they changed roles, turning the bananas into drunken husbands. At about this age or earlier girls will search for and find the [.], a small worklike antlion that is supposed to be placed on the nipples of a woman's breasts so that it will bite and make the breasts grow".

According to Hunt (1962:p94)¹⁵³: "After the first menstruation (and sometimes a little before if they show signs of maturity), they change from the light cotton skirt into the traditional dark *bluenagua* (tubular skirt) and *redfaja* (sash), and are considered marriageable (*solteritas ortek' el*)".

¹⁴⁸ Redfield, R. (1974) *Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press

¹⁴⁹ Lewis, O. (1961) *Tepoztlan: Village in Mexico*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

¹⁵⁰ Lewis, O. (1951) *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press

¹⁵¹ Nash, J. C. (1970) *In the Eyes of the Ancestors: Belief and Behavior in a Mayan Community*. New Haven, Conn. ; London: Yale University Press

¹⁵² Stross, B. (1970) *Aspects of Language Acquisition by Tzeltal Children*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms. 1971 copy [eHRAF]

¹⁵³ Hunt, M. E. V. (1962) *The Dynamics of the Domestic Group in Two Tzeltal Villages: A Contrastive Comparison*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Library

Unspecified SCCS Tribes rated for Sexual Socialisation: Latin and South Americas

Callinago (-,-,-,-)

Warrau (2,2,2,2)

Barama Carib (2-,2-,2,2)

Mundurucu (3-,3-,3-,3-)

Inca (2,2,2,2)

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Introduction

Werner (1986), as cited by Frayser (1994:p206-7)¹ provided some data on the sexual climate of children in South America:

“Xokleng children of southern Brazil often sleep with adults who engage in sexual activities with them; such relations are regarded as amusing and playful [...]. Siriono women of Bolivia often had sex with the prepubescent brothers of their husbands, and older Tupinamba women in Brazil who did not have the favor of older men might constantly accompany young boys, to whom they gave presents and instruction in sexual matters [...]”.

“As in the Melanesian cultures of the Pacific, initiation, more than marriage, is indispensable in northwest Amazonia to the transition from the asexual world of childhood to the sexual world of adults”², a transition that is commonly associated with “playful” transitional male homosexuality (cf. Murray, 1992, 1995)³. De Freitas et al. (1997)⁴ from Brazil found that “12 percent of Paulistanos and Cariocas and 17 percent of other, non urban respondents reported erotic contact with animals in their childhood or adolescence”. In Paraguay, Mantegazza⁵ personally observed that “children of both sexes, stark naked, playing freely together, and I believe that more than once, out of curiosity and for amusement, they try copulation long before the age of puberty, which little by little dilates the genital parts of the girl, and results probably in a gradual loss of the maidenhead, without violence”.

Among the **Kulisehu**, the praeputium is tucked under a waist string, so as to elongate it. This is customary. “Man hält den Jüngling zu diesem Verfahren an, wenn sie die ersten Erektionen eintreten”, according to Von den Steinen (1897:p188)⁶.

An overview of sexarche figures was offered by Wulf and Singh (1991)⁷.

¹ Frayser, S. G. (1994) Defining normal childhood sexuality: An anthropological approach, *Ann Rev Sex Res* 5:173-217

² Johansson, W. (1990) Amazonia, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol I, p45-6

³ Murray, S. O. (1992) Sentimental effusions of genital contact in Upper Amazonia, in Dynes, W. R. & Donaldson, S. (Eds.) *Ethnographic Studies of Homosexuality*. New York [etc.]: Garland, p339-51 / Murray, S. O. (1995) "Sentimental Effusions" of Genital Contact in Amazonia, in Murray, S. O. (Ed.) *Latin American Male Homosexualities*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, p264-73

⁴ De Freitas, S. et al. (1997) Brazil, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 1. Quoted from the online edition

⁵ Quoted by Jacobus X ([1893] 1898) *L'Amour aux Colonies*. Paris: I. Liseux. 3 vols. 2nd & enl. English ed., *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology* (etc.). Paris: Librairie de Medecine, Folklore et Anthropologie. Vol. II, p444

⁶ Von den Steinen, K. (1897) *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer

*Current Age of Consent in Central and South America*⁸

For details, one is to consult ECPAT⁹ and ILGA¹⁰. Graupner (2000) offers data on the sexual consent of Brazil (14, all categories) and Chile (20, all categories). Some data on sexual consent and sex education in are collected by the *Center for Reproductive Law and Policy* (CRLP)¹¹. ECPAT (Nov., 2002) considers AoC for the following South American countries: Bolivia (14)¹², Brazil, Chile ([12])¹³, Colombia (14)¹⁴, Ecuador ([14])¹⁵, Guyana¹⁶ (13), Paraguay (14 [het.])¹⁷, Peru (14), Uruguay (15)¹⁸ and Venezuela¹⁹; it is unclear about

⁷ Wulf, D. & Singh, S. (1991) Sexual activity, union, and childbearing among adolescent women in the Americas, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 17,4:137-44

⁸ <http://www.ageofconsent.com/ageofconsent.htm>, Nov. 2001

⁹ ECPAT International, Online Database

[\[http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/online_database/index.asp\]](http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/online_database/index.asp)

¹⁰ http://www.ilga.org/Information/Legal_survey/Americas/1world_legal_survey_americas.htm

¹¹ CRLP (1997) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Latin America and the Caribbean*. Also Progress Report, 2000 [Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Jamaica, Mexico, and Peru]

¹² A 1999 "law created a uniform age of consent to sexual relations of 14 years, eliminating the previous age of consent differential between boys and girls. Boys are now also included in the provision against statutory rape, which had formerly only prohibited sexual intercourse with a girl under 14 years. The amendments also increased the penalties for all crimes against sexual liberty, and particularly for sexual crimes against children: sexual intercourse with a person of either sex under 14 years is punishable by 15 to 20 years imprisonment. It is legal for children above 12 years to have consensual sexual relations, but only if the age differential between the partners is less than 3 years".

¹³ "Penetrative sexual acts (including sodomy) and non-penetrative sexual acts on a child between 12 and 18 years are illegal [...]. Under the Chilean Civil Code, a minor is anyone under 18 years of age. Throughout the Civil and Penal Codes, there are distinctions between children (under 7 years), immature adults (boys under 14 and girls under 12), and adults (finished puberty). Because of these different definitions, the legal age of consent is unclear; however, for practical purposes, it appears that the age of consent to sexual relations is 12 years".

¹⁴ "The age of consent in Colombia is 14. Sexual intercourse with a person under 14 years is illegal. Also, it is an offense to commit non-penetrative sexual acts involving a person under 14 years, either against the child or in his or her presence, and to induce a child to sexual practices".

¹⁵ "Ecuador recently amended its Penal Code, increasing penalties for crimes of sexual exploitation, and raising the age of protection from 12 to 14. For practical purposes, the age of consent in Ecuador is 14, although under the Civil Code there are distinctions between infants (up to age 7), boys (up to age 14), girls (up to age 12), adults (finished puberty), and age of majority (18 years old)".

¹⁶ "[...] the Criminal Law Offences Act, rarely refers specifically to "children", only to "females". This legislation puts the age of consent to sexual relations at 13 years. Sexual intercourse with a person under 12 is statutory rape. If the victim is between 12 and 13, the consent of victim is a triable issue and the accused could mount a defense that he was under the belief that the victim was over 13 years of age".

¹⁷ "For most sexual acts, it appears that the age of consent in Paraguay is 14, although for homosexual acts it is 16".

¹⁸ "The age of consent is 15 years. Sexual intercourse with a child under this age is illegal. It is also an offense to have consensual sexual intercourse with an "honest unmarried woman" of any age above 15 years. [...] Additionally, under Uruguayan law, anyone who has sexual relations with a virgin between the ages of 15 and 20 commits statutory rape unless the offender subsequently proposes marriage. [...] There is a presumption that violence has occurred in a sexual assault if

Suriname²⁰. For the Caribbean: Barbados (16)²¹, Cuba (none)²², Dominica (16), Dominican Republic (none)²³, Jamaica (16)²⁴, Saint Kitts & Nevis (16), and Trinidad & Tobago²⁵.

The age of consent is 16 on **Cuba**; in **Guatemala**, it is 18; in **French Guiana**, it is 15; in **Honduras**, it is 14. **Argentina**: "Será reprimido con reclusión o prisión de seis a quince años, el que tuviere acceso carnal con persona de uno o otro sexo en los casos siguientes: 1) Cuando la víctima fuere menor de doce (12) años [...]" (Artículo 119, Código Penal vigente, 1921). "Se impondrá reclusión o prisión de tres a seis años, cuando la víctima fuere mujer honesta mayor de doce (12) años y menor de quince (15) y no se encontrare en las circunstancias de los números 2 y 3 del artículo anterior" (Art. 120). **Bolivia**: "La edad de consentimiento para la actividad sexual, previo matrimonio civil, en las mujeres, es de catorce (14) años de edad. Para los varones es de dieciséis (16) años". **Chile**: "De las disposiciones mencionadas y en relación con los artículos 361 (violación) ; 363 (estupro) ; y 366 (abusos deshonestos) del Código Penal, se desprende que la libertad para consentir el acto sexual, es a los doce (12) años en las mujeres siempre que no exista violencia, ni intimidación, ni este privada de razón por cualquier causa". The Law of Marriage, 10 of Januari of 1884, in the article 4°N°2, prohibits prepubertal marriage (12 for girls, 14 for boys). **Colombia**: "El que realice actos sexuales diversos del acceso carnal con personas menores de 14 años o en su presencia o lo induzca a practicas sexuales, estará sujeto a la pena de 2 a 5 años de prisión" (Art. 305). The age of consent for sexual activity is 12 for woman and 14 years for males. **Costa Rica**: "Será reprimido con prisión de cinco a diez años, el que tuviere acceso carnal con una persona de uno u otro sexo en los siguientes casos: Cuando la víctima fuere menor de doce años [...]" (Art. 156, Penal Code). "Se impondrá prisión de uno a cuatro años, el que tuviere acceso carnal con mujer honesta aun con su consentimiento, mayor de doce años y menor de quince" (Art. 159). In **Jamaica**, "[w]hosoever shall unlawfully and carnally know and abuse any girl under the age of twelve (12) years shall be guilty of felony, and, being convicted thereof, shall be liable to imprisonment for life (Art. 48). "Whosoever shall unlawfully and carnally know and abuse any girl being above the age of twelve (12) years and under the age of sixteen (16) years shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being convicted thereof, shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding seven years" (Art. 50).

the victim is under 15 years old. However, that presumption can be rebutted with evidence if the victim is older than 12 years".

¹⁹ "There doesn't seem to be one specific age of consent to sexual relations. The age of consent to marriage is 14 for girls and 16 for boys. [...] [An] article in the Penal Code criminalises penetrative or non-penetrative sexual acts with a person between 12 and 16 years of age".

²⁰ "The legal age of consent is 21, but the Asian Marriage law, which applies to citizens of Asian descent, puts the age of consent to marriage at 13 years for girls and 14 years for boys".

²¹ "The Sexual Offences Act, 1992-93, made sexual intercourse with a child under the age of 14 a criminal offence; but the minimum legal age of consent is 16".

²² "There is no minimum age for sexual consent but the Family Code sets the minimum age for marriage at 14 years for girls and 16 years for boys".

²³ "Dominican law defines children as persons up to the age of 12 and adolescents as persons aged between 13 and 18. Young women may marry from the age of 15 and young men from the age of 16. There is so far no legislation on the age of sexual consent".

²⁴ "The age of legal consent for sexual activities is sixteen years and the age of marriage is 18. [...] Article 40 of the Penal Code prohibits aggravated assaults on women or children. Under Article 44 carnally knowing, or attempting to carnally know, a girl under twelve is an offence. Article 50 makes it a misdemeanour to have carnal knowledge with a child above 12 but under 16. Article 53 addresses indecent assault on a girl under 16".

²⁵ "The age of marriage varies depending on religious background. Under the Hindu Marriage Act, a girl may marry at age 14 and a boy at 18. Under the Muslim Marriage and Divorce Act a girl may marry at 12 and a boy at 16 whilst under the common law, the ages of marriage are 12 for a girl and 14 for a boy. Parental consent is required for all marriages of minors except in respect of a Hindu girl who has attained the age of 16. Under section 6 of the Sexual Offences Act (1986), it is an offence for a male to have sexual intercourse with a female under the age of 14 years. This is punishable by life imprisonment".

Mexico: “Al que tenga cópula con persona mayor de doce años y menor de dieciocho, obteniendo su consentimiento por medio de engaño, se le aplicará de tres meses a cuatro años de prisión” (Art. 262, Penal Code). **Panamá:**?. **Peru:** “El que practica el acto sexual u otro análogo con menor de catorce (14) años de edad será reprimido con las siguientes penas privativas de libertad: 1.Si la víctima tiene menos de siete años, la pena será de cadena perpetua; 2. Si la víctima tiene de siete años a menos de diez la pena será no menor de veinticinco ni mayor de treinta años. 3.Si la víctima tiene de diez años a menos de catorce la pena será no menor de veinte ni mayor de veinticinco años” (Art. 173, Code Penal). “El que, mediante engaño, practica el acto sexual o otro análogo con una persona de Catorce (14) y menor de dieciocho (18), será reprimido con pena privativa de libertad no mayor de tres años o con prestación de servicio comunitario de treinta a setentiocho jornadas” (Art. 175). **Puerto Rico:** “Every person who, without intending to consummate sexual intercourse, commits any indecent or lewd act with another person shall be punished by imprisonment as provided hereinafter if any of the following circumstances occur: If the victim is under fourteen (14) years of age [...]” (Art. 4067). **Uruguay:**?. **Venezuela:** “” El que por medio de violencias o amenazas hay constreñido a alguna persona, del uno o del otro sexo, a un acto carnal, será castigado con presidio de cinco a diez años. La misma pena se le aplicara al individuo que tenga un acto carnal con persona de uno u otro sexo, que en el momento del delito: No tuviere doce (12) años de edad [...]” (Art. 375, Penal Code).

Early Betrothal / Marriage

The Spanish forbade prepubertal marriage in 1581²⁶. Despite this act, parental selection of marriage partners survived in many indigenous peoples.

Sumner (1906:p382)²⁷ cited reports that of child marriage where “girls of ten are mothers”²⁸. Child betrothal is reported among the **Guaraní** of the Paraná River. “In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law” (Métraux, 1948)²⁹. Child betrothal is also reported among the **Caingúá**, but the girls were said to remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law (*ibid.*). Among the **Ona**, “There was no child betrothal proper” (Cooper, 1946)³⁰. For the **Samaraka**, “[i]n the past, girls were formally betrothed (*kiiá*) well before puberty, and “betrothal in the womb” was an accepted practice, while today mean age at betrothal is only a year or two below age at marriage and child betrothal is unknown” (Price, 1975)³¹. Among the **Warao**, “[t]here were

²⁶ Abendanon, J. H. (1923) Het oud Spaansch koloniaal stelsel [...], *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, & Volkenk Nederlandsch-Indie* [Holland] 79:73-197, at p117

²⁷ Sumner, W. G. (1906) *Folkways*. Boston [etc.]: Ginn & Co.

²⁸ Apparently citing Schomburgk, M. R., *Travels in British Guiana, 1840-1844*. Transl. from the German. I, p122; and also Wickham (1895:p205)

²⁹ Métraux, A. (1948) *The Guaraní*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office

³⁰ Cooper, J. M. (1946) *The Ona*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office

³¹ Price, P. R. (1975) *Samaraka Social Structure: Analysis of a Maroon Society in Surinam*. Rio Piedras: Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico. However, informants indicated that at the time of writing child betrothal was still practised; “[f]urthermore, informants who had lived for years among the Djuka reported that there, where the sex ratio, wage labor patterns, and polygyny frequency are more similar to those of our region a century ago than to those of today, early betrothal (including betrothal in the womb) is still practiced (see R. Price 1970a; Hurault 1961:146, 149)”.

boys who were betrothed to little girls who had not yet reached puberty" (Heinen, [1988])³². Among the Brazilian **Yanomamo**, "[p]arents may also betroth their children while they are still infants" (Early & Peters, 1990)³³. Among the **Cuna**, the premarital four-day debut ceremony is even sometimes given before puberty in the parents' zeal to insure their daughter's having it (Stout, 1947:p34). As for the **Asang**, "[a] girl at a very early age, between eight and nine, is betrothed to a young man, who at once takes up residence in the house of her parents, whom he assists until [...] [she] is old enough to be married, when, without ceremony, they are recognized as man and wife (Pim and Seeman, 1869:p306-7)³⁴. Helms (1971:p85)³⁵ observed that this was no longer customary. The **Aikaná** practised betrothal in childhood, marriage took place after menarche (Becker-Donner, ?p280)³⁶. The same was formerly so in the **Makurap** (p290). The **Bororo** practised rearing marriage (Levak, 1973:p77-8)³⁷.

Psychoanalysis

A number of psychoanalytic journals provide an insight in Latin American academic integration of Freudian measures of "infantile sexuality" and associated concepts. These include the *Revista de Psicoanalisis* (Asociacion Psicoanalitica Argentina), *Tropicos: Revista de Psicoanalisis* (Sociedad Psicoanalitica de Caracas, Venezuela), *Revista Chilena de Psicoanalisis* (Asociacion Psicoanalitica Chilena, Chile), *Revista Uruguaya de Psicoanalisis* (Asociacion Psicoanalitica Del Uruguay), etc. [For a more comprehensive list, see <http://www.apa.org.ar/coleccion.htm>]

[Examples: Vaz-Ferreira, C. (1941) Correlaciones entre los aspectos psicologico, fisiologico, endocrinologico y anatomico de la sexualidad infantil, *Rev Psiquia Uruguay* 6:15-23; Dowling, A. S. (1983) Analisis de una nina en su periodo de latencia, *Rev Psicoanal* 40,2:437-58; Rascovsky, A.

³² Heinen, H. D. ([1988]) *Oko Warao: Marshland People of the Orinoco Delta*. Münster: Lit. Kirchhoff, P. (1946-59) *The Warrau*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office: "The parents of a girl choose a bridegroom at a very early age and hand her over to him at a later period without any further ceremony. From the day of the betrothal, the boy must work for her parents until he reaches manhood, when he takes the girl to the hut he has built. A man may ask a father for his daughter and, if he is accepted, he removes his property to his father-in-law's hut and hunts, fishes, and clears a field for him. The second and third wives are obtained by purchase. When his wife becomes old (20 years), a man takes a little girl of 7 or 8, and his wife instructs her in household duties until she is old enough to marry him".

³³ *Cit. infra*

³⁴ Pim, B. & Seeman, B. (1869) *Dotting on the Roadside, Panama, Nicaragua and Mosquito*. London, p306-7. See also Esquemeling, J. (1893) *The Buccaneers of America*. Edited by H. Powell. London, p253; Conzemius (1932) *Ethnographical Surveu of the Miskito and Sumu Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua*. Washington: Governmental Printing Office, p145, 147; Moravian Church (1898) *Rules and Regulations of the Moskito Mission Province [...]*. Hernhut, p22

³⁵ Helms, M. W. (1971) *Asang*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press

³⁶ Becker-Donner, E. (?) Notizen über einige Stämme an den rechten Zuflüssen des Rio Guaporé, *Archiv Völkerk*, 275-343

³⁷ Levak, Z. D. (1973) *Kinship System and Social Structure of the Bororo of Pobjari*. Dissertation, Yale University

(1993) Consideraciones psicomaticas sobre la evolucion sexual del nino: Paralelismo entre las expresiones psicologicas, fisiologicas y estructurales, *Rev Psicoanal* 50,3:637-84; Litvinoff, H. (1997) Reflexiones sobre la sexualidad femenina, *Rev Psicoanal* 54,1:117-48. See also Nedeff, C. C. (2001) Contribuicoes da sexologia sobre a sexualidade infantil nos dois primeiros anos de vida: uma revisao bibliografica, *Psicologia: Teoria & Pratica* 3,2:83-91; Soifer, R. (1990) Narcisismo, autoerotismo, simbiosis e incesto. Su conexion con las dos formas de relacion objetal en los primeros anos de vida, *Rev Psicoanal* 47,2:335-8; Aberastury, A. (1970) [The importance of genital organization in the initiation of the early Oedipus complex], *Rev Psicoanal* 27,1:5-25]

Ethnographic Particularities

Colombia [IES]

(Kogi, Embera, Cubeo, Kagaba, Tukano, Aritama, Zorcas, Alkatcho)

Two studies were done by Alzate (1978, 1984)³⁸ on female Colombian university students, revealing data on masturbarche and coitarche. Romanowski et al. (1996)³⁹ reported on rural parent-child communication on sexuality using a sample of adults and adolescents. Rodrigues et al.⁴⁰ report on a study of 200 men assessed for treatment of sexual dysfunction in private clinics, arguing in favour of a relationship between childhood and present curiosity about sex. Bonilla and Fernanda-Mejia (1991)⁴¹ found that 400 teenagers (aged 14-19 years) experienced “poor communication with parents [on the topic of sex] because of the fear of being judged, rejected, or misunderstood”. Ebert and Money (1986)⁴² report of a Catholic woman’s development of awareness and acceptance of her children’s sexuality. The subjects own sexual education, her mother’s repressive attitudes, the punitive attitudes of the Catholic Church and Catholic schools, her own developing sexuality, her sexual activities as a young adult, and her interactions with her children are discussed.

Fals Borda (1955:p204)⁴³ stated that “[a]ccording to accounts, the first sexual experiences begin early in adolescence”. This would be slightly over age 15 for married *mestizo* women (Lopez, 1967:p454)⁴⁴. Males indicate a “sort of” virginity complex, the

³⁸ Alzate, H. (1978) Sexual behavior of Colombian university students, *Arch Sex Behav* 7,1:43-54; Alzate, H. (1984) Sexual behavior of unmarried Colombian university students: a 5-year follow-up, *Arch Sex Behav* 13,2:121-32

³⁹ Romanowski, M. P., Cuellar, J. I. & Vargas-Trujillo, E. (1996) Creencias, valores, actitudes y conocimientos sobre sexualidad de un grupo de maestros, padres y adolescentes en un area rural colombiana [Beliefs, values, attitudes and information about sexuality in a group of teachers, parents and adolescents in a Colombian rural area], *Avances en Psicol Clin Latinoam* 14:125-37

⁴⁰ Rodrigues, O. M., Monesi, A. A. & Costa, M. (1991) Curiosidad sexual infantil y adulta: Prevalencia e implicaciones para el tratamiento de las disfunciones sexuales masculinas [Child and adult sexual curiosity: Extent and implications for treatment of male sexual dysfunction], *Rev Latinoam Sexol* 6,1: 45-54

⁴¹ Bonilla, N. & Fernanda-Mejia, L. (1991) Se comunican los adolescentes con sus padres acerca de temas sexuales? [Do adolescents talk to parents about sex?], *Rev Latinoam Sexol* 6,2:151-66

⁴² Ebert, P. & Money, J. (1986) Biografia de la educacion sexual de una madre catolica [Biography of the sexual education of a Catholic mother], *Rev Latinoam Sexol* 1,1:55-65

⁴³ Fals Borda, O. (1955) *Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press

⁴⁴ Lopez, A. (1967) Some Notes on Fertility Problems in a Colombian Semi-Urban Community, *Demography* 4,2:453-63

experienced coach the virgos. In Cartagena area Colombia, boys have intercourse practice with donkeys (Brongersma, 1987:p129)⁴⁵. This “donkey theme” is confirmed by Streicker⁴⁶:

“Since women's virginity and monogamy are so jealously guarded, many boys' first sexual experience is with a marica [“faggot”, passive homosexual] or a female donkey (burra). Though a large, rapidly growing city, Cartagena's anemic economy still has room for burros as transportation (especially in the scavenging and construction trades). Where there are burras, there are boys. The power dynamics of sex with donkeys are even clearer than in male-to-male sex: female consent, initiative, and pleasure are simply not issues. Boys/men exert an absolute power over the females, usually immobilizing the animals' hind legs with rope or a belt. [...] What determines proper sexuality for men is not necessarily heterosexuality, although this is the ideological norm, but rather requires that the man initiate relations, seek his own pleasure, and in doing so demonstrate his supremacy over inferiors. An anecdote illustrates this proposition. Two four-year-old boys, cousins, were left alone at home for an hour or so by one of the boys' fathers. When Pepe, returned his son claimed that the cousin had tried to “fuck” him. Pepe was furious. He immediately informed his brother, Raul, the other little boy's father. While Raul spanked his son for the attempted rape, Pepe beat his little boy for being a marica. Pepe's wife, mother, and assorted female neighbors blamed the little boy's rape attempt on his parents' sexual laxity: Raul was lazy, often staying at home and having sex with his wife during the day rather than working, and the boy had witnessed this through a hole in the door. Rather than search for a little girl, the boy took advantage of an opportunity, but thereby also embodying (unconsciously?) the political logic of local male sexuality. Witnessing heterosexual relations does not necessarily make little boys want to experience heterosex, but to perform penetrative sex”.

Solano and Gonzalez (1987)⁴⁷ studied the sexual attitudes and knowledge of female teachers in government and private preschool institutions in Barranquilla, Colombia. Subjects completed a sexual attitudes and knowledge inventory, and mean scores for various groups were compared [note: not seen by the compiler. It was not established whether the “attitudes” and “knowledge” pertains to child matters].

[Additional refs: Gonzáles, J. M. et al. (2001) Colombia, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.in chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. 4. New York: Continuum. Online ed.; CRLP (1997) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Latin America and the Caribbean*, p69-90. Also *Progress Report*, 2000, p30-8; Restrepo Angel, H. E., Awad Audad, E. L., Correa-Molina, G. S., Gonzalez-Soto, M. D. et al. (1988) Educacion sexual en las familias de adolescentes escolarizados del area metropolitana del Valle de Aburra [Sex education in families of high school students of the metropolitan area of the Aburra Valley], *Rev Latinoam Sexol* 3,1:25-41; Fomez-Ponce-de-Leon, R. F. (1994) Educacion sexual en la adolescencia, *Rev Latinoam Sexol* 9,1:31-48]

⁴⁵ Brongersma, E. (1987) *Jongensliefde*, Deel 1. Amsterdam: SUA. Brongersma Foundation was said to possess a videotape of the custom, although it may have been confiscated by the police after his death.

⁴⁶ Streiker, J. (1993) Sexuality, Power, and Social Order in Cartagena, Colombia, *Ethnology* 32,4:359-74

⁴⁷ Solano, A. L. & Gonzalez, J. M. (1987) Actitudes y conocimientos ante la sexualidad en educadoras preescolares de hogares infantiles I.C.B.F. y jardines infantiles privados de la ciudad de Barranquilla [Sexual attitudes and knowledge of female preschool teachers in government preschool institutions and private kindergartens in the city of Barranquilla], *Rev Latinoam Sexol* 2,1:57-78

Kogi (Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, northern Colombia) (eHRAF)

In some Sierra Nevada tribes, both girls and boys were initiated to sexual intercourse by an older adult (Park, p883)⁴⁸. Reichel-Dolmatoff (1951)⁴⁹ provides a reasonably elaborate account of the sexual climate of the Kogi child.

First two years:

"From the first days of their lives, the sexual organs of the babies are covered carefully, and every day the mother repeats this act very demonstratively, drawing the cloths of the clothing between the child's legs. Constant threats accompany the children in this regard during the first two years: "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" [see also p283-4].

Two to six (p219-20):

"[T]he 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. Both parents nevertheless try to avoid having the children observe the sexual activities of the adults, and since these are carried out almost solely at night and outside the house, the children evidently do not have any occasion to learn about them. [...] [C]hildren five or six years old are frequently subjected to sexual aggression by adults; and homosexual relations between children and adolescents of both sexes occur, although they are strictly prohibited and severely punished in case they are discovered. Upon finding themselves with persons who are not known, children about two years old already cover or touch their sexual organs, which the Kogi interpret as a means of defense. In reality it is more probably a means of self-assurance in new situations, and the same phenomenon is later observed among the adults, although at times they substitute for the sexual organ some object which they manipulate with the fingers".

From six to twelve:

"Infantile sexuality is watched more and more by the adults during these years, and the increase of the instinct sometimes causes serious difficulties between father and son. Nonetheless, the boys 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, but their imagination in this regard is based principally on the fragments of songs and myths which they have heard in the ceremonial house. The symbolism of these, in which sexuality, aggressiveness, and concern about food are constantly intermixed, seems to cause serious worries in this stage of childhood".

Parental attitudes to masturbation are contradicting (p284-5):

"Masturbatory manipulations by male children are regarded as a serious danger to the sexuality of the father and, it is said, lead to the End of the World. The same is said with reference to girls, but in this case it does not affect the parents magically, but rather the health of the girl herself.

⁴⁸ Park, W. Z., Tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia, *Bull Bureau Am Ethnol* 143[I]. Stewart, J. H. (Ed.) *Handbook of South American Indians*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office. Vol. 2, p865-86

⁴⁹ Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. (1951) *The Kogi: A Tribe of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia*. Vol. 2. Bogota: Editorial Iqueima

Masturbation is thus regarded as “very bad” and is severely sanctioned with physical punishment. It might be that the father himself beats the child on his buttocks with a stick, or it might also be that he would take him before the M^áma, who punishes him by “kneeling” him. It is above all the fathers who are concerned about the masturbation of their children; the mothers do not take it so seriously, and at times they do not tell their husbands anything when they discover a child in this act. Even at 3-4 years old, the mothers frequently masturbate their children in order to calm them and make them sleep. This occurs without the knowledge of the father, who, should he find out about it, would not hesitate to denounce his wife and child before the M^áma. In the following years masturbation increases, especially among the males; its strict prohibition and the fear of castration and of severe punishments cause a marked anxiety among the young men. During adolescence and maturity, masturbatory practices continue, even though the individual is married”.

At puberty (ages 11-12), the boy is given a gourd in a ceremony that includes a symbolic defloration.

The M^áma talks to him “about the future sexual relations between man and woman”, and has a ceremonial coitus with an old woman. “The rite represents essentially the introduction of the individual to sexual life. It is natural that the symbolism of the ceremony, the beginning of the slow intoxication of cocaine and, above all, the tremendous experience of the first coitus cause a profound impression at this age”.

After menache,

“It is the duty of the mothers to teach their daughters what behavior is to be observed when the first menstruation appears, and they are responsible if this behavior is not observed. [...] Then the M^áma divines who should deflower the girl. Generally this is an “Elder”, a man who is not related to her, but many times the M^áma himself performs this act. The man, or the M^áma, then builds a small house (nyuúji hubé -- the house of the bat), where the first coitus is to take place. On the previous day the M^áma gives the girl a spindle wheel and a needle of deer bone (sometimes made out of its antlers) and explains to the girl that these two implements represent male and female sexual organs. Both objects are placed in the little house, and after the coitus the girl gathers them up and keeps them carefully since they are the sewá which now allow her to marry. Coitus must be repeated for four days, and it is said that the hymen should be broken gradually and not in the first act, since otherwise the girl would be sterile in her marriage. Upon leaving the little house, the man touches the girl’s navel with the point of the little lime stick, an act with which the initiation is considered ended. The man who performed the defloration, and who is regarded as “hired” by the girl’s family, now receives from her parents some gifts of food, such as yuca, platanos, or potatoes. The M^áma fumigates the woman’s house for several days, burning frailejon leaves” (p39-40).

Reichel-Dolmatoff (1987:p106-7)⁵⁰:

“In Kogi myth the Great Mother sexually initiates her son; in real life, a Kogi youth is initiated by an old woman (no kin) in a cave or in a specially built beehive-shaped hut, a deeply disturbing experience, from what people say. Many Kogi say that they were initiated by their own mothers but this is doubtful or may be related to the mother-wife equivalence Kogi men are likely to establish. It is significant in this context that the word for woman [...], which is used in familiar conversation instead of sewá, means wife, and is the same word for daughter [...]. Of course, both

⁵⁰ Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. (1987) The Great Mother and the Kogi universe: a concise overview, *J Latin Am Lore* 13,1:73-113

terms are related to munsá, meaning vagina or “dawn of creation”. Kogi girls, at reaching puberty, are sexually initiated by a priest who is a father figure”.

Reichel-Dolmatoff (1976)⁵¹:

“Ideally, a Kogi priest should divest himself of all sensuality and should practice sexual abstinence [52], but this prohibition is contradicted in part by the rule that all nubile girls must be deflowered by the máma who, alone, has the power to neutralize the grave perils of pollution that according to the Kogi are inherent in this act. Similar considerations demand that, at puberty, a boy should be sexually initiated by the máma’s wife or, in some cases, by an old woman specially designated by the máma. During the puberty ritual of a novice, the master’s wife thus initiates the youth, an experience fraught with great anxiety and which is often referred to in later years as a highly traumatic event” (p280).

The same is said by Pruess (1926)⁵³ for the Cagaba:

“For the boy, as soon as the time for sexual intercourse has arrived [puberty?], packets of the stones [...] and [...] are readied, and a widow is chosen by the priest to teach him the method of co-habitation. She is called [...] (teaching old woman), [...] thus again a magical act, as is also expressed in the teaching of the temple novices. For each individual case a little hut, which is the same as the christening and wedding huts, is built for this purpose. But it is only called hutsukua (little hut). The same was formerly done by an “old one” ([...], the teaching old man) with a girl after the first menstruation”.

The trial is reported to be terrifying to the boy and it is often several days before he succeeds, only after which he is allowed to leave the hut (cf., Whiting et al. [1958:p367])⁵⁴.

So also by Park (d1965:p883)⁵⁵:

“Formerly, at the end of seclusion [after the onset of puberty], Cágaba and Ica girls were initiated into the sexual act by older experienced men. It is said that this practice is no longer followed. [...] Boys are given a lime container (pororo) at puberty and initiated into the sexual act by older women, usually widows. No other observation of boys’ passage into manhood has been reported”.

⁵¹ Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. (1976) Training for the priesthood among the Kogi of Colombia, in Wilbert J. (Ed.) *Enculturation in Latin America: An Anthology*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, p265-88

⁵² A boy who is to become a priest is selected or escluded, at least partially, on this basis, following from a passage that could also be read in an opposite way.

⁵³ Preuss, K. Th. (1926) *Journey of Exploration to the Cagaba*. St. Gabriel-Mödling bei Wien: Administration des “Anthropos”

⁵⁴ 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

⁵⁵ Park, W. Z., Tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia, *Bull Bureau Am Ethnol* 143[I]. Stewart, J. H. (Ed.) *Handbook of South American Indians*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office. Vol. 2, p865-86

Embera (Colombia)

According to Losonczy (1993)⁵⁶, the beginning of the menstrual cycle marks the opening of the feminine body to “a cosmic movement, focused on the capacity of childbearing”. The girl in the ambiguous transitional phase between childhood and maturity is represented in initiation rites as an accomplice, seductress, and nurturer of supernatural beings. This transitional status must culminate in marriage and maternity to sustain the cosmic movement of production and reproduction.

Cubeo (2-,2-,3,2+,3,3,3;G3) (northwest Amazon; Vaupés region of the Colombian Amazon)

Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are “shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy” (Goldman, 1963:p181)⁵⁷. “Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, “You are a woman”. The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebiko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon)” (p179-80).

Kagaba (Colombia)

Gregersen (1983:p273) states: “Children of about five or six are frequently subjected to sexual advances by adults, so there seems to have been an exceptionally high incidence of paedophilia”.

Tukano, Vaupé (Colombia) (eHRAF)

Da Silva (1962:p592)⁵⁸, on the Colombian Vaupés:

⁵⁶ Losonczy, A. M. (1993) La Nourrice d'Esprits. La Jeune Fille chez les Indiens Embera du Choco (Colombie), *Cahiers Litt Orales* 34:157-76

⁵⁷ Goldman, I. (1963) *The Cubeo*. Urbana: University of Illinois

⁵⁸ Da Silva, P. (1962) *The Indigenous Civilization of the Uaupés*. Sao Paulo: Centro de Pesquisas de Iauareté

"[...] the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation [...]. How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult. The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents".

Da Siva also noted public mutual masturbation by boys (p181), although officially, homosexuality only occurs in the puberty rites for boys. 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 [...]".

Initiation, more than marriage, means "passage from the asexual world of childhood to the sexual world of adults (Hugh-Jones, 1979a, 1979b:p110)⁵⁹, or "the beginning of the participation in the circuit of sexual energy" (H-J [1971]). "The rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly" (Da Silva), which may also be true for girls (p671). However, "[b]oys approaching initiation are sometimes involved in homosexual teasing which takes place in hammocks in public [...]" (H-J, 1979a:p160). Arhem (1981)⁶⁰:

"Between the first and second menstruations, a shaman performs protective magic for her. During this time, she is also taught the role and duties of an adult and married woman. After her second menstruation, the shaman starts to bless food in the usual sequence. The girl gradually returns to normal life and eating habits. When her hair has grown long again, she is considered an adult woman. She may now have sexual relations with men and is free to marry".

"The male initiate is taught that physical strength, fierceness and sexual aggressivity are the essence of manhood. In fact, the period following upon the main Jurupari ritual at the culmination of the male initiation is considered the proper time for marriage among the Makuna. It is also during this period that the young men learn the male skills and crafts that are required of them in order to take a wife. In practice, young, initiated men are not considered entirely adult until they are married".

"Male sexuality is so very much linked to ritual that it seems unjust to separate them. An example is the ritual of Yuruparí, in which the initiates are openly compared to menstruating women, ritually imitating the loss of menstrual blood, dying, and being reborn (Hugh-Jones, 1974)⁶¹. Menstrual and initiation rites are full of physiological sexual references. "The initiates' potential role in sexual reproduction is stressed, but the low position and small size of their flutes

⁵⁹ Hugh-Jones, Ch. (1979a) *From the Milk River*. Cambridge University Press

⁶⁰ Arhem, K. (1981) *Makuna Social Organization*. Uppsala; Stockholm, Sweden: Academiae Upsaliensis;

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⁶¹ Hugh-Jones, S. (1974) *Male initiation and Cosmology among the Barasana Indians of the Vaupés area of Colombia*. Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University

emphasises the newness and immaturity of their adult physiology. The flutes have a phallic aspect (shown both in myth and in the rite itself where they are blown over the boys' naked penises) and by using them the boys are opening their own penises" (Hugh-Jones, 1979a:p147).

During initiation, sexual intercourse is forbidden (Hugh-Jones, 1979b:p85)⁶². Girls should remain virgins till first menstruation and boys until after initiation (p201).

In one myth, "[t]he Daughter of the Sun had not yet reached puberty when her father made love to her. The Sun committed incest with her at Wainambí Rapids, and her blood flowed forth; since then, women must lose blood every month in remembrance of the incest of the Sun and so that this great wickedness will not be forgotten. But his daughter liked it and so she lived with her father as if she were his wife. She thought about sex so much that she became thin and ugly and lifeless. Newly married couples become pale and thin because they only think of the sexual act, and this is called *gamúri*. But when the Daughter of the Sun had her second menstruation, the sex act did harm to her and she did not want to eat anymore. She lay down on a rock, dying; her imprint there can still be seen on a large boulder at Wainambí Rapids. When the Sun saw this, he decided to make *gamú bayári*, the invocation that is made when the girls reach puberty. The Sun smoked tobacco and revived her. Thus, the Sun established customs and invocations that are still performed when young girls have their first menstruation" (Reichel-Dolmatoff, [1971:p28-9])⁶³. "[...] the 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" (*Amazonian Cosmos*, p245).

Aritama (Northern Colombia)

Reichel-Dolmatoff and Reichel-Dolmatoff (1961:p87, 96)⁶⁴: "The genitals of babies are frequently touched and rubbed in a playful manner by adults and children, not only when nursing but on any other occasion. Male children especially are handled in such a fashion, and often a mother can be seen kissing her infant's penis or fondling it to quiet

⁶² Hugh-Jones, S. (1979b) *The Palm and the Pleiades*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press

⁶³ Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. ([1971]) *Amazonian Cosmos*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. More myths refer to menarche: "Another aspect of *Vai-mahsē* and, perhaps, the most important, is his sexual interest in human beings. *Vai-mahsē* pursues women, especially those who have not yet reached puberty, and waits for an occasion to violate them. [...] No young girl who has not yet reached puberty should go near these places because *Vai-mahsē* will cause her to have a painful first menstruation. This is because the normal cycle will be interrupted by the influence of *Vai-mahsē*. Women who go near the hills or walk alone in the forest risk the same danger".

⁶⁴ Reichel-Dolmatoff, G. & Reichel-Dolmatoff, A. (1961) *The People of Aritama*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

his crying. Adults make joking remarks about the future virility of the baby, about the size of his penis, and about his reactions to such caresses". Further (p96):

"As children are able to observe the sex life of adults, they soon try to imitate it, and at about four or five years boys and girls imitate coitus in the presence of adults. Such behavior is not punished, as people believe it is quite natural in children. Masturbation is common at about three years and is always severely punished by slaps and threats of castration, accompanied by the showing of knives and scissors to scare the child. All adults and older children are obliged to denounce masturbatory practices of younger children immediately to the parents. All this in spite of the fact that mothers quite often masturbate their children when putting them to sleep. A certain tendency to exhibitionism is observed in boys between two and five years. During these ages "urinating contests"- in which the boys vie to see who can come nearest a target with his stream of urine- are common. Or, in the presence of parents and other people, the boys will try to urinate into a bottle, or will persecute a girl by trying to urinate on her dress. These "show-offs" are laughed at by the adults, and rather encouraged, but at five years of age the sexes are separated at play, both boys and girls tending to form their own play-groups, without mixing".

Zorcas (Cauca Valley, Colombia)

According to Beals (1961:p601)⁶⁵, after betrothal in infancy marriage was consummated at first menstruation, although betrothed infants "sleep together in the girls' home".

Alkatcho (British Colombia)

Goldman (1963:p369)⁶⁶: "[...] coitus was thought to be required by all just pre-pubescent children to promote physical growth. Young boys were told by their older age-group, "you better catch a woman pretty soon or you won't grow". It was also believed that defloration was necessary to bring on the first menses in girls".

⁶⁵ Beals, C. (1961) Sex life in Latin America, in Ellis, A. & Abarbanel, A. (Eds.) *The Encyclopaedia of Sexual Behavior, Volume 2*. London: W. Heinemann, p599-613

⁶⁶ Goldman, I. (1963) The Alkatcho carrier of British Colombia, in Linton, R. (Ed.) *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smit, p333-89

Venezuela / República de Venezuela

(Yaruros, Guajiro, Warao, Yanoama)

When Afro-Venezuelan children get older, girls and boys are segregated; then the father may develop some interest in his sons, who are taught the values of the macho world, while the girls remain under the influence of their mother⁶⁷. The transition from childhood to adulthood takes place “very quickly” and is not marked by initiation rites. Havelock Ellis cites Ernst⁶⁸ in the observation of early masturbation among Spanish creoles.

Yaruros (Venezuela)

Petrullo (1939:p230-2)⁶⁹ excuses himself of not knowing “anything” about the sexual development of the Yaruro boy and girl. He “does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the unmarried do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men”. The sexes are kept apart from infancy, and the girl is geared toward future marriage. “The children are not kept in sexual ignorance. At least the boys seem to learn something of the sexual functions at an early age. From what I have observed of Yaruro camp life, it seems that no attempt was made to keep knowledge of sex and sexual functions away from the children. In the first place, there is no sense of modesty so far as the sexual parts are concerned [...]. Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngster to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether”. Upon reaching puberty, 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 [...]”.

⁶⁷ Pollak-Eltz, A. (1979) Socialization of Children among Afro-Venezuelans, *Int Soc Sci J* 31,3:470-6

⁶⁸ Ernst (1870) Anthropological researches on the population of Venezuela, *Memoirs Anthropol Soc* 3, [p277]; Ellis ([1925:p207])

⁶⁹ Petrullo, V. (1939) *The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River, Venezuela*. Washington: Government Printing Office

Guajiro (Venezuela) (Goajiro: 2+,3,3-,3,3,3;1,1)

Girls after menarche receive “instructions with respect to sexual [...] activities, such as how to prepare and use contraceptives [...]” (Watson-Franke, 1982:p452; 1976)⁷⁰. These contraceptives would be administered even during the seclusion, part of the initiation called *majayuraa*.

In Guajiro 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)⁷¹. 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.

“Virtually from the time a girl can walk, she is taught to keep physical distance from boys and men. [...] If she is seen talking to boys she is scolded sharply; if this pattern is repeated she may be slapped or beaten. The girl is told by her mother that sex is “evil” and “dangerous”. [...] She is warned that sexual experimentation will not only be severely punished but will seriously damage her future. Even if the merest suspicion of sexual transgression on her part (to say nothing of actual detection for sexual deviation) brings in its wake immediate sanction. This usually takes the form of a beating or whipping, but if the offense is a serious one the mother may place the tip of a hot banding iron on the girl’s vagina to make the punishment a convincing object lesson. This, it is believed, will effectively deter any repetition of the transgression. Adult female informants expressed the opinion that if a tendency to engage in clandestine sexual activity is not checked in its beginning stages, the girl will develop an uncontrolled craving to have sexual intercourse with men for the sheer pleasure of it, becoming a kind of “whore who takes no money for her services. [though some rationalise their behaviour in terms of premarital purity and the “good name of the family and lineage”] [...] Like other forms of sexual behavior, masturbation is severely punished in a girl for it is believed to create in her an irreversible urge to have sexual intercourse. [...] On another stated: “If the girl likes to play with her vagina the mother puts gloves on her hands which have been sprinkled with a hot peppery substance. [...] sexual socialization is even more severe for a high-ranking girl than for one from an ordinary family. Such a girl is subjected to a particularly long period of confinement when she reaches puberty

⁷⁰ Watson-Franke, M. (1982) Seclusion huts and social balance in Guajiro society, *Anthropos* 77:449-60; Watson-Franke, M. (1976) To learn for tomorrow, in Wilbert, J. (Ed.) *Enculturation in Latin America: An Anthology*. Los Angeles: Latin American Center, University of California, p191-211

⁷¹ Watson, L. C. (1972) Sexual Socialization in Guajiro Society, *Ethnology* 11,2:150-6

(sometimes exceeding five years), during which she must endure close and almost suffocating surveillance to ensure her virginity” ”.

Girls may be “checked” digitally if under suspicion. Nothing is said about male sexual socialisation.

“The 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” (p155).

[Additional refs.: Faust, B. B. (1998) Cacao Beans and Chili Peppers: Gender Socialization in the Cosmology of a Yucatec Maya Curing Ceremony, *Sex Roles* 39,7/8:603-42]

Warao (Orinoco Delta, Venezuela) (Warrau: 2,2,2,2,-,-;-,-,-)

Moreno (1945)⁷² speaks of “moral bankruptcy”:

“Absolute nakedness, laziness, sexual promiscuity, the mixing of the larger ones with the little ones, the liberty of both in their actions, conversations, and looks, awaken infantile curiosity in such a way and in such proportions that they see everything, watch everything, hear everything, peep into everything, know everything, and end up by doing everything; in a word, they are initiated from the time they are little and know the mysterious secrets of life, this moral catastrophe thus being in part provoked by their own parents” (p271).

“Thus there is no girl seven or eight years old who has not lived with boys of her age and even with adult Indian men” (p272). The Warao, before the influences of missionaries, practised betrothal in early childhood. “— One scarcely finds girls eight or nine years old who have not been violated. In 1930 we took to the Misión de Araguaimujo a girl 12 years old who had already had seven husbands, those who had had her having baptized her with the honorable name of “Samaritana” (samaritan). Afterwards she was very good, decent, and industrious” (p294). Because of the bragging of adults over infidelities, the children become “as versed in certain secrets as is the most expert student of physiology”. However, “With regard to children and young people, no great moral aberrations have been observed in the rancherías” (p295).

Suárez (1968)⁷³:

“One way to ensure these alliances among the Warao in the region of Güinikina consists of leading up to them by long matrimonial engagements between a still adolescent boy, or a grown man, and a girl who has not yet entered upon adolescence. It is expected, in order to consummate the marriage, that the girl will be ready for marriage at the time of the rite of initiation that accompanies her first menstrual period”.

⁷² Turrado Moreno, A. (1945) *Ethnography of the Guarauno Indians*. Caracas: Lit. y Tip. Vargas

⁷³ Suárez, M. M. (1968) *The Warao: Natives of the Orinoco Delta*. Caracas: Departamento de Antropología, Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas. HRAF MS

This is also maintained by Wilbert (1972)⁷⁴:

“All Warao men and women consider marriage to be a most natural concomitant of a person’s life. Although a young girl may be promised into wedlock at an early age, the marriage may not be consummated before her first menstruation”.

Yanomamö / Yano[m]ama / Waika (Venezuela, Brazil) (-,-,-,-,3,3;5,5;G3)

The inability to code the Yanomamo was due to Chagnon’s⁷⁵ silence. Becher (1960:p140-1)⁷⁶, on a *Yanoama* tribe:

“It is especially popular to play “mother and child” or “married couple”. In the latter game sexual activity is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls”.

Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1976:p98, quoted by Schiefenhövel, 1982:p158)⁷⁷ observed (and taped) the following among the Yanomamö:

“Zuerst erheiterte es die Mutter, indem sie mit aufgesetzten Lippen auf seinen Bauch blies, worüber der Kleine [Säugling] herzlich lachte. Dann rieb sie ihre Stirn an der seinen, dann hob sie ihn hoch und schüttelte ihn und lutschte danach lange an seinem kleinen Penis. Das [5-year-old] Brüderchen schaute zu, und als die Mutter den Säugling rücklings auf ihren Schoß legte, da lutschte er auch kurz und betappte zärtlich seinen Bruder”⁷⁸.

Little boys play with their fathers’ penis until erection. Gregor (1995:p29)⁷⁹ mentions the game of *Kanupai* (“taking a wife”, marrying), and *Ukitsapai* (“being jealous”). The latter game involves the children sneaking off on cross-marital assignations, “only to be surprised by furious spouses”. Lizot (1976 [1982:p49-56])⁸⁰ also pictures a busy sexual life for children, including sodomy, bestiality (fish, birds), heterosexual seduction, and

⁷⁴ Wilbert, J. (1972) The fishermen: the Warao of the Orinoco Delta, in Wilbert, J. (Ed.) *Survivors of Eldorado: Four Indian Cultures of South America*. New York: Praeger, p65-115

⁷⁵ Chagnon, N. A. (1968) *Yanomamö. The Fierce People*. NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

⁷⁶ Becher, H. (1960) *The Surara and Pakidai, Two Yanoama Tribes in Northwest Brazil*. Hamburg: Kommissionsverlag Cram, De Gruyter & Co

⁷⁷ 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

⁷⁸ Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I. (1971) *Liebe und Hass*. München: Piper. Dutch transl., *Liefde en Haat*. Amsterdam: Ploegsma, p208

⁷⁹ Gregor, Th. (1985) *Anxious Pleasures: The Sexual Lives of an Amazonian People*. Chicago: Chicago University Press

⁸⁰ Lizot, J. (1976) *Le Cercle des Feux*. Paris: Editions du Seuil. Used here is the 1982 German Translation, *Im Kreis der Feuer*

genital friction with the earth. Tierney⁸¹, however, alleges that French anthropologist Jacques Lizot sexually exploited Yanomami adolescent boys and girls⁸². (Lizot says any sexual relationships he had in the Amazon were consensual and only involved adults.) Peters (1984:p158) for the **Shirishana**: "Periodically a boy may be teased about his rigid or stubby penis. By the end of this stage [4-8] both boys and girls are aware of sex, having heard older tribespeople discuss the subject, or seen a fisticuff duel precipitated by an "illicit" sexual encounter. They have laughed at dogs copulating and a few youngsters have seen older Yanomama heterosexual pairs have intercourse. The young males have seen, handled and joked about the genitals of the tapir, peccary and monkey shot in the forest". Sexual favors are demanded after puberty "and in a few isolated instances before puberty" (p159). Specifically: "Though not common, there have been instances of prepuberty coitus among the Yanomama". Most men have experienced sex by age 18, particularly during festivals, but he risks the retraction of the betrothed girl by her family. The girl is told "forcefully" to submit to her husband's sexual wishes. Generally, however, cohabitation takes place between age 23-28 (males), and several months to one year after a girl's puberty rite (1987:p88).

In a study by Early and Peters (1990)⁸³ on the **Mucajai** group, cohabitation, which is prearranged by the girl's parents, is said to begin sometime within two years following menstruation, taking place at an average age of 12.4 years⁸⁴. Betrothal may take place in infancy.

"The girl may live with her family for up to 2 years after the puberty rite. The families decide when cohabitation should begin. Her family invites the young man to whom she has been betrothed and his family for an extended hunting-gathering trip in the jungle. One day the girl's mother remains behind while the rest of the group is foraging. She removes the hammock of the young man from its place with his family and ties it above the girl's hammock among those of her own family. When the young man returns, he feigns surprise and reclines in his relocated hammock. The girl reclines

⁸¹ Tierney, P. (2000) *Darkness in El Dorado*. New York: Norton. Cf. Proctor, R. N. (2000) Anthropologists under fire, *Nature* 408:137-9; Shermer, M. (2001) Spin-Doctoring the Yanomamo, *Skeptic* 9,1:36 et seq.; Bower, B. (2001) Rumble in the Jungle, *Science News*, 01/27/2001; 159,4:58 et seq.; Smith, G. (2000) Atrocities in the Amazon? *Business Week*, 12/18/2000; 3712:21; Roosevelt, M., Hoag, Ch., McLaughlin, L. & Smith, S. V. (2000) Yanomami What Have We Done to Them? *Time*, 10/02/2000; 156,14:77 et seq.

⁸² A October 11, 2001 *Preliminary Report on the Neel / Chagnon Allegations* by the University of California Santa Barbara, not specifically addressing Lizot's case, did not refute this allegation (p79). See further Jane H. Hill (University of Arizona Tucson, Arizona), in *American Anthropological Association El Dorado Task Force Papers Volume II*. Submitted to the Executive Board as a Final Report, May 18, 2002, p101-3, stating Tierney's data are "well-founded" and backed up by independent sources.

⁸³ Early, J. D. & Peters, J. F. (1990) *The Poulation Dynamics of the Mucajai Yanomama*. San Diego, Calif.: Academic Press. Cf. Peters, J. F. (1971) Mate selection among the Shirishana, *Pract Anthropol* 18,1; Peters, J. F. (1975) Polyandry among the Yanomama Shirishana, *J Comparat Fam Stud* 7,2:197-207; Peters, J. F. (1980) The Chirishana of the Yanomama: a demographic study, *Soc Biol* 27,1:272-85; Peters, J. F. (1984) Role socialization through the life cycle of the Yanomama: the developmental approach to the study of family in a preliterate society, *J Comparat Fam Stud* 15,2:151-74; Peters, J. F. (1987) Yanomama mate selection and marriage, *J Comparat Fam Stud* 18,1:79-98. According to Peters, the infant girl ("at least before age 3", in one case before birth) is betrothed to a male 8 to 20, or even 40 years her senior.

⁸⁴ Becher (1960:p66): 9-10; Cocco (1972:p274): 12-14. See Zerries (p763), *cit. infra*

in hers and this symbolizes the onset of cohabitation. As the girl is still young and often afraid, coitus may not occur for 2-6 weeks, until she has been instructed and encouraged by her mother. The young man takes up residence with the girl's family and provides game for them (p41-2)".

Among the Indians of the Orinoco-Ventuari region of southern Venezuela, "[s]ometimes parents marry off their children before they reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed. [...] The first menstrual period indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons" (Wilbert, 1963:p87-8)⁸⁵.

The preputium is tied with a string around the waist from around age 7 (Zerries, 1985:p760)⁸⁶. Among the central Yanoama of the Upper-Orinoco⁸⁷, girls are allied, on a free basis (*siohamo*) or *per raptam* (*shai*), to their husbands before menstruation (age 9, 10), and await marriage at puberty (p766, 769).

Layrisse (1962:p82)⁸⁸, on the **Waica**: "Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation".

Wilbert (1963:p87-8)⁸⁹, on the **Sanema**: "The first menstrual period indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons. [...] Sometimes parents marry off their children before they reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed. We have mentioned that an adult may marry a very young girl, but must not have sexual relations with her until after the first menstrual periods".

⁸⁵ Wilbert, J. (1963) *The Sanema*. Caracas: Fundación La Salle de Ciencias Naturales [eHRAF]

⁸⁶ Zerries, O. (1985) Pubertät und Heirat bei einem außerandinen Indianervolk Südamerikas, den Yanoama im Granzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien, in Müller, E. W. (Ed.) *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung*. München: K. Alber, p759-75

⁸⁷ Cf. Zerries, O. & Schuster, M. (1974) *Mahekodotedi*. München. Vol. II, p134-44

⁸⁸ Layrisse, M. (1962) Blood group antigen tests of the Waica Indians of Venezuela, *Southwestern J Anthropol* 18:78-93

⁸⁹ *Op.cit.*

British Guiana / Guyana

Smith (1956:p136)⁹⁰ noted that British Guiana boys or 12 or 13 might begin to demonstrate “sex antagonism” by pulling girls’ breasts and then running away.

Guyana

(→*Wai-Wai*)

Additional refs.:

-- Kempadoo, O. (1998) *Buxton Spice*. London: Phoenix House

⁹⁰ Smith, R. T. (1956) *The Negro Family in British Guiana*. New York [etc.]: Routledge Kegan Paul

Suriname

(Ndyuka, Saramakans)

According to observations by Kloos-Andriaansen (1974:p63-74)⁹¹, no formal education was given to children. Infantile masturbation was not commented upon; thereafter, clothing would prevent manipulation. Masturbation is not noted in public. Heterosexual interests are distracted, while no data were available on punishments.

Adults hardly discuss sex with children (Tiemersma, 1996:p24-5)⁹²; in fact, throughout the Caribbean sexual information may typically be gathered "informally" (*ibid.*, p55-6). Buschkens ventures that parents fear that children disrespect them if they would (cf., Helman, 1977a:p260-1⁹³; Lamur et al., 1990:p25⁹⁴; Distelbrink, 1994:p143)⁹⁵; the same would be true for teachers (as cited by Tiemersma, 1995:p15)⁹⁶. Thus, sex education in schools is rather modest (Lamur et al., 1990). The attitude to the importance of sexual education differed substantially as compared with Creole immigrants to Holland (Distelbrink, p151 *and refs.*).

Coitarche occurs at ages 14.3 for boys and 16.3 for girls; the Creole group is below this figure (15.3) with 14.8 (T., 1996:p25); ages have lowered considerably over the past decades as is suggested by cohort differences. According to Wekker (1994:p103)⁹⁷, a widespread idea exists that children "are sexual beings and have sexual knowledge from a very young age". Apparently, sex is done, and not talked about: "Children see and listen, and "are not stupid" " (*ibid.*, p157). Indeed, children may not understand everything they see (e.g., R. van Lier, 1986:p58)⁹⁸. The arrangement of domestic space leaves little room for privacy so that children observe parental activities from early age

⁹¹ Kloos-Andriaansen, A. C. (1974) *Kinderen van Galibi*. University of Amsterdam [Dutch]

⁹² Tiemersma, K. (1996) *Erotiek en Zonde: Seksualiteit in het Afro-Caribische Gebied*. University of Utrecht, The Netherlands [Dutch]

⁹³ Helman, A. (1977a) *Cultureel Mozaïek van Suriname*. Zutphen [Holland]: Walburg [Dutch]

⁹⁴ Lamur, H. et al. (1990) *Caribische Vrouwen en Anticonceptie*. Delft: Eburon. See also Lamur, Sh. (1987) *Anticonceptie en Sexualiteit bij Surinaamse Meisjes*. University of Amsterdam [Dutch]

⁹⁵ Distelbrink, M. (1994) Opvoeding in Surinaams-Creoolse gezinnen, in Pels, T. (Ed.) *Opvoeding in Chinese, Marokkaanse en Surinaams-Creoolse Gezinnen*. Rotterdam [Holland]: ISEO, p133-67 [Dutch]

⁹⁶ Tiemersma, K. (1995) *Safe Sex*. Diss., University of Utrecht, The Netherlands

⁹⁷ Wekker, G. (1994) *Ik Ben een Gouden Munt, Ik Ga Door Vele Handen, Maar Verlies Mijn Waarde Niet*. Amsterdam: VITA [Dutch]

⁹⁸ Van Lier, R. (1986) *Tropische Tribaden*. Dordrecht [Holland]: Foris Publications [Dutch]

(Helman, 1977b:p133)⁹⁹. Winkel earlier wrote on the erotic transgression between women and girls (1992)¹⁰⁰

This is no big matter; at the most, children are “teased a little in a benign way about their own genital games”. Buschkens (1973:p243)¹⁰¹, however, had found the opposite:

“Masturbation is forbidden to boys, “because they could go mad by it”, or because people fear the habit would at a later date lead to *ejaculatio praecox*”.

In his study of Dutch Creole women, Lalmahomed (1999)¹⁰² notes that, unlike their mothers, girls received information on sexual matters at menarche. Since 1912, a gradual decline in the age of first date could be noted from approaching the twenties to age 12.5 (p98). Tension around sex has equally loosened. Sexual abuse of girls (p147-61), even by supernatural beings, was not uncommon.

Ndyuka (Suriname and French Guiana) (eHRAF)

As excerpted from Hurault (1961)¹⁰³:

“Boys go to sleep at the home of a brother, an uncle, a comrade; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision. [...] Whereas little girls before puberty are left free to come and go, older girls are the object of constant surveillance. They are always under the surveillance of one of their near relatives specifically designated. If they have permission to go dancing in another village, they must present themselves upon arrival to an uncle, an aunt, an older brother who will watch over them all evening. Sometimes they build for a girl a little house where she sleeps alone... but she is double-locked into it for the night. [...] It often used to happen that a girl might be promised by her mother to a man from her first years (they still say, although that is no longer practiced, *poti mofu na umã*, “to put his mouth on a girl,” meaning by that to have received a promise of marriage). This plan always used to remain subject to the girl’s assent when she grew up and did not constitute a contract, strictly speaking; it did not involve any payment or compensation whatever. A girl could not be obligated to a marriage which was absolutely displeasing to her, but the mother’s authority was great enough to make these marriages come about in most cases. [...] If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the [...] and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract of maintenance with a man is an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything. [...] The general opinion is that girls can no longer be held down, that they escape more and more from the authority of their mothers; many of them begin to run wild at about 14 or 15, and people are obliged to marry them off precipitately at 15 or 16.” (p217, 218, 219)

⁹⁹ Helman, A. (1977b) *Facetten van de Surinaamse Samenleving*. Zutphen [Holland]: Walburg [Dutch]

¹⁰⁰ Winkel, G. (1992) “Girl, It’s boobies you’re getting, no?” *Paidika* 2,4(8):43-8. Cf. *id.*, in Sax, M. & Deckwitz, S. (Eds., 1992) *Op een Oude Fiets Moet je Het Leren*. Amsterdam: Schorer, p87-97

¹⁰¹ Buschkens, W. F. L. (1980) *Het Familiesysteem der Volkcreolen van Paramaribo*. Diss., University of Leiden, The Netherlands [Dutch]

¹⁰² Lalmahomed, B. (1999) *Creoolse Vrouwen: Opvoeding en Levensstijl*. Utrecht [Holland]: Van Arkel [Dutch]

¹⁰³ Hurault, J. (1961) *The Boni Refugee Blacks of French Guiana*. Dakar: IFAN

W. Van Lier (1940:p263)¹⁰⁴: “Kinderen mogen [...] alle gesprekken bijwonen, ook die wat betreft sexueele dingen en ze mogen vragen stellen en worden wel eens geëxamineerd. Zooals reeds gezegd, mogen bij een bevalling meisjes, hoe jong ook, tegenwoordig zijn”¹⁰⁵. Prepubertal arrangements are not always followed through (p270).

Saramakans, Saramacca (“Bush Negroes”; Suriname) (2,2,2,3,2,2;8,8) (eHRAF)

Early betrothal has already been mentioned. Price (1993:p12)¹⁰⁶: “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. When three- or four-year-old children play at sexual intercourse, adults are generally amused, expecting them to learn discretion in these games as they grow older”. Thus, “Sexual banter is enjoyed by Saramakas of all ages. Toddlers are frequently teased about sex and encouraged to develop their verbal wit in this direction [...]”

