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RAYMOND J. NOONAN, PH.D., CCIES WEBSITE EDITOR

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*Edited by:*

ROBERT T. FRANCOEUR, Ph.D., A.C.S.

*and*

RAYMOND J. NOONAN, Ph.D.



*Associate Editors:*

*Africa:* Beldina Opiyo-Omolo, B.Sc.

*Europe:* Jakob Pastoetter, Ph.D.

*South America:* Luciane Raibin, M.S.

*Information Resources:* Timothy Perper, Ph.D. &  
Martha Cornog, M.A., M.S.



*Foreword by:*

ROBERT T. FRANCOEUR, Ph.D., A.C.S.



*Preface by:*

TIMOTHY PERPER, Ph.D.



*Introduction by:*

IRA L. REISS, Ph.D.

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CONTINUUM *Complete*  
*International*  
ENCYCLOPEDIA  
OF SEXUALITY

*Updated, with More Countries*

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*David L. Weis, Ph.D., and Patricia Barthalow Koch, Ph.D., editors and contributors, with other contributions by Diane Baker, M.A.; Ph.D.; Sandy Bargainnier, Ed.D.; Sarah C. Conklin, Ph.D.; Martha Cornog, M.A., M.S.; Richard Cross, M.D.; Marilyn Fithian, Ph.D.; Jeannie Forrest, M.A.; Andrew D. Forsythe, M.S.; Robert T. Francoeur, Ph.D., A.C.S.; Barbara Garriss, M.A.; Patricia Goodson, Ph.D.; William E. Hartmann, Ph.D.; Robert O. Hawkins, Jr., Ph.D.; Linda L. Hendrixson, Ph.D.; Barrie J. Highby, Ph.D.; Ariadne (Ari) Kane, Ed.D.; Sharon E. King, M.S.Ed.; Robert Morgan Lawrence, D.C.; Brenda Love; Charlene L. Muehlenhard, Ph.D.; Raymond J. Noonan, Ph.D.; Miguel A. Pérez, Ph.D.; Timothy Perper, Ph.D.; Helda L. Pinzón-Pérez, Ph.D.; Carol Queen, Ph.D.; Herbert P. Samuels, Ph.D.; Julian Slowinski, Psy.D.; William Stackhouse, Ph.D.; William R. Stayton, Th.D.; and Mitchell S. Tepper, M.P.H. Updates coordinated by Raymond J. Noonan, Ph.D., and Robert T. Francoeur, Ph.D., with comments and updates by Mark O. Bigler, Ph.D., Walter Bocking, Ph.D., Peggy Clarke, M.P.H., Sarah C. Conklin, Ph.D., Al Cooper, Ph.D., Martha Cornog, M.A., M.S., Susan Dudley, Ph.D., Warren Farrell, Ph.D., James R. Fleckenstein, Robert T. Francoeur, Ph.D., Patricia Goodson, Ph.D., Erica Goodstone, Ph.D., Karen Allyn Gordon, M.P.H., Ph.D. (cand.), Eric Griffin-Shelley, Ph.D., Robert W. Hatfield, Ph.D., Loraine Hutchins, Ph.D., Michael Hyde, M.F.A., Ph.D. (cand.), Ariadne (Ari) Kane, Ed.D., Patricia Barthalow Koch, Ph.D., John Money, Ph.D., Charlene L. Muehlenhard, Ph.D., Raymond J. Noonan, Ph.D., Miguel A. Pérez, Ph.D., Helda L. Pinzón-Pérez, Ph.D., William Prendergast, Ph.D., Ruth Rubenstein, Ph.D., Herbert P. Samuels, Ph.D., William Taverner, M.A., David L. Weis, Ph.D., C. Christine Wheeler, Ph.D., and Walter Williams, Ph.D.*

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# How to Use This Encyclopedia

The Editors

This encyclopedia contains virtually all of the information presented in the first four volumes of the *International Encyclopedia of Sexuality* published in 1997 and 2001, with fifteen additional countries and places. The original entries have been updated, typically by the original authors or by new authors or commentators; all have had some copyediting refinements. Some entries have been completely rewritten, as noted at the beginning of those chapters. We have endeavored to clearly notate updated material by enclosing the section, paragraph, or sentence in square brackets, starting with *Update* or *Comment* followed by the year it was written, and ending with the appropriate author. In some cases, it serves to modify the existing material when we have kept the original information in context for historical comparison; at other times, it expands the information. In most chapters, some sections were written by specific authors (or one of the editors), whose name or names appear at the beginning of the section.

The information on each country in this encyclopedia is organized mostly according to the standard outline below. The thirteen major headings are also listed on the first page of each chapter with the appropriate page numbers for that country. The reader interested in drawing comparisons on specific issues between different countries will find page references for specific topics and refinements, beyond the major headings, in the index at the end of this volume. Checking this index under a specific topic—premarital sex, teenage pregnancy, puberty rites, or sexual harassment, for example—the reader will find page references that facilitate comparisons among the five-dozen countries included in this volume.

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8. Significant Unconventional Sexual Behaviors\*
  - A. Coercive sex
    - Child sexual abuse, incest, and pedophilia
    - Sexual harassment
    - Rape
  - B. Prostitution
  - C. Pornography and erotica
  - D. Paraphilias
9. Contraception, Abortion, and Population Planning
  - A. Contraception
  - B. Teenage (unmarried) pregnancies
  - C. Abortion
  - D. Population programs
10. Sexually Transmitted Diseases and HIV/AIDS
11. Sexual Dysfunctions, Counseling, and Therapies
12. Sex Research and Advanced Professional Education
  - A. Graduate programs and sexological research
  - B. Sexological organizations and publications
13. Important Ethnic, Racial, and/or Religious Minorities

## References and Suggested Readings

\*In Section 8, Significant Unconventional Sexual Behaviors, we consider coercive sexual behaviors (rape, sexual harassment, and child sexual abuse), prostitution, pornography, paraphilias, and fetishes. As a general rule, sexologists and the general public tend to view heterosexual relations between consenting adults in an ongoing relationship, such as marriage, as the norm. It is true that such sexual relations are the modal pattern or norm in every culture. However, the earlier reviews of premarital sex, extramarital sex, alternative patterns of marriage, homosexuality, and bisexuality in Sections 5 and 6 serve to illustrate that, in any country, variable percentages of people engage in sexual behaviors which depart from this assumed "conventional" norm. Sexologists have struggled for some time to develop acceptable terminology to describe these "other" sexual practices. "Unconventional behaviors" appears to be the least judgmental and restrictive label for "other behaviors," and definitely preferable to other labels such as "sexual deviance" or "sexual variance," which

convey a sense of pathology, dysfunction, or abnormality to such behaviors.

