

GEXcel Work in Progress Report Volume II

Proceedings from GEXcel Theme 1:
Gender, Sexuality and Global Change
Fall 2007

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Centre of Gendering Excellence – GEXcel

**Towards a European Centre of Excellence in
Transnational and Transdisciplinary Studies of**

- Changing Gender Relations
- Intersectionalities
- Embodiment

Institute of Thematic Gender Studies, Dept. of Gender Studies,
Linköping University
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Centre of Gender Excellence, Gendering Excellence – GEXcel

Towards a European Centre of Excellence in Transnational and Transdisciplinary Studies of

- Changing Gender Relations
- Intersectionalities
- Embodiment

Nina Lykke, Linköping University, Director of GEXcel

In 2006, the Swedish Research Council granted 20 millions SEK to set up a Center of Gender Excellence at the inter-university Institute of Thematic Gender Studies, Linköping University & Örebro University, for the period 2007-2011. Linköping University has added five million SEK as matching funds, while Örebro University has added three million SEK as matching funds.

The following is a short presentation of the excellence center. For more info contact: Scientific Director of GEXcel, Prof. Nina Lykke (ninly@tema.liu.se), Secretary Berit Starkman (berst@tema.liu.se), or Research Coordinator: Malena Gustavson (malgu@tema.liu.se).

Institutional basis of GEXcel

Institute of Thematic Gender Studies, Linköping University & Örebro University

The institute is a collaboration between:

Department of Gender Studies, Linköping University
Centre for Feminist Social Studies, Örebro University

Affiliated with the institute are:

Division of Gender and Medicine, Linköping University
Centre for Gender Studies, Linköping University

GEXcel board and lead-team

- a transdisciplinary team of Gender Studies professors:

- Prof. Nina Lykke, Linköping University (Director) – Gender and Culture; background: Literary Studies
- Prof. Anita Göransson, Linköping University – Gender, Organisation and Economic Change; background: Economic History
- Prof. Jeff Hearn, Linköping University – Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities; background: Sociology and Organisation Studies
- Prof. Anna G. Jónasdóttir, Örebro University – Gender Studies with a profile of Political Science
- Prof. Christine Roman, Örebro University – Sociology with a profile of Gender Studies
- Prof. Barbro Wijma, Linköping University – Gender and Medicine

International advisory board

- Prof. Karen Barad, University of California, St. Cruz, USA
- Prof. Rosi Braidotti, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands
- Prof. Raewyn Connell, University of Sydney, Australia
- Prof. Em. Leonore Davidoff, University of Essex, UK
- Prof. Em. Kathleen B. Jones, San Diego State University, USA
- Prof. Elzbieta Oleksy, University of Lodz, Poland

- Prof. Berit Schei, Norwegian University of Technology, Trondheim, Norway
- Prof. Birte Siim, University of Aalborg, Denmark

Aims of GEXcel

1) to set up a temporary (5 year) Centre of Gender Excellence (Gendering EXcellence: GEXcel) in order to develop innovative research on changing gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment from transnational and transdisciplinary perspectives.

2) to become a pilot or developmental scheme for a more permanent Sweden-based European Collegium for Advanced Transnational and Transdisciplinary Gender Studies (CATSgender).

A core activity of GEXcel 2007-2011

A core activity will be a visiting fellows programme, organized to attract excellent senior researchers and promising younger scholars from Sweden and abroad and from many disciplinary backgrounds. The visiting fellows are taken in after application and a peer-reviewed evaluation process of the applications; a number of top scholars within the field are also invited to be part of GEXcel's research teams. GEXcel's visiting fellows get from one week to twelve months grants to stay at GEXcel to do research together with the permanent staff of six Gender Studies professors and other relevant local staff.

The Fellowship Programme is concentrated on annually shifting thematic foci. We select and construct shifting research groups, consisting of excellent researchers of different academic generations (professors, post-doctoral scholars, doctoral students) to carry out new research on specified research themes within the overall frame of changing gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment.

Brief definition of overall research theme of GEXcel

The overall theme of GEXcel research is defined as *transnational and transdisciplinary studies of changing gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment*. We have chosen a broad and inclusive frame in order to attract a diversity of excellent scholars from different disciplines, countries and academic generations, but specificity and focus are also given high priority and ensured via annually shifting thematic foci.

The overall keywords of the (long!) title are chosen in order to indicate currently pressing theoretical and methodological challenges of gender research to be addressed by GEXcel research:

– By the keyword “*transnational*” we underline that GEXcel research should contribute to a systematic transnationalizing of research on gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment, and, in so doing, develop a reflexive stance vis-à-vis transnational travelling of ideas, theories and concepts, and consciously try to overcome reductive one-country focused research as well as pseudo-universalizing research that unreflectedly takes e.g. “Western” or “Scandinavian” models as norm.

– By the keyword “*changing*” we aim at underlining that it, in a world of rapidly changing social, cultural, economic and technical relations, is crucial to be able to theorize change, and that this is of particular importance for critical gender research due to its liberatory aims and inherent focus on macro, meso and micro level transformations.

– By the keyword “*gender relations*”, we aim at underlining that we define gender not as an essence, but as a relational, plural and shifting process, and that it is the aim of GEXcel research to contribute to a further understanding of this process.

– By the keyword “*intersectionalities*”, we stress that a continuous reflection on meanings of intersectionalities in gender research should be integrated in all GEXcel research. In particular, we will emphasize four different aspects: a) *intersectionality as intersections of disciplines and main areas (humanities, social sciences and medical and natural sciences)*; b) *intersectionality as intersections between macro, meso and micro level social analyses*; c) *intersectionality as intersections between social categories and power differentials organized around categories such as gender, ethnicity, race, class, sexuality, age, nationality, profession, disability etc)*; d) *intersectionality as intersections between major different branches of feminist theorizing (eg. queer feminist theorizing, Marxist feminist theorizing, postcolonial feminist theorizing etc.)*.

– Finally, by the keyword “*embodiment*”, we aim at emphasizing yet another kind of intersectionality, which has proved crucial in current gender research – to explore intersections between discourse and materiality and between sex and gender.

Specific research themes for first 2,5 year period of GEXcel

The research at GEXcel will focus on shifting themes. The research themes to be announced for the first 2,5 years are the following:

Theme 1) “Gender, Sexuality and Global Change” (on interactions of gender and sexuality in a global perspective), headed by Anna Jónasdóttir

Theme 2) “Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities” (on ways to critically analyze constructions of the social category “men”), headed by Jeff Hearn

Theme 3) “Distinctions and Authorization” (on meanings of gender, class, and ethnicity in constructions of elites), headed by Anita Göransson.

Theme 4 + 5) “Sexual Health, Embodiment and Empowerment” (on new synergies between different kinds of feminist researchers’ (eg. philosophers’ and medical doctors’) approaches to the sexed body), headed by Nina Lykke and Barbro Wijma.

The thematically organized research groups will be chaired by GEXcel’s core staff of six Gender Studies professors, who make up a transdisciplinary team, covering humanities, social sciences and medicine.

Seven more themes are under planning for the second 2,5 year period.

Ambitions and visions

The fellowship programme of GEXcel is created with the central purpose to create transnational and transdisciplinary research teams that will have the opportunity to work together for a certain time – long enough to do joint research, do joint publications, produce joint international research applications and do other joint activities such as organizing international conferences.

We will build on our extensive international networks to promote the idea of a permanent European institute for advanced and excellent gender research – and in collaboration with other actors try to make this idea become real, for example, organizations such as AOIFE, the SOCRATES-funded network Athena and WISE, who jointly are preparing for a professional Gender Studies organisation in Europe.

We also hope that a collaboration within Sweden will sustain the long-term goals of making a difference both in Sweden and abroad.

We consider GEXcel to be *a pilot or developmental scheme* for a more long-term European centre of gender excellence, i.e. for an institute- or collegium-like structure dedicated to advanced, transnational and trans-

disciplinary gender research, research training and education in advanced Gender Studies (CATSgender).

Leading international institutes for advanced study such as the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of California Irvine, and in Sweden The Swedish Collegium for Advanced Studies (SCAS at Uppsala University) have proved to be attractive environments and creative meeting places where top scholars in various fields from all over the world, and from different generations, have found time for reflective work and for meeting and generating new, innovative research. We would like to explore how this kind of academic structures that have proved very productive in terms of advancing excellence and high level, internationally important and recognized research within other areas of study, can unleash new potentials of gender research and initiate a new level of excellence within the area. The idea is, however not just to take an existing academic form for unfolding of excellence potentials and fill it with excellent gender research. Understood as a developmental/pilot scheme for CATSgender, GEXcel should build on inspirations from the mentioned units for advanced studies, but also further explore and assess what feminist excellence means in terms of both contents and form/structure.

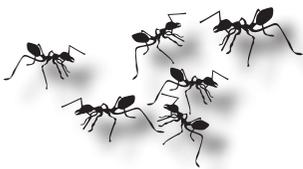
We want to rework the advanced research collegium model on a feminist basis and include thorough reflections on meanings of gender excellence. What does it mean to gender excellence? How can we do it in even more excellent and feminist innovative ways?

Editors' Foreword

The chapters of this volume are the result of the initial activities carried out within the frame of GEXcel's first research theme, *Gender, Sexuality and Global Change*. All the authors participated in the one-day opening seminar of the theme, which took place at Örebro University, Sweden, on October 17, 2007. The event gathered around 70 people.

Most of the authors were invited by GEXcel as visiting fellows and spent varying periods of time at Örebro University to work on their projects during the month of October. On May 22-25, 2008 they will gather in Örebro once more, at a conference of workshops aiming to conclude the research activities they carried out during the fall of 2007.

This volume is of a work-in-progress character, thus the initial drafts presented here are to be elaborated further. The reader of this volume should also be aware that due to the fact that this is a report of working papers, the language of the papers contributed by non-native speakers of English has not been specifically examined.



Chapter 1

Gender, Sexuality and Global Change – Welcome and Presentation of the Research Theme

Anna G. Jónasdóttir

This is the presentation of the research theme Gender, Sexuality and Global Change, given by Anna G. Jónasdóttir at the opening seminar on October 17, 2007 at Örebro University. The presentation starts with a welcome speech.

Dear all!

It is a great pleasure to see so many people here at this one-day conference, kicking off the Örebro-part of GEXcel. We all know how difficult it is to find the time to attend or engage in things other than what we simply must do. So, I repeat the vice chancellor's words and say: "A warm welcome to all of you".

We at Örebro University at the Centre for Feminist Social Studies (CFS), including the Gender Studies group have both the pleasure and the pain to start the GEXcel research activities, in the sense that I am responsible for the first research theme, *Gender, Sexuality and Global Change*, for which today's event is an opening seminar. The GEXcel project was launched in May of this year with a conference arranged in Linköping (cf. volume 1 of this Work in Progress Report Series). According to the work plan included in the application to VR (The Swedish Research Council), the first half of the first year was intended for preparations and detail planning. Since early February 2007 we have worked quite intensively in the Örebro team to prepare for this first theme, in focus during the academic year 2007-08. The more visible parts of the research activities, with fellows in residence, special seminars etc. are con-

centrated in October 2007 and April 2008. A conference of workshops scheduled for May 22-25, 2008 is intended as a second step towards completion of publications connected to the first theme.

Since GEXcel is primarily a visiting fellows programme, gathering prominent senior as well as junior scholars from different countries, I want to identify and specifically welcome the visitors who are staying with us this autumn for different periods of time. To begin with the junior fellows, who were selected from among many well qualified applicants from a wide range of countries: Maria Törnqvist, who was awarded her Ph.D. in Sociology at Stockholm University last year, received a six months post doctoral position. Her GEXcel project is entitled *A Market of Emotions: The Case of Tango Tourism in Buenos Aires*. Three doctoral students from as many foreign countries (the VR money cannot subsidize Swedish doctoral students) are staying for one month each: Kate Hardy, Ph.D. candidate in Geography, University of London; Lene Myong Petersen, Ph.D. candidate in Educational Psychology, the Danish University of Education, Copenhagen; and Rajeev Kumaramkandath, Ph.D. candidate in Cultural Studies, Centre for the Study of Culture and Society, Bangalore, India.

Kate's project is *Rethinking Action: Gendered and Sexualised Space and Identities in the Struggle of AMMAR* (and AMMAR stands for the Spanish version of the Argentinean Association of Female Sex Workers). Lene's project is *Discursive Economies of Intimacy: Transnational Adoption, Race and Sexuality*, and Rajeev is working on *The Discursive Production of Sexual Subjects in a Postcolonial Context: Sexual Morality and Homosexuality in the 21st Century Kerala*.

Maria has already given one introductory seminar on her project, and she will give another later next spring, towards the end of her fellowship period. Kate, Lene and Rajeev will present their work in progress on October 24 and I invite you all to that event.

The senior fellows were all invited, and I want to mention first Valerie Bryson, Professor of Politics, University of Huddersfield, UK, and Michael Kimmel, Professor of Sociology, State University of New York at Stony Brook, USA, both of whom will present their work today. Valerie will give a paper named *From Making Tools to Making Love: Marx, Materialism and Feminist Thought* and Michael will present some of the results from his studies of a specific group of young men in the US and Scandinavia under the title *Globalization and its Mal(e)contents: Masculinity and Sexuality on the Extreme Right*. (However, Michael was invited to contribute to our theme not so much for his well known and interesting research on manhood and masculinities, but rather for his

work on “gendered society” (see Kimmel 2004) covering a broader field of social theory. Consequently he agreed to submit a different piece of work to this volume, namely a paper from his work in progress about the sexual culture of the American college campus.) Cynthia Cockburn, Professor of Sociology, City University London, UK, is working on a topic preliminarily called *Sexualized Violence in Diverse and Changing Wars: When, Who and Why?* She will present a paper on Thursday, October 25, with the title “*Why are You doing this to Me?*” *Identity, Positionality, Power and Sexual Violence in War*. Chris Beasley is not among the invited fellows, but she happened to pass by Örebro on her way from Australia to Linköping, so luckily we could invite her as an extra guest. Chris, who is Reader in Politics at the University of Adelaide, Australia, will give a seminar on Friday this week on the topic *Global Ethics: Why not Trust and Care? What’s the Alternative?*

Kathleen Jones, Professor Emerita of Women’s Studies, San Diego State University, USA, who will chair the last session of today’s programme, is a central person in this project. She is a member of the International advisory board of GEXcel. In that capacity, and as an honorary doctor in Gender Studies at Örebro University (since 2003), Kathleen has acted as what might be called a local advisor to me and the Örebro team on many strategic and practical matters concerning the Excellence Centre and the organising of the visiting scholar programme.

Jeff Hearn – who is going to speak here in a little while – is Professor of Gender Studies at Linköping University, and one of the six professors of GEXcel’s lead team. He is also responsible for one of the research themes based in Linköping (Aug 2008-Aug 2009), *Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities*. I invited Jeff to participate here today because I thought that the topic of one of his recently published articles, *A Materialist Discursive Approach to Sexuality, Sexual Violence and Sexualing Globalisation: The Case of ICTs*, would fit in well with the *Gender, Sexuality and Global Change* theme. His presentation signals cooperation in the GEXcel project across borders, not only between the two campuses but also across the different research themes. In addition, as I have argued shortly elsewhere (Jónasdóttir 1991/1994, ch. 9 and 2002b: 9), the kind of feminist social and political theory I wish to promote in this theme needs to take men (in their various relationships to women as well as with other men) theoretically more seriously than has been common among feminist theorists. Also, since Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities has developed into a field of its own, a dialogue between the two fields would be good for both.

I am very happy and grateful to all of you for accepting our invitation to join in the work on this first research theme of GEXcel. I hope you will enjoy your stay here and that, even if we can only offer you a short time, you will find peace – and excitement too – so that you can work well and want to come back!

Four senior scholars have accepted to come during spring 2008 and stay for different periods of time. These people are Jacqui Alexander, Professor of Women's Studies and Gender Studies at the University of Toronto, Canada; Eudine Barriteau, Professor and head of The Centre for Gender and Development Studies, University of the West Indies, Barbados; Ann Ferguson, Professor Emerita in Philosophy and Women's Studies University of Massachusetts Amherst, USA; and Stevi Jackson, Professor of Sociology, University of York, UK. (In early November a fifth invited senior scholar, Kimberlé Crenshaw, professor in Law, UCLA, USA, will visit us for one week and give a seminar at the end of April.) We have announced the call for applications for two junior scholars for the spring 2008. A large number of people have already applied. Finally also we have announced the May conference related to this first theme.

What, then, is the research theme *Gender, Sexuality and Global Change* about?

(i)

The idea guiding this thematically focused research programme is that we need a new approach to thinking about sexuality and its relationship to gender. The objective is to contribute to feminist thought and gender theory and research by developing a specific, complex conception of sexuality. It undertakes a shift in perspective from defining sexuality as an identity category to analysing sexuality as a set of relations, activities, needs, desires, productive/reproductive powers and capacities, identities, values, institutions, and organizational and structural contexts (Jónasdóttir and Jones forthcoming, Jónasdóttir forthcoming 2002, 1991/1994, Derek Layder 1993, Hearn and Parkin 1987/1995, Padgug 1979/1989).

A shift in perspective from defining sexuality as an identity category does not mean to abandon micro-level investigations of sexuality/sexualities as a social category. As a matter of fact several of the projects selected to contribute to this Research theme do focus in various ways on identity/subjectivity issues (see for ex. Cockburn, Kumaramkandath and Petersen this volume). This shift in perspective is intended to pro-

mote theoretical understandings of sexuality which go beyond the individual experience/self/identity/subjectivity level of sexualities. It aims to give priority to macro- and meso-level problematisations of “sexuality as a set of relations, activities, needs, desires, productive/reproductive powers and capacities, identities, values, institutions, and organizational and structural contexts”, that is when the self or the subject (individually or categorically, in singular or plural) is not the fundamental “unit of analysis”. To go beyond the individual- or identity-level includes developing analyses of power that can show how modes of institutionalised and organisational power link or intersect sexual matters on these different levels with one another. By power I mean both “power to” and “power over”, power in both the transformative and prohibitive sense, enabling both possibilities and constraints.

A text that I have found very inspiring for developing the kind of multi-level approach called for here, is Derek Layder’s *New Strategies in Social Research* (1993). Although he does not deal with sexuality, and only briefly considers gender, his work remains useful in many respects: First, in his four-level scheme or map as he calls it (self – situated activity/ social relationships – setting – context), he includes relational activity as an analytical level of its own reducible neither to agents nor structures. Such a level is otherwise missing in comparable analytical schemes, whether or not they are constructed especially for gender research (as for instance in Sandra Harding 1986 and Joan Scott 1986). Second, a historical dimension is built into his multi-level map. Third, he assumes power runs through and connects all the different levels.

The shift in perspective also aims to contribute to thinking about sexuality and its relationship to gender without binding it either to identity logic (which cannot think of the other without reducing it to the same, see for ex. Descombes 1987:89), or difference logic (where “difference” is not only always already situated somehow in relation to some unquestioned norm--for example, women as equal or unequal to men, like or unlike men--but is also established as a hierarchical relation) borrowed from French linguistic philosophy. This tug-of-war between identity-difference has been fundamental in contemporary poststructuralist theory and its analytic method, deconstruction, while poststructuralism dominated feminist theory debates since the late 1980s, even though other currents of thought continued to thrive. Whether or not deconstruction is effective as “a strategy for displacing the hierarchy” (Davies and Hunt 1994:389, here after Mac an Ghail 2000:3), whether, with respect to men-women for instance, women can only either substitute men on the top, or women and men must “disappear”, whether queer theory, or

thinking about sex, gender or both in terms of a concept of series will solve problems of inequality and the like remain open questions.

There are indications that poststructuralism's influence is in decline, both in feminism and more generally. More and more frequently conference themes and workshop topics as well as articles in journals signal that poststructuralist theory has passed its heyday (see for example *The Theory After "Theory" Conference*, University of York, UK, Department of English and Related Literature, October 2006, the announcement of *The IX Conference of Nordic women's and gender historians*, to be held in Reykjavík, Iceland in August 2008, and several contributions in the UK journal *Radical Philosophy*). So far, considerations of what the "shape and constitution of theoretical endeavour" would be in such an "After" situation (whether *Theory After "Theory"* implies the "death of theory" or whether and how theory persists in various existing/emergent forms) come mainly from the academic fields which were the mainsprings of poststructuralist thought in the first place, namely philosophy, modern languages and literature, and in certain disciplines, like women's/gender history, where poststructuralism was introduced with conflicting results.

Can prevailing critical stances (including my own) towards poststructuralist theory's ability to "think the new" (Currier 2003:324, referring to Grosz 2000) in studies of sexuality and gender relations in society, culture and history, be made compatible with the corporeal-feminist critique of identity and difference logic developed by scholars engaged with questions of technology and bodies? This is an open question. Regarding this research theme, such philosophical questions proper are secondary. Issues of philosophy of science or metatheory are considered mainly insofar as they are needed for the development of specific theories (cf. Jónasdóttir and Jones forthcoming) to be used in empirically descriptive and/or ethico-political studies of sexual matters and gender in social life.

