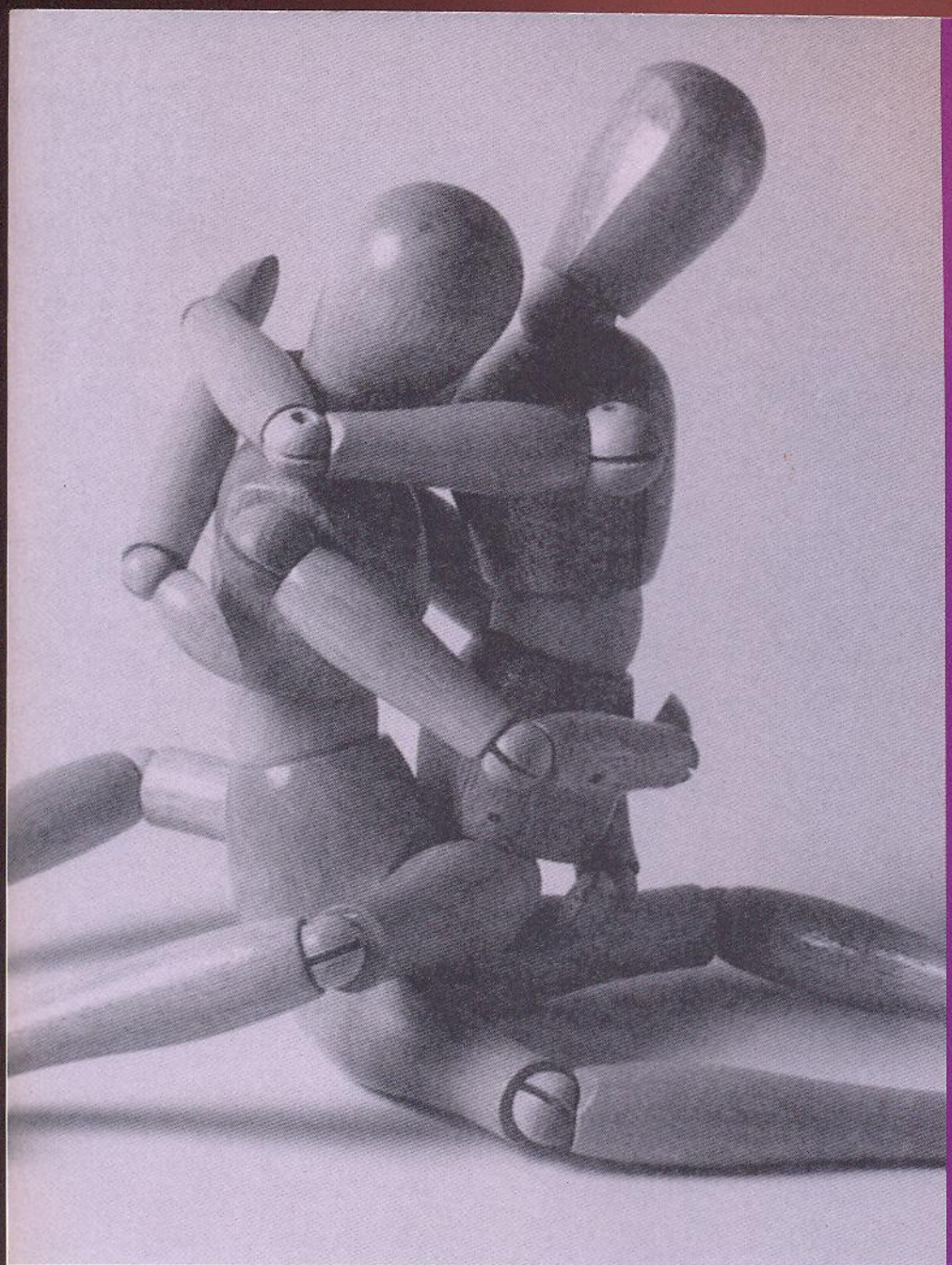

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Introduction: Sexualizing Anthropology's Fields

Jennifer Robertson

Over the past quarter-century, sexuality[1] has moved from the periphery to the center of anthropological research and lesbian and gay studies has followed in its wake. Queer, transgendered, bisexual, transsexual, and intersexed are now familiar (non-slang) terms that, with lesbian and gay, have more or less replaced "homosexual," a wooden, if overdetermined, term coined in the nineteenth century that does not capture the plasticity and malleability of human sexual practices and identities. In the meantime, "heterosexual" is becoming a less self-evident orientation or ideology through its interrogation by scholars and laypersons alike, although it remains the dominant default mode of sexuality in most societies. This is not to claim, however, that these now familiar terms are free from ideological content, or that as categories they are automatically more accommodating and expansive than "homosexual."