The social meaning of a specific "unconventional behavior" is defined by its situation and social context. Exhibitionism, for example, has one meaning when engaged in by a couple in private, a different meaning when engaged in on the stage of a "go-go" bar for patrons of that bar, and a third meaning when engaged in on a public street. Second, some of these behaviors are, in fact, quite common. Serious estimates cited in the United States chapter suggest that 10% of adult Americans engage in sadomasochist or bondage sex play, 15% of Americans have a foot or related fetish and three million Americans engage in "swinging." Although the number of individuals who engage in any particular form of "unconventional behavior" may be small, it seems clear that in most countries, taken together and added to the forms of nonmarital sexual expression, that rather large percentages of people do participate in some "other" "unconventional" form of sexual practice.



# Foreword

Robert T. Francoeur, Ph.D., A.C.S.

Someone said, “Never tackle anything that is not a challenge.”

In 1991, a publisher invited me to edit a 350-page single-volume *International Encyclopedia of Sexuality (IES)*. The plan was to invite 20 sexologists in 20 countries to prepare 20-page chapters on sex and love, marriage and family in their countries. It seemed like an easy project to tackle after editing the 766-page *Complete Dictionary of Sexology*. Having attended national and international meetings of sexologists for 30 years, I could easily recruit 20 colleagues to write 20 chapters on their countries. The problem came when my recruits fell so in love with describing sex and love, marriage and family—and much more—in their countries, that they completely ignored my “15,000- to 18,000-word limit.” As the word spread, other sexologists offered to write about sex in their countries. After five years work, we published three volumes covering 32 countries. With even more countries already in the works, we published a fourth volume, with 17 additional countries, in 2001.

At that point, despite very enthusiastic and glowing reviews, despite international acclaim and the endorsement of *Library Journal*, *Choice*, and the World Association for Sexology, we decided not to publish a fifth volume of *IES* with even more countries. Libraries cannot afford the shelf space or the cost of a five-volume *IES*. Instead, we thought it best to update all 49 countries in the original four volumes and add a dozen new countries, all in a single, large-format volume.

Now, after 11 years of work by 270 authorities on six continents, we have a truly unique up-to-date *Continuum Complete International Encyclopedia of Sexuality (CCIES)* with in-depth studies of sexual attitudes and behavior in five-dozen countries. It is a far richer resource and reference work than we could have imagined when we started this project 11 years ago.

Looking back on this adventure, I would like to share some thoughts and ruminations with the reader. Creating this *Encyclopedia* has been a long and complex process. If it is a monument of sexual knowledge, its importance and usefulness are solely because of the magnificent contributions of 230 experts from five-dozen nations around the world. Their work, far more than mine, makes this *Complete Encyclopedia* an unequalled repository of scientific and scholarly information about human sexuality.

To be sure, many works of undeniable importance have claimed to speak about *human* sexuality, but in the *CCIES* we hear the voices of many nations and cultures. With voices from more than a quarter of the nations of the world, I believe we can speak of this volume as a true encyclopedia of *human* sexuality. Ultimately, the subjects who have provided the data are not college students, as has been so commonly the case in academic studies of sexuality in, for example, the United States. Don’t get me wrong. The sexual attitudes and behavior of college students are interesting, and their sexuality should not be ignored. But in this volume, we are hearing from a far wider and richer sample of human beings than college-aged students. Our authorities come from almost every discipline and worldview imaginable.

Without in the least minimizing the other essays in our *CCIES*, let me single out first the contributions about sexuality in China and in India. Together, these two nations comprise some 40% of humanity. When, next, we consider the contributions about other Asian nations, the Muslim nations, Africa, South America, and Europe, we begin to see a truly international picture of *human sexuality*. And it has been the immense patience and skill of the contributors to the *Encyclopedia* that have created such a worldwide scope. It has been a collaborative, and incredibly challenging adventure. Among my inspiring experiences, I include the following:

- One day I had a question about some data in the Botswana chapter. Five minutes after I emailed Dr. Ian Taylor, he emailed me back with the clarification I needed. A question to Alain Giamé at INSERM in Paris brought a return cellular communication from Dr. Giamé on some rain-forest tributary of the Amazon River.
- In 1995, while touring France, a fellow American I had just met quizzed me about the books I write. My rather-vague mention of *IES* prompted Julianne McCarthy to ask if I would like a chapter on Bahrain. Without knowing where Bahrain was, I said, “Of course,” never thinking anything would come from a casual, “Of course.” Months later, a FedEx package appeared in my mailbox, sent the day Julianne and her museum-director husband returned to the U.S. “The information in this chapter was gathered and written by Julianne McCarthy and 28 Bahraini professionals and expatriates who are not to be identified in any way.”
- While trying to recruit Radhouan Mhiri, M.D., president of the Arab Institute of Sexology and Somatotherapy, to write a chapter on Tunisia, he mentioned Abderrazak Moussaïd, founder of the Moroccan Society of Sexology and a physician at the University of Casablanca. Several emails and a month later, on my first night of vacation in Morocco, Dr. Moussaïd whisked me out of a hotel lobby, assuring my wife he would bring me back safe and sound. At dinner, a vehement discussion erupted as Moussaïd cajoled four colleagues—in Arabic and French, of course—to join him to write a chapter on Morocco. Very little English was spoken, but I received their chapter a few months later.