(ii)

The argument put forward here defines sexuality as a basic link concept. As a subject matter, this research programme understands sexuality fundamentally as a broad and complex dimension of historically changing socio-cultural and human-material reality.

By approaching social, economic, political and cultural and biotechnological gender issues within a conceptual framework that defines sexuality in such broad terms, new perspectives on the various inter-

sectionalities identified in this programme open up, and new research questions can be raised.

This research programme will build on the work of social analysts who have opened up new arenas of investigation by exploring the sexuality-related dimensions of global problems such as migration, mortality and morbidity, economic development and patterns of structural adjustment, militarization and other forms of political-economic intervention, nation-state transformation and regional and transnational economic and political change. For instance, studies of migration have identified the ways that gender intersects with racial/ethnic identity, patterning individuals and groups entry into formal and informal economies in distinct ways, i.e., to legitimate work or prostitution and trafficking. Human rights advocates have linked efforts to secure equality to investigations of the dynamics of sexualized violence, the use of rape as a systematic military strategy, the practice of honour-related violence and the sexual politics of AIDS. Nevertheless, it has proved difficult for feminist theorists and gender researchers to “maintain a long historical vision of the shifting intersections of sex and politics” (Di Leonardo and Lancaster 2002), thereby limiting the effectiveness and scope of conceptual frameworks guiding various feminist strategies for global change.

In this research programme the intention is neither to investigate all the sexuality-related areas listed above, nor to come up with neat solutions to complicated global problems. Rather, by listing these “sexuality-related dimensions of global problems”, we stress that the current global economic and political processes and transnational flows of energies and values contain sexual and gendered dimensions or features. Also, and not the least, many structural contexts and organisational settings, which are not as obviously “sexploitve” (Hearn and Parkin 1995:68) as for example trafficking and prostitution, may be of central importance to research on sexuality when the aim is to expand and deepen the understanding of whether and how sexuality matters in (local and global) social and political life. Hopefully, then, the present “after-(high)-Theory”-situation will strengthen the possibility to deal fruitfully with the historically “shifting intersections of sex and politics” and be able to distinguish and theorise varying structural intersections of sexuality, economy and polity/governmentality in contemporary societies.

(iii)

The research activities will be organised into three sub-themes: 1) *Sexuality, Love and Social Theory*; 2) *Power and Politics: A Feminist View*; and 3) *Common and Conflicted: Rethinking Interest, Solidarity, and Action*.

1) Sexuality, Love and Social Theory

What is sexuality? How do multi-level conceptions of sexuality (that is process of production of people, selves/subjectivities, relational activities carried out in different institutions and organisational contexts) intersect? Is Marx's method or historical materialism more generally, useful for critical, constructive approaches to theory and research about sexuality, gendered power and global change? What is new in the "new materialism"? Would some kind of a complexity theory, focused on sexuality as socio-economically and socio-culturally embedded and politically conflicted and regulated enable better understanding of today's most urgent scientific and political questions, like the global (and local) problems listed above?

2) Power and Politics: A Feminist View

After Foucault, what new can be said about power or sexuality or their interconnections? How are ideas about sexuality useful for building both analytically descriptive and action-oriented theories, which are not "merely sexual" (Jónasdóttir/Jones forthcoming) but also able to make contributions to critical-realist, ethico-political feminist social theory? (Of course, "merely sexual" alludes to the use of "merely cultural" in the debate between Nancy Fraser and Judith Butler some years ago.) After poststructuralism, what more can be said about distinctions among the social, the political, and the sexual? Can dialogues between different branches of structuralist and poststructuralist modes of feminist theorizing create new perspectives? For example between queerfeminist poststructuralist analysis of sexuality and heteronormativity and critical realist, historico-materialist approaches?

3) Common and Conflicted: Rethinking Interest, Solidarity, and Action

How can we reconceptualise such key terms and ideas as common and conflicted interests, human plurality, solidarity and action through the lens of sociosexual complexity theory? Is, for example, queer politics necessarily bound to poststructuralist theory? Or are the often noted tensions between queer theory and queer activism in practical politics at least partly dependent on a fixed connection that should be destabilised? Why is it so often taken for granted that "Feminist Solidarity after Queer Theory" (Heyes 2003) is hardly thinkable?

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Chapter 2

From Making Tools to Making Love: Marx, Materialism and Feminist Thought

Valerie Bryson

I came to feminism rather later than many of my generation. Although my ideas have changed and evolved, two things remain constant: that inequalities between women and men are real, important and unjust – not just effects of discourse, not just a matter of history - and that the goal of feminist theory should be to expose and understand oppressive gender relationships in order to contest them. In other words, feminist theory has an overtly political role, not simply to interpret and understand the world, but to help identify the kinds of political strategies that might change it.

In this context, I have long considered Marx’s materialist method an important aid to feminist understanding and political practice, but one that has to be handled with care. This paper outlines in general terms why I think that Marxist method has something to offer, before showing how its rigid use by earlier Marxist writers hindered feminist understanding. I then attempt to build on my own work on Marxism and feminism (Bryson 2004, 2005) to extend the concept of (re)production to the analysis of sexuality. I compare this with Anna Jónasdóttir’s more radical reformulation of Marxist method to put the exploitation of women’s “love power” at the heart of feminist analysis, and use this as a springboard for a discussion of the nature of productive and reproductive processes.

Marxist method

I'm attracted to Marxist method in the analysis of women's oppression for a number of interconnected reasons. Firstly, its recognition that human relationships and social structures are created over time supports the view that existing gender roles and relationships are not natural or inevitable or final, but the historically specific product of particular economic, political and ideological forces and processes. As such, they are open to challenge and change, based on the recognition that human agents we can make history, although not in circumstances of our own choosing – and that we need to understand these circumstances if we are to change them. Secondly, although clearly social and political arrangements are seldom determined by a material base in any straightforward way, Marxism's insistence on the “real world” nature and bases of inequality, oppression and exploitation as products of human activity is one which I also hold. Thirdly, while as a feminist I want to challenge the privileged position of political economy and class in most Marxist analysis, I believe that the analysis of gender issues cannot meaningfully be abstracted from the analysis of class society.

At the same time, I believe that classic Marxism has been deeply flawed by largely ignoring the experiences and history of women, and that it has often served to conceal or mystify women's oppression. I therefore argue (as does Jónasdóttir) that if we are to use Marxist method to help us understand women's oppression, we cannot simply extend the existing theory; rather, we have to radically reformulate it with women and their experiences centre stage.

The “classic” Marxist writers

The limitations of Marxist theory are immediately apparent in the work of those early Marxists who attempted to apply it to “the woman question”. In particular, I think that the late nineteenth/early twentieth century German Marxist Clara Zetkin might have understood more about women's oppression if she had listened to women rather than toeing a rigid Marxist line. This line left her with no way of conceptualising gender issues, and treated the material base in narrowly economic terms. When she ran classes for the political education of working women, she found that they wanted to talk about sex and marriage rather than Marxist theory – when told off by Lenin, she attempted to claim that this was a way into the discussion of historical materialism: “All roads lead to Rome. Every truly Marxist analysis of an important part of the ideological superstructure of society ... had to lead to an analysis of bourgeois society

and its foundations, private property”. However, when Lenin expressed doubts as to whether such analysis actually occurred, she conceded the point and said that she had therefore ensured that personal matters were no longer the focal point of discussion (in Lenin, 1977:102-3).

As with almost all the classic Marxist writers, the problem was that Zetkin was operating in a rigid framework within which domestic and sexual issues could only be seen as individual problems, or as part of the ideological superstructure, rather than as subjects in their own right. Within this framework, sex oppression within the working class had no material basis, and there was no need to struggle directly against it – all forms of sex oppression would automatically be overcome in a socialist society, in which men would have no private property to pass to their heirs and women would no longer be economically dependent on men. Thus Engels (1978:83) notoriously dismissed domestic violence within the working class in a half-sentence referring to “a leftover piece of the brutality towards women that has become deep-rooted since the introduction of monogamy”, and although Zetkin’s compatriot August Bebel had more to say about non-economic forms of oppression, including the double standard of sexual morality, his Marxist framework allowed no space for theorising this or confronting it directly. Here the exception is the Russian Marxist Alexandra Kollontai. Although she too saw sexuality as superstructural, she identified power relations in morality, sexuality and the family, and argued that these must be challenged directly and in their own right, not only to end women’s oppression but also because changes in these areas were a necessary precondition for building a socialist economy, free from ideas of ownership and isolated individualism. However, her ideas were officially deemed erroneous and have only recently been revisited.

More recent developments

Late twentieth century writers have of course since tried to use Marxism to address the “personal” issues identified by radical feminists. However, the economic focus of earlier approaches has largely remained. This was most obvious in the “domestic labour debate”. Although other writers such as Juliet Mitchell and Michelle Barratt went much further in attempting to include sexuality in their analysis, they tended to see this as somehow free-floating, or semi-ideological, to be understood in terms of culture or psychology rather than as part of the material basis of society; as such it cannot be of primary importance.

Teresa Ebert's more recent (1996) work provides an explicit focus on sexuality within a Marxist framework which is at first sight more promising. She bases her approach on historical materialism, but extends this to argue that both productive and reproductive practices have primacy in the development of human history and the construction of subjectivities. She sees sexuality as a key part of reproductive practices, arguing that sexual desire "is a practice, not simply a performance, and as such it is historical and material" (1996:48). However, although she recognises that there are "various and very complicated mediations" (1996:88), she retains the classic Marxist position that, like all social practice, sexuality, is determined by the workings of the mode of production: "Sexuality is, in short, an articulation of profit. As such, it is determined by the mode of production" (1996:96).

I agree with Ebert that economic arrangements clearly affect women's sexual "choices" and that in this sense "[A] woman's very sexuality – the ways in which her desires are constructed and the ways in which she is able to act on them to be heterosexual, to be lesbian, to be a mother or not" is conditioned by her economic situation (1996:48). However, I disagree with her on a number of general and specific points. I don't agree that patriarchy in general and men's control over women's sexuality in particular are *primarily* a product of capitalism's drive to maintain profits and "only secondarily a regime of power of men over women" (1996:91). Nor do I agree that, because men are acting as "personifications of economic categories" (1996:93, quoting Marx) rather than free agents when they control sexuality, patriarchy will be redundant in a socialist society, in which the labour of women and men will be of equal value and labour will no longer be required to increase profit. I also think it is simplistic to argue that rape should be understood as "part of the systematic practices of power and coercion that enable the "superexploitation" of women's surplus labor" (1996:20), that rates of teenage pregnancy are "part of the law of motion of capital and its need for a surplus population" (1996:96) and that, because they are linked to fertility rates, the prevalence of homosexuality and heterosexuality in a population should be seen "not as the effect of the autonomous working of desire but as the working of the laws of motion of capital" (1996:96).

I think the key problem with Ebert, as with the classic Marxist formulations, is that even when reproduction and sexuality are included in the material basis of society, they are not seen as having any independent dynamic, and she loses sight of power relationships between men and women. A more robustly woman-centred feminist approach has to radically redefine work and human relationships and displace conven-

tionally defined production as the sole or central category of materialist analysis. As I'll discuss in the rest of this section, I've made an attempt at such re-definition and re-focussing, and Jónasdóttir goes much further.

(Re)production

Unlike some other writers, including Ebert, I've chosen not to use the term "reproduction", as this conflates too many biological and social issues and has more technical and precise usages in Marxist economic theory. In arguing that our understanding of the material basis of society must include the physical, nurturing and emotional activities involved in reproducing the species, I've preferred to use the term "(re)production", to indicate both a link with production and a distinction from it. I've defined this as "those human activities (physical and emotional) which are more or less directly linked to the generational reproduction and maintenance of the population and the care of those unable to look after themselves" (2004: 24). I have said that these activities, which have been disproportionately associated with women, include "not only biological procreation, but also cooking, cleaning, the care of children, elderly people and people with disabilities or ill health, and the satisfaction of emotional and sexual needs"; such activities can be performed individually within the home, or seen as a communal or state responsibility or paid for as part of the money economy.

This perspective assumes that (re)production is not simply a by-product of productive activity as conventionally understood, but has to be understood in its own right. However, it does not seek to understand it in isolation, but attempts to open up the complex and shifting relationship between production and (re)production to critical scrutiny. In order to understand how societies are organised and the ways they may be changing we need to look beyond production to investigate the forces of (re)production in the sense of knowledge and technological developments around procreation, care and sex, the relations of (re)production in the sense of how it is organised, and how these relate to the overall modes of production and (re)production.

I haven't yet applied this systematically to sexuality, but have assumed that this is part of (re)productive processes. Using this perspective to focus on sexuality more directly, might suggest we should investigate particular material "forces of sexuality". These might include existing knowledge about human sexual biology; the prevalence or absence of widespread sexually transmitted diseases; the availability of effective contraception and access to abortion; the ratio between adult men and women in the population (which in turn may be affected by develop-

ments in ante-natal screening and pre-birth sex selection); and developments in information and communication technologies, such as online pornography and instantaneous, long-distance sexual communication - as discussed by Jeff Hearn in his paper today.

These are real, material conditions within which sexual practices take place, and they necessarily condition “relations of sexuality”, that is, the ways in which sexual practices are socially organised. These include marriage, the family, prostitution, the status of same-sex relationships and the incidence of sexual violence. These relationships are in turn likely to be reflected in particular laws, political arrangements and belief systems. As Marx said of changes in production, changes in the forces of sexuality are likely to produce conflict with existing relations of sexuality, and with the legal, political and ideological superstructure that supports it; they are therefore a potential source of more general, radical change.

Approaching sexuality in this way allows for the probability that the connections involved are not straightforward or one way, that they are mediated by a range of factors including religious beliefs and gender ideology, and that they affect different groups differently. Sexuality is also clearly conditioned by economic forces and relationships, although it cannot be reduced to these, and the material conditions in which women’s sexual choices are made include their role in production and the extent to which this provides them with economic independence. Changes in the forces of sexuality, such as developments in reproductive technology, the growth of the pornography industry and the sexual trafficking of women, are also themselves bound up with economic imperatives, fuelled by the drive to maximise profit in the globalised capitalist economy. At the same time, sex in many nations is increasingly both commodified and used to promote consumption, and as global market forces increasingly permeate all areas of life the boundaries between (re) production and production are themselves shifting.

The point of all this isn’t simply to play around with Marxist jargon. Rather, if (re)production in general and sexuality in particular are part of the material basis of society with their own momentum, rather than simply an ideological reflection of this, tackling them directly becomes not only a necessary feminist concern but also a necessary socialist concern because, as Kollontai had observed, the ways we interact in intimate relationships have knock-on effects on our sense of self and relationship with society. In other words, struggles over conditions of (re) production are central to more general economic change, and changing conditions of (re)production can both constitute limitations and create possibilities for the future development of society. At the same time, a fuller understanding of sexuality and the possibility of changing its prac-

tice involves looking at its broader reproductive and productive context. Here we should look for the fissures, discontinuities, and contradictions – between conflicting ideologies, between the needs of production and reproduction, and amongst conflicting sets of expectations and values – in order to identify sites of resistance and develop realistic political strategies.

Anna Jónasdóttir: From making tools to making love

While my approach seeks to avoid a fixation on work and economics, it does not go as far as Anna Jónasdóttir, who adapts Marxist method to focus explicitly on sexuality and the exploitation of women. She claims that “making love” is as foundational, as necessary, as “making tools” in the creation of human society; that it is the key site of the material basis of men’s power over women; that we should therefore focus on “political sexuality” rather than “political economy” when analysing gender; and that sexuality has reached a turning point in contemporary Western societies.

Jónasdóttir’s arguments stem from the basic claim that we are not simply productive beings, we are also sexual beings, with needs and desires, so that making tools and making love are both “*practical*, human-sensuous activities” *sine qua* no human life, no humanity would exist”, so that love, which has both caring and erotic components, is a “world-creating capacity”, a form of material practice equivalent to “work”. This means that, just as people enter into human relations through making tools, so “women and men – needing, seeking and practicing love – enter into specific productive relations with each other in which they not only quite literally produce new human beings but also produce (and reproduce) themselves and each other as active, emotional, and reasoning people” (1994:63). Because love is a key element of the material basis of society, Marxist method indicates that it is therefore not our ideas about love and sex that determine what we do; on the contrary, “we and our consciousness are formed by what we do, by our practical sensuous activities” – and this includes sex and caring activities, the reproduction of people as well as the production of material goods (1994:18).

Jónasdóttir argues that because women in Western societies have gained formal freedoms and equality with men, the appropriation of their sexual resources, especially their capacities for love and care, by men now constitutes the key remaining site of power and control, so that the basic problem of patriarchy is therefore now “a struggle over the political conditions of sexual love, rather than over the conditions of women’s work” (1994:4). More specifically, as the capitalist extracts surplus va-

lue from the workforce, so men appropriate women's "love power" in unequal exchanges of care and pleasure, supported by social norms that assume that men are entitled to take women's love and care without reciprocation, so that "[m]en appropriate the caring and loving powers of women without giving back in kind" (1994:100). In other words, "If capital is accumulated alienated labor, male authority is accumulated alienated love" (1994:26), and the domain of "political sexuality" is analogous to that of "political economy". This exploitation occurs, she says, not only in intimate couple relationships, but also in social, political and workplace encounters between the sexes.

I agree that Jónasdóttir has identified an important dimension of human life and society that is missing in Marxist theory and that needs to be addressed in its own terms. I also agree that the exploitation of women's love power must be a central feminist issue. However, I have a number of concerns.

Firstly, although she clearly states that "love power" includes non-erotic care, such as that of parents for their children, there is a danger that Jónasdóttir's approach will conflate eroticism and care and/or lose sight of the latter. Even though eroticism and care can overlap in practice and both can be seen as aspects of love, I would therefore prefer to keep these analytically distinct.

Secondly, I'm not entirely convinced that the exploitation of women's sexuality has the same kind of historical necessity as the extraction of surplus value in production. A non-exploitative capitalist cannot make a profit and will simply go out of business and cease to be a capitalist, and Jónasdóttir says that men are similarly dependent on exploitation to remain "the kind of man that historical circumstances force them to be" (1994: 225). Although she clearly differentiates between men as they are socially constructed and biological males, I think there is a qualitative difference between ceasing to be a "proper" (exploitative) man and the material reality of bankruptcy.

I've also got some concerns about the extent to which sexuality can be analytically abstracted from other aspects of productive and (re)productive life. Jónasdóttir certainly sees that "sexual life always exists in definite socioeconomic contexts", which set limits and provide a framework for the relationships between women and men, and she is clear that her analysis of the exploitation of women's love power supplements feminist theories rather than providing a monocausal explanation. She also insists that the two kinds of production identified by Engels - "the production of the means of existence, of food, clothing, and shelter and the tools necessary for that production... [and] the production of hu-

man beings themselves, the propagation of the species” – are *not* ”totally detached or separated from one another”, but joint parts of ”a larger “whole”, the base of human social life, the foundation of society” (forthcoming: 9, 10). This means that ”in the concrete” sociosexual life ”always concurs with, and is involved with ... other parts of features of social life” and that ”the *internal relations* between the two main parts of the twofold production must be studied and analysed carefully (forthcoming: 14).

At the same time, Jónasdóttir also argues that, because the exploitation of women’s love power is the basis of male power and authority, at a basic theoretical level sexuality must be abstracted from other structures and relationships, if we are to focus on feminist questions. That is, to understand gender, we must be ”analytically partial” (forthcoming: 14), to focus on ”political sexuality”, rather than political economy, on relations between adult women and men as sexual beings, rather than as workers; this means that ”sexuality, as a field of social and power relations, should be identified as the basic theoretical domain of feminism” (1994: 4).

As I have already indicated, I agree whole heartedly that gender relations in general and sexuality in particular cannot be reduced to class or economics. However, my initial reaction was also to think that, even at the most abstract level, love and sex cannot be conceptualised in isolation from economic life, and that to try to do so discounts the practical and ideological interactions between the two spheres. After re-reading, I’m more convinced by Jónasdóttir’s claim that making love and making tools are ontologically distinct as human activities because the former is a relation between human beings, generating ”needs for reciprocity and co-equality between human persons, as no other human relationship does”, and the latter is a results-oriented ”relation between humans and non-human matter” (forthcoming: 16, 18). Nevertheless, I’ve still got some reservations, which I’ll discuss in the final section and, because my own interests are focussed on a more concrete level, where questions of political sexuality and political economy are intertwined, I’m inclined to downplay the helpfulness of this abstract theoretical distinction in favour of a focus on an investigation of these interconnections.