The essays comprising this anthropological reader all question and challenge, in different yet related ways, the a priori assumption among many people of a connection between same-sex sexual *desires*, *practices*, and *identifications*, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, queer, etc. *identities*. Viewed retrospectively, one might argue that human sexual desires and practices per se have not multiplied, but rather, that since the 1980s, multiple academic, legal, and medical ways have been coined and created in an effort to categorize and contain them. Consequently, multiple "ready-made" identities and their attendant politics have formed around and on the basis of human sexual practices (cf. Robertson 2002). If not themselves understood as relational and their relevance part of a continuous process of sociocultural change, these new categories and identities will become as reified and rendered as inadequate as the terms – like "homosexual" – they initially helped to complicate.

This *Reader* aspires to channel the comparative anthropological and historical study of same-sex cultures and sexualities into a full-spectrum anthropological mainstream. It also aims to demonstrate the centrality of the complicated relationship of sex, gender, and sexuality to the development and refinement of

anthropological theories in general. As the constituent essays make absolutely clear, studies of sexuality, in this case same-sex sexualities, are not limited to, and are much more than, studies *by and for* self-identified lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, or transsexual scholars. Similarly, by titling this volume *Same-Sex Cultures and Sexualities* I am not referring to reified things. Rather, I am advocating a kind of "cultural physics" in which sexuality operates as a vector that occasions multiple interactions among groups of humans, and that transmits through manifold media different kinds of energy among humans. Kinship, for example, is one of the variety of effects and outcomes generated.

That the time is right both for mainstreaming sexuality within anthropology and for publishing this *Reader* is evidenced in part by the appearance of, in the 1993 and 2000 editions of the *Annual Review of Anthropology*, essays surveying a range of anthropological scholarship on same-sex sexualities.[2] Another indicator, based on my own experience, of the timeliness of this *Reader* is the increasingly vocal demand on the part of anthropology students, both graduate and undergraduate, for theoretical and comparative work on the sexualities of actual (as opposed to fictional) human beings, past and present.

A concerted effort is made in this volume to consider the relationship of sex, gender, and sexuality through the lenses of the sociocultural, biological, linguistic, and archaeological sub-fields of anthropology along with historical and applied anthropology. It is surprising that the place of biology and archaeology in the anthropology curriculum continues to be debated by anthropologists. The general public, it seems, holds a different view. Even a quick perusal of a recent year's worth of the Science section of the *New York Times* is telling: the vast majority of articles with anthropological content and implications deal with the human genome and genetics or with skeletal remains and human evolution. It seems to me that anthropologists cannot afford to ignore the enormous popular authority of biology and archaeology. It is imperative that we understand the basis for the allure of science, and to learn how to respond effectively to misappropriations of biology and archaeology, such as the "gay" gene and the "nuclear family" of *Australopithicus africanus*.

I have selected essays that treat (same-sex) sexuality not as an isolable thing, but as a nexus comprised of myriad intersecting fields and forces, sites, and situations. This *Reader* does not pretend to be a comprehensive history of anthropological research on sexualities, much less same-sex sexualities, although several articles provide a historical overview of such. Though it is impossible to do justice to the amazing variety of sexual practices and desires across cultural areas, I did attempt to include essays based on ethnography in specific cultural areas at specific points in history. Collectively, these essays represent epistemological and research topoi that have emerged as especially salient over the past decade to the development of an anthropology of same-sex sexuality. These include biotechnology and bioethics, sexual categories and boundaries, language and terminology, ethnicity and identity politics, kinship and family, citizenship and politics, and policy-making. I have made every effort to avoid redundancies and duplications with other anthologies on same-sex sexualities that either focus on anthropology or include the work of anthropologists.[3]