Along the way, I have learned about many different customs, and more importantly, about the social context that surrounds these customs. To name a few customs that are very foreign to my Western mind: widow inheritance, “adultery hoots” in Ghana, *Hijra* in India, living apart together (LAT) in Germany and Sweden, transgendered *kaneeths* in Bahrain and *kathoeys* in Thailand, temporary marriage (*mut’a*) in Iran, the Virgin Mary’s influence in Ireland, very different constructs of male homosexuality in the Islamic cultures, hymen reconstruction in South Korea and Greek Cyprus, *fazendo tudo* (“try everything”) advice given to both Brazilian boys and girls, taboos on sexual communications between males and females, even husbands and wives, in many cultures, and the subordinate role of women in many cultures, where female orgasm is either unknown or feared as a prelude to insanity.

Despite my pride in initiating and editing the four volumes of *IES*, and now the comprehensive updated *CCIES*, I have to admit that this *Encyclopedia* is only a beginning. As we read through the essays, we learn how very little we really know about *human* sexuality. We have only begun to touch the surface of this hugely complex and ancient phenomenon. Much work remains to be done. Yet, I feel that the contributors to these volumes have eased the way for future scholars. Our contributors have blazed new path-

ways. In the process, I have learned some lessons I would like to share:

- Whenever we talk about any sexual attitude, value, or behavior, we are talking about a cultural snapshot. Think of a tour bus stopping at a scenic lookout. Camera-toting tourists rush off the bus, flip off their lens caps, squint through the viewfinder, scan the site, and take a snapshot or two. Unlike the casual tourist, our *CCIES* authors are very familiar with their own landscapes. As professional researchers and sexologists, their snapshots are more skillfully composed, more perceptive, and more alive to the cultural context and meaning of the observations than any casual observer could present.
- The snapshots created by the 270 contributors to *CCIES* are as true to reality as possible. But we should never forget that each snapshot is also flavored by the gender, education, and professional training of the sexologist presenting it.
- Likewise, we should not forget the social/economic/political/religious/historical context in which each sexual pattern, value, behavior, or attitude developed and is now supported.
- Although we can observe many commonalities in the values, attitudes, behaviors, and trends reported in this volume, idiosyncratic variations exist within each more-general variation within any culture, and between cultures. The richness and diverse flavors of human sexualities can be fascinating.
- The English language is rich in its nuances, but often in these chapters, the reader will find descriptions of sexual concepts and constructs, such as homosexual identity versus men having sex with men, transgendered, paraphilias, and sexual satisfaction, harassment, and dysfunction, which do not translate into Western patterns of thought. Does premarital virginity and sexual abstinence, for instance, simply require no vaginal intercourse? Or does it include no oral or anal sex? No kiss-

ing before marriage? No holding hands? Or all of these, plus no visual contact before marriage?

While editing, I also became aware of some worldwide problems we face:

- How can we deal with sexual health issues—not just the obvious issue of HIV/AIDS, but also access to affordable contraception and STD diagnosis and treatment, as well as general medical care?
- How can we promote the reality of gender equality and equal legal rights for all, regardless of sexual identity, role, and orientation?
- How can we provide basic comprehensive sexuality education for all, even in countries where the traditional taboos, the government, or religious tenets restrict or prohibit comprehensive and timely education?
- How can we promote recognition of the sexual rights and needs of all humans—children, adolescents, adults, the elderly and those disabled, whether male or female?
- What strategies do we need to address issues of population growth and decline?
- And finally, what steps do the nations of the world need to take to help immigrants adjust when they find themselves living in a very different and foreign culture, with very different traditions, values, and attitudes?

I happily end this Preface by repeating my sincere thanks to everyone who has given so generously of their knowledge, time, and energy to produce what my good friend and long-time editor/adviser, Jack Heidenry, described as a “Herculean effort.” This *Complete Encyclopedia* and the four earlier volumes of *IES* are the product of a wonderful team of colleagues, my fellow editor and skillful designer/typographer, Ray Noonan, our associate editors, and many new and old friends, with whom I have had the truly exciting and great pleasure of working. They join me, I am sure, in the hope that scholars around the world will find *CCIES* a rich and useful resource and reference.

# Preface

Timothy Perper, Ph.D.

What can a modern reader make of a book calling itself *Continuum Complete International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*? In the past, it could have been a *Baedeker's*—a *Guide Michelin*—to the sexual hotspots of the world, or a swinger's and sophisticate's tourguide to the super-sexy clubs of the international sex scene. It might well have contained addresses and ratings of brothels in far-flung places. Or perhaps it was a seriocomic autobiographical tale of a young person turned loose on the world of sex.

There was also a time that an *International Encyclopedia of Sexuality* would have recounted “the curious erotic customs” of people native to Borneo, Upper Nepal, and the tributaries of the Amazon, with a chapter (once obligatory in such works) about footbinding among the Chinese, crammed between strange stories about marriage rites among Polish villagers, African pastoralists, or Paraguayan landholders. And the illustrations—old-style black-and-white photographs—would have shown a peasant wedding in the Tyrol, a bride in Hindustan, the groom's party in Southern Russia, or anywhere else older times believed dwelt “primitive” or “simple” people.

Each of these has been a genre in sexual writing, as are dry-as-dust treatises of solemn university professors awash in jargon, incomprehensible tables of statistics, and deadly dull theorizing. Any and all could fill a book called *Continuum Complete International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*.

