

of completely trite archetype of the human species. This is the ordinary illusion of metonymic reasoning or, to say it more familiarly, the story of the part that thought it was the whole. Finally we can suppose that the cosmic beings that will receive the message, in their supreme intelligence, will make do with a smile when they see this gross sham and will wait for better days to honor Earth by their visit.

—Louis-Georges Tin

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—*Abnormal; Against Nature; Heresy; Heterophobia; Literature; Rhetoric; Symbolic Order; Violence.*

## HIMMLER, Heinrich

Heinrich Himmler (1900–45)—who first came to prominence in Nazi Germany as commander of the Schutzstaffel (SS) (1929) and the Gestapo (1934), then as supreme chief of the German **police** (1936) and finally Minister of the Interior (1943)—was the main theorist behind official Nazi homophobia and the main instigator of the persecution of homosexuals by the Third Reich.

In a speech addressed to SS generals on February 18, 1937, Himmler revealed the principles of Nazi homophobia, which recycled popular prejudices to serve its racist and eugenic ideology. Presenting himself as a specialist on the topic, he insisted on relating homo-

sexuality to a dangerous **contagion** that threatened the entire nation. In a Germany that had earlier been crippled by World War I, male homosexuality, as well as abortion, constituted an infringement on the "survival of the race" and hindered the expansion of the Reich and its conquest of a "vital space." Himmler also stressed the risk of a secret gay coalition at work in the heart of the state. Homosexuals—depicted as traitorous and weak—were seen as pursuing sexual solidarity at the expense of patriotism, and as such they were enemies of the state who had to be unmasked in order to prevent them from ruining the country. Homosexuals were thus most dangerous to a nationalist organization like the SS, which sought to protect all Nazi "virtues." For Himmler, homosexuality was the consequence of the mixing of races, most prevalent in urban centers; as a result, he vowed to protect those living in the German countryside (based on ancient Germania) from the "scourge" of homosexuality. Further, Germany's male youth needed to be protected from the gay temptation by the means of **sport**, work, and discipline; and, if needed, by encouraging the use of prostitutes and early marriages, and tolerating illegitimate births. He countered the Christian morality of the day (which he despised) with the seductions of a neo-pagan and Dionysiac society, albeit disguised with puritan and idealist accents. In this way, Himmler embodied the many faces of homophobia: in addition to the slighting associated with the "effeminate" gay stereotype, he added the fear of lower birth rates as a result of homosexuality, and a fear of widespread **degeneracy**, in a society obsessed with virility. One might also add personal factors: Himmler seemed to possess an irrational fear of and aversion to male homosexuality which, combined with a kind of voyeurism and a veritable joy in legislating the sexuality of others, would move him to put into practice his purifying fantasies.

The secret directive of Himmler, dated October 10, 1936, prioritized "the fight against homosexuality and abortion" which had started as early as 1933, with the Nazis' rise to power. The reinforcement of Paragraph 175 (the provision of the 1871 German criminal code which criminalized male homosexual acts), combined with the creation of new official organizations such as the Reich Central Office for the Combating of Homosexuality and Abortion, had the joint intention of creating files on known homosexuals, leading to increased arrests and—for certain categories of "criminals" such as prostitutes, "corrupters of youth,"

or repeat offenders—exile to concentration **camp**s. Himmler was particularly obsessed with eradicating homosexuality within the Nazi party, the SS, and the Hitler Youth because he was conscious of the ambiguity instilled by the cult of virile camaraderie in these organizations. However, his attempts to "purify" the Wehrmacht were fruitless for a long time, due to the resistance of military authorities who were offended by his initiatives. In 1937, Himmler also fostered homophobic campaigns intended to purify the Catholic Church and the highest ranks of the **army**.

However, the extermination of homosexuals was not the objective of these campaigns, and Himmler himself contemplated the possibility of "rehabilitation" for those whose sexuality was considered "acquired" as a result of "**debauchery**" or "seduction." He was very interested in the different methods advocated by doctors to "cure" gays, from psychoanalysis to hormonal **treatments**, and financed a number of experimental programs, including at Matthias Heinrich Goering's German Institute for Psychological Research and Psychotherapy, which reported a successful cure rate of seventy percent. After the beginning of World War II, however, the "rehabilitation" projects took a back seat, as Himmler became less interested in wasting time and money on "asocials." Thus, sending homosexuals to concentration camps became more systematic, and castration, notwithstanding the fact that it was disputed as a remedy for homosexuality, became the simplest means of sending "cured" gays to the front. Dr. Carl Vaernet's criminal experimentations at the Buchenwald concentration camp, in which he tried to cure homosexuals by injecting synthetic hormones into their groins, were also encouraged by Himmler.