Given the centrality of sex in the lives of humans individually and collectively, one would think that anthropologists, whose intellectual and pedagogical mission is to

explore and represent the colorful and complex varieties of human cultures and experiences, were at the forefront of the investigation of human sexualities. On the contrary, as Carole Vance has argued (in this volume), they have been "far from courageous or even adequate," especially in regard to same-sex practices.[4] A point I made in *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* [(Robertson 2001 [1998]) pertains equally to the discipline of anthropology and its practitioners. Contrary to the opinion of majority of my colleagues in Japanese Studies, I realized that the all-female Takarazuka Revue was an ideal site for an exploration of the contested discourse of sexuality in modern Japan.[5] That such a connection had either been overlooked or dismissed was one manifestation of the relative lack of serious attention that scholars of Japan had paid to ideas about gender and sexuality beyond the completely normative. Some shortsightedly eschewed the subject itself as unscholarly and/or motivated by a radical (i.e., feminist or lesbian) agenda; others apparently were afraid of being stigmatized and ostracized for undertaking research on the subject of sex and gender – and, in particular, on the subject of same-sex sexualities. Apparently the threat encoded in the insidious expression "It takes one to know one" overpowered the fear of incomplete or even bad scholarship. Unfortunately, it still is too often the case that indifference, ignorance, and prejudice prevent researchers from considering the historical and cultural significance of gender attribution and sexual practices even when these have been and remain part of a very *public* discourse. Imagine scholars fifty or one hundred years from now writing about marriage in the late twentieth-century United States without mentioning the enormous amount of attention, popular and legal alike, paid to the issue of same-sex marriage (Robertson 2001 [1998]: 45).

It is thus no wonder, as Vance keenly observed over a decade ago, that "the recent development of a more cultural and non-essentialist discourse about sexuality has sprung not from the centre of anthropology but from its periphery, from other disciplines (especially history), and from theorizing done by marginal groups." The role of historians has been especially important in laying a foundation for the rigorous study of sexuality, beginning with the crucial point that the "very term 'sexuality' is a modern construct which originated in the nineteenth century," as Freedman and D'Emilio point out (in this volume).[6] Historian Robert Padgug usefully distinguishes between sexuality as ideology and sexuality as praxis; that is, sexuality as an essence or group of essences, and sexuality as an ensemble of active social relations (Padgug 1989: 22). He notes that "the most commonly held twentieth-century assumptions about sexuality imply that it is a separate category of existence (like "the economy," or "the state," other supposedly independent spheres of reality), almost identical with the sphere of private life" (ibid.: 18–19).

Predicated on a classic division of individual and society, these assumptions fuel various psychological and biological determinisms about sexuality (ibid.: 19), determinisms that some researchers – and some ideologues – seek to attribute to brain morphology as well as to genetics. Invoking the axiom, "good politics, like good intentions, are not sufficient to produce valid science," Bonnie Spanier (in this volume) analyzes and deconstructs scientific claims about biological bases for differences in sexuality. She focuses on the widely publicized research of Simon LeVay, a self-identified gay neurobiologist who "found," in the structure of the

hypothalamus, a difference between ostensibly heterosexual and homosexual males. For LeVay, a biological determinant of homosexuality served as evidence against the belief that it was a mental illness, or criminal, or immoral. Edward Stein (in this volume) confronts the ethical implications of such scientific studies of sexual orientation in conjunction with the popular belief – despite serious flaws in those studies – that a person's sexuality is genetically determined. Will prospective parents advocate for and apply biotechnologies to select the sexual orientation of their children and/or to prevent the birth of children who will not be heterosexual? In answering this troubling question, Stein attempts to reconcile the tension between, on the one hand, the application of biotechnologies in the name of reproductive liberty and, on the other hand, the legal protection of lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals through the regulation of certain reproductive technologies.

Recent developments in reproductive technologies – alternative (artificial) insemination (AI), in vitro fertilization (IVF), zygote intrafallopian transfer (ZIFT), surrogacy, etc. – have exacerbated (rather than caused) a "crisis of kinship." However, human beings across cultures and over centuries have been far more resilient and innovative about "the structures that connect society to the natural world and generations to each other" (Laqueur 2000: 80) than those (and not just in the United States) who currently advocate so-called traditional marriages and family values. Female–female marriages in parts of Africa are a case in point. Kath Weston, in *Families We Choose* (1991), explicitly challenged the dominant model of American kinship and its foundation in procreation and biological ties, and Corinne Hayden (in this volume) demonstrates that whereas "chosen families may *decentralize* biology, lesbian families' explicit mobilization of biological ties challenges the notion of biology as a *singular* category through which kin ties are reckoned." How the so-called core symbols of American kinship are reworked and recontextualized by both lesbian mothers and the new reproductive and genetic biotechnologies is the main focus of Hayden's essay.