One value of the book you now hold is to reveal how much Western sexological writing has changed over two or so centuries. The essays here were each written by a person or persons native to the land and culture described or familiar with it through years of life and study there. Each of the authors is trained in one or another academic discipline, from cultural anthropology to medical sexology. The language is international scientific English, stylistically straightforward and uncomplicated. And thanks to the Editors' foresight, the chapters all follow a common outline, covering similar topics in similar orders—which ought to facilitate comparisons among cultures. After a brief introduction, each chapter deals with a single society, discussing religious and ethnic sexual values, gender roles and the sociology of men and women, relationships between sexuality and love, sex education formal and informal, autoeroticism, heterosexuality and marriage and the family, homoeroticism, gender conflicts, and “unconventional” sexual behavior—including rape, prostitution, pornography, and erotica—followed by material on contraception, abortion, and population planning, and ending with a discussion of sexually transmitted diseases and sex counseling/therapy. It is quite a palate of topics.

And you will notice that it is a serious list of topics. Perhaps nothing else so well illustrates how Western and Westernized writing on sexuality has refocused over two centuries. Today, we “moderns”—which means only that we Westernized intellectuals proudly call ourselves modern and, by implication, think others primitive—disdain older modes of sexological writing and publication. For many years, a primary form of “sexological” writing was the illustrated book—please, to be sold only to medical professionals!—with titles like *Femina Libido Sexualis*, and contain-

ing a mish-mash (to our modern eyes) of “medico-scientific” material on female anatomy, circumcision practices, phallic worship, all ostensibly published for “the advancement of knowledge,” but actually printed as erotica and hidden from the censor's vigil by their Latinisms and their faux-science. But the mainstay of such works—definitions, discussions, and depictions of “female sexual beauty”—is absent in modern sexological writing, and is equally absent from this *International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Gone are the black-and-white photographs of nude women, steel engravings of Arab weddings, and suggestively titled but oh-so-innocent tales of life in the Turkish *seraglio*.

Today, sexuality has become the focus of intense concern, often outright anxiety. Topics that we today consider “sexologically appropriate” border more and more closely on psychological, medical, and social pathology. We are concerned with the criminality of sexual acts, their morality, their capacity to index—if not to stir up—social destruction and vehement conflict. Furious debates over pornography and deep concern about child sexual abuse illustrate how much, for us, sexuality no longer focuses on sexual beauty, be it male or female, but on sexual ugliness, disease, and crime.

To a large extent—though it varies by author—this focus on sexological pathology and problems is shared by all the chapters in the *International Encyclopedia*. No wonder, either we live in a world of sexual change and rearrangement, where politics, more than nudity, seems the proper companion of the goddess of love, Aphrodite herself. For us, sexuality represents the body in flux: not a Heraclitean flow of all things growing and waning, but embodied future shock and upheaval. Books celebrating “sexual beauty” or regaling the reader with “odd and curious marriage customs” of foreign people could be written only in days that themselves had firm and clear sexual guidelines—a sexual culture—to shape readers' behavior and assure them that they were culturally normal by the standards of their own Western societies. But—*rota fortuna*—things change.

There is a story told—apocryphally, I am afraid—of an Indian tourguide at the temples of Khajuraho, famed for what Westerners perceive as highly erotic sculptures. A woman ethnologist, primarily interested in these sculpted images of the most variegated forms of copulation imaginable, continued to ask to be shown those portions of the temple grounds. The guide steadfastly refused, saying only, “But they aren't interesting, miss.”

The point is not the tourguide's recalcitrance. Instead, let us wonder where he obtained the phrase he used to defend his efforts at censorship: “They aren't interesting.” Partly, to be sure, he expressed a personal emotion, but we can readily imagine British tourists in the days of the Indian Raj expressing dismay and anxiety by saying precisely the same—“These statues are not interesting.” In those days—that is, for many years indeed—sexuality was not interesting to the normal Westerner outside the bedroom and those all-male soirees with which folklore bedecks the 1890s and similar eras of “sexual excess.”

So *Continuum Complete International Encyclopedia of Sexuality* reveals a fascinating aspect of how our own—Western or Westernized—visions of sexuality have shifted. Today, we find sexuality much more openly important, even if public and media attention often focuses on its less-pleasant sides, e.g., exploitation of women in pornography. Unlike our recent ancestors, we find sexuality interesting to extents that would have deeply shocked and troubled both the British visitors to Khajuraho and its Indian tourguide.

Over the intervening century, sexuality has slipped loose from its originally tight moorings in Western and Western-

ized societies. Today, it touches all aspects of life: certainly, it seems to touch everything in the media! One can plausibly argue that these are not deep social or psychological changes, but merely that previously dominating masks and disguises have fallen away to reveal what probably was always there—widespread interest in sexuality among many people indeed.

In this newly unmasked interest, we all need good, solid information—not rumor, hearsay, travelers' tales, and secret books celebrating female pulchritude across the globe—but good data, compiled with serious intent and presented with serious purpose. Such intentions and purposes *Continuum Complete International Encyclopedia of Sexuality* achieves. I do not perceive its seriousness of outline or topic as antisexual so much as I see it as antifrivolous. We do not trivialize sexuality nowadays and we live in an era of "serious works about sex."

We cannot escape the solemnification of sexuality, not because solemnity is foisted upon us by prudes, but because we understand that sexuality is dangerous as well as pleasurable. Yet we also carry within ourselves a desire to worry about sexuality—an echo from older days when sexuality was taboo for polite discussion and a matter only of whispered gossip, something to worry about. In our modern world, sexuality is legitimated partly by surrounding it by a veil of worried concern, e.g., about pornography, child sexual abuse, sexual Satanism, and the like. Knowledge has been bought at the price of thinking that sexuality ought to be studied and worked at. Whatever instincts exist (modern sexological scholarship denies them), they do not operate easily or comfortably today. If sexuality no longer wears the obscuring masks of the past—the opaque black garb that once clothed the body—then instead it wears translucent gauze, not erotic so much as disinfectant. In modern sexuality, sexuality inhabits the forums of research, and *Continuum Complete International Encyclopedia of Sexuality* is quite modern.