—Florence Tamagne

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—*Contagion; Decadence; Degeneracy; Deportation; Far Right; Fascism; Germany; Hirschfeld, Magnus; Medicine; Pétaïn, Philippe; Proselytism; Sterility; Treason; Treatment; Violence.*

## HINDUISM

Before discussing homophobia in Hinduism, one must first address Hinduism itself. While it is generally pre-

sented as a religion, it is a mistake to discuss it solely on those terms. In fact, the definition of Hinduism covers a broad theological spectrum, from monism to polytheism (or pantheism). It also represents a rich historical culture that developed well before the strict monotheism of the Old Testament.

Instead of the term "religion," Hindus prefer to speak of *sanatana dharma*, or "system of eternal belief." There are six Hindu metaphysical systems called *darshanas* (or "visions of reality"), which are diametrically opposed to the feudal systems of Western Asia: *nyaya* (logicism), *vaisheshika* (atomism), *sankhya* (enumeration), *yoga* (transcendence), *mimamsa* (interpretation), and *vedanta* (metaphysical speculation).

None of these systems refer to any god, or to a true metaphysic for that matter. Correspondingly, they are not linked to temporal morality. However, Hinduism contains a set of sacred, clearly organized principles, such as *karmakanda*, the full spectrum of rituals, and *dyana*, the full spectrum of knowledge. Morality and ethics are clearly separated; morality on the side of temporal duties and ethics on the side of eternal duties. Under this belief system, the origins of homophobia in Hinduism can now be explained insofar as it can be compared to homophobia in Western cultures. Hinduism does not hold any specific moral position on homosexuality, as it appears to be perceived as a voluntary, occasional practice engaged in by heterosexual men.

This is not to say that Hinduism does not address or in fact condemn those men who stray outside the sexual norm. The most ancient of Hindu's sacred knowledge, the *vedas*, mention the term *pandaka* (in the *Atharva veda*), which seems to designate a man with long, oily, wavy hair, and who wears jewelry and rings as a woman. Such a man is "effeminate," and in the *vedas*, the term is used as a curse: "May your son become *pandaka*."

Another striking word appears in the sacred Sanskrit epic the *Mahabharata*: the war prince Shikandi is called *napunsaka*, or he who does not penetrate, but it is difficult to ascertain if he does not want to penetrate or if he is unable to; his sexual behavior is at least uncertain. On the other hand, the *Mahabharata* also contains the term *kilba*, to describe the warrior Arjuna who, while in exile, cross-dressed in order to hide out at Princess Uttara's court; he also became her dance teacher. (At the same time, he refuses the sexual advances of her brother.)

Buddhist and Jain (a dharmic religion originating in Ancient India) sacred texts both mention the term *tritika laingika*, which can be translated as the "third sex." In fact, the Jain text includes more than ten categories of masculine gender, but these which roughly correspond to various physical types, such as those who are bald, or who do not have mustaches; as such, they are not really sexual definitions.

The only evidence of convergence between sexuality and gender identity in Hinduism, however allusive, appears in the *Shiva purana*, the text dedicated to the Hindu deity Shiva, in which Shiva is also called *Ardhanareshwara* (half-man). Shiva is a complex deity; like his symbol, the lingam, he is an ascetic who preserves his seed, but sometimes spreads it on the entire universe. In one of the sacred stories, he disperses sperm that is so hot it cannot even be collected by Agni, god of fire; it ultimately falls back into the Ganges, where six drops end up creating a divinity called Shanmukha.

In each of these definitions of men who contravene Hinduism's sexual standards, there is no question of an exclusive homosexual-type being. Sometimes the god changes himself into a woman (such as Vishnu becoming Mohini) who then adopts heterosexual behavior, thus eluding any stigma attached to homosexuality.

The only specific sanctions against homosexuality are mentioned in *Arthashastra* (fourth-century BCE), the great treatise on economic policy, military strategy, and the state, and in the *Manusmriti* (third-century CE), the work of Hindu law and Indian society. In both texts, homosexuality is depicted as a negative, non-reproductive behavior, and both recommend severe penalties for those accused of it. Both texts consider sperm a "social resource" which must not be expended for means other than reproduction. If a man willfully engages in sexual activity that is not reproductive, this social resource is wasted, and for this he must be condemned. As the matriarch Gandhari declared to her husband in the *Mahabharata*, "*Putha heen Pitah*" ("No children, it is hell"); she then threatens him with going elsewhere to be inseminated. In this case, there is no morality here; it is a question of genetic inheritance.