In addition to procreation and biological ties, the dominant model of American kinship is understood to be premised on a strict, naturalized alignment of sex, gender, and sexuality: males are bodies with penises, are masculine men, and are heterosexual; females are bodies with vaginas, are feminine women, and are heterosexual. The phenomenon of transsexualism, writes Judith Shapiro (in this volume), paradoxically both "raises questions about what it means to consider external genitals as the 'basis' for systems of gender difference," and reinforces the dominant, conservative assumption that there are only two sexes and two genders, that genitals are essential signs of gender, and that one's gender is "invariant and permanent." Sex-change surgery, she argues, is in the domain of "heroic medicine." A biotechnological tour de force, the transsexed body[7] calls attention both to competing ideologies of essential ("natural") and socially constructed gender, and to the naturalization of "nature" by biomedical specialists. Similarly, in *Lessons from the Intersexed* (1990), Suzanne Kessler explores how infants born having physical gender markers (genitals, gonads, or chromosomes) that are neither clearly "female" nor "male" compel a rethinking of the relationship of sex (*qua* genitals), gender, and sexuality.

Shapiro also draws from others' ethnographic research in order to compare Euro-American transsexualism with forms of what she calls "institutionalized gender

crossing" in cultures where dominant Euro-American notions about sexuality have little or no cachet: the Native American *berdache*, the Omani *xanith*, and female–female marriage in Africa. In this volume, articles by Deborah Elliston, Evelyn Blackwood, Donald Donham, Timothy Wright, and myself deal with same-sex practices, desires, and erotics in Melanesia, West Sumatra, South Africa, Bolivia, and Japan, respectively.

Elliston critiques the concept of "institutionalized" or "ritualized" homosexuality, arguing that although it helped to destigmatize anthropological research on same-sex sexualities, the concept is fundamentally problematic in that it promotes a certain "erotic ethnocentrism" which may exist only in the mind's eye of the beholding ethnographer. Focusing on semen practices in Melanesian societies, she makes the case that erotics and sexuality (as under stood in a Euro-American context) are neither central nor relevant to the local meanings of these practices. Rather, age and gender hierarchies, and local models of (male/masculine) identity development – in other words, the stuff of everyday life – provide a more accurate theoretical framework for understanding boys' initiation into manhood.

Most anthropologists tend to pay close attention to how people make sense of their world, seeking out local "voices," and engaging in transparent interactions over the course of their fieldwork. But those of us working on sexualities often encounter silences and opaque references and transactions. Alisa Klinger (in this volume) discusses how lesbian lives have been "disappeared" from the historical record, and elaborates on the ways in which those lives can be retrieved from seemingly insignificant ephemera. She urges scholars to complement text-based scholarship with fieldwork and archival research in order to resist and counter the "historic tendency to silence lesbians" as well as to forge a strong(er) relationship between the academy and local communities.[8]

Timothy Wright's essay on Bolivia (in this volume) reminds us that silence is an equally "valuable and malleable resource," and that just because (male) homosexuality and silence have been inseparable partners, this does not mean that homosexuality is never mentioned. Wright explains that male homosexuality is a "safe" topic provided references to it are made in "tones of indignation, repulsion, anger, or pity" or in the form of degrading jokes and tabloid articles about immorality and crime. However, the more personal the connection to homosexuality, the more often the subject is shrouded in silence.

Wright's work as a regional gay men's outreach coordinator for HIV/AIDS prevention provided him with direct insights into contradictions between local understandings of same-sex practices and the "gay" identity fostered by, in this case, USAID-funded public health programs. He, and the other contributors to this volume who work in Indonesia, Japan, and South Africa, found that transnational encounters introduced changes in local cultural attitudes toward, definitions of, and identifications with various sexualities, just as local sexual practices confound theories of sexuality premised on reified norms, whatever their provenance.

Blackwood writes about the Minangkabau *tomboi*, understood as "a female acting in the manner of men," and the "normative" (that is, unmarked) womanly females who choose a *tomboi* partner. She argues that two forms of gender transgression among females are collectively produced by the "hegemonic heterosexuality" of the Indonesian state, the Minangkabau kinship system, and the

opportunities for self-sufficiency provided by the capitalist economy. These forms are the *tomboi* and the womanly female who participates in "compulsory heterosexuality" by marrying and bearing children, who then, her obligations fulfilled, pursues erotic relationships with *tombois*.