Its importance—considerable, I think—exhibits another change in sexological discourse, to use a revealing and portentous word made popular by academic sexologists. In older days, only one officially sanctioned form of discourse existed about sex: the language and meanings of moralists, churchmen typically, that upheld certain visions

of how we should write about sex. Though he had predecessors, Kinsey changed all that permanently, in effect substituting technicalisms for a dying moralism in sexual language. A curious consequence is that sexology no longer speaks to the masses about matters they understand and know. As modern life fractalizes, sexology has sprouted many officially sanctioned discourses, such as postmodernist criticism, feminism, conservative rhetoric, biomedicalese, all antipopulist, all above the heads of the man and woman in the street (or bedroom). Indeed, it sometimes takes an expert to understand that the topic is sex. Nonetheless, adherents of these different discourses spend much time examining each other's prose with the officiousness of churchmen hunting out sinful thoughts. Sex remains a charged, powerful topic, and its significance will not diminish soon. Its powers radiate outwards from an embodied center to touch arenas of disagreement, like politics, that nonetheless remain more comfortable than open sexuality, at least for many people.

And so this *International Encyclopedia* raises a curious question: Will there come a time when sexuality can display itself nude? Or is nude sexuality still "not interesting"? Judging from public worry over Madonna's *Sex*, with her deliberate evocation of nudity, we still share a great deal with the Indian tourguide. However, the authors of the chapters in this book are closer kin to the woman ethnologist who wished to examine those statues. For her and her modern scholarly descendants, sexuality is interesting, even if still garmented in sociological, psychological, and biomedical gauze. Whereas we Westernized intellectuals still feel that Aphrodite must be partly covered, nonetheless many layers of wrapping and disguise have been removed. To the prude, it is all to the bad (even if "not interesting"). To the scholar, it is an important step towards understanding sexuality itself. To the modern reader, *Continuum Complete International Encyclopedia of Sexuality* will be more interesting than a *Baedeker* to the world's sex clubs or an autobiography of a reprobate or even a lusciously colored edition of the once banned *Thousand and One Nights*. It provides a thoroughly scholarly examination of what is still not fully exposed even in an enlightened modern world—or, judging from the temples at Khajuraho itself, the partly enlightened and partly interested modern world.



# An Introduction to the Many Meanings of Sexological Knowledge

Ira L. Reiss, Ph.D.

Welcome to this treasure chest of sexological knowledge and understanding. You will find in this volume a wealth of information concerning sexuality in a very wide range of human societies. To introduce this extremely rare and valuable *Continuum Complete International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*, I will not review the fascinating reports of these authors. Instead, what I shall do is to try to afford the reader some perspective on the many ways that this knowledge can be understood and used. I will focus on three controversial aspects of cross-cultural work where scientific fads and fashions have tended to limit how that knowledge is presented. Having a broader view of these three aspects of cross-cultural studies should help the reader to utilize the accounts of sexuality in this *Encyclopedia* more completely.

I will first deal with the question of how our personal values and other assumptions about the world enter into the way we do our scientific work on sexuality, and what we can do about it. Secondly, I will deal with the current emphasis upon stressing the uniqueness of each society and the criticism of the search for cultural universals. And thirdly, I will deal with the important question of taking the “insider” and the “outsider” perspective when studying a society’s sexual customs. By discussing these three controversial areas and suggesting possible resolutions, the reader should be better prepared to make his or her own judgments on what is valuable in sexological knowledge.

## *Issue One: Science, Values, and Assumptions*

There are those who still perceive of science and society as properly separated by an impenetrable wall. In this “positivist” view, the scientist is protected from “bias” by his or her withdrawal from taking sides on any of the basic value disputes in a society. As a result, we supposedly get a “value-free” and “pure” form of knowledge rather than a “biased” or “value-laden” point of view. That is still a popular view concerning science and society. Nevertheless, I contend that that sort of sharp separation of science and society is based upon an erroneous view of the way science really operates in society.

In my view, science cannot be separated from society, for it is an institution existing in a human society and conducted by human beings. Science, and its practitioners, can no more avoid the influences of the broader society than can the mass media, corporate business, government, religion, education, or the family. Further, the very support of science by a society depends on people’s believing that science is useful to the solution of the problems of that society. The high value placed upon physical science emanates from the advances it has produced in valued areas such as health, industry, and warfare. Denying this connection to society does not produce a lack of bias in science. Instead, it may produce an inability to be explicit about one’s values to others, and perhaps even to oneself.

Most obviously in the social sciences and in sexual science, where we seek to understand the way humans behave and think, there can be no meaningful separation of science from society and its values. But this does not mean that we cannot avoid bias in our scientific methods. Rather, if science is to maintain its claim to being fair, reasonable, logical, precise, and cautious, then it must acknowledge the possible values of the scientist and learn how to prevent them from overwhelming our scientific methods. Scientists cannot prevent bias in their work by simply claiming to be value-free. Rather, as I shall seek to illustrate, scientists must do it by demonstrating that they are value-aware. Let me illustrate my meaning with a research project I was involved in not long ago.

In 1988, a colleague, Robert Leik, and I set out to develop a probability model that would compare two strategies for reducing the risk of an HIV infection (Reiss & Leik 1989). The two strategies to be compared were: (1) to reduce the number of sexual partners or (2) to use condoms with all partners. Although utilizing both strategies simultaneously is clearly the safest way to reduce the risk of HIV, a great many people seem to choose to do one or the other. The model we built compared the risk in these two strategies using a very wide range of estimates of several key factors: (a) the prevalence of HIV, that is, the likelihood of picking an infected partner; (b) the infectivity of the HIV virus, that is, the likelihood of becoming infected with HIV if one picked an infected partner and had unprotected sex with that person; (c) the failure rate of condoms, ranging from a low of 10% to a high of 75%; and (d) the number of partners ranging from one to 20.

What we found was virtually unqualified support for the greater probability of avoiding HIV infection by using condoms rather than by reducing partners. In almost all cases, even if one had only one or two partners over a five-year period, if one did not use condoms with them, one had a higher risk of HIV infection than someone with 20 partners who did use condoms. This was true even if condoms were assumed to have a failure rate between 10 to 25%. Our conclusion was that those giving advice and counsel should recommend condom usage as the more effective tactic.