—Ashok Row Kavi

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—Buddhism; China; India, Pakistan, Bangladesh; Japan; Korea; Southeast Asia; Sterility.

## HIRSCHFELD, Magnus

Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), the German physician, sexologist, and advocate for the rights of homosexuals, was born to a Jewish family in Kolberg on the Baltic coast. He studied medicine in Munich and Berlin and traveled to the United States and North Africa before settling in Magdeburg, then Berlin, in the Charlottenburg quarter. It was the **suicide** of one of his patients, and his own sexual orientation, a day before the patient's wedding that led Hirschfeld to wonder about the "causes" of homosexuality. Taking inspiration from the works of K. H. Ulrichs in particular (which suggested the existence of a "third sex," defined as "a woman's soul in a man's body"), Hirschfeld published his first pamphlet, "**Sappho** und Sokrates" in 1896, under the alias Th. Ramien. In a subsequent publication *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (1914) (*The Homosexuality of Men and Women* [2000]), he refined and developed his theory, based on numerous testimonies and thousands of questionnaires, that claimed the existence of *sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (sexual intermediaries) defined by four criteria—sexual organs, physical characteristics, sexual instinct, and moral aptitude—which allowed for the classification of human beings according to different degrees of hermaphroditism and intersexuality. According to Hirschfeld, homosexuality was congenital, not learned, and thus was not an "anomaly" but rather a "sexual variety" against which it is impossible to take action.

Not only a sexologist but also an activist, Hirschfeld cofounded the Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee (WhK; Scientific-Humanitarian Committee) in Berlin on May 14, 1897. The group was the first militant gay movement in Germany, aimed at defending the rights of homosexuals as well as working to repeal Paragraph 175 of the German penal code that criminalized homosexuality beginning in 1871. (Hirschfeld included

the story of the WhK's early years in his 1923 autobiographical work *Von einst bis jetzt* (From once up to now); in addition, he chronicled the rich Berlin gay scene in 1908's *Homosexuals of Berlin*.) In 1899, Hirschfeld also started a journal, *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (Yearbook for sexual intermediaries), to publish new ideas about alternative sexualities (it was replaced in 1926 by *Mitteilungen des WhK* [Communications of the WhK], which was published until 1933). In order to fulfill its mission, the WhK led a lobbying campaign targeting the government and the **media**, printing thousands of information brochures, such as *Was soll das Volk vom dritten Geschlecht wissen* (What people must know about the third sex). In 1897, it started a petition demanding the abolition of Paragraph 175 which was signed by several high-profile people, among them doctors (Krafft-Ebing), politicians (Karl Kautsky, Eduard Bernstein), writers (Thomas Mann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Emile Zola), and scientists (Albert Einstein). Hirschfeld also was able to get a few left-wing politicians interested in his cause, among them August Bebel, one of the founders of Germany's Social Democratic Party, who subsequently raised the question of Paragraph 175 in the Reichstag in 1905, arguing that according to Hirschfeld's research, six percent of the population was homosexual or bisexual, meaning that thousands of Germans were at risk of being threatened by blackmailers, with no recourse due to Paragraph 175. However, politicians from both the left and right did not agree, both on moral grounds and the perceived will of the people, so the law remained in place.

But the **Eulenburg affair** of 1907–09, the country's biggest domestic scandal to date, put a temporary end to the actions of the WhK. Motivated by political revenge, a pro-imperialist journalist named Maximilian Harden accused anti-imperialist Prince Philipp of Eulenburg, close advisor to Wilhelm II, and Count Kuno von Moltke, a general in the German army, of being homosexual; the two were subsequently charged under the provisions of Paragraph 175. At the trial that followed in October 1907, Hirschfeld was called to the witness stand as an "expert"; he contended that Moltke's homosexuality was an "unconscious orientation," hoping this would be a means to break the government's hypocrisy on the subject. This strategy, however, was disastrous: in light of severe criticism, Hirschfeld was forced to retract his statement, causing support for his movement to decline by two-thirds



## BRYANT, Anita

In the latter half of the 1970s, Anita Bryant, who was once a popular American singer, a former Miss Oklahoma, and the star of orange juice commercials, became a well-known spokesperson for the religious right in America in the battle against homosexual rights. Specifically, she campaigned extensively to repeal a local ordinance in Miami, Florida, where she lived, which prohibited the discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation; her campaign was named "Save Our Children." As such, she came to represent the homophobic views of fundamentalist and born-again Christians, the latter comprised of the newly converted who had rediscovered the Bible after a long period of distance from or indifference to religion. Curiously, Bryant's crusade against homosexuality was launched in reaction to actions set in motion by another born-again Christian (but this one a moderate), President Jimmy Carter. Following his election in 1976, Carter instituted a policy that supported the rights of gays and lesbians, encouraging the repealing of laws against sodomy in many states, and pushing local governments to pass bylaws that would protect homosexual rights. The city of Miami's vote on its anti-discrimination ordinance became the founding act of Anita Bryant's new career as an anti-gay lobbyist, and in the end, she was successful in having the ordinance overturned.