This situation is very similar to the predominant ideology in Japan regarding marriage, which is recognized less as a product of romantic love – which is not to imply that Japanese married couples do not love each other – and more as a means to achieve social adulthood and normality, to ensure genealogical continuity, and to secure economic security, etc. Consequently, as I have written elsewhere, as long as an individual's sexual practices do not interfere with or challenge the legitimacy of the twinned institutions of marriage and household, Japanese society accommodates – and in the case of males, even indulges – a diversity of sexual behaviors. One of the most tenacious of mistaken assumptions that anthropologists need to dismantle if any progress is to be made in understanding sexuality and its theories is the easy equation of marriage with sexuality, and heterosexuality in particular (Robertson 2001 [1998]: 145). I explore a case in point (in this volume) in contextualizing the life and (female) loves of Yoshiya Nobuko (1896–1973), one of Japan's most popular novelists and, most unusually in the early twentieth century, an economically self-sufficient woman thanks to her literary successes. When she realized that, like its predecessor, the post-World War II constitution would not recognize same-sex marriage, Yoshiya made radical use of the flexible Japanese kinship system by adopting her life partner, Monma Chiyo, in 1957, thus ensuring that Monma would be legally recognized as her successor.

For Yoshiya and other Japanese women writers of modern Japan, traveling throughout Europe and the United States was considered *de rigueur*, and their experiences abroad directly informed their literary efforts. Yoshiya, who claimed to be "impressed by the liberated women of America," vowed "never again to write about female characters who cried a lot and simply endured their miserable lot in life." Similarly, the worldwide transmission of a lesbian and gay discourse, circulated through "rainbow" NGOS and their media, the internet, and AIDS-related outreach programs, has influenced the formation of a supra-local lesbian and gay identity politics in countries and regions across the globe. In this connection, it is crucial to realize that transcultural encounters, while not strictly dialectical, and however uneven or unequal in power or degree, are "shifting processes": they do not constitute unidirectional teleologies. All parties involved in the encounter are affected and modified by it, albeit with different consequences (Taylor 1991: 63; Robertson 2001 [1998]: 219, n. 23).

In Indonesia, for example, *tomboi* identity has been incorporated into the formation of a national lesbian and gay "community" and movement. And in Soweto, South Africa, as Donald Donham (in this volume) writes, the end of apartheid occasioned the creation, for some black men, of an identity based on sexuality, that is, a *gay* identity. In apartheid-era urban black culture, gender apparently overrode biological sex. Males who cross-dressed or who expressed a sexual interest in other males were identified, and identified themselves, as "women." However, Donham elaborates, this new way of looking at the sexual world was not taken up consistently, evenly, or completely. He reiterates emphatically the crucial importance of ethnography both in challenging theories, however useful, now taken as self-

evident and universally relevant, and in analyzing the interreferential relationship between the local and the global.

The clarion call of the anthropologists represented in this volume is for more ethnography–empirical and historical information – about *actual* human sexual desires and practices, and less abstract and "presentist" philosophy. Problems of accurate interpretation and representation arise when local, everyday sexual practices are diluted and distorted by an ethnographer's fealties to a particular theory or theoretical matrix. In anthropology, at least, theories are congealed from the living flux, or the animated archive, of quotidian, patterned experience. If theories are not to become frozen as formulaic explanation, and consequently rendered atheoretical, they must be challenged, modified, and refined by empirical, everyday "stuff." Thus, for example, although Michel Foucault's work on sexuality has been foundational to the anthropology of sexuality, Donham points out that it also presents serious limitations. He explains that Foucault overstressed a unidirectional narrative of supersession, when, in fact, cultural change tends to be more various, more fractured, more incomplete. A second limitation of Foucault's work on sexuality, Donham notes, stems from his over-reliance on the texts of medical specialists to infer the categories and commitments of ordinary people.