In practice, while Jónasdóttir wants to isolate sexuality at a deep theoretical level, she too explores these kinds of interconnections between sexuality and production when exploring the specificities of oppression in formally equal Western welfare states. She has argued that although women’s economic dependence and the unequal division of work remain important issues, they are no longer pivotal to men’s domination, and that the ”sexual relationship itself... has become central in the way it

was not when our chains were directly formalized and perfectly visible in laws, or fixed in almost insurmountable economic obstacles” (1994: 24). At the same time, women’s formal equality makes the exploitation of their ”love power” less visible – women today appear to have sexual freedom and choice, much as workers in a capitalist economy appear to be free to choose their employment. However, once formal equality means once sexual exploitation is identified it appears unjust, and the inherent conflict between the ideal of equality and the reality of male authority as sexuality is practiced in the West today is generating resistance.

In her more recent article, Jónasdóttir also identifies two recent, historically significant changes in production that increases the centrality of love power. Firstly, a shift to people-centred service industries, and secondly, the emergence of a management style based on ”love rather than fear”, with the language of ”love”, ”care”, ”trust” and ”mutual empowerment” coexisting and intermingling with that of ”work”, ”result accounts”, ”money” and ”competition”. These trends, she says, combine to make love increasingly important in the production process of capital. She concludes that ”it is plausible to think of material production as being fundamentally dual” and that ”the internal relations between the two main parts of ”twofold” production is in a historically crucial phase of epoch-shifting flux” (forthcoming: 18, 19). I think this kind of analysis fits in with my earlier arguments about the productive and (re)productive material base, and the identification of contradictions between and within them. It also supports arguments around the permeable nature of the boundaries between them. It’s this point about interconnections and permeable boundaries which I want to develop in the next section.

Boundaries and beyond

Many feminist theorists have argued against thinking in terms of closed, oppositional categories such as ”men and women”, ”mind and body” or ”public and private”. Many argue that it is only by moving beyond such binary, either/or thinking and recognising the artificial, fluid and/or permeable nature of conventional categories that we can move debate forward. In his paper today, Jeff Hearn similarly talked of moving beyond discursive/material and exploiter/exploited dichotomies. Although I believe that it is often politically important and necessary to talk about women and men, I agree with these critiques, and I think that all too often dichotomous thinking traps us into a particular view of the world that asks the wrong questions and offers inappropriate either/or answers. In this context, I argue that it is more fruitful to explore the complemen-

tary and constructed nature of the productive/(re)productive or "political economy"/ "political sexuality" distinctions than to set them against each other.

From this perspective, the increased importance of love in the workplace, as identified by Jónasdóttir, is a particular manifestation of the shifting relationship between two kinds of life processes which we would *expect* to be overlapping and interconnected. A previous shift might be that identified by Marx in the Communist Manifesto, when he talks about the bourgeoisie pitilessly tearing feudal and family relations asunder, to replace them with coldly calculated self-interest and money relationships - this could be expressed as an earlier exclusion of love from the economy and the intrusion of the values of political economy into private life.

Today, in addition to the processes identified by Jónasdóttir, sex and care are of course increasingly exploited as part of the global market economy, not only through the growth of the global sex industry, but also through the growth of paid counselling services and paid care – through which poorly paid migrant workers increasingly care for young children and elderly people in Western nations, and are unable to care for their own family members. Developments in reproductive technology that facilitate paid surrogacy arrangements, so that one woman can be paid to give birth to another's biological child, represent an extreme of the commodification of care. More generally, paid sex or care work illustrates the fluid nature of any distinction between work and (re)production or political sexuality and political economy, while sex has also clearly become central to the high levels of consumption needed to sustain economic growth – in terms of both the sale of sexual services and the use of sex to sell non sexual goods. At the same time, feminists have done much to show the economic importance of the unpaid domestic and caring work traditionally done by women, and many governments have conducted time-use studies to estimate its monetary value. All this means that to understand the economy, it is necessary to look at the organisation of care and sexuality, while any investigation of care or sexuality has to see that these are part of the economy.

Some concluding thoughts ...

The above discussion highlights the basic points that sex, love and care are key parts of the material basis of society that cannot be reduced to economics, narrowly understood. As such, their practice and historical development needs to be investigated in their own right. However, their boundaries are constantly shifting, and the complex causal interconnec-

tions between productive, (re)productive and sexual processes and relationships necessitate a multi-dimensional approach to their understanding. Within this framework, as late capitalist societies are characterised by the increasingly pervasive and overt commodification of sex and the sexualisation of consumption, sexuality is indeed likely to become an increasingly important site of resistance as well as power and oppression.

However, even in most Western nations, the material economic preconditions for equality in sexual relationships are simply not in place. Women remain exploited as workers, paid and unpaid. A central aspect of this is the lack of value attached to the physical and emotional care that women provide both in their families and as paid workers, so that care providers are economically punished, and often have to choose between poverty and economic dependency. Broader (re)productive conditions also continue to restrict sexual choices – in particular, abortion rights are currently under threat in both the US and the UK. In this context, I'm inclined to prioritise the caring rather than the erotic element of love power as a central political issue, along with more general reproductive rights. It would be nice to think that old battles have been won, and that we have moved on to a final stage in the fight for meaningful equality – but for many women, the old forms of oppression and exclusion remain.

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Chapter 3

“Why are *You* doing this to *Me*?”

Identity, Positionality, Power and Sexual Violence in War

Cynthia Cockburn

In one report of a particular moment in the Vietnam war, men were standing in line for their turn to rape a young Vietnamese woman. One of the men later reported that she spoke to him, in English, and asked him “Why are you doing this to me?”. In thousands of similar instances reported in studies of rape in war, the woman has no recognizable character, she is voiceless. But here she takes the foreground, and she startles me, as she no doubt startled the men standing around her, by manifesting a sense of who she is, who her rapists are and whom they may see her as being. “Why are *you* doing this to *me*? Hey...why are you doing this to me?”¹ Much since then has been written about sexual violence in war, yet I feel we still owe this woman an answer. And in “identifying” him/you, the violater, and herself/me, the violated, she seems to offer a clue as to some questions that might yet be asked.

In this paper I try to bring to the issue of sexual violence in war a language and set of concepts that are very current in contemporary sociology, and that I have found useful in other contexts. That is to say: *identity* and *othering*; *power* and *positionality*; and *intersectionality*. These are essentially sociological concepts.² They must surely be relevant to sexual violence in war, because war rape is characteristically collective,

1 This incident is reported by Joanna Bourke (Bourke 2007:5, 375, citing Baker 1981:149-50.)

2 In elaborating them I draw particularly on Hall 1996, Connolly 1991, Anthias 2002 and Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992.

and being a soldier very much involves identification and “belonging”. Rape in war, like war itself, is nothing if not *social*.³

For brevity in this summary account of my seminar paper I omit here a description of what is characteristically included in sexual violence in war. A reading of reports by Amnesty International and other human rights organizations shows that it goes far beyond penile rape. Extremes of cruelty in sexualized torture and murder are by no means unusual. It is however important to stress the extensive and long term effects on surviving women. They include: prolonged pain, illness and disability; sexually transmitted disease including HIV/AIDS; disabling mental trauma; loss of an unborn child; unwanted pregnancy; damaging effects of illegal abortion; loss of subsequent ability to engage in consensual sex; loss of subsequent ability to conceive; social stigmatization, exclusion and punishment; blame and rejection by husband and family; forced marriage to the rapist or a family member; subsequent unmarriageability; destitution.

Positionality and the perpetrator

Lisa Price titled one of her articles “Looking for the man in the soldier-rapist” (Price 2001) and I intend to follow her example. It is sometimes suggested in the case of rapes in peace time that some are committed by men who are clinically insane, who cannot be held responsible for their actions and about whom it does not make sense to ask sociological questions. But in war, the rapists are men enlisted in, and operating effectively in, armed forces. This suggests a certain level of social and psychic competence. Besides, it is usually a group activity. So we must, I think, take it that sexual violence in war is performed by knowing individuals, who have a verifiable subjective sense of self, enabling and indeed requiring conscious processes of identification and dis-identification with others. Lisa Price says “the perpetrators of war rape are not madmen or devils but ordinary men acting out of comprehensible motives” (Price 2001:212). So, yes: meaningful questions can be asked about who they think they and their victims are, to what collectivities they see themselves and their victims as belonging, whether they experience aspects of their positionality as relatively empowering or disempowering, as valuing or devaluing others, as affording or denying entitlements.

3 For brevity, I am obliged to omit an account of the many wars of the 20th and 21st centuries that have seen major epidemics of sexual violence. They include Nanking 1937 and both theatres of the ensuing Second World War (including rape by Allied forces, see Lilly 2007), the Partition of India (1947) Bangladesh (1971), Guatemala (early 1980s), Bosnia Herzegovina (1992-5) and Rwanda (1993-4).

Lisa Price focuses on gender and ethnicity. I shall introduce five dimensions of power that I believe are operational here. Both the definition of the dimensions and the number are however rather arbitrary and each of us might chose differently. I would say the most significant are: Gender; Class; Ethnicity ; Race; the Military system. You will see that I am suggesting that in this context the military system and its hierarchy should be considered as a distinct dimension of power with its own positionalities. A military is a formidable structure of power - power derived from the destructive capacity of its weaponry and manifested through a disciplined hierarchy in which authority is transmitted from political decision-makers, through the senior command and the middle ranks to the ordinary Joe, the squaddie at the bottom. Hierarchies however have their contradictions. We know that ordinary soldiers in the US Army, for instance, especially on active service, often resent the top brass and the politicians. The level at which their loyalty and belonging is most effective may be to the immediate fighting force, the company, the unit. But that identification is passionate. Part of their bonding may come about in complaining about the command system, scorning and flouting its regulations. But a huge sense of power and of entitlement also comes from moving, as a group, among an unarmed civilian population, carrying a weapon.

The intersectionality between the hierarchies of the military and of patriarchy has been written about exhaustively by feminists (to name but a few, Altinay, Cockburn and Zarkov 2002, Dudink et al 2004, Enloe 1993, Theweleit 1987, 1989). The cultures in which masculinity is shaped as militarized, and the military is masculinized, are by now very well understood. Hegemonic masculinity and its many questionable subcultures endow a man with entitlement to women's domestic labour power, access to their bodies – and to their love (Jónasdóttir 1994). Intersecting masculinity with ethnic, racial and economic power whether from a position of superiority (inviting despising and devaluing) or inferiority (provoking rage and resentment) makes it potentially violent. Intersecting again with the military system makes it lethal. I shall limit myself here to one quotation, which encapsulates it well. Though it deploys the language of feminism, the writer is a particularly articulate ex-Marine. He describes the culture of the “boot camp” in which US Marines are trained, as follows:

... good things are manly and collective; the despicable are feminine and individual. Virtually every sentence, every description, every lesson embodies this sexual duality, and the female anatomy provides a rich field of metaphor for every degradation. When you want to create a solidary group of male killers, that is

what you do, you kill the woman in them. (Gilder,1973:258-9, cited in Bourke, 2007:367).

Military training is intended to instil in the recruit not only identification with manhood but with the nation, the people, and its armed forces: a pride in belonging. Like other selves, the military self is defined, delineated, by marking out, excluding and putting down, an “other”. The other in this case is the civilian, paradigmatically the civilian that may be harbouring the enemy. Gender intersects here. Klaus Theweleit in his study of fascist militarists says that such men (and perhaps it is all soldiers to some extent) see “the civilian” as feminine (Benjamin and Rabinbach, Foreword to Theweleit 1989).

What is “social” about episodes and epidemics of sexual violence?

I would like to take a few instances and episodes of sexual violence in war to illustrate their sociality: to demonstrate identity, power, position and intersectionality at work. We could think first of a group of armed men approaching a village, where an episode of rape is about to occur. They may be wearing the uniform of state security forces. They may belong to some militia allied with the state. They may be an insurgent group, guerrilla fighters. How would any one of these men define himself, identify himself. What or who does he think he belongs to, does he *want* to belong to?

One of the things that is likely to matter to him is the name of those he thinks of as his people, his culture, his religion. In short, ethnicity. Let us say the men in this particular group are Sudanese, and Arab, they are a unit of the Janjawid militia fighting a surrogate war in Darfur for the Sudanese government. All of them, riding towards the village on their horses and camels, very consciously bear this identity and everything that goes with it. It gives them a clear common belonging. They can take a great deal for granted about each other. Above all, being of this ethnicity powerfully defines those who are not. The village the group is approaching are of a different name, they are (let us say) Masalit – though they might equally be Fur or Zaghawa. One thing is clear, they are *not us*, they are foreign, they are worth less, “worthless”. I despise them. We despise them. That, for a start, makes it easy to think of abusing them. (In constructing this imagined episode of sexual violence by Janjawid in Darfur, Sudan, I draw on Amnesty International reports AFR 54/076/2004, AFR 54/125/2004, AFR 54/087/2006, and AFR 54/043/2007, together with Human Rights Watch reports A1605 and A1606 of 2004).

Religion is part of the ethnic differentiation the soldiers feel. The Masalit are not Muslims. Race is a factor too. The people in this village look different from themselves, they are black skinned, and are collectively and pejoratively known to the Arabs as “Africans” or “Nubas”. Most of the Masalit men will have fled this village already, to join the rebel forces. Mainly women and children remain.

We know these warring ethnic groups are both extremely patriarchal societies. Case studies by human rights organizations suggest that the prevalence of sexual violence in war is directly related to the status of women in the gender regime of the perpetrating and the victimized society. Sexual violence is more likely if the men carry with them a patriarchal sense of super-ordination relative to their “own” women. But sexual violence works very effectively as a weapon in war when women in the enemy society are known to be viewed as patriarchal property. Patriarchal communities know where each others’ weak points are

So – some of the things that will be said by the Janjawid militiamen in the coming episode of mass rape, as revealed later in testimonies (published by Amnesty International report AFR 54/076/2004) are:

“Omar al Bashir told us that we should kill all the Nubas. There is no place here for the Negroes any more.” “You, the black woman, we will exterminate you, you have no God.” “Slaves! Nubas! Do you have a god?...You blacks, you have spoilt the country! We are here to burn you! We will kill your husbands and sons and we will sleep with you! You will be our wives!”

The episode that is about to take place will include (we know this from the subsequent testimonies) almost all the kinds of sexual violence listed in my earlier overhead. They are going to cut out the foetus from the belly of a pregnant woman. And there will be a few inventive additions such as pulling out finger nails, and breaking the bones of fingers and legs. And, as one woman will later give evidence, they will appear to take pleasure in what they do. “They are happy when they rape. They sing when they rape us.” (Amnesty International report AFR 54/076/2004)

Ethno-racial identification, operational as it is in this episode, is not the only dimension of power and difference at work here. Ethnic differentiation and adherence varies greatly from one instance to another. As Jan Pieterse has suggested, it can be seen as being on a spectrum from the casual (for instance, reduced to mere differences in cuisine) to the fiercely differentiated and nationalistic (Pieterse 1997). In time of war ethnicity is likely to be acutely experienced. Indeed a war is sometimes fought precisely to forge or deepen ethnic identification through shared suffering, guilt or hatred.

This has indeed been the case in recent years in Sudan, where ethnic difference has been politically manipulated in response to another factor: a struggle for *resources*. So we need to look here at that other dimension of power: economic power, identification based on *social and economic class*. There is an issue of territorial ownership in this part of the Sahara. The Janjawid (who represent nomadic groups) want the land that is cultivated by the settled black villagers. The group approaching the village see themselves as belonging to an economic group that have an entitlement to land occupied by an “other”. And it is this very same Masalit (or Fur or Zaghawa) people, their ethnic and racial “other”.

Talk about intersectionality: these villagers live it, and many are about to die for it. They are experiencing themselves, in relation to their invaders, to be of the wrong ethnic group, the wrong race, the wrong religion, the wrong economic class group (the hated agriculturalists), and on top of all that, women. The attack on these people, including extreme sexual violence, is shortly going to drive the villagers off the land to join the 2.2 million others in refugee camps (Amnesty International report AFR 54/ 043/2007).

But now let us leave Africa and visit another theatre of war, the other side of the Atlantic. The war in Colombia began more than forty years ago. It is essentially a class war, having started as a movement for democracy and land reform by leftwing groups challenging the country’s appallingly unjust distribution of land and resources. It has become a three-sided war between the government forces, the guerrilla and rightwing paramilitary groups funded by the landowners. The guerrilla movement began in the 1950s as leftwing, motivated, identified with the poor. The strongest group, the FARC, formed in 1966. But the guerrilla have lost their political way over the years. There is not much idealism in the movement today. What counts most here is wealth. Colombia’s hugely profitable coca crop produces heroin and cocaine for international drug trade and generates wealth that is a resource for the armed forces of all sides and a reason for continuing to fight. So part of the sense of self of an armed man in one of these armies is of belonging to a collectivity that knows how to extract or extort resources, that has liquidity, that can give its soldiers cash to spend, in a population where most have none and many are hungry. Poor peasants and shanty town dwellers are the economic groups that suffer most in Colombia’s conflict. (I have drawn in this account of Colombia’s war and its sexual violence on Amnesty International reports AMR 77/072/2004 and AMR 23/046/2004).

Despite the absence of ethnic identification in this Latin American context, the extent and range of sexual violence in Colombia is no less than in Africa, whether in Sudan or Uganda, Congo or Sierra Leone.

The atrocities make no less hideous reading. The warring sides abduct and enlist children of both sexes. There are an estimated 11,000 child combatants. Only Myanmar and Congo currently have more.

Positionality in relation to *military power* is very significant in the self-identity of the rapist in the Colombian war. It is an important factor in his sense of self that he is armed, and part of the military or paramilitary apparatus. However, this conflict in Colombia actually involves rather few actual gunfights. Instead, it is fought on, in and through *civilians*, both rural and urban populations, whom the fighters implicate in their war, as informers, civil patrols and so on. Individuals and communities assumed to support one of the three sides are the principal target for the others. And this identification with a militarized system has its entitlements, in the mind of those who belong. They feel entitled to act as vigilantes, to police, constrain and punish, in an extraordinary tyranny over everyday life within their domain. The sexual violence is exemplary, to terrorize individual women and their communities into compliance with the politico-military agenda. La Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres, an activist group of Colombian women opposing militarization and war campaign specifically against the trashing of everyday life (Cockburn 2007).

For further exploration of identification, positioning and intersectionality, we could now leave Africa and Latin America and return to Asia, specifically to South-East Asia, to Vietnam, in the late nineteen-sixties or early seventies, where that group of American soldiers is taking turns with a young Vietnamese woman who speaks English.

We know a good deal about the identification of the US soldier in Vietnam because he has been the subject of endless films, novels, studies and autobiographies. So we can do a little intersectional multiplication here. We can suppose that any one of those men who are going to rape the Vietnamese young woman will feel he belongs, will identify with, a certain ethno-nationalism: he was born under the stars and stripes. We can multiply that by his perception of this woman as a slant-eyed Oriental, racially inferior. Times that by the fact that they are military and she is a mere civilian. And again by a factor of economic class: he has the power to outspend her, to buy her, a thousand times over. For his other sense of belonging is within a structure of economic power and powerlessness. He knows that for a dollar he could buy sex, but why should he pay? These multiple positionings build into a massive discrepancy of power between him and her. So many reasons to despise her. She is worth so little.

So there are many legitimations for aggressing the Vietnamese woman. But why *rape*. Why bring sexuality into it? The man in the waiting line perhaps more than anything else feels himself to be empowered by being a man in a male-dominant gender system. So one reason for rape is that, as a man he wishes to be unequivocally identified as such by others. Sexual performance, especially when illicit, is an important measure of manhood in such a cultural context. A shared engagement in group rape can be an important bonding mechanism between men. Another is that rape is an effective strategy for demoralizing the enemy. I have already mentioned how an aggressing army can profit by the fact that in many cultures women are seen as the property of men, so that a sexual attack on them is an attack on the honour of men, family and community (Siefert 1995). This is not limited to a few archaically patriarchal societies. Reading through the human rights reports it is astonishing (almost more shocking than the violence itself) that almost all women feel they must hide or deny the sexual violence that has been done to them, because if it is known, they will be rejected by their husband, and stigmatized and ostracized by their community.

So here, in gender power relations, is the sociological legitimation of the sexual element in the aggression anticipated by that bunch of Janjawid approaching the Masalit village, or the squad of Americans confronting the Vietnamese woman. Patriarchal proprieties and priorities explain many of the details in a multitude of scenarios. They explain why the male participants in Colombia's armed conflict attack, rape and kill women who are not actually enemy combatants at all, merely girls in their teens who cheekily step out of line by wearing crop-top T-shirts and drop-waisted jeans that expose their pierced belly-buttons. And why they murder not only political activists, but also homosexuals.

But “why?”, she asked

To wind up: at the end of this short discussion of sexual violence in war I still do not feel we have answered that young Vietnamese woman's question. Maybe we are closer to understanding who is the “you” that is going to rape, and the “me” that is your victim. But I do not think we are any nearer to answering her question “*why?*” All we have, in the narrative above, is a set of dispositions, likelihoods, probabilities. They do not tell us why the sexual violence actually happens.