The intense media coverage sparked the largest national "anti-gay" campaign ever, the likes of which the country had not seen since the days of **McCarthyism**. Anti-gay lobbying groups were created in cities and counties that had either adopted anti-discrimination legislation or were about to, particularly in the Great Plains and Rockies states that were known for their strong, puritanical, Protestant tendencies; this led to the repeal of the legislation in cities such as St Paul, Minnesota; Wichita, Kansas; and Eugene, Oregon. Also, the state of Oklahoma approved a law allowing the dismissal of any teacher who "practiced" homosexuality, and California senator John Briggs attempted to launch a state referendum ("Proposition 6") that would ban the hiring of openly gay teachers (an initiative that was rejected with help from both Republican and Democratic anti-Briggs forces such as Ronald Reagan, Gerald Ford, and President Carter). This legislative turmoil and anti-gay lobbying was matched by an increase in instances of homophobic **violence** throughout the US, including the murder of a San Francisco gardener,

whose mother declared: "His blood is on the hands of Anita Bryant."

Ironically, Anita Bryant's actions had the additional effect of provoking the largest mobilization of gays and lesbians since **Stonewall**, inspiring protests in major cities as well as a boycott of Florida Citrus Commission products (for which Bryant was spokesperson). And it could be said that despite her success in repealing the Miami ordinance, Bryant's career was never the same again, as she would always be linked to her anti-gay campaign.

—*Pierre-Olivier Busscher*

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—*Buchanan, Pat; McCarthy, Joseph; Music; North America.*

## BUCHANAN, Pat

Pat Buchanan—American politician, editorialist, Republican presidential candidate in 1992 and 1996, Reform Party presidential candidate in 2000 (the party created in 1995 by Texas billionaire Ross Perot)—is a symbol of American anti-gay activism fueled by evangelistic renewal and Republican Party-style conservatism. A staunch Catholic, Buchanan belongs to a generation of Americans who choose to overlook religious differences of the church to establish in the US a "Christian coalition" (including even orthodox Jews) united around common moral struggles, foremost among them being the fights against abortion rights and against gay and lesbian rights. An old supporter of Nixon and Reagan, Pat Buchanan is one of the main architects behind the "infiltration" of the Republican Party by the religious right, forcing even moderate party members to stand up for "the reestablishment of family values" (that is, against abortion and against homosexuality). A constant champion of Anita **Bryant's** anti-homosexual campaign in the 1970s, the emergence of **AIDS** in the early 1980s gave Buchanan an opportunity to properly express his hatred toward gays, such as in a 1983 editorial when he explained that AIDS was nature's revenge against those who had defied its order: "The poor homosexuals—they have

declared war upon nature, and now nature is extracting an awful retribution."

However, Pat Buchanan's isolationist views on economics and international policy, as well as regular evidence of his anti-Semitism, slowly caused him to become marginalized and then ostracized by the Republican Party, leading to his exit just prior to the presidential campaign of 2000. His short-lived investiture in the Reform Party, despite opposition from founder Ross Perot and Jim Mangia, its national secretary (who himself was homosexual), lends hope for his continued political marginalization in a system of American politics in which most attempts at a "third path" between Republicans and Democrats end in failure.

—*Pierre-Olivier de Busscher*

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—*Boutin, Christine; Bryant, Anita; Hoover, J. Edgar; McCarthy, Joseph; North America.*

## BUDDHISM

During the middle of the fourteenth century, when St Francis Xavier and the early Christian missionaries discovered Japan, they were horrified by the "sodomite" environment that seemed to abound in the Buddhist monasteries they visited. Even if the Jesuits' descriptions were probably quite exaggerated, homosexuality (or more specifically, pederasty) has always been associated with Buddhism in this country. From the late Middle Ages to early modern times, romantic relationships between monks and young male initiates seem to have been a common occurrence in monasteries. These initiates, usually adolescents, often wore facial powder and makeup, and were occasionally the object of internal struggles among the monks. Some texts trace this tradition all the way back to Kukai (774–835 CE), one of the great Japanese Buddhist saints, founder of the esoteric school of Shingon. Monks usually came from the nobility or the warrior class, where pederastic relationships, considered a cultural sophistication, were

held in high regard while relations between men and women were held in a lower esteem. This type of love was considered under the benediction of Manjushri, the bodhisattva of wisdom, a mythical being who usually took on the form of a young man, and whose Japanese title, Monjushiri, even evoked the buttocks (*shiri*) of the ephebes....