Now this project with its probability model was surely a scientific project, and the results of testing our models seemed unequivocal. Nevertheless, although the great majority of the scientific community fully endorsed and used our findings and suggestions, a few scientists did not accept our interpretation of our results. We received criticism from scientists who said that people will not use condoms to prevent HIV infection and so our findings were meaningless in the real world. There were others who said that publishing our results would encourage people to increase the number of partners and that would lead to more HIV infections. Some other critics raised the question whether having more than one partner and using condoms was worth even the very small increased risk that we described.

This difference of interpretation of our findings is not a result of the poor scientific judgment of our critics, as much as we might have liked to think that. Rather it was basically a consequence of some scientists’ not sharing our values and assumptions about the world in which we live. Specifically, our critics did not accept our view that people will use condoms to protect themselves. Instead, our critics believed in a more emotional than rational view of human sexual choices. They held this view despite the evidence that gays have greatly increased their condom usage and even teenagers indicated similar dramatic increases in the late 1980s (Reiss 1990). Other critics rejected our assumption that motivations for having more sexual partners have very little to do with the publication of an article like ours. Finally, unlike some of our critics, we made no assumptions about whether

condom-protected sex with several partners was worth the increased risk involved.

Our critics and we clearly had different assumptions and values regarding sexuality, and that was the reason why they questioned our evaluation of the evidence from our model. They did not disagree with the results of the model, but they disagreed with our assumptions about sexuality. The reader should note that the assumptions we make about sexuality are not only factual assumptions, but they embody value judgments. For example, we valued people who learn how to protect themselves, and supported the moral right of people to make their own personal choices regarding the number of partners that they have.

We might not have become so fully aware of our assumptions if our critics had not spoken out, revealing that they made different assumptions and had different values about sexual behavior. The critics would never have undertaken our study because, lacking the belief that condoms will be used to prevent HIV infection, why should one study that strategy? Also, as one scientific journal editor wrote to us, his values would stop him from publishing an article that seemed indifferent to the norms of sexual monogamy. These differences in values and assumptions do not just enter into the choice of research projects, but as is apparent here, they enter into the very interpretation of the meaning and worth of that research.

The important point here is that no scientist can undertake a research project without making some set of assumptions regarding human behavior. And those assumptions also influence how to interpret the validity and worth of the findings. As our critics demonstrate, our interpretation that recommending condoms is the safest path to take is not one that inevitably follows from our probability model's evidence. Our recommendation of condom use follows only if you also share our assumptions about human behavior. The great majority of sexual scientists do share our view and so they agreed with our interpretation. Where all scientists share the same assumptions, we are the most likely to be blind to the fact that we are even making any assumptions. Without the critical response, we would not have become so aware of our own assumptions, and of those of our critics.

To believe that science operates in a vacuum devoid of values and assumptions about human behavior is to delude ourselves as scientists. Further, unless we realize the assumptions we are making, and put them forth explicitly, we will be unable to comprehend fully one basis upon which we are judging the worth of our scientific work. Only by becoming more value- and assumption-aware will we be able to be more even handed and fair in evaluating and understanding the basis of our scientific judgments. Such awareness makes the scientist more thoughtful about what assumptions will be accepted, and more conscious of the possibility that we must be sure not to allow these assumptions to bias our gathering of evidence.

The recent findings concerning causes of homosexuality offer another illustration of the point I am making here. The 1993 work of Dean Hamer published in *Science* created a public storm of interest. Hamer and his collaborators reported that they found on the long arm of the X-chromosome a possible location of a special set of genes that were present in 33 out of 40 families with two gay brothers. The support this finding found depended in part on the background assumptions of the particular scientists. Those who, like biologist Simon LeVay (1990), stress biological factors as determinant of human behavior, are more willing to conclude that biological factors are key pieces in the homosexual puzzle. Other scientists in social science fields where nurture is stressed more than nature, make assumptions about humans that lead them to be hesitant to accept Hamer's work as anything more than mostly speculative at this point.

There are also values associated with any position on nature and nurture. Whether we are a biologist or a sociologist, if we oppose the status quo in society, we are more likely to want to emphasize the plasticity of human inheritance. In addition, those scientists who feel that seeing homosexuality as strongly biologically determined would lessen societal prejudice, may also be more likely to accept biology as definitive. Conversely, those who, like myself, oppose prejudice, but who note that prejudice continues against groups with known biological differences such as blacks and women, do not feel pressure to endorse biological etiology.

One very important conclusion from these and other examples is that our assumptions and values can easily have an impact on our interpretation of research findings. But that does not mean that we should conclude that all sexologists are "biased" or all research on sex is "unfairly" interpreted. Rather, what it says to me is that all members of a society, including scientists, have values and make assumptions about human sexual behavior. Better than pretending that we can be neutral and value-free, we should openly assert our assumptions and values so we can check each other's scientific work and promote a clearer, and more balanced and fair-minded evaluation of the worth of our research results.

Bias or distortion of evidence is unacceptable in scientific work. We seek to use the most reliable and valid measures, to publish our results for criticism by others, and to follow rules of careful reasoning and fair gathering of evidence. Making our scientists more "value-assumption aware" will help us minimize the times when these unstated assumptions overwhelm our science. We cannot eliminate assumptions, but we can demand that they be made explicit, and require scientific rigor regardless of what assumptions are made. Then we can, as scientists, reach consensus on which explicit assumptions we are willing to accept, and thereby decide what will be accepted as knowledge in our science of sexuality. When you read the accounts in this book, try to discern the author's assumptions. Finding assumptions is not by itself an indication of a flawed account. Rather, it is a way of giving you deeper insight into the meaning of that author's account.