(p39). Summing up: “By the age of ten or eleven, Saramaka girls have already tasted almost every ingredient of a woman’s life. [...] All have had some kind of sexual experience, most commonly digital penetration, and about half of them are formally betrothed to an older man. Unlike the boys of their age, who are still a decade or so away from social manhood, prepubescent girls are well aware that the responsibilities of marriage and child rearing will be theirs within a few short years” (p15). Teenage girls have romantic affiliations with older women (p17). Herskovits (1934)¹⁰⁷, however, noted a strict taboo on the part of young men or women to speak of sexual matters with both their parents, and parents-in-law.

“Emergence from menstrual seclusion is also marked in marriage customs for a girl who was betrothed during adolescence. On the day that she leaves the hut after her first stay there (that is, at the conclusion of her first menstrual period as a socially recognized adult), a messenger is dispatched to the prospective husband, who comes that night to consummate the marriage” (Price, p23).

¹⁰⁴ Van Lier, W. F. (1940) Aanteekeningen over het geestelijk leven en de samenleving der Djoeka’s (Aukaner Boschnegers) in Suriname, *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-, & Volkenk Nederlandsch-Indie* [Holland] 129-294

¹⁰⁵ “Children may remain present during all conversations, including those concerned with sexual matters, and may ask questions and sometimes they are questioned. As indicated before, girls are allowed to be present at deliveries no matter how young” [DJ].

¹⁰⁶ Price, S. (1993) *Co-Wives and Calabashes*. 2nd ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

¹⁰⁷ Herskovits, M. J. (1934) *Rebel Destiny*. New York: Whittlesey House

French Guiana

(→Ndyuka)

Brazil / Brasil [IES]

(Kagwahiv, Bakairí, Nambicuara, Wai-Wai, Xokleng, Guatos, Kayapó, Ramcocramecra Timbira, Bahia, Bororó, Apinayé, Mehinaku, Kaingángs / Aweikoma, Kayabí, Trumai, Tupinambá, Wari', Canela, Shavante, Tenetehára, Tapirapé; → Yanomamö)

Kidnapping, seduction, and child rape were all epiphenomena of a socially accepted sexuality and reflected the disquieting landscape of gender relations in 19th-century São Paulo; in the case of rape the problem was related to the dramatic situation of child destitution (Campos, 1995)¹⁰⁸.

Wagley¹⁰⁹ documents that a rural Brazilian girl at marriage is "expected to be a virgin-even innocent of the facts of sexual life". "Girls should be carefully protected" and chaperoned [p166, 167]. Willems (1953¹¹⁰; cf. Donald, 1954:p310-1)¹¹¹ speaks of a rigid premarital standard, chaperonage and a "virginity complex". "A young Brazilian is expected to get actively interested in sex at the age of puberty. Even before puberty the average boy becomes used to the sexual bravado of older companions. He learns that regular sexual intercourse is not only believed to be physically healthy, but above all an essential attribute of manhood. There is a generally accepted opinion that early and frequent sexual intercourse is stimulated by peculiar racial qualities and the physiological effects of a tropical climate", a belief not even weakened by the Catholic church (Willams, p341-2). Girls marry between 14 and 17, and premarital virginity is not a prerequisite for stable unions. In Brazil, there are no ceremonies to mark the onset of menarche; however, the Portuguese word *moca* (teenage girl) is used instead of *menina* (young girl) for a female who has menstruated and is not yet married¹¹². Correa (1994)¹¹³ provides an analysis of sexual attitudes among Brazilian urban teenagers. Focusing on 62 adolescents aged between 13 and 15 years, both male and female, their acquisition and development of the language and normative rules of sexuality.

¹⁰⁸ Campos, A. (1995) Crianças estupradas na São Paulo itocentista. relações de gênero [Child rape in 19th-century São Paulo: gender relations], *História* [Brazil] 14:139-52

¹⁰⁹ Wagley, Ch. (1953) *Amazon Town*. 1964 ed., New York: A. A. Knopf

¹¹⁰ Willems, E. (1953) The Structure of the Brazilian Family, *Social Forces* 31,4:339-45

¹¹¹ Donald, P. (1954) The Family in Brazil, *Marriage & Fam Living* 16,4: 308-14

¹¹² Sardenberg, C. M. B. (1994) De sangrias, tabus e poderes: a menstruação numa perspectiva socio-antropológica [Of Bloodletting, Taboos and Powers: Menstruation from a Socioanthropological Perspective], *Estud Feministas* 2,2:314-44

¹¹³ Correa, M. (1994) *The Construction of Sexuality among Adolescents: A Study of Two Different Groups in The City of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil*. Paper for XIII World Congress of Sociology, also Published in Pfeffer, G. & Behera, D. (Eds) *Contemporary Society: Childhood and Complex Order*. New Delhi: Manak

According to Neuhouser¹¹⁴, in a Brazilian shantytown, “Regardless of age, a *moça* [adolescent girl] becomes a *mulher* [woman] with first sexual intercourse. [...] Without educational or occupational goals that would delay motherhood, girls often become sexually active and mothers in their early teens” (p346). As for boys:

“[...] in terms of the requisites for becoming a man, young men and women mentioned that there are two fundamental steps to becoming a man: (a) becoming sexually active and (b) financially supporting oneself and one's family. For most young men interviewed, becoming sexually active was seen as the easier of the two requisites. In essence, becoming sexually active was perceived as easy to do or, if need be, to lie about; finding a job and being financially responsible, however, were seen as being far more difficult, and impossible to lie about. Thus, the sexual conquest as a sign of manhood was seen as necessary but not sufficient and was, for males, secondary to the role of financial provider. It is also interesting to note that young women more commonly defined becoming a man as being sexually active, whereas males more frequently mentioned the pressure they felt to be a provider [...]”¹¹⁵.

Parker (1995)¹¹⁶:

“The consequence of the social shaping of active and passive stances among boys and girls becomes fully evident only as children begin to take part in sexual activities. Upon entering adolescence, *rapazes* (boys or young men) who have (or in whom society has) successfully built up an “active” stance in relation to their gender identity are clearly expected to demonstrate and even follow through on their desire for the opposite sex, as are *moças* (girls or young women) who have succeeded in adopting a properly “passive” stance, though the actual activities of adolescent girls continue to be closely guarded and controlled by their male relatives, who are thought to exercise rightfully absolute authority over the sexual powers of their female relatives. As they progress through adolescence and on into full adulthood (most commonly marked in Brazil by marriage), however, these same individuals will not uncommonly also take an interest in sexual play with members of the same sex. Indeed, such play is frequently reported by informants as at least one important part of their early sexual education. Among *rapazes*, 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. It is perhaps even more obvious in the expression “Homem, para ser homem, tem que dar primeiro” — A man, to be a man, first has to give (in receptive anal intercourse)—often used by older boys seeking to *comer* their slightly younger playmates. And while such practices are perhaps less explicit among groups of *moças*, early sexual play with same-sex partners is cited nearly as frequently by female informants as by males. Such experiences seem relatively widespread, and as a game such as *troca-troca* would indicate, offer participants at least some room to explore both active and passive roles. Assuming that the cultural system has, in fact, successfully carried out its mandate, however, 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* into a passive *mulher*” (p245-6).

¹¹⁴ Neuhouser, K. (1998) “If I Had Abandoned My Children”: Community Mobilization and Commitment to the Identity of Mother in Northeast Brazil, *Social Forces* 77,1:331-58

¹¹⁵ Barker, G. & Loewenstein, I. (1997) Where the boys are: Attitudes related to masculinity, fatherhood and violence toward women among low income adolescent and young adult males in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, *Youth & Society*, 29,2:166-96

¹¹⁶ Parker, R. G. (1995) Changing Brazilian Constructions of Homosexuality, in Murray, S. O. (Ed.) *Latin American Male Homosexualities*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, p241-55

Ribeiro¹¹⁷ experienced hardship in addressing children's sexuality among nursing students.

[Additional refs: CRLP (1997) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Latin America and the Caribbean*, p51-68. Also id., *Progress Report*, 2000, p24-9]

Urban Brazil

A Brazilian doctor told Rosen (1962:p620)¹¹⁸ "wryly": "When a child is born they look at its genitals. If it's a boy they spoil it; i[f] it's a girl they discipline it".

Whitam and Mathy (1986:p44-52)¹¹⁹ gives some indication of sexual development (attraction in childhood sex play, gender of first sexual contact, age of first sexual contact, age of first sexual attraction, age of realization of sexual orientation) among Brazilian, as compared to Guatemalan, Phillipino and North American, hetero- and homosexuals.

In two reports, Leite, Buoncompagno et al. (1994, 1995)¹²⁰ report on a 1990 questionnaire among female and male freshmen students.

Porto et al. (1994)¹²¹ found that among 496 street adolescents from 9 to 20 years old in central Brazil, the age at first sexual intercourse was as low as 9 years old, and approximately 60% of this sample had had at least one "sexual relationship" by the age of thirteen.

[Additional refs.: Paiva (1995:p106)¹²²; Raffaelli et al. (1993)¹²³; Whitam et al. (1998)¹²⁴]

¹¹⁷ Ribeiro, M. O. (1989) [The feelings and reactions of the nursing student facing situations related to children's sexuality], *Rev Escola Enfermagem U S P* 23,2:3-19

¹¹⁸ Rosen, B. C. (1962) Socialization and Achievement Motivation in Brazil, *Am Sociol Rev* 27,5:612-24

¹¹⁹ 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

¹²⁰ Leite, R., Buoncompagno, E. et al. (1994) Psychosexual characteristics of female university students in Brazil, *Adolence* 29,114:439-60; Leite, R. & Buoncompagno, E. (1995) Psychosexual characteristics of male university students in Brazil, *Adolence* 30,118:363-80

¹²¹ Porto, S. O., Cardoso, D. D., Queiroz, D. A., Rosa, H., Andrade, A. L., Zicker, F. & Martelli, C. M. (1994) Prevalence and risk factors for HBV infection among street youth in central Brazil, *J Adolesc Health* 15,7:577-81

¹²² Paiva, V. (1995) Sexuality, AIDS and gender norms among Brazilian teenagers, in Brummelhuis, H. & Herdt, G. (Eds.) *Culture and Sexual Risk*. Amsterdam: Gordon & Breach, p97-114

¹²³ Raffaelli, M., Campos, R., Payne Merritt, A., Siqueira, E., Antunes, C. M., Parker, R., Grego, D., Halsey, N., & The Street Youth Study Group (1993) Sexual practices and attitudes of street youth in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, *Soc Sci & Med* 37,5:661-70

¹²⁴ Whitam, F. L., Daskalos, Ch., Sobolewski, C. G. & Padilla, P. (1998) The emergence of lesbian sexuality and identity cross-culturally: Brazil, Peru, the Philippines, and the United States, *Arch Sex Behav* 27,1:31-56. Cf. Whitam, F. L., Daskalos, Ch. & Mathy, R. M. (1998) A cross-cultural

Amazones

According to Capt. Thomas Whiffen (1915)¹²⁵, small boys of the North-West Amazon (Peru) use a recognised sign as a ribald gesture for sexual intercourse. "The right elbow is grasped with the left hand, the elbow being so flexed as to allow the hand to point upwards". In Northwest-Amaonia, initiation, more than marriage, means "passage from the asexual world of childhood to the sexual world of adults (Hugh-Jones, 1979:p110)¹²⁶. However, "[b]oys approaching initiation are sometimes involved in homosexual teasing which takes place in hammocks in public [...]" (*ibid.*,p160).

Mundurucu (Brazil)

Tocantins (1877:[p34])¹²⁷:

"Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated".

Horton (1948:p278-9)¹²⁸:

"Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut. A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents".

Murphy (1985:p130, 202)¹²⁹

assessment of familial factors in the development of female homosexuality, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 7,4:59-76

¹²⁵ Whiffen, Th. (1915) *The North-West Amazons: Notes of Some Months Spent Among Cannibal Tribes*. London: Constable

¹²⁶ Hugh-Jones, Ch. (1979) *From the Milk River*. Cambridge University Press

¹²⁷ Tocantins, A. M. G. (1877) *Studies on the Mundurucu Tribe*. Rio de Janeiro: J.M.N. Garcia, 1877. HRAF MS [original: 73-161p; eHRAF, 2003

¹²⁸ Horton, D. (1948) The Mundurucu, in *Handbook of South American Indians*, Volume III. Washington: U.S. G.P.O., p271-82

¹²⁹ Murphy, Y. (1985) *Women of the Forest*. New York: Columbia University Press

“There were no puberty ceremonies of any kind at the time of our visit, but informants told us that rites used to be held for young boys. [...] With the passage through puberty, the girl is now considered to be sexually available and goes through a period of courtship and liaisons. By fourteen she is ready for marriage, and the cycle of mature womanhood begins”.

Kagwahiv (central Brazil)

Among the Kagwahiv (Kracke, 1978)¹³⁰, early heterosexual interests appear to be counteracted (p164, 209-10, 261n16).

Bakairí (central Brazil)

The Bakairí “become sexual early in life” (Picchi, 2000)¹³¹. Menarche occurs at age 12.

Nambikwara, Nambicuara (2,2,2,2,2,-;5,2) (Mato Grosso, Brazil)

Lévi-Strauss (1955:p301 [1962:p277])¹³² stated that children, who are cousins, call themselves spouses. In the evening they make their own campfire and dedicate themselves-depending on their abilities and means- to the same love play [aux mêmes épanchements] as their elders; the adults observe the scene with amusement. There is no formal play, however. Lévi-Strauss (1949:p71-2)¹³³ had already commented on the fact that the children enact

“[t]ous les travaux érotiques qu’ils ont vu leurs aînés pratiquer. L’incident est accueilli par les adultes avec indifférence, ou, au plus, avec des sourires amusés: [...] “Ce sont des enfants qui ont de petites relations sexuelles”, dit-on en passant. Nous n’avons vérifié ces que de façon occasionnelle, chez jeunes enfants (cinq à sept ans)”.

The games appear absent in those approaching puberty, but reliable data are not present.

¹³⁰ Kracke, W. H. (1978) *Force and Persuasion*. Chicago [etc.]: University of Chicago Press

¹³¹ Picchi, D. (2000) *The Bakairí Indians of Brazil*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press

¹³² Lévi-Strauss, C. (1955) *Tristes Tropiques*. Paris : Librairie Plon. Dutch translation, *Het Trieste der Tropen*. Aula, 1962

¹³³ Lévi-Strauss, C. (1948) La vie familiale et sociale des Indiens Nambikwara, *J Soc Americainist* 37:1-132

One man who “caught a little boy” (pegou um menino), was requested to leave town at least temporarily. “The boy’s only remark was that he had not been paid” (Hutchison, 1957:p141)¹³⁴.

Fernandes (1969:p82-3)¹³⁵ states that the urban Negro (São Paulo) learned the secrets of life “precociously”. There was much sexual use of minors, particularly also of boys, and children “already used each other at five and six years of age according to informants”. Although females are subject to a puritanical sex code, males are given “more or less a carte blanche to do as they please and get away with as much as they can”. Virginity is valued with great intensity, and a rigid pattern of separation and chaperonage is seen after puberty. Sex is not generally talked about, but some mothers might (Patai, 1988:p116-7, 139-42, 154, 219-20, 288, 302)¹³⁶. Harris (1969:p158)¹³⁷ stated that “childhood masturbation, while never deliberately discouraged, is less likely to be methodologically prohibited in males than in females, especially among the lower classes”. Parker (1991:p122, 123-4)¹³⁸ noted masturbation contests in jack-off clubs. Thus, “[f]rom early childhood on, masturbation, oral eroticism, and anal eroticism, as well as same-sex relations and any number of other deviations [sic], emerge alongside the genital sexual norm [...]”. A man 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” (p60).

Wai-Wai (Southern Guiana, Northern Brazil)

Marriage takes place at age 17, some four years after menarche (Mentore, 1987:p515)¹³⁹.

Xokleng (Brazil)

¹³⁴ Hutchison, H. W. (1957) *Village and Plantation Life in Northeastern Brazil*. Seattle : Univ. of Washington Press

¹³⁵ Fernandes, F. (1969) *The Negro in Brazilian Society*. New York [etc.]: Columbia University Press

¹³⁶ Patai, D. (1988) *Brazilian Women Speak*. New Brunswick: Rutgers

¹³⁷ Harris, M. (1969) *Town and Country in Brazil*. New York: AMS Press

¹³⁸ Parker, R. G. (1991) *Bodies, Pleasures, and Passions*. Boston: Beacon Press

¹³⁹ Mentore, G. P. (1987) Waiwai Women: The Basis of Wealth and Power, *Man*, New Series 22,3:511-27

“Xokleng children of southern Brazil often sleep with adults who engage in sexual activities with them; such relations are regarded as amusing and playful [...]” (Werner, cited by Frayser)¹⁴⁰.

Guatos (Brazil)

Girls would be sold into marriage long before menstruation. An informant would lie about the age of consummation (Rhode, cited by Ploß and Bartels, I:p546; Bloch, 1902, I:p252).

Kayapó (Ge; Brazil)

Betrothal occurs at birth (Dreyfus, 1963)¹⁴¹. The bleeding at defloration is regarded as identical with menstrual bleeding, an ideology typical of the Gé (p54-5). Defloration occurs early (“[e]lle est très jeune, elle n’a qu’une dizaine d’années, douze tout au plus”), and is observed by a girl’s parent (usually the mother). Marriage is then announced. “[...] the initiation of menarche [sic] among females [sic] of this [unmarried] age grade is thought to be a result of sexual intercourse and to chronologically follow defloration. Age at the time of menarche and first sexual experience do seem roughly to coincide” (Fisher, 2001:p126)¹⁴².

Ramcocramekra Timbira (Ge; Brazil)

Nimuendajú (1946:p120-1)¹⁴³ stated that “some mothers try to accelerate the development of breasts by dealing with a daughter a few light taps against the nipples with their finger joints- usually in the morning on waking up. Girls also practise this custom themselves. I once observed a ten-year-old girl who for this reason wore a broad grass strip tied tightly across the chest, with a little disk of charcoal over each nipple and under the grass strip”. On sexual life: “Nowadays only a minority of girls attain puberty as virgins. De facto most of them are already married at twelve or have had extramarital relations”. “Like their Apinayé cousins, the Ramkokamerkra firmly assert that menstruation is impossible prior to sexual congress. Such a theory is after a fashion

¹⁴⁰ *Op.cit.*

¹⁴¹ Dreyfus, S. (1963) *Les Kayapo du Nord*. Paris [etc.]: Mouton

¹⁴² Fisher, W. H. (2001) Age-based genders among the Kayapo, in Gregor, Th. A. & Tuzin, D. (Eds.) *Gender in Amazonia and Melanesia*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, p115-40

¹⁴³ Nimuendajú, C. (1946) *The Eastern Timbira*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press

intelligible for the Apinayé, whose girls with possibly few exceptions are actually deflowered before their first menses, but for the Ramkokamerkra it is utterly inconceivable [...]. How the native theory of defloration as prerequisite to menstruation could persist is a complete enigma; and its occurrence in identical form among Eastern and Western Timbira proves that the idea is not an innovation".

Lowie (1946:p499)¹⁴⁴ agrees: "The Timbira and Pau d'Arco oddly believe that menstruation is impossible for a virgin, but among the Apinayé most girls are actually married before puberty".

Wari' (Pakaas Novas) (Western Brazil)

"A pubescent Wari' girl's sexual maturation and physical growth are held to develop first out of a special relationship to the moon, whose influence is loosely thought of as a stimulus to breast development and menstruation. The second, more direct stimulus (upon which the efficiency of the first depends) is a cross-sex transfer of body fluid: the first time a girl has sexual intercourse, the infusion of semen (a blood product) is said to transform her blood so that it increases in quantity and strength. This sparks a growth spurt: the girl grows fatter, stronger and- a point that Wari' emphasize- able to do women's work in planting, harvesting, and processing food. [...] The infusion of semen is thought to be prerequisite not only for menarche but for every menstrual period in a woman's life" Conklin, 2001:p153, 154; cf. 147, 160)¹⁴⁵.

"Prior to the contact, girls ideally (and often in practice) married and began to have sexual intercourse before they began to menstruate. The ideal that a husband should "grow" his young wife's body is analogous to a father's responsibility to contribute semen to the growth of the fetus in his wife's womb and to contribute meat, fish, and vegetable foods to feed his children. Wari' do not mark female puberty and menarche with any ritual [...]". Boys were instructed by older men "to control their sexuality by respecting other men's wives" (p158).

Canela (Eastern Timbira) (Brazil) (2+,2+,-,-,2,2;8,8)

¹⁴⁴ Lowie, R. H. (1946) The Northwestern and Central Ge, *Bull Bureau Am Ethnol* 143[I]. Stewart, J. H. (Ed.) *Handbook of South American Indians*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office. Vol. 1, p477-517

¹⁴⁵ Conklin, B. A. (2001) Women's blood, warriors' blood, and the conquest of vitality in amazonia, in Gregor, Th. A. & Tuzin, D. (Eds.) *Gender in Amazonia and Melanesia*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, p141-74

Crocker and Crocker (1994:p33-4, 156-7)¹⁴⁶ stated that girls begin sexual relations between ten and thirteen before menarche.

Boys and girls are segregated at ages 6 to 7. At ages 6 to 14, a 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". At age 11-13, "[a] girl's genitals [are] formally inspected by a disciplinary aunt to see if she had lost her virginity. If she had, the name of the male was demanded (Girls are no longer inspected)". After she has graduated as a girl associate, she is secluded under [postpubertal] food and sex restriction. At age 13 to 16, she presents food to her mother-in-law provided by her lover in return for sex with him. The period 13-18 is considered a time for sexual liaisons and few social responsibilities. The average age of first conception is 15³/₄. Formerly, girls were engaged to be married when they were 4 or 5 to young men 12 to 15 years older. Now, courtship takes place, and marriage is equated with defloration. "Girls almost always have intercourse before they menstruate, so their experience reinforces the Canela theory that sexual intercourse is the cause of menstruation. Ideally a girl has first intercourse with a young man in his late teens or 20s who has no children of his own" (p104-5).

As for boys, at ages 12-14, "[s]ome older woman who likes an unrelated boy takes him into the woods to give him his first experience in sexual intercourse. Formerly, the woman was in her 40s or 50s; now, she is more likely to be in her 20s. The boy's aunt goes to the woman to collect a small payment for his loss of virginity [cf. p110-1]. After defloration, his disciplining uncle orders him into seclusion, with sex and food taboos, while "the socializing attitudes of his uncles [change] abruptly from supportive to confrontational". At ages 12-17, he should, to gain strengths and become a person of character, refrain from much sex, or if so, only with older women.

Shavante / Xavante (-,-,4,3+,3+,2,1) (Ge; Brazil)

Maybury-Lewis (1967:p73-4)¹⁴⁷: "By the time a girl is five [...] she may well be married. When she is seven, she is already being watched carefully both by her kin and by her husband, for she will soon be considered physically able to cohabit with a man. Accordingly, a girl of about six years old tends to behave like a small, weak, and underdeveloped woman". Her husband would wait until she is "matured sufficiently", which was estimated as age eight to ten (p82-3, n1):

"I am uncertain as to the criteria according to which the Shavante deem a girl to be old enough for sexual intercourse. Girls are normally deflowered long before their first

¹⁴⁶ Crocker, W. & Crocker, J. (1994) *Canela*. Forth Worth [etc.]: Harcourt Brace College Publishers

¹⁴⁷ Maybury-Lewis, D. (1967) *Akwe-Shavante Society*. Oxford: Clarendon

menses and before there has been any significant development of their breasts. It seems to depend largely on the size of the individual girl. Her husband will sleep with her as soon as he considers her to be big enough, which is between the ages of 8 and 10 as far I could judge”.

“One of the main objectives of the missionary boarding schools was to physically separate Xavante boys from girls, whose “precocious sexuality”--girls can go through sexual initiation as early as 8 years of age-- outraged the chaste Christians”¹⁴⁸.

Kaingángs / Caingangs / Aweikoma (Ge; Brazil) (2-,2-,2-,2-,2-,-;8,-)

Jules Henry (1941 [1964:p17-9])¹⁴⁹ reports materno-infantile masturbation in the Kaingángs¹⁵⁰. Allegedly, the adults introduce the children in their *vita sexualis*. Despite the fact that “little children of two and three are told jocularly to copulate with one another”, and “[b]abies are jokingly told to copulate with people anywhere from ten to twenty times their age, and a man sixty-five years old will call a toddler of three “my co-husband” (etc.)¹⁵¹, “[...] I never saw or heard of intercourse among children. Jokes about the love affairs of children among themselves are never made by the adults nor by the children. The children receive so much satisfaction from adults it is hard to see why they should bother with one another. [...] Children lie like cats absorbing the delicious stroking of adults”. Thus, the child’s wandering “often culminate in the sexual experience to which the grown-ups are eager to introduce the child, and he is generally enjoyed first by a person much older than he. Some married men have nicknames that bear a humorous reference to their experience in trying to deflower young girls. [...] The growing child’s sexual experience is primarily humorous, often illicit, administered by adults and apt to be violent in the case of girls”.

Bahia (Brazil) (eHRAF)

¹⁴⁸ Leal Ferreira, M. K. ([2000]) *The Two of Us Together: Xavante Mathematics in Central Brazil*. Proceedings of the International Seminar on Aryabhateeyam. Thiruvananthapuram, India: Center for Mathematical Sciences. Online at <http://web.utk.edu/~mferreil/2ofus.html>

¹⁴⁹ 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)

¹⁵⁰ “The sexuality of little boys is stimulated by their mothers by manipulation of the genitals before they can walk”.

¹⁵¹ “Even Kaingáng babies learn that the terms connected with sex have an aura of laughter and spice”.

Bahia's medical and religious history points to an emphasis on premarital virginity, as in other areas of Brazil. Others might argue that in practice, "girls in Bahia are unlikely to retain their virginity into their teens, nor are they likely to live with a partner in legally sanctioned marriages". In any case, it is observed that "[l]ittle or no information is directly passed between father and sons or mother and daughters concerning sexual matters. Each generation is left to find out for itself" (Hutchinson, 1957:p140)¹⁵². "In the past fathers would take their sons to brothels for their first sexual experiences, but this is now unnecessary. Jorge [a black community leader] explained: "They already have more than their fill here in the local neighbourhood. Hmmm! Here girls by the time they are seven or eight are already *namorando* (cuddling, kissing, making love). The boys are already all over them, grabbing them! In the old days there was that difficulty, and on top of that one paid the *companheira* (female companion, here in the sense of prostitute) well to teach a thorough lesson. Nowadays they just do it for its own sake - gossiping here, gossiping there - so the problem just gets worse" (McCallum, 1999:p281)¹⁵³.

Bororó (Brazil) (eHRAF)

Cook (1907:p58-9; 1909)¹⁵⁴ writes about the Bororó:

"The betrothal is consummated by the bridegroom-to-be, depositing at the entrance to the hut of the parents of the baby girl whom he desires shall one day become his wife, some much prized game that he has had the "good luck" to capture. The parents of course learn, either directly or indirectly, what his wishes are in making them this valuable present; and if they do not object to the nuptials, their little daughter is reserved for him. Again, some day, after the child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, the groom-to-be deposits at the entrance to her hut a highly prized fish or animal which he has had the good fortune to capture, then retires to his own hut. The father of the little maid now takes her by the wrist-- always the wrist-- conducts her to the entrance of the hut of her betrothed husband and delivers her to him, and she becomes his lawful, wedded wife without further ceremony. He may be forty or fifty years of age, and have already a wife and married children, though, nevertheless, allowed to have two wives because he has slain the jaguar, or performed some other feat of valor, or because he is a captain, having passed middle life" (1909).

¹⁵² Hutchinson, H. W. (1957) *Village and Plantation Life in Northeastern Brazil*. Seattle: University of Washington Press

¹⁵³ McCallum, C. (1999) Restraining Women: Gender, Sexuality and Modernity in Salvador da Bahia, *Bull Latin Am Res* 18,3:275-93

¹⁵⁴ Cook, W. A. (1909) *Through the Wilderness of Brazil by Horse, Canoe and Float*. New York: American Tract Society. Cook, W. A. (1907) *The Bororó Indians of Matto Grosso, Brazil*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution: "The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in return for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to himself he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu whenever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families".

"Even now the ideal marriage is one contracted between a grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most important, he is the one responsible for the physical development of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first intercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then, after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at the next moon" (Levak, 1973:p77-8)¹⁵⁵. Werner (1986) as cited by Frayser (1994:p206-7)¹⁵⁶ also states that the Bororo of Brazil think that intercourse with a mature man causes menstruation to occur. This idea is in opposition to Bororó ideas on the formation of boys. After puberty, thus when boys are still "soft and incompletely formed" masturbation and sexual intercourse may deplore them of *rakare*, a life force slowly accumulating in childhood and adolescence (Crocker, 1969:p241)¹⁵⁷.

Baldus (1937:[p28])¹⁵⁸:

"The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus". When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

"Sometimes [...] the Bororo make the children obey by threatening that some animals, owls or wolfs, will come and eat their sexual organs" (p103). Every descendant of the female sex has the right to live in the maternal home, not only before, but also after marriage; the one of male sex loses this right as soon as he reaches puberty (Colbacchini, 1942)¹⁵⁹. Boys and initiated at ages 12-14, girls are not. At this initiation, the boy is referred to as the "wife" of the initiator, but no sexual connotations seem to be implied (Levak, p98).

"The boy is given to his initiator by this announcement. "In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father--his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare"; or

¹⁵⁵ *Op.cit.*

¹⁵⁶ *Op.cit.*

¹⁵⁷ Crocker, Ch. (1969) Men's house associates among the Eastern Bororo, *Southwest J Anthropol* 25:236-60

¹⁵⁸ Baldus, H. (1937) The social position of the woman among the Eastern Bororo, *Brasiliiana* 101:112-62, 323-30

¹⁵⁹ Colbacchini, A. (1942) *The Eastern Bororo Orarimogodogue of the Eastern Plateau of Mato Grosso*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Companhia Editora Nacional

when akoredureo, “this is your husband”, is occasionally added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the initiator will assume toward the boy”.

More references on this custom were provided by Martius (1844 :p111-31¹⁶⁰; cf. Bloch, 1933:p105¹⁶¹; Greenberg, 1988:p26)¹⁶².

Apinayé (Brazil)

The Apinayé were said to believe that defloration was a prerequisite to menarche (Nimuendajú, 1939:p75; Nimuendajú, 1946:p120-1)¹⁶³. Thus,

“Oddly enough, the Apinayé are thoroughly convinced that menstruation is impossible before defloration; its absolute prerequisite. [...] references to a maiden’s first menses among civilized neighbors are met with derisive superciliousness. This view, incidentally, agrees with that of the Canella. Of course, such a theory could persist only among a people whose girls only exceptionally attain their first menses as virgins. Actually, this holds for the contemporary Apinayé. To marry off immature girls of ten or twelve is accordingly an ancient Apinayé custom, not an innovation. Among the Šere’nte this practice is an innovation” (N., 1939).

The Apinayé forbid masturbation from infancy (Ford & Beach, 1951:p180)¹⁶⁴. Nimuendajú (1939:p74) relates that the Apinayé “declare that masturbation must not be tolerated because it enfeebles young folk and unfits them for log races. Guilty boys are recognized by the retractability of the prepuce. How girls are detected, I do not know; I was merely told that it was by the appearance of the genitalia”. At the log-race, boys are lined up and punished severely if thus detected.

Mehinaku (Brazil)

Boys are secluded for three years at age 12, girls at menarche (Gregor, 1977)¹⁶⁵. A father of a boy who was having a romance, would say: “That will keep him away from her; I don’t want him to grow up stunted”.

¹⁶⁰ Martius, K. F. P. von (1844) *Das Naturell, die Krankheiten, das Arztthum und die Heilmittel der Urbewohner Brasiliens*. Munich: C. Wolf

¹⁶¹ Bloch, I. (1933) *Anthropological Studies in the Strange Sexual Practices of All Races in All Ages*. New York: Anthropological Press

¹⁶² Greenberg, D. F. (1988) *The Construction of Homosexuality*. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press

¹⁶³ Nimuendajú, C. (1939) *The Apinayé*. Washington: Catholic University of California;
Nimuendajú, C. (1946) *The Eastern Timbira*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press

¹⁶⁴ Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Row

¹⁶⁵ Gregor, Th. (1977) *Mehinaku*. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press. See also Fisher, H. E. (1992) *Anatomy of Love*. New York & London: W. W. Norton & Co., p267-9

Children may “play at seclusion” (p114, 226). Other games require privacy: “women’s sons” (*teneju itãĩ*), “Mariage” (*kanupai*), and “jealousy” (*ukítsapi*) (p113). In one variation of marriage, “[...] the husbands and wives pair off and go to hidden areas around the village to engage in casual sex play or, if they are capable, actual intercourse. The Mehinaku are sexually free, and most children have had some degree of experience by the time they are adolescent”. In playing Jealousy, “the boys and girls take lovers while their spouses are away. When the cuckolded partner returns from a fishing trip, he discovers his wife and his friend together in the same hammock. In a fury he pretends to beat his wife while his friend runs off”. Thus, the children “not only imitate their parents but their parent’s mistresses and lovers as well” (p114). “There 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” (p114). “[...] some prepubescent girls enter into casual lesbian relationships. Since the participants in these experimental affairs are mercilessly teased if they are exposed, village children must become acquainted at an early age with the arts of concealment they will employ in adult life” (p116).

“Adults freely discuss sexual matters in their children’s presence and even incorporate children in their sexual intrigues as bearers of messages or gifts” (Gregor, 1995:p339)¹⁶⁶.

Kayabí (Central Brazil)

The Kayabí discourage masturbation in both sexes (Grünberg, 1970:p121)¹⁶⁷.

Trumai (Central Brazil) (2,2,2,2,3,3;8,5;G3)

Murphy and Quain (1955 [1966:p83-4])¹⁶⁸ reported that “there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. 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”, while no adult homosexuality was seen. “The sexual play of a young child might even include his father”; at least, one is reported to manipulate a boy in erection, without much consideration for observers.

¹⁶⁶ Gregor, Th. (1995) Sexuality and the experience of love, in Abramson, P. R. (Ed.) *Sexual Nature, Sexual Culture*. Chicago & London : Chicago University Press, p330-50

¹⁶⁷ Grünberg, G. (1970) Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Kayabí Zentralbrasiliens, *Archiv f Völkerkunde* 24:21-186

¹⁶⁸ Murphy, R. F. & Quain, B. (1955[1966]) *The Trumai Indians of Central Brazil*. Seattle & London: University of Washington Press. See also Gregersen (1983:p273)

Tupinambá (Brazil) (-,-,2,2,4,4;2,2;B)

"[...] Tupinamba girls, before their breasts are full and the menses appear, are forbidden intercourse" (Ford, 1945 [1964:p20]). "[...] older Tupinamba women in Brazil who did not have the favor of older men might constantly accompany young boys, to whom they gave presents and instruction in sexual matters" [...] (Werner, cited by Frayser).

Tenetehára (Brazil)

Wagley and Galvão (1949:p78-9)¹⁶⁹ state the Tenetehara children know all, girls from the women in households, boys from playmates. "Small boys invariably know of all extramarital affairs in the village", in short, "All of them know everything". There is some masturbation, despite discouragement ("the head (glans) of your penis will stick out and the foreskin will stretch as far as your feet if you do not stop") and some sex play, in which boys invite girls to come to self-made houses near the village. The girls soon retire, and little boys of five years would be used "as the girl".

Tapirapé (Brazil)

Wagley (1977:p145)¹⁷⁰: "They [boys] played house and included little girls as wives. Adults roared with laughter when the children imitated quarrels between husband and wife. And I saw boys and girls imitating copulation without being reprimanded by adults".

¹⁶⁹ Wagley, Ch. & Galvão, E. (1949) *The Tenetehara Indians of Brasil*. New York: Colombia University Press

¹⁷⁰ Wagley, Ch. (1977) *Welcome of Tears: The Tapirapé Indians of Central Brazil*. New York: Oxford University Press

Uruguay

[No data available]

Argentina / República Argentina [IES]*(Pilagá, Mataco, Araucanians, Ona, Teheulche)*Kamenetzky¹⁷¹ on sex education:

“Currently there are no sexual education programs at the primary school level. It is left to the teachers to give some information as part of the classes on biology. In the few cases in which a teacher decides to do so, it is no more than a description of the reproductive organs in plants and animals, and some references to the role of ovaries and testes in human reproduction, with no explicit mention or even less showing of pictures of the genitals”.

On masturbation:

“In Argentine society, despite official Catholic negative views of sex outside the marital union, it is usually seen as normal for preteenage boys to play exploratory games with other boys, and girls with other girls. These games are seen by most parents as part of the process of growing up. It allows the child to reassure him/herself of the normality of his/her body by comparing it with the body of a friend, relative, or schoolmate, although sometimes instead of being a reassurance it could generate anxieties as when girls compare the size of their breasts and boys the size of their penises. It is also a source of anxiety when a boy feels sexually excited by another boy and fears he is becoming gay. Freedom for these kinds of exploratory games was greater in bygone days when Argentine society had less violence, and drugs were not as common. In the past, boys would gather in parks and compete to see who threw their semen further while masturbating. Parks were also a place where couples would meet for sexual encounters and teenagers would peep on their activities without disturbing the partners”.

With regard to first sexual experiences, it became clear that in Buenos Aires 18-24 year olds sexual activities

“are 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 fulfill in order to affirm their virility. Among girls, the memories of their being deflowered were somewhat different from the boys. Some did not bother to get prior information about the meaning and the possible consequences of their first sexual encounter. They perceived their first intercourse as the fulfillment of a strongly felt desire that at the same time would transgress a social taboo. Hence they reached the situation with

¹⁷¹ Kamenetzky, S. (1997) Argentina, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 1. Quoted from the online edition

many expectations, and as much anxiety as boys said they did. For other, more entrepreneurial-type female students, it was a calculated action to get rid of their virginity, which they perceived as an obstacle to enter into a more mature and fulfilling sexual life. These girls sought information from doctors in private gynecological practice and acquired the necessary contraceptive technology to protect themselves".

In one 1997 study, 172 on female adolescents 15 to 18 years old attending the gynaecological service of the adolescents' department of a public hospital, the mean age at first sexual intercourse was calculated at 15.3 with a modal value of age 15. Almost 1/4 were initiated before age 14. According to a recent study, mean age at coital initiation of late adolescent schoolboys near Buenos Aires was established at 14.9 (SD 1.5 years)¹⁷³. Boys would typically start off with prostitutes (41.6%).

Ernesto "Che" Guevara de la Serna Lynch's sexarche at age 14 was, according to Che's biographer Jon Lee Anderson¹⁷⁴, typical:

"For sex, boys of Ernesto's social milieu either visited brothels or looked for conquest among girls of the lower class [...] for many, the first sexual experience was with the family "mucama", or servant girl, usually an Indian or poor mestiza from one of Argentina's Northern provinces. It was Calica Ferrer who had provided Ernesto with his first introduction to sex [...] in a liaison with his family mucama, a woman called "La Negra" Cabrera" ".

Additional refs.:

-- CRLP (1997) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Latin America and the Caribbean*, p15-33. Also *Progress Report*, 2000, p9-16;

-- Ben, P. (2003) *Child Queer Prostitution, Buenos Aires 1870-1916*. University of Chicago, Gender and Sexuality Studies Workshop, Spring 2003 [<http://home.uchicago.edu/~ksfreder/buenos1.doc>]

-- Necchi, S. & Schufer, M. (1999) Adolescente varón: iniciación sexual y anticoncepción, *Arch Argent Pediatr* 97,2:101-8

-- Chejter, S. (Oct., 2001) *La Niñez Prostituida: Estudio sobre Explotación Sexual Comercial Infantil en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: UNICEF Argentina [<http://www.unicef.org/argentina/download/Ninez-prostituida.pdf>];

Pilagá (Gran Chaco, Argentina)

The remarkable child sexuality in the Pilagá (Argentine Gran Chaco) is to some extent studied by the Henries¹⁷⁵ in the 1940s; regrettably, few corroborating data exist.

¹⁷² Geldstein, R. N., Pantelides, E. A. et al. (2001) *I Didn't Want to But... Sexual Initiation under Coercion in the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area*. Paper for the XXIVth General Population Conference in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil, August 18-24

¹⁷³ Necchi, S. & Schufer, M. (1999) Adolescente varón: iniciación sexual y anticoncepción, *Arch Argent Pediatr* 97,2:101-8

¹⁷⁴ Anderson, J. L. (1997) *Che Guevara. A Revolutionary Life*. New York: Grove Press

Reviewed (1945) and cited (1952:p540-1) by Róheim, their work was praised to be “the best and most extensive field work done on any group of children in a primitive society”, although clearly Róheim regretted their self-admitted impotence in psychodynamic interpretation.

The reader is told that the children “pass hours each day in violent sexual games [...] in everyday life, there is a constant veering between sexuality and violence, and often the two are inextricably blended [...] absolutely no prohibition is placed on child sexual activity by the adults, so that the children are at liberty to do what they please. Under such circumstances, the only limits to the child’s sexual activity are his physiological capacities and the tolerance of his companions ([1944 [1974:p55-9, 72]; 1948 [1953:p296, 299])”. The games include attempts at coitus (1949:p97). It must be said that the (spontaneously) genitalised dolls may have triggered the sexual phenomena, since sexuality was “completely absent when the girls played with their own dolls” (1944 [1974:p32]); also, native doll use was impersonal rather than externally personalised. The native sexual patterns, however, do not necessitate such explanation (*ibid.*):

“Young children are permitted absolute freedom. The adult sexual act is performed at night but without any attempt at concealment. Up to the age of five boys masturbate and practice pederasty unashamedly in broad daylight. The girls masturbate against one another in public, and at five years they start taking little boys to bed with them and attempting coitus. Open masturbation by rubbing against other children, games of snatching at genitalia, and open “coitus bees” in which groups of little boys and girls attempt coitus at night, continue until about the age of twelve. Children and adults joke constantly about sex, and sexual insults by children are common”.

Their discussion of doll-facilitated sexual phenomena ([1974:p72-9]) reveals that intercourse between the dolls was the prime symptom. The piling up of dolls, which the authors include in the phenomenon of “spreading” of sexuality, may, in some case, “be related to the habit young Pilagá children have of piling one on top of the other in a frenzy of masturbation”. Other positionings were significant for the “known homosexuality of little boys”, including the example of anal penetration by a four-year-old boy performed on a boy slightly junior his age.

¹⁷⁵ Henry (1941: [1964:p18,n]), *op.cit.*; Henry, J. & Henry, Z. (1942) Rorschach Analysis of Pilagá Indian Children, *Am J Orthopsychia* 12:679-712; 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; Henry, J. (1949) The social function of child sexuality in Pilagá Indian culture, in Hoch, P.H. & Zubin, J. (Eds.) *Psychosexual Development in Health and Disease*. New York: Grune & Stratton, p91-101; Henry, J. & Henry, Z. (1948) Doll Play of the Pilagá Indian Children, in Kluckhohn, C. & Murray, H.A. (Eds.) *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*. New York: Knopf. 2nd edition, 1953, p292-307; Henry, J. (1949) *The Social Function of Child Sexuality in Pilagá Indian Culture*. Paper presented at the 38th Annual Meeting of the American Psychopathology Association, NY.; Henry, J. & Whiteborn, J. (1952) Child rearing, culture, and the natural world, *Psychiatry* 15,3:261-72, see p265; Róheim, G. (1945) Book review: Doll Play of Pilagá Indian Children, *Psychoanal Quart* 14:549-51; Róheim, G. (1952) The anthropological evidence and the Oedipus complex, *Psychoanal Quart* 21:537-42; Kardiner, A. (1944) Book review: Doll Play of Pilagá Indian Children; Henry, J. & Henry, Z., *Am J Sociol* 50,3:256-7. See also Money and Ehrhardt (1973/1996:p139-41); Stephens (1962:p22-4, 26-8, 34-5); and Schwartzman, H. B. (1978) *Transformations: The Anthropology of Children’s Play*. New York & London: Plenum, p150-2

Interestingly, the authors report a case of what could have been considered problem sexual behaviour by the Pilagá (no arguments are made in this respect) in an eight-year-old girl, who set out on a “raping rampage” involving little girls (p77). This occurred in an apparent identification with a maladjusted adolescent, who, according to local believes, *could be expected* to perform rape (being a “lunatic”).

Additional refs:

- Henry, J. (1940) Some cultural determinants of hostility in Pilagá indian children, *Am J Orthopsychia* 10,1
- Henry, J. (1947) Environment and symptom formation, *Am J Orthopsychia*, Oct.

Mataco (Northern and Central Gran Chaco, Bolivia to Argentina)

Fock (1963)¹⁷⁶:

“The Mataco regard the initiation of girls as an introduction to marriage. This initiation consists in the girl's seclusion—or better—segregation from everyone apart from her mother. It comes as a prolongation of her first menstruation, and the long isolation is spent in continual work making *caraguatá* cord. It is considered very important that this work should be performed rapidly and well in order that an impression can be formed of the girl's ability as regards her main occupation in the future. As a rule the end of seclusion is marked by an *aloja* festival during which the girl looks around for a man. That same night she is able to take him with her to her home and allow him to sleep with her”.

Karsten (1932)¹⁷⁷: “As soon as a girl has passed her first menstruation she is considered free to choose for herself occasional lovers, and generally she does not delay in making use of this right”. Equally: “Among the Tobas, as among most Chaco tribes, pre-nuptial chastity is almost unknown, great sexual liberty being allowed both boys and girls before marriage. As soon as a girl is marriageable, that is, has passed her first menstruation, she may choose casual lovers, and generally she does not fail to make use of her freedom”.

Métraux (1939)¹⁷⁸: “It is the moon who sleeps first with the girls and that is why they menstruate. She [girls] may not marry or have sexual intercourse until after her first menstruation”.

Araucanians (Mapuche: 3-,3-,3-,3-,2,2;7,5) (Argentina, Chile)

¹⁷⁶ Fock, N. (1963) Mataco marriage, *Folk* 5:91-101

¹⁷⁷ Karsten, R. (1932) *Indian Tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco: Ethnological Studies*. Helsingfors: Akademische Buchhandlung

¹⁷⁸ Métraux, A. (1939) *Myths and Tales of the Matako Indians (the Gran Chaco, Argentina)*. Gothenburg, Sweden: Walter Kaudern

Sister Hilger (1957)¹⁷⁹ states that child betrothal was rare, in which case marriage would be delayed till fifteen (p329, 389). Hilger (1957) has no arguments on child sexuality. Among the Argentine Araucanians, a girl is prepared for menarche, but not explained its purpose. (p293). "Neither boys nor girls were given sex instructions. Speaking of sex matters was practically taboo. "We would not talk about it; it was too delicate. Things were very strict formerly. A girl of 20 years old knew nothing about sex; today very young girls know everything they should not know [ch. Chippeway]. Formerly, if a young man touched a girl, like putting his hands on hers or holding hers, his father had to make a payment in animals to the girl's father". In rare instances, however, a mother or a grandmother told the girl the purpose of menstruation" (p292). At menarche, girls are secluded; boy's pubescence is not ritually marked. Thus, among the Araucanians of Chile, girls are not instructed about sex or menarche (p57), and there are no puberty rites for either sex. Children among themselves are said to be "modest" (p57, 244).

The Mapuche feel that premarital sexual experimentation is "natural and even desirous", but also urge their children to settle down to married life after a few years' sexual freedom (Faron, 1968:p40)¹⁸⁰. At age twelve a boy may be told about "manhood" and the rules of marriage. Faron (1961:p157-9)¹⁸¹ states that senior members of children's play groups act as "[...] founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly. Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. [...] Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowing between adolescents and their elders. [...] very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter". Nevertheless, "[p]remarital sexual activity is expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunity for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds. [...] Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under the guise of courtship".

Yahgan / Ona (Tierra del Fuego, Argentina) (3+,4+,4,4,3,3;5,5)

¹⁷⁹ Hilger, M. I. (1957) *Araucanian Child Life and its Cultural Background*. Washington : Smithsonian Institution

¹⁸⁰ Faron, L. C. (1968) *The Mapuche Indians of Chile*. New York [etc.]: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

¹⁸¹ Faron, L. C. (1961) *Mapuche Social Structure*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press

Among the Yahgan, little girls are betrothed to adult men; sometimes parents agree to unions between little boys and girls¹⁸². Girls of ten to twelve are found to be no longer virgin¹⁸³.

Among the Ona, “[t]he sexes were kept separate and watched vigilantly from very early years” (Cooper)¹⁸⁴. Gusinde’s trilogy on the Yahgan gives some insight. Children of the Selk’nam (1931:p372)¹⁸⁵ separate in childhood (cf. Gusinde, 1946:p253-4)¹⁸⁶. Some homosexuality among boys is prevalent: “Wissen Buben sich selbst überlassen, dann kommt es manchmal zu Frivolitäten, welche sie als solche einschätzen, doch nie vor Erwachsenen zu wiederholen wagen. Sie drücken und ziehen sich gegenseitig am Membrum, pissen sich gegenseitig an, legen sich nackt aufeinander und steifen dabei das Membrum. Manche Weiße verkehrten mit indianischen Burschen in der nämlichen Form”.

Also (1931:p558-9):

“They never show the slightest prudish narrow-mindedness when boys are by themselves; rather, it has their fullest approval that they thoroughly have their fling. Naturally, the rascals throw off their little cloaks during lively play, even those as old as 14. Then they vivaciously frolic about, throttle and wrestle with one another, throw themselves on the ground and lie on top of one another in the drollest positions, strike one another on the buttocks or lightly brush the hand over the sexual parts, and sometimes adopt a pose that would not be permitted adults: All this is regarded as harmless naïveté, for such romping about usually takes place outside the camp. Once I saw from a distance how several small boys made a circle and at the same time, amidst whispering and giggling, started to take care of a minor need with somewhat free deportment, quickly broke up the circle, ran after one another yelling, and mutually urinated on one another. Two old men who were standing beside me- we were not observed by the boys - smiled at this performance; they said to me apologetically: “After all, the boys are there by themselves!” ”.

Girls are less active. Sex instruction is not formalized. “Children are never witnesses to intimate familiarities between married people” and “[...] children are never given a so-called “explanation of the facts of life”, any more than they are given hints about the sexual life of spouses. Each child’s own developing nature may teach him what needs to be known about this. The young Feuerländer /Fuegians are alert and have a keen gift of observation; hence the twofold sexuality among human beings cannot remain hidden from them as long as they can directly observe it in the animal” (p579).

Thus, “In educational instructions and especially in sexual enlightenment, the Indian never anticipates the child’s physical and mental degree of development or maturity

¹⁸² Hyades & Deniker (1891) *Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn, 1882-1883*. Paris. Vol. 7, p171; Parsons (1906:p69), *op.cit.*

¹⁸³ Hyades & Deniker (1891 :p188) ; Parsons (1906:p122), *op.cit.*

¹⁸⁴ *Op.cit.* Cf. Cooper, J. M. (1946) The Ona, in Steward, J. H. (Ed.) *Handbook of South American Indians*. Vol. 1. The Marginal Tribes. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, Vol. 1. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, p107-25

¹⁸⁵ Gusinde, M. (1931) *Die Feuerland-Indianer, Band I: Die Selk'nam*. Mödling bei Wien: Verlag der Internationalen Zeitschrift “Anthropos”

¹⁸⁶Gusinde, M. (1946) *Uhrmenschen im Feuerland*. Berlin [etc.]: Zsolany

reached naturally; in everything he waits for the appropriate age and the eligibility of the developing young human being"¹⁸⁷.

A comparable pattern is seen for the **Yamana** (1937:p741)¹⁸⁸, and for the **Halakwulup** (1974:p392)¹⁸⁹.

At the Kloketen initiation rite (Chapman, 1982)¹⁹⁰, genitalia of the initiands are squeezed (p105-6). Sometime afterwards the kloketen (initiant) 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.

Teheulche (Argentina)

In 19th century Patagonia, girls "[...] attain puberty at an early age—probably about thirteen years—are frequently married at fifteen years of age, and, from exposure and hard work, speedily become aged"¹⁹¹.

¹⁸⁷ They deal with overly forward behaviour as follows: "There is certainly not missing in Tierra del Fuego a bold rascal who is strongly attracted to girls; at the same time one or another is to be had for his purposes. First there begins between the two a still inconspicuous approach, then they see each other often, know how to meet each other repeatedly in the camp, and exchange the meaningful glances of a beginning infatuation, until they finally try to come together secretly. If they succeed, they enjoy touching each other. It does not come to grosser improprieties, however, because the girls always remain shy and timid. If, however, an adult should observe such behavior between ten- or fourteen-year-olds, he is not satisfied with separating the two and sending them to the huts, but tells the parents and other adults about it. Blows may even rain on the boy for such a mistake, depending on whether the father has already frequently admonished or punished him; for the girl there are serious words that aim at sensitive shame. From now on the vigilance of the camp has been called up over those little affecters of secrecy, and a repetition of their attempts is forestalled. The adults show a special strictness about eliminating such disorders; never do so many blows fall as when a boy is again found secretly with a girl. I often asked: why so much seriousness and excitement over such an occurrence? Each time they behaved as though they could not believe the sincerity of my stupid question. Briefly and to the point, I was given in answer: "It is not good if a boy and girl come together secretly. Our forefathers were much stricter than we are today. The bad example of the whites has made us negligent. It would be better if we went back to the earlier strictness. The way we let children approach one another nowadays is not good for them! ...".

¹⁸⁸ Gusinde, M. (1937) *Die Feuerland-Indianer, Band II: Die Yamana*. Mödling bei Wien: Verlag der Internationalen Zeitschrift "Anthropos". "Scherzend schlagen Sie sich aufs Gesäß und steifen flüchtig mit der Hand über die Geschlechtsteile, oder sie besprützen diese Teile mit Wasser und Zeigen mit den Fingern darauf".

¹⁸⁹ Gusinde, M. (1974) *Die Feuerland-Indianer, Band III/I: Die Halakwulup*. Mödling bei Wien: Verlag St. Gabriel

¹⁹⁰ Chapman, A. (1982) *Drama and Power in a Hunting Society: The Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press

¹⁹¹ Lieutenant Musters (1872) On the Races of Patagonia, *J Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 1:193-207, at p196

Ecuador

(Jivaro, Cayapá; → Santa Cruz Islands)

Among young adult males in urban Ecuador, 28% experienced their first sexual intercourse with a prostitute¹⁹².

Jivaro (Ecuador) (-,-,3,3,3,-;5,-)

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, 1935:p216; Ford and Beach, 1951:p182)¹⁹³. If this rule is violated, he may die (Ford, 1945 [1964:p20]). “Very frequently immature girls of 8 or 9 years of age are purchased as wives. [...] Sexual intercourse does not take place, however, until puberty” (Stirling, 1938:p108)¹⁹⁴.

Cayapá (Ecuador) (2+,2+,3+,3+,3,3;5,8)

Altschuler (1964:p231)¹⁹⁵ was sure of young Cayapa boys indulging in homoeroticism (in contrast to homosexuality) when wrapped around each other on the floor or sharing hammocks. Cayapá parents and older sisters pick the boy up in the air and take his penis between their lips (Altschuler, 1971:p50-1)¹⁹⁶: “A common activity that parents and older siblings engage in with young male children is to hold the child high overhead, open the mouth, and then close it over the child’s genitals (The game is never played with female children). Observation suggests that the experience is not at all frightening to the child”.

¹⁹² Eggleston, E. (1998) Use of Family Planning at First Sexual Intercourse among Young Adults in Ecuador, *J Biosoc Sci* 30,4:501-10

¹⁹³ Karsten, R. (1935) *The Head-Hunters of Western Amazonas*. Helsingfors: Centraltryckeriet

¹⁹⁴ Stirling, M. W. (1938) *Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office

¹⁹⁵ Alschuler, M. (1964) *Tha Cayapa*. PhD Dissertation. Cited by Murray, S. O. (1987) Sentimental effusions on genital contact in Upper Amazonia, in Murray, S. O. (Ed.) *Male Homosexuality in Central and Latin America*. New York: Gay Academic Union, p139-51, at p141

¹⁹⁶ Altschuler, M. (1971) Cayapa personality and sexual motivation, in Marshall, D. S. & Suggs, R. C. (Eds.) *Human Sexual Behavior: Variations in the Ethnographic Spectrum*. New York: Basic Books, p38-58. Also Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilizationprocess*. 2nd ed., p201

Peru

(Sharanahua, Shipibo, Machiguenga, Amahuaca, Cashinahua; →Aymara)

A male's first sexual experience in Lima was typically either with a prostitute or a "fling" (Nencel, 1994:p62, 63, 68)¹⁹⁷. In a study (Chirinos et al., 2001)¹⁹⁸ on Latino male adolescent (12-19) students living in California and Lima, "the" sexual debut was 13 years in both samples. Of the sample, 43% had ever had sex; age at first sexual intercourse was 13 years (Chirinos et al., 2000)¹⁹⁹. Males tended to mainly discuss sexuality with their male peers. In a previous (early 1990s) Lima study on low-income mid-twenties reported by Mahler²⁰⁰, first coitus occurred at a mean age of 16.2 (mm) and 19.2 (ff). In a later study²⁰¹ on 6,962 urban secondary school students aged 13-18, seventeen per cent reported ever having had sexual intercourse (boys: 32 per cent, girls: 7 per cent). Among those reporting having had coitus, the mean age at its first occasion was 13.1 and 14.1 (bs and gs).

Whitam et al. (1998)²⁰² offer some material regarding lesbian identity development.

In one study from the mid-1980s, "Many of the young men said their first sexual experience had been with a much older woman- probably a prostitute, according to the investigator"²⁰³. "Most contacts of [female adolescents] were with boyfriends. [Male adolescents], however, had had intercourse with friends, prostitutes, and girlfriends. Homosexual experiences were reported at 12.3% for men and 4.3% for women. Preceding such experiences, noncoital practices served to facilitate the initiation of youth to coitus at a rather early age"²⁰⁴.

¹⁹⁷ Nencel, L. (1994) The secrets behind sexual desire: the construction of male sexuality in Lima, Peru, *Etnofoor* 7,2:59-75

¹⁹⁸ Chirinos, J.L., Brindis, C., Tye, S. & McCarter, V. (2001) Differences and similarities in sexual and contraceptive knowledge, attitudes, and behavior among Latino male adolescent students in California, United States and Lima, Peru, *Cadernos de Saude Publica / Ministerio da Saude, Fundacao Oswaldo Cruz, Escola Nacional de Saude Publica* 17,4:833-42

¹⁹⁹ Chirinos, J. L., Salazar, V. C. & Brindis, C. D. (2000) A profile of sexually active male adolescent high school students in Lima, Peru, *Cad Saude Publica* 16,3:733-46

²⁰⁰ Mahler, K. (1997) Increased Risk of STD Infection Among Peruvian Women Linked to Their Partners' Sexual Practices, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 23,1:39-40

²⁰¹ Magnani, R., Seiber, E., Zielinski Gutierrez, E. & Vereau, D. (Aug., 1999) *Correlates of Sexual Activity and Condom Use among Secondary School Students in Urban Peru*. Washington, DC: FOCUS on Young Adults, Pathfinder International

²⁰² Whitam, F. L., Daskalos, C., Sobolewski, C. G. & Padilla, P. (1998) The emergence of lesbian sexuality and identity cross-culturally: Brazil, Peru, the Philippines, and the United States, *Arch Sex Behav* 27,1:31-56

²⁰³ Loli, A. (1986) *La Sexualidad en la Adolescencia: Un Estudio Peruano*. Servicio Médico Materno-Infantil and the Pathfinder Fund, Lima. Reported under "Pregnancy Rates High Among Urban Teenagers in Peru, Study Shows", *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 13,1:30

²⁰⁴ Aller-Atucha, L. M. (1990) Practicas de iniciacion sexual y anticoncepcion en un grupo de jovenes limenos, Peru, *Rev Latinoam Sexol* 5,2: 155-77

[Additional refs: CRLP (1997) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Latin America and the Caribbean*, p163-85. Also *Progress Report*, 2000, p71-9]

Mocheros (Moche District, North Coastal Peru)

In Moche, Peru, female virginity is highly valued but many boys have intercourse by ages 12-13 years though dating doesn't begin until ages 15-16 years. Premarital intercourse, "although disapproved, is taken for granted" (Gillin, 1948)²⁰⁵. Gillin (1949:p70-1)²⁰⁶ argues that sex is dealt with "naturally". Thus, "Masturbation is ideally frowned upon, but elders do not hound their child to desist and it is actually regarded as a legitimate outlet for the sex drive in those rare cases where "normal" satisfactions are not available. [...] A boy begins to have sexual relations when he is about twelve or thirteen, but such relations are restricted. Most boys seem to have their first experience with girls of about their own age or somewhat older. The more common practice seems to be for a boy to waylay a girl as she passes through the campiña [...] Sometimes a group of boys waylays a group of girls. As a rule, either type of seduction is preceded by verbal plans or hints and certainly by prior acquaintance. [...] By the age of fifteen or sixteen a boy makes dates with a girl to meet him at a given place in the campiña when he is supposed to be coming home from the market". "Perhaps the majority of children [...] have seen intercourse at an early age, and practically all children know about it in a vague way by the time they are eight or nine years old, though they fail to understand its details or biological purpose. There is no puritanical attitude about it, and there is no effort to withhold knowledge from children, though privacy is preferred. [...] the disapproval of masturbation seems to be more half-hearted than real. Children are not corrected for acts evidencing autoeroticism, but a confession is made to European mores. "Of course it is bad", they say, but children are not lectured on its baleful effects not hounded to desist. The same is true regarding premarital intercourse".

Peruan Indians: Generalia

Tessmann (1930)²⁰⁷ gathered data on premarital intercourse prohibitions and early homosexuality in 49 Peruan Indian tribes. His data reveal that the common prohibition

²⁰⁵ Gillin, J. (1948) Approaches to marriage on the North Peruvian coast, *Marriage Hyg* 1:160-4

²⁰⁶ Gillin, J. (1949) Marriage among the Mocheros, *Marriage & Fam Living* 11,2:70-1,92

²⁰⁷ Tessmann, G. (1930) *Die Indianer Nordost-Perus*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter & Co. Tessmann should be noted for his systematic inclusions on early sex life, for instance on the Ucayali Indians (1928:p208-9), the *Bafia* (1934:p225-7), the *Baja* (1934, I:p204; 1937, II:p112), *Bubi* (1923:p166-7), and the *Pangwe* (1913, II:p251-3).

and punishment of premenarchal coitus is usually associated with early homosexual behaviour or, less common, masturbation. 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 are the *Muinane* (p336), in whom both occurs, and the *Auishiri* (p483) as well as the *Okáina* (p557), for both of whom neither practice is seen. Among the Indians of Ucayali, Tessmann (1928:p208-9)²⁰⁸ notes:

“Mit dem Geschlechtsverkehr beginnt die Tschama früh- es ist sehr schwer, über das Alter etwas auszusagen- mit acht bis zehn Jahren dürfte nicht zu früh geschätzt sein. [...] Der Tschama ist genau wie der peruanische Mischling selbst in Iquitos schon von frühester Jugend an strak auf das weibliche Geschlecht eingestellt. Seinem Trieb folgt er früh und sucht die kleinen Mädchen zu verführen. Diese kommen ihm, wenn sie nur können, entgegen und benutzen jede Gelegenheit, wenn ihre Mutter sie der Pflanzung beschäftigt ist, oder die abendlichen Stunden, um ihren Liebhaber zu treffen und sich hinzugeben. Beide heißen muerati, was ich nur mit Vorbehalt als “Geliebte” bzw. “Geliebter” zu übersetzen wage, da nicht etwa ein Junge immer dasselbe Mädchen hat, sondern jeder nachstellt, die er erreichen kann, wie sie auch nur dann keinen anderen nimmt, wenn keiner zu bekommen ist. Dieser von keinen sentimentalen Anwandlungen getriebene Liebesverkehr beginnt schon lange vor der Beschneidung der Mädchen, und meine Berichterstatter haben mir versichert, wie ich schon sagte, daß keine der zu Beschneidenden noch jungfräulich ist”.