Matti Bunzl (in this volume) makes an analogous argument in his critical analysis of the politics of outing in Austria. His essay also effectively makes problematic any notion of "Europe" or "the West" as an internally coherent culture in its own right. Taking as his subject the 1995 *Outing-Aktion* of a leading activist in Austria's oldest lesbian and gay organization, Homosexuellen-Initiative, Bunzl aims to show the perilous contingencies of lesbian/gay political work. The targets of the outing were Catholic bishops and their "clandestine homosexuality," and the objective was to draw attention to the ongoing legal discrimination that continues to denigrate lesbians and gay men in Austria. Through a close, analytical reading of the various texts generated in preparation for and by this event, Bunzl determines that while outing closeted homophobes exposes their hypocrisy, it also turns these closeted persons into "Others," thereby, ironically, reinforcing the normativity and dominance of heterosexuality.

Whereas anthropologists studying sexuality need to work at generating new theoretical insights from inter- and intra-cultural encounters, archaeologists need to do just the opposite. Working with "broken pots, faunal remains, collapsed structures, burials, soil residues, and other evidentiary sources," archaeologists need to, in Barbara Voss's words (in this volume), stretch "theories of sexuality in new chronological and cultural directions." This is more easily said than done. Feminist archaeology was formally – and *finally* – introduced in the United States in the early 1980s by pioneers like Margaret Conkey, Joan Gero, and Janet Spector, among others. Judging from citational practices, there exists a "degree of theoretical conservatism in feminist archaeology with regard to conceptions of sexuality and its relationship to gender." Voss further elaborates that it is difficult for those feminist archaeologists who are occupied with legitimizing and developing gender studies simultaneously to embrace queer theories that deconstruct gender and sexuality. Deconstructions of sex and gender destabilize precisely those categories (e.g., male, female, woman, man) that are necessarily invoked to model engendered social worlds of the past. In other words, Voss argues, the fear of compromising "gender"

as a category of archaeological analysis may account for the apparent reluctance of many archaeological researchers consistently and critically to engage with queer theory.

Two decades ago, one of the key accomplishments of feminist archaeologists was to encourage their colleagues to become more self-conscious about assumptions they held about sex and gender (which more often than not were conflated), femaleness and maleness, together with notions of "family" and "kinship." These assumptions tended to be premised uncritically on their own culture's present-day dominant constructions of sex, gender, and sexuality. Non-feminist archaeologists tended to read into the fossil record those naturalized and unquestioned – those taken-for-granted and "self-evident" – ideas about human social behavior which, consequently, compromised the accuracy of their interpretations of the material data.

A somewhat similar situation characterizes much of the research on "gay and lesbian language," which, as Don Kulick noted in his review on the subject in the *Annual Review of Anthropology*, is plagued by serious conceptual difficulties (Kulick 2000: 247). One problem is the belief that gay and lesbian language is somehow grounded in gay and lesbian identities and instantiated in the speech of people who self-identify as gay and lesbian. Kulick maintains that this assumption not only confuses symbolic and empirical categories and reduces sexuality to sexual identity, it also steers research away from examining the ways in which the characteristics seen as queer are linguistic resources available to everybody to use, regardless of their sexual orientation (ibid.).

Not content merely to point out the problems confronting research on the lavender lexicon, Kulick proposes a solution to them that shifts the focus of research on the dubious concept of lesbian and gay language away from a preoccupation with identities and toward an inquiry based on culturally grounded semiotic practices. In other words, he shifts the focus to an exploration of the relationship between language and sexuality (and "desire") (ibid.: 273). His essay in this volume explores how saying "no" in particular social situations effectively sexualizes those situations, and turns particular subjects into sexual subjects. Drawing a distinction between performance and performativity, identity and identification, Kulick explores the semiotics of the word "no" in three different empirical contexts: rape, "Homosexual Panic Defense," and sadomasochistic scenes. He asks not who says "no," but rather what does saying or not saying "no" produce, a question that leads to imagining what he terms a sociolinguistics of identification.

The basic pedagogical mission of this volume is twofold: to augment, thicken, and extend the anthropological information available on same-sex sexuality, and to debunk and demystify various presumptions and preconceptions that have muddled the scientific study and popular understanding of human sexualities. To facilitate this mission, I elected to group the fifteen essays into three interrelated parts, each of which addresses issues central to at least three or more of the fields within anthropology.[9] The essays in Part I, Anthropology's Sexual Fields, provide a general introduction to the place and treatment of (same-sex) sexuality within both the four fields of anthropology (sociocultural, linguistic, biological, archaeology) and historical and archival anthropological research. The various theoretical and methodological problems both faced by anthropologists working within and outside the United States on the subject of same-sex sexualities, and evident in the anthropo-

logical literature on such, are identified and addressed in the essays comprising Part II, Problems and Propositions. Part III, Ethics, Erotics, and Exercises, is made up of essays that introduce definitions and expressions of same-sex sexualities and erotic behaviors, and same-sex practices (or "exercises," in the sense of actions manifested as practices) in various cultural and historical settings. Some of the essays also consider the "real-world" applications of anthropological insights into sexual activities, together with the global circulation and local modifications and ramifications of sexual identity politics of Euro-American provenance. Finally, the fifteen essays collectively present and represent anthropological approaches to the subject of same-sex sexuality, as well as contribute to the recasting of concepts both central to the discipline and hotly debated today in public forums.