## *Issue Two: Scientific Fads about Cultural Universals*

There is little question that during the past several decades, the anthropological and sociological work on different societies has stressed the uniqueness of cultures and criticized attempts to find cultural universals (Suggs & Miracle 1993). If we apply our awareness of the place of assumptions in scientific work, we may surmise that this emphasis is a result of assuming that people and societies are basically different and do not universally share any significant characteristics. Further, that assumption may be based on the value judgment that stressing how different we are builds tolerance, whereas emphasizing universal traits among different societies encourages people to criticize the society that is not like their own.

All our views are but partial views of whatever reality is out there. If we all share the exact same assumptions about the world, we will never become aware of what these assumptions are, and we will not be alert to the possible biasing of our scientific evaluations. It is in this sense that accepting but one narrow view of what is worth pursuing, and making that a compulsory position, is dangerous to the growth of sound scientific methods and to the careful evaluation of evidence.

In opposition to the current scientific fad of stressing differences, David Suggs and Andrew Miracle, in their overview on cross-cultural sex research, point to the need to find commonalities in societies around the world. They say: "We need more work on sexuality from those research strat-



egies that are specifically oriented toward seeking an explanation of 'Culture'—as opposed to 'cultures' (1993, 490).

They cite my 1986 book, *Journey into Sexuality: An Exploratory Voyage*, as one of the few attempts to find such commonalities while not denying the importance of cultural differences. In that book, I set out to try to locate the key areas of our social life that, in any society, most directly shape our sexuality. I started with the assumption that, unless the evidence indicated otherwise, we can assume that, "with careful attention to the social context, intercultural comparisons can be made" (Reiss 1986, 7). After examining a large number of cultures, I developed my Linkage Theory, which asserted that sexual customs in all societies were most crucially linked to the *power, ideology, and kinship* segments of that society. This I called the (PIK) Linkage Theory.

I did not ignore differences in the way individual societies create such linkages. To be sure, a class system in America may be very different from a class system in Kenya. But that does not prevent us from saying they both have a class system and examining how that class system relates to existing sexual customs. So I would say to the reader, look for the important differences among the cultures described, but also compare societies and see if you can detect some commonalities among the cultures, such as I suggest in sexuality being linked to power, ideology, and kinship systems in every society (Reiss 1989). I believe that finding commonalities in our sexual lives can enhance our tolerance for the cultural differences that exist. We can better identify and have empathy for a people with whom we believe we share some important similarities.

### *Issue Three: The Insider and the Outsider Perspective*

In the last few decades, the emphasis in cross-cultural work has been on what Kenneth Pike has called the Emic or "insider" approach and less on the Etic or "outsider" approach. The concepts of Emic and Etic were first put into print by Kenneth Pike in 1954 and have since become common jargon in anthropology. Some anthropologists, like Marvin Harris, have made modifications in Pike's concepts but still utilize them (Headland, Pike, & Harris 1990). Let me try to clarify these very important terms and relate them to a third and final issue concerning how we view other societies.

The originator of the concepts of Emic and Etic, Kenneth Pike, indicated his current meaning in a 1990 book, when he said:

I view the emic knowledge of a person's local culture somewhat as Polanyi views bicycle riding. A person knows how to act without necessarily knowing how to analyze his action. When I act, I act as an insider; but to know, in detail, how I act (e.g., the muscle movements), I must secure help from an outside disciplinary system. To use the emics of nonverbal (or verbal) behavior I must act like an insider, to analyze my own acts, I must look at (or listen to) material as an outsider. But just as the outsider can learn to act like an insider, so the insider can learn to analyze like an outsider. (Headland, Pike, & Harris 1990, 33-34)

Although it is a bit of a simplification, Emic can be seen as the insider view constructed by people in a culture, and Etic the outsider view constructed by science seeking to understand that culture. The recent fad in social science, as I have noted in my discussion of the emphasis placed on cultural uniqueness, is to emphasize the Emic view. The possibility of an Etic view that can conceptually compare and find commonalities in different cultures is too often overlooked and/or criticized today.

I support the essential worth of both Emic and Etic approaches and I reject the notion that we must give priority to an Emic or an Etic view. Some of the support for promoting the Emic view comes from those who feel that we should not make invidious comparisons of cultures and should rather just accept them. I, of course, share the tolerance values behind such an approach. But as a social scientist, I must be allowed to compare and contrast and to develop understandings that go beyond just saying all cultures are unique. I must also add that there are societies, like the Nazi society under Hitler and many other totalitarian reigns of terror that exist today in our world, that I do not want to tolerate. I want more than the insider view of a people on which to base my understanding of a society.

Another point to be aware of in this debate is the fact that there is much that people in any society do not understand about their own culture. How many people in Western society understand enough to be able to suggest workable solutions to the many social problems they see in their society? One of the major values of any science is to afford a broader perspective on a social problem area. It is true that the outsider view that scientific explanation can provide will be based on some assumptions about human beings, but the attempt will still be to evaluate carefully and fairly the evidence relevant to that perspective. This is precisely what Robert Leik and I were trying to do when we compared the two strategies for reducing HIV infection. Our assumptions were clear, and we attempted to evaluate fairly the choices in light of those assumptions.

If we opt only for the insider's views and deny the possibility of an outside scientific explanation that goes beyond the insider's views, then we are reducing ourselves to the role of stenographers writing down what people believe, and stopping there. I think an Etic science perspective is far too valuable to toss away that easily. True, science has limitations in its assumptions and in its fads and fashions. But science presents us with the opportunity to arrive at a consensus as to how to understand most effectively, and perhaps change, a particular sexual problem. Such a scientific consensus will never be the total picture of reality, but it will be valuable in our search for solutions. It offers something beyond what the partisan person can offer in his or her Emic viewpoint, and I would therefore reject any postmodern, relativist attempts to play down the value of an Etic perspective in sexology or in any science.

Readers of this *International Encyclopedia* should keep in mind the Emic and Etic distinction, the relative advantages and limitations of these vantage points, and watch for efforts by the authors to balance these views. Some authors are native to the country they are writing about. Others are not native and write from an outsider's perspective, even though they may have lived in the country for many years. Being aware of the vantage point from which the individual contributors to this *Encyclopedia* speak will help the reader make the most advantageous use of the information presented.