In continuing my work on this paper I plan to consider first some literature on the social construction of sexuality (for example Caplan 1987). While the contention of Susan Brownmiller (1975) and others that rape is an act of aggression rather than desire is undeniably important, we

nonetheless need to confront rape's erotic component, in particular the construction of masculine sexuality as violent and sometimes necrophiliac (Cameron and Frazer 1992). We can learn from cross-cultural studies that show a wide range of sexual behaviours, expectations and sanctions (eg. Sanday 1981). I would wish also to explore further the work that discusses the eroticization of killing itself (Ehrenreich 1997, Theweleit 1987, 1989, Bourke 1999). Secondly however I believe (as suggested by Elizabeth Wood (2006 and see also Hayden 2000) we should seek to learn from occasions when sexual violence in war does not happen, and I plan to examine the literature on certain (rather scarce) armed forces historically that did not exercise sexual violence in war, so as to perceive mechanisms of inhibition – one of which is certainly approaches to military training and the exertion of military discipline, while another is political ideology.

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Chapter 4

Hooking Up, Party Rape and Predatory Sex: The Sexual Culture of the American College Campus¹

Michael Kimmel

“I know it’s different at other schools,” Troy patiently tried to explain to me. “I mean, at other schools, people date. You know, a guy asks a girl out, and they go out to a movie or something. You know, like dating? But here at Cornell, nobody dates. We go out in groups to local bars. We go to parties. And then after we’re good and drunk, we hook up. Everyone just hooks up.”

“Does that mean you have sex,” I ask?

“Hmm,” he says, with a half-smile on his face. “Maybe, maybe not. That’s sort of the beauty of it, you know? Nobody can really be sure.”

My conversation with Troy echoes conversations I have had with an overwhelming majority of young people all across the country. Whether among college students or recent grads living in major metropolitan areas, “hooking up” defines the current form of social and sexual relationships among young adults. Troy’s obviously right about hooking up culture: it is the most dominant form of interaction around. He’s wrong only in that they don’t do it differently anywhere else.

But what is hooking up? For the past two years, I’ve been involved in a study to find out. The Online College Social Life Survey has been administered to about 5,000 college students at nine campuses – large

1 This essay is an abridged version of a chapter in my forthcoming book, *Guyland: The Social World of Young Men Between Adolescence and Adulthood* (NY: HarperCollins, 2008) © 2008 by Michael Kimmel, all rights reserved.

and small, public and private, elite and non-elite. We asked about sexual behaviors, experiences of various sexual activities, orgasm, drinking behavior, and romantic relationships. We asked both women and men, gay and straight – but mostly straight.

Some of what's going on won't come as that much of a shock; after all, young adulthood has always been a time of relative sexual freedom. What may be surprising is how pervasive is this freedom of sexual movement. Once, sexual promiscuity co-existed with traditional forms of dating, and young adults could maneuver their way between the two on their way toward serious and committed romantic relationships. Now, hooking up is pretty much the only game in town.

“A date for me is like when a guy calls you up and says, ‘would you like to go someplace,’ you know, like to dinner, or to a movie,” says Debbie, a 21 year old senior. “That never happens here!” She laughs. “Now it's like you see a guy at a party and he says, ‘What are you doing now? Can I walk you home?’ The beginning of the date is like the end of the date. He walks you home, and then you hook up.”

As Debbie described it, hooking up seems utterly mutual. After all, just who are all those guys hooking up *with*? But what appears on the surface to be mutual turns out to be anything but. The biggest surprise may be that despite enormous changes on the surface, the gender politics of campus dating don't seem to have changed very much at all. Sex in Guyland is just that – guys' sex. Women are welcome – indeed, encouraged! – to party on, but it's worth noting that since it's pretty much the only game in Collegetown these days, women who decide not to join the party can look forward to going to sleep early and alone pretty much every night.

It still seems to be the case that the same behaviors mean very different things to women and men. While it would be an overstatement to say that one gender benefits entirely at the expense of the other, it's closer to the truth than disingenuous claims of mutual participation proving that women and men want the same things.

Sex in Guyland is partly about men's entitlement to women's bodies – to look, to touch, and to have. Women may accommodate themselves to it – indeed, some feel they have to accommodate themselves to it. His rules, however, rule.

And they have ruled for a very long time. In the 1930s, Michigan sociologist Willard Waller described campus romance as a complex dance that he called “rating-dating-mating” (Waller 1937:727-734). Waller saw a competitive romantic marketplace in which students evaluated their marketability in reference to both the opposite sex and the evalua-

tions of their same-sex friends (“rating”). They then sought to date appropriately – slightly up, but not too much. In their eyes, dating “up” too much would make the relationship too insecure; dating “down” would decrease your own rating.

In order to have what he called a “Class A” rating, men, Waller wrote, “must belong to one of the better fraternities, be prominent in activities, have a copious supply of spending money, be well-dressed, be ‘smooth’ in manners and appearance, have a ‘good line’, dance well and have access to an automobile.” Women, by contrast, may need “good clothes, a smooth line, ability to dance well”, but paramount, by far was her already-determined “popularity as a date,” since her “prestige depends on dating more than anything else” (Waller 1937: 730).

What is immediately striking about Waller’s comment, written nearly three-quarters of a century ago, is how accurate it continues to be – for men. *His* prestige still depends, in large part, on his social networks and his material assets. *Her* datability, though, no longer depends simply on social attributes. To be sure, women have to be pretty and sociable – that hasn’t changed. But, according to a recent survey at Duke, they *also* have to be sexy, and accomplished, and ambitious and athletic – and not to show that they are expending any energy at all doing any of it. “Effortless perfection” was the phrase the university gave the phenomenon.

In Waller’s time, all this rating and dating was ultimately in the service of mating – romantic (and sexual) relationships between committed intimate partners that would lead, eventually, to marriage. But today, the sequence of rating, dating and mating has been all but abandoned among young adults. To be sure, they still rate themselves and each other. Men have to be cool, women effortlessly perfect. But the idea of dating has been pretty much abandoned on campus and in major metropolitan centers where young adults gather. Today, campus culture is no longer about dating to find an appropriate mate. Now, it’s more about mating to find an appropriate date!

So, what is “hooking up”? The phrase is deliberately vague, which is why any attempt to define it concretely will inevitably fall short. In fact, it’s its very vagueness and ambiguity that characterizes it (see for example Lavinthal/Rozier 2005). “It’s like anything from like making out to intercourse,” says a 19 year old sophomore at Radford University. “[A]nything from, in my opinion, kissing to having sex”, says another (Bogle forthcoming: ch. 3, p. 4 in manuscript).

In our survey, we found that hooking up covers a multitude of behaviors, including kissing and non-genital touching (34 percent), oral sex, but not intercourse (15 percent), manual stimulation of the genitals (19

percent), and intercourse (35-40 percent). It can mean “going all the way.” Or it can mean “everything but”. Students had averaged nearly seven hookups during their collegiate careers. About one-fourth (24 percent) say they have never hooked up, while slightly more than that (28 percent) have hooked up ten times or more.²

Hooking up is part of a continuum of casual sexual encounters, from “one-night stands” (a hookup that takes place once and once only with someone who was a stranger) to “sex buddies” (acquaintances who meet regularly for sex but rarely if ever associate otherwise), to “friends with benefits” (friends who do not care to become romantic partners, but may include sex among the activities they enjoy together).

On most campuses today, the sexual marketplace is organized around groups of same-sex friends who go out together to meet appropriate sexual partners in a casual setting like a bar or a party. Two people run into each other, and after a few drinks, they decide to go back to one or the other’s room, where something sexual occurs. There is no expectation of a further relationship. What characterizes a hookup, aside from its vagueness, are three elements: (1) “planned spontaneity”; (2) the inevitability of alcohol; and (3) the absence of any expectation of a relationship.

Planned spontaneity

In order for hookups to work, they have to appear to be spontaneous. And they do – at least to the guys. “Oh, sure”, said Jackson, a 22 year old senior at Arizona State, “you go to parties on the prowl, looking to hook up. But you never know if it’s going to happen. And you certainly don’t know who you’re gonna hook up with. That takes several drinks.” Such spontaneity needs to be carefully planned. When they claim the hookup is spontaneous, they are referring not to the “whether or not” part – that’s taken as a given. The spontaneous element is which girl they hook up with.

The inevitability of alcohol

Alcohol is a requirement. Virtually all hooking up is lubricated with copious amounts of alcohol – more alcohol than sex, to tell the truth. In our study, men averaged 4.7 drinks on their most recent hook up, women 2.9 drinks.

2 Our numbers seem to square with other surveys, or, perhaps, run a bit to the conservative side, since we have a large sample of colleges in our pool, and virtually all other surveys were done only at the researcher’s university.

To say that alcohol clouds one's judgment would be an understatement. Drinking is supposed to cloud your judgment. Drinking gives you "beer goggles", which typically expand one's notion of other people's sexual attractiveness. "After like four drinks a person looks a little bit better", explains Samantha, a 21 year old senior at University of Virginia. "After six or seven that person looks a lot better than they did. And, well, after ten, that person is the hottest person you've ever seen!" Or, as Jeff puts it, "everybody looks more attractive when you're drunk." But clouding your judgment is only part of the story. The other part is to cloud other people's judgment. If you were drunk, you don't have to take responsibility for going a little further than propriety, decorum, or your parents might have dictated.

The absence of expectations

Which means that the hookup means precisely... nothing. It means you did what you did and you were pretty drunk so you don't have to take too much responsibility for it. One of the key defining features of hooking up is that it's a lot easier than having a relationship. Students constantly told me that having a relationship, actually dating, takes a lot of time, and "like, who has time to date?" "We might date," explained one woman. "I don't know. It's just that guys can get so annoying when you start dating them" (Denizet-Lewis 2004:32).

So you're drunk, you're at a party, and you have every anticipation that the evening will end in some sort of sexual encounter, with absolutely no strings attached. Whose vision of campus dating is this anyway? Which gender thought this up?

And which race? Before we turn to the gender politics of hooking up, we should be clear that there are racial dynamics as well. Hooking up is a white thing. Partly, this has to do with minority status. Minorities, racial or otherwise, often feel hyper-visible. They feel that they are not seen as individuals, but only in terms of their minority status. Minority students on largely white campuses often feel the same way: that everything they do is seen not in terms of themselves as individuals but only as they are representing the group. A white guy who is sexually predatory is a "pig" perhaps, but a black guy reminds students "they're like that".

But another part of the minority experience on campus is within one's own community. "There are so few blacks on campus," says Rashon Ray, a sociologist at Indiana and part of our research team. "If one guy starts acting like a dog, well, word will get around so fast that he'll never get another date." As a result, minority students are likely to conform to more conventional dating scripts, especially within their own communi-

ties. Our survey found that blacks and Latinos are somewhat less likely to engage in hooking up, and Asian students are *far* less likely to do so.

The gender politics of hooking up

Women and men may be doing the same things, or at least close to the same things, with each other. But “sameness” doesn’t necessarily mean equality. Hooking up fits into a larger pattern of contemporary sexual activities. Americans are having more sex, with more partners, at earlier and earlier ages. And men’s and women’s sexual patterns have grown increasingly similar over the past decades.

But that’s not the result of some feminist campaign to “feminize” relationships; in fact the opposite is true. Sex has become increasingly “masculinized” – that is, women’s sexual patterns have come to resemble men’s, while men’s patterns have changed hardly at all. What might appear on the surface like women expressing their own sexual agency turns out to be somewhat less an expression of an authentic sexual agency. Women’s sexual agency is played out on a terrain already defined by the guys, a game played on the guys’ home field, by the guys’ rules. And more than that, when he scores, he gets points; when she scores, she loses points, or, at best, she hopes for a rematch.

The current patterns of sociability and sexuality among heterosexuals have actually begun to resemble those patterns that emerged in the mainstream gay male community in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the pre-AIDS era. (This shouldn’t be too surprising; after all, in our culture, cultural trends usually originate among the marginalized – say, blacks or gays – and find their way into the mainstream via aggressive marketing of both the authenticity and the slightly dangerous flirtation with those margins.) Sex was de-coupled from romance and love, and made part of friendships (“fuck buddies” are the precursors to “friends with benefits”) and general sociability of casual encounters that may – or may not – have anything to do with romantic relationships. Sex was seen as recreational self-expression, not freighted with the matched baggage of love and relationship. That is, the sexual encounters occur between people who sort-of know each other (at least their social networks overlap) and sexual behaviors appear to be utterly detached from possible romantic relationships.

You’ll notice that I compared heterosexual coupling to those earlier patterns of gay male sexual and social interaction; these were decidedly not the norm among lesbians. While mainstream gay male culture was expressing a sexuality freed from the “constraints” of love and relationships in back rooms and bars across the nation, lesbians were nuzzling

and cuddling their way to what therapists began to call “lesbian bed death”, relationships that were so emotionally close and filial that the sexual spark has dimmed to nil.

Ironically, the frantically sexual singles scene among heterosexuals, so venerated and vilified in the 1980s, has fizzled among adults in their 30s and older, who now prefer to do their flirting in the safety of their online chat rooms, speed dating and matchmaking. Campus bar scenes, by contrast, look increasingly like gay bars of the 1970s – including the blow jobs in bathrooms and telephone booths.

Let’s revisit for a moment those three elements that characterize a hookup. The first, spontaneity, is seen by guys to be a crucial factor. But the women seem to have a different view. Since the women know that the goal of the guys is to hook up, they have to decide if they want to, if there is someone in particular they want to hook up with, how much they can drink, how much they can flirt, and how to avoid any potentially embarrassing or even threatening situations. “Girls, like, before they go out at night, they know whether or not they’re gong to hook up with somebody,” says Kimmie. “Like it’s not spontaneous at all.” “Hookups are very scripted. You’re supposed to know what to do and how to do it and how to feel during and afterward. You learn to turn everything off except your body and make yourself emotionally invulnerable” (Sessions Stepp 2007:243).

In a sense, hooking up retains certain features of older dating patterns. Though it may seem mutual, our research indicates that he initiates it well over half the time (less than a third of respondents said it was mutual). It is twice as likely to take place in his room as in hers. Hooking up enhances his reputation; it damages her reputation. The double standard persists on every campus I’ve visited. Guys who hook up a lot are seen by their peers as studs who score, women who hook up a lot are seen as sluts who “give it up”.

And what about all the alcohol consumed prior to a hookup? While both sexes might get to enjoy the lack of responsibility alcohol implies, this turns out to be especially important for women, who have their reputations to protect. Guys’ reputations may be enhanced by hooking up; women still have to worry about theirs, and being wasted is generally accepted as an excuse. “What did I do last night?” you can legitimately ask your girlfriends. And then everyone laughs. It’s still better to be a drunk than a slut.

Finally, the absence of expectations that supposedly characterizes the hookup seems not to be as true for women. While some women may hook up to avoid emotional entanglements that would distract them

from their studies, professional ambitions, friendship networks and other commitments, others may do it because it's the only game in town, the only way to find the sort of relationships they say they want. They hope that it will lead somewhere else, somewhere the guys are hoping it doesn't lead.

The "DTR"

Women may be hooking up more and enjoying it less, while men are surely hooking up more and enjoying it more. And not to sound too much like Aristophanes here, if guys are able to hook up at the drop of a hat, what would motivate them to commit to an actual monogamous relationship? When it comes to relationships, on the other hand, the tilt is almost entirely towards her. It is up to the women to negotiate whether the hooking up proceeds to a deeper level of intimacy. And this is where the gender politics come in. Women tend to be more ambivalent about the hook up culture; some report feeling sexy and desirable, others feel it's cheap and rarely leads anywhere. On many campuses, women's initiative is typically to begin a conversation called the "DTR" – Define The Relationship, or, more simply, "the talk". "Are we a couple or not?" she asks. And, as one report worries, when she asks, "he decides" (Glenn/Marquardt 2001).

"It always comes down to that", says Ann, a junior at Wright State University. "You know, women see hooking up different from men. I mean it's fun and all, but like after once or twice, like where is it going? I mean, are you or aren't you, you know, like a couple? Me and my girlfriends always talk about how to bring it up, how to start the talk. I know he doesn't want to hear it. But otherwise, what's all that hooking up *for*?"

Justin, a junior at Duke, offers the apposite retort:

Oh, man, don't get me started on "the talk"! It's like as soon as you hook up with someone, and you, like have a good time or whatever, and suddenly she's all like "well are we a couple or not?" Of course you're not! You just hooked up, man! That's all I really want is to hook up. I don't want to be all like boyfriend and girlfriend – that would, uh, significantly reduce my chances of hooking up, you know.

"So", I ask him, "what do you do when she wants to have that talk?"

Avoid it. Like if she says, all serious, like "Justin, we have to talk" like you know what's coming, right? That's when I get busy doing something else. Or I don't call her back. Or I try

and avoid seeing her in private and only like bump into her on campus or something. But I definitely do not want to have that talk. It ruins everything.

But why are guys so relationship-phobic? Virtually every single guy I spoke with said that he wants to get married – and to remain happily so, especially engaged with their children. They just have no interest in doing it yet. Most of them said they expect to marry in their early 30s. For now, though, in the hookup culture, they want to avoid relationship entanglements.

On further probing, though, it turns out that guys' relationship phobias are less related to fears of romantic entanglements from which they would have trouble extricating themselves, and more to do with the purposes of hooking up in the first place. Hooking up, for guys, is less a path on the way to a relationship than it is for women. Hooking up *is* the form of relationship they want with women – because hooking up has less to do with guys' relationships with women and a lot more to do with guys' relationships with other guys.

“It’s like the girls you hook up with, they’re like a way of showing off to other guys”, says Jeff, a proud member of a fraternity at the University of Northern Iowa. “I mean, you tell your friends you hooked up with Melissa, and they’re like, ‘whoa, dude, you are one stud’. So, I’m into Melissa [the girl he says he hooked up with last weekend] because my guy friends think she is so hot, and now they think more of me because of it. It’s totally a guy thing.”

He looks a bit sheepish. “Don’t get me wrong”, he adds, with little affect. “I mean, yeah, Melissa is very nice and blah blah blah. I like her, yeah. But”, he sort of lights up again, “the guys think I totally rule.”

Jeff’s comments echo those I heard from guys all across the country. Hooking up is not for the excruciatingly pleasurable sexual sensations of having sloppy sex with different women in a drunken stupor on a given weekend. Hooking up is a way that guys communicate with other guys – it’s “homosocial”. Homosociality is not the same thing as homosexuality – it is simply a way of saying that one’s social orientation is to the other guys. It’s a way that guys compete with each other, establish a pecking order of cool studliness, and attempt to move up and down in their homosocial rankings. Bro’s before ho’s. In fact, ho’s are the way that the bro’s figure out who’s who.

The oral sex craze

The double standard of studs and sluts plays itself out in the hookup itself as much as in the consequences for one's reputation. The same behaviors don't necessarily have equal outcomes. Take oral sex, for example. Almost daily there is some hand-wringing account of the dramatic rise of "oral sex" among teenagers. While the most shocking news is typically about oral sex among younger teenagers – ages 12-16 – the overwhelming majority of oral sex behaviors is among older teenagers, especially in the last years of high school. Oral sex is rapidly becoming the sexual activity of choice – because there is no risk of pregnancy, for one thing, and also because many high school students define "having sex" as involving only intercourse, so that oral sex does not break abstinence pledges.

Recent articles express alarm and surprise that well over half of all teens ages 15-19 have had oral sex. By age 19, the number increases to about 70 percent. It's possible that parents' concern is fuelled by the different meaning of oral sex to their generation – as a sexual behavior that was even more intimate than intercourse. It is somewhat shocking at first, but young people in America today view oral sex far more casually than their parents did, as just a kind of casual recreational activity that has little if anything to do with a close, intimate, emotional relationship. This casualness cannot be over-stated. It's simply no longer a very big deal. According to sex research, oral sex was once, ahem, intimately connected to intercourse: people who engaged in oral sex already engaged in intercourse, and oral sex was seen as an accompaniment, a side dish to the main item on the sexual menu.

Now it's more like a snack, or like sharing a milkshake at the soda fountain in those teen movies of the 1950s. Oral sex is simply no big deal – at least when she performs it on him. As one woman explained:

I like going down on him. It makes him feel good, truly good. I don't find it unpleasant. I don't say I wish I could do it all the time. I don't equate it with a sale at Bloomingdale's. *That* I could do all the time. But it's not like going to the dentist either. It's between two extremes. Closer to Bloomingdale's than to the dentist. (Blumstein/Schwartz 1983:234)

Oral sex has become detached from intercourse; it's a separate, and even less intimate behavior. And since intercourse as well has been detached from intimacy, oral sex is now twice removed. "I was about 16 and I had this friend – not a boyfriend, a boy *friend* – and I didn't know what to give him for his birthday, so I gave him a blow job", one 20 year old college woman recalled (Kolata 1998:3, Rubin, 1990:14).