The parents do not protest. Masturbation would be uncommon (typical of most Peruan Indians), and anal intercourse occurs “nur unter kleineren Jungen”.

Fejos (1943:p74)²⁰⁹ on the Peruan Yagua: “Girls have their first sexual experience either before their first menstrual period or shortly afterwards. Boys and girls of the same clan meet secretly in the bush or on outer chacras but if they are discovered they are not punished”.

Sharanahua (Peruan Amazonia)

Siskin (1975:p58-9)²¹⁰ stated: “The prepubescent girls, many of whom are already married, flirt and giggle but are already experts at evasion and teasing, aiming their wills mostly again at men. [...] Some sex play goes on, but a real attempt at sexual intercourse is reported to the adults. The girls are incessant tale bearers, reporting on each other as well as on the boys”. Marriage may be completed at age seven (*ibid.*, p75, 79). “Little girls are sometimes affectionate to their husbands, but they usually ignore them until they are closer to adolescence at fourteen or fifteen”.

²⁰⁸ Tessmann, G. (1928) *Menschen ohne Gott: Ein Besuch bei den Indianern des Ucayali*. Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder

²⁰⁹ Fejos, P. (1943) *Ethnography of the Yagua*. (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology 1) New York: Viking Fund

²¹⁰ Siskin, J. (1975) *To Hunt in the Morning*. London [etc.]: Oxford University Press

Shipibo (Eastern Peru) (eHRAF)

Bergman (1980:p80)²¹¹:

“Parents often arrange marriages for their children in infancy or early childhood. Traditionally a man of 25 years marries one or more wives of from 8 to 10 years of age, but it is said that sexual relations do not begin until the wife reaches puberty. In Panaillo there is now only one recent marriage of this type. The husband is about 30 years old and the wife a rather childish twelve. They seemed to get along well. Recent practice still includes parental arrangement, but eighteen-year-old men marry girls of fourteen or fifteen years. Villagers say that at this age the girl is better able to assume wifely duties. A young man’s prime qualification for marriage is his skill as a fisherman”.

Roe (1982)²¹²:

“One thing [Tessmann] probably was correct about, however, was that the ceremony did not serve as a public demonstration of the girl’s virginity: That the circumcision is a “Sacrifice to the Moon” or an ascertainment that the girl is a virgin [...] is incorrect. This is the interpretation of the settlers, who have naturally tried to explain the meaning of this striking custom. Every Tschama [Chama] knows that none of the girls were virgins before the circumcision because of the free sexual intercourse between children (1928²¹³:p211, transl. [Roe])”.

“After her fifth menses had passed the girl’s mother invited the women and a few old men of the village to a feast. The day was spent in singing songs, dancing, and feasting. At the end each guest received a present. Her long stay in the dark cell was now over. But her companion remained with her constantly, and she continued her daily baths. She was now regarded as eligible for marriage, and ordinarily did marry within a short time” (Olson, 1936:p105-6)²¹⁴.

Eakin (1980/1986)²¹⁵ stated that “[p]uberty rites for girls [...] were conducted soon after the first menstruation, as preparation for marriage. After the girl had been tired out from

²¹¹ Bergman, R. W. (1980) *Amazon Economics: The Simplicity of Shipibo Indian Wealth*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Published for Dept. of Geography, Syracuse University by University Microfilms International

²¹² Roe, Peter G. (1982) *The Cosmic Zygote*. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press

²¹³ Tessmann, G. (1928) *Menschen ohne Gott: Ein Besuch bei den Indianern des Ucayali*. Veröffentlichung der Harvey-Bassler-Stiftung Völkerkunde. Vol. I. Stuttgart: Verlag von Strecker & Schröder

²¹⁴ Olson, R. L. (1936) *The Quinault Indians*. Seattle, Wash.: The University of Washington. Yet: “Young men ordinarily did not contemplate marriage until the all-important supernatural power had been acquired, but girls were regarded as fit for marriage as soon as they had completed the five months of seclusion. From that time until marriage the girl was closely watched lest she have affairs and become pregnant. Marriage was largely regulated by the parents, yet the wishes of the young were seldom violated”. Cf. Storm, op.cit.: “Having gone through her rituals of several months, the girl was ready for marriage”.

²¹⁵ Eakin, L. (1980) *Bosquejo Etnográfico de los Shipibo-Conibo del Ucayali*. Lima: I. Prado Pastor; Eakin, L. (1986) *People of the Ucayali: The Shipibo and Conibo of Peru*. Dallas, Tex.: International Museum of Cultures

dancing and stupefied with drink, she was subjected to a genital subincision, which involved the penetration of the hymen ^[216] and in many cases included a clitorrectomy or labioectomy. The operation was performed by one of the older women, using a bamboo knife”²¹⁷ (p79-80). DeBoer (1979)²¹⁸ speaks of a ceramic object used for [vaginal?] insertion²¹⁹.

Karsten (1955)²²⁰ contributes that in the tribes of the Ucayali, the body is seen as particularly exposed to “the invisible enemies who the savage fears”.

“The first sexual relation of the girl, or the defloration, is particularly full of dangers; the wound thus caused can serve as an entrance to malignant demons, and the definite elimination of the hymen and other parts of the genitals mysteriously acts as a precaution to protect the young person from these dangers. According to the affirmations of some travellers, the elderly who perform the operation not only rubbed certain medicinal grass onto the severed parts, but after a little while introduced an artificial penis, made of clay in the vagina [...], of the same dimensions of the girl’s orifice. The Indians whom I consulted in detail denied the existence of such a practice, and perhaps it does not happen on a regular basis, at least in our days, but if it still existed it would indicate clearly the true intention of this rite” [transl. D.J.]²²¹.

Hern (1977)²²²: “The early age of cohabitation does not seem to be the result of culture change, since many women in their later reproductive years reported having been *entregada* (betrothed) to their husbands *before* puberty. Sexual activity customarily began shortly after the first menses. Surely the missionaries did not approve of this custom”.

²¹⁶ “The travellers Reich and Stegelmann state that only the hymen is severed from the labia minora so that the clitoris is set quite free. It would be most natural to assume that the “circumcision” in question consists only of this operation. Tessman, however, is positive that not only the hymen but also the labia and the clitoris of the girls are severed, which seems too cruel an operation” (Roe, p324-5; cf. Karsten, p157-8).

²¹⁷ “[...] los ritos de pubertad para la muchacha se practicaban hasta hace poco. El rito se cumplía poco después de la primera menstruación, y era considerado como una preparación para el matrimonio. El aspecto físico del rito consistía en una subincisión genital y la penetración del himen; en muchos casos incluía una clitorrectomía o una labioectomía”.

²¹⁸ DeBoer, W. R. (1979) The making and breaking of Shipibo-Conibo ceramics, in Kramer, C. (Ed.) *Ethnoarcheology*. New York: Columbia University Press, p102-38

²¹⁹ “[...] the *shërvenante*, is a solid object, rectangular or oval in shape, which is inserted in the vulva [*sic*] of a young girl after she has undergone the clitoridectomy which is part of the traditional puberty ceremony. The *shërvenante* is made for the ceremony and discarded in village midden [...] after a short period of use by the girl”.

²²⁰ Karsten, R. (1955) Los indios Shipibo del río Ucayali, *Rev Mus Nac Lima-Perú* 24:154-73

²²¹ “En las tribus del Ucayali, la circuncisión de las jóvenes puede ser explicada esencialmente como un preliminar del matrimonio. Los órganos de generación forman parte crítica del cuerpo que están particularmente expuestos a los enemigos invisibles que el salvaje teme. La primera relación sexual de la muchacha, o la defloración, está particularmente llena de peligros; la herida que se provoca puede servir de entrada a los demonios malignos y la eliminación del himen y de ciertas otras partes de los genitales es una precaución para impedirle a la joven misteriosos peligros. Según las afirmaciones de algunos viajeros, la anciana que realiza la operación no sólo frotaba ciertas hierbas medicinales en las partes heridas, sino que después de un momento introducía un pene artificial, hecho de arcilla en la vagina de la doncella, de las mismas dimensiones del órgano del prometido de la muchacha. Los indios a quien pregunté este detalle negaron la existencia de tal práctica, y tal vez no ocurra en forma regular, por lo menos en nuestros días, pero si aún existiera indicaría claramente el verdadero propósito de este rito”.

²²² Hern, W. M. (1977) High fertility in a Peruvian Amazon Indian village, *Hum Ecol* 5,4:355-68

"Marriage and pregnancy occur early, at about 14–15 years of age, a fact that many women bitterly resent. Barely freed from babysitting for their siblings, a job that has consumed much of their time between ages seven and fourteen, girls are, or at least feel, thrust into the responsibilities of adulthood without ever having really been children themselves. [...] Women also complain of being forced to marry an "old man". A few women refused to marry a particular man because he was too old, or because he beat his first wife" (Abelove, 1978)²²³. "Formerly, a girl two or three years of age might be promised for marriage and might be made to live with her husband as early as age seven or eight. Today, child marriages are rare, and most girls marry between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, although a few marry as early as eleven or twelve. The marriage age for young men covers a wider spread, and may be anywhere from seventeen to thirty with the nineteen to twenty-five bracket as the most common" (Eakin). "The mean and median reported ages at first marriage for females were 14.6 and 14.2 years, respectively" (Hern). The proposing by a boy was often done through a male intermediary when the intended was but a small child (Karsten 1964:186). Karsten (1964:p192) maintained that after the bride was handed over to her groom all those assembled watched the consummation of the marriage, but Roe could get no confirmation on this from his informants (p41).

Machiguenga (Peru)

According to Johnson²²⁴:

"The gender separation of older children that intensifies through work with their same-sex parents comes to extend to social relations in general. When men and women form sex segregated groups at a feast, for example, older boys join the men around their food pot, leaving the young boys with the women and girls. Owing to the general public separateness between male and female, I rarely observed sexual play among adults or children. Parents hide sex from children by saving it for private trips to their garden or clandestine late night lovemaking. But they say that from an early age children learn about sex and engage in sex play and intercourse in the bushes--having apparently learned modesty from their parents".

²²³ Abelove, J. M. (1978) *Pre-Verbal Learning of Kinship Behavior among Shipibo Infants of Eastern Peru*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International. 2000 copy

²²⁴ Johnson, A., Online manuscript entitled *Matsigenka Ethnography*. Chapter 3: Becoming Matsigenka: Development of the Self, p98. Cf. ([2003]) *Families of the Forest*. Berkeley: University of California Press, in press.

<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/anthro/faculty/johnson/ethnography.html>

Amahuaca (2,2,2,2,2;5,5) (Peru; Brazil)

"The Amhuaca marry at age 8 to 11, usually with men in their twenties; however, "[...] most children seem to have their first sexual experiences with siblings, and such experimentation is not considered a violation of taboos" (Huxley and Capa, 1965:p72)²²⁵.

Cashinahua (Eastern Peru; Brazil)

Kesinger (1995:p79-80)²²⁶ states that children learn from direct observation and via the gossip of adults. Coitus is observed frequently, "a fact that is amply demonstrated in their play, much to the amusement of the watching adults". Children are taken by their mothers to their [mothers'] erotic adventures.

"Prepubescent boys frequently gave me explicit descriptions of sexual activity they observed while play hunting in the areas frequented by lovers. Both boys and girls are enjoined from having sex before they have completed the month-long initiation rites, which are held at roughly five-year intervals, when the initiates are between nine and thirteen years old. My data indicate that they behave as expected. Most girls marry shortly after initiation and begin having sexual intercourse well before their first menses. Boys frequently are taught the techniques of seduction and sexual intercourse by older women of the kin class *xanu*, including older brother's wife, father's father's brother's wife, and father's mother. They 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. I never witnessed any masturbatory or other sexual play as described by Jacques Lizot (1985)[²²⁷] for the Yanomami. Although the Cashinahua have terms (actually descriptive phrases) for male and female masturbation, terms they say they borrowed from the neighbouring Marinahua, they insist that such practices are unnecessary because sexual partners are readily available".

²²⁵ Huxley, M. & Capa, C. (1965) *Farewell to Eden*. London: Chatto & Windus

²²⁶ Kesinger, K. M. (1995) *How Real People Ought to Live*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press

²²⁷ *Op.cit.*

Bolivia / República de Bolivia*(Siriono, Aymara ; →Mataco)*

A study on virginity concepts among junior and senior high students was offered by Morris et al. (2000)²²⁸.

[Additional refs: CRLP (1997) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: Latin America and the Caribbean*, p34-50. Also *Progress Report*, 2000, p17-23]

Siriono (Bolivia) (2+,2+,2+,2+,2,2;6,6;G1;BE)

Holmberg (1950:p79)²²⁹ stated that genital teasing (pinching) occurred, although masturbation was not a “common juvenile pastime”. “Children, especially boys, however, finger their genitals a great deal without censure, and when they are young their parents masturbate them frequently” ([1969:p169]). Sexual intercourse with a girl who has not undergone her puberty rites is believed “to be followed by a supernatural sanction of sickness and death” [p211], and was not observed [p168].

Aymara (Bolivia, Peru) (2-,2-,2-,2-,2-,2-;8,8)

Tschopik (1951:p167)²³⁰ writes: “Owing to sleeping arrangements within the Aymara household, children are, moreover, aware of adult sexuality from early childhood, and it is not surprising in view of the lax attitudes towards sexual behavior that they themselves should experiment freely as soon as they are so inclined. As a consequence, both boys and girls have had first-hand experience and are thoroughly familiar with sex long before they have reached puberty. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to point out that in this society no importance whatever is attached to virginity”.

“The sex play of young children is viewed by adults with tolerant amusement, and masturbation, though ridiculed, is not actively disapproved, with the result that informants recall having

²²⁸ Morris, J, Young, M. & Jones, Ch. (2000) Self-Esteem and Adolescent Sexual Behavior Among Students at an Elite Bolivian School, *Int Electr J Health Educ* 3,1. At <http://www.kittle.siu.edu/iejhe/paid/2000/number1/pdf/young.pdf>

²²⁹ Holmberg, A. R. (1950) *Nomads of the Long Bow: The Siriono of Eastern Bolivia*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1969 reprint

²³⁰ Tschopik Jr, H. (1951) *The Aymara of Chucuito, Peru*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 44,2: Vol. 1, *Magic*. New York: American Museum of Natural History, p167A. See also Tschopik, H (1946) The Aymara, *Bull Bureau Am Ethnol* 143,2:[p550]

practiced it with no apparent feelings of guilt or shame. Attempts at heterosexual activity on the part of children are, generally speaking, ignored, and if noted tend to evoke amusement or mild ridicule on the part of adults". [...] "As adolescence approaches, girls are often admonished by their mothers not to have "too many" love affairs, but maternal advice in regard to affairs of the heart is customarily elastic and vague. In few instances do illegitimate children constitute a bar to the marriageability of their unwed mothers. Boys are merely warned not to make girls pregnant, lest they become involved with some undesirable and unscrupulous woman who might have serious matrimonial intentions. Evidence furnished by life histories indicates that in not a few instances girls or women take the initiative in making sexual advances, and, indeed, it is the opinion of some Aymara that women are more ardent than men" (p167a-b).

La Barre (1948:p126)²³¹ agrees that under the given circumstances, ("As far as the facts of procreation are concerned, no attempt is made to preserve children from a knowledge of them; the entire family sleeps together on one bed on the raised mud platform in the one-room native hut. No excessive care for privacy is exercised in any case [...]"), "Aymara children are aware of genital sexuality from earliest childhood". Nevertheless, they have an expression for coitarche: lliukattatha.

²³¹ La Barre, W. (1948) *The Aymara Indians of the Lake Titicaca Plateau*. Menasha, Wis.: American Anthropological Association. *Memoirs American Anthropological Association* 68, vol. 50, no. 1,, pt. 2

Paraguay

(Guaraní/Cayua)

Service and Service (1954:p224-6)²³² state that parents “consciously avoid discussion of any [sexual] topic in front of children. Informants also agreed, however, that all children “know everything” by the time they are twelve or thirteen and that some may even have had sex relations at that time. It is said that children learn about sex by “figuring it out”, by observation of animals, and from older children”. More restriction is noted in upper classes than in middle and lower classes, where “sex relations soon after puberty are not uncommon”. Small children who go naked may be distracted from touching their genitals, but are not scolded; older boys are punished, because of the believe that it causes “insanity, pimples, and weakness”. The most common stories about “sex aberrations” have to do with boys’ experimentations with farm animals; such acts are considered to be the result of natural curiosity, rather than abnormal.

The 1990 *Paraguay Encuesta Nacional de Demografía y Salud* offered a median age of first intercourse of 19.3 (versus a median age of marriage of 20.9)²³³.

Additional refs.:

Pantelides, E. A. & Binstock, G. (1993) Factores de riesgo de embarazo adolescente en el Paraguay [Risk Factors of Pregnancy among Adolescents in Paraguay], *Rev Paraguaya Sociol* 30/87:171-86

Guaraní /Cayua (Paraguay) (2, -,2+,-,-,-,-,-)

Girls enter marriage at 11 or 12, boys seldom before age 17 or 18 (Müller, 1935:p381)²³⁴.

“Knowledge of sexuality among the Tupí- Guaraní is extremely limited because missionaries, by convention, were rather prudish in writing about this subject”. Child betrothal is reported among the Guaraní of the Paraná River. “In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law” (Métraux, 1948)²³⁵. Ganson (p214-5), however, noted that mission Indians married at the age of 14-15 for girls, and 16-17 for men, while native customs indicated the “age of sexual maturity”. [?]A number of taboos

²³² Service, E. R. & Service, H. S. (1954) *Tobatí*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

²³³ Remez, L. (1991) Paraguay Survey Shows Moderately High Fertility and Low Child Mortality, *Int Fam Plann Perspect* 17,3:117-9, at p117

²³⁴ Müller, F. (1935) Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Guaraní-Indianer im Ostlichen Waldgebiet von Paraguay, *Anthropos* 30

²³⁵ Métraux, A. (1948) *The Guaraní*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office [op.cit.]

accompanies the healing process, including “rigorous” sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because “otherwise the hole is ruined” (Schaden, 1962)²³⁶.

²³⁶ Schaden, E. (1962) *Fundamental Aspects of Guaraní Culture*. Sao Paulo: Difusao Européia do Livro. Ms thesis

Chile

(→Araucanians; Easter Island)

In males of Chile, the median age of first sexual intercourse was about 15 or 16 (Francoise Hall, 1971:p146)²³⁷. Another study by Murray et al. (1998)²³⁸ found a median age of coital debut was 15.0 years for females, and 14.0 for males; about 5% of females and 10% of males had had coitus at age 13 or before. According to another study (Herold et al., 1992)²³⁹, the median age of first sexual intercourse for experienced Santiago females was 18.4, for experienced males it was 16.4 (overall ages were 21.2 and 17.5). [This compares to a median 15 for males in a 1968 study²⁴⁰.] Partners of first sexual intercourse for both tend to be at least 2.5 years older. In a study of 229 adolescents attending seventh and eighth grade of junior school, in private and public schools of Temuco, Chile, of the 11 percent of adolescents who already had their first sexual intercourse, this occurred at a mean age of 12.2 +/- 2.4 years²⁴¹. In a sample of 301 women, aged 20 to 70 years old, consulting a medical service, the mean age at the first intercourse was 20.6 +/- 4.5 years²⁴².

Vizcarra and Balladares (2000)²⁴³ explored the childhood sexual behaviours in a sample of 588 university students from Temuco (Chile), whose ages ranged from 17 to 21 years; there was also a cross-cultural comparison.

Additional refs.:

Millan, T., Valenzuela, S. & Vargas, N. A. (1995) [Reproductive health in adolescent students: knowledge, attitudes and behavior in both sexes in a Santiago], Chile community, *Rev Med Chil* 123,3:368-75

Easter Island (Chile)

²³⁷ Francoise Hall, M. (1971) Family Planning in Santiago, Chile: The Male Viewpoint, *Stud in Fam Plann* 2,7:143-7

²³⁸ Murray, N. J., Zabin, L. S. Et al. (1998) Gender differences in factors influencing first intercourse among urban students in Chile, *Int Fam Plann Persp* 24,3 :139-44+152

²³⁹ Herold, J. M., Solange Valenzuela, M. & Morris, L. (1992) Premarital Sexual Activity and Contraceptive Use in Santiago, Chile, *Stud in Fam Plann* 23,2:128-36

²⁴⁰ Francoise Hall, M. (1971) Family planning in Santiago, Chile: The male viewpoint, *Studies in Fam Plann* 2,7:143-7, at p146

²⁴¹ Fernandez, L., Bustos, L., Gonzalez, L., Palma, D., Villagran, J. & Munoz, S. (2000) [Beliefs, attitudes and knowledge about sex education], *Rev Med Chil* 128,6:574-83

²⁴² Gramegna, G., Blumel, J. E., Roncagliolo, M. E., Aracena, B. & Tacla, X. (1998) [Patterns of sexual behavior in Chilean women], *Rev Med Chil* 126,2:162-8

²⁴³ Vizcarra, M. B. & Balladares, E. (2000) Conducto sexual infantil en estudiantes unviuersitarios: Un estudio retrospectivo, *Psykhé* 9,1:47-52

“On Easter Island children from the age of six on imitate the sexual behavior of adults without censure [...]” (Ford and Beach, 1951:p191). McCall (1981[1994:p80])²⁴⁴: “[...] adults refrain from discussing [sexual matters]. Some sexual experience is apart of most Rapanui pre-adolescent behavior and while some parents are worried about the consequences of such play, particularly for their daughters, most realise that it is a part of becoming an adult”. A complex custom exists in regard to the clitoris (Marshall, 1962:p249). “There it was teased out by the priest until he could fasten a cord to it. From this dangled a weight which stretched the organ to a length of two to three inches”. According to Danielsson (p89-90) citing a German author, the girl is first orally instructed by an older woman, after which she had intercourse with an older male relative. Métraux ([1957:p107-8])²⁴⁵ states that puberty (10-11 for girls, 12-14 for boys)

“[...] does not even coincide with the beginning of sex life, which starts at a relatively tender age. Nowadays few girls reach the critical age [puberty] without having had some sexual experiences or even with adults, who, we were told, have recourse to various methods of seduction or even force. The little boys are precocious and at an early age imitate the frolics in which they have seen their elders engaging. As far as we could judge, parents take very little notice of these early sexual activities. Among the Easter Islanders puberty is a purely physiological state in the mode of life”.

²⁴⁴ McCall, G. (1981) *Rapanui*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. Second ed., 1994

²⁴⁵ Métraux, A. (1957) *Easter Island*. Transl. from 1957 French. orig. Bristol: A. Deutsch

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*Europe, Historical Generalia*¹

¹ National and historical specifics are found in the 'Europe' Chapter.

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Introduction: Histories of Childhood

John Money (1997 [1999:p14])², first and singular self-declared child sexologist / psychoneuroendo-crinologist at Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, states: “No historian 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 [...]”. Indeed, only a few authors have contributed to the history of attitudes concerning *pre-mature* sexuality as a science³ or construct⁴ besides touching on the history of masturbatory regulation of children. Few historiographies include accounts of the childhood case⁵. Jackson (1990)⁶ notes: “Even avoiding the pitfalls of essentialism, piecing together the history of childhood and sexuality remains extremely problematic. Qualitative data, especially from before the nineteenth century, are patchy, partial and open to multiple interpretations” (p25-6). This is perhaps why her statements remain quite superficial.

It has been argued that current attitudes towards child sexuality and representations of it resemble historical attitudes towards women and homosexuals (Mirkin, 1999)⁷. The following general and chronological localisation of sexual developments, by contrast, is not

² *Op.cit.*

³ Kanner, L. (1939) Infantile sexuality: a critical review, *J Pediatr* 15:583-608; Kern, S. (1973) Freud and the discovery of child sexuality, *Hist Childh Quart* 1:117-41; Sulloway, F. (1979) *Freud, Biologist of the Mind: Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; 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; Olsen, O. A. & Koppe, S. (1999) Den infantile seksualitet i historisk belysning [Infantile sexuality: a historical survey], *Psyke & Logos* 20,2:305-44; Fishman, S. (1982) The history of childhood sexuality, *J Contemp Hist* 17,2:269-83; Cho, S. (1983) *Kindheit und Sexualität im Wandel der Kulturgeschichte: Eine Studie zur Bedeutung der kindlichen Sexualität unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des 17. und 20. Jahrhunderts*. Zürich: ADAG Administration & Druck; Money, J. (1990 [1987]) Historical and current concepts of pediatric and ephebistic sexology, in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology volume VII: Childhood and Adolescent Sexology*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, p3-21; Yates, A. (1st ed, 1991; 2nd ed, 1996) Childhood sexuality, in Lewis, M. (Ed.) *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry: A Comprehensive Textbook*. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins. 1991, p195-7; Bergenheim, A. (1994) *Barnet, Libido och Samhället: Om den Svenska Diskursen kring Barns Sexualitet 1930-1960* [The Child, Libido and Society: Swedish Discourse on Childhood Sexuality 1930-1960]. Falun: Scandbook. English Summary; Bullough, V. L. (1994) *Science in the Bedroom: A History of Sex Research*. New York: Basic Books, p258-65; Foucault, M. (1978) *La Volonté de Savoir*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard. 1980 transl., *The History of Sexuality*, Vol.1: An Introduction., p27-30, 37

⁴ Higgonet, A. (1998) *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood*. New York: Thames & Hudson; Kincaid, J. (1992) *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture*. New York: Routledge; Kincaid, J. (1998) *Erotic Innocence: The Culture of Child Molesting*. London: Duke University Press

⁵ Lewinsohn, R. (transl, 1958) *History of Sexual Customs*. London: Longmans, Green; Ussel, J. van (1968) *Geschiedenis van het Seksuele Probleem*. Meppel: Boom; Hunt, D. (1970) *Parents and Children in History*. NY: Basic Books, Inc.; Flandrin, J. (1975) *Les Amours Paysannes (XVI-XIXe siècle)*. Paris: Gallimard/Juilliard, p149-72; Flandrin, J. (1977) Repression and change in the sexual life of young people in medieval and early modern times, *J Fam Hist* 2,3:196-210; Stone, L. (1977) *Family, Sex & Marriage in England 1500-1800*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, p507-12; Jackson, S. (1990) Demons and innocents: Western ideas on children's sexuality in historical perspective, in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology volume VII: Childhood and Adolescent Sexology*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, p23-49; Weeks, J (1981) *Sex, Politics and Society*. Essex: Longman House, p48-52; McLaren, A. (1999) *Twentieth-Century Sexuality: A History*. Oxford: Blackwell, p23-9

⁶ *Op.cit.*

⁷ Mirkin, H. (1999) The pattern of sexual politics: feminism, homosexuality and pedophilia, *J Homosex* 37,2: 1-24

occupied with generating such interpretative links, instead concentrates on the establishment of a global chronological picture.

Some Previous Notes and Localisations

Typically, historiographies of childhood, especially the more dated ones, use to omit sexual “outlets”⁸. In an attempt to produce a historical coding system on child rearing practices, Stewart et al. (1975:p691-2, 700)⁹ left out sexual items.

“The reason is simple: These were never mentioned, either in an explicit or implicit way, in any of the English manuals from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. [...] The lack of mention of anality and sex is probably the greatest disadvantage of the use of historical child-rearing manuals”.

Nonetheless, the Victorian era is widely recognised for its sexual and pedagogical peculiarities¹⁰, the association of sexual and childhood concepts being established on a variety of grounds. When seen in a specific light¹¹, Victorian sexuality appears rather equiform to the **New Guinean** case:

“Energy was construed as sexual and there was great concern over spermatic loss, which was assumed to go together with losses of will and order. Warnings of physical excess in copulation went hand in hand with warnings about masturbation. Woman’s latent sexuality posed a threat to male energies, and through them, to civilization. Clitoridectomy and removal of the hood of the clitoris was widely advocated and practiced in the US until the early 20th cent. Removal of women’s ovaries reached epidemic proportions in the 1890’s. Gynecologists treated their patients as if they were rebels or criminals. Such practices became proofs of the gynecologists’ manhood professional identity. Men depended on copulation to implement their social vision, yet believed they ran dreadful risks of debilitation, disease and death in sexual intercourse”.

Doing the history of developmental sexology is inevitably bound up by an identification of authorities.

While D. Hunt (1970)¹² used Héroard’s *Journal* for earlier data, and Lewinsohn ([1956])¹³ used Freud for later periods, Marcus (1964)¹⁴ explains Victorian child sexuality on the basis of William Acton¹⁵ only.

A variety of issues have been addressed:

Others pointed to the sexual environment of children such as child prostitution (Gorham, 1978)¹⁶ and other forms of sexual child abuse (Hartman, 1974; Jackson, 2000)¹⁷, to street life of

⁸ Take, for instance, Stuart, D. M. (1926) *The Boy Through the Ages*. London: Harrap

⁹ Stewart, A. J., Winter, D. G. & Jones, A. D. (1975) Coding Categories for the Study of Child-Rearing from Historical Sources, *J Interdisc Hist* 5,4:687-701

¹⁰ Pre-Victorian attitudes in England were covered by Stone (1977:p507-12).

¹¹ Barker-Benfield, B. (1972) The Spermatic Economy: A Nineteenth Century View of Sexuality, *Feminist Studies* 1,1:45-74

¹² *Op.cit.*

¹³ *Op.cit.*

¹⁴ Marcus, S. (1964) *The Other Victorians*. 1966 edition, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson

¹⁵ Cf. Crozier, I. (2001) Rough winds do shake the darling buds of may. A note on William Acton and the sexuality of the (male) child, *Fam Hist* 26:411-20

¹⁶ Gorham, D. (1978) The ‘Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon’ reexamined: child prostitution and the idea of childhood in late Victorian England, *Victorian Studies* 21,3:353-79

the poor (Walvin, 1982)¹⁸, to anti-masturbatory retaliation (Spitz, 1952)¹⁹, premarital virginity and sexual initiation moralities (Hanawalt, 1993:p120-4)²⁰, family values (Kern, 1973, 1974/1979, 1975)²¹, trends in professional advice on infant impulse parenting (Ryerson, 1961; Wolfenstein, 1953; Hardyment, 1983)²², and to school organisation (Fishman, 1982)²³. Some have centralised specific “sexual” subcultures, including Baden-Powell’s scouting mores (Hall, 1990 [1992:p300-1])²⁴, and Gustav Wyneken’s pedagogical Eros Utopia²⁵. Others have concentrated on written resources: pre-Freudian Freudianism (Crowley, 1987)²⁶ and masturbation (Holthuis, 1990)²⁷ in boy books, gender and sex role themes in Victorian boy’s fiction (Nelson, 1989)²⁸, and “sensuality education” in pre- and post-war child-rearing guides (Jenkins, 1998)²⁹. More philosophical works include that of Cho (1983)³⁰.

Most attention, however, has been directed to child/adolescent-adult sexual relations (Bullough, 1990; Bullough and Bullough, 1996; Brongersma, 1983; Brongersma, 1987:p96-108; Ames and Houston, 1990; Tarnowsky, 1990)³¹ and legislation controlling such practice (Killias, 1979, 1990)³², including age of consent legislation (e.g., Walkowitz, 1992)³³.

The sexual abuse of children has been an inviting subject of reflection as well as conjecture³⁴. Authors such as DeMause have spent their academic lives tracing its manifold angles and

¹⁷ Hartman, M. S. (1974) Child abuse and self-abuse: 2 Victorian cases, *Hist Childh Quart* 2,2:221-48; Jackson, L. A. (2000) *Child Sexual Abuse in Victorian England*. London: Routledge

¹⁸ Walvin, J. (1982) *A Child’s World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914*. Penguin Books

¹⁹ Spitz, R. (1952) Authority and masturbation: [some remarks on] a bibliographical investigation, *Psychoanal Study Child* 7:490-527; *Psyche* 6(1952), 4:1-24; *Yearb Psychoanal* 9(1953):113-45

²⁰ Hanawalt, B. A. (1993) *Growing Up in Medieval London*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press

²¹ Kern, S. (1973) Freud and the discovery of child sexuality, *Hist Childh Quart* 1:117-41; Kern, S. (1974) Explosive intimacy: psychodynamics of the Victorian family, *Hist Childh Quart* 1:437-62; Kern, S. (1975) *Anatomy and Destiny: A Cultural History of the Human Body*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., p119-24; Kern, S. (1979) Freud und die Entdeckung der Kindlichen Sexualität, *Kindheit: Zeitschrift zur Erforschung der Psychischen Entwicklung* (September), p215-38

²² Ryerson, A. J. (1961) Medical advice on child rearing: 1550-1900, *Harvard Educ Rev* 31:302-23; Wolfenstein, M. (1953) Trends in infant care, *Am J Orthopsychia* 23:120-30. Reprinted in Brackbill, I. & Thompson, G. G. (1967) *Behavior in Infancy and Early Childhood*. New York: Free Press; Hardyment, Ch. (1983) *Dream Babies: Child Care from Locke to Spock*. London: Oxford University Press

²³ Fishman, S. (1982) The history of childhood sexuality, *J Contemp Hist* 17,2:269-83

²⁴ Hall, L. A. (1996) Forbidden by God, Despised by Men: Masturbation, Medical Warnings, Moral Panic, and Manhood in Great Britain, 1850-1950, *J Hist Sex* 2,3:365-87

²⁵ Maasen, M. (1988) *De Pedagogische Eros in het Geding: Gustav Wyneken an de Pedagogische Vriendschap in de Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf tussen 1905 en 1931*. Utrecht: Homostudiesreeks

²⁶ Crowley, J. (1987) Polymorphously perverse? Childhood sexuality in the American boy book, *Am Literary Realism* (1870-1910) 19,2:2-15

²⁷ Holthuis, F. (1990) “Sterker dan God was de onanie”: over masturbatie in twee jongensboeken, *Parmentier* [Dutch] 2,1/2:55-64. See also Rowan, E. L. (1989) Editorial: Masturbation according to the Boy Scout *Handbook*, *J Sex Ed & Ther* 15,2:77-81

²⁸ Nelson, C. B. (1989) Sex and the single boy: ideals of manliness and sexuality in Victorian literature for boys, *Victorian Stud* 32,4:525-50

²⁹ Jenkins, H. (1998) The sensuous child: Dr. Benjamin Spock and the sexual revolution, in Jenkins, H. (Ed.) *The Children’s Culture Reader*. New York: New York University Press, p209-30

³⁰ Cho, S. (1983) *Kindheit und Sexualität im Wandel der Kulturgeschichte: Eine Studie zur Bedeutung der kindlichen Sexualität unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des 17. und 20. Jahrhunderts*. Zürich: ADAG Administration & Druck

³¹ Bullough, V. L. (1990) History in adult human sexual behaviour with children and adolescents in western societies, in Feerman, J. (Ed.) *Pedophilia, Biosocial Dimensions*. Springer-Verlag, New York, p69-90; Bullough, V. L. & Bullough, B. (1996) Problems of research into adult/child sexual interaction, *Iss Ch Abu Accus* 8,2; Brongersma, E. (1987) *Jongensliefde: Seks en Erotiek Tussen Jongens en Mannen*, vol. 1. SUA, Amsterdam. [Loving boys: A Multidisciplinary Study of Sexual Relations Between Adult and Minor Males, vol.1, 1986]

³² Killias, M. (1979) *Jugend und Sexualstraftrecht*. Bern: Paul Haupt; Killias, M. (1990) The historic origins of penal statutes concerning sexual activities involving children and adolescents, *J Homosex* 20,1/2:41-6; 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. See also Killias, M. (1993) Vom Schutz unreifer Mädchen zur Entsexualisierung der Jugend, in Hess, A. G. & Clement, P. F. (Eds.) *History of Juvenile Delinquency*. Vol. 2. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, p809-27

³³ Walkowitz, J. R. (1992) *City of dreadful delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. London: Virago

³⁴ Shultz, L. G. (1982) Child sexual abuse in historical perspective, *J Soc Work & Hum Sex* 1:21-35; Breiner, S. (1990) *Slaughter of Innocents: Child Abuse Through the Ages and Today*. New York, Plenum Press; 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. 1. Lawrence Erlbaum

pushing its trans-historical and trans-cultural interpretative plasticity to the limits of plausibility. Other historians have generally reacted with reservation (DeMause, 1988), but some seem to accept his views (e.g., Johansen, 1978 [1980:p43])³⁵. The range of historical intentions counts two extremes. On one hand, there are those that portray cultures as child molesting cultures (DeMause, Kahr)³⁶, and historical eras as child molesting eras; this perspective is informed by a range of works localising “the history of sexual abuse” (e.g., Lascaratos et al., 2000)³⁷. On the other hand, some authors use the same (yet renamed) phenomenon to demonstrate the superiority of a sexual culture³⁸, even as an opposition to what is referred to as today’s contorted and self-defeating morality. Others seem comfortable in-between such radical apologies (Vern Bullough), but even then, not without danger³⁹. However, historians share with sociologists a definite hesitation to interpret the *active* sexual lives of children. Instead, dissertations are being written about historical aspects of adults picturing childhood (such as by feminist art historian Higonnet)⁴⁰ beside far-reaching interpretative accounts of adult interference with children (DeMause). The contemporary, often twisted, representation of the child sexuality issue in scholarly discussions on paedophilic pathologies of cultures and individuals, and interstate censorship of cyberpornographic representations, makes for an increasingly disseminated, and for many an unworkable, moral minefield.

Intermezzo: Albert Moll

Perhaps the first historiographic appraisal of developing sexuality comes from Albert Moll. As quoted from his pioneering work (1908 [1912])⁴¹:

Associates. Hillsdale, New Jersey; 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; Conte, J. R. (1994) Child sexual abuse: awareness and backlash, *The Future of Children / Center for the Future of Children, the David and Lucile Packard Foundation* 4,2:224-32; Gray-Fow, M. (1987) Child Abuse, Historiography and Ethics: The Historian as Moral Philosopher, *J Psychohist* 15,1:455-65; Cunningham, J. L. (1988) Contributions to the history of psychology: L. French historical views on the acceptability of evidence regarding child sexual abuse, *Psychol Rep* 63,2:343-53; Coldrey, B. M. (1996) The Sexual Abuse of Children: The Historical Perspective, *Studies [Ireland]* 85(340):370-80; Martin, E. J. (1995) Incest/child sexual abuse: historical perspectives, *J Holistic Nursing* 13,1:7-18; 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, p65ff. Reprinted from Lloyd, R. (1976) *For Money or Love: Boy Prostitution in America*. New York: Vanguard Press, see p63-77; Kinnear, K. L. (1995) *Childhood Sexual Abuse: A Reference Handbook*. Contemporary World Issues. Santa Barbara, Calif. ABC-CLIO, p95-110; and many works of DeMause. Also Dziech, B. W. & Schudson, Ch. B. (1991) *On Trial: America's Courts and Their Treatment of Sexually Abused Children*. Boston: Boston Beacon Press, p21-40

³⁵ Johansen, E. M. (1978 [1980]) *Betrogene Kinder: Eine Sozialgeschichte der Kindheit*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer

³⁶ DeMause, L. (1975) Our forebears made childhood a nightmare, *Psychol Today* 8, Apr.:85-8; DeMause, L. (1990) The History of Child Assault, *J Psychohist* 18:1-29; DeMause, L. (1998) The History of Child Abuse, *J Psychohist* 25,3: 216-36; Kahr, B. (1991) The Sexual Molestation of Children: Historical Perspectives, *J Psychohist* 19,2:191-214. The matter received some enthusiasm with psychoanalysts (Socarides, Wilson), child abuse professionals (Finkelhor) and a juvenile justice attorney (Vachss). Further Kahr, B. (1991) The History of Sexuality: From Ancient Polymorphous Perversity to Modern Genital Love, *J Psychohist* 26,4:764-78

³⁷ Lascaratos, J. et al. (2000) Child sexual abuse: historical cases ion the Byzantine Empire (324-1453 A.D.), *Child Abuse & Negl* 24,8 :1985-90

³⁸ Eglinton, J. Z. (1964) *Greek Love*. New York: Oliver Layton Press; Dover (1978); and Brongersma (1986).

³⁹ Bullough, V. (2000) The Paedophilia Smear, <http://theposition.com/takingpositions/provocateur/00/06/05/pedophilia/default.htm>

⁴⁰ *Op.cit.*

⁴¹ Moll, A. (1908) *Das Sexualleben des Kindes*. Leizig: Vogel. 1912 English translation

“Laukhard⁴², born in the year 1758, at Wendelsheim, in the Lower Palatinate, tells us how, when six years of age, he was introduced by a manservant into the secrets of the sexual life, so that he was speedily in a position “to take part, with consummate ability and to the admiration of all, in the most shameless lewd sports and conversations of the menials of the household”. And Laukhard adds in a note that, in the Palatinate, obscenity was so universal, and among the common people the general conversation was so utterly shameless, that a Prussian grenadier would have blushed on hearing the foul talk of the Jacks and Gills of the Palatinate. He also relates that he soon found an opportunity of practising with one of the servant-girls what the manservant who had been his instructor had extolled to him as the non plus ultra of the higher knowledge. If we compare with this the descriptions given by Rétif de la Bretonne, who was born in the year 1734 in the village of Sacy in Lower Burgundy, and was the son of a well-to-do peasant, and if we study a number of similar accounts of country life, we shall hardly be inclined to take a very roseate view regarding rural morals in former days. We learn from Rétif,[72]⁴³ that while still quite a little boy, only four years of age, he had the most diverse sexual experiences with a grown-up girl, Marie Piôt, after she had induced an erection of his penis by tickling his genital organs. These and numerous similar accounts, which we find in the works of writers of previous centuries, are not likely to sustain the conviction that rural morals were formerly distinguished by exceptional purity”.

Moll also states that

“in the year 1527 [...] the Town Council of Ulm issued an order to the brothel-keepers of that town that they were no longer to admit to the brothels boys of from twelve to fourteen years of age, but rather were to drive them away with birch-rods. This fact, with many others, is recorded by Hans Boesch,[73]⁴⁴ and collectively they suffice to prove, not merely that the children of former times were no whit more moral than those of our own day, but also that the awakening of sexual activity occurred just as early then as now”.

Ancient Romans and Greek

As mentioned by Plato, there was a discourse on sexual abuse of children in classical Athens, and acts of an erotic nature were considered *hubris* (Cohen, 1993:p8)⁴⁵, which was to cover for the apparent absence of a statutory rape provision (p14-5). Specifically, their were a range of laws pertaining to circumstances which *could lead to the corruption of boys*, and the law of *hubris* “may have made prosecution at least a theoretical possibility for any consummated act of intercourse with minors” (Cohen, 1991 [1994:p182])⁴⁶. A genuine age of consent, although perhaps a meaningful argument, is not known (p15). “Child” prostitution in Rome might thus have been “exceedingly common”⁴⁷ at the time of Emperor Domitian (A.D. 81-96), though there are few hard facts on this point. However, in late Medieval times, academic lawyers taught that sexual molestation of a girl who had not yet reached puberty merited the death penalty “under any circumstances” (Brundage, p531).

⁴² Magister Laukhards Leben und Schicksale, von ihm selbst beschrieben, bearbeitet von Viktor Petersen (The Life and Fortunes of Master Laukhard, described in his own words, and edited by Viktor Petersen), vol. i. p. 15, Stuttgart, 1908 [orig.footnote]

⁴³ Monsieur Nicholas, vol. i. p. 51, Paris (Liseux), 1884 [orig.footnote]

⁴⁴ Kinderleben in der deutschen Vergangenheit (Child Life in Old Germany), p. 112, Leipzig, 1900 [orig.footnote]

⁴⁵ Cohen, D. (1993) Consent and sexual relations in classical Athens, in Laiou, A. E. (Ed.) *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library & Collection, p5-16

⁴⁶ Cohen, D. (1991) *Law, Sexuality, and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

⁴⁷ Brundage, J. A. (1987) *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press, p26

Age of Marriage

Hopkins (1965)⁴⁸ offers a most detailed analysis of the age of marriage for Roman girls. Whereas Durry (1955a/b/c, 1956)⁴⁹ had argued that Roman girls were married before puberty, that puberty was not important in fixing the age of marriage, and that such early marriages were consummated before puberty, Hopkins comes to a different conclusion. Around AD 530, and at least as far back as the reign of Augustus, the legal minimum age of marriage for girls was 12 and for boys 14 (Hopkins, p313n22), whereas the lawful definition of puberty around AD 400 lists equal ages (p310n12). At least for the aristocracy, early ages are frequently mentioned. Betrothal could take place within a poorly defined period before this age; at least it must be assumed that a minimum legal age of seven was in vogue (p313n23)⁵⁰. The only law dealing with early marriage and sexual intercourse is concerned with adultery (p316), and coitus upon marriage seems to have been the rule. Plutarch (historian, philosopher), and Soranus (doctor, practising at Rome), both Greeks, implied that early marriage (12 or before) and defloration would occur, and that it should not (p314). Equivalent to Macrobius' ideas (p317), Soranus wrote that girls not properly brought up and untrained had desires too soon, a tendency that would somehow contribute to early marriage. Taking into consideration epigraphic and literary material, Hopkins concludes that "[w]hether pre-pubertal or not, girl's age at marriage was by our standards very young and marriages were generally immediately consummated", with little data on class distinction (p326).

Eyben (1985)⁵¹ offers a rich analysis of puberty (p403-34) and age of marriage (p435-44). The age of menarche in the Classical period most probably averaged around 13-14 years (Amudsen and Diers, 1969)⁵², or rather the *fourteenth year* of life (King, 1985⁵³:p180-6; 1998⁵⁴:p23, 199; see also Zoepffel, 1985⁵⁵). As said, legal ages of marriage (and concubinage⁵⁶) were 12 for girls and 14 for boys (cf. Rawson, 1991:p27)⁵⁷, and Roman children of the aristocracy married youngest (Hopkins, 1965:316ff; 1983⁵⁸:p94; Weaver, 1986:p156)⁵⁹. Roman

⁴⁸ Hopkins, M. K. (1965) The Age of Roman Girls at Marriage, *Populat Stud* 18,3:309-27. For exact statements and a review the reader is referred to this source.

⁴⁹ Durry, M. (1955) Le mariage des filles impubères à Rome, *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad des Inscript*, p84-91; Durry, M. (1955) Le mariage des filles impubères dans la Rome antiques, *Rev Int Droits Antiq* 2:263-73; Durry, M. (1955) Sur le mariage romain, *Rev Int Droits Antiq* 3:227-43; Durry, M. (1955) Le mariage des filles impubères chez les anciens Romains, *Anthropos* 50:432-4. By other sources it was argued that "[t]he young girl was given in marriage by her parents so young she was incapable of coming to a decision unaided. She just walked out of one nursery into another" (Nemecek, N., 1961, *Virginity*. London: Neville: Spearman, p73)

⁵⁰ Cf. Goodsell, W. (1934) *A History of Marriage and the Family*. New York: MacMillan, p153

⁵¹ Eyben, E. (1985) Geschlechtsreife und Ehe im griechisch-römischen Altertum und im frühen Christentum, in Müller, E. W. (Ed.) *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung*. München: K. A. Freiburg, p403-78

⁵² Amudsen, D. W. & Diers, C. J. (1969) The age of menarche in classical Greece and Rome, *Hum Biol* 41:125-32

⁵³ King, H. (1985) *From Parthenos to Gyne: The Dynamics of Category*. PhD Thesis, University of London

⁵⁴ King, H. (1998) *Hippocrates' Woman*. London & New York: Routledge

⁵⁵ Zoepffel, R. (1985) Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung im Alten Griechenland, in Müller, E. W. (Ed.) *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung*. Freiburg/München: Verlag Karl Albe, p319-401

⁵⁶ Brundage (1987:p42), *op.cit.*

⁵⁷ Rawson, B. (1991) Adult-child relationships in Roman society, in Rawson, B. (Ed.) *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Rome*. Oxford: Clarendon, p7-30

⁵⁸ Hopkins, K. (1983) *Sociological Studies in Roman History*. Vol.II. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press

⁵⁹ Weaver, P. R. C. (1986) The status of children in mixed marriages, in Rawson, B. (Ed.) *The Family in Ancient Rome*. London & Sydney: Croom Helm, p145-69

marriage arrangements usually began with a betrothal, which was possible before age ten⁶⁰, at least in the case of the aristocracy, or when political gains were in vogue (Baldson, p87, 275n18)⁶¹. Augustus (AD 9) had fixed the minimum age at ten (Rawson, 1986:p21)⁶². Baldson argued that the idea of a universal rule of prepubertally consummated marriage is “a highly implausible fantasy”. In Ancient Greece, “[t]hough the marriage of a girl to a man twenty years her elder was common, sexual relations between the very young and very old were a standard subject for mirth” (see Rahe, 1970:p270, n17)⁶³. However, marriage was not as early as in Rome, possibly at age 18 for girls, but also to men a decade older, but at least 25 (Lacey, 1968:106-7, 189)⁶⁴.

At least one author believed that a girl “should be married and deflowered as soon as she reaches puberty (i.e., the socially determined age of puberty)”, to allow the first flow of blood (Dean-Jones, 1994 [1996:p50])⁶⁵. This image was not associated with the concept of an imperforate hymen, but with “dilating the body’s veins and the mouth of the cervix”. Rousselle (1983:p59)⁶⁶ cites that “[i]t was thought that badly brought up girls felt sexual desire before they had menstruated, and it was also believed that sexual intercourse made menstruation easier. [...] After the age of fourteen, girls became women [...]”. A boy’s pubescence gave rise to a celebration of his body. When married, the father disproved his impotence with a certificate (*ibid.*).

Psychohistorians⁶⁷ cite Rousselle (1988:p33) in arguing that Roman misconceptions about the hymen “could only be the result of girls being deflowered before puberty”, being lawfully married before puberty.

*Greek Love*⁶⁸ with a Specific Reference to Age

By the *Laius Complex*, named after Oedipus’s father, Ross (1982,1985/6; Ross and Herzog, 1985)⁶⁹ means the “pederastic and filicidal inclinations that I [Ross] believe to be universal

⁶⁰ O’Neal, C. M. (1983) *Marriage and the Status of Women as Viewed through Early Medieval Law Codes*. Thesis, Texas, p21

⁶¹ Baldson, J. (1969) *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*. London [etc.]: The Bodley Head

⁶² Rawson, B. (1986) The Roman family, in Rawson, B. (Ed.) *The Family in Ancient Rome*. London & Sydney: Croom Helm, p1-57

⁶³ Rahe, P. A. (1970) The Primacy of Politics in Classical Greece, *Am Hist Rev* 89,2:265-93

⁶⁴ Lacey, W. K. (1968) *The Family in Classical Greece*. London: Thames & Hudson

⁶⁵ Dean-Jones, L. (1994) *Women’s Bodies in Classical Greek Science*. Oxford: Clarendon

⁶⁶ Rousselle, A. (1983) *Porneia*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. Translated 1988, Oxford: Blackwell

⁶⁷ Gardner, R., Wills, Sh. & Goodwin, J. M. (1995) The Io Myth, *J Psychohist* 23,1:30-9

⁶⁸ See Reinsberg, C. (1989 [1993]) *Ehe, Hetärentum, und Knabenliebe in Antiken Griechenland*. München: Beck; Bethe, E. (1983) Die Dorische Knabenliebe, *Rheinisches Mus Philol*, N.F. 62:438-75. Reprinted 1983; Koch-Harnack, G. (1983) *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke*. Berlin: Mann; Percy III, W. A. (1996) *Pederasty and Pedagogy in Archaic Greece*. Urbana [etc.]: University of Illinois Press; Percy, W. A. III (1992) Sexual revolution 600 B.C. - 400 A.D.: the origins of institutionalized pederasty in Greece, in Dynes, W. R. & Donaldson, S. (Eds.) *Homosexuality in the Ancient World*. New York, NY: Garland, p49-68. Orig. in *The Gay Review*, 1 (1990) 1 (oct.9), p19-24; Deissmann-Merten, M. (1986) Zur Sozialgeschichte des Kindes im Alten Griechenland, in Martin, J. & Nitschke, Au. (Eds.) *Zur Sozialgeschichte der Kindheit*. München: Verlag K. Alber, p267-316, see p304-6; Dynes, W. R. & Johansson, W. (1990) Greece, ancient, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol. I, p491-501; Leroi, A. & Sergent, B. (1994) Homosexualité et politique chez les anciens, in Mendès-Leite, R. (Ed.) *Sodomites, Invertis, Homosexuels: Perspectives Historiques*. Lille: GKC, p43-7

⁶⁹ 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

among fathers"⁷⁰. The concept has received little impetus in psychodynamic theory, and the place of the erotic within the parental remains a rather pressing theoretical-ethical impasse. "Philia", as is argued, was donated by Zeus to mortals to safeguard their humanity (Nicolaidis and Nicolaidis, 1993)⁷¹. Its legitimate use as a suffix the para"philia", however, appears to be unchallenged.

Booth (1991)⁷², sketching the dangers of Greek symposia, where "eating, drinking and sexual indulgence constitute an intimate and unholy trinity", tried to establish the legal "drinking age" of boys. In Rome "assumption of the *toga virilis* was on the one hand recognized to bestow freedom to recline and on the other to render desirable some restraint and guidance". This does not mean children were excluded from parties, but that "in proper imperial practice, before assumption of the *toga virilis*, princes did not recline but sat, and they did not participate fully in the *convivium*".

In Greece, the boy was loved from pubescence, at age 14, to the beard, appearing "at least four years later in life than it does in a modern population" (Moller, 1987)⁷³, or somewhere around 21.

The only precaution taken was to depilate boys' anuses, stated Martial and Suetonius. "At least in comedies and satyr plays, admittedly a raunchier environment than everyday Athens, boys were identified as sexual beings from an early age [...]. Aristotle [...] observes that boys enjoy rubbing their penises before (though only shortly before) they are able to ejaculate [...]. Awareness of boys' interest in the subject leads Xenophon to approve of the Persian reluctance to discuss sex in front of the very young lest their lack of discipline lead to excess [...]". Plato⁷⁴ argued for sexual segregation at age 6 and valued heterosexual self-control⁷⁵. There seems to have been a law that referred to the age of 25 as the minimum of sexual responsibility, but there is no record of its use⁷⁶. Whoring was the only method of obtaining sexual intimacy, says Golden (1990)⁷⁷, who is rather optimistic about the positive elements of this "institution" (p59). At least, Athenian pederasty brought the *meirakion* "into the orbit of a wider adult male world than his father's" (Strauss, 1993:p94-5)⁷⁸. It may also be argued that pederasty functioned to support the family and the continued primacy of masculine values and ethics, where traditional views of warriorhood were degenerating (Ungaretti, 1978)⁷⁹.

the father: Notes on fathers, aggression, and pathogenesis, in Anthony, E. J. & Pollock, G. (Eds.) *Parental Influences*. Boston: Little, Brown, p477-510

⁷⁰ 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 Nicolaidis & Nicolaidis. 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

⁷¹ Nicolaidis, G. & Nicolaidis, N. (1993) Incorporation, pédophile, incest, *Rev Franc Psychanal* 57,2:507-14

⁷² Booth, A. (1991) The Age for Reclining and Its Attendant Perils, in Slater, W. J. (Ed.) *Dining in a Classical Context*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p105-20

⁷³ Moller, M. (1987) The Accelerated Development of Youth: Beard Growth as a Biological Marker, *Comparat Stud Soc & Hist* 29,4:748-6

⁷⁴ On Platonist ethics, see Ervin, E. (1993) Plato the Pederast: Rhetoric and Cultural Procreation in the Dialogues, *Pre-Text* 14, 1-2:73-98; Catonne, J. Ph. (1996) Michel Foucault, lecteur de Platon ou de l'amour du beau garçon a la contemplation du beau en soi, *Daimon*, *Rev Filosof* 12:13-23

⁷⁵ Lacey (1968:p189-90)

⁷⁶ Gray-Fow, M. (1986) Pederasty, the Scantian law, and the Roman army, *J Psychohist* 13,4:449-60

⁷⁷ Golden, M. (1990) *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*. Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press

⁷⁸ Strauss, B. S. (1993) *Fathers and Sons in Athens*. London: Routledge

⁷⁹ Ungaretti, J. R. (1978) Pederasty, heroism, and the family in classical Greece, *J Homosex* 3,3:291-300. Further discussion of the "erotic reciprocity" or erastes and eromenos in Monoson, S. S. (1994) Citizen as Erastes: Erotic Imagery and the Idea of Reciprocity in the Periclean Funeral Oration, *Political Theory* 22,2:253-76

Contemporary others are not so optimistic about what happened to “children” (e.g., Bloch, 2001)⁸⁰. It may be reasoned that “this [universal] sexual abuse of boys and young men by older men (who had themselves been abused) reflected a desired gender reversal designed to subsume women’s feared powers and increase male control” (Atlas, 2000)⁸¹. Kahr, who seems to draw conclusions of the absence of erections in the younger party as depicted on surviving vases⁸², makes the significant, yet bluntly put, argument that “we have no first-hand accounts from the youths themselves about the ravages of Greek abuse” [*sic*].

The involvement of prepubescent in ritualised or habitual acts relative to the “sexual” sphere may largely be overshadowed by concepts of warrior pederasty and homosexuality pertaining to *ephebes*. Johansson (1990:p959-60)⁸³ argues that “pederasty” is about children aged twelve to seventeen, and not to be polluted with the contemporary stigma of “paedophilia”. DeMause (*The Emotional Life of Nations*, Ch.7), however, argues that “as soon as boys reached puberty, they were felt to be useless for sexual purposes, and all pederastic poetry⁸⁴ mentions the first hairs terminate the boy’s attractiveness”. The alignment of the Greek with contemporary “paraphiliac” categories would be facilitated by their manifest “trichophobia”⁸⁵. DeMause’s ill grasp of “puberty” is indicative enough of this tendency.

The dating of the *eromenos*’ age is hampered by the cultural identity of resources, mostly poetry, legal records and drawings. The Greek seemed to have had a specific distaste for sprouting beards (*horror barbae*), as is seen in its Arabic counterpart, but less is known for their alleged *pubophobia*. Data suggest that contemporary semantic corruption of the *pornographic* concepts of “boy” and “young” already existed in pederastic Greece (Dover, 1978:p84-6)⁸⁶. However, most scholars make a more or less sharp phenomenological distinction on the basis of the younger participant’s pubertal status (e.g., Eglinton, 1964:p23-4, 244ff; Brongersma, 1987, [I]:p68-75; cf. Halperin, 1990⁸⁷:p90; Hupperts, 2000⁸⁸, I:p23-4; Freese/Licht, 1932 [1976:p72]⁸⁹). Licht argues that “When discussing the Greek love of boys, one thing especially must not be forgotten: that it is never a question of boys (as we mostly use the word), that is, of children of tender age, but always of boys who are sexually

⁸⁰ Bloch, E. (2001) Sex between men and boys in classical Greece: Was it education for citizenship or child abuse? *J Men’s Stud* 9,2:183-204

⁸¹ Atlas, J. (2000) Pederasty, blood shedding and blood smearing: Men in search of mommy’s feared powers, *J Psychohist* 28,2:116-49

⁸² As Pollini notes, “To show a passive partner with an erection would constitute a break with the socially constructed norms established for such [Greek, Roman] homosexual relationships”. See Pollini, J. (1999) “The Warren Cup: Homoerotic Love and Symposial Rhetoric in Silver, *Art Bulletin* 81,1:21-52

⁸³ Johansson, W. (1990) Pederasty, in Dynes, W. R. & Johansson, W. (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. Vol. 2. New York & London: Garland, p959-64

⁸⁴ E.g., Beckby, H. & Setz, W. (transl., 1987) *Das Hohelied der Knabenliebe: Erotische Gedichte aus der Griechischen Anthologie*. Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel; Steinbichler, W. (1998) *Die Epigramme des Dichters Straton von Sardes: Ein Beitrag zum Griechischen Päderotischen Epigramm*. Frankfurt/M. u. a. Some verses collected in Strato van Sardeis (1976) *Moysa Paidike*. Dutch translation by Vergeer, Ch., *Knapenliedboek*. Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, indeed convey Greek pubomisy. According to the author (p60) it was the beard, first apparent at age 18 that formed the upper limit in paiderastia, while the lower limit is “less clear”. “Paedophilia in the modern sense” was judged to be nonexistent, unlike among the Romans.

⁸⁵ Obermayer, H. P. (1998) *Martial und der Diskurs über Männliche “Homosexualität” in der Literatur der Frühen Kaiserzeit*. Classica Monacensia Bd. 18 Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, p95-103

⁸⁶ Dover, K. J. (1978) *Greek Homosexuality*. London: Duckworth. Cf. Dover, K. J. (1973) Classical Greek Attitudes to Sexual Behavior, *Arethusa* 6:59-83; Dover, K. J. (1988) Greek Homosexuality and Initiation, in Dover, K. J. (Ed.) *The Greeks and their Legacy: Collected Papers*. Volume II: Prose Literature, History, Society, Transmission, Influence. Oxford [etc.]: Blackwell, p115-34

⁸⁷ Halperin, D. M. (1990) *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love*. New York & London: Routledge

⁸⁸ Hupperts, Ch. (2000) *Eros Dikaos*. Vol. 1. Diss., University of Amsterdam

⁸⁹ Freese, J. H., *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands*. Better known as Licht, H., transl. (1932) *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

matured, that is, who have reached the age of puberty". However: "[...] We must also bear in mind that in Greece, as in all counties of the so-called Sotadic zone, puberty sets in earlier than in the north [...]". Percy III argues that "[...] as far as prepubescents are concerned, we have no evidence whatsoever in Greek sources to suggest that they were the object of attention of Greek men" (p8). Buffière (1980:p7)⁹⁰ argues: "Aimer un enfant avant la puberté serait un grave délit, une sorte d'attentat à l'innocence; l'aimer quand déjà les poils lui hérissent le menton change tout à fait les choses; c'est mettre face à face deux partenaires adultes, pouvant se donner la réplique!". Pubescent children, however, may have their loves (p287-8, 609).

Insofar as pederastic aesthetics were based on somatic appearance, it might not have been what we call pubescence. As referred to supra, DeMause (1992/1994)⁹¹ ventures: "The common notion that [buggery of boys in Greece / Rome] occurred only at "adolescence" is quite mistaken. It began around age seven, continued for several years and ended by puberty, when the boy's facial and pubic hairs began to appear- actually at about age 21, very late, since most children suffered from "psychological retardation" from being so severely abused"⁹². Of course, the coincidence of male pubarche (pubes) and barbarche (beard) is contested by all elementary sources, and is highly erroneous. Secondly, with the scarcity of factual hints in this direction, the critical issue of "trauma" is one that can hardly be expected to be discussed at an ethnohistorically correct level given the concerns for moral integrity today.

In Sparta, boys associated with their mentors from age 12 (Bethe, 1907:p444/1983:p13). Cantarella (1988 [1992:p36-44])⁹³ concludes that there were three age groups. Until 12, the boy should not be interfered with in "any kind" of relationship, though no punishment is known to be institutional. Until 14/15, relationships were permissible but only in the context of a lasting emotional link. Until 18, then, he was considered to be able to choose his lovers freely. In his *Historia Animalium*, Aristotle mentions the age of 14 at which sexual control needs to take its place: "Girls who abandon themselves to pleasures when they are still very young become ever more lascivious, and the same is true for boys [...] This happens because on the one hand the passages are dilated, facilitating bodily secretions along these paths, and on the other hand because the memory of pleasure experienced brings forth the desire to renew the connection which accompanied this pleasure"⁹⁴.

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<http://www.ucd.ie/~classics/94/Arkins94.html>

⁹⁰ Buffière, F. (1980) *Eros Adolescent*. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres". See p605-17 for an extensive discussion of age.

⁹¹ *The History of Child Abuse*. Speech given in May 1992 at The British Institute for Psycho-Analysis in London and in August 1994 at the American Psychiatric Association Convention in Philadelphia. This statement, with the retarded puberty hypothesis, was repeated in DeMause (1998).

⁹² Another psychohistorian stated: "Age ranges for the eromenos are vague, but we seem to be dealing with the years immediately before puberty, the time of puberty itself, and the years straight after puberty" (Gray-Fow, 1987:p458).