### *Quo Vadis, Cross-Cultural Sexology?*

Let me try to sum up the implications of my approach to cross-cultural sexual knowledge and its value to you in reading this *Encyclopedia*. First, I would suggest that seeing how science and value assumptions interact should make us more likely to want our science of sexuality to do more than present abstract knowledge. We will want science to deal with the problem areas that mean the most to us. This sort of post-positivist view of sexual science makes science a major helper in reconstructing or reinventing ways of living that can promote the resolution of the many sexual problems that confront us.

True, there may well be conflicting solutions proposed by scientists with different value assumptions, such as I encountered with my probability model on HIV infection. But we can still examine scientifically what will best help to resolve problems from the viewpoint of the set of assumptions most of us in a community will endorse. Further, people with different assumptions can put forth different tactics to resolve social problems. We can examine the reasoning and evidence relevant to competing assumptions. We can choose based on what type of world we want to create.

The scientific search for evidence to examine our solutions can still be rigorous and will be scrutinized, particularly by those who do not fully accept our assumptions. I see the future as favoring this movement towards a sexual science that helps us create the type of world we consensually agree we want. I see the problem-resolution aspect of sexology as very important, because it will promote the value of sexual science in the minds of the public, and that will help fund the important research and theory work we want to do.

On the second issue of commonalities: If you accept my position on the legitimacy of searching for cultural universals as well as for cultural variability, then we in sexology can search for common elements in our sexual lives in societies around the world. In the over 200 societies I examined in my 1986 book, I found universal condemnation of what that society judged to be "excessive" sexual force and to what that society saw as "undue" sexual manipulation (Reiss 1986, 1990). So we have at least a minimal cross-cultural area of ethical agreement on what sexual acts ought to be prohibited: sexual force and sexual manipulation. Of course, within this area of agreement there are quite different definitions of what is "excessive" sexual force and what is "undue" sexual manipulation. But within any society, we can, as sexual scientists, seek to find what changes in custom would best avoid that culture's conception of "unacceptable" force and manipulation.

In Western cultures, I believe we would agree that avoiding force and manipulation is best accomplished by promoting preparation for sexuality that emphasizes honesty, equality, and responsibility between the sexual actors. I have developed the evidence and reasoning on this in a recent book (Reiss 1990). Western cultures are moving towards an ethical standard that accepts a wide range of sexual acts, providing they are honestly, equally, and responsibly negotiated. As the accounts in this *Encyclopedia* will reveal, there surely are significant differences even within Western societies as to how to define unacceptable force and manipulation, and also on defining what is meant by honesty, equality, and responsibility in sexual relationships and how to achieve that. But at least there is some common ground for such a dialogue to take place, and I believe sexologists should take the lead in examining and researching this vast area of possible ethical agreement.

Although non-Western societies are pursuing the same goal of reducing unacceptable force and manipulation, there are many significant differences in the ways that these societies may seek to control these outcomes. Promoting honesty, equality, and responsibility in sexuality may not be so popular in some of these societies. So clearly individual attention to particular societies is needed. But I stress that it is in the search for universals here that we are led to explore cultural differences. These are not opposing goals.

Finally, in line with my position on the insider and outsider approaches, I encourage taking both an Emic and an Etic approach so as to gain more complete answers to the sexological questions that interest us. The insider view is essential for any successful resolution, because it is people that must put into action any resolution to a social problem. But

we must also go beyond individual viewpoints, for it may well be that in unintended ways we promote the very outcomes that we then condemn as problems. Our conflicted and negative view of sexuality in America is a cause of the very problems that our conflicted and sex-negative people then condemn (Reiss 1990).

If we who have devoted our career to the study of sexuality cannot state what our assumptions are and offer useful resolutions to our shared sexual problems, then who can? A famous American sociologist, Robert S. Lynd (1939, 186) many years ago made this very point about social science in general:

Either the social sciences know more than do the 'hard headed' businessman, the 'practical' politician and administrator, and the other de facto leaders of the culture as to what the findings of research mean, as to the options the institutional system presents, as to what human personalities want, why they want them, and how desirable changes can be effected, or the vast current industry of social science is an empty facade.

The cross-cultural analysis of sexual customs in this encyclopedia should help us to understand and to cope better with the dramatic changes occurring in sexual customs in so many societies today. I have discussed elsewhere other reasons why we need to make our assumptions explicit and thereby make our sexology more problem-resolution centered (Reiss 1993). All I need add here is that the more society feels that sexology can aid in resolving our sexual problems, the more our field will be valued and will flourish. I hope we who are sexologists will resolve our internal disputes on issues like those discussed in this chapter by taking the broader and more eclectic view of science and its role in society that I have presented. While doing this, we must hold to the great value of scientific method—we must reject the nihilistic and relativistic conclusions that some who would dismiss science altogether promote today. I hope that as you read the fascinating chapters in this book, the key issues and ideas I have put forth will help you to obtain a deeper insight into human sexuality. I wish you all: Bon Voyage to the many societies described herein!

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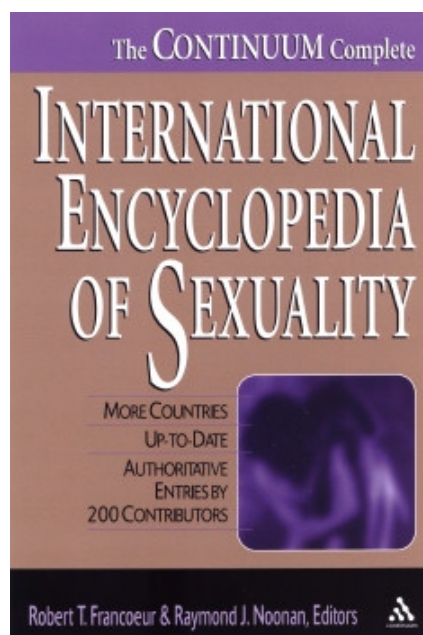
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