However, these homosexual relationships involving Japanese monks were quite marginal, all the more so because monks of all schools of Buddhism were required to be chaste, and heterosexual relations forbidden. Paradoxically, these pederastic mores had a certain legitimacy, given the near absence of any reference in Buddhist writings to homosexual relations. This granted the relationships a tacit permission: "Homosexuality as such was never really discussed," wrote Bernard Faure, a professor of Japanese religion. The early disciplinary texts went into great detail listing all the types of sexual relations forbidden to monks, including some rather improbable items (in the mouth of a frog, in the trunk of an elephant, etc.). Yet while heterosexual relations, onanism, and many forms of bestiality are laid out in meticulous detail, the interdiction of homosexual relations is hardly mentioned, and only in a roundabout way. For the devoted layman, Buddha proposes five moral precepts based on the principle of "Do not do unto others that which you would not have done to you": do not kill, do not steal, etc. The third precept forbids "sexual misconduct," a term so ambiguous that a famous Indian Buddhist commentary, the *Abhidharma-kosa*, defines it in detail by dividing it into four interdictions: sexual misconduct being the occurrence of sexual relations with a forbidden woman (e.g., a young girl, a married woman), in a forbidden way (e.g., fellatio, sodomy), in forbidden places (e.g., a temple), and during a forbidden time (e.g., menstruation). Technically, the forbidden ways never make direct reference to homosexual relations that are, as such, unknown.

Much attention has been paid to the term *pandaka*, given in the Buddhist canon to those individuals who are not permitted to become monks. Its ambiguous definition has been variously translated as eunuch, hermaphrodite, and even homosexual by certain Western translators. This exegesis merely demonstrates that it refers to a vague category of individuals whose psycho-physical sexual identity is unclear. Buddhagosa, a great Buddhist commentator of the fifth century, even categorized the impotent as *pandaka*. However, the

rejection of this type of postulant does not necessarily imply a condemnation of homosexual relations as such, since the early Buddhist texts have strangely very little to say on the subject. Notwithstanding, throughout the long development of Buddhism over the years, a few negative scriptural references toward homosexuality can be found. A Buddhist text from the beginning of the Christian era describes a type of hell where homosexuals are inexorably drawn toward beings of fire, and are burned in mid-embrace. The *Samantapāsādikā*, a later text attributed to Buddhagosa (after centuries of uncertainty), states that monks are not to have relations with women, nor men, nor asexual beings (meaning the *pandaka*). In his *Path of the Great Perfection*, Patrul Rinpoche (1808–87), a great Tibetan erudite of the nineteenth century, describes sexual misconduct for the continuity of Indian texts: “Masturbation, having sexual relations with someone who is married or engaged, with an unattached person in the open, with someone observing the ritual fast of a day, with someone who is sick, with a woman who is pregnant or in pain, during menstruation, immediately after birth, in the presence of the three jewels [Buddha, his teachings, and his community], with one’s parents or family, with a prepubescent girl, and finally by way of mouth, of the anus, etc.” Here again, even if homosexuality as such is not mentioned, sexual relations between people of the same sex seem to be nevertheless implicitly condemned. This was the interpretation made by the current Dalai Lama, when asked about the subject during the first years of his exile.

However, the change in the Dalai Lama’s position was

exemplary. After representatives of the gay community in the US declared themselves hurt by his opinion, he publicly apologized, and declared that only mutual respect and devotion should govern a couple’s relationship, be it heterosexual or homosexual. Consequently, in the United States many Buddhist communities were created based on homosexual identity, and it is not uncommon to see the term gay or lesbian associated with a Buddhist center. The gay Buddhist community in the US even has its own icons, such as Tommy (Issan) Dorsey, a one-time drag queen and junkie turned Zen master, who established a hospice in the gay quarter of San Francisco, “for all my boys,” as he often said; he died of AIDS in 1989. The hospice is still open today. —Eric Rommeluère

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—China; Hinduism; India; Japan; Korea; Southeast Asia.