⁹³ Cantarella, E. (1988) *Secondo Natura*. 1992 Engl. transl., *Bisexuality in th Ancient World*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press

⁹⁴ Cantarella ([1992:p68]), *op.cit.*

- Bethe, E. (1907) Die dorische Knabenliebe. Ihre Ethik und ihre Idee, *Rheinisches Mus f Philol* [Frankfurt am Main] 62:438-76. Reprinted in Dynes, W. R. & Donaldson, S. (Eds.) *Homosexuality in the Ancient World*, New York / London: Garland, p10-48; and in Siems, A. K. (Ed.) *Sexualität und Erotik in der Antike*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, p17-57
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- Krenkel, W. A. (1979) Pueri meritorii, *WZ Rostock* 28:179-89; Stroh, W. (1992) Musa puerilis: Die Knabenliebe in der klassischen Dichtung der Römer, in Stemmler (1992:p69-87). Reprinted in Leonhardt, J. & Ott, G. (Eds., 2000) *Apocrypha: Entlegene Schriften*. Stuttgart: Steiner, p28-42
- Symonds, J. A. (1873-1897) *A Problem in Greek Ethics*. Privately published, expanded and included as an Appendix in Ellis, H. & Symonds, J. A. (1897) *Sexual Inversion*. London: Wilson & MacMillan
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Roman Pederasty?

A small Roman elite adopted at least the narrative of Greek pederasty, but the general attitude was a negative one; boy prostitutes were probably slaves (Wiedemann, 1989:p30-1⁹⁵; cf. Eglinton, p276-94). Children were probably not protected to learn adult sexualities (p146,

⁹⁵ Wiedemann, Th. (1989) *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge

170n9). Children were used in religious ceremonies, for they were sexually pure, not in terms of interest but in terms of experience, coupled with their impuberty (p180; hence, *pueri-puri*). Williams (1999)⁹⁶ discussed Roman homosexual culture at length. Romans did not make use of pederasty to discredit Greek society to the extent that might be expected (p68). Roman and Greek tastes as regards bodily hair are notably equivocal (p72-7). Rather, Roman culture lacked a pederastic tradition encouraging the courtship of freeborn adolescent males. Gray-Fow earlier (1987)⁹⁷ concluded that “in most areas Greek, Roman, and modern western societies would agree that as far as sexual abuse of children went, the issue was not affected in any important way by the consent of the child”, the “one exception” being pederasty of Greek freeborn boys, a rule never *officially* accepted in Rome. Confirming our point, Boswell (1980:p81)⁹⁸ had argued that

“Romans made strenuous efforts to protect free-born children from sexual abuse. [...] Most writers specifically equate the modesty of children of both sexes as a precious commodity [n], and rape of minors was severely punished. Seduction seems to have been viewed somewhat more leniently. This is possibly because in the ancient world children were often regarded as small adults and assumed to have erotic feelings themselves, an aspect that Petronius emphasizes with considerable humor”.

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-- Williams, C. A. (1995) Greek love at Rome, *Classical Quart* 45,2:517-39; Clarke, J. R. (1998) *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art, 100 B.C.–A.D. 250*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, esp. p86

Female Paidierastia?

Calame⁹⁹ believes that in Sparta homosexual relationships existed between girls and older women. His best piece of evidence is a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus* 18.9, where Plutarch reports that the Spartans were so impressed by the beneficial effects of the male pederastic relationships that they encouraged “noble women” (*kalas kai agathas gunaikas*) to have erotic relations with girls (*parthenon eran*). The question is, however, how reliable this report is. In the French original Calame adduced as evidence another passage by the fourth century B.C.E. philosopher Hagnon, who maintains that it was the custom in Sparta to have intercourse with girls before their marriage as with *paidika*, but Calame now admits that this

⁹⁶ Williams, C. A. (1999) *Roman Homosexuality : Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity*. New York [etc.]: Oxford University Press

⁹⁷ Gray-Fow, M. (1987) Child abuse historiography and ethics: the historian as moral philosopher, *J Psychohist* 15,1:455-65

⁹⁸ Boswell, J. (1980) *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*. Chicao & London: University of Chicago Press

⁹⁹ Calame, C. (1997) *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Functions*, translated from the French by Derek Collins and Jane Orion. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield

passage most likely refers to intercourse by men with young women (p254n169). It is not impossible that Plutarch, or his source, misread such statements by Hagnon or others in the same way, and inferred that the Spartans had instituted pederastic relationships between older women and girls similar to those of the men. Plato, in his *Symposium*, recognised female bisexuality, as did Plutarch when he remarked that “at Sparta love was held in such honor that even the most respectable women became infatuated with girls”.

Further refs.:

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Middle Ages and Renaissance

As may be expected, descriptive accounts of Medieval sexual behaviour development in the younger age brackets are few in number. No attempts were made to reconstruct sexual coming-of-age from fictive materials on “awakening passions”¹⁰⁰.

The Puberty Experience

A comprehensive historical analysis of the puberty-sexuality connection has not been written (see, however, Bertels, 1978)¹⁰¹.

The prescriptive threshold of adulthood among late- medieval Venetian patricians appears very different for men and women, centring on social (i.e., public) puberty as the gauge of male adulthood and physiological (i.e., childbearing) puberty for females¹⁰². Yet in practice men did not inevitably achieve the normative patriarchal outcome of a graduated, formalised adolescence; nor did adolescence end for all women with teenaged marriage and motherhood. Nonpatriarchal male adulthoods and the graduated phases of the uxorial cycle for women modify the impression of sharp gender contrast that results from viewing age at marriage as the pivot of adulthood. Graduated adulthood in both sexes gave men and women alike the possibility of varied adult identities, responding to a range of choice and circumstance.

Hannawalt¹⁰³ shows that adolescence was a well-recognised and defined period throughout the Middle Ages and into the modern period. While the modern period did not invent

¹⁰⁰ E.g., Cottin, S. M. R. (1805) *Mathilde, ou Mémoires tirés de L'Histoire des Croisades*. Paris: Giguët

¹⁰¹ Bertels, K. (1978) Puberteit als historisch maakwerk, in Bertels, K. et al. (Eds.) *Vrouw Man Kind, Lijnen van Vroeger naar Nu*. Baarn [Holland]: Ambo, p183-206

¹⁰² Chojnacki, S. (1992) Measuring Adulthood: Adolescents and Gender in Renaissance Venice, *J Fam Hist* 17,4:371-95

¹⁰³ Hanawalt, B. A. (1992) Historical Descriptions and Prescriptions for Adolescence, *J Fam Hist* 17,4:341-51

adolescence, it did modify the definition. Constants in adolescence from the 13th through the 20th centuries are the struggle between adults and youth over entry and exit from adolescence and for control during that period. Social scientific discussions that aid in our historical analysis are almost entirely based on the male rather than the female experience.

Stoertz (2001)¹⁰⁴:

"The early life stages of elite women in high medieval France and England were shaped by marriage to a considerable degree. Marriage prospects influenced their early education and place of residence, and the ceremony itself served as a symbolic rite of passage into "adulthood", something reflected in the vocabulary used to describe elite women. Nevertheless, since elite women generally married around the age of puberty or even earlier, contemporaries often showed consideration for the youth of recently married women, introducing them only gradually to adult sexual and social responsibilities and providing special caregivers for their protection and guidance".

Medieval and Renaissance Childhood Sexuality: Some Fragments

Postman¹⁰⁵ argues for a social equivalence of "children" from age seven and "adults" prior to the 16th century, "with the exception of making love and war". Living in an oral world, children knew all secrets, including "sexual" ones. In his discussion of sexual crimes against children in Renaissance Venice, Ruggiero (p148-52) argues in favour of the concept of sexual innocence before the age of puberty. The girl was *puella* until age 12 in the 14th century, and progressively older by one or two years in the next. At 14, she was "sexually an adult", contrary to males, whose maturation was gradual, although the legal *saecura* was firmly placed at 14. Whereas *puella*'s innocence was established, "[y]oung males, especially those in the age bracket of ten to fourteen, came to be seen in the early fifteenth century as so involved in homosexuality that their innocence could no longer be wholly maintained. The [Council of] Ten decided that even as passive participants, they warranted some punishment. This certainly must be taken as a clear sign that children had lost some of their presumed sexual innocence". There appears to be a clear division line between legal innocence and ignorance, though: sleeping, intercourse and rape all occurred in the one family bed. Neuman (1975)¹⁰⁶ 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. The author explains condemnation of masturbation in terms of capitalist ideology and its emphasis on self-control, self-denial, thrift, and the postponement of gratification. The decline in the view associating insanity with masturbation in the later 19th century accompanied the transformation to a consumption-oriented culture, though masturbation was still condemned and chastity prescribed.

In Medieval London, mothers cautioned their girls for speaking to the men in the streets (Hanawalt, 1993:p120-4)¹⁰⁷, but little is apparently known of childhood socialization. "Sexual

¹⁰⁴ Stoertz, F. H. (2001) Young Women in France and England, 1050-1300, *J Women's Hist* 12,4:22-46

¹⁰⁵ Postman, N. (1987) The Blurring of Childhood and the Media, *Religious Educ* 82,2:293-5

¹⁰⁶ Neuman, R. P. (1975) Masturbation, madness, and the modern concepts of childhood and adolescence, *J Soc Hist* 8,3:1-27

¹⁰⁷ Hanawalt, B. A. (1993) *Growing Up in Medieval London*: New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press

initiation" seems to have been a recognised, sometimes violent, milestone for girls, though adult status was only gained through marriage.

Langfeldt (1981:p109-10)¹⁰⁸ pointed to the "worship" of childhood sexuality in 1410, discussed by Beccadelli (1908)¹⁰⁹ and in European folk tales. 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")¹¹⁰. A painting by Coypel (ca 1770) entitled *Kindliche Spiele* might or might not be considered "erotic" by his contemporaries¹¹¹. Another drawing by Fragonard with the same title¹¹², may prove less dubious.

Frijhoff¹¹³ argued that for the 18-century, "Sexual education and particularly sexual experience between the coming to sexual maturity and the (mostly much more advanced) age of marriage is a practically unexploited field", and mostly restricted to medical advisory statements¹¹⁴. References collected by Van Ussel (1967:p150-3/ 1968 [1971:p171-3]), however, 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 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". Réstif de la Bretonne¹¹⁵ 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. In the 1880s, Kellogg (1881)¹¹⁶ complains:

"The juvenile parties so common now-a-days, where little ones of both sexes, of ages varying from four or five years to ten or twelve, with wonderful precocity and truthfulness, imitate the conduct of their elders at fashionable dinners, cannot be too much deprecated. Such associations of the sexes have a strong tendency to develop prematurely the distinctive peculiarities of the sexes. This is well evidenced by the fact that on such occasions one of the most common and popular entertainments is sham marriage. Parents greatly err in encouraging or allowing their children to engage in amusements of so dangerous a character. They are productive of no good, and are almost without exception productive of positive and serious injury".

¹⁰⁸ Langfeldt, Th. (1981) Sexual development in children, in Cook, M. & Howells, K. (Eds.) *Adult Sexual Interest in Children*. New York: Academic Press, p99-120

¹⁰⁹ Beccadelli, A. (1908) *Hermaphroditus*. Leipzig [Privatdruck]. See also contributions by Forberg and Kind

¹¹⁰ 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)

¹¹¹ See Fuchs, R. (ca 1928) *Geschichte der Erotischen Kunst*. Vol. 2. München: Albert Langen

¹¹² See Karwath, C. von (1908) *Der Erotik in der Kunst*. Leipzig: C. W. Stern

¹¹³ Frijhoff, W. (1985) Seksualiteit en erotiek in de achttiende eeuw: een slotbeschouwing, *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw* [Leiden] 17:195-210

¹¹⁴ Luyendijk-Elshout, A. M. (1985) Arts en seksualiteit. Richtlijnen voor de bourgeoisie, *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw* [Leiden] 17:15-27

¹¹⁵ De la Bretonne, R. (1794-7) *M. Nicolas ou le Coeur Humain Dévoilé*. 1985 Dutch transl., *De Liefdesavonturen van Mons. Nicolas* [...]. See p7-39

¹¹⁶ Kellogg, J. H. (1881) *Plain Facts for Old and Young: Embracing the Natural History and Hygiene of Organic Life*. Burlington, Iowa, USA: I. F. Segner & Condit Co.

Discussing the “astonishing ignorance” of parents on the matter, Kellogg further relates the following anecdote:

“A friend related to us an incident which fairly illustrates the terrible apathy which prevails among parents. While teaching a country school, he learned that a large number of children, boys and girls, of ages varying from eight to twelve and fourteen years, were in the habit of collecting together in barns and other secluded places, and in a state of nudity imitating the “Black Crook”, with all possible additional nastiness. Horrified at such a monstrous evil, he hastened to inform the parents of the corruption in their midst. Imagine his astonishment when he was met with an indifferent laugh, and the response, “Pooh! it’s only natural; perfectly harmless; just like little pigs!” – as though pigs were models for human beings!”.

Puberty, Marriage and Coitarche

In his detailed defence of a medieval concept of adolescence, Schultz (1991)¹¹⁷ observed that only two signs were mentioned in the description of physical maturity: breasts and beards (p527). Another, more situationally relevant indicator would be the change of voice (Moller, 1985; Daw, 1970)¹¹⁸. 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”. Analysing 16th-century German *Kundrun*, Wailes¹¹⁹ notes that wooing commenced at age 12, and that erotic adventures of heroines started at “a very young age” (p359-60). This is also chronicled by Boesch (1900:p112-4)¹²⁰. Eerenbeemt¹²¹ detailed some references to *kinderminne* [prepubertal love] in Dutch belletrics (1935:p146-8). One would further like to consult Schultz (1995)¹²² discussing in full what the author calls “child love” (p145-7, 204, 214-7, 224-8, 235-6, 242, 260-1) referring to “those cases where the extreme youth of the lovers is emphasized”.

Addressing the end of 16th century, Stone (1961:p198)¹²³ speaks of “premature” wedding arrangements as if predating the “age of consent”, but this is not further detailed. Marriage would coincide with “puberty”, or menarche. Medieval menarche occurred at age 12 to 14, 15 in exceptions (Post, 1971¹²⁴; Amudsen and Diers, 1973)¹²⁵. In the fourth and fifth century, girls mostly married between 12 and 15, boys between 18 and 15¹²⁶. Even during the 1650s,

¹¹⁷ Schultz, J. A. (1991) Medieval Adolescence: The Claims of History and the Silence of German Narrative, *Speculum* 66,3:519-39

¹¹⁸ Daw, S. F. (1970) Age of Boy's Puberty in Leipzig, 1727-49, as Indicated by Voice Breaking in J. S. Bach's Choir Members, *Human Biol* 42,1:87-90; Moller, M. (1985) Voice Change in Human Biological Development, *J Interdisc Hist* 16,2:239-53

¹¹⁹ Wailes, S. L. (1983) The Romance of Kudrum, *Speculum* 58,2:347-67

¹²⁰ Boesch, H. (1900) *Kinderleben in der Deutschen Vergangenheit*. Leipzig: Eu. Diederichs

¹²¹ Eerenbeemt, B. van den (1935) *Het Kind in Onze Middeleeuwse Literatuur*. Amsterdam: N. V. Munster [Dutch]

¹²² Schultz, J. A. (1995) *The Knowledge of Childhood in the German Middle Ages, 1100-1350*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

¹²³ Stone, L. (1961) Marriage among the English Nobility in the 16th and 17th Centuries, *Comparat Stud Soc & Hist* 3,2:182-206

¹²⁴ Post, J. B. (1971) Ages of menarche and menopause: some Mediaeval authorities, *Popul Stud* 25:83-7

¹²⁵ Amudsen, D. W. & Diers, C. J. (1973) The age of menarche in medieval Europe, *Hum Biol* 45:363-9

¹²⁶ Vogel, C. (1966) L'âge des époux chrétiens au moment de contracter mariage d'après les inscriptions paléo-chrétiens, *Rev Droit Canon* 16:355-66; Patlagean, E. (1973) L'enfant et son avenir dans la famille Byzantine, *Ann Démogr Hist*, p85-93, see p90

nearly one quarter of girls married before age 17, some possibly before menarche (Archer, 1990:p491; Laslett, 1971a:p82-5¹²⁷; cf. Laslett, 1971b)¹²⁸. The fourth edition of Tissot's *Onanisme* contains a letter proposing the following problem: "Being lately married to a Virgin, not quite 13 year old (myself 25) and her Father absolutely refuses to let us Cohabit 'till his Daughter shall be full 15 Years of Age; What is therefore to be done?"¹²⁹. In Ireland of the first half of the 19th century, marriage ages for girls of thirteen and fourteen were common, said Inglis (1835, I:p247)¹³⁰, but this was much later refuted by Drake (1963:p305)¹³¹. Sumner (1906:p385-6)¹³² argues in favour of "child marriage" in England and Scotland.

In the high Middle Ages, girls would marry as early as 14, men not until they were established in life, sometimes in their thirties¹³³. "Medieval children did not experience the prolonged stage of formalised maturation that modern educational systems have imposed, and children were generally treated as responsible adults from puberty, as indicated by the early ages at which boys and girls were ruled competent to pronounce marriage vows, and the still earlier ones at which betrothals were arranged (p208). However, "[c]hild marriage was confined to the aristocracy, peasant and artisan classes having no need for it". By the 11th century, betrothals were allowed at age seven according to Roman law, but could be terminated until age ten without penalty; between 10 and 12 a fine had to be paid by the parents, and after 12, both parents and child were fined (Goodsell, 1934:p197). Infant or childhood betrothal might have continued into Renaissance Italy, particularly involving children of high rank (*ibid.*, p273-4). In 11th century Germany brides of 13 or even 12 were "not in the least unusual" (Leyser, 1979:p52, 54)¹³⁴.

According to marriage law in the Slian and Ripuarian codes in early Middle Ages, there was no specific minimum age at which one could be betrothed, "yet young boys were not responsible for their acts up to and including their twelfth year", as were girls; children could not answer in court until age 15, the legal age of majority¹³⁵. Whether earlier betrothal took place is uncertain. Around the middle of the 12th century, Gratian stated that marital partners should be "of an age where they could give meaningful consent"; at a minimum this meant that both parties must have attained the age of seven before their consent could be considered binding¹³⁶. [Gratian also included a specific reference to stuprum pueri, meaning

¹²⁷ Archer, R. (1990) New England Mosaic: A Demographic Analysis for the Seventeenth Century, *William & Mary Quart*, 3rd. Ser. 47,4:477-502; Laslett, P. (1971a) *The World We Have Lost: England before the Industrial Age*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons

¹²⁸ Laslett, P. (1971b) Age at Menarche in Europe since the Eighteenth Century, *J Interdiscipl Hist* 2,2:221-36. Versions also appeared in Rotberg, R. R. & Rabb, Th. K. (Eds.) *Marriage and Fertility*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p285-300; and in Laslett, P. (1977) *Family Life and Illicit Love*. Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, p214-32; and in Rabb, Th. K. & Rotberg, R. R. (Eds., 1976) *The Family in History*. New York: Octagon Books, p28-47

¹²⁹ Quoted by MacDonald, R. H. (1967) The Frightful Consequences of Onanism: Notes on the History of a Delusion, *J Hist Ideas* 28,3:423-31, at p426

¹³⁰ Inglis, H. D. (1835) *Ireland in 1834*. Vol. I. Quoted by Drake, and by Connell, K. H. (1950) Land and Population in Ireland, 1780-1845, *Econ Hist Rev*, New Series, 2,3:278-89, at p281

¹³¹ Drake, M. (1963) Marriage and Population Growth in Ireland, 1750-1845, *Econ Hist Rev*, New Series, 16,2:301-13

¹³² Sumner, W. G. (1906) *Folkways*. Boston [etc.]: Ginn & Co.

¹³³ Gies, F. & Gies, J. (1987) *Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge [etc.]: Harper & Row, p184

¹³⁴ Leyser, K. J. (1979) *Rule and Conflict in Early Medieval Society*. London: E. Arnold. Cited by Goody, J. (1983) *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p64

¹³⁵ O'Neal, C. M. (1983) *Marriage and the Status of Women as Viewed through Early Medieval Law Codes*. Thesis, Texas, p54, 78

¹³⁶ Onclin, W. (19?) L'âge requis pour le mariage dans la doctrine canonique médiévale, *Boston Proc*, p237-40; Brundage (1987:p238), *op.cit.*

the abduction and corruption of boys, and activity that merited capital punishment if the offence was *perfectus*, but only banishment if it was *imperfectus*¹³⁷.]

Winter (1984:p144-62)¹³⁸ stated that around 1200 till the late 13th century, child betrothal was allowed by the church authorities from age 7, the children growing up together. Canonists around 1200 began to insist on “full” rather than the Roman “incomplete” puberty as a marriage requirement, which civil law set at age 12, “unless the individuals were capable both of assenting to marital obligations and of fulfilling them”¹³⁹. This idea, however, was far from universally followed (cf. Brundage, p433-4; Rush, 1980:p30-3). In 16th century England, child (ages 2-13) marriage may have been “astonishingly” prevalent (Howard, 1964, I:p399-403)¹⁴⁰. Still, it is probable that childhood and adult courtship worlds were ideologically and practically separated (Winter, p146, 162). By the end of the Middle Ages, coitus with a “child” is equated with rape, because of the absence of the possibility of consent (Brundage, 1978:p62ff; Laiou, 1993:p125)¹⁴¹. Seduction of a girl before age 13 (the legal marriage age) was punished by slitting of the nose and by giving the girl one-half of the offender’s property (Laiou, p122-3). Laiou also mentions puberty as a paradigm for sexual and matrimonial “consent” (p167-73). Age stratified betrothals were apparently not infrequent, and there are instances and complaints about prepubertal consummation. Ecclesiastical courts also established the principle that a church betrothal or marriage would be dissolved if there was sexual intercourse before the girl had reached “puberty”. In 14th century Ghent, “[a] betrothal during a girl’s minority was not uncommon, but marriage was ordinarily deferred until the parties were of the age of consent, fifteen in the case of girls. The marriage of underage girls was countenanced occasionally, although this required the magistrate’s approval of a petition submitted by the kindred. One interesting case suggests that a teenage marriage was being allowed since the alternative was fornication” (Nicholas, 1985:p24)¹⁴². However the low minimum ages, the number of girls married before age 16 or 17 in the 15th through 17th century is most probably very low (Rossiaud, 1984 [1988:p15-6])¹⁴³.

Additional refs:

-- Russ, A. (2000) *Kindheit und Adoleszenz in den Deutschen Hohes und Spätes Mittelalter*. Stuttgart : Hirzel

¹³⁷ Bullough, V. L. (1982) The sin against Nature and homosexuality, in Bullough, V. L. & Brundage, J. (Eds.) *Sexual Practices and The Medieval Church*. Buffalo, New York: Prometheus, p55-71, see p62

¹³⁸ Winter, M. (1984) *Kindheit und Jugend im Mittelalter*. Diss. Phil, Freiburg

¹³⁹ Brundage (1987:p357), *op.cit.*

¹⁴⁰ Howard, G. E. (1964) *A History of Matrimonial Institutions*. New York: Humanities Press. Vol. I

¹⁴¹ Laiou, A. E. (1993) Sex, consent, and coercion in Byzantium, in Laiou, A. E. (Ed.) *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library & Collection, p109-221; Brundage, J. A. (1978) Rape and marriage, *Rev Droit Canonique* 28:[62ff]

¹⁴² Nicholas, D. (1985) *The Domestic Life of a Medieval City: Women, Children and the Family in Fourteenth-Century Ghent*. Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press

¹⁴³ Rossiaud, J. (1984) *La Prostitution nel Medioevo*. 1988 English transl., *Medieval Prostitution*. Oxford: Blackwell

*Medieval and Renaissance Age-Structured Patterns*¹⁴⁴

Sergent (1986, 1996)¹⁴⁵ argued that pederasty is a rite de passage not restricted to the Greek situation, but also prevalent among the Scyths and Celts¹⁴⁶. An full overview of “Greek” love through the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and later periods was offered by Eglinton (p295-428). It was said that at least after a century of “institutionalised” pederasty Athenian society developed legal and moral sanctions against this practice at the end of the fifth century BC as the indirect result of the introduction of medicine. Viewing the sex drive as a bodily need, analogous to hunger and thirst, it cast a disparaging light on the role played by the passive partner (Keuls, 1995)¹⁴⁷. The literature on the subject of medieval homosexuality reveals a significant move from early medieval “pederasty” to effeminacy and ultimately to relations between men of a similar age¹⁴⁸.

Some authors claim that Jesus was not negatively tuned to pederasty¹⁴⁹. Sister Barbara Bow¹⁵⁰ thinks “there is good reason to believe that what Paul objects to in 1 Corinthians 6:9-10 (and in 1 Timothy 1:9-10, written by a follower of Paul) are certain elements of pederasty” in the age-stratified sense. A few early Christians began to object to using boys sexually. Nevertheless, at least from the 15th century onward, it can be argued that “homosexual activity occurred mainly, though not exclusively, between adult men and boys or adolescents” (Saslet, 1989:p91)¹⁵¹. John Chrysostom complained about fathers taking their boys to banquets where they were performed fellatio on men “under the blankets”, recommending that boys be placed in the care of monks at the age of ten to avoid seduction¹⁵². This while monks would have “a reputation for pederasty as early as the twelfth century”¹⁵³. Most medieval authors would give the pro-pederast advice of antiquity, with medical books recommending sex with boys as “less harmful [than] sexual union with women [which] leads more quickly to old age [...]”¹⁵⁴. The reason men in medieval times waited until their thirties to get married was because they routinely used young boys for sex until then; in Florence¹⁵⁵, for instance, only a quarter of the men in the fifteenth century were

¹⁴⁴ See DeMause, L., *The Emotional Life of Nations*, Ch.7; Kuster, H. (1997) *De Wil Tot Liefhebben: Beschouwingen over Geschiedfilosofie, Narcisme en Knapenliefde*. Veenendaal [Holland]: Kuster. 2 vols.

¹⁴⁵ Sergent, B. (1986) *L'Homosexualité Initiatique dans l'Europe Ancienne*. Paris: Payot; Sergent, B. (1996) *Homosexualité et Initiation chez les Peuples Indo-Européens*. Paris: Payot. Cf. Bremmer, J. (1992) An enigmatic Indo-European rite: paederasty, in Dynes, W. R. & Donaldson, S. (Eds.) *Homosexuality in the Ancient World*. New York, NY: Garland, p49-68. Orig. in *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 2:279-98

¹⁴⁶ For a note on the “Taifalen”, see Bleibtrue-Ehrenberg (1970:p69; 1978:p44). Bleibtrue-Ehrenberg, G. (1970) *Sexuelle Abartigkeit im Urteil der Abendländischen Religions-, Geistes-, und Rechtsgeschichte im Zusammenhang mit der Gesellschaftsentwicklung*. PhD Dissertation, Bonn; Bleibtrue-Ehrenberg, G. (1978) *Tabu Homosexualität: Die Geschichte eines Vorurteils*. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer

¹⁴⁷ Keuls, E. C. (1995) The Greek medical texts and the sexual ethos of ancient Athens, *Clio Med* 27:261-73

¹⁴⁸ Hekma, G., Eder, F. X., transl. (1998) Die Verfolgung der Männer: Gleichgeschlechtliche männliche Begierden und Praktiken in der Europäischen Geschichte, *Österreich Zeitschr Geschichtswiss* [Austria] 9,3:311-41. See also Kuster, H. J. (1951) *Over Homoseksualiteit in Middellevs West-Europa*. Diss., Utrecht, Netherlands, p20-1

¹⁴⁹ Stayton, W. R. (1994) Pederasty in ancient and early Christian history, in Bullough, V. L. & Bullough, B. (Eds.) *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia*. New York & London: Garland Publ.. Inc.

¹⁵⁰ Postcards from the edge: How Paul dragged Christianity into the first century, *U.S. Catholic*, Aug 1993; 58,8:6-13, at p12-3

¹⁵¹ Saslow, J. M. (1989) Homosexuality in the renaissance: behavior, identity and artistic expression, in Duberman, M. B. et al. (Eds.) *Hidden from History*. New York: New American Library, p90-105

¹⁵² Rousselle, *Porneia* (1983:p134-5), citing Chrysostom, J., in *Antioche*, p188

¹⁵³ Orme, N. (2001) *Medieval Children*. New Haven: Yale University Press

¹⁵⁴ Jacquat, D. & Thomasset, C. (1985) *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p124

¹⁵⁵ Also in Venice. See Dall'Orto, G. (1990) Venice, in Dynes, W. R. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. New York & London: Garland Publ. Inc. Vol. II, p1364-7, and Florence, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p408-11

married by the age of 32¹⁵⁶. Since over a third of most households had servants or apprentices, sexual relations between masters and male servants were even more common and even acceptable than between masters and female servants¹⁵⁷. According to DeMause, “[t]utors and teachers in schools were expected to use their students sexually”, and those who protested that it was a “vice so inveterate [and] so strong a custom” that it was “hardly likely to be discouraged”, were thought odd¹⁵⁸. In Spain, “[e]ine große Mehrheit der Sodomiten (Valençias) wurde dort von Männern reiferen Alters (meist verheiratet) gebildet, deren hauptsächliches Objekt der Begierde Jugendliche im Alter von 14 bis 16 Jahren waren”¹⁵⁹. But placing boys as oblates into monasteries only made them available for sexual use by monks. One abbot wrote about an infant boy brought to the monastery by his father:

“[...] the man turned the child over to me altogether, and I received the baby with pleasure and joy and a clean heart. [But] when the boy got older and had reached the age of about ten [...] I was tortured and overwhelmed by an obscene desire, and the beast of impure lust and a desire for pleasure burned in my soul [...] I wanted to have sex with the boy [...]”¹⁶⁰.

DeMause continues his review:

Sex with boys was said to be “the central obsession of monks” beginning with the early anchorites who went to the desert; Macarius saw so many monks having sex with boys in the desert that he strongly advised monks not to take them in¹⁶¹. But the need was too strong, and even rules such as those requiring boys to have escorts when going to the lavatory did not prevent monks from routinely using their oblates sexually¹⁶². So many monks “raped” their novices that there was a common saying, “With wine and boys around, the monks have no need of the Devil to tempt them”¹⁶³. Priests might have used confessions to solicit sex with boys, but early Christian penitentials assessed penances only for the boys, since they were blamed for their own sexual transgressions. Peter Damian said in the eleventh century that sex with boys in monasteries “rages like a bloodthirsty beast in the midst of the sheepfold of Christ with bold freedom” and suggested both the man and boy be punished as accomplices for a “sin against nature”¹⁶⁴.

So acceptable was pederasty in medieval times that parents continued handing over their boys for sexual purposes to friends and others from whom they expected favours¹⁶⁵. Bernardino of Sienna condemned parents as “pimps” of their own sons, saying the fathers, pederasts themselves, were the ones most responsible, taking money or gifts from their sons’ rapists¹⁶⁶. Boys were so likely to be raped in the streets- “a boy can’t even pass nearby without having a sodomite on his tail”- that Bernardino urged mothers, “Send your girls out instead, who aren’t

¹⁵⁶ Rocke, M. (1996) *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Oxford University Press, p14

¹⁵⁷ Bray, A. (1982) *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*. London: Gay Men’s Press, p51

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Carrasco, R. (1989 [1992]) Sodomiten und Inquisition im Spanien des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, in Corbin A. (Ed.) *Die Sexuelle Gewalt in der Geschichte*, Berlin, p45-58. Translated from 1989 orig., *Violences Sexuelles*. Paris: Imago

¹⁶⁰ Boswell, J. (1994) *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe*. New York: Villard Books, p247

¹⁶¹ Rousselle, *Porneia*, p148

¹⁶² Quinn, P. A. (1988) *Better Than The Sons of Kings: Boys and Monks in the Early Middle Ages*. New York: Peter Lang, p165

¹⁶³ Abbott, E. (2000) *A History of Celibacy*. New York [etc.]: Scribner, p101

¹⁶⁴ Damian, P. (1982) *Book of Gomorrah*. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, p27, 42

¹⁶⁵ Atlas, J. (2000) Pederasty, Blood Shedding and Blood Smearing: Men in Search of Mommy’s Feared Powers, *Journal Psychohist* 28:116-49

¹⁶⁶ Rocke, M. J. (1989) Sodomites in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany: The Views of Bernardino of Sienna, in Gerard, K. & Hekman, G. (Eds.) *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*. New York: Harrington Park Press, p9, 13

in any danger at all if you let them out among such people [...] this is less evil"¹⁶⁷. Mothers, too, might have colluded in the seduction of their sons. "When a boy started to mature sexually [...] his mother gave him a bedroom to himself on the ground floor, "with a separate entrance and every convenience, so that he can do whatever he pleases and bring home whomever he likes" "¹⁶⁸.

In a revision of the 741 A.D. *Eclogues*, it was stated that homosexual unchastity was to be punished with the sword, except in "in the case of someone less than fifteen years old [...] as his age indicate that he suffered this [unchastity] involuntary" (cited by Boswell, 1994:p245)¹⁶⁹, in which case only a beating was given. When beginning in the fifteenth century some more violent pederasty disputes began being handled by courts, the huge number of cases prosecuted revealed that every place boys were gathered-from schools and monasteries to taverns and pastry shops-were "schools of sodomy" where pederasts gathered to do boys¹⁷⁰. In Florence, according to the thorough analysis of court records by Michael Rocke, "in the later fifteenth century, the majority of local males at least once during their lifetimes were officially incriminated for engaging in homosexual relations" with boys¹⁷¹. Many pederasts were never incriminated in court, since courts were reluctant to try any but the most violent cases of boy rape.

The extinction of medieval pederasty, which was never institutionalised (but probably was elitised), is less well documented than its presence. Wood¹⁷² even argues in favour of a Victorian revival of Greek ethos: "Not only was classical imprimiture given to pederasty, but the epoch, was already infatuated with the idea of childhood" (p159). Clarke¹⁷³ points out Byron's "easternization" of Greek love (as opposed to his westernization of Greek liberty) and John Addington Symond's aggressive attempts "to raise Greek love to a respectable western standard, purged from its licentious oriental connotations" (see further Compton¹⁷⁴). In 1873 Walter Pater published *The Renaissance*, a book which aroused public anger because of its celebration of 'Greek love'¹⁷⁵. One century earlier, the police of Paris assumed that what they called "pederasty" usually involved corruption of "young folk" by predatory adults whose sexual tastes could not be changed by punishing them¹⁷⁶. [As for a cautionary note, some Internet dwellers argue the same thing for the contemporary case].

Additional refs.: Boswell (1988:p29-36)¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p15, 12

¹⁶⁸ Rocke (1996:p156), *op.cit.*

¹⁶⁹ *Same-Sex Unions*, 1995, *op.cit.*

¹⁷⁰ Ruggiero, G. (1985) *The Boundaries of Eros*. New York: Oxford University Press, p138

¹⁷¹ Rocke (1996:p7), *op.cit.*. See also Goodrich, M. (1976) Sodomy in medieval secular law, *J Homosex* 1:295-302

¹⁷² Wood, N. (2002) Creating the Sensual Child: Paterian Aesthetics, Pederasty, and Oscar Wilde's Fairy Tales, *Marvels & Tales* 16,2:156-70

¹⁷³ Clarke, E. O. (2000) *Virtuous Vice: Homoeroticism and the Public Sphere*. Durham & London: Duke University Press. As reviewed by Elfenbaum, A. (2001), *Eighteenth-Cent Stud* 35,1:140-2

¹⁷⁴ Crompton, L. (1985) *Byron and Greek Love: Homophobia in Nineteenth-Century England*. Berkeley: University of California Press

¹⁷⁵ Charbonnier-Lambert, M. (2002) Walter Pater, Simeon Solomon and Oscar Browning: The cultural, legal and social aspects of homosexuality before the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act, *Cahiers Victoriens & Edouardiens* 55:265-75

¹⁷⁶ Merrick, J. (1998/9) Commissioner Foucault, inspector Noël, and the "pederasts" of Paris, 1780-3, *J Social Hist* 32:287-307

¹⁷⁷ Boswell, J. (1988) *The Kindness of Strangers*. New York [etc.]: Pantheon

Medieval “Genital Parenting”

Genital soothing may well have been widespread in Medieval Europe. Brusendorff and Henningsen (1963:p30, 34)¹⁷⁸ suggest this was the case in Denmark even “a few generations ago”. The 1511 wood engravings by Hans Baldung Grien show Saint Anne fingering the genitals of the Infant Jesus (Wirth, 1978)¹⁷⁹. Van Ussel (1967, I:p144-50 and notes; 1968:p165-70 and notes; 1968:p139; 1976:p23-4)¹⁸⁰ found so much references to the practice in 18th century literature, that “we can assume that it is not concerned with individual cases but with a social phenomenon”¹⁸¹. According to Van Ussel, attitudes versus its practice probably changed with the onset of onanism campaigns, together with the retaliation against premarital coitus and *verbal intercourse* between the generations. This “sexual problem”, he argued, historically and geographically is a “Western curiosum”¹⁸². Duerr (1988:p200-10 and notes)¹⁸³ provided a most extensive (and illustrated¹⁸⁴) ethnohistorical overview of the practice. As detailed, “[i]n Europa sind aus dem 18. und das 19. Jahrhundert zahlreiche Klagen überliefert, in denen das manuelle “Stillen” angeprangert wird” (p203).

Haeberle (1978 [1981:p128])¹⁸⁵, De la Marche ([1993:p7-8])¹⁸⁶, Dasberg¹⁸⁷, Brongersma¹⁸⁸ and DeMause¹⁸⁹ also conclude positively on its historical universality. Stone (1977:p509)¹⁹⁰ noted that one of the French Dauphin’s attendants legitimised his masturbating him even as an adolescent (!) remarking that it constituted “a remedy which I have seen applied in England”.

¹⁷⁸ Brusendorff, O. & Henningsen, P. ([1960] 1963) *Love’s Picture Book*. Vol.3: Exotic horizons. Copenhagen: Veta

¹⁷⁹ Shestack, A. et. al. (1981) *Hans Baldung Grien: Prints and Drawings*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, p131; Wirth, J. (1978) Sainte Anne est une sorcière, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme & Renaissance* [Switzerland] 40,3:449-81. The latter author refutes Carl Koch’s contention that Saint Anne was portrayed as a conjurer condemning Jesus Christ to chastity. Iconographical analysis, the 15th- and 16th-century cult of Saint Anne, and Alsatian nonchalance toward witchcraft lead him to contradict the hypothesis. Berne argues that “[...] it was common among Renaissance painters to emphasize the genitals of the Infant Jesus, and of the Risen Christ as well. It was their way of saying, “Yes, look! He really did have what it takes to give life to human beings. Let’s celebrate that fact”. See Berne, E. (1970) *Sex in Human Loving*. New York: Simon and Schuster, p44

¹⁸⁰ Van Ussel, J. (1968) *Geschiedenis van het Seksuele Probleem*. Meppel, Netherlands: Boom & Son. Based on the author’s 1967 thesis, *Sociogenese en Evolutie van het Probleem der Seksuele Propaedeuse tussen de 16^{de} en de 18^{de} Eeuw, Vooral in Fankrijk en Duitsland*. Gent. The work was translated in German (*Sexualunterdrückung: Geschichte der Sexualfeindschaft*, 1970). See also Van Ussel, J. (1976) De Westerse houding tegenover het kind, en het ontstaan daarvan, in *Pedofilie en Samenleving*. Utrecht: NCGV, p21-9; and a post-mortem contribution to *Rooie Vlinderschrift* [Gent] 3(1979):9-16, at p10. Van Ussel’s claim pertaining the depiction of the practice is challenged by Van Rhee, F. (2001) *Pedofilie: Een Controversiële Kwestie*. Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger, who saw his inquiries to the matter in the Dutch Rijksmuseum and the National Bureau for Documentation in Art History frustrated by the ignorance of it.

¹⁸¹ For instance, see Héroard, J. (1868) *Journal de l’Enfance et de la Première Jeunesse de Louis XVIII*. Edited by Fudore Soulié and Edouard de Barthelemy. 2 vols. Paris: Firmin Didot Freres, fils & cie. For more reference to 1800 servants’ crimes, see Rand, E. (1992) Diderot and Girl-Group Erotics, *Eighteenth-Century Stud* 25,4:495-516, p504. Cf. Maza, S. C. (1983) *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Bienville, M. D. T. (1778) *La Nymphomanie ou Traité de la Fureur Utérine*. Amsterdam: M. Rey, p131, 140-3.

¹⁸² Cf. Van Ussel, J. (1963) De totale mens: beschouwingen over de antropologie, moraal en de opvoeding van het geslachtelijke. Blankenberge : s.n [paper, NISSO], p75-117, specifically p77ff. For more Van Ussel on antisexual Christianity, see Ussel, J. van (1968) Het christendom en de seksuele problematiek, *Kultuurleven* [Belgium] 39:658-69; Ussel, J. van (1969) Socio-economische grondslagen van de seksuele moraal, *Tijdschr Sociale Wetensch* [Dutch] 2:155-206

¹⁸³ Duerr, H. P. (1988) *Nacktheit und Scham*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp. Vol. 1 of *Der Mythos vom Zivilizationprocess*. 2nd ed.

¹⁸⁴ See also DeMause, *Foundations of Psychohistory* (1982:p56 and 81, n262)

¹⁸⁵ Haeberle, E. J. (1978) *The Sex Atlas*. New York: Seabury Press. Dutch translation, Spectrum, 1981

¹⁸⁶ Franck de la Marche, in *Gaie France Mag*, translated by Brongersma, E. (1993) Jongensliefde in de middeleeuwen en later, *OK Mag* 46:5-10

¹⁸⁷ Dasberg, L. (1975) *Grootbrengen door Kleinhouden als Historisch Verschijnsel*. Meppel [Holland]: Boom, p35-6

¹⁸⁸ Brongersma (1987, I:p31)

¹⁸⁹ E.g., *Emotional Life of Nations*, Ch. 7

¹⁹⁰ Stone, L. (1977) *Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson

Ariès (1960 [1973:p101])¹⁹¹ 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). The reverse of Ariès’ generalisation (*L’Enfant*, p102, 105) lies in the hypothesis 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, 1974a¹⁹²:p351-2; cf 1974c:p262-3¹⁹³). Orest Ranum, in a comment to similar explanations by Marvick (1974b)¹⁹⁴ 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 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”.

The *Nurses’ Depravity* is an interesting chapter in child sexology, as it was frequently ranked number one on the list of explanations of children’s epidemic pleasure behaviours; invariably, authors are sure to comment on its endemic underestimation. Moll (1908 [1912:p52, 158])¹⁹⁵:

“Nurses sometimes touch, stroke, and stimulate the external genital organs of the children entrusted to their care-boys and girls alike-either to keep them quiet, or for the gratification of their own lustful feelings. [...] Nurses sometimes stroke or tickle a child’s genitals in order to put an end to a screaming fit. But in some cases- and these are more numerous than is commonly supposed- nursemaids do this under the impulse of their own lustful feelings. Such actions are not necessarily the outcome of a perverse sexual impulse, although they may be due to such an impulse in the form of paedophilia [...]. Frequently the offenders are not in the least aware of the danger of what they are doing, and do it merely in sport”.

Freud was straightforward about how common the erotic “use” of children was by parents and others, referring to “the “affection” shown by the child’s parents and those who look after him, which seldom fails to betray its erotic nature (“the child is an erotic plaything”) [...]”; this was probably an autobiographically inspired statement¹⁹⁶. More interestingly, Freud momentous equation child=penis was instrumental in the clarification of the auto-erotic symbiosis of mother and infant.

Child Witches

Weber (1996a) found that many of the cases delivered hints at sexual contacts with adults. Midelfort (1972:p140) points to the probability that witch children were not considered possessed because of their presumed immorality: “The only reason children in general were presumed innocent was their imperfect reason. When they came to full reason “and know

¹⁹¹ Ariès, Ph. (1962) *Centuries of Childhood*. Translated, London: Cape. The chapter is reprinted in Jenkins, H. (Ed.) *The Children’s Culture Reader*. New York: New York University Press, p41-57

¹⁹² Marvick, E. W. (1974a) The Character of Louis XIII: The Role of His Physician, *J Interdisc His* 4,3:347-74

¹⁹³ 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

¹⁹⁴ 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

¹⁹⁵ Moll, A. (1908) *Das Sexualleben des Kindes*. Leipzig: Vogel. See English translation *The Sexual Life of Children*. New York: MacMillan, 1912

¹⁹⁶ Schur, M. (1972) *Freud: Living and Dying*. New York: International Universities Press, p120-32 Cf. DeMause, *Foundations of Psychohistory*, p58

the difference in value between gold and an apple", then they might be treated as adults. In addition, hardened malice could "supply their years" and bring them into real mortal sin"¹⁹⁷. Winter (1984:p179-83)¹⁹⁸ speaks of a "long list of 10- to 14-year-old "sodomites" and "bestialists" sentenced to death" for these allegations.

The events in the highly civilised imperial city of Augsburg in 1723, when a number of children faced accusations of witchcraft, can be viewed in a psychoanalytic light: the parents of the diabolical children were unable to cope with the sexual games of infancy, masturbation, and oral and anal sadism, and formed their own childish versions of this transgressive behaviour (according to Roper, 2000)¹⁹⁹.

Additional general refs:

-- Rouche, M. (2000) *Mariage et Sexualité au Moyen-Age*. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne

The Paradoxic Loves of Geniuses

Von Ramdohr's *Venus Urania*²⁰⁰, a work on the psychology of love, emphasised the frequency of amatory sentiments in children. By the time of "Victorian" coverage of the problem, idiots and geniuses (Dante, Lord Byron) were commonly diagnosed with *paradoxia sexualis*, a diagnosis seemingly stretched to include love aside from sexual urges or behaviour²⁰¹. However, some specificity was applied by some authors regarding this pathology. Wulffen (1913)²⁰², for instance, argued that in the case of Goethe and Dante this early love life was too indifferent for clinical judgement, the case of Rousseau however was to be regarded "clearly

¹⁹⁷ For more information on child witches, see Rush, F. (1980) *The Best Kept Secret: Sexual Abuse of Children*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, p37-40; Behringer, W. (1989) Kinderhexenprozesse: Zur Rolle von Kinder in der Geschichte der Hexenverfolgung., *Zeitschr Hist Forsch* 16:31-47; Kuhn-Rehlfus, M. (1994) Mit dem greulichen Laster der Hexerei angesteckte Kinder: Kinderhexenprozesse in Sigmaringen im 17. Jahrhundert, in Schmierer, W. (Ed.) *Aus Südwestdeutscher Geschichte: Festschrift für Hans-Martin Maurer*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, p428-46; Waltz, R. (1994) Kinder in Hexenprozessen: Die Grafschaft Lippe, 1564-1663, in Wilbertz, G., Schwerhoff, G. & Scheffler, J. (Eds.) *Hexenverfolgung und Regionalgeschichte: Die Grafschaft Lippe im Vergleich*. Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, p211-31; Weber, H. (1999) Die besessenen Kinder: Teufelsglaube Exorzismus in der Geschichte der Kindheit. Stuttgart: J. Thorbecke; Weber, H. (1991) *Kinderhexenprozesse*. Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag; Weber, H. (1993) Gewalt gegen Kinder. Das Beispiel der Kinderhexenprozesse, *Pädagogik* 45,1:42-6; Weber, H. (1992) Die besessenen Kinder der Hexenverfolgungen, *Der Evangelische Erzieher. Zeitschr Pädagogik & Theol* 443:280-91; Weber, H. (1996a) *Von der verführten Kinder Zauberei: Hexenprozesse gegen Kinder im alten Württemberg*. Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke; Weber, H. (1996b) Hexenprozesse gegen Kinder. Ein dramatisches Kapitel in der Verfolgungsgeschichte der Kindheit, *Religion Heute* 25:12-6; Sebald, H. (1995) *Witch-Children; From Salem Witch-Hunts to Modern Courtrooms*. New York; Tramer, M. (1944/5) Kinder im Hexenglauben und Hexenprozeß des Mittelalters. *Kind und Aberglaube, Zeitschr Kinderpsychia* 2:140-9, 180-7; Midelfort, E. H. C. (1972) *Witch-Hunting in Southwestern Germany 1562-1684: The Social and Intellectual Foundations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, p144, 156-7. For a discussion of Weber's work, see also Frenken, R. (1999) Child Witches in Renaissance Germany, *J Psychohist* 26,4. Further Simms, N. (1998) Medieval Guilds, Passions and Abuse, *J Psychohist* 26,1:478-513

¹⁹⁸ Winter, M. (1984) *Kindheit und Jugend im Mittelalter*. Diss. Phil, Freiburg

¹⁹⁹ Roper, L. (2000) Evil imaginings and fantasies: child-witches and the end of the witch craze, *Past & Present* 167:107-39

²⁰⁰ Friedrich Wilhelm Basilius von Ramdohr, *Venus Urania. Ueber die Natur der Liebe, über ihre Veredlung und Verschönerung*. Bd. 1-4. Leipzig 1798. The work was referred to by Moll first in 1891, *Die Konträre Sexual-Empfindung*, p2

²⁰¹ Rohleder, H. (1901) *Vorlesungen über Sexualtrieb und Sexualeben des Menschen*. Berlin: Fischer, p14-6;

Rohleder, H. (1920) *Vorlesungen über das gesamte Geschlechtsleben des Menschen*. 4th ed. Vol. I. Berlin: Fischer

²⁰² Wulffen, E. (1913) *Das Kind: Sein Wesen und seine Entartung*. Berlin: Langenscheidt, p249-97

abnormal and psychopathic", the criteria being concurrent "mangelhaften Gemütskräften" and unsympathetic feelings when frustrated. The examples of these loves not sporadically include little boy's passion for mature women. Raffalovich (1896:p75-6)²⁰³ considers:

"Combien de petits garçons, combien de petites filles s'amourachent les uns des autres ou de grandes personnes! Combien de petits garçons de cinq ans sont épris d'une belle dame ou d'une grande fille!" He makes sure that he is talking about "précocité de sentiments, pas d'actes").

Moll (1908 [1912]) gives the following overview:

"I may [...] point out that in the autobiographies, biographies, memoirs, &c., of celebrated persons, we find much information regarding premature amatory sentiments. Goethe, in his *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, relates that as a boy of ten or so he fell in love with a young French woman, the sister of his friend Derones. Of Alfred de Musset, his brother and biographer, Paul Musset, records that at the early age of four he was passionately in love with a girl cousin. It is on record that Dante fell in love at the age of nine, Canova at five, and Alfieri at ten. Well known also is the story of Byron's love, at eight years of age, for Mary Duff. Möbius tells us of himself that when a boy of ten he was desperately enamoured of a young married woman. We are told of Napoleon I. that when a boy of nine he fell in love with his father's cousin, a handsome woman of thirty, then on a visit to his home, and that he caressed her in the most passionate manner. Belonging to an earlier day was Felix Platter, the celebrated Swiss physician of the sixteenth century, who tells us in his autobiography that when he was a child he loved to be kissed by a certain young married woman. In *Un Coeur Simple*, Flaubert describes the development of the love-sentiments. "For mankind there is so much love in life. At the age of four we love horses, the sun, flowers, shining weapons, uniforms; at ten we love a little girl, our playmate; at thirteen we love a buxom, full-necked woman. The first time I saw the two breasts of a woman, entirely unclothed, I almost fainted. Finally, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, we love a young girl, who is a little more to us than a sister and a little less than a mistress; and then, at sixteen, we love a woman once more, and marry her".

"Most charmingly Hebbel describes his first experience of love, when but four years old. "It was in Susanna's dull schoolroom, also, that I learned the meaning of love; it was, indeed, in the very hour when I first entered it, at the age of four. First love! Who is there who will not smile as he reads these words? Who will fail to recall memories of some Anne or Margaret, who once seemed to him to wear a crown of stars, and to be clad in the blue of heaven and the gold of dawn; and now--but it would be malicious to depict the contrast! Who will fail to admit that it seemed to him then as if he passed on the wing through the garden of the earth, flitting from flower to flower, sipping from their honey-cups; passing too swiftly, indeed, to become intoxicated, but pausing long enough at each to inhale its divine perfume! ... It was some time before I ventured to raise my eyes, for I felt that I was under inspection, and this embarrassed me. But at length I looked up, and my first glance fell upon a pale and slender girl who sat opposite me: her name was Emily, and she was the daughter of the parish-clerk. A passionate trembling seized me, the blood rushed to my heart; but a sentiment of shame was also intermingled with my first sensations, and I lowered my eyes to the ground once more, as rapidly as if I had caught sight of something horrible. From that moment Emily was ever in my thoughts; and the school, so greatly dreaded in anticipation, became a joy to me, because it was there only that I could see her. The Sundays and holidays which separated me from her were as greatly detested by me as in other circumstances they would have been greatly desired; one day when she stayed away from school, I felt utterly miserable. In imagination she was always before my eyes, wherever I went; when alone, I was never weary

²⁰³ Raffalovitch, M. (1896) *Uranisme et Unisexualité*. Paris, Lyon: Masson & Cie

of repeating her name; above all, her black eyebrows and intensely red lips were ever before my eyes, whereas I do not remember that at this time her voice had made any impression on me, although later this became all-important".

In belletristic literature, also, we find occasional references to the love-sentiment in childhood. Groos refers to an instance which he thinks, perhaps the most delicate known to him, and one in which the erotic element is but faintly emphasised, namely, Gottfried Keller's *Romeo und Julia*.

"In a spot entirely covered with green undergrowth the girl stretched herself on her back, for she was tired, and began in a monotonous tone to sing a few words, repeating the same ones over and over again; the boy crouched close beside her, half inclined, he also, to stretch himself at full length on the ground, so lethargic did he feel. The sun shone into the girl's open mouth as she sang, lighting up her glistening white teeth, and gleaming on her full red lips. The boy caught sight of her teeth, and, holding the girl's head and eagerly examining her teeth, said, 'Tell me, how many teeth has one?' The girl paused for a moment, as if thinking the matter carefully over, but then answered at random, 'A hundred.' 'No!' he cried; 'thirty-two is the proper number; wait a moment, I'll count yours.' He counted them, but could not get the tale right to thirty-two, and so counted them again, and again, and again. The girl let him go on for some time, but as he did not come to an end of his eager counting, she suddenly interrupted him, and said, 'Now, let me count yours.' The boy lay down in his turn on the undergrowth; the girl leaned over him, with her arm round his head; he opened his mouth, and she began counting: 'One, two, seven, five, two, one,' for the little beauty did not yet know how to count. The boy corrected her, and explained to her how to count properly; so she, in her turn, attempted to count his teeth over and over again: and this game seemed to please them more than any they had played together that day. At last, however, the girl sank down on her youthful instructor's breast, and the two children fell asleep in the bright midday sunshine".

The Masturbation Paradigm: "Onanopathies", the Early, and Very Early

The early history of masturbation is well-studied²⁰⁴. The first manual on masturbation was an anonymous work ascribed to one Dutchman named Bekker in 1710 (Stengers and Neck, 1984: Ch.3); he was most likely not medically trained. By no means the first²⁰⁵, Tissot's *Tentamen de Morbis ex Manustuprazione* (1758) became the best known and most widely read medical treatise on the matter. The issue of masturbation as associated with health probably arose somewhere in the early 18th century (Fox, 1986:p18-20)²⁰⁶. Gilbert (1975)²⁰⁷ argues that masturbation was used as an "all-purpose culprit" by physicians when confronted with

²⁰⁴ For a brief outline of historical investigation, consider the following (full reference list available from the author): 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); Lütthehaus (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

²⁰⁵ See Van Ussel (1968) and Jacobs (1963) for a bibliography of masturbation works before 1800.

²⁰⁶ Fox, Ch. (1986) The Myth of Narcissus in Swift's Travels, *Eighteenth-Cent Stud* 20,1:17-33

²⁰⁷ Gilbert, A. N. (1975) Doctor, patient, and onanist diseases in the nineteenth century, *J Hist Med & Allied Sci* 30,3:217-34

ailments that could not be effectively treated. “To blame disease on masturbation helped resolve the tension between the expectation of patients and the level of medical knowledge”. With the advance of medical knowledge in the late 19th century, children’s diseases were no longer the mystery they had been in the past, and onanist explanations became less meaningful and necessary.

Masturbation historians only rarely addressed the issue of 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)²⁰⁸. Tissot’s arguments were specific to the pedagogical implications of masturbation.

First, there is the occasional emphasis on spermatorrhoea which could not have been valuable in childhood masturbation, though little is known about medical appraisal of ejacularche (e.g., Schoondermark (1902:p26-7)²⁰⁹. 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)²¹⁰.

As Flandrin (1976:p280-3)²¹¹ points out, the first theologist to 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 is 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)²¹². By the 19th century, Rosenberg (1973:p136-7)²¹³ argues, “[n]ot even the youngest child could be presumed immune; one physician noted that even infants of eighteen months had been taught the “horrid practice” [note omitted]. 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”²¹⁴.

Masturbation in childhood and youth was covered by Schetsche and Schmidt (1996)²¹⁵, 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.

²⁰⁸ Lejeune, Ph. (1974) Le “dangereux supplement”: lecture d’un aveu de Rousseau, *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* [France] 29,4:1009-22

²⁰⁹ Schoondermark, J. Jr. (1902) *Het (Auto- en Mutueel-) Onaneeren* [etc.]. Amsterdam: Moransard

²¹⁰ 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

²¹¹ Flandrin, J. (1976) Späte Heirat und Sexualleben, in Bloch, M. et al. (Eds.) *Schrift und Materie der Geschichte*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. Cited by Schetsche, M. & Schmidt, R. (1996) Ein “dunkler Drang aus dem Leibe”: Deutungen kindlicher Onanie seit dem 18. Jahrhundert, *Ztschr Sexualforsch* 9,1:1-22, at p2

²¹² Mortier, F. & Colen, W. (1995) Inner-scientific reconstructions in the discourse on masturbation (1960-1950), *Paedagog Hist* [Belgium] 30,3:817-47

²¹³ Rosenberg, Ch. E. (1973) Sexuality, Class and Role in 19th-Century America, *Am Quart* 25,2:131-53

²¹⁴ 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

²¹⁵ *Op.cit.*

The first article known to cover specifically children (young girls) is probably Zimmerman (1779)²¹⁶. 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)²¹⁷ and Behrend (1860)²¹⁸, and later by Fleischmann (1878)²¹⁹. In 1841²²⁰, 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”. 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”²²¹. By that time, paediatricians were well aware of their involvement in the case²²². Before this period it is suggested that masturbation was battled with little respect for age, but focussed on adolescents. In 1861, Debay²²³ reported that genitals before age 8 “restent muets”, whereas in “adolescence” (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, Henoch, Neumann, etc.), perhaps more regularly than in early non-German paediatrics. Steiner ([1873:p335])²²⁴: “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”²²⁵; he further refers to one Marjolin claiming sexual phenomena (Steiner seems to describe an infantile orgasm) at the breast. 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”²²⁶. Schrenk-Notzing (1895:p35)²²⁷ 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 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). Freud (1912)²²⁸ described three phases of masturbation, and pathologised its persistence in adulthood (cf. Szasz, 1970 [1972:p233-4]²²⁹). Stanley Hall and Havelock Ellis mentioned

²¹⁶ Zimmerman (1779) Warnung an Eltern, Erzieher und Kinderfreunde wegen der Selbstbefleckung, zumal bey ganz jungen Mädchen, *Neues Mag f Ärzte* 1,1:43-51

²¹⁷ Van Bambeke, C. (1859) Note sur certaines habitudes vicieuses chez les très-jeunes enfants, *Bull Soc Méd Gand* 25:7-14

²¹⁸ 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

²¹⁹ Fleischmann, L. (1878) Ueber Onanie und Masturbation bei Säuglingen, *Wien Med Presse* 19:8-10, 46-8. See also Carter (1983) Infantile hysteria and infantile masturbation in late 19th century German language medical literature, *Med Hist* 27:186-96, esp. p190-1

²²⁰ Vering, A. M. (1841) *Pastorale Geneeskunde*. Almelo [Holland]: J. T. Sommer. Dutch transl. from the German, p164-84

²²¹ Rilliet & Bartez (1854) *Traité Clinique et Pratique des Maladies des Enfants*. Vol. III. 2nd ed., p417

²²² E.g., Bednař (1856) *Lehrbuch der Kinderkrankheiten*. Vienna, p352

²²³ Debay, Au. ([1961]) *Hygiène et Physiologie du Mariage*. 27th ed. Paris, p95-7

²²⁴ Steiner, J. ([1873]) *Compendium der Kinderziken* [etc]. Arnheim [Holland], Dutch transl. of German orig.

²²⁵ “As is concerned the age at which this impertinence is practiced, I have had ample occasion of verifying its being observed first in very little children, one or two years of age”.

²²⁶ Marro, A. (1899) Influence of the puberal development upon the moral character of children of both sexes, *Am J Sociol* 5,2:193-219, at p214

²²⁷ Schrenk-Notzing, A. von (1895) *The Use of Hypnosis in Psychopathia Sexualis*. 1956 reprint, New York: The Institute for Research in Hypnosis Publication Society etc.

²²⁸ 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

²²⁹ Szasz, Th. (1970) *The Manufacture of Madness*. New York [etc.]: Harper & Row. 1972 Dutch Transl.

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 alterations²³⁰. 20th century onanologic narratives of childhood sexuality continued to stress behavioural “symptoms” using masturbation, within a carefully treasured index of subnormal transgressions.

Medical Curricularisation: Paradoxia Sexualis and the Developmentalisation of Impulses

As Victorian sexuality was preoccupied with the too-early timing of sexual impulses, nascent medical sexology explicitly pathologised earliness, as defined by the period before puberty, by a clinical entity termed *Paradoxia Sexualis*²³¹. For an historical, bibliographical approach of the diagnosis, one is referred to the author’s analysis elsewhere^{232/233}. It as clearly demonstrated that Von Krafft-Ebing lacked any “Ellisian” concept of the sexual life cycle, and tried 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”²³⁴.

²³⁰ E.g., Premisela, *Sexuologie in de Praktijk*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam : Strengtholt, p212

²³¹ Janssen, D. F. (July, 2001) *Paradoxia Sexualis: The Bio-Othering and Psychopathia Sexualis of the Child*. Unpublished manuscript, Nijmegen University, Faculty of Medical History, Philosophy and Ethics

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ Cf. **Vol.I, §2.3**

²³⁴ Carter (1983:p196), *op.cit.*

Additional Reading: Europe, History

- McLaughlin, M. M. (1974) Survivors and surrogates: children and parents from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, in DeMause, L. (Ed.) *The History of Childhood*. New York: Psychohistory Press, p101-81
- Morus /R. Lewinsohn (1957) *Eine Weltgeschichte der Sexualität*. Hamburg: Ro-wohl. 1965 Dutch transl., *Het Rijk van Venus*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, p339-42
- Neret (1957) *Documents pour une Histoire de l'Éducation Sexuelle en France du Seizième Siècle à Nos Jours*. Paris
- Schwartz, H. W. (1993) *Der Schutz des Kindes im Recht des Frühen Mittelalters: Eine Untersuchung über Tötung, Mißbrauch, Körperverletzung, Freiheitsbeeinträchtigung, Gefährdung und Eigentumsverletzung anhand von Rechtsquellen des 5.-9. Jahrhunderts*. Siegburg: Schmitt (Dissertation, University of Bonn, 1990)

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Europe¹

(A Limited Selection of Numeric Studies, Qualitative Impressions and Ramifications)

“[...] we don’t want to hear any more about penises”

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¹ General historical references were collected in a separate chapter. See GUS Volume III for the additional bibliography for numeric sources on prepubertal sexual behaviour.

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Introduction, Generalia

The most obvious source for European childhood sexual socialisation is the 1997/2001 4-volume *International Encyclopedia of Sexuality* chief-edited by Francoeur. The corresponding entries are linked at the outset [IES]. The work contains impressions on childhood/adolescent sexual behaviour development, sexual socialisation curricula and sex education facilities for 17 European entries. Most probably reflective of sexological priorities, the entries of developmental data vary in length and depth. Very few data are published in accessible languages, which is probably most true for Eastern Europe. Comparative cross-European studies on sexual behaviour socialisation (such as a 1981 study on European tolerance for sexual play; Lacombe, 1984:p33; Draijer, 1984:p18; Brongersma, 1987:p127)² appear to be rare. As reviewed below a number of studies provide numeric comparisons with the American case (cf. chapter *Nonnative North America*); qualitative and theoretical cross-cultural interpretations, however, are few in number (e.g., Straver, based on Ribal).