NOTES

1 I alternate between using this term in its singular and plural forms to remind readers of the manifold varieties of sexual behaviors and practices compressed into the term "sexuality."

2 Weston (1993) and Kulick (2000).

3 Among those anthologies – and this is but a small number of relevant publications – are Henry Abelove, Michele Aina Barale, and David Halperin, eds., *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Richard Parker and Peter Aggleton, eds., *Culture, Society and Sexuality: A Reader* (London: UCL Press, 1999); Timothy Murphy, ed., *Reader's Guide to Lesbian and Gay Studies* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000); Anna Livia and Kira Hall, eds., *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997; John Corvino, ed., *Same Sex: Debating the Ethics, Science, and Culture of Homosexuality* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997); Leslie Moran, Daniel Monk, and Sarah Beresford, eds., *Legal Queeries: Lesbian, Gay, and Transgender Legal Studies* (New York: Cassell, 1998); Joan Nestle, ed., *The Persistent Desire: A Femme-Butch Reader* (Boston: Alyson Publications, 1992); Carol Vance, ed., *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality* (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985 [1984]); Cindy Patton and Benigno Sanchez-Eppler, eds., *Queer Diasporas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Evelyn Blackwood, ed., *The Many Faces of Homosexuality: Anthropological Approaches to Homosexual Behavior* (New York: Harrington Park, 1986); Gilbert Herdt, ed., *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History* (New York: Zone, 1994); Wayne R. Dynes and Stephen Donaldson, eds., *Ethnographic Studies of Homosexuality* (New York: Garland, 1992); and Ellen Lewin and William Leap, eds., *Out in the Field: Reflections of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996). An excellent cross-cultural bibliography of texts dealing with same-sex sexualities and desires can be accessed on line at http://www.lib.uchicago. edu/e/su/gaylesb/. Finally, although I do not address the anthropologically relevant subject of a lesbian and gay filmography, I would like to reference here a recently edited volume, Chris Holmlund and Cynthia Fuchs, eds., *Between the Sheets, In the Streets: Queer, Lesbian, Gay Documentary* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

4 This introduction by no means is intended to represent a comprehensive investigation of the study of same-same sexualities within the discipline of anthropology. In addition to Vance (in this volume), scholars who do present an overview of anthropological discourses on same-sex sexualities include Blackwood (1986) and Weston (1993), two of the few

anthropologists who actually address female–female sexual relations; the vast majority of anthropological studies of sexuality focus almost exclusively on male–male relations.

5 The all-female Takarazuka Revue was founded in 1913 and continues to enjoy enormous popularity today. From the outset, the Revue has been the focus of heated debates in the mass media on the relationship of sex, gender, and sexuality.

6 This point also pertains to societies outside of Western Europe and the United States. See Sabine Fruhstuck's *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) for a stimulating account of the history and ramifications of sexology in Japan.

7 Juxtaposing Klein and Shapiro, one could conjure, cynically, the following Orwellian scenario: parents would have to choose whether to induce the abortion of a baby whose genes indicate that it will be gay, or to subject the infant to transsexual surgery and hormone "therapy" to ensure that its anatomy fits its (genetic) sexuality!

8 For a recent book that embodies Klinger's message, see James Vinson Carmichael, Jr., *Daring to Find Our Names: The Search for Lesbigay Library History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998).

9 As one reviewer, Evelyn Blackwood, noted, there are various ways in which I could have grouped the fifteen essays. She saw affinities between Spanier and Stein (challenges to biology), Hayden and Robertson ("queering" kinship"), Blackwood, Donham, and Wright (transnational encounters), Klinger and Freedman and D'Emilio (history), and Kulick, Elliston, Shapiro, Bunzl, and Voss (contesting dominant models).

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