But let's look a little closer at the actual behaviors of teenagers and young adults. Is there really an epidemic of "oral sex" among teenagers? And is it the cause for such alarm? I believe that a closer look at the sex research data indicates that a concern over "oral sex" among teenagers misses the real story. That real story is not about "oral sex" but about gender inequality.

Let's look at the data. While there has been a small increase in cunnilingus among teens, there has been an epic rise in fellatio. The oral sex craze is not about mutual pleasuring, but about girls servicing boys. Teenage girls are often faced with a cruel dilemma: Because "guys rule" in teen-land, guys get to set the rules for sexual engagement. If girls "hold out" on intercourse, they have to find another way to service the guys if they are going to be able to hang out with them, get invited to the right parties and the like. Such a demand may lead to the undervaluing of oral sex as sexual intimacy, since it's a way for teenager girls to accommodate these new social demands. One teenager described this conversation at a party: "I was talking to this guy for like, I dunno, ten minutes, and he asked if I wanted to have sex, and I said no. So he said, 'OK, but could you, like, come into the bathroom and go down on me?' and I was like, 'Huh?'"

In several other interviews, teenage girls described the "pressure" to perform oral sex on the popular boys. "They told me, like, it was like a ticket for admission or something, like they wouldn't invite me to parties and stuff if I didn't do it. So I told myself, it's no big deal anyway, and it's not like I'm gonna get pregnant, so it's like, whatever." Although today, both women and men feel entitled to pleasure, this is hardly a discourse of mutual pleasuring. In her study of changing sexual mores, Lillian Rubin writes that she heard young women say that performing oral sex made them feel powerful "because the men are so vulnerable at that moment". So while it certainly appears to be sex on his terms, the young women reinterpret it to make those terms acceptable to themselves (Rubin 1990, personal communication with Rubin, 11/2007).

Oral sex is now so epidemic – and the feverish imaginations of grown men who wistfully feel they missed the boat – that urban legends now occupy a hallowed place in the mythic lore of the teenage sex craze. The most recent of these is the "Rainbow Party", in which each girl wears a different shade of lipstick and then proceeds to fellate the boys at the party. At the end of the evening, the guy with the highest number of different shades of lipstick wins.

Does any reader really need to have this debunked? Don't shades of lipstick smudge, making it impossible to tell? Don't guys (even teenage guys) have a limit on the number of erections they are capable of on any given evening? And who exactly is going to be doing the checking, looking that closely at the guys' penises and counting the phantasmagorically perfectly delineated colors of lipstick? And, by the way, what girl in her right mind would say, "Oooh, now *that* sounds like fun!"?

The asymmetries of teenage oral sex behavior – he gets it and she gives it – are modified somewhat by the time they go off to college. On campus, rates of oral sex approach parity. In their most recent hookups, 45 percent of the male survey respondents said that oral sex was mutual. In 44 percent of the cases, only he received oral sex, but in 11 percent of cases, only she received it. (The women told a slightly different story. They agreed about mutuality (45 percent), but only 34 percent said only he received it, and 21 percent said only she did.) So there is far more mutuality in behaviors among young adults than there is among teenagers.

The “orgasm gap”

But mutuality in behavior doesn't necessarily translate into mutuality of pleasure. Among college students, there actually has been a noticeable increase of cunnilingus, so that nearly the same percent of males and females report giving and receiving oral sex. Yet it's hardly mutual. It appears that guys are “reciprocating” behaviors, but not reciprocating pleasure.

There's a significant “orgasm gap”. In all hookups in our survey, regardless of what actually happened, 44 percent of the men experienced an orgasm, but only 19 percent of the women did. When men received oral sex, they had an orgasm 57 percent of the time; when she received oral sex, she had an orgasm 25 percent of the time. Men who engaged in intercourse without oral sex had an orgasm 70 percent of the time, women who engaged in intercourse without oral sex had an orgasm just over one-third of the time (34 percent). When men received oral sex and engaged in intercourse, they had orgasms 85 percent of the time; women experienced orgasm from both less than half the time.

And sometimes, even though it may appear the pleasure is reciprocal, in fact, it isn't. Sometimes, even on hookups, the women fake it. In fact, when women receive cunnilingus, though only about a quarter experience an orgasm, men who performed cunnilingus on their partner report that she had an orgasm almost 60 percent of the time!

This faking orgasm gap extends to intercourse as well. Women report an orgasm 34 percent of the time; the men report that the women had an orgasm 58 percent of the time. Women report that they fake orgasm “to make that person feel good, to make them feel like they’ve done their job”. But other women said that they faked it to “just really to end it”, because “they’re like bored with it” (England/Fitzgibbons Shafer/Fogarty, forthcoming; p. 7 in manuscript).

“He was, like, trying so hard to make me come”, says Trish, a senior at Washington University in St. Louis, “and there was, like no way it was going to happen. I felt bad for him. I mean, I had gone down on him and he came already, and he was like trying to be a good sport about it, but really... So I just faked it, and he felt good and I felt relieved.”

Beyond hookups

Hooking up is not an alternative to relationships – it’s the new pathway to forming relationships. Even if only a small percentage of hookups result in relationships, most relationships do begin with a hookup. For some, hooking up is most definitely in the service of a relationship – just not this particular one.

“Of course I’ll eventually get married”, says Anne, a Princeton junior who happens to be sitting with Dave when I speak with him. “Just not yet. Right now, I have to focus on my career, getting through medical school, establishing myself. Hooking up’s about as much as I can handle. It’s the means to an end, not the end itself.” And with that, she gives Dave a peck on the cheek, picks up what appears to be 20 pounds of science textbooks, and is off to the lab.

Dave looks at me, shrugs his shoulders, and grins. “All the girls at Princeton are like that”, he sighs. “You know that expression from, like, your generation”, he eyes me warily, “‘you can look but you better not touch’?” I nod and scowl slightly at being cast as over-the-hill. “Well, around here it’s more ‘you can touch but you’d better not look’ – as in look for a girlfriend.”

Proving it all night

With all this hooking up, friends with benefits, rainbow parties and booty calls, you’d think guys would feel they have it made, that they are the kings of the hill. But you’d be wrong. Since they always have to be proving it, and proving it all night, there is a creeping anxiety that haunts guys’ sexual activities. All the other guys are watching, judging. Perhaps they’re not doing it enough, or well enough, or they’re not big enough or

hard enough. (Legions of men who take medication for erectile dysfunction would understand their fears.) Though the *evidence* suggests that men are in the driver's seat when it comes to sex, men *feel* that women have all the power – especially the power to say no.

And these days, those women have a new “power” – the power to compare. Many of the guys I spoke with became suddenly uneasy when the topic of women's sexual expectations came up. They shifted uncomfortably in their seats, looked down at the floor or stared into their soft drink as if it were an oracle.

Jeff, a sophomore at UC San Diego said, “Uh, this is the tough part, you know. I mean, well, like, *we're* supposed to have hooked up a lot, but now so are they, and they like talk about in ways that we guys never would. So, like, you feel like you have to be this fabulous lover and they have to come at least three times, and like, your, you know, your, uh, dick isn't the biggest she's ever seen, and like you always feel like you're being measured and coming up a bit...”, he laughs uncomfortably, “short.”

“I think guys in your generation were more worried about whether or not you were going to get laid at all”, says Drew, a senior at Kansas State. “I'm pretty sure I can hook up when I want, and I have several FWBs and even the occasional booty call. But I worry about whether I'm any good at it. I hear all this stuff from other guys about what they do, and how crazy they get the girl, and I think, whoa, I don't do that.”

He pauses, suddenly thoughtful. “You know I think that's why we drink so much beforehand. If anything goes wrong, it's cause we were drunk.”

Could that be true, I wondered? Could that be one of the reasons that hooking up and drinking are so intimately linked? Sure, alcohol is a social lubricant, and sure, one of the reasons that the women give for drinking so much is that since alcohol lowers inhibitions and impairs judgment, then if you drink you don't actually have to take responsibility for the decisions you made while wearing beer goggles.

But how could guys be navigating such treacherous waters: knowing that drinking impairs sexual performance for males, and feeling such pressure to perform well. Maybe drinking is an insurance policy against poor sexual performance: if she didn't like the hookup (and, as we have seen, most women do not have orgasms during hookups) it's because he was drunk. Just as she may be saying that she's not responsible for hooking up – the alcohol impaired her judgment – *he's* not responsible for it being a *bad* hookup – the alcohol impaired his usually stellar sexual performance!

Guys feel a lot of pressure to hook up, a lot of pressure to score – and to let their friends know about it. And they feel a lot of pressure to be great in bed. I asked guys all across the country what percentage of guys on their campus has sex on any given weekend. The average answer I heard was about 80 percent. That is, they believed that four out of every five guys on campus had sex last weekend. Actually, 80 percent is the percentage of senior men who have *ever* had vaginal intercourse in our college survey. The actual percentage on any given weekend is closer to five percent. This gives one an idea of how pervasive is the hooking up culture, how distorted is the vision of young men by that culture, and the sorts of pressures a guy might feel as Thursday afternoon hints at the looming weekend. How can he feel like a man if he's the only one not getting laid? And if so many women are available, sexually promiscuous, and hooking up as randomly as the men are, what's wrong with him if he's the only one who's unsuccessful?

Whether you're wearing beer goggles or not, there is a lot of pressure for guys to live up to the Guy Code as the weekend rolls around. He's not just going out to have a good time, or even, perhaps, to hook up. He's a man on a mission, to prove he's a real man, a man among men, able to hold his head high (after the hangover wears off) among the other guys, having scored the night before.

On any given Friday night, campus parties are crawling with such men on a mission. And if women signal anything other than diffident rejection, these men may cease, for the moment, being guys and become something far more dangerous. They may become predators.

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Chapter 5

A Materialist-Discursive Approach to Sexuality, Sexual Violence and Sexualising Globalisation: The Case of ICTs¹

Jeff Hearn

In this working paper I would like to raise two kinds of issues: two general questions, and then some matters that are more specifically relevant to the theme of “Gender, Sexuality and Global Change”.

First, a general question... An important part of my intellectual and political background stems from (various) materialist tradition(s); then in the early 1980s I discovered post-structuralism, and since the late 1980s I have been preoccupied with the relations of materiality and discourse. This initial move was through translations into English of some of the works of Foucault, and Irigaray, Kristeva and other French feminists. Since then, I have tried, albeit often with difficulty, to talk about materiality and discourse at the same time.² The separation of materiality and discourse in some analyses (e.g. “everything is discourse”) has been and is a considerable source of difficulty. Instead, a key challenge is analysing – doing, that is, recognising the embodied nature of knowledge – materiality and discourse at the same time.

1 Thanks to many people with whom I have worked on these issues, especially David L. Collinson and Wendy Parkin, to those at the Conference for comments, and to Dag Balkmar for checking the final script.

2 The first two papers I produced on these lines were “Speaking the unspeakable: The historical development of organisations and men’s sexuality in the public domain” and “State organisations and men’s sexuality in the public domain 1870-1920” (Hearn, 1988, 1990).

While this way of looking at things then, in the 1980s, seemed rather strange, especially in view of the strong dichotomising processes in much of the social sciences, it has now become one of the more enduring debates in the social sciences and in studies on gender. Moreover, for me, the intimate relations/simultaneity of materiality and discourse have been particularly highlighted in studies of a number of fields, albeit in different ways. Such fields include example: historical studies, emotions, globalisation, information and communication technologies (ICTs), and violence. What could be more simultaneously material and discursive than violence?

The second general question I have been preoccupied with is (simply!): how to understand the relations of sexuality and violence? This is not to suggest that there is any fixed set of relations, but the question does seem especially important in studying men and masculinities, where close relations of sexuality and violence often seem to inhabit the same bodies, times and places.

The case of violence

The case of violence is very instructive in thinking and acting on materiality and discourse. Debates on the relations of the material and the discursive, and on the transcendence of the macro and the micro, and of structure and agency, were especially important as the context of detailed research on men who were or had been violent to women (Hearn, 1998). In this research significant theoretical influences were feminist, especially radical, materialist and structuralist analyses of men's violence, along with poststructuralism, or what I call "post-poststructuralism" in emphasising materiality and bodily effects, especially of violence, violent acts and violent words. A crucial question was and is the relations of men's talk (in the present) and men's actions/violences/body (in the past). The focus was on violence, and stopping violence: it was practical research, though heavily theory-driven. Having said that, there are possible misuses of "discourse" in addressing violence, in diverting attention from the bodily materiality of violence.

What "violence" is and what "violence" means is both material and discursive. It is both a matter of experience of change in bodily matter, and a matter of change in discursive constructions. Violence is simultaneously material and discursive. It is simultaneously painful, full of pain; and textual, full of text. This is what I learnt from researching men who use or had used violence. Violence, and what is meant by violence, is historically, socially and culturally constructed. It is very difficult to find a definition of violence that works for all situations and all times: this is

a matter of material discourse. Talk and (men's) talk about violence is not just representation: it is (creation of) reality in its own right - in the conduct of violence and talk about violence. Moreover, agency policy and practice emphasise the importance of talk. In some cases, there is clear correspondence between the accounts of men using violence and those of agency staff with whom they have had close contact, whether through emulation, collusion or simply social similarity. Moreover, the whole complex of violence, talk about violence, and responses to violence is a cultural phenomenon that is both material and discursive.

Back to the material

I now turn to the general question of materiality. Materialism has often been equated with the economic (mechanically or dialectically), and specifically with labour-based, "technological" production and its products - as within economic marxism. At best, Marx was ambiguous in terms of the materiality of gender and sexuality (Hearn 1991). The focus on the "base" of production in turn reproduced the somewhat broader view of materialism as production *and* reproduction (Engels 1972, see Hearn 1991). Such views do not exclude attention to the realm of ideas, as in materialist theories of ideology.

Abercrombie and Turner (1978) have pointed out that Marx presented two different theories of ideology. In the first, set out by Marx (1959/1975) in the *Preface to the Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, the "social being determines consciousness", so that the particular social experience of particular social classes determines the ideas of members of the class. In this view, ideas follow immediate material relations, both in terms of general economic and social structural locations, and the conduct of everyday economic and social life. This approach lays the basis for articulation of several class-based systems of ideas, even a rather pluralist analysis. In the second, also set out in the *Preface* but more famously in *The German Ideology* (Marx and Engels 1945/1970), "the economic structure, the real foundation" determines "a legal and political superstructure", such that the ideas of "the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas." This notion of ideology, like the first, embodies both material and intellectual force. It is, however, more deterministic and more concerned with the whole social formation rather than the activities of particular classes and class fractions.

Various different, often non-gendered approaches to materialism and marxism have been critiqued and developed in a wide range of marxist feminisms, materialist feminisms, socialist feminisms. These have focused on biology (Firestone 1970), the domestic mode of production (Delphy

1977, 1984), kinship patterns (Weinbaum 1978), family (Kuhn 1978), economic systems (Eisenstein 1979, Hartmann 1979), "the politics of reproduction" (biological reproduction, care of dependent children and care) (O'Brien 1981, 1990), "sex-affective production" (production of sexuality, bonding and affection as core processes of society) (Ferguson and Folbre 1981), sexuality (MacKinnon 1982, 1983), and various combinations thereof. In different ways, such approaches have tended to either analyse the relations of economic class and gender in employment, the family, sexuality, or draw parallels between economic class and gender/sex class, or focus on materialism as gendered reproduction or highlight the materialism of the body. We are bodies, material bodies! Some of these materialisms turned marxism upside down ...

At the same time, the convergence of the material and the discursive has become foregrounded in some discursive approaches, especially critical discourse analysis (CDA). The relations of the material and the discursive are highlighted in materialist theories of discourse - in the material contexts of discourse, in understanding discourse as (including) material acts, in focusing on the material effects of discourse - hence the term, material discursive practices. At the same time, there is ongoing debate on the differences and relations of ideology and discourse (Purvis and Hunt 1993), as part of the relations of Critical Theory and post-structuralism (Hearn 2004: note 12).

Many feminist materialisms influenced my attempts to develop a materialist analysis of men and gender relations (Hearn 1983, 1987, 1992), particularly the recognition of bodily materialism and of sexuality as material (what people do rather than what people think) (Wise and Stanley 1984, Hearn 1987). Thus materialism can be seen as including (so-called productive) labour/work, biological and other reproductions, housework, violence, sexuality, bodily generativity/degeneration, and culture/ideology/discourse (Walby 1986, 1990, Hearn 1987, 1992).

The impact of poststructuralism is such that materialism can be understood as reproduction as both reproduction of the social relations of production, *and* the reproduction of society, however fragmentary, through ideas, ideology and discourse. An important influence in the movement of the material towards the discursive was Dorothy Smith's (1987) critique of political economy and analysis of the connections between texts and relations of ruling (Smith 1990a, 1990b). Reproduction of society also includes cultural reproduction, cultural continuation, including in discourse (even if there may be a tension between reproduction and discourse). In this approach, I have used such terms as reproductive cultural materialism and the material-discursive (Hearn 1992).

Meanwhile, Haraway (1992), Callon, Latour, Law and ANT (Actor-Network Theory) and STS (Science and Technology Studies) scholars have used the terms, the material-semiotic and material-semiotic actors, to address the realm of human/non-human, human/machine and similar relations. Around the same time, Butler (1993) expounded how discourse comes to (become) matter as “a process of materialization that stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface.” Building on both these approaches, Barad (2001) has shifted focus onto how matter comes to matter, extending discussion of the material-discursive onto the realm of non-human matter.

Materialism can be understood as encompassing the economic/technological, the “reproductive”, the bodily/corporeal (including sexuality and violence), as well as the materiality of discourse. Having said that, there is still very major neglect of the materialities of age, of disability, and of the wider “natural environment”.

Gender, sexuality and global change

How do these material-discursive questions link to gender, sexuality and global change? There are many ways to make this connection. Globalisation and debates on globalisation are both material-discursive. Talk on globalisation, sometimes optimistic and evangelical, sometimes pessimistic and antagonistic, are part of struggles and contestations over globalisation and what it might be(come) materially. Interestingly, “globalisation” is persistently represented as “political economic”, indeed as asexual. Waters (1995) outlines globalisation(s) in terms of a combination of the economic (usually primary, with massive impacts of MNCs, but also contradictions with localisations); the political (with contradictions of nation-state and transnational governance); and the cultural (globalisation of images, localisation of cultural meanings, and impacts of ICTs).

A materialist-discursive approach can be applied not only to gender relations, but also to sexualities; sexual violence(s); bodies; and the sexualing of globalisation(s). The concept of sexualing, paralleling that of “gendering”, refers to the giving of meaning to social phenomena in terms of sexuality. Globalisation, though usually constructed as non-gendered, economic, sometimes political and cultural, is also gendered, sexual(ed) and violence(d). While sexuality is often understood in terms of desire felt to be most one’s own, globalisation may disturb this with consequences that are difficult to predict.

Sexuality can be seen within globalisation in several ways: economically, politically, culturally. In economic terms, production of "exchangeable" (sexual) items involves local concentrations of (sexual) labour, (sexual) capital and (sexual) raw materials; sexual contact is a local, immediate bodily matter; global organisation and movement of people and goods accompanies local material "exchanges", as in trafficking. Politically, the dominant national focus of sexual citizenship may extend to attempts to control transnational activities, even with the difficulties of controlling ICTs across borders. Culturally, forces of moral authoritarianism seeking to turn sex into a problem (Phoenix and Oerton 2000) contrast with mainstreaming of pornographisation in MTV, pop culture, digitalisation (Hearn and Jyrkinen 2007).

Sexuality and sexual violence are not centrally addressed in most globalisation theory, but global changes strongly affected by and bear on sexuality and sexual violence include: extension of commodity exchange and production; trafficking in women; militarism and prostitution; use of advanced interactive technologies on the Web, in which the man can direct the show; sexuality in global militarist symbolism/practices ("new pornography" of arms sales presentations); and expansions of sex trade, not least through ICTs. Just as cities are characteristically organised sexual-spatially, so the world is organised in sexual-spatial ways, as in associations of imperialist militarism, prostitution and sex tourism (Hearn and Parkin 2001, Hearn 2006).

Information and communication technologies

The annual number of hardcore porn videos rentals in US rose from 79 million in 1985 to 759 million in 2001 (Hughes 2002); in 1997 there were about 22,000 websites with free-of-charge pornographic content, in 2000 about 280,000 (Campbell 2003).

When Jane Rolan, 42, went to the Internet to look up an old [unnamed] friend, she ended up having a torrid [non-contact] e-mail affair with a man she had met briefly 20 years earlier. "In three months we exchanged about 2,000 e-mails. Every evening I would lock myself away with the computer for six or seven hours. I was exhausted from night after night of frantic e-mailing." (Gordon 2002).