Whether or not children profited from the adolescent centred “sexual revolutions” of the past, in the 1980s a backlash launched a situation in which “the sexuality of children remains an unmentionable topic” (Eder et al., 1999:p17)³. This contrasts with earlier observations by Areco (1911:p51-2)⁴ in Eastern Europe:

“In Bosnien, der Herzegowina, Südsiebenbürgen und den Karpathendörfern trifft man oft Knirpse von kaum zehn Jahren, die mit etwa gleichaltrigen Mädchen in Gegenwart der Eltern Dinge treiben, die wir als grobe Unzucht bezeichnen würden. Dort aber nennt man es lächelnd nur spielen. – In der Ziganei von Oschinka – Ohaba (Siebenbürgen) forderten kaum achtjährige Mädchen gelegentlich der großen Manöver 1903 die Soldaten auf, gegen kleine Geschenke mit ihnen sexuell zu verkehren. Die Eltern unterstützten, ruhig vor ihren Hütten sitzend, die unverschämten Anträge der Kleinen durch eine in ganz Ungarn bekannte Hanbewegung, die an Deutlichkeit nicht zu wünschen übrig ließ. Man darf daher keineswegs glauben, daß die Nacktheit der Kinder etwa in einer Überlieferung von sexueller Unkenntnis begründet sei, die Adam und Eva vor dem Sündenfalle besaßen”.

Historical issues were to some extent reviewed in a separate chapter, focusing on the classical and medieval periods. In the following collection, I wish to identify qualitative accounts on European sexual behaviour development and early socialisation, in addition to studies that may numerically corroborate such accounts.

Additional refs.:

² Lacombe, F. (18\984) Sondages d'opinion, *L'Espoir* 12:33-4; Draijer, N. (1984) Incest: patronen en visies, in Frenken, J. & Lichtenburcht, C. Van (Eds.) *Incest*. Utrecht [Holland]: Vereniging voor Seksuologie;

Brongersma, E. (1987) *Jongensliefde, Deel 1*. Amsterdam: SUA

³ Eder, F., Hall, L. & Hekma, G. (1999) Introduction, in *idem* (Eds.) *Sexual Cultures in Europe: Natural Histories*. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press

⁴ Areco, V. (1911) *Das Liebesleben der Zigeuner*. Leipzig: Leipziger Verlag GmbH

-- Bozon M. & Kontula O. (1998) Sexual initiation and gender in Europe. A cross-cultural analysis of trends in the 20th century, in Hubert, B. & Sanford, Th. (Eds.) *Sexual Behaviour and HIV/ AIDS in Europe. A Comparison of National Surveys*. London: UCL Press, p37-67

-- Creatsas, G. K., Vekemans, M., Horejsi, J., Uzel, R., Lauritzen, C. et al. (1995) Adolescent sexuality in Europe: a multicentric study, *Adolesc & Pediatr Gynecol* 8,2:59-63

Age of Consent⁵

For contemporary details, one is to consult ECPAT⁶ and ILGA⁷. Some data on sexual consent and sex education in East Central Europe were collected by the *Center for Reproductive Law and Policy* (CRLP)⁸. Graupner (1997; 2000)⁹ further presented a convenient overview on the criminal law governing the sexual behaviour of, and with, children and adolescents in all European jurisdictions and in selected jurisdictions outside of Europe. Results show that all states in Europe and all of the studied jurisdictions overseas have minimum age limits for sexual relations, and punish sexual relations with persons under a certain age. Nowhere is this age set lower than 12 years. In Europe, in one-half of the jurisdictions, consensual sexual relations with 14-year-old adolescents are legal; in three-quarters, with 15-year-olds; in a majority, this is also the case when the older partner has started the relation. In nearly all jurisdictions, such relations are legal from age 16 onward. Most states apply a higher age limit for contacts in relationships of authority. If the authority is not misused, the age limit in most jurisdictions is set between 14 and 16; if it is misused, between 16 and 18. Most states make no difference between heterosexual and homosexual relations.

European age of consent is 16 for both sexes (**Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Belgium, Bosnia, Finland, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Norway, England, Scotland, Wales**) except in the following cases. In the **Netherlands**, it is twelve, provided no official complaint is filed by the child, or by parental authority or Council for the Protection of Children (Art.247, Penal Code). In **Spain**, the age of consent was as low as twelve years, but rose to thirteen in 1998 (Art. 181.1). In **Bulgaria, Estonia** (Arts. 115, 116) and **Croatia** (Art. 192, Penal Law), **Hungary** (Art. 201 (1) de la Loi IV de l'an 1978, modifié par la Loi LXXIII de l'an 1997), **Kosovo, Romania** (Art. 198), **Serbia, Italy** (Art. 609), **Iceland, Portugal** (Art. 172)¹⁰, **Slovenia** (Section 183), and **Germany** (Art. 176, 176a, 176b, 182)¹¹ it is fourteen. A 1968 statute established the homosexual age of consent at 18, but it was levelled with the heterosexual consent of 14 in 1987 by a Supreme Court ruling¹². In the **Czech Republic** (Art. 242, Criminal

⁵ Cf. Bernard, F. (1978) Kinderseksualiteit, pedofilie en strafrecht, een vergelijking tussen landen, *Med Contact* [Dutch] 33:369-70; Bernard, F. (1976) Wetgeving in het buitenland, in *Pedofilie en Samenleving*. Utrecht [Holland]: NCGV, p204-7

⁶ ECPAT International, Online Database

[http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/online_database/index.asp]

⁷ http://www.ilga.org/Information/Legal_survey/Europe/world_legal_survey_europe.htm

⁸ CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: East Central Europe* [Albania, Croatia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Russia]

⁹ See Graupner, H. (2000) Sexual consent: The criminal law in Europe and overseas, *Arch Sex Behav* 29,5:415-61

¹⁰ Article 174, Penal Code, reads: "Celui qui pratique ou a pratiqué la copulation avec un mineur age de 14 a 16 ans, abusant de son inexperience, sera puni d'une peine d'emprisonnement jusqu'a 2 ans ou d'une peine d'amende jusqu'a 240 jours" [ital.add.].

¹¹ "Whoever seduces a girl less than sixteen (16) years of age to have sexual intercourse with him shall be punished by up to one year imprisonment or by fine" (Art. 182, "Seduction").

¹² Hillhouse, R. J. (1990) Out of the Closet behind the Wall: Sexual Politics and Social Change in the GDR, *Slavic Rev* 49,4:585-96, at 588

Code), **France** (Art. 227-25 du Nouveau Code Pénal), **Greece** (Art. 339)¹³, **Poland** (Art. 177), **Slovakia**, **Sweden** (Section 7, Penal Code)¹⁴, and **Denmark** (Art. 222, Penal Code) it is fifteen. In Northern **Ireland**, it is seventeen.

¹³ “Sodomy committed by an adult through the seduction of a person under seventeen (17) years of age” is also outlawed (Art.347)

¹⁴ Since 1864.

Cross-National Survey of Studies

A summary of European adolescent sex education practices was offered by Kozakiewicz (1981)¹⁵.

¹⁵ Kozakiewicz, M. (1981) *Sex Education and Adolescence in Europe*. International Planned Parenthood Federation

Scandinavia (*Sweden, Finland, Norway, Sweden*)

Tomasson¹⁶ tentatively argued that the high illegitimacy rate that prevails in Nordic countries, and the marked regional variations within these countries, is due to the differential penetration of Christian mores of marriage into the traditional folk culture. The older permissive pattern persisted in those areas where the influence of Christian conceptions of marriage was weakest.

Strindberg (1886)¹⁷ observed eight to ten-year-olds having intercourse in the bushes.

Ribal (1973)¹⁸ studied 36 case studies of **American, Swedish** and **Danish** college students about sexual learning and development during childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood, with comments by a student from the other culture. Using this material, Straver (1986:esp. p28-70)¹⁹ compares the North American and Scandinavian case from an interactionist perspective (**Vol.II, §1.1.3.3**). In addition to this comparison, Martinson (1994)²⁰ cites Hagerfors [?], who

“[...] speaking about sex activity in a Swedish nursery, complained that the children sometimes closed themselves in the private area, an area provided for children in Swedish nurseries, engaged in sex play, and talked only about sex. The staff told the parents what was going on but otherwise played no part in it except to say something like, “Stop harping on that, now we are going to do something else; we don’t want to hear any more about penises”. Scandinavian children generally are more sexually knowledgeable than American children; they are not necessarily more or less likely to engage in sex play, but the type of play reflects their greater knowledge. That young children are sexual and can be expected to engage in some sexual activity is more accepted in Scandinavia than in the United States. [...] Behavior that I found was still treated as child sex play in Scandinavia, at least up until 1984 (Aigner and Centerwall 1984)^[21], was treated as perpetrator-victim behavior in the United States”.

Additional refs.:

-- 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

-- Sjöstrand, W. (1954) Några fakta om onanien hos universitets- och högskolestuderande, *Populär Tidskr Psykol & Sexuallkunskap*

¹⁶ Tomasson, R. F. (1976) Premarital Sexual Permissiveness and Illegitimacy in the Nordic Countries, *Comparative Studies in Society & Hist* 18,2:252-70. Cf. Tomasson, R. F. (1971) *Sexual Permissiveness and Illegitimacy in the Five Nordic Countries*. Paper for the American Sociological Association

¹⁷ Strindberg, A. (1886) *Tjänstekvinnans Son*. Engl. Transl. under the title *The Son of a Servant*. 1969 Dutch transl., *De Zoon van de Dienstbode*. Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, see p93ff. Also cited by Kern, S. (1973) Freud and the discovery of child sexuality, *Hist Childh Quart* 1:117-41, at p119

¹⁸ Ribal, J. E. (1973) *Learning Sex Roles: American and Scandinavian Contrasts*. San Francisco, Calif.: Canfield

¹⁹ 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

²⁰ Martinson, F. M. (1994) *The Sexual Life of Children*. Westport, Conn: Bergin & Garvey

²¹ Aigner, G. & Centerwall, E. (1984) *Barnas Kjaerlighetsliv*. Oslo: Pax Forlag

Norway [IES]

A research project was conducted on primary school children in the late seventies, completed with a retrospective study²². Obscene folklore in Nordic school children was studied by Heitmann (1988)²³. An authority on Norwegian childhood sexuality is Thore Langfeldt, who published widely on the matter in Norwegian and English²⁴ (cf. Almås and Pirelli Benestad, 2001:p468-9²⁵; Martinson, 1994, ch. 2). His original data were derived from clinical material, according to communications, on between eighty and hundred subjects aged seven to 67. Additional data were derived from students attending courses in sexology, young individuals (9-18) in therapy because of sexual problems, and interviews with street boys, Oslo boy prostitutes, and male homosexuals and paedophiles (1981:p37-8).

“Ola Raknes, one of [Wilhelm] Reich’s most prominent Norwegian proponents, did extensive research on the results of the socialization of sexuality in childhood. Raknes was able to identify many adult sexual problems that were related to the repression of the natural sexual urge in childhood” ([no refs]; Almås and Pirelli Benestad, 2001:p450). Also, “[y]oung people are left to learn about sexuality from the media and their peer groups. Many parents still find it difficult to talk to their children about sexuality; they hope that the school will take care of this” (p452).

In a 1987 study by Sundet et al. (1992)²⁶, median coital debut age was 18 for females, and 18.4 for males, with definite cohort effects, especially for females.

Additional refs.:

²² Gundersen, B. & Skår, J. (1977) *Der seksuelle utvikling fra fødsel til 3 års alderen belyst gjennom interju med foreldre og dagheimspersonell*. Research Report, Dpt. Of Somatic Personality Psychology, University of Bergen; Skår, J. & Gundersen, B. (1978) *En Retrospektiv Studie av Kvinnelig Seksualitet*. Unpublished data, cited by 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

²³ Heitmann, V. (1988) *Obsceniteit, Romantiek en Dood in de Mondelinge Traditie van Noorse Schoolkinderen*. University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands. 2 vols. [Dutch]

²⁴ Langfeldt, Th. (1977/1979/1981) Processes in sexual development, in Constantine, L. & Martinson, F. (Eds.), (1981) *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., p37-44; Langfeldt, Th. (1980) Child sexuality: development and problems, in Samson, J. (Ed.) *Childhood & Sexuality: Proceedings of the International Symposium*. Montréal: Éditions Études Vivantes, p105-9; Langfeldt, Th. (1981a) Sexual development in children, in Cook, M. & Howells, K. (Eds.) *Adult Sexual Interest in Children*. New York: Academic Press, p99-120; Langfeldt, Th. (1981b) 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; Langfeldt, Th. (1983) Aspekter ved barns seksuelle utvikling of problem, *Nordisk Sexol* 1:45-52; Langfeldt, Th. (1986a) *Hypermasturbation in Children*. Poster presented at 12th meeting Int Acad Sex Research, Amsterdam; Langfeldt T. (1986b) *Børns Sexualitet*. København: Mallings / Langfeldt, Th. (1987) *Barns Sexualitet*. [Swedish translation]. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur; 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; Langfeldt, Th. (1993) Early childhood and juvenile sexuality, development and problems, *Nordisk Sexol* 11,2:78-100; Langfeldt, Th. (1994) Aspects concerning the development and therapy of sexual deviant patterns in children, *Nordisk Sexol* 12,2:105-10

²⁵ Almås, E. & Pirelli Benestad, E. E. (2001) Norway, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.-in-chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. IV. New York: Continuum, p443-73

²⁶ Sundet, J. M. et al. (1989) Secular trends and sociodemographic regularities of coital debut age in Norway, *Arch Sex Behav* 21,3:241-52

- Teiste, K. (1993) "Boys Should Ask and Girls Should Say No": The Relation between Man and Woman in Ringerike and Hallingdal, 1652-1710, *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 23:36-44
- Nielsen, A. G. (1998) Børns seksualitet er tabu, *Børn & Unge* 39,8

Sweden [IES]

In 19th century forensic psychiatry sexual assault against children was seen as the result of either a pathological condition or social disability. The perpetrator might also have been tempted by a seductive girl, although boys were never seen as seductive and hence were held blameless. Further, the general opinion among professionals was that sexual assault, if not too violent, rarely led to severe or permanent damage to the child.

Cases concerning sexual crimes against children in Sweden were rarely brought to court, since children, especially young girls, were not considered reliable witnesses (Bergenheim, 1998)²⁷.

A historical report on the Swedish discourse on child sexuality is written by Bergenheim (1994)²⁸.

“No Swedish studies, either attitudinal nor behavioral, have been done on sexual exploration and sex-rehearsal play among children. These natural behaviors are probably more permitted today that half a century ago. But no one talked about this at that time, and very few talk about it now” (Trost and Bergstrom-Walan, 1997)²⁹. The statement on studies is not correct. Two day-care centre oriented studies are carried out on preschoolers: one (N=251) reported by Larsson (1994)³⁰ and Lindblad et al. (1995)³¹; the second (N=231, incl. parental observations) reported by Larsson and Svedin (1999)³², Larsson et al. (2000)³³, and Larsson and Svedin (2001)³⁴. Comparison with American data is also reported in the latter studies. Goldman and Goldman (1981)³⁵ did study children’s sexual arguing in Sweden [contrasting that of **Australian, U.S., and English** performances], but neglected children’s sexual behaviour. Helmius and Lewis provided sociological insights in adolescent sex life in the 1980s³⁶.

²⁷ Bergenheim, Å. (1998) Brottet, offret och förövaren: om synen på incest och sexuella övergrepp mot barn 1850-1910 [The crime, the victim, and the perpetrator: attitudes toward incest and sexual assault against children, 1850-1910], *Lychnos* [Sweden], 121-59

²⁸ Bergenheim, Å. (1994) *Barnet, Libido och Samhälle: Om den Svenska Diskursen kring Barns Sexualitet 1930-1960*. Dissertation, Umeå University. Grängesberg: Höglunds Förlag. [English summary, p357-61]

²⁹ Trost, J. E. & Bergstrom-Walan, M. (1997) Sweden, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. II. Quoted from the online edition

³⁰ Larsson, I. (Ed.) (1994). *År det normalt eller...? Om förskolebarns sexuella beteende, vuxnas attityder och nya forskningsresultat*. Allmänna Barnhuset. Stockholm

³¹ 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

³² Larsson, I. & Svedin, C. G. (1999) *Sexual behaviour in Swedish Preschool Children as Observed by their Parents*. Unpublished Manuscript

³³ Larsson, I., Svedin C. G. & Friedrich, W. (2000) Differences and similarities in sexual behaviour among preschoolers in Sweden and USA, *Nordic J Psychia* 54,4:251-8

³⁴ Larsson, I. & Svedin, C. G. (2001) Sexual behaviour in Swedish preschool children, as observed by their parents, *Acta Paediatr* 90,4:436-44

³⁵ 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) Sources of sex information for Australian, English, North American and Swedish children, *J Psychol* 109:97-108; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1982) How children perceive the origin of babies and the roles of mothers and fathers in procreation: a cross-national study, *Child Developm* 53:491-504; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1983) Children’s perceptions of sex differences in babies and adolescents: a cross-national study, *Arch Sex Behav* 12,4:277-94; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1984) An overview of children’s sexual thinking: a comparative study of Australian, English, North-American and Swedish 5-15-year olds, in Segraves & Haeberle, E. (Eds.) *Emerging Dimensions of Sexology*. Selected Papers from the 6th World Congress of Sexology, Washington, D.C., May 21-27, 1983. Berlin: Praeger Special Studies & Praeger Scientific, p57-67; Goldman, J. (1990) Children’s sexual thinking: a research basis for sex education in schools, in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology*. Vol. 7. Amsterdam: Elsevier, p211-31

³⁶ Helmius, G. & Lewin, B. (1983) *Youth and sexuality: a sociological study of the sexual attitudes and experience of young people*. Uppsala University; Helmius, G. & Lewin, B. (1986) *Ungdom, Kärlek och Sex : Om Ungdomars Sexuella Liv på 80-talet* [Youth, Love and Sex: About the Sexual Life of Adolescents in the 80s].

Some earlier studies on adolescents prove to be informative on childhood (Israel et al., 1970; Busch, 1974; Lewin, 1982)³⁷. In a study of Swedish high school students (Klanger et al., 1993)³⁸, the median age at sexual debut was about 17 years. Among girls who had had intercourse, the median age at debut was lower than 10 years ago. Interestingly, 2% thought that they had *too much* sex education at school. Still, 41% felt they could not talk about sex with their parents.

Back in 1980, McConaghy³⁹ tentatively suggested that Swedish children may be advanced in awareness of genital differences and the genital basis of gender as compared to **American** children (p30-1), related to the greater extent of information provided for children (p20). In congruence with this observation, Barthelow-Koch (1980)⁴⁰ found significant differences in sexual knowledge as judged from drawings comparing 16 Swedish to 22 **American** children aged 7-8. The drawings were to illustrate "where babies come from and how babies are born". 11 out of 15 [?] Swedish children depicted sexual intercourse, while none of the American class did.

Ullerstam⁴¹ states that sexual games between parents and infants in Sweden were becoming increasingly common in younger families. "Infant and child sexuality is becoming a topic of discussion in the Swedish press of late, as well" (Personal observation by Martinson, Stockholm, Sweden, January 1973).

Larsson and Svedin (2002a)⁴² received anonymous questionnaires as answered by 269 final year, senior high-school students, mean age 18.6 years; 82.9% of the students reported solitary sexual experiences and 82.5% had mutual experiences together with another child.

Most of the children had their experiences together with a same-age friend. Girls had more same-sex experiences than boys did. Thirteen percent reported coercive experiences where they had been tricked, bribed, threatened, or physically forced into participation. Some children, 8.2%, had coerced another child into participation in sexual activities. The majority thought of their childhood experiences as normal. There were also 6.3% of the respondents who had had "inappropriate" sexual experiences (with someone at least 5 years older), the majority being girls. Gender differences were evident in several respects: girls were more often "coerced", they felt more guilt, and they had far less experience of masturbation, whereas boys were somewhat more active in explorative

Stockholm: Norstedts. Cf. Helmius, G. (1990) *Mogen för sex?! : det sexuellt restriktiverande samhället och ungdomars heterosexuella glädje*. Uppsala: Univ. Press

³⁷ Israel, J. et al. (1970) Sexuelle Verhaltensformen der Swedischen Großstadtjugend, in Bergström-Walan, M. et al. (Eds.) *Modellfall Skandinavien?* Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, p137-218; Busch (1974 [1972]) Sexual behavior in Sweden, in Holmstedt, M. (Ed.) *Second Seminar on Sex Education and Social Development in Sweden, Latin America & the Caribbean*. Stockholm: University of Stockholm, Institute of Education p46-58; Lewin, B. (1982) The Adolescent Boy and Girl: First and Other Early Experiences with Intercourse from a Representative Sample of Swedish School Adolescents, *Arch Sex Behav* 11,5:417-28. See further a number of studies cited by Israel et al.: Hofsten (1944), Hohman & Schaffber (1947); Jonssen (1951); Hesseldahl & Hauptmann (1963); Linderöth & Rundberg (1964); Jacobsen (1965); Zetterberg (1969)

³⁸ Klanger, B., Tyden, T. & Ruusuvaara, L. (1993) Sexual behavior among adolescents in Uppsala, Sweden, *J Adolesc Health* 14,6:468-74

³⁹ McConaghy, M. J. (1980) The gender understanding of Swedish children, *Child Psychia & Hum Developm* 11,1:19-32

⁴⁰ Barthelow-Koch (1980) A comparison of the sex education of primary-aged children in the US and Sweden as expressed through their art, in Samson, J. M. (Ed.) *Childhood & Sexuality / Enfance & Sexualité*. Proceedings of the

International Symposium. Montréal: Éditions Études Vivantes, p345-55

⁴¹ Ullerstam, L. ([1966]) *De Erotiska Minoriteterna*. English transl., *The Erotic Minorities*, p46-7. Dutch transl., *De Seksuele Minderheden*. 2nd ed. The Hague: Oisterwijk. Cited by Martinson, F. M. (1973) *Infant and Child Sexuality: A Sociological Perspective*. St. Peter, MN: The Book Mark, p18-9

⁴² Larsson, I. & Svedin, C. G. (2002a) Sexual experiences in childhood: young adults' recollections, *Arch Sex Behav* 31,3:263-73

activities on their own as well as with peers. The authors assert that “[s]ome kind of coercive sexual experiences appears to be part of growing up for quite a few children”.

Larsson and Svedin (2002b)⁴³ received questionnaires of parents and day-care teachers of 185 preschool children (3-6), from different socio-economic housing areas, answering questions about each child’s sexual and general behaviour. They were also asked about their own opinions on child sexual behaviour. Parental and staff attitudes toward child sexuality were quite open, although 67% of the parents and 41% of the teachers never spoke to the children on sexual matters. One fifth of the adults used no term for genitals at all, and even fewer had a name for girls’ genitals.

In an earlier publication⁴⁴, Larsson sketches the Swedish “abuse transition”:

“In the 1970s and 1980s, in the spirit of sexual liberalisation, some pedagogical literature on children and sexuality was published in Sweden (see e.g. Olsson & Risán, 1976; Aigner & Centerwall, 1983)^[45]. The books were based on the idea of “good sexuality” and included advice on how adults could teach small children to masturbate using a good technique and how daycare staff could encourage children to play explorative games of “doctors and nurses”. After the “discovery” of sexual abuse, the literature and adult education for professional groups working with children has primarily focused on children who are maltreated (see e.g. Akselsdotter, 1993) ^[46]” (p14).

Gisela Helmius⁴⁷ notes in a 1992 lecture in Canada that her

“research among young people in contemporary Sweden has shown that they shape their own patterns for how to become mature enough for sex and that they enjoy their early sexual experience - in spite of the problem-oriented sex education they receive from adults. [...] Swedish adolescents manage to find a pattern that enables them to become mature enough for sex and in accordance with prevailing norms incorporate sexuality into everyday life. This pattern includes an accumulation of sexual experiences ranging from going steady through light petting to sexual intercourse and heavy petting. The more types of sexual activities they experience, the more they enjoy their sexual lives. [...] In Sweden we don’t have as strong taboos on nudity as is the case in many other Western cultures, including Canada I have been told”.

In an 1991 paper⁴⁸, the author notes:

“In Sweden we have an officially sanctioned verbal openness about sexuality, manifested in compulsory sex education [“mandatory since 1956”]. This might be interpreted as a sign of the social acceptance of adolescent sexuality. But it also means that society is provided with a useful instrument to restrict adolescent sexuality. Through such socially sanctioned channels, society can supply young people with prevailing sexual norms, motivate them to make their sexual behaviour conform to these norms and condemn “wrong” sexual behaviour. As most Western cultures, Sweden is a sexually restricting society. In an educational environment coloured by the sexually restricting society’s reluctance to accept adolescent sexuality, sex education for young people is problem-oriented, focusing on the risks inevitably connected with sexual activity, that is, unwanted pregnancy,

⁴³ Larsson, I. & Svedin, C. G. (2002b) Teachers’ and parents’ reports on 3- to 6-year-old children’s sexual behavior- a comparison, *Child Abuse & Neglect* 26,3:247-66

⁴⁴ Larsson, I. (2000) *Sexual Abuse of Children: Child Sexuality and Sexual Behaviour*. Department of Health and Environment, Division of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Linköping University

⁴⁵ Olsson, M-L. & Risán, P. (1978). *Sexuell Utveckling*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell; Aigner, G. & Centerwall, E. (1983) *Barnens Kärleksliv*. Prisma/RFSU

⁴⁶ Akselsdotter K. (1993) *Små Barns Signaler om Sexuella Övergrepp*. Handbok för Förskolan. Stockholm: Rädda Barnen

⁴⁷ Helmius, G. (Oct., 1992) *Sex, Love and Socialization*. Lecture given as part of course “Philosophy of Sex and Love”, Queen’s University at Kingston, Canada

⁴⁸ Helmius, G. (1991) *Adolescent Sexual Joy, Physical Dependency and the Adult World’s Troubled Concern*. Paper presented at the IFHSB (International Federation for Hydrocephalus and Spina Bifida) 6th Congress, August 14-18, Stockholm, Sweden

side-effects of contraception, and sexually transmitted diseases. Sex education is thus first and foremost about what young people should fear rather than what they should care about".

In a study by Långström et al. (2002)⁴⁹, scores of CBCL items concerning (apparently) specific sexual behaviour "problems" (Plays with own sex parts in public and Plays with own sex parts "too much") were summed and the influence of genetic and environmental factors on variability assessed.

Additional refs:

-- *Mellan Barnkammaren och Sängkammaren: Om Barnen och Sexualiteten*. 1. uppl.. Stockholm: Riksförb. för sexuell upplysning (RFSU): Prisma, 1981; Larsson, I. (1999) Barns sexuella beteende, är det normalt eller...? *Social Forskning* 3:11-3

⁴⁹ Långström, N., Grann, M. & Lichtenstein, P. (2002) Genetic and Environmental Influences on Problematic Masturbatory Behavior in Children: A Study of Same-Sex Twins, *Arch Sex Beh* 31,4:343–50

Finland (Saami) [IES]

Ojakangas (1993)⁵⁰ examined medical and pedagogical texts circulated in Finland from 1890 to 1939 concerning dangers of masturbation among school children. Sexuality was encouraged only as it led to legitimate procreation. Masturbation for pleasure was said to result in physical, mental, and moral degeneration. School authorities had a duty to educate and discipline students in proper habits of sexual hygiene.

Korkiakangas (1992:p96-7)⁵¹ stated that even in the years immediately after WW II, guidebooks on sex and moral education warned for the dangers of masturbation. On the basis of interviews and questionnaire material from the 1980s, it was observed that children's playing doctor was prohibited. Despite the fairly liberal attitude on sex education at the time of writing, "[s]exual lore is still to some extent a matter between children: the wiser and more experienced "enlightens" the less experienced".

Sources of sex information were studied in 1950 (Westling and Tanka)⁵², 1971, 1992, and 1993 (Kontula and Haavio-Mannila, 1997)⁵³. "In their childhood home, information had been received about sexual matters by 39 percent of men and by 41 percent of women in 1971; in 1992, correspondingly, by 61 percent and by 64 percent. Ten percent of men and 14 percent of women in 1971 regarded the information received at home as sufficient. In 1992, the percentages were 29 percent and 32 percent respectively".

According to Kontula and Meriläinen (1988)⁵⁴, between 2 percent and 3 percent of both the boys and the girls reported having started masturbating already before age 10. Sexual games would have been played by at least 40 percent of the young adults in their childhood, half of them more frequent than one or two incidents⁵⁵. In a follow-up (Kosunen 1993)⁵⁶, 36 percent, of 13-year-old boys and 23 percent of girls reported that they had at some time practiced masturbation. Relevant data are found in other papers⁵⁷. The sexual biographies of **Russian** and Finnish women were compared by Rotkirch (1997, 1998)⁵⁸.

⁵⁰ Ojakangas, M. (1993) Självbefläckelsen och skolan: onanin i den medicinska och pedagogiska diskursen i sekelskiftet [Self-abuse and the school: masturbation in medical and pedagogical discussions at the turn of the century], *Hist Tidskr Finl* [Finland] 78,2:275-99

⁵¹ Korkiakangas, P. (1992) The games children may not play: improper, prophetic or dangerous, *Ethnol Scandinav* 22:95-104

⁵² Westling, A. & Tanka, V. (1953) The first information on sexual matters, *Int J Sexol* 1,4:195-203. Data showed a rather modest role for parents, after companions and printed material. Among 893 male undergraduates, 74.7% denied having received *any* sex information from their parents.

⁵³ Kontula, D. & Haavio-Mannila, E. (1997) Finland, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. 1. Quoted from the online edition

⁵⁴ Kontula, O. & Meriläinen, J. (1988) *Nuorten Kypsyminen Seurusteluun ja Seksuaalisuuteen* [Adolescents' Maturation for Social Intercourse and Sexuality]. Lääkintöhallituksen Julkaisuja. *Sarja Tutkimukset* 9/1988. Helsinki: Valtion Painatuskeskus. More information by Kontula, O. (1993) *Sexual Behavior Changes in Finland During the Last 20 Years*. Paper presented in the 36th Annual Meeting of the SSSS on Critical Issues in Sexology. Chicago, November 4-7, 1993 [Helsinki, University of Helsinki]

⁵⁵ The attitude adopted by the authors, however, may be significant for its place in socialisation: "These games may also include imitating and trying the sex habits the children had seen adults using. This cannot, however, be regarded as an actual initiation of sexual life, because it is not yet conscious activity that could be interpreted as sexual. Sexual meanings are not generally understood before approaching adolescence and the effects of pubertal hormones on the brain. Puberty brings a quite new kind of interest in sexual matters".

⁵⁶ Kosunen, E. (1993) Teini-ikäisten Raskaudet ja Ehkäisy, *STAKES*. Helsinki; Raportteja, 99

⁵⁷ Kontula, O. (1993) *Sexual Behavior Changes in Finland during the Last 20 Years*. Paper presented in the 36th Annual Meeting of the SSSS on Critical Issues in Sexology. Chicago, November 4-7, 1993, Helsinki, University of Helsinki; Papp, K., Kontula, O. & Kosonen, K. (2000) *Nuorten Aikuisten Seksuaalikäyttäytyminen ja Seksuaaliset Riskinotot*.

A complete sex education curriculum arose in the twentieth century.

"The greatest problem in the Finnish school sex education is its timing; it comes too late for the stage in the adolescents' development. The present sex education given to the ninth graders (aged 15 years) should be provided two years earlier. Both the students themselves and the experts in this field agree unanimously that sex education in its full extent should already be given to the 12- to 13-year-olds. According the latest news, the syllabi of biology will cover sex education for the eighth graders (aged 14 years)" (K&H, 1997).

As for domestic education:

"In their childhood home, information had been received about sexual matters by 39 percent of men and by 41 percent of women in 1971; in 1992, correspondingly, by 61 percent and by 64 percent. Ten percent of men and 14 percent of women in 1971 regarded the information received at home as sufficient. In 1992, the percentages were 29 percent and 32 percent respectively. Until recently, most people have thus not been getting very much information about sexual matters at home, even if these matters have been more talked about [⁵⁹].

"By age 13, about four out of five girls have had their first periods of menstruation and about 60 percent of the boys their first ejaculations. As a result, many young people show considerably more serious interest in the opposite sex than before. Over half of the boys of this age and one third of the girls have already viewed sex magazines and sex videos, and more than half of both boys and girls have kissed, according to the 1992 data. Many have experienced caressing over the clothing. Almost half of the 13-year-olds are ready to accept sexual intercourse in their peers' relationships. About as many report having already had a dating relationship with the opposite sex. Mostly, this means going around together with the dating partner as part of a group of young people. Sexual intercourse has been experienced by about 5 percent by the age of 13".

A study of the sex lives of 15-year-old Fins is offered by Kontula (1991)⁶⁰.

According to Kontula and Haavio-Mannila (1994)⁶¹:

"Small children often masturbate and play sexually slanted games (doctor games) where other children's and their own genitals are examined. According to the KISS study, at least 40% of present young adults have played these "sex games", half of them several times (Kontula 1987). These games can also include imitating and experimenting with adult sex habits the children have seen. However, this cannot be regarded as initiating sex life as playing these games is not interpreted as conscious sexual behaviour. The sexual significance of these experiences is usually first understood when approaching adolescence. At this point, sexual issues in general become more interesting".

On sexarche,

"The respondents' first sexual encounter with a person of the same sex took place at an average age of 18.3. With men, this figure was somewhat lower than with women. The age at which homosexual experiences are first gained is exactly the same as the age for initiating sexual intercourse for all respondents. Accordingly,

⁵⁸ 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

⁵⁹ Kontula, O. & Haavio-Mannila, E. (Eds, 1993) *Suomalainen Seksi: Tietoa Suomalaisen Sukupuolielämän Muutoksesta* [Finnish Sex: Information of Changes in Sexual Life in Finland]. Juva: WSOY

⁶⁰ Kontula, O. (1991) Sukupuolen merkitys sukupuolielämässä aloitettaessa [Importance of gender in starting a sex life], *Psykologia* 26,6:454-60

⁶¹ Kontula, O. & Haavio-Mannila, E. (1994) *Sexual Pleasures - Enhancement of Sex Life in Finland, 1971-1992*. Aldershot: Dartmouth

homosexual experiences do not differ from other sex experiments in this respect. A total of 8% have been part of childhood sex play because they had been experienced at an age under ten".

Sex education in the home and school have greatly increased between 1971-1992, approaching "sufficient" levels in the youngest cohort of some 60%.

Saami, Sámi / Lapps (eHRAF) (Finland, Norway, Sweden) (3,3,3,3,2-,2;8,8)

"As regards sexual enlightenment, this is never done by the parents, but by older brothers and sisters or by companions. The relations between the sexes are based on comradeship, and as a rule lead to nothing but innocent friendship" (Bernatzik, 1938)⁶². Lapps have a liking for sexual jokes which function as sexual education for the young (Delaporte and Roue, 1973)⁶³.

Anderson (1978)⁶⁴:

"By prescription, sexual experience should be reserved to marriage partners, and sex education, birth control, and abortion are anathema. Despite this, once the person is confirmed in the church by the age of 16, he becomes de facto eligible for sexual experience. Before marriage, this experience is generally while intoxicated, and neither before nor after marriage is it frequent. When a person marries, it is often expressed as being motivated by a desire for a family rather than for a sexual partner" (p108-9). "Sexual intercourse between the unmarried is only truly scandalous if it takes place before their confirmation in the Norwegian state church about one year before compulsory nine-year schooling is completed. Confirmation serves as a rite of passage between childhood and adulthood" (p167).

"Premarital sexual relations are not subject to censure, whereas divorce is unknown (Pelto 1962: 147-8)[⁶⁵]"⁶⁶.

⁶² Bernatzik, H. A. (1938) *Overland with the Nomad Lapps*. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co. Also cited by Whitaker, I. (1955) *Social Relations in a Nomadic Lappish Community*. Oslo: Norsk Folkemuseum, p46, n30

⁶³ Delaporte, Y. & Roue, M. (1973) Relations Preconjugales, Fidelité, Suicides: Conduites Sexuelles dans un Groupe de Lapons Nomades, *Anthropologica* 15,2:155-66

⁶⁴ Anderson, M. (1978) *Saami Ethnoecology: Resource Management in Norwegian Lapland*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International

⁶⁵ Pelto, P. J. (1962) *Individualism in Skolt Lapp Society*. Helsinki: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys (Finnish Antiquities Society) / New Haven, Conn.: HRAF, 1996

⁶⁶ Ingold, T. (1976) *The Skolt Lapps today*. London / New York: Cambridge University Press, p152

Denmark, Danmark

In turn of the century Danish village, for engagement the girl was at least 16, the boy 20 (p97)⁶⁷. Salomonsson (1993)⁶⁸ analysed a case of sexual misconduct involving nine girls aged 12-13 in a Swedish town during the 1950's to demonstrate the moral and social outlook of the authorities, contrasting it with the equally strong ethical values of the working-class families concerned. Studies informative for childhood include those reported by Hertoft⁶⁹. Masturbation seems to develop in the 12-14 age group, with 15% having experience before age 13. In a study by Auken (1953)⁷⁰ among 315 female inpatients, it appeared that the primary source of sexual enlightenment was stated to be "associates" (46.1%), mother (11.9%), fiancé (8.5%), domestic animals (8.8%), sisters (8.5%) and, among other sources, only 3.1% from school, sources, etc. Average age of learning about coitus was 14.4 (some months before menarche), coitus taking place on average at age 19.1. 25.2% of 150 women indicated some childhood sexual experience with an adolescent or adult (p390-4). A study by Wielandt et al. (1989)⁷¹ showed that the median age of coital debut was estimated at 16.8 for both sexes.

A book by Ernst (1979)⁷² is primarily analytic oriented, and offers no further perspectives.

⁶⁷ Anderson, R. T. & Anderson, G. (1960) Sexual behavior and urbanization in a Danish village, *Southwest J Anthropol* 16:p93-109

⁶⁸ Salomonsson, K. (1993) "Sexual-flickan": i fattigkulturens skärningspunkt mellan kön och klass ["The sexual girl": at the point of intersection between sex and class in the culture of the poor], *Årbog for Arbejderbevaegelsens Historie* [Denmark] 23:193-212

⁶⁹ Hertoft, P. (1969) Investigation into the sexual behaviour of young men, *Danish Med Bull* 16, Suppl. 1: 1-96; Hertoft, P. (1964) Investigation into the sexual behaviour of young men, *Acta Psychia Scand* 40, Suppl. 180:247-8; Hertoft, P. (1970) Das Sexuelle Verhalten junger Dänen, in Bergström-Walan, M. et al. (Eds.) *Modellfall Skandinavien?* Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, p59-136. See particularly the sexual histories presented at p119-33

⁷⁰ Auken, K. (1953) *Undersøgelser over unge Kvinders Sexuelle Adfærd*. København [etc.]: Rosenkilde och Bagger. See English transl.

⁷¹ Wielandt, H., Boldsen, J. & Jeune, B. (1989) Age of partners at first intercourse among Danish males and females, *Arch Sex Behav* 18,5:449-54

⁷² Ernst, N. (1979) *Børns Sexuelle Udvikling*. Kopenhagen. Cf. Dutch transl.

Germany [IES]

Historical Notes

Sumser (1992)⁷³ focuses on philanthropic pedagogy and its attempts at social control by regulating family relationships and children's sexual behaviour at the end of the 18th century in Germany. Inspired by the Enlightenment, philanthropists developed a concept of *Kraft* [power], which they believed was the essence of the human being that could be understood scientifically. While *Erziehung* [education] was critical to developing the higher level of *Kraft*, philanthropists believed that providing children with the proper environment was more important. One of the greatest threats to the development of *Kraft* was middle-class upbringing, in which sexual promiscuity and masturbation were thought to dominate and have a debilitating effect on a child's body and soul. As a result, philanthropists were less concerned with instruction than they were with displacing parents, who, they believed, promoted these bad habits. The pedagogue's tactics included controlling children's diets, limiting their contact with parents, restricting the periods devoted to book learning, and preventing children from isolating themselves. Police tactics were sometimes used to detect and cure sexual misbehaviour. In 19th century German medical literature, the appearance of hysteria in children led to either the rejection of sexual causation or more commonly the belief in childhood sexuality (Carter, 1983)⁷⁴. For a more comprehensive discussion of the medical literature concerning prepubertal sexuality around the beginning of the 20th century, see Janssen (2001)⁷⁵ [bibliography [here](#)]. Grant (1999)⁷⁶ details the end of an era (most of the 18th and 19th century) in which middle-class girls' femininity, as defined as "innocence", was not only primarily constituted by virginity, but by "complete sexual ignorance" (p343).

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Sexual Behaviour

⁷³ Sumser, R. (1992) *Erziehung*, the family, and the regulation of sexuality in the late German enlightenment, *German Stud Rev* 15,3:455-74. For this period, see also Hull, I. v. (1996) *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press

⁷⁴ Carter, K. C. (1983) Infantile hysteria and infantile sexuality in late nineteenth-century German-language medical literature, *Med Hist* 27,2:186-96

⁷⁵ Janssen, D. F. (July, 2001) *Paradoxia Sexualis. Bio-Othering and Psychopathia Sexualis of the Child*. Unpublished literature study. Medical Faculty, Dept. of Medical History, Philosophy and Ethic Studies, Nijmegen University, The Netherlands

⁷⁶ Grant, A. (1999) Innocence and the language of the body in discourses of the Jahrhundertwende, *German Life & Letters* 52,3:343-64

Numeric data on childhood sexual behaviour are exceptionally well researched⁷⁷. [For authoritative examples, consider the 3 PARTNER studies⁷⁸]. Some lesser-known dissertations on childhood

⁷⁷ Consider the following studies: Meirowsky, E. (1909/10) Über das sexuelle Leben unserer höheren Schüler, *Ztschr Bekämpf Geschlechtskrankh* 11,1:1-27; 11,2:41-62; Meirowsky, E. (1909/10) ?, *Ztsch f Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankh* 11,1:1-27; 2:41-62; Meirowsky, E. (1912) *Geschlechtsleben der Jugend, Schule und Elternhaus*. 2nd ed. Leipzig. Also cited in Bühler, Ch. M. (1940) *Psychologie der Pubertätsjahren*. Utrecht : Bijleveld. See p80-91; Long, A. (1941) Parents' reports of undesirable behavior in children, *Child Developm* 12,1:43-62; Kleinsorge, H. & Klumbies, G. (1959) Selbstbefriedigung, in *Psychotherapie in Klinik & Praxis*, p168-74; Fröhlich, H. & Szewcyk, H. (1970) Sexualerfahrungen von Berliner Jugendlichen, *Probl Erg Psychol* 32:17-36; Schorsch, E. (1971) *Sexualtraftäter*. Stuttgart: Enke; Schorsch, E. (1972) *Die Sexuellen Deviationen beim Menschen – Kritik an der Typologie*, in *Schering Symposium über Sexualdeviationen und ihre Medikamentöse Behandlung*. Oxford [etc.]: Pergamon / Braunschweig: Vieweg, p33-43; Weyland, J. (1967) *Die Bedeutung Kindlicher Sexualbetätigung für das Sexualverhalten in Pubertät und Erwachsenenalter*. Dissertation, Hamburg; [unpublished study in Brongersma Archive acc. Brongersma, 1987:p140]; Ziegler (acc. Brongersma, 1987,p145); Schickedanz, H. (1979) *Homosexuelle Prostitution: Eine Empirische Untersuchung über Sozial Diskriminiertes Verhalten bei Strichjungen und Call-Boys*. Frankfurt am Main & New York: Campus; Clement, U., Schmidt, G. & Kruse, M. (1984) Changes in sex differences in sex behavior: a replication of the study on West German students, *Arch Sex Behav* 13:99-121; Giese, H. & Schmidt, G. (1968) *Studentensexualität; Verhalten und Einstellung; Eine Umfrage an 12 Westdeutschen Universitäten*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt; Hirschfeld, M. ([1921]) *Sexualpathologie*. Vol. I. 2nd ed. Bonn: Marcus & Weber; Battenberg, L. 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Hamburg: Hoffman & Campe; Friedeburg, L. von (1953) *Die Umfrage in der Intimsphäre*. Stuttgart, Beiträge zur Sexualforschung 4; Friedjung, J. (1912) Beobachtungen über kindliche Onanie, *Ztschr f Kinderheilk* 4:341-52; Fröhlich, H. & Szewcyk, H. (1970) Sexualerfahrungen von Berliner Jugendlichen, *Probl erg Psychol* 32:17-36; Gagern, Von (1952) *Die Zeit der Geschlechtlichen Reife*. Seelenleben & Seelenführung 4; Gurewitsch & Grosser (1929) Das Geschlechtsleben der Gegenwart, *Ztsch f Sexualwiss & Sexual-Päd* 15:513-45; Helman [cited by Gurewitz & Grosser, 1929]; Kerkhoff, W. (1980) Kommunikationspartner bei Gespächen Sexuellen Inhalts, *Sexualpäd* 8,2:6-9; Klein (1993) Masturbation im Kindesalter, in Bach, K. R., Stumpe, H. & Weller, K. (Eds.) *Kindheit und Sexualität*. Braunschweig: G. J. Holtmeyer, p46-9; Kluge, N. (1998) *Sexualverhalten Jugendlicher Heute. Ergebnisse einer Repräsentativen Jugend- und Elternstudie über Verhalten und Einstellungen zur Sexualität*. 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(Eds.) *Prostitution bei Weiblichen und Männlichen Jugendlichen*. Stuttgart: Enke, p1-57; Rennert, H. (1966) Untersuchungen zur sexuellen Entwicklung der Jugend (eine statistische Erhebung an Medizinstudenten in Halle), *Ztschr Ärztl Fortbild* 60,3:140-53; Rennert, H. (1967) Die geschlechtliche Entwicklung der heutigen Jugend am Beispiel unserer Medizinstudenten, in Schwarz, H. (Ed.) *Jugendprobleme in Pädagogischer, Medizinischer und Juridischer Sicht*. Jena: Fischer; Schäfer, S. & Schmidt, G. (1974) *Weibliche Homosexualität*. Hamburg: Institut für Sexualforschung; Schäfer, S. (1976) Sexual and social problems of lesbians, *J Sex Res* 12,1:50-69; Schlaegel, J. et al. (1975) Sexuelle Sozialisation in Vorpubertät, Pubertät & früher Adoleszenz, *Sonderdruck aus Sexualmedizin* 4:206-18;306-25;381-8; Schmidt & Sigusch (1971) Patterns of sexual behavior in West-German workers & students, *J Sex Res* 7,2:89-106; Sigusch, V. & Schmidt, G. (1973) *Studentensexualität*. 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sexual experience were done in Hamburg, particularly on the subject of its role on later life (Laurig, 1967⁷⁹; Weyland, 1967⁸⁰; Brutzer, 1969⁸¹; Nachtigal, 1969⁸²; Schoof, 1969⁸³; Osieka, 1971⁸⁴; Kannmacher, 1983⁸⁵). Renate Volbert⁸⁶ examined sexological knowledge of 2- to 6-year-olds. Bettina Schuhrke⁸⁷ examined genital discovery, and published on the subject of physical shame development.

Aspects of childhood sexual socialisation are studied by particular specialists. Ernest Borneman (15 Apr., 1915 - 4 Jun., 1995) has written extensively on children's forbidden song and riddle culture (1973, 1974, 1976a,b; 1978a,b; 1985:p167-210, 216-36)⁸⁸, drawing material from fieldwork in Germany, Austria, Swiss, and other regions (Borneman, 1985:p174). Wilhelm Koch (1979, 1980,

zur Frage der sogenannten Pädophilie. Berlin: Springer. Monographien aus dem Gesamtgebiete der Neurologie & Psychiatrie 121; Zbankows [cited by Gurewitz & Grosser, 1929]

⁷⁸ http://www.gesis.org/en/data_service/gdr_nfs/longitudinals/partner-studien.htm

⁷⁹ Laurig (1967) *Kindliche Sexualbetätigung und ihre Bedeutung für die Sexuelle Entwicklung in Pubertät und im Erwachsenen Alter; Ergebnisse einer Umfrage an 495 Männlichen Studenten*. Med. Diss., Hamburg

⁸⁰ Weyland, J. (1967) *Die Bedeutung Kindlicher Sexualbetätigung für das Sexualverhalten in Pubertät und Erwachsenenalter*. Diss., Hamburg

⁸¹ Brutzer (1969) *Die Beziehung zwischen Infantilem und Späterem Sexualverhalten; Ergebnisse einer Befragung an 831 Weiblichen Studenten Westdeutschlands*. Med. Diss., Hamburg

⁸² Nachtigal, G. (1969) *Infantile Sexualität und Späteres Sexualverhalte; Ergebnisse einer Befragung an 2835 Männlichen Studenten Westdeutschlands*. Med. Diss., Hamburg

⁸³ Schoof, W. (1969) *Geschlechtsspezifische Unterschiede im Sexualverhalten: Ergebnisse einer Erhebung an 3666 Westdeutschen Studenten*. Diss., Hamburg

⁸⁴ Osieka, R. (1971) *Homosexuelles Verhalten bei Jugendlichen und Erwachsenen*. Med. Diss., Hamburg

⁸⁵ Kannmacher, J. (1983) *Aspekte der Sexueller Sozialisation anhand Zweier Empirischer Untersuchungen an Westdeutschen Studenten*. Med. Diss., Hamburg

⁸⁶ Volbert, R. & Homburg, A. (1996) Was wissen zwei- bis sechsjährige Kinder über Sexualität? *Zeitschr f Entwicklungspsychol & Pädagog Psychol* 28,3:210-27. See also Volbert, R. (1995) Zum Sexualverhalten und Sexualwissen von Kindern, *Sexuologie* 3:166-78; 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., McMurran, M. & Wilson, C. (Eds.) *Psychology, Law, and Criminal Justice: International Developments in Research and Practice*. - Berlin [etc.]: De Gruyter, p198-215; Volbert, R. (1997) Sexuelles Verhalten von Kindern: normale Entwicklung oder Indikator für sexuellen Mißbrauch? in Amann, G. & Wiplinger, R. (Eds.) *Sexueller Mißbrauch: Überblick zu Forschung, Beratung und Therapie; Ein Handbuch*. Tübingen : dgvt-Verl., p385-98; Volbert, R. (1998) Sexualverhalten und Sexualwissen von Kindern, in Kanitscheider, B. (Ed.) *Liebe, Lust und Leidenschaft: Sexualität im Spiegel der Wissenschaft*. Stuttgart [etc.]: Hirzel, p173-87; Volbert, R. (1998) Sexualwissen von 2-6jährigen Kindern, *Forum Sexualaufklärung* 2:5-8; Volbert, R. (1999) Sexualwissen von Kindern: eine qualitative Studie im Auftrag der Freien Universität Berlin, in *Wissenschaftliche Grundlagen. Teil 1: Kinder* [Bundeszentrale für Gesundheitliche Aufklärung (BZgA), Abteilung Sexualaufklärung, Verhütung und Familienplanung, Ed. Angelika Heßling.]. Köln: Bundeszentrale f. Gesundheitliche Aufklärung, p139-74. (Forschung und Praxis der Sexualaufklärung und Familienplanung; 13.1.); Volbert, R. (2000) Sexual knowledge of preschool children, *J Psychol & Human Sexuality* 12:5-26/ in Sandfort, Th. G. M. & Rademakers, J. (Eds., 2001) *Childhood Sexuality*. New York: Haworth Press, p5-26

⁸⁷ Schuhrke, B. (1991) *Körperentdecken und Psychosexuelle Entwicklung: Theoretische Überlegungen und eine Längsschnittuntersuchung an Kindern im 2. Lebensjahr*. Regensburg: Roderer; Schuhrke, B. (1997) Genitalentdecken in 2. lebensjahr, *Ztschr f Sexualforsch* 10,2:106-26; Schuhrke, B. (2000) Young children's curiosity about other people's genitals, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 12,1/2:27-48 [further bibliography at http://www.efh-darmstadt.de/html/body_lehrende_bs_veroeffentl.html]

⁸⁸ 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 B. (1985); Borneman, E. (1985) *Das Geschlechtsleben des Kindes: Beiträge zur Kinderanalyse und Sexualpädagogie*. München-Wien-Baltimore: Urban & Schwarzenberg

1984, 1986)⁸⁹ since 1972 collected more than hundred “erotic drawings” on neighbourhood walls, children’s playgrounds, etc. Most numeric data are available through large-scale student surveys. Accounts of sexual education are given by Bach and Glück (1993)⁹⁰.

On the attitude on sexual games, Lautmann and Starke (1997)⁹¹ stated:

“Even if informed parents know what their children are doing, these games are surrounded by a certain suspicion that they may be too early or the fear that the children may become oversexualized. Picking up on these silent messages, the children tend to hide their encounters and games from their parents. Since there is no discussion of the morality of these activities and their expressions not subjected to empirical investigation, one knows very little about their reality”.

“School curricula provide for the instruction of sexual issues from the first elementary class onwards. Since there is no special course, the matter can be addressed in various fields such as biology, religion, politics, and so on. The outcome, in spite of existing detailed syllabi, is a sporadic sex education. The teachers think of themselves as not being competent enough. As a matter of fact, the academic training is entirely insufficient; only a tenth of the pedagogic students are offered suitable courses. The parents’ attitudes are of a similar uncertainty. They hesitate to speak frankly to their children; and many parents wish that teachers would refrain from doing so” (Glueck 1990)^[92].

Menarche currently occurs at approximately the age of 12.8 years while the ejacularche takes place at around the age of 13.9 years. Ninety percent of Germans at the age of 16 have already been in love, while about 80 percent of 16-year-olds have experience of a relationship. The average age at which young males and females have sexual intercourse for the first time, about 17, has remained constant for about a decade. One difference that is to be observed is that boys in western Germany and girls in eastern Germany start somewhat earlier; in fact, one third of the latter have their first experience of coitus before their 16th birthday. Members of the lower classes start particularly early in western Germany, whereas the upper classes and future intellectuals are somewhat slower.

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⁸⁹ 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*. Erziehungsissenschaften 15. Münster Lit.

⁹⁰ Bach, K. R. (1993) Sexualpädagogik und Sexualerziehung in der DDR, in Bach, K., Stumpe, H. & Weller, K. (Eds.) *Kindheit und Sexualität*. Braunschweig: GJ Holtzmeier, p829; Glück, G. (1993) Sexualpädagogik und Sexualerziehung in der BRD, in Bach, K., Stumpe, H. & Weller, K. (Eds.) *Kindheit und Sexualität*. Braunschweig: GJ Holtzmeier, p90-100

⁹¹ Lautmann, R. & Starke, K. (1997) Germany, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Quoted from the online edition

⁹² Glueck, G. (1990) *Heisse Eisen in der Sexualerziehung*. Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag

Iceland

Additional refs:

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Ireland, Eire, Irish (3,3,3+,4-,4-,4;2,2) [IES]

On the Isle of Inis Beag,

"[s]ex is never discussed in the home and islanders are monumentally naïve and inexperienced. Boys learn some facts by talking to other boys and watching animals, but girls may not even have done that. Girls understand that they must not look directly at a male or allow themselves to be touched. Premarital sex is unknown, courtship almost nonexistent, and marriages are arranged with little concern for the feelings of the young people involved" (Messenger, as read by Yates)⁹³.

The first Irish study of childhood sexual behaviour came as late as 1993 (Deehan and Fitzpatrick)⁹⁴. More than half of the parents reported that their child had shown no interest in his/her own genitals, while thirty-seven percent reported that their child played with his/her genitals. Most parents said this occurred openly in the home. Sixteen percent described such play as self-pleasuring, most regarding this as a comfort habit or "nervous fiddling". Seven percent reported genital touching games and four percent said that their child had been lying on top another child in imitation of a sexual act. ("Simulated intercourse" or kissing or licking of the genitals was not reported by any parents.) Thirteen percent of the children were reported to share a bed, usually with siblings. In contrast to situations in the city, "[t]he country-bred boy and girl grow up in an atmosphere of constant reference to sex and breeding" (Arensberg and Kimball, 1968:p197)⁹⁵. Kelly (1997)⁹⁶ stated that as late as 1984, the government had no formal policies regarding sex education, and even today, "[i]t appears that there is wide variation in the ways in which individual schools provide sex education", so none may be given. The *Durex Report - Ireland* (1993), designed to be statistically representative of the adult population aged 17 to 49 years living in the Republic of Ireland, found that the following were the main sources of sexual information: own friends, 36 percent; mother, 23 percent; books and magazines, 12 percent; religious teacher, 10 percent; lay teacher, 10 percent; father, 5 percent; and sisters or brothers, 5 percent.

"Prior to 1984, the government had no formal policies regarding sex education. [...] It appears that there is wide variation in the ways in which individual schools provide sex education. Some provide none, others set aside a particular day or days and provide expert speakers. More frequently, it is incorporated into one or two school subjects, usually science and/or religion".

The Durex Report - Ireland (1993), designed to be statistically representative of the adult population aged 17 to 49 years living in the Republic of Ireland, found that the following were the main sources of sexual information: own friends, 36 percent; mother, 23 percent; books and magazines, 12 percent; religious teacher, 10 percent; lay teacher, 10 percent; father, 5 percent; and sisters or

⁹³ Messenger, J. (1971) Sex and Repression in an Irish Folk Community, in Marshall, D. S. & Suggs, R. C. (Eds.) *Human Sexual Behavior*. New York & London: Basic Books. Also Yates, A. (1978) *Sex Without Shame*. New York: William Morrow, p68-70, 76

⁹⁴ Deehan, A., & Fitzpatrick, C. (1993) Sexual Behaviour of Normal Children as Perceived by Their Parents, *Irish Med J* 4:130-2; Fitzpatrick, C., Deehan, A. & Jennings, S. (1995) Children's sexual behavior and knowledge: a community study, *Irish J Psychol Med* 12,3:87-91; Kelly, Th. Ph. (1997) Ireland, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Quoted from the online edition

⁹⁵ Arensberg, C. M. & Kimball, S. T. (1968) *Family and Community in Ireland*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Second ed.

⁹⁶ *Op.cit.*

brothers, 5 percent. A Health Education Bureau study in 1986 of a national random sample of 1,000 parents found that 64 percent learned about sex from friends, 37 percent from books, 23 percent from mother, 6 percent from both parents, 2 percent from father, and 11 percent from a teacher. Thirty-two percent stated that they had not themselves provided sex education for their children and one in three of these parents stated that they did not intend to do so. In the Deehan and Fitzpatrick study, parents reported having discussed breast development with 38 percent of daughters and 20 percent of sons, menstruation with 26 percent of daughters and 7 percent of sons, pubic hair development with 40 percent of daughters and 20 percent of sons, erections with 11 percent of sons and 5 percent of daughters, and wet dreams with 4 percent of sons and 3 percent of daughters. The vast majority of those children were prepubertal. An increasing number of primary school teachers are discussing puberty with their pupils. [In Northern Ireland of the late 1980s, university students reported considerable variation in the amount of sex education, the majority receiving "little or none"⁹⁷].

One survey to date on premarital sexual activity in adolescence conducted in 1991 by Ni Riordain⁹⁸ (2,000 female 12- to 17-year-old students in the province of Munster) revealed that 25 percent of the 17-year-olds, 10 percent of the 15-year-olds, and 1 percent of the 12-year-olds had experienced sexual intercourse. In another study⁹⁹ (2754 pupils 15-18 years attending 40 second level schools in Galway City and County) the mean age of first sexual intercourse was 15.5 years.

⁹⁷ Sneddon, I. & Kremer, J. (1992) Sexual behavior and attitudes of university students in Northern Ireland, *Arch Sex Behav* 21,3:295-312

⁹⁸ Unspecified ref. by Kelly (1997)

⁹⁹ MacHale, E. & Newell, J. (1997) Sexual behaviour and sex education in Irish school-going teenagers, *Int J STD AIDS* 8,3:196-200

Scotland (/ [Highland Scots](#))

In early-20th-century Scotland, the old belief in the curative powers of sexual congress with a virgin led to a number of attacks on young girls by men suffering from venereal disease (Davidson, 2001)¹⁰⁰. This “pernicious delusion” entered legal and medical discourses as court proceedings increased against rapists who transmitted syphilis and gonorrhoea to their children. However, despite the prosecutions, resistance remained with the legal and medical professions to recognising child sexual abuse with many of the symptoms of venereal infection dismissed as the result of dirt or worms.

In one contemporary study¹⁰¹, preschool staff groups in **Greece** and Scotland differed in the extent to which they thought families and preschool establishments should provide sex education, the age at which it should start and the requirements for staff participation.

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Highland Scots

“Although sex education is sometimes provided in the schools today, it is a subject about which people are extremely reticent, except in the sometimes crude but more often lyrical and metaphorical excess of the late-night ceilidh. A woman in her fifties was first given sex education classes when she was in the forces. “I trembled as I listened to the lectures. I didn’t want to have anything to do with that”. Another woman recalls that her mother never told her anything about where babies came from; she just told her to stay away from boys, because if they got at her they would leave her and not care for her. “I never looked at them, even when I was eighteen—I hated them sometimes. Even after I got married, I felt my husband wouldn’t like me”. I once got into an awkward discussion with a nine year old about humans being mammals that carried their babies inside instead of laying eggs. She asked with wide, surprised eyes, “Do they get big?” Her mother said her daughter had never asked where babies came from” (Parman, 1990:p112)¹⁰².

Historically speaking, however,

“human facts were not left to be learned only by observation of animals, but were simply and frankly taught. In a parent’s verses to a maiden, for instance, marriage is spoken of tenderly but frankly, in words which can

¹⁰⁰ Davidson, R. (2001) This pernicious delusion: law, medicine, and child sexual abuse in early-twentieth-century Scotland, *J Hist Sex* 10,1:62-77

¹⁰¹ 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

¹⁰² Parman, S. (1990) *Scottish Crofters*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

hardly be translated literally without over-emphasis to most English ears. There is a place for gentle frankness, as there is for reticence" (Geddes, 1955:p205-6)¹⁰³ .

¹⁰³ Geddes, A. (1955) *The Isle of Lewis and Harris: A Study in British Community*. Edinburgh: At the University Press

Great Britain [IES]

Historical Matters [Great Britain]

"In works dealing with the history of civilisation, we also encounter occasional references to our subject. Take, for instance, the knightly *Code of Love* (*Liebeskodex*), a work highly esteemed in the days of chivalry, and legendarily supposed to have originated in King Arthur's Court. Paragraph 6 of this *Code* runs: "A man shall not practise love until he is fully grown". According to Rudeck¹⁰⁴, from whom I quote this instance, the aim of the admonition was to protect the youth of the nobility from unwholesome consequences. Obviously, the love affairs of immature persons must have been the determining cause of any allusion to the matter" (Moll, 1908 [1912:p9]).

A late medieval author on gynaecology matters stated that

"[e]very mayde sholde kepe hir from the man at the lest till her flourys be falle & comyn, that is till she be .xv. yere olde, that nature and the matrice myght fulfille and bere that longeth to hem. For truly, and she rose to dele with man or that tyme, oon of these iij thyngs or all shall falle to hir: other she shall be bareyne or elles hir breth shall have an evyll savour or she shall be lavy[sh?] of hir body to other than hir husbond"¹⁰⁵.

In the 15th to 17th century juvenile marriages were most common in both England and Scotland (Scott, 1960:p75-7)¹⁰⁶. In Tudor (1485 to 1603) England¹⁰⁷

"Although the word 'adolescence' was almost unknown at the time, Tudor society understood that there was a separate life stage with its own special characteristics following childhood and preceding full adulthood--a time of sexual awakening and physical development leading to romantic activity and marriage. What we might now call adolescence was identified then by the activities (such as courtship) which took place during it and was brought to an end by marriage".

Margaret Beaufort's infant marriage to John de la Pole was dissolved in 1453 at Henry VI's behest. She was only twelve when her second husband, Edmund Tudor, hastened to consummate the marriage, anxious to establish the rights over her lands which a child would give him¹⁰⁸.