## C

CAMPS. See Deportation; Gulag

### CARICATURE

From the Latin *caricatura*, to load. “To caricature” is to exaggerate a characteristic; in the case of minorities, this characteristic can be highly discriminatory, especially when it takes on a nationalist or racist dimension (the Jewish **peril**, the yellow peril). As such, the history of caricature is often neglected, especially when the subject matter (homosexuality, in particular) remains sensitive. There is also the issue of relevance: the frame of reference has either been lost or is no longer current. In principle, caricatures should identify flaws in society and thereby aspire to correct them; in reality, however, caricatures have tended to encourage discrimination, not discourage it. The history of the portrayal of homosexuals in caricature has yet to be written. The homophobic elements are not always obvious; it depends not only on how homosexuals are represented, but also on how one perceives them to be, and whether or not such portrayals are derogatory—a drawing of an effeminate boy, for example, is not necessarily homophobic. Moreover, many homosexual men and women have no fear of being mistaken for a caricature; they embrace the role, mocking both how others perceive them as well as the stereotypical image being forced upon them.

The history of the homosexual caricature is thus also a history of its reception. The ease of identifications and interpretation of homosexual elements varies widely. They are more obvious when the caricature depicts sexual acts between men, but more difficult when there is a representation of masculine or feminine characteristics, whether in dress or in attitude. Take, for example, an “effeminate” drawing of **Henri III** adorning Pierre de L’Estoile’s *Registre-journal de Henri IV*—what

was once considered effeminate and exaggerated is no longer so by today’s standards. Additionally, exaggeration of the male member was more often considered a homage to male virility, rather than the pleasure it could offer. While the image of Priapus weighing his phallus in the *Casa dei Vettii* of Pompeii clearly represents exaggeration, it is not a caricature. More ambiguous perhaps are the sexual acts between men depicted in the grotesques of Renaissance Italian villas, or the woodcarving illustration of three men from Sebastian Munster’s *Cosmographia universalis* of 1544, wherein one man is ostensibly touching the codpiece of another.

Regardless of its origins, the evolution of caricature is closely linked to that of the press, which expanded along with civil liberties during the late eighteenth century. Caricatures often accompanied hand-written pamphlets, portraying Queen Marie-Antoinette or Mademoiselle Raucourt as lesbians, for example, or the Marquis de Villette as a sodomite. But it was mostly during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—the golden age of the industrial press—that caricature enjoyed its largest popularity. In France, six magazines in particular featured numerous illustrations of effeminate characters: *Le Canard sauvage*, *L’Assiette au beurre* (March 1902–October 1912), *Le Rire* (which also published as *Fantasio*), *La Charrette charrie*, and *Le Sourire*.

#### Political Affairs

The international political affairs of the early twentieth century inspired a great number of homophobic caricatures, especially the events concerning Emperor William II of Prussia. In France, the desire for revenge (after Prussia’s annexation of Alsace and Lorraine during the Franco-Prussian War) appears to demasculinize the enemy, while at the same time Prussia’s imperial behaviour was denounced throughout France and Europe. The intention of critics was to mock the scientific militancy of Magnus **Hirschfeld**’s German



## K

## KOREA

There are no dictionaries of Korean language which contain the word "homophobia"; however, out of eighteen dictionaries consulted, seventeen define homosexuality as "a sexual **perversion**." The effects of homophobia and heterosexism, just like sexism or racism, are not always apparent but are nonetheless hostile, and in fact, attacks against homosexuals seem to be on the rise in Korea.

Documents that reveal the traditional negative attitude toward homosexual relations first appeared during the era of the Joseon (or Yi) dynasty that ruled the country for over 500 years, from 1392 to 1910 CE. Prior to this, the Goryeo dynasty (918–1392) had promoted **Buddhism**, but the new rulers accused their predecessors of **debauchery** and homosexuality, and imposed their own form of neo-Confucianism that favored the familial hierarchy, male domination, the separation of the sexes, and sexual purity. It was during the reign of Sejong (1418–50), the fourth king of the Joseon dynasty, that homosexual relations were condemned for the first time, when he imposed a punishment of 100 lashes on concubines believed to have had sexual relations with other concubines. In the eighteenth year of his reign, when his son's wife was caught in bed with one of his concubines, he banished her from the royal court. She was subsequently murdered by her father, who then committed suicide.

In practice, the political application of Confucianism in Korea appeared around the seventh century. The principle of obedience to the king evolved, thanks to the sexual ideology of the yin/yang duality, into the more general obedience to the male; as an adjunct to this, the idea of relations between people of the same sex (yin/yin or yang/yang) was thus viewed as **against nature**. Under the Joseon dynasty, the pressure to be

heterosexual brought forth a system of familial succession that was doubly stringent: only a male could occupy the role of head of the **family**; and in the absence of a son, the family line would be extinguished, much to the horror of parents and elders. As to the elevation of his social status, the son occupied a preeminent place in the family structure and assumed the role of the father after his death. Thus, an act that went against the paternal authority violated not only the natural order, but also that of society.