ICTs are a key aspect of globalisation, glocalisation and transnationalisation. They are associated with new linkages, new possibilities of the material and the discursive, new relations and forms of sexuality. ICTs bring time/space compression, instantaneousness, asynchronicity, reproducibility of images, creation of virtual bodies, blurring of "real" and "representational" (Hearn and Parkin 2001). Wellman (2001) writes of the new "social affordances of computerised communication networks": broader bandwidth (greater effectiveness); wireless portability; globalised connectivity; personalisation. These in turn affect and comprise material practices.

ICTs have major implications for sexualities and sexualised violences, and for sexualising globalisation, with profound implications, contradictions and challenges for sexual citizenship. These implications include affirmations of sexual citizenship, with new forms of sexual communities; and denials of sexual citizenship, with new opportunities for pornography, prostitution, sexual violences. ICTs change how sexuality is done and experienced, with new channels for sexuality and sexualised violence; chat lines, real-time discussions, chatrooms, Internet dating, email sex, cyberaffairs, cyberfalling in love; the speed and ease of ICTs creates possibilities for new forms of cybersex experimentation, e.g. mixed/multi-media sex, interactive sex, interactive pornography, pornography exchange; file/image sharing; and sometimes inadvertent uses and constitutions of sexuality and sexualised violence, e.g. sexual spamming or webjacking, redirecting website users to other sites made for other sexual or sexually violent purposes.

The contradictory implications of ICTs include simultaneous developments of more democratic, diverse sexual communities, and sexual/sexually violent work; movements beyond the exploiter/exploited dichotomy; complex relations of non-exploitative and sexual exploitation, commercialisation of sex, and enforcement of dominant sexual practices; blurring of the social, sexual-social, sexual, sexually violent, and of the sexually "real" and sexually "representational"; closer association of sex with the "visual" and "representational"; increasing domination of the virtual as the mode(l) for non-virtual, proximate sociality, and impacts of the virtual on increased non-virtual, proximate sociality; distance between social contact and the familiar/familial/communal intimacy; shifts in sexual space and sexual place; new forms of transnational sexual citizenship, within shifting transpatriarchies. Contradictions between the scale of global material sex economies and the representation/reproduction of the sexual through ICTs may appear to be increasing, and yet also attest to the simultaneity of the material and the discursive.

ICTs can assist affirmations of sexual citizenship, through: sexual communities and other innovations, including: non-exploitative sexual services enhancing sexual citizenship; medium for information on sexuality, sexual violence, sexual health; sexual information that may be difficult to obtain, especially for isolated or "non-out" individuals or groups; education, counseling, therapy, services from agencies; mutual, self-help sexual communities promoting sexual citizenships; sexual communities promoting new forms of sexuality; virtual sexual identity communities; and commonweal sexual organising (Hearn and Parkin 1987/1995, Hearn 2006).

ICTs also assist denials of sexual citizenship, in terms of: sexualised exploitations: facilitation of sexually violent communities, e.g. "paedophile" rings, or those using technologies for sex trafficking or grooming for child sexual abuse. Sexual citizenship can be undermined by the provision of sexually exploitative (sexploitation) business, services and organising, with distinct or overlapping parties and different sexual interests: sexual owners, managers; workers; trafficked people; consumers. Constructions of citizenships, and bodily autonomy, are typically very uneven for these various parties, with ICTs increasing commodification, marketing of commercial sex services, as forms of sexual production, leading to sexual(ised), sexually exploitative cultures:

The Internet ... the latest place for promoting the global trafficking and sexual exploitation of women ... being used to promote and engage in the buying and selling of women and children. Agents offer catalogues of mail order brides, with girls as young as 13. Commercial sex tours are advertised. Men exchange information on where to find prostitutes and describe how they can be used. After their trips men write reports on how much they paid for women and children, write pornographic descriptions of what they did to those they bought. Video-conferencing is bringing live sex shows to the Internet. Global sexual exploitation is on the rise. Profits are high and there are few effective barriers. The traffickers and promoters of sexual exploitation have rapidly utilized the Internet for their purposes. (Hughes 1997).

In terms of the practice and experience of new forms of sexuality, virtual communities of interest, whether around, for or against particular sexualities or sexualised violences, may appear to offer a safe and trustworthy arena for support and this may be so in some cases. Yet they also bring contradictions: the familiarity, taken-for-granted "wallpaper", of the Web can be deceptive; it may become a new form of hegemony. The various uses of ICTs for sexualities and sexually violent purposes can ea-

sily blur into each other. There can be, for some people, little separation of sexual information, sexual advertising, production of sexual material, sexual experience. ICTs can provide new forms of transnational sexual space and ease the development of new incipient forms of national/transnational forums of sexuality, transnational sexual citizenship, including transnational theorisations of sexual integrity, bodily autonomy, sexual civil rights, and opposition to sexualised violences, within shifting transpatriarchies.

There appears to be a growing disjunction, even contradictions between scale of international, global material capitalist sex economies (prostitution, trafficking in women, transport of people by unlawful force, deceit and coercion, bride purchase, sex tourism, pornography, sex shows, etc.) and the representation & reproduction of the sexual through new technologies (computer sex, cybersex, virtual sex, computer-aided imaging, etc.). This is both a social and analytic disjunction; different scholars tend to focus on one or the other. Contradictions between the material and the representational may lead policy in contradictory directions, within changing forms of transpatriarchies (more surveilled, more liberalised). MySpace.com, the networking site and blog community, reported to have about 92 million registered users, widely used by young people to meet virtually, was recently bought from Intermix Media by Rupert Murdoch's NewsCorp. What may initially be self-help social-sexual communities of interest can become exclusionary, pay-to-use capitalist enterprises. Amazon is hoping to patent ways of interrogating a database that would record not just what its 59 million customers have bought, which it already knows, or their wish lists of what they would like to buy, but their ethnicity, income, religion and sexual orientation (Brown 2006).

The material-discursive of ICTs encompasses several aspects: ICTs as material-discursive phenomena that construct and are constructed by relations of material bodies and sexualities; that construct and are constructed by discourses of bodies and sexualities, on both "grand" transnational scales and immediate personal embodied scales. In such social processes there can appear to be a lack of consequences, sexual idealisation and distancing, as well as the abstraction of sexuality, with the conversion of sexuality to word/image, and the reconstitution of new forms of sexualities (Hearn 2008).

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Chapter 6

A Market of Emotions: Tango Tourism in Buenos Aires

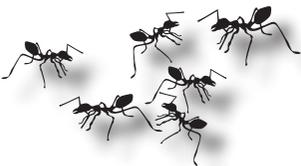
Maria Törnqvist

Tango dancing is an expanding activity that captures the hearts and time of more and more people from all over the world (Ander/Hansson 2005). The goal for the ones who get “the bite” is eventually to visit the Mecca of tango: Buenos Aires and its numerous milongas (a milonga is a tango dancing event). Today, this specific form of tourism is so widespread that hundreds of travel packages with all-inclusive-kits of classes, dance shoe shopping and historic detours of the tango capital are available. For visitors from far away looking for the “real tango” there are special city maps that point out the milongas in town, and for lonely tourists so called “taxi dancers”, mainly argentine men who make a living out of selling dances at the dance events.

Tourism in general, and tango tourism¹ in particular, is an intriguing case for exploring the complex nets of socio-economic orders, gender and sexuality in a global world. This is a phenomenon that allows a flourishing of myths, desires and images of “exotic places” and “others” for consumption by wealthy, white, Western Europeans/Americans. It puts at stake not only questions of what it takes to be a “nomadic subject”, i.e. a person with opportunities to move across borders, but also how categories of gender and ethnicity are played out in ways that make the world (politically) intelligible.

In addition, this phenomenon intrigues the way we think about sexuality. In accordance with the GEXcel program I define sexuality, not solely as an identity category, but rather as a: “set of relations, activities,

1 The category of “tango tourist” implies a group of people who travel to Buenos Aires with the specific goal of dancing and discovering the world of Argentine tango.



needs, desires, productive/reproductive powers and capacities, identities, values, institutions, and organizational and structural contexts.” In the research project I stress the role of emotional fantasies and embodied experiences when elaborating on this concept. But also, and more importantly, I explore the mechanisms that turn such imaginaries and practices into objects of consumption and a specific form of labour/capital in a global market of emotions.² The research project highlights these global flows of emotional consumption with the case of tango tourism as the empirical scope. Thereby the study wishes to provide the area of feminist research with a theoretical framework that takes seriously peoples desires and fantasies, but that keeps in mind the impact of a materially unjust world order, when trying to understand global structures of domination.

Theoretical framework

In order to do so, the project engages in several bodies of theoretical work.

- a) The sociology of emotions.
- b) Postcolonial feminism and theories of intersectionality (including sex, gender, ethnicity and class).³
- c) Pierre Bourdieu’s work on social field and capital.
- d) Theories of embodiment.

a) Emotions and emotional experiences are increasing objects of consumption in today’s western societies (cf. Hochschild 1979, 1983, Holbrook and Hirschman 1982). No matter if it takes the form of ”buying time” to spend with friends and family, cultural or culinary experiences (dining at fine restaurants, watching movies, listening to music), or travelling to foreign countries, much of today’s consumption is directed

2 As Anna Jónasdóttir puts it, sexuality (in her case love) should be understood as: “sociosexual practices and not only as emotions that dwell inside individuals” (Jónasdóttir 1994:4).

3 No longer can gender be studied as a one-dimensional category. Rather must it be understood as a structuring principle that crosscut society along dimensions such as social class, ethnicity, age, religion and sexuality. In order to understand what it means to be a woman or man, and more importantly what disadvantages and privileges that follow from these categories, we must be able to locate a person’s position in a multidimensional social space made up not only of gender but also of stratifying lines of ethnicity, class and age (cf. KVT 2005 no. Interseksjonalitet, Holmstrom 2002, Spivak 2002, Mohanty 1999).

towards emotional experiences. The increasing area of emotional consumption needs to be explored and theoretically elaborated on both from a gendered perspective and with sensitivity to the unjust (socio-economic) order of a postcolonial world (cf. Alexander 1997). As feminist scholars have pointed out, in some cases, the exchanges of a tourist consumption market involve sex: Most obviously in the cases of sex tourism in countries such as Thailand or the Caribbean Islands (O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1999).⁴ Yet in other ones the fantasies are of a less explicitly sexual nature but still rest upon romantic narratives of intimacy and passion. Such is the case of tango tourism.⁵

What makes this an interesting empirical scope for reflecting upon the questions evoked by the fellowship program (“How do multi-level conceptions of sexuality, process of production of people, selves/subjectivities, relational activities carried out in different institutions and organisational contexts, intersect?”), is its character of a field in a cross section. First of all, people enter into the tango world for several reasons: Some begin dancing because they are amazed by the music and the dance as an art form, others because of the social life, and yet others with romantic expectations. In order to understand this particular world, and markets of emotions at large, we must recognize the intersection of different logics: that of a romantic sphere and that of, in this case the fine art of dancing and a capitalist market logic. The same goes for the rationale behind tango tourism. Not all dancers and tango tourists look for romantic encounters, but they all seek the emotional experiences that the dance is believed to bring out.

Firstly, looking at tango tourism as a global economy, it appears as a form of “emotion labour” where certain experiences are bought and sold (cf. Hochschild 2003). Consumers demand interactive settings that allow them to contribute, however real or perceived, to the inherent emotions of passion and sensuality. Tourist companies, in turn, construct spatio-temporal markers and boundaries meant to focus consumers’ attention on the sensual and emotional aspects of tango. For example, tourist pamphlets from Argentina create a mythology in their ways of attracting tourists with phrases such as: “visit Buenos Aires to experience the passion, sensuality and nostalgia of tango.” In other words, the tourist industry itself tempts the possible consumers by using images of a place (its sights, smells, people, and close physical interactions).

4 See also Löfgren 1999 on tourism.

5 Like climbing mountains, sky diving and raft guiding (cf. Lois 2001, Lyng 1990, 2004), tango dancing is a leisure activity and reason for global tourism that provide intense and visceral emotions for their consumers: what some call “a manufactured adventure” (Holyfield 1999).

Secondly, I'm interested in the kind of economies that tango tourism itself creates. What are the values at stake: e.g. which experiences, bodies, skills, sets of knowledge, material goods are desired? What does the economy look like and who do the tourists become as "consumers" within this market? Which are the transactions at work (i.e. trading money for dances)? And which role does ethnicity and gender (both as discursive and lived categories), as well as sexuality (in terms of a set of socio-sexual practices), play in the creation of this symbolic order? In order to understand these processes we need a set of analytical tools that are both gender sensitive and sensitive to the production and meaning of racified categories.

b) At first sight, tango seems to be reproducing, in the extreme, masculinities and femininities by exaggerating stereotypical bodily comportments. However, it's far from obvious what this means for the people engaged in the dance. Does it serve as a pedagogical device for reproducing gendered bodies or does tangoing across borders transform it? What are the potentials of the "nuevo tango" (a newer form of tango music that involves electronic influences and a style of dancing that lend steps from other dances) and the "queer tango movement"?⁶ For instance, what does it mean that many of my informants from the San Francisco tango scene⁷ talk about the importance of knowing how to both lead and follow as a way of deepening the understanding of the dance?

The consumption market of tango tourism is not only about gendered imaginaries linked to individual bodies. It also builds upon images of entire countries and continents: what I call "exotic places". Whereas Edward Said (1993) described how the Orient has been portrayed as a feminine continent (ready to be unveiled by the western eye, cf. Yuval-Davis 1997), Argentina and much of Latin-America is often represented as a male part of the world. Far though from a western and white middle-class masculinity, it's construed as a more brutal and macho-connoted place (cf. Segal 1997). I examine the connections between the dance and the engendering of the city of Buenos Aires and Argentina as a country. Is tango tourism fuelled by a diffusion of images of a specific latin sexuality (cf. Lundström 2006) or does the dance transgress such stereotypes? What does the category of being "Argentine" mean in relation to discourses of authenticity? How are the tango tourists' expectations of becoming a "real man" or a "real woman" shaped by their beliefs about

6 There are signs of a growing "queer-tango" scene with dancers who question the heteronormative order and dance in same sex constellation. Most recently it could be found with an own festival in Stockholm, April 2007. (see also research pointing at the homoerotic childhood of tango cf. Perez Alvarez 2006)

7 See the "Methodology and research design" section for a presentation of my pilot-study of the San Francisco tango scene.

the place they are visiting? And what happens when expectations meet reality?

c) In order to elaborate theoretically on what I call a market of emotions, I am bringing forward the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1990a, 1991, 1993, 2000, Broady 1998). In the research project, I will study tango tourism as a social field, in which different forms of capital are being conversed. The main ones are: *economic capital* (simply meaning money), different forms of *bodily or physical capital* (dancing skills but also “looks” and sexual accessibility) and *social capital* (contacts and friends within the world of tango). I’m interested in the ways in which these forms of capital are conversed. Looked upon from the perspective of the “sellers”, physical capital is for instance most usually converted into economic capital (cf. Schiling 2004). But yet, money is only one of many forms of capital within this market, although an important one.⁸ As my informants put it, money can buy a flight ticket, expensive dance shoes and private classes, but it will not guarantee that the tango tourist will become and be recognised as a fine dancer. And more so: it can not guarantee that the he or she will attain the emotional experiences desired.

d) To understand this economy we need not only to take into consideration the specificity of this market: i.e. emotions as a consumption object, but also the fact that this is ultimately an economy of the flesh. Part of what people are trying to achieve is not only a highly emotional experience, but also the techniques of the (gendered) body that will allow them to enter into what some informants describe as “passionate encounters”. A condition of entry into the tango world of Buenos Aires is that one brings both one’s money and ones body and skills. To fully participate, tourists must engage in a long labour of investing the body with the appropriate bodily powers, sensitivities and habits. This means that the body can not only be understood as yet another sign or piece of text, but rather as the condition and ultimate point of departure for the tourists being in this world (Aalden 2007, Beauvoir 1949, Bourdieu 1990b, Heinämaa 1998, Young 2005, Wacquant 2004, 2005). To enter the tango world requires that people not only poses the right gendered categories but that they also “know how” to move, stand, and interact with their bodies. For the proposed study this implies bridging together a scope of discursive imaginaries with a scope of the embodied structures of this specific market. It also implies that I like Bourdieu, wish to brake

⁸ One important contribution of Bourdieu’s work is that he stresses the importance of not giving up the concept of economy to economists, or reducing its meaning simply to imply “money”. In his sense, this is a term for exploring exchanges or transactions of various kinds (cf. Jónasdóttir 1991 and Holmberg 1993 on the exchanges of love and care in heterosexual relationships).

with a notion of rational action and instead explore this field through an "embodied theory of practice", meaning that the players act from a practical and embodied senses of the world rather than strict rational ones (cf. Bourdieu 1990a, Schiling 2004).

Methodology and research design

In order to create a "full-bodied" analysis of the emotional economy of tango tourism, this project is using three kinds of material.

a) *Interviews with tango tourists*; i.e. people who have been visiting Buenos Aires with the specific aim of dancing and exploring Argentine tango.

b) *Documentary analysis*: Fictional and non-fictional representations of tango tourism such as internet blogs and diaries, pamphlets, technical manuals, as well as narratives such as the ones found in the movie "Tango lesson" (by Sally Potter) and the book "Pardans" (by Birgitta Holm).

c) *Carnal ethnography*. Recognizing that participating in tango tourism is itself a bodily enterprise implies that the body is not only the object of study but also a methodological tool that can be used in grasping the incarnate understandings of this phenomenon. Drawing from the work of sociologists Loïc Wacquant (2004, 2005), Geir Angell Øygarden (2000) and Brian Lande (2007), I am carrying out what they call a "carnal ethnography" or a "full-contact sociology". This is an "observant-participation" with the researcher's own body as a tool and point of departure for understanding the practices, rites and technologies of a certain social field. In a world that is lived primarily bodily and in action rather than through words and reflexive awareness, this is a useful method. This means that I will become a tango tourist myself, and use my own experiences as a basis for discovering and articulating what often goes unsaid.

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Chapter 7

Rethinking Action: Negotiations of Space and the Body in the Struggle of AMMAR



Kate Hardy

Changes in the organisation of global capital over the last twenty years have engendered change in the nature of work for millions of people. Global economic restructuring and the informalisation of work have increased the importance of sex work as a survival strategy for women, children and men in places across the world (Pyle and Ward 2003, Sassen 1998). In particular, the Argentinean economic collapse of 2001 heralded huge increases in unemployment, movements of people into the informal economy and the embedding of sex work as a survival strategy in household and national economies (Dalen 2006). In this context, of increasing numbers of women moving into a labour sphere which is unregulated and routinely open to exploitation and violence, the issues of rights become particularly pertinent in these contexts. These are usually addressed by changing legal frameworks dealing with prostitution by governments and state institutions but also by the increasing self-organisation of sex workers for human, reproductive and sexual rights.

Sex worker self-organising is an increasingly global movement and is one of a number of groups organising around sexual rights in geographically disparate places across the world (Garcia and Parker 2006). In Argentina, this emergence can also be understood as part of the effervescence of the Argentinean social movement culture (Brysk 1993). It is from this context of a vibrant social movement culture and public social protest that AMMAR arose. AMMAR is the Argentinean Association of Female Sex Workers which formed in 1998 to resist violence against and detention of sex workers. In 2001, AMMAR split into two factions.

AMMAR-CTA is affiliated to the General Workers Union (CTA) and AMMAR-Capital is the Association for Women's Rights. AMMAR-CTA identify as *trabajadoras sexuales* (sex workers), while AMMAR-Capital identify as *mujeres en la situacion de prostitucion* (women in the situation of prostitution) or *mujeres desempleadas* (unemployed women). As such, AMMAR-CTA seeks to unionise sex workers and gain full civil, labour and human rights for sex workers and AMMAR-Capital demand economic alternatives for women in prostitution and provide support services.

This paper begins by considering the relationship between sex workers and the meanings which have been ascribed to their bodies. Next, I explore the relation between sex workers and space and argue that they are mutually constitutive and of fundamental importance in mapping the contours of gendered and sexualised social codes. Moving to an exploration of the strategies by which the sex worker activists of AMMAR have developed spatial and corporeal strategies to challenge their social identity and spatial marginalisation, I note that these may have broader material political consequences for the founding principles of gender regime. By conceptualising the interconnections between sex workers and "the body" and "public space" the paper begins to unpack the ways in which these relationships have been understood and their relevance to sex worker organising.

Contested bodies, subversive bodies

Women's synonymy with the body oscillates between hierarchical binaries of femininity which represent women as either (de-sexualised/reproductive) Mother or (sexualised/non-reproductive) "whore". As such, sex workers' bodies, as "whores", represent sites of danger and disorder which appear to threaten the moral order and family values. Whilst recognising the vociferous debates relating to the discursive production of bodies vis-à-vis their materiality (Butler 1990, 1993, Ebert 1993, Turner 1992, Connell 1995, Scott and Morgan 1993, Shilling 1993) here I use an embodied perspective, focusing on the agents "who partake of bodies" (Nettleton and Watson 1998), performing, resisting and reformulating meanings inscribed on them. Using this "embodiment" perspective is particularly important in order to give credence to the embodied experiences of rape, torture and incarceration experienced by the majority of the participants, both contemporaneously and under the military *junta*. With this approach it is possible to explore the embodied experiences and performances of sex workers, not only during and within the labour of sex work, but on the consequences of embodying a sex worker iden-

tity and its impact on spatially differentiated gendered and sexualised performances and strategies for political struggle.