A work by Furnivall¹⁰⁹ revealed that in England, as in France and Italy, children were betrothed and married in infancy, the children sometimes refusing consummation at puberty. As reviewed by McLaughlin (1997)¹¹⁰, child (<12 for girls, <14 for boys) marriages would have been a common practice in medieval England: "[...] it was apparently completely non-exceptionable in the 14th

¹⁰⁴ Rudeck, *Die Liebe* (Leipzig, undated), p158 [orig. footnote]

¹⁰⁵ Post, J. B. (1971) Ages at Menarche and Menopause: Some Mediaeval Authorities, *Population Stud* 25,1:83-7

¹⁰⁶ *Curious Customs* [...]

¹⁰⁷ Carlson, E. (1993) Courtship in tudor England, *Hist Today* 43,8:23-9

¹⁰⁸ Jones, M. K. & Underwood, M. G. (1992) *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort Countess of mond and Derby*. New York: Cambridge University Press

¹⁰⁹ Goodsell, W. (1934) *A History of Marriage and the Family*. Rev. ed. New York: MacMillan, p274-5. Also Peeters, H. F. M. (1966) *Kind en Jeugdige in het Begin van de Moderne Tijd (ca 1500-ca 1650)*. Dissertation Nijmegen, The Netherlands. Hilversum / Antwerpen: P. Brand, p265-70

¹¹⁰ McLaughlin, J. (April, 1997) *Medieval Child Marriage: Abuse Of Wardship?* Paper delivered at Plymouth State College, Plymouth, NH, Conference on Medieval Studies

century. A social practice which entered the written record in the 12th century, but which seems to have had roots in the barbaric past, that extended from the royal abattoirs down to the lives of neighboring fishmongers and shop-keepers in medieval London, yet that seems to have received little more than passing notice in canon law beyond exhortation to limit it to age seven and ensure mutual consent of the parties [...]"'. As for consummation, Brundage (1987:p434)¹¹¹ had cited Hostiensis¹¹² in advertising that

"[...] the real criterion of readiness for marriage was sexual capacity; a girl who was able and willing to consummate a sexual union was fit for marriage, whatever her chronological age, and boys who were fit for sex were likewise capable of contracting marriage".

Statutory rape was codified into English law more than 700 years ago, when it became illegal "to ravish" with or without her consent, a maiden under the age of 12. In 1576, the age of consent was lowered to 10¹¹³. In 1885 it was raised from 12 to 16¹¹⁴. The English Marriage Act of 1653 raised the age of consent to marriage to 16 years for men and 14 years for women¹¹⁵. Today, cross-ethnic marriages may raise ethical issues¹¹⁶.

"Victorian" Age [Great Britain]

Kern (1974)¹¹⁷ argues that the very intimacy that marked the Victorian family, including the increasing nucleation of the Victorian family, its representation and evaluation in literature, the impact of its "explosive intimacy" on childhood sexuality and parent-child interactions, led to a psychologically debilitating institution loaded with conflict, repression, and guilt. It seems that mothers and daughters colluded in a joint awareness of their femininity as a "secret pollution" (Dyhouse, 1981:p20-2)¹¹⁸. Menarche was not discussed on beforehand. Bicycles, and other toys requiring straddling threatened girl' sexual innocence (Garvey, 1995:p74-6)¹¹⁹. Money (1985:p131-2)¹²⁰ observed that Victorian ideology on childhood sexuality is essential inconsistent between the image of shattered innocence and intrinsic wickedness. Anyhow, sexuality was said to be "an inescapable feature of live", at least for the urban poor, for whom overcrowding was a specific contributing factor.

In 16th century England lawmakers were prompted to pass a Bill in 1548 protecting boys from sodomy, and in 1576 protecting girls under 10 years from forcible rape, with both offences

¹¹¹ Brundage, J. (1987) *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

¹¹² Henry of Segusio, Cardinal bishop of Ostia, d. 1271

¹¹³ Juvenile Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union (1978) The strange world of statutory rape, *Children's Rights Report* 2,6

¹¹⁴ Thomas, K. (1959) The Double Standard, *J Hist Ideas* 20,2:195-216, at p198; Adams, J. (2000) *Madder Music, Stronger Wine: The Life of Ernest Dowson, Poet and Decadent*. London: Tauris, p55-66

¹¹⁵ McLaren, D. (1974) Marriage Act of 1653: Its Influence on the Parish Registers, *Populat Stud* 28,2:319-27, at p323

¹¹⁶ Jones, R. & Welhengama, Gn. (1996) Child Marriages in Contemporary Britain, *Liverpool Law Rev* 18,2:197-205

¹¹⁷ Kern, S. (1974) Explosive intimacy: psychodynamics of the Victorian family, *Hist Childh Quart* 1,3:437-61

¹¹⁸ Dyhouse, C. (1981) *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*. London [etc.]: Routledge & Kegan Paul

¹¹⁹ Garvey, E. G. (1995) Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women, *Am Quart* 47,1:66-101

¹²⁰ Money, J. (1985) *The Destroying Angel*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus

carrying the death penalty¹²¹. Medieval marriage age of twelve was in effect until 1753. In Victorian days, child prostitution was said to be rampant (Pearsall, 1969¹²²:p358-66; Joseph, 1995¹²³:p15-6; Rush, 1980¹²⁴:p62-4; Walvin, 1982:p143-7¹²⁵; Oppenheim, 1991:p260¹²⁶; Trumbach, 1977¹²⁷; Brown and Barratt, 2002¹²⁸), perhaps “aided” with the idea that venereal disease could be cured by means of sexual intercourse with a child (Eliade, cited by DeMause, 1982:p58) or perhaps a peculiarly English liking for “defloration” (Bloch, [1934:p142-3]¹²⁹). Or perhaps by the argument that children “could be seduced with near impunity since evidence of young children could be accepted in court only if they showed a complete understanding of the nature of the oath”¹³⁰. This was probably equivalent to America (e.g., Rugoff, 1971:p270)¹³¹. There was also a small scene in “erotic” depiction of prepubertal girls¹³², some of which are collected by Ovenden¹³³. Kern (1975:p120)¹³⁴ states:

“The severely restrictive sexual morality of the nineteenth century was imposed by the newly triumphant bourgeoisie. Waste, whether financial or biological, became to be viewed as evil, and the class sexual morality called for even more thrift in the sexual sphere. Child sexuality was the persistent reminder of the human tendency to squander, and parents sought to control it both to instil a proper morality in the child and to reaffirm the wisdom of their own self-restraint”.

Fishman (1982:p279)¹³⁵ speaks of a “conspiracy of adults” against children, an “obsession” that might “even have produced unusual examples of sexual precocity and prowess”. The notion (and fear) of violent revolutionary change in late Victorian England found its way into the new science of psychiatry in the form of Henry Maudsley’s creation of the disease “masturbatory insanity” (1868), a malady which supposedly sapped the ambition and manliness

¹²¹ Radzinowicz, L. (1948) *History of English Criminal Laws*. Vol. 1. New York: MacMillan

¹²² Pearsall, R. (1969) *The Worm in the Bud*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. Penguin, 1983

¹²³ Joseph, C. (1995) Scarlet wounding: issues of child prostitution, *J Psychohist* 23,1:2-17, p15-6

¹²⁴ Rush, F. (1980) *The Best Kept Secret: Sexual Abuse of Children*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall

¹²⁵ Walvin, J. (1982) *A Child’s World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, p135-48

¹²⁶ Oppenheim, J. (1991) “*Shattered Nerves*”. New York [etc.]: Oxford University Press, see p259-62

¹²⁷ Trumbach, R. (1977) London’s sodomites: Homosexual behaviour and Western culture in the eighteenth century, *J Soc Hist* 11:1-33

¹²⁸ Brown, A. & Barratt, D. (2002) *Knowledge of Evil: Child Prostitution and Child Sexual Abuse in Twentieth Century England*. Cullompton: Willan

¹²⁹ Bloch, I. (1934) *Ethnological and Cultural Studies of the Sex Life in England Illustrated*. New York: Falstaff Press

¹³⁰ Bullough V. L. & Bullough B. (1987) *Women and Prostitution: A Social History*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, p266; Bullough V. L. & Bullough B. (1978) *Prostitution: An Illustrated Social History*. New York: Crown Publishers, p246; Bullough, V. L. (1990) History in adult human sexual behaviour with children and adolescents in western societies, in Feierman, J. (Ed.) *Pedophilia, Biosocial Dimensions* New York: Springer-Verlag, p69-90, see p74

¹³¹ Rugoff, M. (1971) *Prudery and Passion*. London: R. Hart-Davis

¹³² 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

¹³³ Ovenden: *Victorian Children* [1978]; *Childhood Streets* [1998]; *Victorian Erotic Photography* [1973];

Nymphets and Fairies: 3 Victorian Children’s Illustrators [1976]

¹³⁴ Kern, S. (1975) *Anatomy and Destiny: A Cultural History of the Human Body*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., p119-24

¹³⁵ Fishman, S. (1982) The history of childhood sexuality, *J Contemp Hist* 17,2:269-83

of pubescent middle-class youths, thereby placing them as “degenerates” outside the “normalcy” of the bourgeoisie (Cohen, 1987)¹³⁶.

In the 19th century many cases of syphilis and gonorrhoea among children were diagnosed. Doctors did not believe that these were a result of sexual contact but rather came from innocent infections, particularly among poor people, who, due to crowded living conditions, were exposed to miasma and germs. In 1913 Dr. Robert Smith concluded children acquired venereal disease through sexual contact (Taylor, 1985)¹³⁷.

Upper and middle class children's lives changed dramatically in the 18th century as the need for absolute subservience and sadistic discipline declined. By the 1740's a more sensitive attitude toward children, which was part of a larger social change, spread and the aims of education became social rather than religious. Morality remained uppermost but emphasis was placed on equipping a child with skills essential to secure gainful employment. Children were expected to be companions of their parents in ways which were hitherto unknown; thus they gained a materially-rich life but control of their private lives became more rigid and sex became a subject of terror as chastity and abstinence were ruthlessly imposed (Plumb, 1975)¹³⁸.

In the 19th century, the characterisation of childhood virtues, which initially stressed their androgynous nature, gave way to one that was more overtly gender-specific. Womanliness and manliness came to be defined in sexual terms as shown in examples from Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book*, and G. A. Henty's *Bonnie Prince Charlie*. This led to changed definitions of abnormality: the early 19th-century concern with excessive sexual activity was replaced by late Victorian fear of effeminacy among boys (Nelson, 1989)¹³⁹. Havelock Ellis published some sexual histories.

Victorian age has been marked by a fascination with little girls¹⁴⁰. This may perhaps be paralleled by early 20th century Vienna's ideal of the “child-wife” (Greenacre, 1947)¹⁴¹.

Consent Issues [Great Britain]

The legal concept of a child in need of protection shifted between 1860 and 1885, as the age of consent to sexual intercourse was raised from 10 to 12, to 13, and finally to 16 by the 1885 Criminal

¹³⁶ Cohen, E. (1987) (R)evolutionary scenes: the body politic and the political body in Henry Maudsley's nosology of “masturbatory insanity”, *19th Cent Contexts* 11,2:179-91. Cf. Gilbert, A. N. (1980) Masturbation and insanity: Henry Maudsley and the ideology of sexual repression, *Albion* 12,3:268-82

¹³⁷ Taylor, K. J. (1985) Venereal disease in nineteenth-century children, *J Psychol* 12:431-63

¹³⁸ Plumb, J. H. (1975) The new world of children in eighteenth-century England, *Past & Present* 67:64-95.

¹³⁹ Nelson, C. B. (1989) Sex and the single boy: ideals of manliness and sexuality in Victorian literature for boys, *Vict Stud* 32,4:525-50

¹⁴⁰ Robson, C. (2001) *Men in Wonderland: The Lost Girlhood of the Victorian Gentleman*. Princeton University Press; Kincaid, J. (1992) *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture*. New York: Routledge; Pearsall (1969:p430-46); Walvin (1982:p147-8). Also Fraser, M. (1976) *The Death of Narcissus*. London: Secker & Warburg; Townsend, Ch. (1996) A picture of innocence? *Hist Today* 46,5:8-11; Trudgill, E. (1976) *Madonnas and Magdalens*. London [etc.]: Heinemann, p90-100

¹⁴¹ Greenacre, Ph. (1947 [1971]) Child wife as ideal: sociological considerations, in *Emotional Growth*. New York: International Universities Press, p3-8

Law Amendment Act (Jackson, 1999:p223)¹⁴². A four-part newspaper article written by William Thomas Stead, July 1885, succeeded in securing the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts and in raising the age of consent from 13 to 16 (Robson, 1978)¹⁴³. However, the agitation for reform legislation concerning child prostitution began even before the sensational exposé of William T. Stead in 1885. Reformers, who called for a rise of the age of consent from 13 to 18 or even 21, were influenced by their middle-class prejudices about childhood, adolescence, and female sexuality. They failed to understand the social and economic roots of the phenomena (Gorham, 1978)¹⁴⁴. Under English law, “unlawful carnal knowledge of a woman without her consent” is the definition of rape under the provisions of the Offences Against the Person Act of 1861, and various additional qualifying conditions have been laid down chiefly in the Sexual Offences Act of 1956 and the Lunacy Act of 1890. The maximum sentence can be life imprisonment. Carnal knowledge of an infant female under 13 or of an idiot, whether by force or not, under the Sexual Offences Act of 1956, is a felony; a girl below 13 cannot give consent, and having or attempting to have carnal knowledge of a girl above 14 but under 16 years is a misdemeanour. Furthermore, the range of acts comprising indecent assault is very wide. Penetration of the female even to such a slight extent that the victim could remain *virgo intacta* still stands as a crime. (The law is concerned with the act, not with its quality or degree). The criminal’s age is no bar; a male under 14 can be convicted of an attempt to commit rape or of indecent assault even though the age of puberty is generally held to be attained at 14 years. A boy of 14 or under who is not capable of unlawful carnal knowledge or rape in law, can still be charged with indecent assault. A woman who deliberately provokes intercourse with a boy can be convicted only of indecent assault. The virtue of the victim is of no importance; a prostitute is entitled to the same protection as any other woman (though an accusation of rape brought on by a prostitute would be carefully investigated). Nor can a husband be charged with rape of his wife -- unless legally separated. However, a possible charge of assault can be made.

Sexual Behaviour [Great Britain]

Glaser (1997)¹⁴⁵ stated:

“Little research has been conducted on the sexual behavior of children and adolescents in the United Kingdom. Findings from one study [¹⁴⁶] of children in different preschool settings show that many children are curious about each others’ genitalia, expressing this curiosity by looking at and touching each other. The extent to which such exploratory behavior has mature sexual meaning is unclear. A smaller proportion of pre-school

¹⁴² Jackson, L. A. (1999) The child’s word in court: cases of sexual abuse in London, 1870-1914, in Arnot, M. L. & Osborne, C. (Eds.) *Gender and Crime in Modern Europe*. London: UCL Press, p222-37. See also Jackson, L. A. (2000a) *Child Sexual Abuse in Victorian England*. New York: Routledge; Jackson, L. A. (1999) Family, community and the regulation of sexual abuse: London 1870-1914, in Fletcher A. & Hussey S. (Eds.) *Childhood in Question. Children, Parents and the State*. Manchester University Press; Jackson, L. A. (2000b) “Singing Birds as well as Soap Suds”: the Salvation Army’s Work with Sexually Abused Girls in Edwardian England, *Gender & Hist* 12,1:107-27

¹⁴³ Robson, A. (1978) The significance of the maiden tribute of modern Babylon, *Vict Period Newsl* [Canada] 11,2:50-7

¹⁴⁴ Gorham, D. (1978) The “Maiden tribute of modern Babylon” re-examined: child prostitution and the idea of childhood in late-Victorian England, *Victor Stud* 21,3:353-79

¹⁴⁵ Glaser, D. (1997) in Wylie, K. R. et al., *The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Quoted from the online edition

¹⁴⁶ [?]

children enact sexual intercourse, usually by lying on top one another while fully dressed. It is likely that such behavior is imitative of adult behavior based on prior observation. These behaviors do not generally give rise to adult concerns unless the children appear preoccupied by genitally oriented activity or the behavior is coercive towards other children. Oral-genital contact appears to be very rare, as are attempts to insert fingers or objects into another child's vagina or anus. Coercive, preoccupied or very explicitly imitative behavior is associated with previous significant and inappropriate exposure to adult sexual activity, or sexual abuse of the child".

No arguments are made on masturbation or same-sex behaviours. According to Huish (1997)¹⁴⁷,

"[t]he impression given by sex therapy clients during history taking is that a small number of male clients report self-masturbation between ages 4 and 10, but the highest percentage recall starting masturbation between 10 and 14 years. Female clients report starting to masturbate anywhere between 10 and 25 years, but far greater numbers are concentrated at 15 years and upwards, with an impression that a significant number of women have never chosen self-masturbation as a way of expressing their sexuality".

Some data are available on first homosexual experiences in Great Britain (Liddicoat, 1956¹⁴⁸; Westwood, 1960¹⁴⁹).

Redman (1996)¹⁵⁰ examined boys' entry into heterosexuality during primary and secondary schooling. Data obtained via classroom observation and semistructured interview with boys in school years 5-10 (N=24) in Birmingham, England, suggest that discourses of heterosexuality serve as a cultural resource that allows boys to practice heterosexuality at a prepubescent age, and particular boys become heterosexual (or begin to identify as homosexual) through a complex process of social negotiations and unconscious identifications that are themselves shaped by schooling. Thus, heterosexual masculinities should be thought of not as biologically determined, but as produced and lived at a dynamic interface between historically available discursive positions, wider social relations, the local social environment, and unconscious processes.

A recent publication by Wellings et al. (2001)¹⁵¹ based on the second National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles (NATSAL 2000), revealed that there were some 25% of female and some 30% of male respondents aged 16-19 having had sexual intercourse before age 16. Median ages were 16 in both sexes, with 10 and 90 percentiles of 14 and 19. Data suggest a stabilisation of the downward trend noted before.

Kerr (1958 [1998:p78-80])¹⁵² observed that in a Liverpool slum, "Because of [the] prohibition of speaking about sex, each age-group is left to discover the facts [of life] as best they can. Their knowledge is obtained from three main sources", including the cinema, men attempting "to lure the children into cars", and mutual sex play, which would "probably [start] just before adolescence".

¹⁴⁷ Huish, M. (1997), in Wylie, K. R. et al., *The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Quoted from the online edition

¹⁴⁸ Acc. Westwood, G. (1960) *A Minority: A Report on the Life of the Male Homosexual in Great Britain*. London: Longmans

¹⁴⁹ *Op.cit.*

¹⁵⁰ Redman, P. (1996) Curtis Loves Ranjit: Heterosexual Masculinities, Schooling and Pupils' Sexual Cultures, *Educ Rev* 48,2:175-82

¹⁵¹ Wellings, K., Nanchahal, K., Macdowall, W., McManus, S. et al. (2001) Sexual behaviour in Britain: early heterosexual experience, *Lancet* 358(9296):1843-50

¹⁵² Kerr, M. (1958/1998) *The People of Ship Street*. London: Routledge

Sex Education [Great Britain]

At the outset of the 20th century, girls were instructed in sex between the concept of pathology (impurity, filthiness) and the positive aspects of preparing for motherhood (Mort, p189-93).

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- ◆ Hall, L. A. (1990) Forbidden by God, Despised by Men, in Fout, J. C. (Ed.) *Forbidden History*. Chicago [etc.]: University of Chicago Press, p293-315, esp. p300-2
- ◆ Hardyment, Ch. (1983) *Dream Babies*. London: Cape, esp. p137-8
- ◆ Jenkins, Ph. (1992) *Intimate Enemies: Moral Panics in Contemporary Great Britain*. Hawthorne, N.Y.: A. de Gruyter
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- ◆ Pilcher, J. (1996) Gillick and After: Children and Sex in the 1980s and 1990s, in Pilcher J. & Wagg S. (Eds.) *Thatcher's Children: Politics, Childhood and Society in the 1980s and 1990s*. London: Falmer
- ◆ Porter, R. & Hall, L. (1995) *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650-1950*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- ◆ Wight, D. (1994) Boys' thoughts and talk about sex in a working class locality of Glasgow, *Sociol Rev* 42,4:703-37

The Netherlands (Nederland) [IES]

A fact unique worldwide, two Dutch Foundations have specifically argued for research on sexuality development: the Dr. F. Bernard Foundation¹⁵³, Rotterdam, and the Dr. Mr. Edward Brongersma Foundation, Amsterdam, which provided funding for the current survey. Both founders researched and published on the subjects of 'paedophilia' and 'ephebophilia', particularly in the 1970s. Neither foundation apparently gave financial support for any publication until the late 1990s. This may be seen in the context of tolerance attributed to the Dutch; however, the present tolerance curriculum might seem to except everything sexual related to children¹⁵⁴, a situation at odds with the, at least in theory, exceptionally liberal legal regulations.

An illustrative trial in the early 1960s involved the case of a writer sentenced to the payment of 25 guilders (roughly \$10) for having published "pornography" with his books *Bob en Daphne*, mentioning child and early adolescent sexual explorations¹⁵⁵.

Some scholars have interested themselves in the surveying of the literature (Winkel, 1972¹⁵⁶; Sandfort, 1984¹⁵⁷; Zuyderland, 1992¹⁵⁸; Van der Zanden, 1992¹⁵⁹; Gruental Klestadt, 1993a,b¹⁶⁰; De Graaf & Rademakers, 2003)¹⁶¹.

Rademakers¹⁶² with Straver report on a study on the sexual-relational development of girls using an interactionist perspective. Van der Mede (1983)¹⁶³ reports on a questionnaire study on the sexual behaviour of 594 freshmen students in biomedical majors. Vogels and Van der Vliet (1990)¹⁶⁴ conducted a major study of sexual behaviour among 11.500 boys and girls aged 11 to 19 years. The study was replicated in 1995¹⁶⁵. A large study using an adaptation of the CSBI was

¹⁵³ Bernard stichting, *Tijdschr Soc Geneesk* [Dutch] 17(1979):572; Bernard Foundation Inq., *De Psycholoog* [Dutch] 14(1979),7:447

¹⁵⁴ Hekma, G. (1997) *How Liberal is the Netherlands?* Paper for the Conference "Sexuality and the State in the Netherlands", Minda de Grunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard, April 25th. See also Schuijjer, J. (1990) Tolerance at arm's length: the Dutch experience, *J Homosex* 20,1/2:199-229

¹⁵⁵ Last, J. (1965) De waarheid gevonnist, *De Nieuwe Stem* 20,5:313-4; Aalberse, H. B. (1966) *De Liefde van Bob en Daphne, Derde Deel*. Revised third printing. The Hague, Holland: Oisterwijk, p7-19

¹⁵⁶ Winkel, C. (1972) *De Sexuele Ontwikkeling van het Kind*. Zeist [Holland]: NISSO Literatuur Rapport 6.

¹⁵⁷ Sandfort, Th. (1984) Seksualiteit van kinderen en jeugdigen: wat weten we ervan? *Jeugd & Samen* [Dutch] 14:670-89

¹⁵⁸ Zuyderland, E. (1992) *Zo Doen Wij Dat: Literatuurstudie Psychosexuele Ontwikkeling Kinderen*. [NISSO library]

¹⁵⁹ Zanden, R. van der (1992) Seksueel gedrag van kinderen: literatuuroverzicht, *Tijdschr Ontwikkelingspsychol* [Dutch] 19,3:133-53

¹⁶⁰ Gruental Klestadt, A. (1993) *Hoe Willen Wij Ernaar Kijken? Een Literatuurstudie naar Verschillende Conceptualiseringen van Seksualiteit van Kinderen*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands; Gruental-Klestadt, A. (1993) *Talking Straight About Sex: Verslag van een Onderzoek naar het Seksuele Denken van het Kind*. University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

¹⁶¹ Graaf, H. de & Rademakers, J. (2003) *Seks in de Groei. Een Verkennend Onderzoek naar de (Pre)Seksuele Ontwikkeling van Kinderen en Jeugdigen*. Delft [Holland]: Eburon

¹⁶² 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

¹⁶³ Mede, P. van der (1983) *Doktertje Spelen: Seksualiteit en Eerstejaars Studenten*. Zeist [Holland]: NISSO

¹⁶⁴ Vogels, T. & Vliet, R. van der (Eds, 1990) *Jeugd en Seks. Gedrag en Gezondheidsrisico's bij Scholieren*. 's-Gravenhage [the Hague], The Netherlands: SDU

¹⁶⁵ Brugman, E., Goedhart, H., Vogels, T. & Zessen, G. van (1995) *Jeugd en Seks 95 : Resultaten van het Nationale Scholierenonderzoek*. Utrecht [Holland]: Uitgeverij SWP

conducted in 1990 by Cohen-Kettenis and Sandfort (1991)¹⁶⁶, and another on toddlers by Oostveen et al. (1994)¹⁶⁷. Drenth and Slob (1997)¹⁶⁸ only include data on childhood sexual behaviour of the former study. In the latter study, “adult” sexual behaviour (defined as behaviour that would be demonstrated “by adults rather than children”, p2203) was incidental. In the former study, reporting on parents of children aged 0-11, with a mean of 4, “sexual permissiveness” was measured by attitudes on four situations that seem to be related to adolescent sexuality. In 1974, Hartskeerl¹⁶⁹ found that 90% of questioned parents disapproved of sexual games between children and 62% are opposed to the idea of childhood masturbation. An equivalent survey was done by Corstjens¹⁷⁰. Incidental studies on “body experience” were performed before 1990 (De Bruyn, 1972¹⁷¹; Van den Ende-de Monchy, 1980, 1984¹⁷²; Laan, 1994)¹⁷³. In the study by Laan, 31 eight- and nine-year-olds were interviewed on their experience of intimacy in physical contact. Hagens and Leeuwenburgh (1999)¹⁷⁴ performed semi-structured interviews on 71 elementary school students in the ages of 7 and 8 along with parental questionnaires. Brilleslijper-Kater (1995)¹⁷⁵ studied sexual knowledge before age seven. Van Halteren and Van Dij (1983)¹⁷⁶ questioned teachers on the relationship of sexuality and immigrant children. De Bruin (1997)¹⁷⁷ reports on a study using 35 psychiatric and 25 control children aged 7-13 to study sexual interest in relation to Antisocial Conduct Disorder.

¹⁶⁶ Cohen-Kettenis, P. T. & Sandfort, Th. G. M. (1991) *Sexual Behavior of Young Children: Observations of 665 Parents*. Paper presented at the Tenth World Congress for Sexology, Amsterdam. Cohen-Kettenis, P. & Sandfort, Th. (1996) Seksueel gedrag van kinderen: een kwalitatief onderzoek onder moeders, *Tijdschr Seksuol* [Dutch] 20:254-65; Sandfort, Th. & Cohen-Kettenis, P. (1995) *Parents' Reports about Children's Sexual Behaviors*. Paper presented at the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the International Academy of Sex Research, Provincetown, Mass.; Sandfort, Th. & Cohen-Kettenis, P. (2000) Sexual behavior in Dutch and Belgian children as observed by their mothers, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 12,1/2:105-15; Friedrich, W., Sandfort, Th., Oostveen, J. & Cohen-Kettnis, P. (2000) Cultural differences in sexual behavior: 2-6 year old Dutch and American children, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 12,1/2: 117-29

¹⁶⁷ Oostveen, J., Meulmeester & Cohen-Kettenis, P. (1994) Seksueel gedrag van kleuters, *Ned Tijdschr Geneesk* [Dutch] 138,44: 2200-4

¹⁶⁸ Drenth, J. J. & Slob, A. K. (1997) Netherlands and the Autonomous Dutch Antilles, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Quoted from the online edition

¹⁶⁹ Hartskeerl, A. (1974) *Pedofilie en Preventie*. Research paper, University of Nijmegen

¹⁷⁰ Corstjens, J. M. H. (1975) *Opvoeding en Pedofilie; Sexualiteitsbeleving en Attitude ten Aanzien van Pedofilie*. 2 vols. Nijmegen. See also Fledderus, A. (2001) *Bang voor Pedo's : Een Zoektocht naar de Oorzaken van de Grote Onrust en Negatieve Belangstelling met Betrekking tot Pedoseksualiteit*. Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, Faculteit der Rechtsgeleerdheid

¹⁷¹ De Bruyn, G. (1972) *De Lichaamsbeleving van Jonge Kinderen*. Zeist [Holland]: NISSO; Bernard, F. (1974) *Pedofilie*. Bussum [Holland]: Aquarius

¹⁷² Ende-de Monchy, C. van den (1980) *Exploratief Onderzoek naar de Lichaamsbeleving bij Kinderen van Vier tot Zes jaar*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands; Ende-de Monchy, C. van den (1984) *Onderzoek naar het Seksuele Scenario van Kinderen van Vier tot Zes Jaar*. Zeist [Holland]: NISSO

¹⁷³ Laan, M. (1994) *Kinderen en hun Beleving van Lichamelijkeheid*. Dissertation, University of Amsterdam; Laan, M., Rademakers, J. & Straver, C. (1996) De beleving van lichamelijkeheid en intimiteit door kinderen, *Kind & Adolescent* 17,1:32-37; Rademakers, J., Laan, M. & Straver, C. (1996) *Studying Children's Sexuality from the Child's Perspective*. Presentation at the 21st Annual Meeting of the International Academy of Sex Research, Provincetown, Mass.; 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

¹⁷⁴ Hagens, R. & Leeuwenburgh, I. (1999) *Het Geheel is Meer dan de Som der Delen: Onderzoek naar Kennis van Seksualiteit bij Kinderen van 7 en 8 Jaar*. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit

¹⁷⁵ Brilleslijper-Kater, S. (1995) *Over Bloemetjes en Bijtjes: Kennis over Seksualiteit bij Kinderen van Twee tot Zes Jaar*. Doctoral Dissertation, Free University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, Netherlands; Brilleslijper-Kater, S. & Baartman, H. (1997) Over bloemetjes en bijtjes: wat weten kinderen van 2 tot en met 6 jaar van seksualiteit? *Tijdschr Seksuol* [Dutch] 21:65-73

¹⁷⁶ Halteren, F. van & Dij, Y. van (1983) *Relaties en Seksualiteit en Buitenlandse Kinderen: Een Onderzoeksverslag naar de Ervaringen van een Tiental Leerkrachten met Onderwijs in Relaties en Seksualiteit aan Buitenlandse Kinderen*. Utrecht [Holland]: GVO

¹⁷⁷ Bruin, J. de (1997) *Kinderen en Seksualiteit: Onderzoek naar Seksuele Interesse van Kinderen tussen de 7 en 12 Jaar en een Vergelijking met Kinderen met een Antisociale Gedragsstoornis*. Utrecht [Holland]: NISSO

Some informal discussions with children and parents were videotaped in the eighties¹⁷⁸. More qualitative material is found in discussions with children in school setting¹⁷⁹. Staffeleu¹⁸⁰ videotaped some 40 children aged 8-13, including ethnic minority children, while interviewed on a rather extensive range of sexual issues (not excluding SM, etc.) [raising some methodological questions, data await presentation, DJ.] In the mean time, Kuik (2001)¹⁸¹ argues: "Adults like to think of the age group under study [11-12] as innocent children to whom sexuality is still quite irrelevant. However, these young children grow up in an urban environment, where one finds sexuality in many different forms very much present on practically every street corner. They have easy access to teen magazines, and other media (movies, TV, Internet)".

In a 1981 national survey¹⁸² it appeared that less than half of adults of both sexes thought children before age eight had "sexual feelings". Only 5% of both sexes expressed the tendency to "suppress" rather than stimulate it, with [significant?] sex and cohort differences.

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- Sandfort, Th. (1988) *Het Belang van de Ervaring*. Dissertation, Utrecht, The Netherlands. Publicatiereeks Homostudies Utrecht No. 13, p91-122 [Dutch]
- Sandfort, Th. (1989) *Seksuele Ervaringen van Kinderen: Betekenis en Effect voor Later*. Deventer, the Netherlands: Van Loghum Slaterus, p53-85 [Dutch]

Historical Notes [Netherlands]

A noteworthy early historiographic account of courtship practices and morals was provided by De Roever¹⁸³. A historical impression of 20th century sexual norms using sexual reform magazines was provided by Nieuwkerk¹⁸⁴. A Dutch history of masturbation was offered by Hekma and by

¹⁷⁸ Wolffers, I. & Bloem, M. (1980a) *Aanraken*. IKON; Wolffers, I. & Bloem, M. (1980b) *Nieuwsgierig*. IKON; Dijk, E. van et al. (1988) *Seks op de Wip*. Broadcasted 26/05/1988 and 10/06/2000; Oostveen, T. (1985) *Vieze Kindertjes?* Rijksuniversiteit van Limburg; Mochel, H. (1991) [Kinderen en Sexualiteit]. NCRV; Rondon Tien, 22/11/1991

¹⁷⁹ Huizinga, C. (1979) Wat weten kinderen van seks? (en hoe komen ze aan die kennis?) *Gezon Gezin* 18,12:20-2; 19(1980),1:21-3; 19,3:20-1; 19,6:21-2; 19,10:18-21. Some fragmentary discussions are presented in Rossum, K. van (1989) *Seks, Wat is Dat?* Ede/ Antwerpen: Zomer & Keuning, and in Van der Veer, G. (1983) Knuffelen, rotzooien en de angst voor het neuken: ervaringen en belevingen rondom seksualiteit van kinderen tussen 10 en 14 jaar, *Jeugd & Samenl* [Dutch] 13,2:68-76. See also Schrijfterskollektief Madam Kitteklara (1981) "*Het Gaat Allemaal Vanzelf*": *Meisjes over Seksualiteit*. Amsterdam: SUA [resulting from interviews with girls aged 12-17]

¹⁸⁰ J. Staffeleu, presentation of research in progress, at a Dutch sexological study day, Amsterdam, 22/02/2002.

¹⁸¹ Kuik, S. (2001) Het verlaten van de kindertijd: seksualiteit en hoe de kinderen pubers worden, *Amsterdams Sociol Tijdschr* [Dutch] 28,2:205-30

¹⁸² As reported in De Vos, R. & Kors, T. (1981) Een stijf plassertje- is dat sex? *Nieuwe Revu* [Dutch] 32, July:52-5

¹⁸³ De Roever, N. (1891) *Van Vrijen en Trouwen: Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van Ou-Vaderlandsche Zeden*. Haarlem [Holland]: De Erven F. Bohn

¹⁸⁴ Nieuwkerk, H. van (1981) *Seksuele Opvoeding, Moraal en Gedrag van Jongeren, 1946-1981; Een Onderzoek aan de Hand van de Adviesrubriek 'Wij Willen Weten' uit het Blad van de Nederlandse Vereniging voor Sexuele Hervorming*. [NISSO library]

Pesch¹⁸⁵. By the end of the 18th century, a rather extensive body of advise literature on matrimonial matters seemed to have been available for “young adults” from the age of 14-15 (Van Tilburg, 1998¹⁸⁶; also Rang, 2002)¹⁸⁷. Providing a thorough historical analysis of Dutch sexual socialisation, Röling (1990, 1993, 1994)¹⁸⁸ observes how, as a result of the process of modernisation, it became harder for society to maintain the ideal of the sexually innocent child, an idea that had evolved in the early 19th century. By the 1890’s, many people in the Netherlands had reached the conclusion that sex education was necessary and advisable, but despite this rather widespread opinion, sexual ignorance and praise of childhood innocence remained commonplace. By the 1930’s support for sex education had diminished dramatically. This remained the case until the 1960’s. Eventually, sexual knowledge became so prevalent that it ceased to be a distinguishing factor between adolescence and adulthood.

Bois-Reymond (1992)¹⁸⁹ uses verbal accounts of early 20th century familial sexual education. In the medical practice of the 1930s masturbation was seen as normal but during “latency”, it still remained an “important complaint” warranting an extensive psychic investigation of the child¹⁹⁰. During the 1960s and 1970s it became accepted for adolescents in the Netherlands to have sexual relations, and the frequency of such relations increased¹⁹¹. Over the course of the twentieth century, the age of first menstruation and first sexual intercourse has declined, but the age of first marriage has increased, creating a prolonged transition period and a moratorium in the sexual life course¹⁹². This moratorium allows young people to explore sexual relationships while avoiding strong commitments before they enter the adult world and adopt the responsibilities of family life.

Today, “although most parents express their intention to guide their children during their sexual development in an active and communicative way, their own restrictive sexual education, feelings of shame and the respect they have for the private lives of their children, are all standing in the way. In spite of the idea of the adolescents that they can always count on their parents, they do not address their parents as communication partners. Feelings of shame, together with the definition of sexuality as their own domain, frustrate an open communication”¹⁹³.

¹⁸⁵ Hekma, G. (1988) De belaagde onschuld, in Hekma, G. & Roodenburg, H. (Eds.) *Soete Minne en Helsche Boosheit*. Nijmegen [Holland]: SUN, p232-54. See also Nater, J. P. (1986) *Vigelerende Vrouwen, Gediensstige Meiden*. Rotterdam: Donker, p89-91; Pesch, R. van (1986/7) Onzedelijk, onrein, ontuchtig en onkuisch [De strijd tegen de onanie in Nederland, part II], *Concept* [Dutch] 3,267-92

¹⁸⁶ Van Tilburg, M. (1998) *Hoe Hoorde Het?* Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis

¹⁸⁷ Rang, B. (2002) Sexuelle Geheimnisse. Erziehung zur Ehe in den nördlichen Niederlanden im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, *Zeitsprünge* 6:343-68

¹⁸⁸ Röling, H. Q. (1990) Artsen en seksuele opvoeding in Nederland, *Ped Tijdschr* 15,2:85-90; Röling, H. Q. (1993) Sexual knowledge as the boundary between youth and adulthood and the ideal of innocence in the Dutch debate on sexual instruction 1890-1960, *Paedagog Hist* [Belgium] 29,1:229-40; Röling, H. Q. (1994) *Gevreesde Vragen: Geschiedenis van de Seksuele Opvoeding in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. See also Röling, H. Q. (1996) De moraal van “Gevreesde vragen”, *Ned Tijdschr Opv, Vorming & Onderw* [Dutch] 12,2:100-8. For other historical accounts on sex education, see adjacent articles by Bijlmer, L. (1996) Een moeilijke geschiedenis: de seksuele opvoeding in historisch perspectief, *Ned Tijdschr Opv, Vorming & Onderw* [Dutch] 12,2:109-21, and Groenendijk, L. (1996) Psychoanalyse, kinderseksualiteit en voorlichting: een historische impressie, *Ned Tijdschr Opv, Vorming & Onderw* [Dutch] 12,2:123-39

¹⁸⁹ Bois-Reymond, M. du (1992) Eltern-Kind-Beziehungen zwischen 1900 und 1920 am Beispiel der Sexualerziehung: aus einer Oral-History-Studie in Leiden, Niederlande, *BIOS* 5,1:49ff

¹⁹⁰ Rümke, H. C. (1937) Over masturbatie, *NTvG [Dutch Med J]* 81, Aug.3:3814-21

¹⁹¹ Ketting, E. (1990) De seksuele revolutie van jongeren, *Amsterdams Sociol Tijdschr* [Dutch] 17,2:69-84

¹⁹² Van der Vliet, R. (1991) Love without Ties: A New Phase in the Sexual Life Course, *Netherlands' J Soc Sci* 27,2:67-79

¹⁹³ Poel, Y. te & Ravesloot, J. (1997) Seksualiteit als opvoedings- en ontwikkelingsterrein: Nieuwe oriëntaties en dilemma's ? *Comenius* 1:55-65

Additional refs.:

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- Pol, L. van de (1988) Seksualiteit tussen middeleeuwen en moderne tijd, in Peeters, H., Dresden-Coenders, L. & Brandenburg, T. (Eds.) *Vijf Eeuwen Gezinsleven*. Nijmegen, the Netherlands: SUN, p163-93

Legal Issues [Netherlands]

The Napoleonic law, which was in effect from 1811 onward, did not impose consent legislation¹⁹⁴. The 1886 Penal Code set the age of sexual consent at age 16, which was joined with a homosexual age of consent of 21 in 1911, until its bankruptcy in 1971. In 1985, the age of consent was revised, as discussed *supra*¹⁹⁵.

Theo Sandfort offered controversial material on Dutch children in “paedophilic relationships” in the late 1970s, and wrote many monographs and articles on related subjects. His work became recently the focus of a legal battle over the academic nature of Sandfort’s 1988 findings initiated by an erotic magazine by the name *Penthouse*¹⁹⁶.

Additional refs.:

- Brongersma, E. (1991) Zedelijkheidswetgeving: de nieuwe teksten, *Tijdschr v Seksuol* [Dutch] 15,4:274-86
- Nijnatten, C. van (1985) “Losse Leentje” en de kinderbescherming. Het zedenoffensief in de jaren dertig, *Tijdschr v Seksuol* [Dutch] 9,4:195-204
- Schuijjer, J. (1993) The Netherlands Changes its Age of Consent Law, *Paidika* 3,1:13-7
- Schuijjer, J. (1995) Recent Legal Developments in the Netherlands, *Paidika* 3,4:64-71

¹⁹⁴ Brongersma, E. (1980) The meaning of “indecentcy” with respect to moral offences involving children, *Br J Criminol* 20,1:20-34; Brongersma, E. (1988) A Defence of Sexual Liberty for All Age Groups, *Howard J Crim Just* 27,1:32-43; Brongersma, E. (1983) Kinderen, seks, wet, justitie, *Jeugd & Samenl* [Dutch] 13,2:126-32

¹⁹⁵ See also Faust, B. (1995) Child sexuality and age of consent laws: the Netherlands model, *Aust Gay & Lesb Law J* 5:78-85; Wolters, W. H. (1986) Letter to the editor, *Child Abuse & Negl* 10,3:423-5

¹⁹⁶ Chronicled in *Utrechts Universiteitsblad* 28,21; 28,21:1,9; 28,22:3; 28,25:1; 28,28:1; 28,29:3; 28,37:6; 29,4:3

Belgium (België)

Belgian government's traditional attitude of tolerance toward prostitution in general and child prostitution in particular turned to control and regulation in the 19th century (acc. Steverlynck, 1993)¹⁹⁷. Judging from a questionnaire study among male and female Flemish students aged 18 to 30, Kruithof and Van Ussel (1962)¹⁹⁸ speak of the "sexual needs" of the subjects due to an incomplete sexual "ethical" and education curriculum, which "definitely hamper a normal sexual development and experience of sexuality". Vanderbruggen¹⁹⁹ describes how in the years 1955-1966 the membership journals of the Catholic National Youth ('Katholieke Landelijke Jeugd', KLJ) employed a 'the flesh is weak and sinful' discourse in the contributions about mixed companionship, sexuality and physicality. Virtues like 'decency', 'chastity' and 'self-control' were crucial since every physical act concealed the danger of emerging 'desire'. For fourteen-to-seventeen-year-olds, friendships between boys and girls were regarded with suspicion and advised against. A CSBI study was conducted by Schoentjes et al. (1999)²⁰⁰.

A 1996 case of child abduction and murder, still under investigation in 2002, shocked the nation and may have had a significant impact on children's mobility²⁰¹ even in neighbouring countries. In any case, the issue was arguably identified as a "paedophile crime" ever since.

Additional refs.:

-- Vanhove, T. (2001) Individualisering of seksualisering? De seksuele leefwereld van laaggeschoolde jongeren in Vlaanderen, *Sociologische Gids* 48,2:156-67

¹⁹⁷ Steverlynck, C. (1993) La traite des blanches et la prostitution enfantine en Belgique, *Paedagog Hist* [Belgium] 29,3:779-820

¹⁹⁸ Kruithof, J. & Ussel, J. M. W. van (1962) *Jeugd voor de Muur*. Antwerpen: Ontwikkeling

¹⁹⁹ Vanderbruggen, B. (1999) Samen jong in een landelijk milieu: Een analyse van de taal over seksualiteit en gemengde omgang in de ledenbladen van de Katholieke Landelijke Jeugd (1955-1975), *Trajecta* [Leuven] 8,2:167-86

²⁰⁰ Schoentjes, E., Deboutte, D. & Friedrich, W. (1999) Child sexual behavior inventory: a Dutch-speaking normative sample, *Pediatrics* 104,4:885-93; Sandfort, Th. & Cohen-Kettenis, P. (2000) Sexual behavior in Dutch and Belgian children as observed by their mothers, *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 12,1/2:105-15

²⁰¹ Belgische kinderen over het effect van de zaak-Dutroux op eigen leven, *Nieuwe Revu* [Holland] 1997, Nov.27:24-31

Luxembourg

[No data available]

France

Illustrative historical material was collected by Flandrin (1975, 1977)²⁰² and by Crubellier (1979:p110-6, 328-34)²⁰³ (see also Goulemot, 2002)²⁰⁴. In fifteenth century Avignon, “[t]here was no legal age for betrothal and parents sometimes betrothed very young children, especially when family interests were at stake” (Girard, 1953:p485)²⁰⁵. Prior to 1832, the penal code contained no provision against rape and indecent assault by adults on children (Donovan, 1994)²⁰⁶. Influenced by 18th-century reformers and by the French Revolution, the writers of the penal code did not want to put law at the service of Christian doctrines. In 1832, the government changed the law to criminalise all nonviolent sexual encounters with children younger than 11 years of age. The rate of prosecution of adults for sex crimes with children fluctuated for a variety of reasons, but by the 20th century prosecutions for sex crimes against children exceeded prosecutions for sex crimes against adults²⁰⁷.

Significant is Rousseau and Tissot’s concordant colloquium (McLaren, 1974:p614)²⁰⁸. Later scientist-reformer F. V. Raspail combated masturbation among school children by having them “wear camphor-impregnated drawers” (*ibid.*, p621-2). Kraakman (1994; also 1993, 1990)²⁰⁹ examined the sexual history of French girls through intertextual analysis of works concerning sexual initiation of girls at the onset of puberty and challenges the categorisation of pornography as a male genre. The works under consideration date from the period 1750-1840 and contain various treatments of pedagogical, medical, philosophical, and moral discourses, and construct virgin girls as active agents in the search for sexual knowledge and experience. Confined in total ignorance of their sexual bodies, dedicated to virginity, under strict supervision of their mothers and the Church, young 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, 2000)²¹⁰. The sex education of French girls during the 19th century was generally left to their

²⁰² Flandrin, J. (1975) *Les Amours Paysannes (XVI-XIXe Siècle)*. Paris: Gallimard, esp. p149-72; Flandrin, J. (1977) Repression and change in the sexual life of young people in medieval and early modern times, *J Fam Hist* 2,3:196-210

²⁰³ Crubellier, M. (1979) *L’Enfance et la Jeunesse dans la Société Française, 1800-1950*. Paris: Armand Colin

²⁰⁴ Goulemot, J. M. (2002) L’Enfant et l’adolescent, objets et sujets du désir amoureux dans le discours des lumières, *MLN* 117,4:710-21

²⁰⁵ Girard, R. (1953) Marriage in Avignon in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century, *Speculum* 28,3:485-98

²⁰⁶ Donovan, J. M. (1994) Combating the sexual abuse of children in France, 1825-1913, *Crim Just Hist* 15:59-93

²⁰⁷ See also a discussion on French sex laws in *Reserches* 37, April, La Loi de la Pudeur. Published in English in *Semiotext(e)* 2, Summer 1980 [New York] and in Kritzman, L. D. (Ed.) *Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings*. New York: Routledge, under the title “Sexuality, Morality and the Law”.

²⁰⁸ McLaren, A. (1974) Some Secular Attitudes toward Sexual Behavior in France: 1760-1860, *French Hist Stud* 8,4:604-25

²⁰⁹ 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; Kraakman, D. (1993) Kermis in de hel. Deugd en ondeugd van meisjes in Franse “ars erotica” 1750-1840, *Jaarboek v Vrouwengeschiedenis* [Holland] 13:13-37; Kraakman, D. (1990) Tussen lust en onlust. Scientia sexualis, seksuele initiatie en transformaties in de lustbeleving van meisjes in libertijnse erotica, in Hekma, G. & Kraakman, D. (Eds.) *Grensgeschillen in de Seks*. Amsterdam [etc.]: Rodopi, p29-42

²¹⁰ 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

mothers, some of whom confined their explanations to a few whispered words to their daughters on the eve of their wedding (Stewart, 1997)²¹¹. The first books on the subject were written for middle-class girls in the 1880's and covered issues such as basic biology, hygiene, and pregnancy, with the sex act itself described as a necessary duty, and only to be practised within marriage. A limited form of sex education began in schools in the 1930's, but had little government support, and remained underfunded well into the 1970's.

Erotic folklore of children was collected by works (Gaignebet, 1974²¹²; Bournard, 1979²¹³). Data of a study on the sexual knowledge and attitudes of French children were reported by Fijalkow et al. (1978)²¹⁴. It appeared that 78% of boys and girls aged seven to nine admitted to having played "fathers-mothers", 64% to having played "doctors", and 10% in peeing contests (the sexual nature of the first two games was not explicitly addressed). 25% of the children did not know of the existence of testicles, $\frac{3}{4}$ seem to believe impregnation would result from kissing, more than half believed a baby's exit is through the belly, and only 12 percent did not ignore the feminine cycle.

In one study²¹⁵, most respondents had discussed sexuality with their parents during childhood. Some transcripts of interviews with children are presented by Oger (1991:57-60)²¹⁶.

In contrast to in **America**, the masturbation of a small boy makes French mothers, "[...] and sometimes fathers, uneasy; it is actively combated"²¹⁷. Brougere and Tobin (2000)²¹⁸ claim that "there is a radically different conception between the American and French interpretation of sexual behavior patterns expressed in games between children in nursery schools. In the US, statistics principally focus on medical interpretations and sexual abuse, and engender panic-stricken moral questions on that score. French nursery school teachers are much more willing to use hard-won teaching methods and avoid mentioning the theme of sexuality with children under their responsibility". The authors attempt to understand the cultural ideology and reasoning for each nursery school system from his analysis of interviews of groups of children who had to perform playlets.

An epidemiological study²¹⁹ was carried out among 4,255 adolescents, aged 11-19 years, randomly selected from secondary schools in a northern urban area of France. A total of 31% had had sexual relations (43% of the boys, 20% of the girls). In an "ethnological" description²²⁰ of a permanent

²¹¹ Stewart, M. L. (1997) Science is always chaste: sex education and sexual initiation in France, 1880s-1930s, *J Contemp Hist* 32,3:381-94

²¹² Gaignebet, C. (1974) *Le Folklore Obscène des Enfants*. Collection L'Érotisme Populaire 3. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose

²¹³ Boumard, P. (1979) *Les Gros Mots des Enfants*. Paris: Stock

²¹⁴ Fijalkow, E., Deldebat, R. et al. (1978) Qu'en savent-ils? Enquête de sexologie infantile, *Enfance* [...] 2-3:85-105. See also Fijalkow, E. L. & Fijalkow, A. (1980) Élèves de 5^e et de 3^e a l'éducation sexuelle, *Bull Psychol* 34:29-34

²¹⁵ ACSF, Bajos, N., Ducot, B., Spencer, B. & Spira, A. (1997) Sexual risk-taking, socio-sexual biographies and sexual interaction: elements of the French national survey on sexual behaviour, *Soc Sci & Med* 44,1:25-40

²¹⁶ Oger, A. (1991) *Enquête sur la Vie très Privée des Français*. Paris: Éditions R. Laffont. See further Karlin, D. (1989) *L'Amour en France*. Paris: B. Grasset; Stagnaraa, D. & Stagnaraa, P. (1988) *Amour Fidèle*. Fayard

²¹⁷ Dolto, F. (1955) French and American children seen by a French child analyst, in Mead, M. & Wolfenstein, M. (Eds.) *Childhood in Contemporary Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p408-23, at p418, 419

²¹⁸ Brougere, G. & Tobin, J. (2000) Culture et sexualité enfantine a l'école maternelle: Étude comparée entre les États-Unis et la France, *Éducation & Sociétés* 2,6:167-85

²¹⁹ Choquet, M. & Manfredi, R. (1992) Sexual intercourse, contraception, and risk-taking behavior among unselected French adolescents aged 11-20 years, *J Adolesc Health* 13,7:623-30

²²⁰ Flavigny, H. (1972) Les relations interpersonnelles dans une communauté tsigane de la région Parisienne, *Rev Neuropsychia Infant & d'Hyg Ment Enfance* 20,1:63-80, see p72-4

French gypsy community of 691 persons, it appeared that a young child was treated permissively in all areas including eating and sleeping schedules, *sex play*, and toilet training. He is also ignored by adults who provide no supervision or specially adapted diet or play area.

De la Rochebrochard (1999)²²¹ provides data on masturbarche. Using life tables of male and female puberty were constructed using the Analysis of Sexual Behaviour of Young People (ACSJ) survey conducted in France in 1994 on the 1975-1978 generations, at that time aged between 15 and 18, the author found a masturbarche median age of 14.2, compared to a median menarche age of 13.1.

In a 1974 study, the majority of female subjects had received little or no formal sexual education prior to initiation²²².

French concept of the sexual lifecycle apparently excludes children, or noncoital debuts (Bozon, 1996)²²³. Even masturbation seems to be interesting only from age 18 onward (Béjin, *same volume*). Earlier, a large-scale study²²⁴ only published data on masturbation from age 20 (p263). In this study, "sexual education" was thought to be best timed at about 11,1 years of age (median, females; p391). This figures was 9.1 for women 20-29 years, and 11.9 for women 50 years and older. Wylie (1957 [1964:p113-8])²²⁵ states that French villagers accept sex as a natural part of existence. However, "[p]arents do not discuss sex with their children. It seems to them ludicrous and lacking in taste and *pudeur*, that any parent should feel the need of explaining the "facts of life" to his children. When I asked how children were expected to learn these facts, they replied, "Why just naturally. They learn those things as they grow up. Their instincts just take care of that". In agricultural families, this would be observing animals would help, while among the poor the family sleeps in a single room. Older children would be the most informative.

"When I talked to men in a confidential, relaxed situation they freely said they had practiced masturbation as children, although they said they did not remember at what age they began or how frequently they indulged. If a boy was caught by his parents, he would be scolded and threatened with a light punishment but the punishment was never carried out. Everyone denied that parents ever threatened a child with castration, although it was admitted that if a child were caught by someone other than his parents he might be so threatened".

Comparing French with American situations, Wylie (1965:p265-8)²²⁶ notes: "In learning how to cope with his sexual urge, the French child [...] may be more upset than the American child by the feelings that accompany puberty, but he is better equipped to handle those feelings. From early childhood, he has been taught the necessity of controlling his impulses, of not expressing them freely. [...] The American child has had less preparation. Rather he has been encouraged to express his feelings freely".

Additional refs.:

²²¹ Rochebrochard, É. de la (1999) Les âges à la puberté des filles et des garçons en France: mesures à partir d'une enquête sur la sexualité des adolescents, *Population* [Paris] 54,6:933-62

²²² Nicole, R. M. (1974) [Initiation of the young girl to sexual life], *Vie Med Canad Franç* 3,9:874-89

²²³ Bozon, M. (1996) Reaching adult sexuality: first intercourse and its implications. From calendar to attitudes, in Bozon, M. & Heridon, H. (Eds.) *Sexuality and the Social Sciences: A French Survey on Sexual Behavior*. Hants: Dartmouth, p143-75

²²⁴ Simon, P. et al. (1972) *Rapport sur le Comportement Sexuel des Français*. Julliard & Charron

²²⁵ Wylie, L. (1957) *Village in the Vaucluse*. Rev. Ed. New York: Harper & Row

²²⁶ 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

- Agin, Sh. (2002) "Comment se font les enfans?" Sex Education and the Preservation of Innocence in Eighteenth-Century France, *MLN* 117,4:722-36
- Ansen, D. (1995) Au revoir, l'enfance, *Newsweek*, 6/12/95; 125,24:65
- Colas, D. (1975) Mensonge pédagogique et sexualité enfantine chez Kant, *Ornicar?* 2:73-5
- Debreyne²²⁷
- Hanry (1977)²²⁸
- Maynes, M. J. (1992) Adolescent sexuality and social identity in French and German lower-class autobiography, *J Fam Hist* 17:397-418

²²⁷ Debreyne, *Maechialogie*, p64. Cited by Havelock Ellis ([1925:p207])

²²⁸ Hanry, P. (1977) *Les Enfants, le Sexe et Nous: l'Adulte & l'Excédante Enfance de la Sexualité*. Toulouse: Privat

Swiss / Switzerland

In a survey of Swiss schoolboys (Biener, 1973:p64)²²⁹, 41% declared having learned masturbation by trial, 25% would have learned from friends, 3% had read about it or seen it depicted, 4% learned from adults, 14% did not remember its mode of onset, and 13% claimed never to have given themselves to the practice. Another study²³⁰ informs about the sexual coming of age according to a questionnaire among 16-19-year-olds.

Jarecki (1961a;b)²³¹ asked 2 groups of 40 mothers in the **United States** and in Switzerland about stuttering, weaning, *masturbation* (p350-1), lying, and bedwetting. There were significant differences in attitudes. Swiss mothers placed more stress on heredity and poor upbringing, and were stricter in demanding mature behaviour. Swiss mothers seem to view their children quite early as “little adults”, while American mothers see them as “kids” and allow them to behave like children much longer. The difference on masturbation attitudes, however, is much smaller than the other themes, in fact smallest and nonsignificant. 60.0% of Swiss and 57.1% of American parents described psychic²³² and some 20% in both samples described physical damage as a result of the practice. Some 15% in both samples referred to moral and social laws, and only 5% in both samples did not see any danger.

²²⁹ Biener, K. (1973) *Jugendsexualität und Präventivmedizin*; Brongersma (1987:p129-30), *op.cit.*

²³⁰ Michaud, P. (1977) *Quelques Aspects de la Sexualité des Adolescents de 16 à 19 Ans dans le Canton de Vaud*. Thesis, Université de Lausanne

²³¹ Jarecki, H. G. (1961a) Die Einstellungen von Müttern zu Problemen der Kindererziehung: Eine vergleichende Voruntersuchung, *Psychol Ekon Prax* [Czechoslovakia] 20:111-35; Jarecki, H. G. (1961b) Maternal attitudes toward child rearing: A cross-cultural pilot study, *Arch Gen Psychia* 4:340-56

²³² “Dangers of rape; perversions; sex crimes; leads to insane asylum; thinks about it; homosexuality; more susceptible to men who want to take the child with them; weakens loss of sense of shame (sic); can lead to domination by lust; later less satisfaction from spouse; emotional coldness; etc.)”

Spain (Española) [Spanish Basques: 3,3,3+,3+,4-,4-,2,2] [IES]

Bachs-i-Comas (1984)²³³ reports of a pilot study of sexual knowledge, identification, feelings, and attitudes of 5-7 year old children. Information was obtained on sexual identity, sex differences, role of the couple in reproduction, affective relationships within the family, pregnancy, birth, and lactation. Hernandez-Martinez (1984)²³⁴ studied the sexual behaviour of 7,492 14-18 year olds. Subjects were administered a 116-item questionnaire and a face-to-face interview to assess “masturbatory activity, heterosexual intercourse, intercourse within an established relationship, homosexuality, and infantile sexuality”.

López Sánchez (2001)²³⁵ refers to a numeric study on childhood sexual behaviours carried out by López et al. (1997) involving parents, teachers and adolescents. Noting the problems in conducting the research (“[...] estamos en una cultura que niega la existencia de la sexualidad infantil por considerar peligrosas sus manifestaciones y hay dificultades éticas para estudiarlas de manera experimental, a través de observaciones o a través de preguntas directas a los menores”), it was observed that:

“La frecuencia de la masturbación es mucho mayor de lo que se suele creer, tanto en niños como en niñas aunque las fuentes de investigación no son muy precisas. En una investigación reciente (López, Guijo, Del Campo y Palomo, 1997) [...] en la que usamos tres fuentes de información, padres, educadores y jóvenes, referidas a los 11 primeros años de vida, encontramos que: a) El 28% de los jóvenes recuerdan haberse masturbado con la mano y el 16% con un objeto. b) Los padres han observado en el 13% de los hijos masturbación con la mano y en el 5% con un objeto. c) Los educadores han observado en el 20% de los alumnos masturbación con la mano y en el 8% con un objeto. Otras investigaciones apuntan en la misma dirección. 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. [...] Los padres y educadores afirman haber observado juegos de contenido sexual en aproximadamente el 80% de los menores²³⁶ (López y Otros, 1997)” (2001:p276, 278).

The original work [received from the author, entitled “*Sexualidad Prepuberal*”]²³⁷, however, claimed that 9.4% experienced orgasm, or 5.4% of females and 18.0% of males (p20, 32 of Engl. transl.). More interestingly, the authors make the following observations:

“[Despite a heightened interest in abuse matters] the existence of childhood sexuality remains largely unrecognised. In fact, as has been discovered in many Englishspeaking countries (particularly in the United

²³³ Bachs-i-Comas, J. (1984) Conocimientos sexuales en niños/as de 5 a 7 años. Bases para el estudio de los factores de integración [Sexual knowledge of 5- to 7-year-old children: Bases for the study of factors influencing integration], *Quaderns/Cuadernos Psicología* 8,2:139-54

²³⁴ Hernandez-Martinez, J. (1984) Analisis descriptivo de la conducta sexual del adolescente Murciano, *Actas Luso Espanolas Neurol, Psiquia & Ciencias Afines* 12,2:153-61

²³⁵ 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

²³⁶ “the frequency of masturbation is much greater than is usually believed, as much in boys as in girls, although the sources are not very precise [on this point]. In a recent study (Lopez, Guijo, Of the Field and Palomo, 1997) in which we used three sources of information- parents, teachers and young people, confined to the 11 first years of life-, we found that: a) 28% of the young people remember having masturbated with the hand and 16% with an object. b) parents observed in 13% of the children manual masturbation and in 5% with an object. c) educators observed in 20% of the students manual masturbation and in 8% with an object. Other investigations point in the same direction. These conducts have a clear sexual meaning for the children insofar as 5% of them claim to have experienced orgasm prepubertally [...] the parents and educators affirm to have observed games of sexual content in approximately 80% of the minors” [DJ].

²³⁷ López, F., Campo, A. del & Guijo, V. (nd/1997?) *Sexualidad Prepuberal*. Unpaged paper received from author 141102. From an additionally received translation, López, F., Campo, A. del & Guijo, V. (nd/1997?) *Prepuberal Sexuality*. Paged paper received from author 141102

States), apart from some positive results the studies that have been carried out on the sexual abuse of minors have had three perverse [sic] effects: the persecution of healthy manifestations of sexual behaviour in childhood –by the children themselves and among each other, who explore each other or play in a consensual fashion-, the increase in the “fear of affectionate and social contact” between adults and minors (even within the family!), and the increase in a deeply rooted idea in our culture: the “danger” itself of sexuality”.

Barkley and Mosher (1995)²³⁸ reviewed the research on childhood sexuality in Hispanic culture.

The difficulties that Tissot had in getting his work published in Spanish indicate opposition from medical authorities in Spain during the Enlightenment to consideration of onanism as a disease (Perdiguero Gil and González de Pablo, 1990)²³⁹. Nevertheless, Catholic priests warned children for masturbation by threat of “Heart problems, spinal debilities, brain tumors, and bowel obstructions” well into the 20th century (Mitchel, 1998:p107-8)²⁴⁰. Of course it was rampant even judging from schoolboys’ confessions.

Before its revision in 1998, Spain has the lowest age of consent in Europe (12). Nieto et al. (1997)²⁴¹ reported:

“Studies carried out with 12- to 13-year-old elementary school students in *Education General Basica* (EGB) indicated that 87.74 percent of the girls and 38.42 percent of the boys had never masturbated. The numbers lessened when groups of 14- to 17-year-old high school students were studied from Baccalaureate Unified Polyvalent (BUP). In this study, 70.51 percent of the girls and 12.16 percent of the boys stated that they had never masturbated. [...] Almost three quarters of the boys, 71.4 percent, began masturbating between the ages of 10 and 12 years, while only 10 percent of the girls stated they have masturbated at that age. [...] The most-consistent masturbation frequency in children is once a month [...]”.