Even today, the preference for male children, which has historically resulted in selective abortion and the infanticide of female babies, creates an imbalance in the gender ratio, although it has improved over the years. In 2006, there were 107 male babies to every 100 female; while this imbalance is still above the normal standard, in the 1990s it was even more pronounced. Further, in the case of parents having a third or fourth child, the ratio was 179 and 205 (respectively) boys to 100 girls in 1995. Taking into account all aspects of daily life, Confucianism and the yin/yang ideology generally view sexuality in a negative light (a view shared by **Christianity**). However, homosexual relations were in fact common at one time, and even enjoyed a certain level of social acceptance among the *yangban* (the class of scholarly elite) and the *namsandang* (troupes of men, artists, and acrobats who would travel from village to village). The young men who accompanied the *namsandang*, called *midong* (beautiful boys), would dress attractively, often (though not always) wearing girls' clothing. However, if a *midong* reached marrying age but wished to maintain his effeminate status, he would be considered an undesirable, perverted, and strongly stigmatized as a result. In the same way, homosexuality proper was rejected; it was considered a social problem, and those who practiced it were accused of threatening the ideology of the genders by deviating from hetero-

normativity (a situation that it not uncommon today).

In the nineteenth century, Catholicism was introduced to Korea not by priests, but by books imported by scholars. By disseminating knowledge in this way rather than preaching, Christianity succeeded in spreading quickly. In the beginning, Christians had difficulty convincing the public that sexuality was for procreation only and that homosexuality was a **sin**, but eventually the concepts took hold. Today, religious communities in Korea are composed of fundamentalists who, through their missions, tirelessly spread virulent homophobic messages through television, radio, newspapers, and the Internet.

In the twentieth century, Korea underwent numerous changes: first, occupation by Japan (1910–45); then the division of the South, provisionally under American control, from the North, under Soviet control, in the aftermath of World War II; and finally, the Korean War (1950–53). North Korea's isolationism makes it difficult to confirm what life is like there for homosexuals, but it is understood that homosexuality is considered a social plague, as it was in other, now former **communist** countries. In the South, after having undergone many hardships, the government propelled the country into the industrialized age, where any appearance of deviation from the national agenda is strongly discouraged.

In the 1960s, a homosexual subculture emerged in Nakwon (Paradise), a district (*dong*) in Seoul; during this same period, many new derogatory expressions were coined, including *pogal*, formed by reversing *kalbo*, the latter a vulgar word for prostitutes as well as any person engaging in debauchery; and *dongseong yeon'aeja*, meaning a man who makes love only with men. Up until contact was made with the Western gay world, the word "homo" was occasionally used by homosexuals themselves, then by heterosexuals as an insult. The term "gay" was also used, but usually to designate a transgender person. The most popular word is still *iban* ("different person"), referring to the homosexual identity (just like "queer" in the West). The origins of *iban* are not known, but the term is a play on the word *ilban* (ordinary person).

During the 1970s, medical theories around homosexuality gained currency, especially after the publication of a study that suggested that the low number of homosexuals in South Korea was the result of the country's sexual maturity and its yin/yang culture. Through the reaffirmation of gender norms and the

importation of Western ideas regarding **inversion**, Korean **psychiatry** determined that homosexuality was dysfunctional and socially unacceptable, at the same time that western medicine was changing its tune and no longer connecting homosexuality to mental illness.

Social **discrimination** and legal repression eventually gave rise to new sexual identities in South Korea, and a new culture of public expression began to develop. When LGBT activists started favoring homosexual visibility in the 1990s, the homophobic responses simply got louder, reaffirming the claim that homosexuality was a **peril** to the stability, morality, and health of Korean society. From that point on, homophobia was no longer an abstract belief; it became more and more a religious doctrine, a political conviction, a discriminatory practice, and a scientific fallacy based on "tradition" and "natural" law.