Women's bodies indeed represent "sites and expressions of power relations" (McDowell 1995:79) and perhaps none more so than the deviant body of the "whore". Bodies of sex workers occupy a pre-eminent position in the social imagination, due to their role as the antithesis of feminised gender norms and their multifarious representations in film, in the media, within the academy and across a number of discursive terrains. The sex worker is often reduced to her body through discourses which argue that it is her(/his) body which is sold (in place of discourses of the sale of services) and the multitude of meanings inscribed on sex workers' bodies. Not least, that sex work is often understood as a form of bodywork (Oerton and Phoenix 2001). The prostitute body is eternally "rewritten" (Bell 1993) as a central site of power and contested representations. Indeed, the prostitute body is a site of contestations, between feminists, public discourses and the state. All of which contest, discipline and limit behaviour, as well as mapping the limits of feminine gender identities, leading to the self-surveillance of all bodies gendered female.

What a difference a space makes: public space and sex workers

The public space and in particular, *plazas*, have are an important and enduring symbol of Argentinean political struggle. The *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* (Mothers of May Square) have met in the square for over thirty years, to protest against the disappearance of their children and grandchildren and demand their safe return (Bosco 2001). During the crisis of 2001, thousands poured out into the streets banging pots and pans and the streets are regularly filled with marches and protests demanding the return of the *desaparecidos* (the disappeared), trade unions, *piqueteros* and peasant organisations demanding work and social justice.

The organisation of public space in Latin America is heterosexually organised in ways similar to Western analyses (Hubbard 2000, 2001, Browne 2007) and areas of public space remain distinctly masculinised. Sex workers are signified as selling sex not only by their bodily performances and dress, but also by their presence in the *plaza* or the *parque* (park) at the night. It remains true that "the occupation of the public space, especially late at night... are class prerogatives of men and prostitute women, traditionally licit for the first and traditionally illicit for the latter" (Pheterson 1996: 19).

The social and legal regulation of prostitutes is reflected in their spatial marginalisation has been used as a means of establishing wider criteria of what is acceptable behaviour in the public and private realm (Hubbard 1999). Ordinances in Argentina have sought to ensure that sex workers cannot be within certain distances of schools and residential areas, this is a common approach as authorities frequently seek to exclude sex workers from public space on the basis of "morality" and "cleanliness" (Tani 2002, Hubbard 1999). The working spaces of street sex workers in Argentina are located on the fringes of parks, underneath railway bridges and in plazas behind transport terminals, bus and train stations. This spatial marginalisation is reflective of attempts to control "immoral landscapes" (Symanski 1981) and Other them from spaces of citizenship and participation.

As a result of these spatial apartheid, women as sex workers and activists represent subversive bodies in the public sphere and they must negotiate this in order to defend and frame their activism and avoid the violence these transgressions attract. The right to public space has been central to AMMAR's struggle. It provided the impetus to organise, as the women resisted against their removal to detention as punishment for soliciting in public. Under the *Edictos Policiales* (Police Edicts) legal code police in Buenos Aires were able to detain individuals for up to thirty days without legal process. After the replacement of the *Edictos Policiales* with the *Codigo de Convivencia* (Code of Coexistence) which ensured the right to be in the street, AMMAR continue to emphasise the importance of physical presence of sex workers and sex worker activists in the public space.

So when we won (the end of the Police Edicts), we started.... we were doing political work but also, we were always in the street, with our comrades, always... So we are always in the street, permanently in the street talking with our comrade, seeing what needs they have.

Political practice: body-space strategies

Corporeal and spatial strategies are necessarily intertwined in the political practice of AMMAR in order to contest their spatial marginalisation and the meanings ascribed to their bodies which justify their social exclusion. Three main strategies can be identified. The first is "conscious self-surveillance", the second is spatial transgressions and the third strategy is the creation of exclusionary spaces for sex workers.

Performance and conscious self-surveillance

AMMAR's members' performances of hyper-(hetero)sexuality, through dress and bodily comportment signifies their bodies as for sale in the public space during working times (at night). This contrasts with desexualised gender performances in interactions with public officials and in public protest. When sex workers - who are "out" - are in public spaces in non-working contexts, they seek to re-signify themselves through actions and bodily performances which refute the essentialising and oppressive identity of "whore". In doing so, they desexualise themselves and often attempt to "degender" themselves, as autonomous citizens, using the language of work and rights. In some cases, it is a conscious decision to dress more demurely and to adorn and present their bodies in a desexualised manner.

When we were fighting the law (against detention) we decided not to wear mini-skirts. Why? Because image is our work. No-one tells us "you have to dress like this, or not like this", but image the image of prostitutes, or sex workers, or , or whatever you want to call them, are of a short mini-skirt, high-heels, lipstick, money and feathers... so we showed them that no, that we were women, Mums, workers... all of that.

Alongside official occasions and public spaces, sex workers also seek to refute their assigned labels in quasi-public spaces. The nature of the public gaze and the simultaneously material and discursive nature of their struggle, means that activism saturates every facet of social and political life.

We go to parties and you have to know that, that you are watched, that you are being watched, observed and so as we are representing an organisation, we have to behave, because we aren't representing ourselves but a women's collective. So one has to be polite... to show them and to show society that we are also well-mannered.

Sexualised images of sex workers are embedded and essentialised as a facet of identity to the degree that members of the public express surprise when they are unable to identify sex workers.

We went to see a member of parliament and his secretary. We were there with members of the CTA and our solicitor, to present proposals for the law. The member of parliament came in and asked his secretary "Where are the girls from AMMAR?". He didn't recognize us, because we were dressed like... because we didn't go in mini-skirts, you see.

The women attempt to perform feminine genders in ways which are "respectable" and cannot be conceived as disorderly, promiscuous or deviant. However, maternal discourses have been a strong thread through women's activism in Argentina (Bejarano 2002). It is interesting that AMMAR do not explicitly employ maternal discourses to counterbalance and subvert their identity as "whore". It is innovative and perhaps brave that these acts of conscious self-surveillance and performance of desexualised feminine gender do not stray into the maternal discourses a tactic which has been used by other sex worker organisations such as the English Collective of Prostitutes to elicit sympathy for the cause. Self-surveillance and performance of "respectable" gender roles in this case are not acts of conformity but of resistance.

Spatial transgressions

Alongside desexualising their identities, sex workers make a number of spatial transgressions explicitly using gendered and sexualised identities. Firstly, as feminine agents in masculine political (public) spaces; secondly as sex workers stepping outside their geographically marginalised position; and finally, a temporal transgression, by emphasising their identity as sex workers in public space during daytime. In particular, AMMAR actively adopt spatial transgression as a strategy for political struggle emphasising a sex worker identity. When these stigmatised bodies cross over into normalised space, they challenge the truth of essentialised distinctions between bodies and the mutual constitution of repressed and marginalised bodies/space.

One method of political practice is to penetrate the most male of public spaces, with irrefutable and direct corporeal presence.

What we did was to get up very early in the morning, go into the Legislature and knock on the doors of the legislators or the senators, making them hear about the lived reality of sex workers: that they beat us, that they torture us in the cells, that often they rape us inside the police cells or in the jail, that they take money from us.

The women explicitly presented their bodies as sex workers within male space repeatedly every single day, disseminating knowledge of embodied everyday experiences. This confronted legislators with the materiality of these experiences and enforced uncomfortable embodied experiences for the legislators who had to listen first-hand to the women's stories of bodily violation including rape, physical assault, incarceration and torture.

AMMAR-CTA have a visible presence in the street, wearing red with the symbols of AMMAR, distributing condoms, setting up information stalls in plazas, marching and protesting. During protests, AMMAR-CTA deploy their bodies, signified more or less strongly as sex workers – either through suggestion or direct statement - to create spectacles in order to attract public attention. Events have included protesting with the actors union, using multi-coloured umbrellas to create an eye catching and creative scene; boarding public transport including buses and underground trains, distributing condoms and proclaiming "YO SOY TRABAJADORA SEXUAL (I am a sex worker)"; and frequent appearances on television chat shows and news reports.

On their websites and in their publications and literature, AMMAR-CTA combine traditional imagery associated with sex work with disembodied language of rights. This synthesizes the two strategies of overt sexualisation and (de)sexualisation within textual space. The use of the symbol of red high-heeled shoe and the symbol of AMMAR, a heart, holding hands and the colouring of red throughout their literature, website, t-shirts and branding are all redolent of traditional imagery of prostitution and femininity. Even use of the acronym "AMMAR" is a reference to the verb "AMAR" (Spanish translation of "to love"), which is also suggestive of the identity of the group as sex workers. In this sense, AMMAR-CTA simultaneously present their bodies unapologetically as sex workers and force the public to recognize sex workers as active individuals and agents – as citizens. This dual representation begins to confront the dichotomy between sex worker/appropriate femininity and sex worker/active citizen or political agent.

Exclusionary spaces

A third strategy in reformulating the identities, bodies and spatial experiences of sex workers is to disengage with public space and create exclusionary spaces in which only sex worker bodies are allowed, thus reversing their exclusion and marginalisation. In order to create spaces in which sex workers are in control and feel comfortable and in response to their own spatial exclusion, only sex worker bodies are allowed in spaces created by AMMAR-CTA, unless an individual's role is to facilitate with expertise that the sex workers do not have. AMMAR offices, which are located within municipal headquarters of CTA are run solely by sex workers, only calling on non-sex workers for technical tasks. On discovering that they do not understand processes for public relations, printing or dealing with the media, AMMAR procure training from CTA

in order to enable themselves to represent for themselves and in order that only their voices may speak on their behalves.

The *Centro Integral de Salud "Sandra Cabrera"* (Sandra Cabrera Health Centre) was established in La Plata following demands from AMMAR for healthcare which could cater specifically for gender health problems and which were orientated towards sex workers, who often face prejudice in the state healthcare systems. It is open twenty-four hours a day and – with the exception of medical staff – all the staff are sex workers. Similarly, the primary school in Cordoba is staffed by sex workers who determine the rules of engagement. The (state funded) teacher is the only paid member of staff that is not a sex worker. The school is not exclusively for sex workers, but takes place in a room in the headquarters of the Cordoba branch of AMMAR. The majority of the students are sex workers or are housewives with no primary school education, who are drawn from the same social class and educational level as many of the sex workers. Receptionists in the health centre and all the offices, facilitators in the school, workshop facilitators and health ambassadors are all sex workers. In every case possible, AMMAR procure funding and train sex workers to become advisors, consultants and health ambassadors. This is both an attempt to retrain sex workers in alternative skills and an explicit reaction to social and spatial exclusion.

Conclusion: Concrete consequences, new and rearticulated spaces

In public, AMMAR-CTA exercise a politics of the body in which there is less engagement in ideological debate and more emphasis on a corporeal presentation of reality which is hard to deny and therefore hard to refuse or refute. They do this variably, through presentations of themselves in their assigned sexual identity and by subverting their inscribed gendered and sexualised identities. These spatial and bodily strategies of political struggle negotiate a disciplining hetero-normative masculine public gaze, emerging with concrete material and discursive, political and social outcomes.

Spatially, AMMAR reconstitute space by embedding sex workers as consultants in state institutions, creating new spaces and changing their experiences of public space through protest and discursive shifts. By constantly placing their bodies in the public gaze and negotiating their position in it, the nature of that gaze can begin to change and new experiences of embodiment in the public space emerge. Elena says: “sometimes I walk in the street and people say to me ‘hey, I saw you on TV, how brave you are, how brave’”.

The placement of sex worker bodies in the public space and the public gaze has discursive effects, by presenting a challenge to the stereotypes that uphold the pillars of their oppression. They force a reassessment of sex worker identity and in doing so, can create positive embodied experiences of public space in which sex workers receive respect and admiration in place of insults and public disgust. Discursively, through corporeal re(negotiations) of bodily scripts and inscriptions, there is a potential for much broader consequences in challenging the gender and socio-political order in Argentina by striking at the heart of the very binary of female identity that holds these regimes in place.

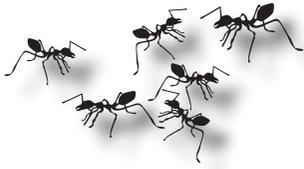
Female identities can be reformulated and reconstituted through representations expressed in social protest, in part by women forcing the public sphere to take notice of what is supposed to be hidden (Sasson-Levy and Rapoport 2003). Although the whore/Madonna binary is too embedded to be so easily circumscribed or toppled, by challenging the sexualised gender binaries which predominate in representations of women, there is an opportunity to create a space in which more nuanced understandings of gender and sexuality can take precedence. The socio-spatialization of prostitutes into marginalised and invisible spaces and places has been fundamental in constructing the identity and social status of sex workers (Hart 1995). As such, challenges to this spatiality and the presence of sex workers in important public spaces as political agents/sex workers may not only reconfigure the construction of sex worker identity but also have broader repercussions in challenging constructions of gender and sexuality; of which the figure of the prostitute is a discursive pillar in hierarchically placing women as inferior and marginal both socially and spatially.

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Chapter 8

The Construction and Remembrance of a “Homogenized Home”: Shifting Patterns of Hegemony and Purging out the Deviant Bodies in Keralam

Rajeev Kumaramkandath

The reduction of sexual desire to merely that associated with the body, as part of animal nature and appetite, has been understood as the main function of the discourses of sexual morality within modern regimes. Such a discourse also serves the purpose of separating sexual desire from rationality and erotic love (Scruton 1986:12-20). In order to generate its broader connotations in terms of its implications and impact upon the formation of sexual subjects, albeit in a third world context, I shall endeavour here to render sexual morality with a broader meaning. Such a rendering includes the wider political and cultural contexts within which the discourse occurs through its various apparatuses, ranging from law and philosophical discourses to popular literature. Such rendering also makes it possible to see how the values and codes embedded within the concept of sexual morality are converted into practices that are closely associated to body and desire in order to construct selfdisciplined individual subjects prepared to embark upon the possibilities that modernity offer.

This paper maps some of the tensions and anxieties embedded within the late 19th-early 20th century discourse on sexual morality to the current Keralam, where there is a hue and cry on behalf of marginalized bodies and desires in the society. The homologies and heterologies of the basic values, norms, notions and related practices of the concept as it exists at two time periods, and the purposes embedded within the wi-

der contexts that such discourse serves, are looked at. In order to locate these similarities, recurrences of concerns and contradictions emerging out of them, I shall look specifically at articles that have appeared in Malayalam¹ magazines during the late 19th-early 20th century period and in contemporary Kerala.

The prime motive behind making such an analysis is to understand certain persisting values that continue to shape the sexual subjects and actuate the discourse of deviance defining inherently what is normal and what is not. These writings produced in two different time periods address some of the predominant concerns which have continued through the period that separate them. The concerns and the contradictions articulated within these discursive spaces, the paper will argue, nevertheless, are broadly related to and reflecting the material conditions prevailing in the society. At the same time as they are proposing and propagating values associated to modernity and liberalism, in order to redress the present state of degeneracy (the ideational present in these writings and that which they address, albeit in two different time periods), they also maintain reservations about breakage of traditional institutions of marriage and family and the diminishing tendencies of values that are associated with them.

Hence the paper explores the relations between what we broadly understand as “progress” (in this context as a predominant concern informing and perpetuating the reformist discourse in Kerala during the colonial regime) or “development” (phrased differently so as to suit its close proximity to the material realms of life in a more globalised era) and the concerns around body, desire, pleasure and gender relations. I will argue that these intersections of concerns and contradictions around the question of morality, with specific emphasis on sexual morality, the ambivalences that they produce, are the spaces where questions of deviance are invoked.

Sexual morality in the late 19th century-early 20th century discourse

Popularly known as the reform period, this time period was filled with concerns around the fallen state of the society and the resultant degeneracy in the face of colonialism. The assortment of writings on the topic of morality produced during this period comprised suggestions and advices regarding what constituted good and bad in all spheres of individual

1 For those who are ignorant, Malayalam is the language spoken by the inhabitants in Kerala and print history in Malayalam begins from 1847 with the publishing of “*Rajya Samacharam*” by Herman Gundart.

and social lives. I am stressing the time period, that is, mid 19th century chiefly because this marks the publication of the first Malayalam journal, *Rajyasamacharam*, (in 1847) by the German missionary Herman Gundart. Gundart, who prepared the first Malayalam dictionary, subsequently started two more journals published from *Thalassery* – in north Malabar of the erstwhile Madras presidency, namely *Malayalam* (1850) and *Keralapanini* (1854) (Priyadarshan 1974).

Priyadarshan observes that the contents of these magazines were primarily theological in nature and included no political issue as its subject matter. “They mainly included write ups that contained *Sanmarga bodhakangal* (advices about good moral values) and what constituted *Sadhacharam and Duracharam* (good and bad morals) in a society” (Priyadarshan 1974:17-19). Priyadarshan provides some valuable remarks as to the content of these write ups apart from their theological nature. “These magazines constantly pondered over the sympathetic nature of our society in a pity condition and observed as to what makes it different from the European communities and what could contribute to the betterment of its current conditions” (Priyadarshan 1974:20).

Priyadarshan does not provide any clear idea as to the suggestions and differences observed by these writings though. His remarks regarding the contents of these magazines, nonetheless, provide certain important clues. For instance it is clear from what he has written that these magazines contained a combination of moral teachings (theological ones) and sympathy towards the pathetic nature of Malayali culture and what differentiated it from its counterparts in Europe. This provides space for an easy imagination of a situation where moral values of a society are invoked in the context of empowering its culture. Empowering in this context necessarily implies modernizing the society and its culture. For instance, Velu P. Pettayil (1881), in his foreword to the translation of T. Madhavarayar’s text “Principles of Morality,” states that “it comes to easy visibility that the observations made by the enlightened Gundert with regard to our value systems is very important to understand the continued state of anarchy and the lack of any self discipline in our society which is very much essential for any *modern* society” (1881:4, emphasis mine). There was a huge number of writings in Malayalam produced in this period that address this topic on degeneration of moral values as cause for its sympathetic nature.

The reform writings articulate how the rational space was set in the 19th century and how those efforts vacillated around self and body. It also brings out the hegemonic production and circulation of modern values against the heterogeneity of customs, practices and beliefs of a culture. This is not an effort to show how a new system has come into

place as a result of the dawn of modernity in the society. But these writings are clear examples of hegemonic production and circulation of knowledge within modern systems, albeit under the aegis of colonialism. They implicitly propose and mark the beginning of the shifts occurring in the axis of the individual's identity, from the traditional markers of caste and community to those associated with the individual's value to the society she or he is located within. The individual's value to herself depends upon her value to the society as a whole.

This discourse touches, as already suggested, upon virtually all aspects of the molding of individual subjects in accordance with an emerging modernity. Family and education are identified as primary sites for disseminating the values that are closely associated to qualities required to attain progress in life. From *suchithwam* (body cleanliness) and *sisu samrakshanam* (child care)² to *yogyatha* (qualification), *sthree samathwam* (equality for women) and *parishkaram* (progress), these writings are recurrent with the theme and concern for social degeneracy of Kerala, for its pathetic state especially in comparison with the European society and what was required to resolve the situation and attain progress.

Keeping in mind the larger context within which this discourse takes place, in terms of changes in legal-judicial and political realms, some of its far-reaching implications comes to visibility³. While prescribing the normative structure by colligating the possibilities it opens, this dis-

2 *Sisu samrakshanam* as opposed to the general anticipation for suggestions regarding a child's physical care, is filled with suggestions about qualities that are to be nourished and taught to them. Nagam Aiyer (1889), for instance, elaborates upon these qualities required for a child in order to progress in their life. We have already seen how *Vidyavinodhini* (1892/1067, Vol. 2 No. 2 & 3), *Laksmibhai* (1906/1086, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2 & 3) and *Rasika ranjini* (1904/1079, Vol. 14, No.9) contained articles on some of these qualities.

3 During this period both Malabar region of the erstwhile Madras presidency and Cochin-Travancore witnessed many changes in the legal realm where legislations were passed with regard to matrilineal system, sambandham marriage system, and labour laws were introduced to allow people from lower castes to migrate to (particularly) plantations in other colonies in Asia and other parts of India. To see more on legal reforms in terms of matrilineal system and sambandham see Kodoth, 2001 and 2002, Mencher, 1962, Fuller. C. J. 1975 and Gough, E. Kathleen, 1959. About the implications of some of these reforms see D'sa, Victor, 1972, Silva, Severine and Stephen Fuchs, 1965, and Swai, Bonaventure, 1978. About more on the labour rules and what response it received and about the larger impacts on the caste combinations see Osella and Osella, 2000 pp 113-185 and Panikkar K.N. 1995 pp 30-70.