“A national study on masturbation in children and young people found that 76.7 percent stated that they began masturbating between the ages of 10 to 15 years. Knowledge about masturbation came from conversations and readings (74.8 percent for males and 57.2 percent for women)”.

Also,

“Heterosexual conduct in Spanish children and adolescents has greatly increased in recent years. Current data indicate that more than 54 percent of the women and 52.7 percent of the men have already had their first date at 13 years”.

Thurén (1988:p202-3)²⁴² stated that many informants for a Barrio in Valencia emphasised “ignorance, fear, bitterness” against parents for lack of support when questioned about growing up feminine. Nevertheless, many commented upon “the excitement they felt as children when they began to realize there was a great mystery around sexual differentiation. Most women told with great tenderness of the exciting whispers with girl-friends in pre-adolescence, the slow putting together of pieces of information, the acceptance and growing expectation of what “life” was like, the first daring lies to the parents in order to go out with a boy...”. Although bookstores

²³⁸ Barkley, B. H. & Mosher, E. S. (1995) Sexuality and Hispanic culture: Counselling with children and their parents, *J Sex Educ & Ther* 21,4:255-67

²³⁹ Perdiguero Gil, E. & González de Pablo, A. (1990) Los valores morales de la higiene: el concepto de onanismo como enfermedad segun tissot y su tardia penetracion en España, *Dynamis* [Spain] 10:131-62. See also Cleminson, R. (2000) From the solitary vice to “the rehabilitation of onanism”: changing anarchist discourses on masturbation in Spain in the early twentieth century, *Anarchist Stud* 8,2:119-32

²⁴⁰ Mitchell, T. (1998) *Betrayal of the Innocents*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

²⁴¹ Nieto, J. A. et al. (1997) Spain, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. III. Quoted from the online edition

²⁴² Thurén, B. (1988) *Left Hand Left Behind*. Diss., University of Stockholm

sold sex education materials since the middle 1970s, hardly anyone mentioned learning sex from books.

Marañón struggled with the issue of Freudian infantile sexuality, a notion that seems to offend “the patriotism of the human species. We want to believe that a child’s soul is pure”. He further believed that Freud’s theory was, in part, culture-bound and that the precocious sexual activities ascribed to children did not occur in Spain: “It is certain that our children are not like that”, he asserted (acc. Glick, 1982:p553)²⁴³. In a 1929 lecture, Juarros argued that, probably not exceptional for Europe at that time, “infantile sexuality [was] sadly ignored by most or all parents, who do not perceive sexual appetites in children”²⁴⁴.

In a 1996-1997 study²⁴⁵ based on 304 universities in, freshman students (63.49% female, average age 19.46 +/- 1.55 years) indicated in 51.77% to have begun to masturbate between the 11 and 14 years. In 56.15% of whom had sexual experience it was begun between 17 and 19 years of age. In another study²⁴⁶ (2831 pupils aged 14-20 years from urban, suburban, and rural populations in the north of Madrid) the average age of the first intercourse was 15.4 years +/- 1.68 SD for males and 16.1 years +/- 1.46 SD for females. In yet another study²⁴⁷ (3139 students aged 14 to 19 years living in the city of Barcelona), it appeared that boys had their first experience at a significantly earlier age, but girls participated in sexual intercourse more often.

To reflect on these figures, studies support the hypothesis that “religiosity and church attendance seem to still put a strong damper, in Spain, on young people’s sexual behaviors”²⁴⁸.

Thuren (1994)²⁴⁹:

“While 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”.

A recent study²⁵⁰ examined representations about sexuality among adolescents by analysing the content of 1,204 questions about sexuality and reproduction written by male and female middle

²⁴³ Glick, Th. F. (1982) The Naked Science: Psychoanalysis in Spain, 1914-1948, *Comparat Studies Soc & Hist* 24, 4:533-71, citing Marañón (1968-77) *Obras Completas*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe. Vol. III, p171

²⁴⁴ Cited by Glick (1982:p555), *op.cit.*

²⁴⁵ Sueiro, E., Dieguez, J. L. & Gonzalez, A. (1998) Jovenes que realizan estudios universitarios: salud sexual y reproductiva, *Aten Primaria* 31;21,5:283-8

²⁴⁶ Hidalgo, I., Garrido, G. & Hernandez, M. (2000) Health status and risk behavior of adolescents in the north of Madrid, Spain, *J Adolesc Health* 27,5:351-60

²⁴⁷ Parera, N. & Suris, J. C. (1997) Sexuality and contraception in adolescents from Barcelona, Spain, *J Pediatr Adolesc Gynecol* 10,3:153-7

²⁴⁸ Samson, J. M., Levy, J. J., Lopez, F., Picod-Bernard, C. & Maticka-Tyndale, E. (1993) [Sexual attitudes and scenarios among students in France, Quebec, and Spain], *Contracept Fertil Sex* 21,4:325-32

²⁴⁹ 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

²⁵⁰ Barbera, E. & Navarro, E. (2000) La construccion de la sexualidad en la adolescencia, *Rev Psicol Social Aplic* 15,1:63-75

school and high school students (aged 13-14 years) enrolled in sex education classes during a 6-year period (1992-1998) in Spain. The questions were evaluated according to dimensions of theme, information versus opinion, concept clarification, health, pleasure or displeasure, masculine or feminine reference, or quantity. The results indicated that “girls speak about sexuality as a part of the future, have low interest in erotic aspects of sex, and high interest in body, reproductive health, and birth control. The boys speak more about sex than girls, are more interested in erotic aspects of masturbation and intercourse, and are interested in opinions rather than information”.

Gitano (Spanish Gypsies) [Spain]

Mulchay²⁵¹ characterises Gitano socialisation as promoting “a classic pattern of machismo” (p139). Among the Gitano, “[...] the sexual identity of children receives much attention in language and gesture, and is treated in a very joyful and playful manner. Praises or displays of affection to children very often involve references to their genitals. Adults- or older children- often address children through the words that define the genitals, and show their affection by rubbing or grabbing their sexual areas, and kissing or biting them there” (Blasco, 1994:p54)²⁵². The boys’ masculinity is stressed more than the girls’ femininity: “[...] mothers love making their male babies’ penises become erect, photos of boys aged two or three smoking cigarettes, or else naked, hung on the walls of every gitano house; and from that same age boys are very much encouraged to be proud of their genitals”. Marriageability starts at puberty. Girls at menarche become “mozas”, synonymous to “virgins”; anatomical indicators would betray her being “open” (deflowered), and coitarche equals the end of mozedad. There is an obvious double standard for premarital sex.

Thus, “As well as conveying to the children a particular evaluation of the categories ‘woman’ and ‘man’ or niño (boy) and niña (girl), their attitudes encourage them to be proud of their genitals – and to develop a self-identity in which the genitals explicitly occupy a central place” (1999:p71)²⁵³.

“Affection to children up to the age of five or six is shown by rubbing or grabbing their genitals, or by kissing and biting them there, so that children come to strongly associate displays of affection with their genitals. On one occasion I went with Sara and her children to visit my family – who themselves live in Madrid – and I witnessed as my sister took Sara’s son David, who was then two years old, in her arms and praised him saying ‘how handsome you are!’. When he heard this, and to my sister’s astonishment, he got down from her lap, pulled down his trousers and said ‘yes, look’, pointing to his penis and expecting further praise. Although both boys’ and girls’ genitals are treated with fondness, the boys’ are particularly celebrated: mothers love playing with their young sons’ penises, photos of naked boys aged two or three are hung in the walls of most Gitano houses, and young boys are very much encouraged to be proud of their penises. The fact that boys are preferred and given preference over girls and the greater – and more joyful – attention that is given to their genitals is essential in the creation of these early masculinities and femininities and coherent with other practices that also contribute to the process” (*ibid.*).

Gay-y-Blasco (1997)²⁵⁴:

²⁵¹ Mulchay, F. D. (1976) Gitano Sex Role Symbolism and Behavior, *Anthropol Quart* 49,2:135-51

²⁵² Blasco, P. G. y (1994) Gitano understanding of female virginity: sex and ethnic difference, *Cambridge Anthropol* 17,1:49-68

²⁵³ Gay-y-Blasco, P. (1999) *Gypsies in Madrid: Sex, Gender & the Performance of Identity*. Oxford: Berg Publishers

²⁵⁴ Gay-y-Blasco, P. (1997) A 'different' body? Desire and virginity among Gitanos, *J Royal Anthropol Institute* 3:517-35

"From the moment of birth, adults emphasize and celebrate the child's genitals, particularly in the case of boys. As well as conveying to the children a particular evaluation of the categories 'woman' and 'man' or *niño* (boy) and *niña* (girl), their attitudes encourage them to be proud of their genitals -- and to develop a self-identity in which the genitals explicitly occupy a central place. The words that define the genitals -- *pija* (penis) and *chocho* (internal and external female genitalia) -- can be defined as 'neutral' in the sense that they do not carry inherently polite or rude connotations. They are used as loving terms of address to children and often become nicknames. They are also made to stand, in a metonymic way, for the male or female children -- thus, pregnant women are often asked whether they are carrying a *chocho* or a *pija*. Together with their points of reference, these are among the first words to be learned. Affection to children up to the age of five or six is shown by rubbing or grabbing their genitals, or by kissing and biting them there. Clara took her nephew David, who was then two years old, in her arms and praised him, saying 'how handsome you are!' On hearing this he got down from her lap, pulled down his clothes and said 'yes, look', pointing to his penis and expecting further praise. Although both boys' and girls' genitals are treated with fondness, the boys' are particularly celebrated: mothers love playing with their young sons' penises, photos of naked boys aged two or three are hung in the walls of most Gitano houses, and young boys are very much encouraged to be proud of their penises. The fact that boys are preferred to, and given preference over, girls and the greater -- and more joyful -- attention given to their genitals are essential in the creation of these early masculinities and femininities and coherent with other practices that also contribute to the process:

David's parents and relatives consistently favoured him over his sister Nina. During my fieldwork, when he was two and she was six, she was very often made to give him her toys, or to leave her mother's lap when he wished to sit there. Many of the references made to David's masculinity served to advance his privileges as did the mention of Nina's femininity: because she was a *moza* (young woman) she had to 'give up' so that he, a boy, could 'have'. She fought and resented this, but could not deny the fact that he was a boy and she was a girl. She witnessed the adults around her displaying David's penis and, like them, she often praised it" .

Olivos (Andalusian Pueblo) [Spain]

Price and Price (1966a,b)²⁵⁵ describe that courtship among the *Olivos*, a traditional pueblo, is staged in three compartments, the middle with two subcompartments: informal, transitional, and formal. The first begins with puberty, when brothers and sisters no longer share a room.

A later study on Andalusian young people (Olive, Serra and Vallejo, 1993)²⁵⁶ offers data on masturbarche and sources of sexual education.

²⁵⁵ 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

²⁵⁶ Oliva, A., Serra, L. & Vallejo, R. (1993) *Sexualidad y Anticoncepción en Jóvenes Andaluces*. Sevilla: Servicio Andaluz de Salud, Consejería de Salud. Referred to by Delgado, A. O. (2001) *Sexualidad y Educación Afectivo-Sexual durante la Adolescencia*. Presented to the Conferencia impartida en las I^a Jornadas de Educación afectivo-sexual, Huelva, March [www.pdipas.us.es/o/oliva/conferencia%20huelva.doc]

Portugal

In a Portuguese coastal community, girls were considered “adult” when fertile (menstruation occurred around 16 or 17), boys when married. (Cole, 1991:p84-5)²⁵⁷. Girls begin to have *namoradas* soon after menarche. “A son was said to be able to “have sex freely” [...], but a daughter should not have sex freely and should show restraint [...] in the expression of her sexuality”, which was defined in the context of fertility.

Additional refs:

-- Amaro, F., Dantas, A. M. & Teles, L. da C. (1995) Sexual behaviour in the city of Lisbon, *Int J STD AIDS* 6,1:35-41

-- Nodin, N. et al. (2001) Portugal, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed. in chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. 4. New York: Continuum. Online ed.

Further studies by Amaro (1990) and Amaro, Teles, Dantas (1990)

²⁵⁷ Cole, S. (1991) *Women of the Praia*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Lithuania

Additional refs:

-- CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: East Central Europe*, p78-99

Poland [IES]

For a note on formal sexual education, see Grassel and Bach (1979:p290-1)²⁵⁸. Social and intellectual changes in Poland after World War I stimulated debate among educationalists, psychologists, and moralists about who should provide sex education for children and in what way (Gawin, 1999)²⁵⁹. Conservatives, especially in the Catholic Church, wished to confine it within the family and took a restrictive and punitive approach to sexuality, while liberals favoured sex education in schools with a factual approach allied with ethical education. Both liberals and conservatives betrayed a suspicious attitude toward child and adolescent sexuality, recommending a strict upbringing for children and questioning the emotional side of child rearing.

Sierzpowska-Ketner (1997)²⁶⁰ stated: "Research in 1992 with a nationally representative sample revealed that friends were reported as the principle source of sex information with half of the men and one third of the women surveyed. The second source, reported most frequently by young people in large cities, was publications. Parents hardly ever wanted to provide input into sexual education, preferring to have their children obtain this information in school or from publications. Still, less than 10 percent of the respondents approved of school as a source of sex information". The repression of sex education is also demonstrated in terminology used to describe childhood sexuality in Polish medical literature.

On auto-eroticism in childhood:

"Retrospective research on the autoerotic behaviors of Polish children and adolescents has been carried out on a few select groups. M. Beisert (1990) found that about 15 percent of the girls and 29 percent of the boys remembered touching and manipulating their genitals in a repeated manner during childhood to evoke some pleasant feelings. In most children, an intensification of autoerotic behaviors is observed at ages 5 to 6, during nursery school education. The main purpose of autoerotic behaviors is to awake some positive emotions in oneself. Up to 80 percent of all children who engage in self-pleasuring consider the pleasure obtained as an autonomous value, while about 12 percent treat that pleasure as a side effect of fulfilling the need connected with what is termed a stimulation deficit, the deprivation of the need of receiving new and attractive stimuli from the surroundings. Research demonstrates that there are two types of autoerotic behaviors: one open, observed in children who are unaware of the common negative valuation of that behavior, and the other hidden and characteristic of children who are aware of the forbidden character of that behavior. An important source of information about the need to hide autoeroticism from parents is the child's peers. According to investigations, 80 percent of parents have never learned about the autoeroticism of children.

Polish literature dealing with sexual education presents two opposite views: an opinion that self-pleasuring is a normal stage of psychosexual development in human beings and the contrary view that self-pleasuring is a sin reflecting in a negative way on human development. These opinions lead to two contrary educational recommendations".

On heterosexual interests:

²⁵⁸ Grassel, H. & Bach, K. R. (1979) *Kinder- & Jugendsexualität*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften

²⁵⁹ Gawin, M. (1999) Dispute over the sex education of children and young people during the inter-war years, *Acta Poloniae Hist* 79:185-205. See e.g., Kozłowska, A. (1968) [On the investigation of sexual interests of adolescents], *Psychol Wychowawcza* 11,4: 473-80

²⁶⁰ 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

"M. Beisert's 1990 investigation reveals an undulatory character in the child's interest in sex. The first inflow is observed before the end of 5 years of age with the next during the prepubertal period, about the age of 10 and 11. Contacts with other children in nursery school are conducive to some exploratory activities. Up to 56 percent of investigated adults place their first discoveries connected with gender at that period. The most important source of knowledge are other children, particularly peers. The first discoveries are connected with playing together, bathing, and other hygienic activities. However, the awareness of a strict injunction not to stare at the naked bodies of others, and particularly their genitals, is passed down at a comparatively early age and is widely popularized. The division between erotic play and cognitive activities is a difficult one, especially since sexual curiosity is at the bottom of much of children's play. However, when children want to study their own bodies, they often do it openly and clearly state their interest. In approximately 2.8 percent of childhood sexual exploration, coercion is a factor. The cognitive methods are a bit different in families with many children of both genders. When the children in a family are close in age, or when the age interval is larger but older children participate in taking care of the younger, sex differences are not particularly exciting nor do they offer any special discoveries. The situation is similar when a child has no siblings but is brought up in a family with liberal attitudes towards sex. Many different children's games include an erotic element or produce specific pleasure connected with stimulation of the genitals. Nearly 70 percent of students surveyed remembered not only the fact of such games, but also all the details accompanying them. Gender was not a factor in such games. Considering all the functions fulfilled by erotic games, such as pleasure, learning, and stimulation, they were grouped separately from other forms of childhood activities. The essence of most games is to imitate a fragment of adult life. 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, 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. Imitations of such adult activities that provide excuses for body contact are the most important children's games.

A particular, qualitatively different variety of games is among those designed for only two children. In such games, watching and touching meet the needs of demonstrating a mutual bond. Children embrace each other, kiss, and touch. Such pairs are accepted by their peers, and their range of behavior does not differ from the behavioral patterns of groups. Solitary play also provides an outlet for sexual curiosity and rehearsal, as when a child enacts erotic scenes using dolls, draws pictures of naked girls and boys, or plays scenes that evoke pleasurable excitement. The second period of interest occurs during the prepubertal age. Up to 35 percent of children report gaining knowledge about gender differences at the age of 10 or 11 years. The interest is focused on details and confirmation of earlier knowledge and intuition. Watching and touching is limited mainly to the genitals, and the aim is to gain pleasure along with a clear understanding of gender differences. These games occur in pairs, and sometimes in groups of peers of the same and other gender. Boys, for instance, may compare penis length or compete in urination contests. Girls concentrate on bust observations or dressing as adult women. Often pair games are clearly directed at pleasure, and consist of genital exploration and touching without the pretext of playing doctor or hospital. According to survey data, most Polish children are well aware of the forbidden nature of these erotic games. The punishing attitude of parents towards erotic games reaffirms the fear of childhood eroticism and the unfavorable attitude towards self-pleasuring. Parental dissuasion and limiting the child's time with peers are more mild forms of unfavorable reaction. However, two thirds of parents who catch their children in such games threaten them, punishing them verbally and/or physically for engaging in them. About 1 percent of parents do not adopt a punishing attitude, but quietly maintain their differing opinion of such games. Only 10 percent of parents treat these games as a normal stage in childhood development".

"It needs to be emphasized that sexual education has always been a kind of taboo in Poland. This was clearly reflected in the language used by the state in the past, referring to sexual education as "preparation for the life in a socialistic family." After 1989, sexual education was halted in the schools without any national debate about the relationship between the state and the Church, and the only textbook specially prepared by sexologists for school use was definitely forbidden. This was subsequently followed by introduction of religious instruction in all Polish schools. Research in 1992 with a nationally representative sample revealed that friends were reported as the principle source of sex information with half of the men and one third of the women surveyed. The second source, reported most frequently by young people in large cities, was publications. Parents hardly ever wanted to provide input into sexual education, preferring to have their

children obtain this information in school or from publications. Still, less than 10 percent of the respondents approved of school as a source of sex information".

Polish criminal law forbids sexual contacts with minors under 15 years old.

In a study (Cianciara et al., 1994)²⁶¹ on 1239 Warsaw primary school students of the 7th grade, findings show "insufficient proficiency of families in sex education of their children. Although parents are the most desired source of sex related information, the range of their info-educational activities is found to be limited. This is particularly true when sons are considered; more attention is being paid to daughters. The results also indicate that mothers are more engaged in sex education than fathers. The findings show positive correlation between proficiency of parents in this field and their social status. This competence is also higher in families with better communication between members and families in which child freedom is not essentially limited". According to a retrospective study reported by Trawińska ([1975:p51])²⁶², more than 60% of respondents denied a history of sexual experiences in childhood, while 15% had "sexual games of a demonstrative nature", 5% had "an encounter with a deviated person", and another 2% "tell of voyeurism". Coitarche ages top at 17-18 (p56). In information sources on sex, peers outweighed parents, family, school, "lectures", own experiences, and mass media, in that order (p71).

Additional refs:

-- CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: East Central Europe*, p100-25

-- Jaczewski, A. (1970) [*Erotismus im Kindes- und Jugendalter*]. Warschau

-- Moseley, M. (2001) Life, literature: autobiographies of Jewish youth in interwar Poland, *Jewish Social Studies* 7,3:1-51, at p33-4

²⁶¹ Cianciara, D., Moscicka, M. & Przewlocka, T. (1994) [Competence of families for providing sex education of children], *Rocz Panstw Zakl Hig* 45,3:263-72

²⁶² Trawińska, M. [1975] Between the familygroup and the peer group- competitiveness between reference groups in the period of maturation, in Kozakiewicz, M. (Ed.) *Sex-Society-Education, Polish Experience*. Polish Family Planning Association, p44-71

Ukraine [IES]

Anderson²⁶³, in augmentation to material offered by Wikman²⁶⁴, reports on traditional night courting (bundling). Typical for former Europe, the phenomenon comes in two Ukrainian species: the individual form (*houlyenka*) and the communal (group) form (*dosvitke*). Chastity is stressed; no claims were made as for its timing.

Govorun and Vornyk (1997)²⁶⁵ on childhood socialisation:

“[...] from early childhood, the deliberate manipulation of genitals is mostly prohibited by the family and social environment. Most children do not receive any information about their genitals as the source of pleasure and good feelings. Parents usually worry so intensely about the occurrence of masturbation that this initial sexual experience is immediately suppressed whenever discovered. Still, what surveys are available [?] suggest that by 6 years of age, between 2 and 10 percent of children have engaged in self-pleasuring”. “Recent studies conducted in Ukraine by sexologists Iryna Vovk, Ihor Gorpinchenko, Zoreslava Shkiriak-Nyzhnik, and Borys Vornyk; and psychologists Myroslav Borishevskyj, Oksana Shurgan, Tamara Govorun, and Svitlana Kyrylenko investigated the attitudes of elementary school children [...]. They also examined their knowledge of sexual reproduction”.

“To a large degree, sex and gender behavior begins in the home. At various stages, children should receive knowledge about sex and reproduction from their parents. Thus, the new program initiated efforts to encourage family-based sexuality education. A substantial gap, however, exists between the knowledge provided by the family and the average child’s curiosity needs. This gap makes clear the need for child- and parent-oriented knowledge that revives national family customs and traditions”.

Mogilevkina et al. (2001)²⁶⁶, in a 1999 classroom survey of sexual behaviour among 689 first-year medical students at Donetsk State Medical University, Ukraine, found a mean age of first intercourse of 15.7 years for the men and 16.6 years for the women.

²⁶³ Anderson, R. T. (1962) Ukrainian Night Courting, *Anthropol Quart* 35,1:29-32

²⁶⁴ Wikman, K. (1937) *Die Einleitung der Ehe*. Sonderabdruck der Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora XI.I. Abo Akademi, Abo

²⁶⁵ Govorun, T. & Vornyk, B. M. (1997) Ukraine, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum, Vol. III. Quoted from the online edition

²⁶⁶ Mogilevkina, I. Tyden, T. & Odland, V. (2001) Ukrainian medical students’ experiences, attitudes, and knowledge about reproductive health, *J Am Coll Health* 49,6:269-72

Czech Republic and Slovakia [IES]

For a note on formal sexual education, see Grassel and Bach (1979:p293-5)²⁶⁷. Zverina (1997)²⁶⁸ stated: "As a consequence of the lack of formal education, children and young people get the greater part of their information about sex from peer groups. The most important sources of sex information for the young are parents, books, television, and other mass media sources [...]. Data from a 1994 representative sample of 1,719 men and women over age 15 years in the Czech Republic indicated that 45 percent of the men and 35 percent of the women learned about sex from their peers, 26 percent of both sexes from books, 12 percent of men and 21 percent of women from parents, 15 percent and 14 percent respectively from newspapers and magazines, and 12 percent and 9 percent from television, films, and radio (Zverina 1994) [²⁶⁹"]". Further, "[t]he sexual games of children are usually played in secret, and ignored if discovered by parents. They are not the objects of special sanctions in most families". "Same-gender sexual experiences may be a natural part of the sexual play and exploration of children. However, their prevalence does not appear to be high. Only about 10 percent of men and 5 percent of women in the heterosexual population report having had same-gender experiences in childhood and early adolescence. In the population of gay men and lesbians, such experiences are, of course, more common". First sexual intercourse usually occurs between ages 17 and 18. Criminal law sets the minimum age of consent to sexual intercourse at age 15 for both men and women.

"As a consequence of the lack of formal education, children and young people get the greater part of their information about sex from peer groups. The most important sources of sex information for the young are parents, books, television, and other mass media sources. [...] Data from a 1994 representative sample of 1,719 men and women over age 15 years in the Czech Republic indicated that 45 percent of the men and 35 percent of the women learned about sex from their peers, 26 percent of both sexes from books, 12 percent of men and 21 percent of women from parents, 15 percent and 14 percent respectively from newspapers and magazines, and 12 percent and 9 percent from television, films, and radio (Zverina 1994)[²⁷⁰"]".

"Criminal law sets the minimum age of consent to sexual intercourse at age 15 for both men and women. [...] In a representative sample of Czech adults over age 15 years, the average age reported for first coitus was 18.1 years for men and 18 years for women. [...] (Zverina 1994a) [²⁷¹]. In 1993, a representative survey of Prague youths, ages 15 to 29, [demonstrated an] average age for first coitus 17.3 years for men and 17.4 for women. [...] (Zverina 1994b) [²⁷²"]".

A sample of 602 Czech girls (students and apprentices) and 192 Czech boys (apprentices only), ages 15-18, was examined between 1987-92 to determine the differences in masturbatory activities and their frequencies²⁷³, using one-hour structured 78-item interviews. Data on ages 16-18

²⁶⁷ Grassel, H. & Bach, K. R. (1979) *Kinder- & Jugendsexualität*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften

²⁶⁸ Zverina, J. (1997) The Czech Republic and Slovakia, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Quoted from the online edition

²⁶⁹ Zverina, J. (1994a) *Sexual Behavior of Men and Women in the Czech Republic, 1994*. Some preliminary data supplied by the author (In press.)

²⁷⁰ [In press?]

²⁷¹ *Op.cit.*

²⁷² Zverina, J. (1994b) *Some Preliminary Results on the Sexual Behavior of 984 Young People (15-29 Years; 485 Men and 499 Women) in Prague: A Representative Sample*. Some preliminary data supplied by the author. (In press.)

²⁷³ Raboch, J. et al. (1994) Masturbacni chovani dospivajicich [Masturbation in adolescents], *Cesk & Slov Psychia* 90,2:97-100

suggested a great difference between boys (90.6%) and girls (3.8% and 2.5%). Similar results from the other countries confirmed the lower rates of masturbation in adolescent girls. Another national survey²⁷⁴ also investigated age of onset of masturbation. According to a later article²⁷⁵, the age at the time of first masturbation was lower in men comparing with that in women (13,97 vs. 16,89 years, $p < 0,0001$; specific data for ages ≤ 10 , 11-18 at p21). Koznar (1990)²⁷⁶ discussed the fact that the prevailing social attitude toward masturbation remains that of rejection and prohibition, despite the enlightened and accepting attitudes of some professionals. In a recent study²⁷⁷, 15 male and 15 female heterosexual adults aged 18-32 years in the Slovak Republic who had had at least 2 sexual partners in the past year were interviewed in depth about their sexuality and sexual behaviour from early childhood to the present.

Sak presented empirical data from studies done since 1982 to 1997²⁷⁸. From a summary by Sak:

“The age of the first sexual experience gets constantly lower. From the oldest age group (over 56 years) to the youngest one (15- 18 years) diminished the age for four years, from 19,7 years to 15,8 years. The sexual experience under twelve years appears only rarely. Constant increasing frequency of sexual contacts commences from thirteen years. The most frequent age of the first sexual experience of youth between 15-18 is sixteen years, the age group 19-23 shows approximately the same frequencies in the age 16, 17 and 18 years. The most changes in sexual behavior of society are constated [sic] in the age group 15-18 years. 92% of persons had their first sexual experience already in their 18. 17% of boys and girls in their 14 had the first sexual experience and from fifteen-agers more than the third”²⁷⁹.

Additional refs.:

-- Weiss, P., Kucera, Z. & Sverakova, M. (1995) Sexualni chovani ceskych adolescentu a jeho rizikovost z hlediska infekce HIV AIDS: Vysledky narodniho vyzkumu [Sexual behaviour of Czech adolescents and its riskiness from the viewpoint of the HIV/AIDS infection: Results of the national investigation], *Cesk Psychol* 39,5:425-32

²⁷⁴ Weiss, P. & Zvěřina, J. (1997) Prevalence sexualního zneužití v dětství v obecné populaci: výsledky národního výzkumu [Prevalence of sexual abuse in childhood in the general population: Results of a national survey], *Cesk & Slov Psychia* 93,2:66-74

²⁷⁵ Weiss, P. & Zvěřina, J. (1999) [Masturbational Activity of Czechs: Results of a National Survey], *Psychiatrie* 3,1:20-2

²⁷⁶ Koznar, J. (1990) Postoje k masturbaci [Attitudes to masturbation], *Psychol a Patopsychol Dietata* 25,5:463-9

²⁷⁷ Supekova, M. & Bianchi, G. (2000) Sexuální výchova a spokojenost sexuálně aktivnějších mladých lidí (kvalitativní přístup) [Sexual education and satisfaction of sexually more active young people: A qualitative approach], *Cesk Psychol* 44,1:56-76

²⁷⁸ Sak, P., Proměny české mládeže [Metamorphoses of Czech Youth], See ch. 6 & 8.1+2. The First Sexual Experience / Development of Erotic and Sexual Activities

²⁷⁹ http://www.coe.int/T/E/cultural_cooperation/Youth/Research/Papers/Individual_Research_Papers/Metamorphoses.asp#TopOfPage

Austria

A Young Girl's Diary (1919), supposedly the diary of a 14-year-old Viennese girl name Grete Lanier, Austrian psychoanalyst Hermine Hug-Hellmuth (1871-1924; allegedly the discoverer of the diary) was accused of fabricating it to support Freudian theories of childhood sexuality (Swindells, 1995)²⁸⁰. Reich²⁸¹ reported that in 1928 Vienna childhood masturbation was still strongly opposed. A short history of developmental sexology in Austria is presented by Borneman (1985:p123-34)²⁸². As excerpted from Wegs (1992)²⁸³ [refs. footnoted]:

“Most Austrian Socialist leaders thought working-class youth were suffering from premature and excessive sexual activity as a result of their early exposure to sexual matters. Julius Tandler, in charge of Vienna's Public Welfare Office and a socialist member of the city council in the 1920s, assumed that inferior housing had led to excessive sexual activity and social debilitation among the working class (Tandler 1936)[²⁸⁴]. Some socialists were particularly concerned about masturbation among the youth. Otto Kanitz, editor of *Die sozialistische Erziehung*, responding to a study that claimed 90 percent of young boys masturbated, wrote “Masturbation? The danger of the lack of restraint is great. What can be done? Abstinence and early marriage” (Kanitz 1922, p. 89)[²⁸⁵]. He maintained that those who wished to realize the socialist ideal “must be sexually pure” (Kanitz 1922, p. 91). Kanitz viewed sexual control as a part of a necessary self control demanded by the socialist ideal. Therese Schlesinger advised working-class youth to abstain from sexual intercourse until “they were mature enough to choose the right partner and to take up the obligations of an adult” since “the unbridled satisfaction of sex drive thwarts the development and deepening of eroticism,” and “separates sexual intercourse from reproduction” (Schlesinger and Stein 1932, p. 236)[²⁸⁶]. Schlesinger and others feared that an uninhibited sexual activity would lead to large working-class families and crowded housing and thereby not remove those conditions that had led, in their opinion, to the impoverishment and debilitation of the lower working-class stratum”.

Borneman's field work has been mentioned. A study to Austrian “firsts” was done in 1990/91, reported by Nöstlinger and Wimmer-Puchinger (1994)²⁸⁷. Another report on 11- to 14-year-olds was offered by Kromer et al. (1995)²⁸⁸, Kromer and Tebbich (1998)²⁸⁹ and Kromer (1999)²⁹⁰. In the former study ($N=1,108$, mean age=17.15), first being-in-love occurred at age 12.9, first date at 13.1, as is the first kiss, the first going-steady at 14.3, the first heterosexual petting at 14.9, the first homosexual petting at 13.4, and the first heterosexual intercourse at 15.5 (for those experienced at the time of questioning). Some three percent of girls and four percent of boys would have had sexual intercourse before age 13. In the latter 1995 KIDS-study, some 35% of 11-year-olds had experienced their basiarche [first kiss], 40% had “held hands”, 15% has “smootched”

²⁸⁰ Swindells, J. (1995) What's the use of books? Knowledge, authenticity and *A Young Girl's Diary*, *Women's Hist Rev* 5,1:55-66

²⁸¹ Forword to the 1949, 4th ed. of *Die Sexualität im Kulturkampf*. Copenhagen: Sexpol. 1966 Dutch transl., *De Seksuele Revolutie*, p11

²⁸² Borneman, E. (1985) *Das Geschlechtsleben des Kindes*. München: Urban & Scharzenberg

²⁸³ Wegs, J. R. (1992) Working-Class 'adolescence' in Austria 1890-1930, *J Fam Hist* 17,4:439-50

²⁸⁴ Tandler, J. (1936) *Die Sozialbilanz der Alkoholikerfamilie*. Wien: Gerold

²⁸⁵ Kanitz, F. (1922) *Die sozialistische Erziehung* 4:82-97

²⁸⁶ Schlesinger, Th. & Stein, P. (1932) Leitsätze für die sexuelle Aufklärung der Jugend, *Bildungsarbeit* 19:232-8

²⁸⁷ Nöstlinger, Ch. & Wimmer-Puchinger, B. (1994) *Geschützte Liebe: Jugendsexualität und AIDS*. Vienna

²⁸⁸ Kromer, I., Tebbich, H. & Friesl, Ch. (1995) *Abschied von der Kindheit: Die Lebenswelten der 11- bis 14-jährigen Kids*. Vienna: Österreichisches Institut für Jugendforschung

²⁸⁹ Kromer, I. & Tebbich, H. (1998) *Zwischenwelten: Das Leben der 11- bis 14-jährigen*. Vienna: Österreichisches Institut für Jugendforschung

²⁹⁰ Kromer, I. (1999) *Vom Anbandeln, Schmusen und Miteinanderschlafen: Jugendsexualität in den 90er Jahren*. Vienna: Bundesministerium für Soziale Sicherheit und Generationen

("Schmusen"), 9% had had a French kiss, 12% had masturbated, 2% had petted, and 1% had had sexual intercourse (percentages estimated from graphic presentation).

Additional refs:

- Perner, R. A. (2001) Austria, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.in chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. 4. New York: Continuum. Online ed.
- Brongersma, E. (1989) Effekten van AIDS-voorlichting op school, *Tijdschr Seksuol* [Dutch] 13,4:285-9

Italy²⁹¹ (→Italian Americans)

Children in 17th-century Venice were allegedly vulnerable to various forms of violence, and especially sexual abuse (Martini, 1986)²⁹². The punishments for such crimes were in theory very severe, but in practice they were rarely applied and punishments were relatively light, especially for crimes against girls. However, in the second half of the century a new respect for childhood can be seen in the courts. The concept of childhood innocence, which always existed in theory, became more evident in practice. Sexual responsibility was restricted to childhood (Ruggiero, 1985:p148-52, 154)²⁹³ and changed “suddenly” after age ten in males, some 2-4 years later in girls. Haeberle (1997)²⁹⁴ pointed out the central role of Italy as providing the first sexological journal, and the first pioneers in the field, building forth on ancient Roman and Islamic proceedings. The early writings of Mantegazza (“the first true sexologist in the modern sense [...] a truly pivotal figure in Western intellectual history”) are of interest here.

Mantegazza²⁹⁵ regarded the Dawn of Love as announced by three facts: pollutions [which are said to be natural and calm rather than to boost the senses...but not more than 2 to 3 times a week], erections and a mighty longing to approach a woman to honour her with a first impregnating [?] kiss. He complained about the depraved and hypocritical nature of his society to corrupt such ideal, reducing its “idyll²⁹⁶” to a mere rarity. He regarded pubertal sexual dreams [the Angel of the Night] as a sublime sex educator, and recommends young readers to subside with their content. He also mentions the artificial awakening of unripe, innocent organs by means of example and the Maid’s seductions, by this arousing feelings that previously slumbered and polluted the immaculate purity of the first years of life, producing “unripe Onanists and Lovers”. In a chapter on masturbation, he again warns for maids. On children’s masturbation he complains: “The innocence is dead, before it was born, and the satirical cramps of lust have carved the first grooves on the face of the angel” [transl. from Dutch ed., DJ].

Similarly, Marro (1899:p214)²⁹⁷ had argued that “[i]n man at the age of puberty the sexual emotion awakes powerfully [...]”. Marro²⁹⁸ further pointed out that early masturbation was rampant among criminals (cf. Lombroso)²⁹⁹.

Jagstaidt et al. (1996)³⁰⁰ provide some contemporary data on childhood sex play and masturbation in Italian bulimics. Caletti (1980:p145)³⁰¹ gives some data on childhood and adolescent sexual milestones in the early 1970s in regions of Venice.

²⁹¹ See also *Roman Empire*

²⁹² Martini, G. (1986) Rispetto dell’infanzia e violenza sui minori nella venezia del seicento [Respect for childhood and violence against minors in 17th-century Venice], *Società e Storia* [Italy] 9,34:793-817

²⁹³ Ruggiero, G. (1985) *The Boundaries of Eros*. New York: Oxford University Press, p138

²⁹⁴ Haeberle, E. J. (1997) Sexology: from Italy to Europe and the world, in Simonelli, C. et al. (Eds.) *Sessualità e Terzo Millennio, Studi e Ricerche in Sessuologia Clinica*. Milan: Franco Angeli. Vol. I, p13-22

²⁹⁵ *Fisiologia dell’ Amore* (1872). Dutch translation, 1889

²⁹⁶ On *idylls*, he remembers 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 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.

²⁹⁷ Marro, A. (1899) Influence of the puberal development upon the moral character of children of both sexes, *Am J Sociol* 5,2:193-219

²⁹⁸ *Caratteri dei Delinquenti*, quoted by Havelock Ellis

²⁹⁹ Lombroso, C. (1876) *L’Uomo Delinquente*. Milan. Translated as *Criminal Man*; Lombroso, C. (1883) Amori anomali precoci nei pazzi, *Archiv di Psichiatria* 7:22

³⁰⁰ Jagstaidt, V., Golay, A. & Pasini, W. (1996) Sexuality and bulimia, *New Trends in Exp & Clin Psychia* 12,1:9-15

In the second “ASPER” study by Cafaro (1992:p110)³⁰² adolescents indicated to have masturbated before age 10/10-11/12-13 in 7.2%, 30.2% and 35% (not accumulative figures), respectively; for females, these figures read 3.1%, 22.3% and 40.1%. The first “sexual experience” occurred mostly at ages 15-16, with 1.5% in twelve-year-old males, and 2.1% in 12-year-old females (p49). More than forty per cent had either their menarche or polluarache at ages 11-12 (p48). According to a generational study³⁰³, mean age at first intercourse in Northern Italy was 20.7 for the cohort born in 1910-19 and was fairly stable in men born after 1919, ranging from 18.4 to 18.8. For females, the mean age at first intercourse decreased from 23.6 years to 23.1, 22.7, 21.3 and 19.7.

Parca (1965 [1967:p20-36])³⁰⁴ gives a rather elaborate view of Italian boyhood significant mostly for before 1950. According to this study (N=1,018), 20% was sure not to have played sexually in childhood, another 20% said not to remember anything like it, while more than half indicated they did. The age at which this occurred was typically 6 or 7, the exception being rural south Italy, where the age of 8 or 9 is the most common timing [p25-8]. This may not be in discordance with observations by Whyte (1943a:p25; 1943b)³⁰⁵, who writes on slum “corner boys”:

“In Cornerville children ten years of age know most all the swear words and they have a good idea of what the good “lay” means. Swearing and describing sex relations by older people and by the boys that hang on the corner are overheard by little children and their actions are noticed and remembered. Many of the children when they are playing in the streets, doorways and cellars actually go through the motions which pertain to the word “lay”. I have seen them going through these motions, even children under ten years of age”.

In Southern Italy, it is likely the young boy has his penis “singled out for teasing admiration. This open phallic admiration is characteristic of the behaviour of mothers and sons, and in teasing infrafamily behaviour the genital organs may be poked or referred to with provocative gestural indications. Children may also share beds with their parents or with each other even at advanced ages (crowding often makes this necessary) though precautions are taken to prevent their observing intercourse. One man was asked what he would do if he saw this; the answer was “I would kill them”. Except for small children, modesty taboos are very strict, and while physical proximity within the family is very close with respect to anything except genital activity, this latter is surrounded with some secrecy” (Parsons, 1964 [1969:p255-6])³⁰⁶. Also, 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.”.

In a report on young adults (Signorelli et al., 2000)³⁰⁷, the median age at first sexual experience appeared 18 years for both genders. In another study (De Seta et al., 2000)³⁰⁸ of symptomatic

³⁰¹ Caletti, G. (1980) Report on the sexual behavior of a selected group of people, in Forleo, R. & Pasini, W. (Ed.) *Medical Sexology*. Amsterdam [etc.]: Elsevier, p144-7

³⁰² Cafaro, D. (1992) *Sesso 2000. 2° Rapporto ASPER*. Roma: ASPER

³⁰³ Negri, E., La Vecchia, C., Franceschi, S. & Parazzini, F. (1993) [Number of sexual partners and age at first intercourse in subsequent generations of Italian males and females], *Rev Epidemiol Santé Publique* 41,1:59-64

³⁰⁴ Parca, G. (1965) *Mentalità e Comportamento del Maschio Italiano*. Dutch translation (1967), *Italiaanse Mannen en de Liefde*. Amsterdam: Contact

³⁰⁵ Whyte, W. F. (1943a) A slum sex code, *Am J Sociol* 49,1:24-31; Whyte, W. F. (1943b) *Street Corner Society*. University of Chicago Press

³⁰⁶ 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 & Whinting, p331-84

³⁰⁷ Signorelli, C., Renzi, C., Zantedeschi, E. & Bossi, A. (2000) [Prevention focused on sexual behavior], *Ann Ist Super Sanita* 36,4:441-3

³⁰⁸ De Seta, F., Riccoli, M., Sartore, A., De Santo, D., Grimaldi, E., Ricci, G., Wiesenfeld, U. & Guaschino, S. (2000) [Sexual behavior and adolescence], *Minerva Ginecol* 52,9:339-44

patients attending an outpatient clinic for sexually transmitted diseases between April 1995 and April 1999, the age of sexual intercourse was below 15 in 44.4% of patients (vs 7.7% of control women aged 20 to 40).

In a study by Amann-Gainotti (1986; etc.)³⁰⁹ in Southern Italy, half of the postmenarcheal girls expressed a negative evaluation of their first experiences with menstruation, generally due to lack of advance information. As to sources of information, importance of the peer group was confirmed, especially for boys; the influence of the mother and the cultural environment accounted for the positive acceptance of menarche. Fathers appeared to be uninvolved in the transmission of information about menstruation to either boys or girls.

At puberty, a girl becomes a *Vergine*, Virgin³¹⁰:

“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”.

Giovanni observes how, through negative and positive terms, women “[...] are socialised to accept and even desire the role of *la Vergine*”.

Additional refs:

- Mantelli (1967), in Caletti et al. (Eds.) *Educazione Sessuale*. Mestre: Ospedale Civile, p109-16
- Scapari (1891) Le anomalie sessuali nei bambini, *Arch Italiano Ped* 9:219-22; Venturi (1892) *Le Degenerazioni Psicosessuali*, p363
- Vinci, S. (1997) *Dei Bambini non si sa Niente*. Turin: Einaudi Editore s.p.a. [1998 Engl. transl., *A Game We Play*. London: Chatto & Windus / 2000 Engl. transl., *What We Don't Know about Children*. New York: Knopf]
- Wanrooij, B. P. F. (2001) Italy, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed. in chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. 4. New York: Continuum. Online ed.

³⁰⁹ Amann-Gainotti, M. (1986) Sexual socialization during early adolescence: the menarche, *Adolescence* 21,83:703-10. See also Amann-Gainotti, M. (1988) La rappresentazione dell'interno del corpo: uno studio evolutivo, *Arch Psicol, Neurol & Psychichia* 4:480-98; Amann-Gainotti, M., Nenci, A. M. & Di Prospero, B. (1989) Adolescent girls' representations of their genital inner space, *Adolescence* 24,94:473-80; Amann-Gainotti, M., Di Prospero, B. & Nenci, A. M. (1989) [Anatomical knowledge in relation to the female genitalia in adolescent girls], *Minerva Ginecol* 41,5:231-5; Amann-Gainotti, M. (1989) Knowledge and beliefs about the body interior during early adolescence: the case of menstruations, *Acta Paedopsychia* 52,2:143-9; Amann-Gainotti, M. & Antenore, C. (1990) Development of internal body image from childhood to early adolescence, *Percept & Motor Skills* 71,2:387-93

³¹⁰ 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

Croatia

Among Zagreb adolescents, a majority of adolescents talk about sexuality with their friends, 92.1% of general high school and 81.2% of medical high school students³¹¹. 6.9% of medical high school students had at least one sexual intercourse while none of the general high school students had been sexually active at the time of the survey. Knowledge of reproductive matters is “poor”³¹². According to an earlier study³¹³, 70% of male and 23% of female high school students in Croatia-Yugoslavia stated that they had masturbated. Of those who had masturbated, 15% of males and 20% of females expressed fears that masturbation might be “unhealthy”, and 6.7% of males and 14.4% of females reported having guilt feelings after masturbation. 45% of males and 42% of females said that they had engaged in “petting” behaviour. 56% of males and 18% of females said they had had sexual intercourse. Of these, 55% of males had experienced it by the age of 16, and 48% of females by the age of 17. Five percent of the subjects had not heard of any method of contraception, and 70% of the females had not used any contraceptive. 81% of the subjects thought that homosexuality was “inappropriate behaviour”. Croatia lacks a comprehensive school-based sex education curriculum³¹⁴.

Additional refs:

- CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: East Central Europe*, p31-48
- Štulhofer, A. et al. (2001) Croatia, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed-in-chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. 4. New York: Continuum. Online ed.

³¹¹ Bukovic, D., Lakusic, N., Kopjar, M., Maricic, I., Fures, R., Mahovic, D., Marjan, D. et al. (2000) Attitudes, behaviour and knowledge on sexuality among female adolescents in Zagreb, Croatia, *Coll Antropol* 24,1:53-60

³¹² Dzepina, M. & Prebeg, Z. (1991) Zastita reproduktivnog zdravlja adolescenata [Care of reproductive health in adolescents], *Lijec Vjesn* 113,5-6:136-9

³¹³ Vlatkovic-Prpic, M. & Trenc, P. (1976) [Adolescents and sexuality], *Psihijatrija Danas* 8,3, Suppl. 4:271-6

³¹⁴ Hirsl-Hecej, V. & Stulhofer, A. (2001) Urban adolescents and sexual risk taking, *Coll Antropol* 25,1:195-212

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Bosnian Muslims (eHRAF)

Bringa (1995)³¹⁵ offers a chapter titled "socializing the bride" (p98-103), but few statements on childhood here. From p105-6:

"The word cura (pl. cure, girl) underscores a girl's or young woman's unmarried status, but carries the meaning of an unmarried virgin. A cura's status was radically different from that of all other women, whether wives, divorcees, or widows, the chief distinguishing factor being her assumed ignorance of sexuality. Above all, her status was contrasted to that of a [unknown] zena (pl.[unknown]zene), which means both "woman" and "wife". A girl becomes a cura in her early teens at the age of sexual maturity. Before this she is called a curica (little girl). Increasingly in recent years, however, maturity was related more to educational level than to sexual maturity. Since most parents wanted their daughters to finish at least eight years of compulsory school, they did not allow them to go to places outside school (such as fairs or the Saturday dance) where they would meet boys. This would change after the age of fourteen, when a girl would have finished her eighth year. Being allowed to the dance meant that parents considered their daughter to have reached marriageable age. Some parents extended these restrictions well into secondary school. But by then parental control was becoming increasingly difficult since their daughters had to travel to one of the market towns to attend secondary school".

p108:

"Some fathers were not as strict as others but most were under pressure (not untypically from their wives or their own mothers) to guard the moral reputation of their daughters and make sure they did not shame the household by inappropriate behavior, which in most cases meant inappropriate sexual behavior. They worried that their daughter would get pregnant before marriage, that she would run off with a boy before she had finished her education, or that she would run off with someone who was unacceptable to the family for various reasons ranging from a reputation among men for untrustworthiness or promiscuity to poor economic prospects and lack of financial security, to his not being a Muslim".

p125:

"[...] the couple often engage in a period of courtship that may last from several months to a year or two before they get married publicly. [...] Some of the girls in the village told me that they thought some boys would exploit girls who wanted to get married. They suggested that some boys would use the low degree of initial commitment of a modern marriage by elopement as a strategy for having a sexual relationship with a girl. It also seemed to have been a game among some boys, teasing and challenging each other into trying to persuade the girl to marry one of them that night, "marrying" being a euphemism for "having sexual intercourse with." Older girls and women, themselves very suspicious of men, their claims, and intentions, described the often very young girls who got married like this without any prior knowledge of the boy they had agreed to marry, as very naïve".

³¹⁵ Bringa, T. (1995) *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Lockwood (1983:p19)³¹⁶:

“One of the high points in life is when the boy becomes a momak (a marriageable lad) and the girl a cura (a maiden). With their new status, courtship begins. [...] Before a [Planinica] lad is considered ready for marriage, he serves in the army. [...] While in the army, often in areas less restrictive than his own, he usually experiences sex for the first time. When he returns, he is ready for marriage and his father and mother urge him to choose a wife”.

“Courtship is an important process that begins during the mid-teen years”, some details of which are given at p50-4. “Despite the suggestiveness of these lines, cases of premarital sex for maidens are very rare” (p121n).

³¹⁶ Lockwood, Y. R. (1983) *Text and Context: Folksong in a Bosnian Muslim Village*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers

Hungary

For a note on formal sexual education, see Grassel and Bach (1979:p291-3)³¹⁷. Vincze³¹⁸ speaks of “behavioral rules concerning decency [being] strict and very similar to Puritan or Victorian mores” in peasant Hungary. Hence,

“[p]arents make no attempt to teach their children about sex and conversation about sex is considered taboo in the family. From many girls, their first menstrual period comes as a shock. It is supposed that upon marriage they learn matters of sex from their husbands. Boys have ample opportunity to learn, since sex is a popular topic in groups of young men. Occasionally, a company of boys surrounds a married man, believed to be expert in sex and easy to talk to, and listen to him attentively. In mixed-sex company, boys do not talk openly about sex. If they drop a few remarks, the girls supposedly do not notice them. However, if a boy takes too much liberty (e.g., telling a dirty joke), the girls are expected to feel scandalized and to reprimand him with harsh words, or even attack him physically. [...] Sometimes older boys tease younger ones and try to trick them into confession [of masturbation] by saying “You know, guys who masturbate grow hair on their palms”. If the addressee betrays himself with a surreptitious glance at his palm, he becomes the target of laughter. On occasion, boys are warned by adults about the consequences of masturbation: “you will end up in a madhouse” or “You are wasting your spinal marrow”, they say. Parents tend to ignore their children’s masturbation even if they discover it. [...] Premarital sex, especially for women, is forbidden. Chastity in unmarried girls and faithfulness in married women are highly valued” (p34-5).

“Children may occasionally use an obscene word, but for them casual swearing is forbidden. This prohibition lasts until they reach their sixteenth birthday, the time when a child, in accordance with the cultural rule, achieves the status of *legény* (unmarried young man) or *eladó lány* (literally: girl for sale, i.e., marriageable girl) [prohibition is more severe for girls after age 16]. Parents usually enforce the prohibition, but any adult member feels that it is his or her duty to reprimand the child if he or she transgresses. Some families permit very young male children to imitate adult swearing habits. The little boy’s clumsy swearing is received with hilarity and the neighbors often comment: “He swears just like his grandfather,” (or somebody else in the family), recognizing the particular style of the child’s model. Since the permissiveness does not have the approval of the majority, parents justify their attitude by saying: “He is too young, he does not know what he says”. This permissiveness is usually of short duration” (p36-7).

Jávör³¹⁹ marks a definite double standard in socialization policies. A girl’s is performed in “negative terms”: they are requested to develop “passive virtues” of modesty, and not to “cross your legs” (p411-2).

“While parents go to great lengths to make their children understand what is expected of them in sexual behavior, in terms of conduct appropriate for their sex, physiological aspects of their sexual identity are governed by great circumspection. Although children watch television without any restrictions and frequently hear adults refer to animal genitalia when they swear, they are almost totally ignorant when it comes to their own body and its functions. Parents do not even attempt to enlighten their sons concerning the consequences of courtship, as they regard this solely as the girls’ problem” (*ibid.*)

Additional refs:

³¹⁷ Grassel, H. & Bach, K. R. (1979) *Kinder- & Jugendsexualität*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften

³¹⁸ Vincze, L. (1985) Hungarian Peasant Obscenity: Sociolinguistic Implications, *Ethnology* 24,1:33-42

³¹⁹ Jávör, K. (1989) The Socialization of Boys versus the Socialization of Girls: Dissimilar Gender Roles in two Hungarian Villages, *East European Quart* 23,4:409-18

- CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: East Central Europe*, p49-77
- Németh, E. & Galambos, G. (1984) Sexualbeziehungen von 14- bis 18jährigen Schülern aus dem Komitat Csongrad (Sudungarn), *Ärztl Jugendk* 75,1:7-19
- Németh, E. (1985) Acceleration - sexuality. Certain characteristics of the sexual life and physical maturity of 14-18 years old secondary school children, *Acta Biologica* 31,1-4:197-205

Slovenia

In a study³²⁰ 4706 secondary-school students aged 15-19 years, the median age at the first sexual intercourse was 18.5 years. The main motives for the first sexual intercourse were love (45%), accident [!!] (22%) and curiosity (15%).

³²⁰ Pinter, B. & Tomori, M. (2000) Sexual behavior of secondary-school students in Slovenia, *Eur J Contracept Reprod Health Care* 5,1:71-6

Romania

For a note on formal sexual education, see Grassel and Bach (1979:p295-6)³²¹. In one early study on university students³²², 14.44% of males and 28.8% of females have received first information from home, 48.56% males, and 37.76% females got their first information from friends, relatives, or other sources; 33.28% males and 26.03% females at school. Most of the information was obtained at the ages 14 through 16.

Additional refs:

-- CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: East Central Europe*, p126-50

³²¹ *Op.cit.*

³²² Salade, D. (1947) Problema educatiei sexuale, *Rev Psihol* 10:72-122

Yugoslavia (Serbs)

Erlich (1966:p144-73)³²³ provides an analysis of growing up in Yugoslav villages. By imitation, love songs are sung “long before they have any personal interest in the other sex”. On the whole the adolescent is “conditioned” for avoidance.

Stankovic et al. (1993)³²⁴ found that by the 16th year of life, 8.6% of secondary school girls and 36.8% of boys experienced coitus, while 48% of the girls and 72% of the boys experienced intimate caressing with the opposite sex. In 1990 Vojvodina³²⁵, mean of the age of women at sexarche (intercourse) was 19.088 +/- 2.495 years, the median being 18.964. The interval between mean menarche and sexarche ages was 5.6 years, smaller in the urban (5.0) than in the rural environment (6.4).

In Novi Sad³²⁶, most of the knowledge on sex topics “children” aged 13 and 14 (N=134) got watching TV and reading magazines (44.15% girls and 70.17% boys) and from their friends (42.1%). Communication about sex and contraception exists mostly among friends (51.95% girls and 82.46% boys). One third of girls talk with parents and one quarter got knowledge from them. Only four boys (2.98%) had sexual intercourse without complications: artificial abortion or STD. Almost every child (96.95%) knows about AIDS and 89.25% children know about at least one method of contraception (mostly condom). 50% of children want more education about sex and contraception. Most information male teenage students (N=520 aged 15-19) got from different forms of mass-media (63.65%) and through communication with friends (50.58%)³²⁷. The communication with parents (5%) and experts (1%) is poor. According to their opinion, 69% have enough knowledge about sexuality and 62% about contraception, but 75.77% want further education from experts. 90% participated in some kind of sexual activity by the age of 18, and 84.3% had sexual intercourse for the first time at the age of 15.55 years, on average.

Additional refs.:

-- Puhar, A. (1994) Childhood nightmares and dreams of revenge, *J Psychol* 22,2:131-70

³²³ Erlich, V. St. (1966) *Family in Transition: A Study of 300 Yugoslav Villages*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

³²⁴ Stankovic, M., Panic, V., Jerkovic, I. & Vecerinovic, S. (1993) [Sexual information and practice in 16-year-old adolescents], *Med Pregl* 46,5-6:205-8

³²⁵ Burany, B., Gaal, M., Szabo, E. & Babcsanyi, S. (1990) [Time factors and trends in the onset of the menarche, sex maturation and experience of orgasm in a questionnaire administered to 971 women in Vojvodina], *Jugosl Ginekol Perinatol* 30,1-2:51-4

³²⁶ Kapamadzija, A., Bjelica, A. & Segedi, D. (2001) [Children's knowledge of sex behavior and contraception], *Med Pregl* 54,1-2:53-7

³²⁷ Kapamadzija, A., Bjelica, A. & Segedi, D. (2000) [Sex knowledge and behavior in male high school students], *Med Pregl* 53,11-12:595-9

Serbs (→American Serbs) (*central and western part of the Balkan Peninsula, South-East Europe*)

“Old people take great offence when children speak or write licentious words. One day a peasant visited the school and found the teacher beating his son. When the teacher told him that he was punishing his son because he had written bad words on the wall, the peasant answered: “Can that be written in letters too? Kill him, sir, please!” (Pavlovic, 1973)³²⁸.

On the other hand, 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”.

According Halpern’s (1967)³²⁹ study of the community of Orasac in the heart of traditional Old Serbia, “[t]he physical changes that accompany adolescence are regarded with secrecy and shame, in keeping with the severely repressive attitude toward sex. Information about menstruation is learned from other girls at school and not at home. After the onset, however, mothers, grandmothers, and aunts are full of advice and folk remedies which they readily pass on”.

³²⁸ Pavlovic, (1973) *Folk Life and Customs in the Kragujevac Region of the Jasenica in Sumdaija*. New Haven, Conn.: HRAF

³²⁹ Halpern, J. M. (1967) *A Serbian Village*. New York: Harper & Row

Albania (Gheg Albanians: 3-,4-,3+,5,-,4-;-1)

In Albania, betrothal in early childhood was probably customary from the late 17th century till at least the early twentieth (Durham, 1908:p458-9)³³⁰. In 1946, "Infant betrothal was outlawed with severe punishment meted out to those who persisted in the practice"³³¹.

Additional refs:

-- CRLP (2000) *Women of the World: Laws and Policies Affecting Their Reproductive Lives: East Central Europe*, p13-30

³³⁰ Durham, M. E. (1910) High Albania and its Customs in 1908, *J Royal Anthropol Instit Great Britain & Ireland* 40:453-72

³³¹ Fischer, B. J. (1999) Albanian Highland Tribal Society and Family Structure in the Process of Twentieth Century Transformation, *East European Quart* 33,3:281-301

Bulgaria

A Bulgarian sample of children's erotic folklore was collected by Badalanova (1993, 1995, 1996)³³². For a note on formal sexual education, see Grassel and Bach (1979:p296-7)³³³. "After the baby has arrived the children are told that the stork has brought a little brother or sister to them through the chimney and they are very glad about it", was the way a proud father phrased the matter in the course of our conversation about the arrival of his son" (Sanders, 1949:p31)³³⁴. Premarital liberties are very few (p83, 147).

Siposova et al. (1999)³³⁵ studied the psychosexual development of heterosexuals vs. homosexuals. In a further study³³⁶ of 96 Varna girls aged 15-18, it was established that 50% of them had had a sexual intercourse, in 77.1% defloration occurred at the age of 16 or 17. 82.3% report "love" as their main motive, 12.5% report to have done it "out of curiosity" and only in 7.2% it happened "by chance".

Additional refs.:

-- Porozhanova, V., Bozhinova, S., Goranov, M. & Georgiev, G. (1990) [Premature sexual activity among girls and an attempt at sex education], *Akush Ginekolog* [Sofia] 29,2:53-7

³³² Badalanova, F. K. (1993) *Folklore Erotikon*, Vol. 1. Edited by Impressario & Publishing House "ROD", Sofia. Ch. 2.3; Badalanova, F. K. (1995) *Folklore Erotikon*, Vol. 2. Edited by Impressario & Publishing House "ROD", Sofia. Ch.4; Badalanova, F. K. (1996) *Folklore Erotikon*, Vol. 3. Edited by Impressario & Publishing House "ROD", Sofia. Ch. 21

³³³ Grassel, H. & Bach, K. R. (1979) *Kinder- & Jugendsexualität*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften

³³⁴ Sanders, I. (1949) *Balkan Village*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press

³³⁵ Siposova, M., Heretik, A. & Ondrisova, S. (1999) Sexualna orientacia, myty a fakty [Sexual orientation, myths and facts], *Ceska & Slovenska Psychia* 95,6:406-13

³³⁶ Vasileva P, Iustinianova B. (1998) [The loss of virginity and sexual activity in adolescence], *Akush Ginekolog* [Sofia] 37,3:46-8. See also an earlier study: Vasilev, D. & Rushkarska, S. (1990) [Defloration (a sociomedical study)], *Akush Ginekolog* [Sofia] 29,4:56-64

Greece³³⁷ [IES] (eHRAF)

Agrafiotis and Mandi (1997)³³⁸ stated:

“Sexual exploration by children in nursery school between ages 3 to 5 has been observed. The first discoveries are connected with gender and take place mainly among peers. Different kinds of games (playing doctor and nurse, mother and father, king and queen) imitate adult roles, sometimes producing specific pleasure connected with stimulation of the genitals. Later on, at the age of 10 or 11 years, children’s interest is focused on details and confirmation of earlier knowledge on gender differences. At the prepubertal age, they are usually engaged in self-pleasuring activities that occur either in pairs or in groups of peers of the same and other gender, as well as alone”.

Data on masturbation do not seem to be present. Surprisingly, “[e]ven today, sexual education is not included in the school curriculum, although sporadic knowledge is given as part of lessons in such subjects as anthropology”, although some initiatives have been made toward a more comprehensive coverage.

“It is not an exaggeration to say that in Greece, sexual education is not the target of any systematic and well-planned governmental program. Even today, sexual education is not included in the school curriculum, although sporadic knowledge is given as part of lessons in such subjects as anthropology. However, this knowledge concerns more elements of physiology and anatomy than references to the external genital organs, the sexual relationship, or the search for and existence of pleasure in connection with the body and sexuality”.

In an additional study³³⁹, preschool staff groups in Greece and Scotland differed in the extent to which they thought families and preschool establishments should provide sex education, the age at which it should start and the requirements for staff participation.

“Premarital sexual activities, especially in large cities, are not any longer socially condemned, and sexual intercourse begins between the ages of 14 to 17. Research showed that the most frequent types of contact are through hugging, deep (open mouth) kissing, petting above and below the waist, sleeping together (without sexual intercourse), and oral and vaginal sex”.

Papadopoulos et al. (2000)³⁴⁰ offers some data on sexual development.

Loizos (1991:p227)³⁴¹: “Boys are warned that masturbation causes mental illness, an association which can be traced to Victorian medical ideology (Caplan 1987a:4; 1987b:286–289)”.

Campbell (1964: p158-9)³⁴²:

³³⁷ See also →Ancient Greece

³³⁸ Agrafiotis, D. & Mandi, P. (1997) Greece, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Quoted from the online edition

³³⁹ 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

³⁴⁰ Papadopoulos, N. et al. (2000) The psychosexual development of university students: a nationwide survey in Greece *J Psychol & Hum Sex* 11,4:93-110

³⁴¹ Loizos, P. (1991) Gender, sexuality, and the person in Greek culture, in *Contested Identities*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, p221-34

³⁴² Campbell, J. K. (1964) *Honour, Family and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

"[...] from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame [...]. No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority".