Today, although military service is mandatory for all young males, sodomy is condemned by the **armed forces**. Enlistees are often subjected to psychological screenings regarding sexual preference; those found to be homosexual may be institutionalized, or else dishonorably discharged. In 1997, the first Festival of Queer **Cinema** in Seoul was closed down by the police, which considered it illegal and obscene (it took place successfully the following year). South Korea's first gay magazine, which launched in 1998, has been consistently prohibited by the Korean Publication Ethics Committee from being sold to minors. In 1999, a school textbook described gays as carriers of **AIDS** and as sexual perverts. Anti-AIDS policies in South Korea are, for the most part, anti-gay policies; associations fighting against AIDS are supposed to fight the disease, but in fact mostly fight against the "spread" of homosexuality by promoting homophobia and strictly conservative sexual morals. In 2000, a famous South Korean actor, Hong Suk-chon, came out of the closet, but the very next day, he was fired by the television network that employed him (in 2003, however, Hong began a promising return to film and television).

In 2001, the Ministry of Information and Communication adopted a system which classified LGBT sites as "harmful **media**," requiring that they be filtered on all computers accessible to youth, that is, in **schools**, libraries, and Internet cafés. In the criteria defining indecent websites, homosexuality is classified under the category of "obscenity and perversion." The first case of legal action was in November 2001, against

the owner of South Korea's first and largest gay website; he was threatened with two years in jail unless he labeled his site as "harmful" and installed filters (with a price tag of \$10,000 US).

Despite this negative legacy, discussions on the subject of homosexuality are at least now tolerated in day-to-day life, and anti-discriminatory measures are being put into place. And in April 2003, the Korean National Human Rights Committee ordered that anti-gay language be removed from the Youth Protection Act, which had been originated to protect youth from evils such as homosexuality. Even today, people believed to be homosexual are becoming targets of physical violence.

—Huso Yi

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# L

## LATIN AMERICA

When Latin America was discovered by Spain, and, in the case of Brazil, by Portugal, at the end of the fifteenth century, the two European countries were experiencing the most intolerant period in their respective histories with regard to the "abominable" sin of sodomy. At that time, more than a dozen tribunals of the Holy Office of the **Inquisition** were established in the Iberian Peninsula, and among its decisions, declared sodomy as heinous a crime as **treason** or regicide. In Spanish America, a good number of tribunals were also set up in Mexico, Peru, and Colombia. In Brazil, visitors and "friends" of the Holy Office made regular inspections in all parts of the Portuguese colony, denouncing and arresting sodomites as they were discovered. The **sin** of sodomy was one of the rare crimes for which the first governors of Brazil could impose the death penalty without having to first consult the king of Portugal.

Still today, in Latin America, homophobia is strongly entrenched in Iberian male chauvinism, whose presupposed ideologies are inspired by tracts on moral **theology** dating from the time of the conquests: "Of all the sins, sodomy is the most shameful, the dirtiest and the most corrupt, and there is no other that is as regrettable in the eyes of God and man. Because of this sin, God flooded the Earth, and for this sin, he destroyed the cities of **Sodom and Gomorrah**. Because of sodomy, the Knights Templar were destroyed in all of Christendom in a single day. This is why we ordain that all men who have committed such a sin be burned and reduced to ash by the fire, in such a way as there remain no memory of their body or tomb." During this time, homosexuals were persecuted by three different tribunals: the king's justice, the Holy Inquisition, and the bishop.

When they arrived in the New World, the Spaniards and Portuguese discovered a great diversity of peoples and civilizations whose practices were very different from the Judeo-Christian cultural matrix, and even sometimes diametrically opposed with regard to nudity, the concept of honor, virginity, incest, polygamy, divorce, and especially homosexuality, transvestism, and transsexuality.

The *História General y Natural de las Indias* reveals that as early as 1514 the native taste for the *vitium nefandum* was everywhere, in the Caribbean islands as well as in the territories of *Tierra Firme*. The conquistadors were profoundly scandalized by the sculptures and idols venerated by the native population, which included explicit representations of homoerotic relations. Whether in Mexico, Central America, or South America, whether in the Andes or the Amazon, the Europeans repeatedly referred to the natives as "sodomites" in their journals, whether male or female. As well, a good number of chroniclers associated sodomy with irreligiousness: according to one, "As the natives do not know the real God and Father, they commit every day the worst of sins: idolatry, human sacrifice, ingestion of human flesh, speaking with the Devil, sodomy, etc."

This is not to say that all Native American cultures in this region looked favorably upon love between persons of the same gender. According to Franciscan chroniclers, the Maya and the Aztecs believed that "the patient sodomite is abominable, *nefandum* and detestable, deserving of contempt and ridicule." It is interesting to note a contradiction observed in pre-Columbian civilizations: on one hand, they believed in an extremely Dionysian mythology, valuing hermaphroditism and homosexuality, but on the other, engaged in a rather repressive, Apollonian moral practice that allowed for the death sentence in certain cases of