The extermination of matriarchy in Kerala under the colonial legal systems is a well discussed area. For a thorough analysis please look at Kodoth, Praveena, 2001, 2002, Fuller. C. J. 1975, Gough, E. Kathleen, 1959.

course brings the individual subject into direct contact with the broader political structures as opposed to its confined location within caste and gender relations. Although this was not an unconditional process, it contained within it the primary political thought that all human beings are naturally equal, and the criticism of discriminations upon the basis of caste and gender flows from this. In the next section I shall try to look at contemporary writings addressing concerns similar to the ones that preoccupied the reform period. Strange similarities, however with apparent contradictions, appear.

Sexual morality, queer discourse and the general response in the present Keralam

In an article addressing sexuality and female-male relations in the Malayalee society, K. Venu investigates the “historical and political factors of Keralam that gave rise to male-female relations at such an unhealthy level” (2006, my translation). What has motivated Venu to think about this issue was the explicit gender divisions retained by the society and the stigma associated with any transgression of these divisions. He shares his experiences of train and bus journeys in Keralam where “people were found to be looking strangely at anyone who was not maintaining the separate seating arrangements for males and females and was eager to either change their seats or abandon it altogether”. He then diffuses these divisions to other day-to-day occasions in Keralam where “girls and boys are, from their early childhood onwards, separated from each other and trained in such a way that they develop fantasies and illusions about the opposite sex” (ibid).

He contrasts this with his experiences in Europe where gender divisions in public spaces were absent and where emotional displays in public by couples were not uncommon at all. He attributes this to the advanced state of capitalism in these societies.

In another similar piece of writing, Ramanunni critically analyses Malayalee sexuality and female-male relations in Keralam (2005). The article is a response to the suggestion from Civic Chandran to start red streets in all Kerala townships as a solution to gratify Malayalee mens’ sexual impulses, which very often assume violent forms and lead to harassment of women in buses and other public places. The rationale of this suggestion, Ramanunni argues, could be trounced only if the society is to “return to the emotional bliss in love”, with a realisation of the significance of both body and soul in every female-male emotional relationships. He blames Christianity for implanting the myth of sin for anything related to bodily pleasures in the Malayalee culture, which in-

volved heterogeneity of systems like polyandry, matrilinearity, matriarchy etc (2005:33-34). Ramanunni is also concerned about the sexual morality of society “which has given rise to suggestions for red streets and sexuality claims based only upon the bodily pleasures” (2005:36, my emphasis).

Ramanunni and Venu should not be seen in isolation from each other, nor does the trend they represent, albeit with its own inherent contradictions and diverging standpoints, exist in a vacuum. In fact, discussions and debates on sexual morality have been quite alive within the popular and intellectual Malayalee culture for more than a century, especially the last decade. For instance numerous editions of Malayalam popular and intellectual journals deal with these issues, particularly from the beginning of the 90s. The three well-known intellectual magazines published in Malayalam have concentrated mainly on topics related to sexual morality⁴. Ramanunni and Venu represent two prominent streams that have emerged out of this trend of writings and are reflexive of the inherent contradictions within this continuing social discourse. This trend also represents the discontinuities and contradictions existing within the modern trajectories and its social discourses in Keralam, having gathered visibility from the mid 19th century onwards.

Nevertheless this *genre* of writings does not address (sometimes passingly) the issue of marginalisation of certain sexualities, something which is still understood as an exclusive area for activists. Keralam remains a space where sexual identity politics is not yet very active. Newspapers very often confine themselves to column news about lesbian suicides, people caught by police during “unnatural” sexual intercourses and court orders uniting or separating (particularly) lesbian couples. Deepa V, a lesbian rights activist based in Bangalore, documenting the cases

4 These are *Mathrubhoomi*, *Malayalam* and *Madhyamam* weeklies. *Pachakkuthira* – the only journal published in Malayalam which retains an academic fashion has concentrated solely upon issues related to the moral issues of Malayalee in quite a number of editions since the beginning of 2000. In fact the trend which in the beginning came out in the form of disappointments with the existing moral structure was discussing issues that were only remotely related and entangled within certain ideological regimes (socialism for instance). But as it progressed, the standpoints started coming out of their narrow ideological concerns and begun to address the issue in a direct manner. Along with this the topics also randomly shifted and the writings started addressing the issue of morality and sexual morality sometimes directly or sometimes as a direct cause for the existing conditions. These discussions do not confine to the world of literature and magazines but the trend is equally intense in the popular Malayalam Television channels. Other prominent magazines include *Keralakaumudi*, and *Bhashaaposhini*.

of lesbian suicides in Keralam, reports (out of several ones) of a case of two adivasi (tribal) girls, who were not allowed to live together and whom their families wanted to take to witch doctors. Both of them committed suicide. These girls had contacted a local women's organization that refused to get involved. Thus, Deepa says, apart from the families, newspapers and other media, NGOs and ostensible support structures also adhere to this silence (2005).

Responding to the emerging queer discourse and the concerns around rising incidents of suicides committed by lesbian couples in Keralam, Joji Koottummal (2005) disputes the genuinity of lesbian politics and denies its demand for humanitarian consideration. He stresses the productivity of individuals towards the progress of the society and criticizes anything that is premised upon pleasure for the sake of pleasure only. The unlimited material pleasures made possible by globalization and its marketing techniques have virtually succeeded in making women recognize what pleasure it can offer, Koottummal states. This shows the vehement criticism that Koottummal raises against lesbianism and "prostitution being termed as sex work" (2005:24).

Conclusion

The above contemporary discourses represent ideological orientations demanding social changes rather than social status quo. Nevertheless it becomes evident that the current discussions on the sexual morality are engaged precisely in the task of challenging the normalcy prescribed by the earlier texts. The conditional equation articulated by the earlier texts between the value (moral) realm and the material (progress or development) realm is extended and forged to the current social reality. The paper would lay its emphasis upon this equation and its circulation in the current context, where it surfaces in the texts produced on the topics of sexual morality, liberation of alternative sexualities, deviance, gender violence etc.

The discursive spaces, although distinct from each other either in terms of their concerns or in terms of their temporal contexts, nevertheless carry certain unique features that make a comparative exercise possible and fruitful. The reform discourse and the discourse on sexual morality in the present both address the degeneration of the moral standards in the society. But whereas the reform discourse stress and define inherently and explicitly the standard morality to be possessed by a normal individual, the current discourse attempts to challenge these very notions of normalcy. But, as we have already seen, the manner in which this attempt is undertaken and carried out helps only in reproducing the

heterosexist standards. In other words, even attempts to break out of the standard notions of normalcy are either silent about the emerging queer forces in the society or assume an explicitly heterosexist position.

The close association between the individuals' productivity, the society's progress and a standard morality assumed by the earlier discourse escapes from the realms of the current challenges. This stark absence, I argue, could be an indication of two things: one, that this close association is still so pervasive in the society and its work culture that any challenge to it will bring it back to the realm of debates on development. Second, that because it is still so pervasive it always misses the attention of the speakers. Since this close association is very significant for the retention of old morals in the society, such a lack converts the current discourse on sexual morality into a reproduction of the same structures that it challenges, making it part of the same strategy in a Foucauldian sense.

Foucault defines discourses as “tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations: [that] there can be different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy” (Foucault 1978). Nevertheless the close relation between progress and moral standards – assumed in the past and the present explicitly and implicitly, symbolized as material and value realm, stands more close to the repressive hypothesis of Freud-Marxian writers like Wilhelm Reich⁵ and Herbert Marcuse. Even though many of the conclusions drawn by this *genre* of writers – for example the role of the absence of a super ego (father) in the family for the emerging sexual revolution of the 60s (Marcuse 1970), and the flaws apparent in Reich's original positions – could well be disputed in the current context, repression as such continues to be apparent. The reform period archives on sexual morality exhaustively speak about the relation between moral standards and the material realms of individual and social lives. That the absence of a standard value system as its morals immensely contributes to the society's fallen state.

Hence the adoption of these standard morals conditions the prerequisites of the individual's accomplishments in a modern capitalist society. This equation between the material and moral realms is continued to the present where, nonetheless, they become the core concerns of two different discursive spheres – that of development and that of sexual morality itself. Irrespective of this separation the discourse on morality in the

5 The conclusions that I draw about Freud-Marxian paradigm on repression in general and Reich in particular is mainly derived from Paul Robinson (1969).

current Keralam constantly refers to the immature feudal-capitalist arrangement of social relations in the society (Venu), the over-influence of the material as causing the wandering for sexual pleasures (Ramanunni), and the queer liberation movement (Koottummal). Although the tone in the current discourse is substantially different from the way the material was invoked in the previous ones, it points, however vaguely, at the intricate relation between these two domains albeit still continued in the social-cultural spaces.

A Foucauldian perspective could be quite useful in explaining the asymmetrical transnational movement of moral values during the colonial regime and its trickling down from the local elites to the different sections of the society. At the micro levels of all these changes repression continues to be an apparent phenomenon. The archives and the prevailing social reality continue to demand disavowal of alternative desires and to see the sexual practices of the subject as the precondition for his/her normal living within the society. While the Foucauldian paradigm of power and the repressive hypothesis both has their own stake in understanding this social reality, both can't be applied unconditionally to explain the same.

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Chapter 9

Discursive Economies of Intimacy: Transnational Adoption, Race, and Sexuality

Lene Myong Petersen

I am currently writing a dissertation on transnational adoption and racial formation in Denmark. The phenomenon of transnational adoption can be framed in multiple ways, since it raises a wide range of questions related to im/migration, racism, colonialism, global inequality, US militarism, capitalism, reproduction rights, kinship formation, transnationalism, diaspora, hybrid subjectivity etc. I will propose, however, that transnational adoption may also be thought of as *a discursive economy of intimacy*. As a social and economic phenomenon transnational adoption spans a variety of intimacies (and alienations); the intimacy between parent and child, the intimacy of kinship and family, the intimacy of (ethnic and racial) belonging, the intimacy between state and citizen, and the sexualized intimacy negotiated among and by adoptees and their partners to name but a few. These intimacies intersect in various ways. As a GEXcel scholar I have been working on a chapter for my dissertation on the issue of racialized desire in relation to sexual and romantic intimacy.

Contextualization

The focus of my dissertation is on adult Korean adoptees whom have been raised in Denmark. From 1970 to 2005 approximately 19,500 children born in countries outside Scandinavia were adopted by parents with Danish

citizenship/residency.¹ The overwhelming majority of these transnational adoptions were and continue to be transracial: mainly white, middle class, heterosexual individuals are permitted to adopt children of East Asian, South East Asian, Latin American, or African descent. With more than 500 transnational adoptions each year transnational adoption is widely considered an unproblematic form of kinship construction, and adoptees are viewed as well-adjusted children and adults belonging to the majority population of ethnic Danes. This discourse has led not only to a political invisibility for adoptees but also a lack of research on issues concerning transnational adoption; whereas Sweden and Norway have a modest yet existing tradition of adoption research, few if any studies have been carried out in a Danish context.

Thus the aim of this project is twofold: 1) to gain knowledge about adult adoptees (“lived lives”) and 2) to conceptualize processes of racialization and analyse how these are already and always marked, intersected and/or conditioned by other structures such as class, gender, and sexuality. The project will seek to challenge hegemonic (and often romanticized) discourses on transnational adoption: Discourses which are often, but not exclusively, formulated and reproduced by the media, legislators, adoption agencies, and adoptive parents.

Theoretical framework and research design

The project is interdisciplinary and will be situated within a feminist poststructuralist tradition. I draw upon a concept of subjectification and subject formation which has been developed within a Foucauldian framework by Judith Butler (Butler 1997, 1993, 1990) and feminist psychologists such as Patti Lather, Bronwyn Davis, Dorte Staunæs and Dorte Marie Søndergaard (Davies 2003, 2000, Lather 1991, Staunæs 2003a, 2003b, Søndergaard 2003, 2002a, 2002b, 1996). This perspective will be combined with theories of race and racial formation (e.g. Fanon 1952/1967, Kang 2002, Omi & Winant 1984/1994, Sexton 2003), queer studies (e.g. Eng 2001, Fung 1991, Mercer 1994), whiteness studies (e.g. Dyer 1997, Frankenberg 1997, 1993, Hill 2004, Lipsitz 1998), new adoption studies (e.g. Briggs 2003, Eng 2003, Dorow 2005, Kim 2003), theories of intersectionality (e.g. Crenshaw 1994, Lykke 2003, Staunæs & Søndergaard 2006) and finally studies of ethnic and gender formation

1 Danish agencies have mediated the adoption of approximately 8.583 Korean children between 1970-2005. The population of Denmark is 5,2 million. In comparison it is estimated that the number of Korean nationals in Denmark (immigrants, students, workers, etc.) is lower than 400 individuals.

in Scandinavia (e.g. Alinia 2004, Andreassen 2004, Cawood 2007, Kleist 2007, Kofoed 2004, Mørck 1998, Sawyer 2002, Staunæs 2003a).

I have interviewed 35 adult adoptees born between 1968 and 1981 in South Korea. I have consciously sought the representation of multiple sexualities, class histories, educational backgrounds, etc. The semi-structured interviews (Kvale 1997) lasted between 2 and 4 hours, and they were all audio-taped and later transcribed by me or an assistant. The interviews were structured around themes such as childhood, education, work, relations with siblings and parents, adoption and/or the search for Korean relatives, living in Korea and/or other spaces, and negotiations of intimate relationships and desires. All but two informants have been adopted by white, Danish couples. One informant was adopted by a white, American couple, and another informant was adopted by a white, Faroese couple. Both informants have lived most of their adult lives in Denmark. Although the majority of Korean adoptees raised by Danish parents live in Denmark or other parts of the western world, a growing number choose to return to Korea; some for shorter periods of time, others with the intent of permanent relocation. My research includes interviews from both locations. All informants have been anonymized with Danish and/or Korean names.

Racialized desires and research questions

The project relates to the GEXcel theme no. 1 (*Sexuality, Love and Social Theory*) by insisting on an intersectional approach to sexuality and sexual subjectivities. What is of interest to me is to sophisticate understandings of sexualized desire as primarily organized around gender (and sometimes class) difference. A variety of categories inform and produce desire. And likewise, desire articulates, transforms and fixates a variety of social categories, differences and hierarchies. My ambition is to think sexualized desire as an always and already racialized social category and *as a doing of embodied social relations*. My primary focus is to relate this to the lives and experiences of transnational adoptees. I will, however, also employ the question of romantic/sexualized intimacies as a lens through which we may expand and qualify understandings of racial and ethnic formation in Denmark.

The Danish based sociologist Mehmet Ümit Necef argues that romantic and sexualized encounters between subjects, who belong to the (white) Danish ethnic majority, and subjects, who belong to various (non-white) ethnic minorities, produce democracy and facilitate “integration” and assimilation (Necef 2004, 1997). This because the intimate space of sexualized desire mediates “openness” among the individuals involved

(Politiken 17.11.2002). In other words, Necef understands cross-racial and cross-ethnic desire as a socially progressive emotionality which will, eventually, enable democracy and intercultural interaction. Necef's argument reflects public sentiments on the matter, especially those voiced by white, ethnic Danes. Many politicians from both right-wing and left-wing parties, commentators, and opinion makers view cross-racial/cultural intimacy (between white and non-white individuals) as not only "positive" but also "as evidence" of whether or not individuals from the ethnic minorities actively seek out and invest themselves in matters of "integration". However, what remains unquestioned and silenced in public and political debates is the fascination of (white, Danish) dominant culture when it comes to restrictions of desire among individuals belonging to ethnic and racial minorities.² The fascination is not only driven by a wish to secure "less regulation" on desire; the fascination serves to secure (white) dominant culture an identity as "tolerant", "modern" and "sex-positive".

Necef's discourse can be said to rest upon an understanding of sexuality as a fundamentally transformative and liberatory category; a sexual paradigm specific to a Danish and possibly wider Scandinavian context. One can argue, however, that this paradigm has a blind spot when it comes to conceptualizing sexuality as a modality for articulation and reproduction of existing and oppressive structures of power. Therefore, I wish to ask a different set of research questions: What purpose(s) can processes of idealization of interracial/cultural intimacy be said to serve? And what does the idealization of interracial intimacy imply for the practice of racialized intimacies among Korean adoptees (and in general people of color in Denmark)? My research questions are grounded in the oral narratives collected for my dissertation.

Patterns of racialization

I asked the interviewees extensively about the subject of dating, intimate relationships and sexualized desire. I expected, and was told, many stories of *interracial* intimacies with, in particular, white partners. I was, however, also told many stories of *intra*racial intimacies, but I have found them to be slightly different. Whereas interracial desire, mostly directed towards white bodies, is spoken of as something "natural", as something always existing within the individual, intraracial desire is by many experienced as something one may or may not acquire or grow accustomed to with age - either by chance or by choice. Yet intraracial

2 This applies especially to ethnic minorities identified as "Muslim" or "Middle Eastern".

desire is not only conveyed as absence, as lack, and as an act in need of sedimentation, but also as a structure open to change and transformation. However, the overwhelming majority of the interviewees preferred to date white partners. This pattern crosses categories of “homosexuality” and “heterosexuality”, “male” and “female”.

I wish to relate the pattern of racialized desires to Judith Butler’s suggestion that we consider the assumption of sexual positions, the ordering of the human as “masculine” or “feminine”, as produced through a heterosexual imperative with its taboo on homosexuality as well as a complex set of racial injunctions; injunctions which operate in part through the taboo on miscegenation (Butler 1993). In other words, there is always a racial dimension to the heterosexual matrix. In relation to this project I wish to argue that in some contexts (here: Korean adoptees raised in Denmark) the racial injunctions may also work through an imperative on interraciality and that we may consider the intimacy between Asian and white bodies as constitutive for heteronormative (Danish) sociality. Though an imperative on (Asian/white) interraciality dominant culture articulates itself as “tolerant” and “anti-racist” whereas the racialized minority subject is promised social mobility and a position closer to the norm.

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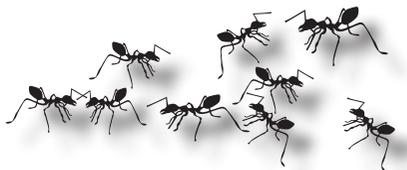
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Appendix

Research Activities of GEXcel Theme 1
Örebro University, Fall 2007

One Day Opening Seminar of Theme 1: Gender, Sexuality and Global Change

Wednesday October 17, 2007

- 10.00 – 10.15 Welcoming to the Seminar by **Janerik Gidlund** (Rector)
- 10.15 – 10.30 Introduction to GEXcel by **Nina Lykke**
- 10.30 – 11.15 Presentation of Theme 1: *Gender, Sexuality and Global Change* by **Anna G. Jónasdóttir**
- 11.15 – 11.30 Coffee
- 11.30 – 12.30 Presentation of paper: *A Materialist Discursive Approach to Sexuality, Sexual Violence and Sexualing Globalisation: The Case of ICTs* by **Jeff Hearn**
- 12.30 – 13.45 Lunch
- 13.45 – 15.00 Presentation of paper: *From Making Tools to Making Love: Marx, Materialism and Feminist Thought* by **Valerie Bryson**
- 15.00 – 16.15 Presentation of paper: *Globalization and its Mal(e)contents: Masculinity and Sexuality on the Extreme Right* by **Michael Kimmel**
- 16.15 – 16.45 Coffee
- 16.45 – 17.30 Plenary Session, chaired by **Kathleen B. Jones**

Room: Hörsal G, Gymnastikhuset

Other Seminars

Monday October 1

Maria Törnqvist, Ph.D in Sociology

A Market of Emotions: The Case of Tango Tourism in Buenos Aires

15.00-17.00

Room L449, Långhuset

Friday October 19

Chris Beasley, Reader in Politics, University of Adelaide, Australia

Global Ethics: Why not Trust and Care? What's the Alternative?

10.00-12.00

Room L2449, Långhuset

Wednesday October 24

Kate Hardy, Ph.D. student in Geography, University of London, UK

Rethinking Action: Gendered and Sexualised Space and Identities in the Struggle of AMMAR

Lene Myong Petersen, Ph.D. student in Educational Psychology, Danish University of Education, Copenhagen, Denmark

Discursive Economies of Intimacy: Transnational Adoption, Race and Sexuality

Rajeev Kumaramkandath, Ph.D. student in Cultural Studies, Centre for the Study of Culture and Society, Bangalore, India

The Discursive Production of Sexual Subjects in a Postcolonial Context: Sexual Morality and Homosexuality in the 21st Century Keralam.

13.00-17.15

Room Hörsal G, Gymnastikhuset

Thursday October 25

Cynthia Cockburn, Professor in Sociology, City University, London

Sexualised Violence in Diverse and Changing Wars: When, Who and Why?

10.00-12.00

Room L2449, Långhuset