Cyprus

Additional refs:

-- Georgiou, G. J. (2001) Cyprus, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.in chief) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Vol. 4. New York: Continuum. Online ed.

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Non-Aboriginal Australia

A proposal has been advanced by the New South Wales (Australia) Antidiscrimination Board to establish 14 as the age of consent to sexual relations for both sexes¹. The current age of consent would be variable for territories but typically 16 for all categories (Graupner, 2000)². Coates (1997)³ states:

“There is little information available about types of sexual behavior and whether patterns of sexual experimentation have changed. However, anecdotal reporting indicates that Australian children are no different from children in other countries and engage in sexual rehearsal play. This is conventionally curbed by witnessing adults, although enlightened parents will take the opportunity to educate their children about private and public, acceptable and unacceptable, behavior. Many parents will tell their children that it is acceptable to engage in self-pleasuring as long as they confine it to the privacy of the bedroom. It is not customary for children to witness adult sexual interactions nor for children to be initiated in to sexual activity by an adult”.

“Each state and territory, through their respective education authority, has a curriculum that provides for personal development and education in sexuality. These have been developed by experienced educators and offer well-rounded, age-related programs for both primary and secondary education. The implementation of such programs, however, is variable and no child in Australia is guaranteed a consistent and continuing sexuality education”.

“Biology and reproductive sexuality is generally offered before the emotional aspects of human sexuality, although personal safety and the concept of invasion of private “space” is suggested for the 6- and 7-year-olds. Information on gender identity and sexual orientation is suggested for secondary school students at about 15 and 16 years of age”.

“Results of a survey of 2,000 respondents aged 16 to 25 years suggest that adolescents are probably more sexually experienced than their parents were at the same age (McCabe and Collins 1990)[⁴]. Intercourse is occurring at an earlier age than ten years ago and in greater numbers. The mean age of first intercourse is about 16 years, and by the age of 18, nearly 60 percent of young people report that they are sexually active. There is also a reported increase in the number of sexual partners at a given age. Casual sex is still an important part of adolescent sexual activity, although most sexual experience in adolescents probably occurs in the context of a steady relationship. Explanations for the initiation of sexual intercourse include curiosity, peer pressure, and the need to be loved. The rates of sexual experience are greater in males than in females (Dunne et al 1993[⁵]; Cubis 1992[⁶]). Peer pressure from

¹ Baker, C. (1983) The “Age of Consent” Controversy: Age and Gender as Social Practice, *Austr & New Zeal J Sociol* 19,1:96-112

² Graupner, H. (2000) Sexual consent: The criminal law in Europe and overseas, *Arch Sex Behav* 29,5:415-61

³ Coates, R. (1997) Australia, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Vol. 1. Quoted from the online edition

⁴ McCabe, M. P., & Collins, J. K. (1990) *Dating, Relating and Sex*. Sydney: Horwitz Grahame

⁵ Dunne, M. et al. (1992-3) *HIV Risk & Sexual Behaviour Survey in Australian Secondary Schools*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service

⁶ Cubis, J. (1992) Contemporary Trends in Adolescent Sexual Behaviour in Australia, in Kosky, R., Eshkevari, H.S. & Kneebone, G. (Eds.) *Breaking Out: New Challenges in Adolescent Mental Health*. Canberra: National Health and Medical Research Council

boys is strong and many young women report that their first experience of intercourse was not a positive one".

Australian childhood sexual thinking was studied by Goldman and Goldman's (1981; etc.)⁷ comparative work. Goldman and Goldman later (1988)⁸ added to these data with a study on behaviour.

Among 308 Year 10 girls (mostly aged 15 or 16) in Sydney, 18% were sexually active, and the mean age at first intercourse was 14.5 years⁹. According to a 1995 study among technical college students, the mean age of first sexual intercourse was 16, range 12-23 (1.2% at age 12, 5.1% at age 13, 14.2% at age 14)¹⁰.

Historical Observations

During "Victorian" days, children's "sexuality" (finger-sucking, masturbation) was declared unnatural, and a known cause of mental and physical degeneration as well as crime (Kociumbas, 1997)¹¹. Kociumbas¹² analyses children's literature used in Australia in the years prior to 1914, noting the dominant themes of hard work and religious purity, the superstitious treatment of sexuality, and the resultant effects on the development of sex roles among children. In Victoria, Australia the age of sexual consent was raised from 12 to 16 in 1909 (Tyler, 1986)¹³.

⁷; 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, R. & Goldman, J. (1982) Children's perceptions of length of gestation period, the birth exit, and birth necessity explanations, *J Biosoc Sci* 14:109-21; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1982) How children perceive the origin of babies and the roles of mothers and fathers in procreation: a cross-national study, *Child Developm* 53:491-504; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1983) Children's perceptions of sex differences in babies and adolescents: a cross-national study, *Arch Sex Behav* 12,4:277-94; Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1984) An overview of children's sexual thinking: a comparative study of Australian, English, North-American and Swedish 5-15-year olds, in Segraves, R. & Haeberle, E. J. (Eds.) *Emerging Dimensions of Sexology*. New York: Praeger, p57-67; Goldman, J. (1990) Children's sexual thinking: a research basis for sex education in schools, in Perry, M. E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Sexology*. Vol. 7. Amsterdam; Elsevier, p211-31. Further work by the authors includes Goldman, R. & Goldman, D. (1988) The prevalence & nature of child sexual abuse in Australia, *Austr J Sex, Marr & Fam* 9:49-106

⁸ Goldman, R. & Goldman, J. (1988) *Show Me Yours! Understanding Children's Sexuality*. New York: Viking / Penguin

⁹ Kang, M. & Zador, D. (1993) Sexual behavior and contraceptive practices of year 10 schoolgirls in inner metropolitan Sydney, *Austr J Marr Fam* 14:137-42

¹⁰ Grunseit, A. C. & Richters, J. (1999) Age at first intercourse in an Australian national sample of technical college students, *Aust N Z J Publ Health* 24:11-6

¹¹ Kociumbas, J. (1997) *Australian Childhood: A History*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin

¹² Kociumbas, J. (1986) "What Alyce Learned at Nine": Sexuality and Sex Roles in Children's Literature to 1914, *Hist Educ Rev [Australia]* 15,2:18-36

¹³ Tyler, D. (1986) The case of Irene Tuckerman: understanding sexual violence and the protection of women and girls, Victoria 1890-1925, *Hist Educ Rev [Australia]* 15,2: 52-67

Canada

Sutherland (2000:p106, *orig. footnotes maintained*)¹⁴:

“At that time [1890] the beliefs and teaching on sexual practices held that masturbation was extremely harmful to those who indulged in it¹⁵. Middle-class parents and managers of institutions for boys, therefore, were constantly on the watch to prevent it. Thus this fear structured the whole character of over a third of each and every day that a boy spent in the reformatory. In the opinion of its superintendent, ‘half the boys throughout the towns and villages in the country’ were masturbators¹⁶. He also believed that the ‘cottage system’ being promoted by some reformers to provide inmates in institutions with a family-like environment was wrong because it could not provide proper surveillance. On the other hand, Superintendent McKinnon of the Victoria Industrial School – which was organized on the ‘cottage system’ – stated that, while he would not claim he had ‘succeeded in stamping out masturbation completely’ in his school, he thought it was ‘nearly at an end.’¹⁷”

Desjardins (1994)¹⁸ analysed 1940-1960 Québec teenage masturbation discourses.

Contemporary social conflicts over parent-child relationships, especially concerning child sexuality, were analysed by Lee (1982)¹⁹, drawing on various Canadian studies from the 1960s and 1970s.

In one study (Prescott et al., 1980)²⁰, 31% of American males, 33% of American females, 38% of French-Canadian males and 36% of French-Canadian females reported engaging in childhood masturbation (p179). In a study by Shymko (1979)²¹, only 9.1% of male Canadian adolescents stated sex education was received in elementary school through grade 11, opposing 25.1% of females (see also Morin-Ribardière, 1980)²².

Barrett et al. (1997)²³:

“All provinces and territories have school programs that include sexuality education although the content, and extent of implementation, varies considerably between provinces and within different parts of the same province. [...] There have been only a few national surveys of the availability of sexuality

¹⁴ Sutherland, N. (2000) *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press

¹⁵ See Michael Bliss, “Pure Books on Avoided Subjects”: Pre-Freudian Sexual Ideas in Canada,’ *CHA, Report*, 1970, pp. 89–108; Bryan Strong, ‘Ideas of the Early Sex Education Movement in America, 1890–1920,’ *HEQ*, XII (Summer 1972), pp. 129–61.

¹⁶ *Report... into the Prison and Reformatory System*, p. 475

¹⁷ 73 *Ibid.*, p. 478; see also the comments of William W. Murray, the superintendent of the State Industrial School, Rochester, New York, *ibid.*, pp. 785–6.

¹⁸ Desjardins, G. (1994) Les enchaînements tyranniques du vice solitaire: le geste et les conséquences, *Rev Sexol* 2,2

¹⁹ Lee, J. A. (1982) Three Paradigms of Childhood, *Rev Canad Sociol & Anthropol/ Canad Rev Sociol & Anthropol* 19,4:591–608

²⁰ Prescott, J. W., Levy, J. & Wallace, D. (1980) Affectional deprivation in childhood and adolescence in the United States and Quebec, Canada: a cross-cultural study of sexual alienation and violence, in Forleo, R. & Pasini, W. (Ed.) *Medical Sexology*. Amsterdam [etc.]: Elsevier, p169–81

²¹ Shymko, D. L. (1979) The sources of sexual information of a sample of Canadian adolescents, in Cook, M. & Wilson, G. (Eds.) *On Love and Attraction*. Oxford [etc.]: Pergamon Press, p353–375

²² Morin-Ribardière, C. (1980) L’éducation sexuelle au Québec: un bébé rampant et muselé, in Samson, J. (Ed.) *Childhood & Sexuality: Proceedings of the International Symposium*. Montreal: Editions Etudes Vivantes, p306–10

²³ Barrett, M. et al. (1997) Canada, in Francoeur, R. T. (Ed.) *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. New York: Continuum. Vol. 1. Quoted from the online edition

education in Canadian schools (for reviews, see Barrett 1990; 1994)^[24] and no detailed national studies of the classroom content of sexuality education that would indicate the extent to which provincial guidelines and curricula are translated into classroom programming”.

As for informal sources,

“In general, there is a developmental shift that occurs in the relative place of family, peers, and media sources during adolescence. Between about grade nine (13 to 15 years of age) and grade eleven (16 to 17 years of age) peer influence rises to top rank and that of family decreases in importance, in some cases even outranked by the more impersonal media (e.g., print materials). In addition, at least for university women, mothers in particular have been a potential source of information and influence in matters of sexuality”.

According to a study by Otis et al. (1990)²⁵, among Francophone versus Anglophone high school girls however, differences were apparent in terms of intercourse experience (61.5 percent vs. 30.1 percent), number of lifetime partners (2.8 vs. 1.8), use of the birth control pill (56 percent vs. 22 percent) and use of condoms (30.9 percent vs. 83.7 percent). These differences may reflect more long-standing relationships or sexual experience among francophone girls (age at first intercourse was 14.9 vs. 15.7)

Changes in the Canadian Criminal Code in 1987 expanded the old provision that prohibited sexual intercourse with a person under 14 to include the following category of sexual interference: “Every person who, for a sexual purpose, touches, directly or indirectly, with a part of the body or with an object, any part of the body of a person under the age of fourteen is guilty of an indictable offense and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years or is guilty of an offense punishable on summary conviction”. Since children under 14 are not assumed to be able to give consent, “it is not a defense that the complainant consented to the activity that forms the subject matter of the charge” (MacDonald, 1994, 16). MacDonald (1994) notes that the prohibition on sexual activity with a person under 14 does not apply if, “the child is at least twelve years old, is consenting, and the other person involved is less than two years older than the child and is not in a position of trust, authority or support toward the child” (MacDonald, 1994, 17). In addition, there is a statute on “invitation to sexual touching,” which makes it an offense “to invite, counsel, or incite a person under fourteen to touch him/herself or any other person, directly or indirectly, if the invitation is made for a sexual purpose. For example, it is a criminal offense to suggest that a young boy masturbate for the voyeuristic pleasure of the person making the suggestion”. See (MacDonald, 1994:p16), as cited by Barrett et al. (1997).

In the period 1940-1960, attitudes toward masturbation were significantly liberalised as the traditional repressive religious morality lost ground²⁶. Instead, masturbation came to be seen as an action that reflected the ordinary psychological confusion & hormonal changes of adolescence. These changes, in turn, reflect a change in attitudes toward adolescence itself, as well as the development of a new definition of sexual normality in Quebec.

²⁴ Barrett, M. (1990) Selected Observations on Sex Education in Canada, *SIECCAN J* 5,1:21-30; Barrett, M. (1994) Sexuality Education in Canadian Schools: An Overview in 1994, *Canad J Hum Sex* 3,3:199-207

²⁵ Otis, J., Gaston, G., Lambert, J. & Pronovest, R. (1990) *Adolescents and Condom Use: The Difference Between Contraception and STD/AIDS Prevention*. 6th International Conference on AIDS, San Francisco. Unpublished data in text is derived from this study.

²⁶ Desjardins, G. (1994) Les Enchainements tyranniques du vice solitaire: le geste et les consequences, *Rev Sexol* 2, 2:7-22

Thomas (1987)²⁷ reports on an interview study with 77 mothers of 4-6 year olds, mapping attitudes toward sexuality.

Additional refs.:

-- Gleason, M. (1999) Embodied negotiations: Children's bodies and historical change in Canada, 1930 to 1960, *J Canad Stud* 34,1:112-3

²⁷ Thomas, D. R. (1987) Authoritarianism and child-rearing practices, *Austral Psychologist* 22,2:197-201

*Geo- and Ethnographic Indices*¹

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Ethnographic Index

¹ Due to methods of compilation these indices are non-interactive. In *Acrobat Reader* please use bookmarks or search option (CTRL+f) to look up specific locations or tribal entities.

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| Dakarkaki | Gusii | Kadara |
| Dakota | Hambukushu | Kaffa (Kafa) |
| Damara. <i>See</i> Bergdama | Hausa | Kafir |
| Dani | Hawai'i | Kagaba |
| Darabi | Hehe | Kagoro |
| Darod | Herero | Kaguru |
| Dayak | Highland Scots | Kagwahiv |
| Didinga | Hill Maria | Kaingángs |
| Dinka | Hill Saoras | Kajji |
| Dobe Ju/'Hoansi | Hima | Kalingas |
| Dobu Isl. | Hmong [including | Kaluli |
| Dogons | American Hmong] | Kamba |
| Dusun | Hopi | Kanuri |
| Edo | Hottentots | Kaonde |
| Efik | Hovas | Karanga |
| Eipo | Huichol | Karapalpak |
| Embera | Huli | Karogo |
| Endeh | Hunsa | Kaska |
| Engano Island | Huron | Kavirondo (Nilotic K.). <i>See</i> |
| Etap | Iban | Luo |
| Eton. <i>See</i> Beti | Ibibio | Kayabí |
| Etoro | Ibo | Kayans |
| Ewe | Ifaluk | Kazach |
| Fali | Ifugao | Keraki |

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Kewa | Lugbara/Lugbwara/Lugwari | Mouktélé |
| Kgalagari | Luguru | Mukete |
| Kgatla | Lugwari | Mundurucu |
| KhoeKhoe / Khoikhoin | Luimi | Muria |
| Khoisan. <i>See</i> San | Lunda | Muyaka |
| Kickapoo | Luo | Mvae |
| Kikui / Kikuyu | Luvale | Myanmar(Burmese) |
| Kiowa-Apache | M'wemba | N'Jemp |
| Kipsigis | Machiguenga | Nagas |
| Kiwai | Majangir | Nahua |
| Kiziba | Maka | Nama Hottentot |
| Klamath | Makonde | Nambikwara |
| Koalib | Malay | Nambyans |
| Kofjar | Mambwe | Nandi |
| Kogi | Mandari | Navajo |
| Koko | Mandaya | Nayar |
| Kokomba | Mangaia | Ndembu |
| Kore | Mangbetu | Ndyuka |
| Kpelle | Manjak | Negritos |
| Krobo | Mantagnais/ Naskapi | New Britain |
| Kua Bushmen | Manus | New Ireland |
| Kuba | Maori | Ngada |
| Kuku | Maragoli | Ngindo |
| Kuranko | Marghi | Ngoni |
| Kurds | Marind Anim | Ngulu |
| Kuria | Marquesans | Ngwana |
| Kurtatchi | Marshall Isl. | Nharo |
| Kutenai | Marutze. <i>See</i> Lozi | Nicorbarese |
| Kwahu (Akan) | Masai/ Maasai | Nimar Bahalis |
| Kwakiutl | Massawa | Nkole |
| Kwere | Matabele | Nkonde |
| Kwoma | Mataco | Nkoya |
| Kyiribra | Maya | Nkudu |
| Lake Nyasa | Mbaise Igbo | Nkundo / Nkundo Mongo |
| Lakka Lala | Mbo | Nootka |
| Lakota | Mbum | Normanby Islanders |
| Lalia-Ngolu | Mbundu | North American Armenians |
| Lambas | Mbuti | North American Hasidic |
| Lango | Mehinaku | Jews |
| Lapps (<i>see</i> Saami) | Mende | North American Hmong |
| Lega | Menominee | Northern Tungus |
| Lemba | Mentawaians | Nso' |
| Lenda | Meru | Nuba |
| Lepcha | Mewun | Nubians |
| Lesu | Mexican Americans | Nuer |
| Limbu | Minangkabaus | Nupe |
| Lingayats | Mixtecans | Nya Hön |
| Lobedu | Mohave | Nyakyusa |
| Lodha | Mormons | Nyamwezi |
| Lozi | Moroa | Ojibwa |
| Luba. <i>See</i> Baluba | Mossi | Okrika |

- | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Olivos (Andalusian Pueblo) | Sedang | Tikopia |
| Omaha | Semai | Timbira |
| Ona | Senoufo | Tinglit |
| Ordos Mongols | Serbian Americans | Tiriki |
| Orri | Serbs | Tiv |
| Ovambos | Shambala | Tobelorese |
| Paiela | Shanti. <i>See</i> Akan | Todas |
| Paiute | Sharanahua | Tofoke |
| Palauans | Shavante | Tonga Isl. |
| Pangwe | Shilluk | Tonga |
| Papago | Shipibo | Toradja |
| Parakuyo | Shona | Toucouleur |
| Pashtun | Shortland Isl. | Trobrianders |
| Pawnee | Shoshone | Trukese |
| Pedi Peul. <i>See</i> Fulani | Shuswap | Trumaí |
| Pilagá | Shuwalbe Fulani | Tshidi Barolong |
| Point Barrow | Sinhalese | Tshi-speaking people |
| Pokomo | Sioux | Tswana |
| Pomo | Siriono | Tuareg |
| Ponape | Sisala. <i>See</i> Isala | Tucano |
| Pondo | Siuai | Tuken |
| Poró | So | Tupinambá |
| Powhatans | Solomon Isl. | Turks |
| Pukapukans | Somali | Turu |
| Punjabi | Sotho. <i>See</i> Pedi | Twi. <i>See</i> Ashanti |
| Purum | Soumoo | Tzeltal |
| Qemant | Suba | Udhuk |
| Qipi | Subiya | Ulithi |
| Quineault | Sukuma | Urhobo |
| Ra'Ivavae | Sula Islanders | Ute |
| Rājpūts | Sulod | Uttar Pradesh |
| Ramcocramecra | Sundanese | Vagla |
| Rega | Suto | Valave |
| Riffian | Swahili | Valenge |
| Riffians | Swasi | Vanatinai |
| Rotuman | Tahiti | Vanuatu |
| Rukuba | Tallensi | Vaupé |
| Saami (Lapps) | Tanala | Veda |
| Sabey | Tanna | Venda |
| Sagada Igorots | Tapirapé | Vietnamese |
| Sambia | Tarahumara | Wageia |
| Samburu | Tebu | Wagenia |
| Samoa | Teda | Wahiwé |
| Samoyed | Teheulche | Wai-Wai |
| San Ildefonso | Teita | Wanguru |
| San | Telugu | Warao |
| Sanpoil | Tenetehara | Warega. <i>See</i> Lega |
| Santals | Tepoztlán | Wari' |
| Sara | Tetela | Wa-Sania |
| Saramakans | Thai | Wogeo |
| Sebei | Thonga | Wolof |

Xesibe
Xhosa / Urbanised Xhosa
Xokleng
Yahgan
Yakoe
Yakuts
Yanomamö
Yao
Yapese
Yaruros
Yokuts
Yombe
Yoruba
Yurok
Zande
Zapotec
Zaramo. *See* Luguru
Zimba
Zorcas
Zulu
Zuñi

SCCS Tables¹

The following Tables are manual adaptations from various articles from *Ethnology* journal (using paper versions rather than digital versions in the Archive), and are reproduced here with kind permission of the Editor. Other formats were derived using the Corrected Version of the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample Database (2002)², SPSS for Windows v11.0.0, and Adobe Acrobat 5.0 Distiller. To accommodate a wider amount of (older) data, such as those by Whiting and Child, and Ford and Beach, the original format was chosen for inclusion here. The (manual) composite variables (extreme right of *Table 1*) and adapted variables (“Sexual Restraint” for “Adolescence”), as well as the Summary *Table* (2) can of course be manufactured by the same Database. The scale of Childhood Sexual Restraint measures equals that of the original 1-5 measure (1976), unlike that of the 2002 Digital Database.

Table 1

Phase- and Gender Specific Sexual Restraint and Other Sexological Measures for the SCCS

Table 2

Sexual (Non-) Restraint: Summary

¹ Adapted with kind permission of the Editor of *Ethnology* journal.

² Khaltourina, D., Korotayev, A. & Divale, W. (2002) A Corrected Version of the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample Database, *World Cultures* 13,1:62-98

Table 1

SCCS Phase- and Gender Specific Sexual Restraint and Other Sexological Measures³

*4		Sexual Restraint						ASE ⁵		I ⁶	Alternative			SCCS	
		7				8					Codes			composite	
		BE	GE	BL	GL	BA	GA	B	G		9	Σch ¹⁰	ks ¹¹	Trans. ¹²	GD ¹³
1*	Nama Hottentot	2	2	3-	3-	3	3	8	5	d5, 3		9+	E	2/1	0/0/0
2*	!Kung Bushmen	3+	3+	3+	3+	4	4	2	2		3	13+		0/2	0/0/0
3*	Thonga	-	-	-	-	3	3	5	5	G2		-	C	-/?	-/-/0
4*	Lozi	3-	3-	3-	3-	2	2	6	4	G3		11-		0/-2	0/0/0
5*	Mbundu	3+	3+	3+	3+	3+	3+	5	5		2	13+		0/0	0/0/0
6*	Suku	-	-	3-	3-	3	3+	2	2	B4		-		-/1-2	-/0/1
7*	Bemba	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	5			-		-/?	-/-/0
8*	Nyakyusa	2+	2+	2	3-	3	3	5	5	G3		9+		(-1)-1/3-1	0/2/0
9*	Hadza/Kindiga	2	2	2	2	2-	2-	8	8			8		0/-1	0/0/0
10*	Luguru	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	5	D2		8		0/0	0/0/0
11*	Kikuyu	2+	3	3	4-	4	4	5	5			12		2/3-1	2/2/0
12*	Ganda	3-	3-	3-	3-	2	3	5	5		1	11-	F	0/(-2)-1	0/0/3
13*	Mbuti	2	2	2	2	2	2	8	8		1	8		0/0	0/0/0
14*	Nkundo Mongo	2	2	2	2	3-	2	8	8			8		0/2-0	0/0/-2
15*	Banen	2-	2-	2+	2+	3+	4	4	1			8		2/3-5	0/0/2
16*	Tiv	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-		-/-	-/-/-
17*	Ibo/Igbo	2	2	2	3	-	4	-	2			9		0-3/3(g)	0/3/?
18*	Fon/Dahomey	2	2	3-	3	4	4	5	5		3	10-		2-3/4-3	0/1/0
19*	Ashanti/Twi	2	2+	3	3+	3+	4-	2	2	G3		11-	AB	3/1	1/1/1
20*	Mende	3	3	3	3	2	4-	5	2	d4,1		12		0/(-3)-2	0/0/5

³ Grey colour (N=16) signifies data for only one, or none, phase, making curricular arguments impossible.

⁴ Coverage in Atlas (Volume II). Lateral remarks may be made on nonindicated societies. See Index.

⁵ Adolescent sexual expression, acc. *ibid.*, orig. scale

⁶ Initiations, "intended for or clearly results in the initiation of [hetero]sexual relations", according to Schlegel, A. & Barry III, H. (1979) Adolescent initiation ceremonies: a cross-cultural code, *Ethnology* 18,2:199-210. D=both genders. Timing (b,g): (1) "before genital maturation", (2) "at the first signs of genital maturation", (3) "at" genital maturation, (4) "within one year of genital maturation", (5) "later" than this, (?) unspecified.

⁷ Barry, H. III, Josephson, E. et al. (1976) Traits inculcated in childhood: cross-cultural codes 5, *Ethnology* 15:83-114 [p84-93]. BE=Boys, early childhood; GL= Girls, late childhood [etc.]

⁸ Barry, H. III & Schlegel, A. (1984) Measurements of adolescent sexual behavior in the standard sample of societies, *Ethnology* 23,4:315-29. Adolescent sexual restraint, BA=Boys, adolescence [etc.]. Readapted from nonrestraint measure to 1-5 scale.

⁹ Selected variables: (1) sex talk in front of children (SCCS); (2) sex talk open except in front of children (SCCS); (3) nonhygienic intergenerational genital touching (acc DJ; cf. GUS Vol. II, chapter 9); (5) "sexuality" ("sexual capacity or attractiveness") "principle focus" of the ceremony; b=boy, g=girl (SCCS). Adapted from Broude, G. J. & Greene, S. J. (1976) Cross-cultural codes on twenty sexual attitudes and practices, *Ethnology* 5,4:409-29, column 1, and Schlegel and Barry III (1979), *op.cit.*, and preparatory review material by the author.

¹⁰ Summation of BE, GE, BL and GL, + and - counted as 0.33; theoretical range 4-20

¹¹ Sexual activity of children, as adapted from Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. A. (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. NY: Paul J Hoeber, Inc., p167-98, by De Leeuwe, J. (1970) Society system and sexual life, *Bijdr Taal- Land- & Volkenk* [Dutch] 126:1-36, see p28-32. A= wholly and explicitly forbidden; B= (some) sexual activities forbidden to children, but premarital heterosexual activities permitted to persons other than children; C= coition forbidden for the period before puberty; E= wholly and explicitly permitted; F= children are permitted to be present during sexual activities of older persons and/or are allowed to participate in older people's conversation on sexual matters

¹² Sexual restraint transitionality. x=both genders, a-b=boy-girl; i/ii=early to late childhood/late childhood to adolescence

¹³ Gender Differences in sexual restraint. x=SRboy<SRgirl; a/b/c=Ech/LCh/A

21*	Wolof	3	3	3	3+	4	4	2	2			12+	C	0-1/3-2	0/1/0
22*	Bambara	2	2	3-	3+	2	2	8	8	D1		10		2-4/(-2)-(-4)	0/2/0
23*	Tallensi	2	2	2+	2+	2	3-	8	8		1	11-		1/(-1)-1	0/0/2
24	Songhai	2+	2+	3	3+	2	2	8	2			11		2-3/(-3)-(-4)	0/1/0
25*	Pastoral Fulani	1	1	3-	3	2-	2-	8	8			8-		4-5/(-3)-(-2)	0/1/0
26*	Hausa	2	2	2+	3-	4+	4+	4	4			9		1-2/6-5	0/1/0
27	Massa (Masa)	2	2	2	3-	2	2	8	8			9-		0-2/0-(-2)	0/2/0
28*	Azande	2	-	2+	3+	2-	2-	7	7	B?		-		1-?/(-2)-(-1)	?/3/0
29	Fur (Darfur)	2-	2	2-	2	2-	2-	8	8			7+		0/0-(-1)	1/1/0
30*	Otoro Nuba	2+	2+	3	3	2+	3	4	2	D2		11-		2/-2-0	0/0/2
31*	Shilluk	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-			8		0/?	0/0/-
32	Mao	2+	3-	2+	3+	-	4-	2	2			11-		0-2/1(g)	1/3/?
33*	Kaffa (Kafa)	2+	3	3	5	4	4	4	4			13+		2-5/3-(-2)	2/5/0
34*	Masai	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	B5		8	CE	0/?	0/0/-
35	Konso	2+	3	3	3+	3-	3-	6	6			12-		2-1/-1-(-2)	2/1/0
36*	Somali	3	3+	3	4	4	4	1	1			13+		0-2/3-0	1/3/0
37*	Amhara	2	2	3+	4-	2	2	6	1			11		4-5/-4-(-5)	0/1/0
38	Bogo	3	4	3	4	-	4	-	1			14		0/0(g)	3/3/?
39*	Kenuzi Nubians/ Barabra	2	4	3	5	3+	4	4	1			14		3-2/1-(-2)	6/5/2
40*	Teda	-	-	3	4	3-	4	4	1			-		?/-1-0	?/3/2
41*	Tuareg/Ahaggaren	2	2	2+	2+	2	2	5	5			9-		1/-1	0/0/0
42*	Riffians	3	3	3	4	4	4	2	2			13		0-3/3-0	0/3/0
43*	Egyptians/Fellahin	2	2+	3+	4	4+	4+	2	0			12-		4-5/3-1	½/0
44	Hebrews	3	3	-	5	-	4+	3	1			-		?-5/-1(g)	0/?/?
45	Babylonians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-		-/-	-/-/-
46	Rwala Bedouin	3	3	3	4	-	4-	-	2			13		0-3/-1(g)	0/3/?
47*	Turks	3	3	4	4+	4	4	5	2		3	14+		3-4/0-(-1)	0/1/0
48	Gheg Albanians	3-	4-	3+	5	-	4-	-	1			15-		2-3/-3(g)	3/4/?
49*	Romans	3	3	3	4	3	4	5	2			13		0-3/0	0/3/3
50	Spanish Basques	3	3	3+	3+	4-	4-	2	2			13-		0-1/0	0/0/0
51*	Irish	3	3	3+	4-	4-	4	2	2			13		1-2/1	0/1/1
52*	K. Lapps	3	3	3	3	2-	2	8	8			12		0/-4-(-3)	0/0/1
53	Yurak Samoyed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-		-/-	-/-/-
54*	Russians	3+	3+	3+	3+	-	-	-	-			13+		0/?	0/0/-
55	Abkhaz	-	3	-	4+	4+	4+	1	1			-		4(g)/0(g)	?/?/0
56	Armenians	-	-	-	4+	3-	4	-	-			-		?-/-1(b)	-/?/2
57*	Kurds	3	3	3	4	4-	4	4	1			13		0-3/2-0	0/3/1
58	Basseri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-		-/-	-/-/-
59*	West Punjabi	3-	3-	3+	4+	4	4	2	2			13		2-5/2-(-1)	0/3/0
60*	Maria Gond	2	2	2	2	2	2	8	8			8		0/0	0/0/0
61*	Toda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	G1	1	-		-/-	-/-/-
62*	Santal	2+	2+	3-	3-	2	3	6	4	B1		10		1/-2-(-1)	0/0/3
63	Uttar Pradesh	3	3+	3+	4	4	4+	3	1			14-		1-2/2-1	½/1
64	Burusho	2+	2+	3-	3-	4	4	2	2			10		¼	0/0/0
65*	Kazak	3	3	3	3	3	3	5	5		3	12	E	0/0	0/0/0
66*	Khalkha Mongols	3-	3-	3-	3-	-	-	-	-			11-		0/?	0/0/-
67	Lolo	2+	2+	2+	2+	2-	2-	8	8			9+		0/-2	0/0/0

68*	Lepcha	2-	2-	2	2	2-	2-	9	9		1	7+	E	1/-1	0/0/0
69*	Garó	2	2	3-	3-	3-	3-	3	3		3	9+		2/0	0/0/0
70	Lakher	2	2	2	2	3	3	5	5			8		0/3	0/0/0
71*	Burmese	2	2	3-	3-	4-	4-	2	2			9+		2/2	0/0/0
72	Lamet	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	5			-		-/?	-/-/0
73*	N. Vietnamese/ Annamese	2+	2	2+	3+	-	-	-	-			10		0-4/?	-1/3/-
74	Rhade	-	-	3	3	2	2	-	2			-		?/-3	-/0/0
75	Khmer	-	-	-	-	2-	2-	8	8			-		-/?	-/-/0
76*	Siamese/Thai	2+	2+	2+	3+	3+	3+	2	2			10+		0-3/3-0	0/3/0
77*	Semang	2	2	3-	3-	2	2	7	7			9+		2/-2	0/0/0
78*	Nicobarese	2	2	2	2	3-	3-	-	-	G3		8		0/2	0/0/0
79*	Andamanese	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	7			8		0/0	0/0/0
80*	Forest Veddá	2-	2-	2-	2-	-	-	-	-			7-		0/?	0/0/-
81	Menabé Tanala	3	3	3	3+	3	4	8	5			12+		0-1/0-2	0/1/3
82	Negri Sembilan	2	3	2	5	4	4	2	2			12		0-5/6-(-2)	3/8/0
83*	Javanese	2	2	3	3+	2-	4	1	1		3	10+		3-4/-4-2	0/1/7
84*	Balinese	2	2+	3	3+	2-	2-	8	8		1, 2	11-		3/-4-(-5)	1/1/0
85*	Iban	2	2	2+	2+	3	3	8	8		3	9-		½	0/0/0
86	T-T Badjau	2-	2-	2-	2	-	-	-	-		1	7		0/?	0/0/-
87*	Toradja	-	-	3-	3-	2	2	8	8	d4,1	3	-		?/-2	-/0/0
88	Tobeloese	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-		-/-	-/-/-
89*	Alorese	2	2	2+	2+	3	3	4	4		1, 3	9-	BE	1/2	0/0/0
90*	Tiwi	3	3	3	3	-	2	-	8			12		0/-3(g)	0/0/?
91*	Aranda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	G3		-		-/-	-/-/-
92	Orokaiva	3	3	3	3	4-	4-	5	5			12		0/2	0/0/0
93*	Kimam	-	-	2+	2+	4-	3	5	5	G3		-		?/4-2	-/0/-2
94*	Kapauku	2-	2-	3-	3-	2	2	6	6			9-		3/-2	0/0/0
95*	Kwoma	3+	3-	4	3+	3+	4-	4	2			13+	A	2/-2-1	-2/-2/1
96*	Manus	3	3	4-	4	3	3	8	8			14-	A	2-3/-2-(-3)	0/1/0
97*	Lesu	2	2	2+	2+	2	2	8	8			9-	E	1/-2-(-3)	0/0/0
98*	Trobrianders	2	2	2	2	2-	2-	8	8			8	E	0/-1	0/0/0
99*	Siuai	2	2+	2	2+	2	2	6	7			9-		1/0-(-1)	1/1/0
100*	Tikopia	3-	3-	3-	3-	3+	3+	5	5	B1		11-	EF	0/2	0/0/0
101	Bunlap	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-		-/-	-/-/-
102*	Mbau Fijians	2+	3-	3	3+	3-	3-	-	9			11+		1/-1-(-2)	2/2/0
103	Ajie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-		-/-	-/-/-
104*	Maori	2	2	2	-	2	2	8	8		1	-	E	0-7/0(b)	0/?/0
105*	Marquesans	2-	2-	2-	2-	2	2	8	8	B1	3	7-	E	0/1	0/0/0
106*	Samoans	2	-	2+	-	3	3	7	7		1	-	E	1(b)/2(b)	?/?/0
107*	M. Gilbertese	2	2	3	4-	4+	4+	1	1			11-		3-5/4-2	0/2/0
108*	J. Marshallese	2	2	2	2	2	2	8	8	d3,2	1	8	E	0/0	0/0/0
109*	Trukese	3-	3-	3+	3+	2-	2-	9	9		3	12	AF	2/-5	0/0/0
110*	Yapese	2	2	2	2	2+	3	8	5	G2		8	E	0/1-3	0/0/2
111*	Palauans	2	2+	2+	3	2	2	8	8			11-	E	1-2/-1-(-3)	½/0
112*	Ifugao	2	2	2	2	2-	2-	8	8			8	E	0/-1	0/0/0
113	Atayal	2	3	2	3	4	4	2	2			10		3/6-3	3/3/0
114	Chekiang Chinese	2	3-	3	4	4	4	1	1			12-		3-2/3-0	2/3/0
115*	Aigun Manchu	2	2	3-	3-	2-	3-	8	2		3	9+		2/-3-0	0/0/3

116*	Koreans	3+	3+	3+	4	4	4	2	1			14		0-2/2-0	0/2/0
117*	Japanese	2	2	3+	4-	3	3	5	5		3	11		4-5/-1-(-2)	4/5/0
118	Saru Ainu	3-	3-	3-	3-	2+	2+	4	4			11-		0/-1	0/0/0
119	Gilyak	2	2	2+	2+	2-	2+	8	7			9-		1/-2-0	0/0/2
120	Yukaghir	-	-	2	2	2	2	6	6			-		?/0	-/0/0
121*	R. Chukchee	2	2	2	2	2	2	8	8		1	8	B	0/0	0/0/0
122*	Ingalik	3	3	3	3	3	3	7	7			12		0/0	0/0/0
123	Aleut	2+	2+	2+	3	2	2	4	4			10		0-2/-1-(-3)	0/2/0
124*	Copper Eskimo	2-	2-	2-	2-	-	-	-	-			7-	EF	0/?	0/0/-
125	Mantagnais/ Naskapi	3	3	3	3	3	3+	2	2			12		0/0-1	0/0/1
126	Micmac	4	4	4	4	3-	4	5	1			16		0/-4-0	0/0/4
127*	North Salteaux/ Ojibwa	-	-	2	2+	3	3	5	5	G2		-		?/3-2	-/1/0
128	Slave	-	-	2	2+	2	3	8	5			-		?/0-2	-/1/3
129*	Kaska/Nahane	3+	3+	3-	3-	3+	3+	6	6	G3		12		-2/2	0/0/0
130	Eyak	-	-	-	-	4	4	2	2	G3		-		-/?	-/-/0
131	Masset Halda	2	2	2	2	2+	2+	6	6			8		0/1	0/0/0
132	Bellacoola	2	2	2+	2+	4	4	1	1	G3	1	9-		1/5	0/0/0
133	Twana	3	3	3	4-	2	4-	8	4	G3		13-		0-2/-3-0	0/2/5
134*	Yurok	2+	2+	2+	-	-	3	-	6			-		0(b)/?	0/?/?
135*	Eastern Pomo	3-	3-	3-	3-	2	2	7	5			11-		0/-2	0/0/0
136*	Lake Yokuts	3	3	3	3	-	-	8	-		3?	12		0/?	0/0/-
137*	Wadadika Paiute	3	3+	3	3+	3	3	6	5	G3		13-		0/0-(-1)	1/1/0
138*	Klamath	2+	2+	-	3+	3-	3-	2	2			-		?-3/-2(g)	0/?/0
139*	Lower Kutenai	3	3+	3	3+	3+	3+	4	4			13-		0/1-0	1/1/0
140*	Gros Ventre	2+	3+	3	4	3-	-	8	-			14-		2/-1(b)	3/3/?
141	Hidatse	2	2	2+	3-	3	3	8	8			9		1-2/2-1	0/1/0
142*	Skidi Pawnee	2	2	2+	3	3	4	5	2		1	9+		1-3/2-3	0/2/3
143*	Omaha/Dhegiha	3-	3+	3+	4	2+	3	2	2			13+		2/-3	2/2/2
144*	Huron	2	2	2	2	2-	2-	8	8			8		0/-1	0/0/0
145	Upper Creek	-	-	2+	3-	3	3	5	5			-		?/2-1	-/1/0
146	Natchez	2	2	2	2	3	3	5	5			8		0/3	0/0/0
147*	Comanche	2-	2	3	2+	3	3	5	5			9		4-1/0-2	1/-2/0
148*	Ch. (Eastern) Apache	3-	3	4	4+	3	4	1	1	B?		14	A	4/-3-(-1)	1/1/3
149*	Zuni	2	2	3-	3	2	4-	6	2			10-		2-3/-2-2	0/1/5
150	Havasupai/ Plateau Yumans	2-	2-	2+	3-	3-	3-	3	3			8+		2-3/1-0	0/1/0
151*	Papago	3-	3	3-	3+	2	3+	5	4		1	12-		0-1/-2-0	½/4
152*	Huichol	2	2	2+	2+	3-	3-	8	8			9-		1/1	0/0/0
153*	Aztec	3	4	3	5	4-	4	2	1			15		0-2/2-(-2)	3/5/1
154	Sierra Popoluca	2+	3	3-	3	-	-	-	-			11		1-0/?	2/1/-
155	Quiche	3	3	3	3	2	-	2	2			12		0/-3(b)	0/0/?
156	Miskito/Mosquito	3	3+	3	3+	-	-	-	-			13-		0/?	1/1/-
157	Bribri Talamanca	2	3	2	3	2	2	6	6			10		0/0-(-3)	3/3/0
158*	Cuna	3	3+	4-	4	4	4	2	2			14		2/-1-0	1/1/0
159	Goajiro	2+	3	3-	3	3	3	1	1	G3		11		1-0/1-0	2/1/0
160*	Haitians	2	2+	2	2+	3-	3	2	1			9-	AB	0/2	1/1/1
161	Callinago	-	-	-	-	4	4	2	2			-		-/?	-/-/0
162*	Warrau/Warao	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-			8		0/?	0/0/-
163*	Yanomamo/Yanoama	-	-	-	-	3	3	5	5	G3	3	-		-/?	-/-/0

164	Barama Carib	2-	2-	2	2	2-	2-	8	8			7+		1/-1	0/0/0
165*	Saramacca/ Bush Negroes	2	2	2	3	2	2	8	8			9		0-3/0-(-3)	0/3/0
166	Mundurucu	3-	3-	3-	3-	-	5	6	2			11-		0/6(g)	0/0/?
167*	Cubeco	2-	2-	3	2+	3	3	3	3	G3	3	9-		4-2/0-2	0/-2/0
168*	Cayapa	2+	2+	3+	3+	3	3	5	8		3	11+		3/-1	0/0/0
169*	Jivaro	-	-	3	3	3	-	5	-			-		?/0(b)	-/0/?
170*	Amahuaca	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	5			8		0/0	0/0/0
171	Inca	2	2	2	2	2-	2-	7	6			8		0/-1	0/0/0
172*	Aymara	2-	2-	2-	2-	2-	2-	8	8			7-		0/0	0/0/0
173*	Siriono	2+	2+	2+	2+	2	2	6	6	G1	3	9+	BE	0/-1	0/0/0
174*	Nambicuara	2	2	2	2	2	-	5	2		1	8		0/0(b)	0/0/?
175*	Trumai	2	2	2	2	3	3	8	5	G3	1, 3	8		0/3	0/0/0
176*	R. Timbara / Canela	2+	2+	-	-	2	2	8	8			-		?/?	0/-/0
177*	Tupinamba	-	-	2	2	4	4	2	2			-	B	?/6	-/0/0
178	Botocudo	2	2	2	2	2	2	-	-			8		0/0	0/0/0
179*	Shavante	-	-	4	3+	3+	3+	2	1			-		?/-2-0	-/-2/0
180*	Aweikoma / Caingang	2-	2-	2-	2-	2-	-	8	-		1	7-		0/0(b)	0/0/?
181*	Cayua / Guarani	2	-	2+	-	-	-	-	-			-		1(b)?	?/?/-
182	Lengua	2	2	2	2	2	2	8	8			8		0/0	0/0/0
183	Abipon	3	4	3	4	4	4	1	1	G3		14		0/3-0	3/3/0
184*	Mapuche Araucanians	3-	3-	3-	3-	2	2	7	5			11-		0/-2	0/0/0
185	Teheuiche	2	2	-	3+	2	4	5	2			-		4(g)/2(g)	0/?/6
186*	Yahgan	3+	3+	4	4	3	3	5	5		2	15-		2/-3	0/0/0
A*	Pukapukans										1				
B*	Wogeo										2				
N		156	164	154	165	155	159	154	158	n ¹⁴		147	28 ¹⁵		153/ 160/ 150
% (N/186)		83.9	88.2	82.8	88.7	83.3	85.5	82.8	84.9			79.0			
Min/max		1/4	1/4	2-/4	2-/5	2- /4+	2-/5	1-9	0-9			7-/16			
Mean	SR	3.0	3.8	3.4	4.8										
	SNR	7.0	6.6	6.2	5.2	5.9	5.1	5.2	4.4						
SD (SNR)		1.51	1.79	1.69	2.33	2.46	2.64	2.40	2.64						

¹⁴ 43 cases in 35 societies; 8D, 20G, 7B¹⁵ Total N=63

Table 2
SCCS Sexual (Non-) Restraint: Summary

¹⁶		Boys			Girls		
SNR ¹⁷ (0-10)	SR ¹⁸ (1-5)	E Ch'h ¹⁹ (330/326)	L Ch'h (331/327)	Adol. (829)	E Ch'h (332,328)	L Ch'h (333,329)	Adol. (830)
10 (lenient)	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
9	2-	14	11	20	7	4	15
8	2	67	57	45	41	32	37
7	2+	22	19	5	27	18	3
6	3-	14	14	13	25	25	9
5	3	30	32	30	41	24	32
4	3+	7	14	10	15	27	9
3	4-	-	1	7	2	6	10
2	4	1	5	21	6	18	36
1	4+	-	-	4	-	5	7
0 (severe)	5	-	-	-	-	6	1
- (missing data)		30	32	31	22	21	27
<i>N</i> ²⁰		156	164	155	154	165	159
<i>M</i> (SNR)		6.96	6.14	5.87	6.58	5.18	4.91

¹⁶ Adapted from *World Cultures*. Vol.1. Originally published by Douglas R. White. A similar format is found in SCCS Codebook: *Subsistence Economy and Supportive Practices* (1998)

[<http://www.csubak.edu/ssric/Modules/SCCS/SCCSMod/sccscb.htm>]

¹⁷ Sexual Non-Restraint (range)

¹⁸ Corresponding Sexual Restraint (range) figures. Apparently, 1+ and 5- were not rated.

¹⁹ SCCS Code numbers

²⁰ Number of societies coded. *N*tot=186

Additional Numeric and Statistic Materials on Prepubertal Sexuality/ Eroticism

Compiler's note:

This list is an addendum to the Project *Growing Up Sexually* (Nov., 2002). These references address statistical and numeric works that were encountered during GUS project but were not by definition incorporated into either volume 1 or 2 given the descriptive nature of both presentation formats. On the basis of these materials, a table was generated with the following columns: original publication year, age specificity, gender specificity, differential number of subjects, variable description, methodology, and sample. For *original*

presentations of *specific* data for pre-13 "sexual" behaviours, there were more than 430 entries; additional works offered cross-comparisons [see under "[Comparative Studies](#)"]. Similar tables were compiled with the following additional subjects, specific for pre-13 ages or age groups: psychosexual variables, eroticism, "reactive" sexual behaviours, developmental variant gender orientation and sexual milieu. The Table is not reproduced here.

Some references are reproduced here for completion sake. Note that GUS project, especially Volume II, utilises few references to numeric data for a number of reasons. First, there is the validity of methods, which is routinely questionable (can one really count what is happening? Should we instead question what *might* happen?). Secondly, there is the issue of applicability, which is commonly low (we got figures, so now what?). Thirdly, there is the issue of essentialisation: What factually happens? Do we know what we just measured? To answer this last question, I suggest we turn to theory and hypothesis first, then collect the figures accordingly. As it appears, most studies are classifiable as originating in (more or less obvious) agendas: diagnosis, comparison, intervention, and prevention.

Works

Comparative Studies

Works

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Listing of Societies in the Standard Sample

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No.	Society (SCCS)	Date	Seq.	E.A.	HRAF	q	Focus
1.	Nama Hottentot	1860	102	Aa3	FX13	a	Gei/Khauan tribe
2.	Kung Bushmen	1950	1	Aa1	FX10	a	Nyai Nyae region
3.	Thonga	1865	104	Ab4	FT6	a	Ronga subtribe
4.	Lozi	1900	103	Ab3	FQ9	a	Ruling Luyana
5.	Mbundu	1890	202	Ab5	FP13	a	Bailundo subtribe
6.	Suku	1920	731	Ac17			Feshi territory lineage center
7.	Bemba	1897	105	Ac3	FQ5	b	Zambia branch
8.	Nyakyusa	1934	208	Ad6	FN17	a	Age villages of Mwaya and Masoko
9.	Hadza	1930	726	Aa9			Tribe
10.	Luguru	1925	704	Ad14			Morogoro District
11.	Kikuyu	1920	108	Ad3	FL10	a	Fort Hall or Metume district
12.	Ganda	1875	306	Ad7	FK7	a	Kyaddondo district (V: Kampala)
13.	Mbuti	1950	202	Aa5	FO4	a	Epulu net-hunters, Ituri forest
14.	Nkundo Mongo	1930	110	Ae4	FO32	a	Ilanga group
15.	Banen	1935	830	Ae51			Ndiki subtribe
16.	Tiv	1920	116	Ah3	FF57	a	Tar of Benue Province
17.	Ibo	1935	643	Af10	FF26	a	E. Isu-Ana group of South Ibo
18.	Fon	1890	10	Af1			City and environs of Abomey
19.	Ashanti	1895	111	Af3	FE12	a	Kumasi State
20.	Mende	1945	211	Af5	FC7	a	Vicinity of town of Bo
21.	Wolof	1950	21	Cb2	MS30	a	Upper and lower Salum in Gambia
22.	Bambara	1902	12	Ag1	FA8	a	Segou to Bamako on Niger River
23.	Tallensi	1934	114	Ag4	FE11	a	Tribe
24.	Songhai	1940	122	Cb3			Bamba division
25.	Pastoral Fulani	1951	1082	Cb24			Wodaabe of Niger
26.	Hausa	1900	1084	Cb26	MS12	b	Zazzagawa of Zaria
27.	Massa (Masa)	1910	646	Ai9			Around Yagoua in Cameroon
28.	Azande	1905	117	Ai3	FO7	a	Yambio Chiefdom
29.	Fur (Darfur)	1880	875	Cb17			Jebel Marra
30.	Otoro Nuba	1930	647	Ai10			Nuba Hills
31.	Shilluk	1910	218	Ai6	FJ23	a	Kingdom
32.	Mao	1939	1062	Ai47			Northern division
33.	Kaffa (Kafa)	1905	860	Ca30			Kingdom
34.	Masai	1900	119	Aj2	FL12	c	Kisonko or S. Masai of Tanzania
35.	Konso	1935	18	Ca1			Town of Buso
36.	Somali	1900	19	Ca2	MO4	c	Dolbahanta clan or subtribe
37.	Amhara	1953	679	Ca7	MP5	a	Gondar district
38.	Bogo	1855	867	Ca37			Tribe
39.	Kenuzi Nubians	1900	24	Cd1			Kenuzi Nubians of Dahmit
40.	Teda	1950	23	Cc2	MS22		Nomads of Tibesti
41.	Tuareg	1900	880	Cc9	MS25	a	Ahaggaren tribe
42.	Riffians	1926	125	Cd3	MX3	b	Entirety: Moroccan
43.	Egyptians	1950	124	Cd2	MR13	a	Town and environs of Silwa
44.	Hebrews	- 621	230	Cj3			Kingdom of Judea
45.	Babylonians	-1750	413	Cj4			City and environs of Babylon
46.	Rwala Bedouin	1913	132	Cj2	MD4	a	Unspecified
47.	Turks	1950	653	Ci5	MB1	b	Northern Anatolian Plateau
48.	Gheg Albanians	1910	25	Ce1	EG1	a	Mountain Gheg of No. Albania
49.	Romans	110	126	Ce3	EI9		City and environs of Rome
50.	Basques	1934	225	Ce4			Village of Vera de Bidasoa

No.	Society (SCCS)	Date	Seq.	E.A.	HRAF	q	Focus
51.	Irish	1932	128	Cg3	ER6	a	County Clare
52.	Lapps	1950	129	Cg4	EP4	a	Konkama District
53.	Yurak Samoyed	1894	136	Ec4	RU4	a	Tribe
54.	Russians	1955	1257	Ch11	RF1	c	Viriatino Village
55.	Abkhaz	1880	1265	Ci12	RI3	b	Tribe
56.	Armenians	1843	912	Ci10	RJ1*	-	Vicinity of Erevan
57.	Kurd	1951	913	Ci11	MA11	c	Town and environs of Rowanduz
58.	Basseri	1958	358	Ea6			Nomadic branch
59.	Punjabi (West)	1950	1258	Ea13			Mohla Village
60.	Gond	1938	142	Eg3	AW32	a	Hill Maria
61.	Toda	1900	143	Eg4	AW60	a	Tribe
62.	Santal	1940	42	Ef1	AW42		Bankura and Berghum Districts
63.	Uttar Pradesh	1945	1260	Ef11	AW19	c	Village and environs of Senapur
64.	Burusho	1934	139	Ee2	AV7	a	Hunza State
65.	Kazak	1885	35	Eb1	RQ2	b	Great Horde
66.	Khalka Mongols	1920	134	Eb3	AH4*	b	Narobanchin Territory
67.	Lolo	1910	40	Ed2	AE4	c	Liang Shan and Taliang S
68.	Lepcha	1937	140	Ee3	AK5	a	Lingthem and vicinity
69.	Garo	1955	47	Ei1	AR5		Rengsanggri Village
70.	Lakher	1930	147	Ei4			Tribe
71.	Burmese	1965	146	Ei3	AP1	c	Nondwin Village
72.	Lamet	1940	49	Ej1			Tribe, Northwestern Laos
73.	Vietnamese	1930	149	Ej4	AM1	a	Red River Delta in Tonkin
74.	Rhade	1962	456	Ej10			Ko-Sier Village
75.	Khmer	1292	248	Ej5			City of Angkor, Capital
76.	Siamese	1955	367	Ej9	AO7	c	Bang Chan Village
77.	Semang	1925	148	Ej3	AN7	b	Jehai Group or subtribe
78.	Nicobarese	1870	244	Eh5			Car Nicobar of North Islands
79.	Andamanese	1860	45	Eh1	AZ2	a	Aka-Bea of South Andaman
80.	Vedda	1860	145	Eh4	AX5	a	Danigala Forest hunting group
81.	Tanala	1925	144	Eh3	FY8	b	Menabe subtribe
82.	Negri Sembilan	1958	1262	Eh16			Inas District
83.	Javanese	1954	54	Ib2	OE5		Town and environs of Pare
84.	Balinese	1958	152	Ib3	OF7	c	Tihingan Village
85.	Iban	1950	53	Ib1	OC6	a	Ulu Ai Group
86.	Badjau	1963	1099	Ia13			Tawi-Tawi and adjacent islands
87.	Toradja	1910	254	Ic5	OG11		Bare'e subgroup
88.	Tobelo	1900	1118	Ic10			Tobelo District
89.	Alorese	1938	154	Ic2	OF5	a	Abui of Atimelang Village
90.	Tiwi	1929	157	Id3	OI20	a	Tribe: Melville Island
91.	Aranda	1896	56	Id1	OI8	a	Alice Springs and environs
92.	Orokaiva	1925	457	Ie9	OJ23	a	Aiga subtribe
93.	Kimam	1960	1101	Ie18			Bamol Village
94.	Kapauku	1955	57	Ie1	OJ29	c	Botukebo Village
95.	Kwoma	1960	655	Ie12	OJ13		Hongwam subtribe
96.	Manus	1937	373	Ig9	OM6	a	Peri Villag
97.	New Ireland	1930	163	Ig4	OM10	a	Lesu Village
98.	Trobrianders	1914	62	Ig2	OL6	a	Kiriwina Island
99.	Siuai	1939	61	Ig1			Northeastern group
100.	Tikopia	1930	66	Ii2	OT11	a	Ravenga District
101.	Pentecost	1953	164	Ih3			Bunlap Village
102.	Mbau Fijians	1840	1267	Ih14			Bau Chiefdom, Vanua Levu

No.	Society (SCCS)	Date	Seq.	E.A.	HRAF	q	Focus
103.	Ajie	1845	263	Ih5			Neje Chiefdom
104.	Maori	1820	167	Ij2	OZ4	c	Nga Puhi Tribe
105.	Marquesans	1800	168	Ij3	OX6	c	Te-i'i Chiefdom S.W. Nuku Hiva
106.	Western Samoans	1829	1263	Iil4	OU8	b	Aana in Western Upolu Island
107.	Gilbertese	1890	633	If4			Makin and Butiritari Islands (N)
108.	Marshallese	1900	1266	Ih14	OR11	a	Jaluit Atoll
109.	Trukese	1947	60	If2	OR19	b	Romonum Island
110.	Yapese	1910	260	If6	OR22	a	Island
111.	Palauans	1947	59	If1			Ulimang Village
112.	Ifugao	1910	150	Ia3	OA19	b	Kiangan Group
113.	Atayal	1930	51	Ia1	AD1	c	Tribe (but excluding Sedeq)
114.	Chinese	1936	1259	Ed15	AF1	a	Kaihshienkung Village, Chekiang
115.	Manchu	1915	137	Ed3	AG1	a	Aigun District
116.	Koreans	1947	39	Ed1	AA1	a	Kanghwa Island
117.	Japanese	1950	237	Ed5	AB43		Southern Okayama
118.	Ainu	1880	325	Ec7	AB6	c	Saru Basin in Hokkaido
119.	Gilyak	1890	37	Ec1	RX2	a	Sakhalin Island
120.	Yukaghir	1850	236	Ec6			Upper Kolyma River
121.	Chukchee	1900	135	Ec3	RY2	a	Reindeer Division
122.	Ingalik	1885	377	Na8			Shageluk Village
123.	Aleut	1800	458	Na9	NA6	a	Unalaska Branch
124.	Copper Eskimo	1915	169	Na3	ND8	a	Coronation Gulf
125.	Montaganais	1910	495	Na32	NH6	a	Lake St. John & Mistassahi Band
126.	Micmac	1650	504	Na41	NJ5	b	Mainland division
127.	Saulteaux	1930	496	Na33	NG6	b	Berens River band
128.	Slave	1940	466	Na17			Lynx Point band
129.	Kaska	1900	170	Na4	ND12	a	Upper Liard River Group
130.	Eyak	1890	270	Nb5			Tribe
131.	Haida	1875	70	Nb1			Masset Town
132.	Bellacoola	1880	471	Nb9	NE6	a	Central group, lower B.C. River
133.	Twana	1860	71	Nb2			Tribe
134.	Yurok	1850	172	Nb4	NS31	b	Tsurai Village
135.	Pomo (Eastern)	1850	533	Nc18	NS18	a	Clear Lake, Village of Cignon
136.	Yokuts (Lake)	1850	539	NC24	NS29	a	Tulare Lake
137.	Paiute (North.)	1870	564	Nd22	NR13	a	Wadadika of Harney Valley
138.	Klamath	1860	523	Nc8	NR10		Tribe
139.	Kutenai	1890	380	Nd7			Lower or eastern branch
140.	Gros Ventre	1880	75	Ne1	NQ13	a	Tribe
141.	Hidatsa	1836	622	Ne15			Village
142.	Pawnee	1867	342	Nf6	NQ18	c	Skidi Band or subtribe
143.	Omaha	1860	179	Nf3	NQ12	b	Tribe
144.	Huron	1634	79	Ng1			Bear and Cord Subtribes
145.	Creek	1800	180	Ng3	NN11		Upper division in Alabama
146.	Natchez	1718	385	Ng7		c	Kingdom
147.	Comanche	1870	177	Ne3	NO6		Tribe
148.	Chiricahua	1870	81	Nh1	NT8	a	Central band
149.	Zuni	1880	183	Nh4	NT23		Pueblo
150.	Havasupai	1918	175	Nd3	NT14	a	Tribe
151.	Papago	1910	184	Ni2	NU28	a	Archie division
152.	Huichol	1890	282	Ni3		a	Tribe
153.	Aztec	1520	185	Nj2	NU7		City & environs of Tenochtitlan
154.	Popoluca	1940	284	Nj3		b	Town and environs of Soteapan

No.	Society (SCCS)	Date	Seq.	E.A.	HRAF	q	Focus
155.	Quiche	1930	1166	Sa13			Town of Chichicastenango
156.	Miskito	1921	390	Sa9	SA15		Vicinity: Cape Gracias a Dios
157.	Bribri	1917	287	Sa5	SA19	b	Tribe
158.	Cuna (Tule)	1927	85	Sa1	SB5	a	San Blas Archipelago
159.	Goajiro	1947	391	Sb6	SC13	a	Tribe
160.	Haitians	1935	1237	Sb9	SV3	b	Town of Mirebalais
161.	Callinago	1650	87	Sb1	ST13	a	Dominica Island
162.	Warrau	1935	88	Sc1	SS18	a	Winikina of Orinoco Delta
163.	Yanomamo	1965	1264	Sd9	SQ18		Shamatari Tribe
164.	Carib (Barama)	1932	189	Sc3	SR9	a	Barama River
165.	Saramacca	1928	392	Sc6	SR8	a	Upper Suriname River
166.	Mundurucu	1850	90	Sd1	SQ13	b	Cabrua Village
167.	Cubeo (Tucano)	1939	293	Se5	SQ19		Village on Caduiari River
168.	Cayapa	1908	194	Sf3	SD6	a	Rio Cayapas Basin
169.	Jivaro	1920	191	Se3	SD9	a	Tribe
170.	Amahuaca	1960	634	Se8			Upper Inuya River
171.	Inca	1530	93	Sf1	SE13	b	City and environs of Cuzco
172.	Aymara	1940	193	Sf2	SF5	a	Chucuito Clan community in Peru
173.	Siriono	1942	91	Se1	SF21	a	Vicinity of the Rio Blanco
174.	Nambicuara	1940	198	Si4	SP17	a	Cocozu Group
175.	Trumai	1938	98	Si2	SP23		Village of Vanivani
176.	Timbira	1915	200	Sj4	SO8	b	Ramcocamecra or Canella
177.	Tupinamba	1550	400	Sj8	SO9	a	Hinterland of Rio de Janeiro
178.	Botocudo	1884	299	Sj5			Naknenuk subtribe
179.	Shavante	1958	1184	Sj11			Village of Sao Domingo
180.	Aweikoma	1932	199	Sj3	SM3		Duque de Caxias Reservation
181.	Cayua	1890	1170	Sj10	SM4		S. Mato Grosso & adj. Paraguay
182.	Lengua	1889	1168	Sh9			Those in contact with mission
183.	Abipon	1750	196	Sh3	SI4	a	Those in contact with mission
184.	Mapuche	1950	195	Sg2	SG4	c	Vicinity of Temuco
185.	Tehuelche	1870	349	Sg4	SH5	a	Equestrian
186.	Yahgan	1865	94	Sg1	SH6	b	Eastern and central

Notes:

8. Nyakyusa materials are found in the HRAF Ngonde file (FN17)
56,66* The HRAF files are found in the OWC files [Khalka, Armenians].
59. West rather than East Panjab (HRAF AW6)
102. Mbau rather than Lau Fijians (Atlas #165, Ih4, HRAF OQ6); although the Bau chiefdom moved to Vanua Levu, the focus is not the same as the Atlas Vanua Levu (Atlas #694, Ih8, 1940, village of Nakaroka).
106. Western rather than American Samoans (Atlas #65, Ii1, OU4).
102. Jaluit rather than Majuro Marshallese (Atlas #160, If3, HRAF also OR11)
111. Ulimang village focus, not Koror (as in Atlas #59, If1)

Synonyms:

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 9. Kindiga | 97. Lesu | 156. Mosquito |
| 17. Igbo | 101. Bunlap | 157. Talamanca |
| 18. Dahomey | 125. Naskapi | 162. Warao |
| 19. Twi | 127. Ojibwa | 163. Yanoama |
| 39. Barabra | 129. Nahane | 165. Bush Negroes |
| 43. Fellahin | 143. Dhegiha | 180. Caingang |
| 73. Annameese | 148. Eastern Apache | 181. Guarani |
| 76. Thai | 150. Plateau Yumans | 184. Araucanians |