

# Sexual Revolutions - Sexual Politics

**22- 23 February 2018**

**Faculty of Arts and Philosophy**  
Ghent University, Blandijnberg 2  
9000 Ghent – Belgium

A two-day workshop organised by  
INSEP – *International Network for Sexual Ethics and Politics*

## **General Workshop Theme**

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2018 sees the 50th anniversary of the apex of the movements of dissent, radical change and revolution in the 1960's. Across the globe, workers, students and freedom movements challenged existing orthodoxies and regimes of prejudice, discrimination, inequality and oppression. This extended for demands for greater sexual freedoms, rights and recognition, and opposition to criminalisations, pathologies, subjugations and violence. For many in the West, the emergence of sexual movements as part of the protests of the late 1960's had a direct bearing on subsequent legal, cultural and political change, and put sexual equality, rights and justice on the political map. Even with the perceived resurgence of conservative forces and neo-liberal capitalism, which have been seen as contesting 'progressive' movements and ideas, issues of sexual freedom and justice have become far more evident and subject to debate, contestation and political and policy change. The character of that change can and should be critically assessed, and one element of that critical assessment should be the role of revolution and radical change, in contrast to the reformist and incremental change that has characterised much of sexual change over the last fifty years.

Revolution is itself a contested term. It is not always clear where evolution, or reform, ends and revolution begins. Whilst the traditional representation of revolution is a violent uprising, revolution takes different forms: political but also social, aesthetic and cultural transformations. There are also those continuities that seem to resist forms of transformation - particularly the persistence of globalisation, capitalism and neo-liberalism.

This anniversary allows the space to a conference to assess the relationship between sexual politics and social and political revolutions. We are seeking contributions that explore this relationship in any historical contexts and conjunctures. Contributions might focus on:

- The 1960's, sexual change for LGBTQI identities and cultures, and their consequences
- Sex, sexuality and revolution in Global Contexts
- Aesthetic revolutions and their representational politics of sexuality
- The cultural politics of sexuality
- Sexual revolutions and discourses of reform and revolution
- The sexual politics of revolutionary movements
- Queer revolutions - philosophy, theory and politics
- Bolshevik, Maoist and Cuban Revolutions and sexual change
- The role of social revolutions in catalysing sexual change
- Contrasting Sexuality in Capitalist and Communist Regimes

- Sexual revolutions: essentialist, constructionist and critical theories of sexuality and sexual change
- Sexuality and nationalisms
- The erotics of conflict
- Sex, gender and violent conflict

The list of possible themes is by no means exhaustive.

### **Venue – Faculty of Arts & Philosophy**

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Faculty of Arts and Philosophy  
Ghent University, Blandijnberg 2  
9000 Ghent – Belgium

#### Meeting Rooms

Faculty Board Meeting Room (2nd floor – 110.009)  
Meeting Room (3rd floor – 130.007)

#### **Registration: Faculty Board Meeting Room**

Hosted by the  
*Center for Ethics & Value Inquiry (CEVI)*  
Ghent University  
Belgium

## Thursday 21 February 2018 - Overview

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09:00 - 09:30 REGISTRATION

09:30 - 10:00 WELCOME & INTRO TO THE CONFERENCE

10:00 - 11:30 SESSION 1: RETHINKING THE ETHICS OF SEXUAL REVOLUTIONS

- **What Morality Pertains If Heteronormativity Is Broken by Diverse Orientations as a Concept?**  
*Helen E. Lees*
- **Against 'Sex Work'**  
*Bob Brecher*

11:30 - 12:00 COFFEE BREAK

12:00 - 13:30 SESSION 2

SESSION 2A: SEXUAL REVOLUTIONS AND EDUCATION

- **German Sexual Politics in School Child Protection**  
*Miriam Damrow*
- **TRY ME - Creating D.I.Y. Sex Education Play-Spaces for Adults**  
*Lee Cameron*

SESSION 2B: FEMINIST REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICES

- **Anasuromai: Showing the vulva as an erotic form of feminist conflict**  
*Carlotta Cossutta*
- **Fighting for a Society where women want to give birth in – The ribu movement's approach to revision laws governing abortion in Japan in the early 1970s**  
*Anna-Viktoria Vittinghoff*

13:30 - 14:15 LUNCH BREAK

14:15 - 15:45 SESSION 3

SESSION 3A: MASCULINITIES AND SEXUAL POLITICS

- **Truvada, PrEP, U=U: The reinvention of male-to-male sex and gay subjectivity**  
*Rafał Majka*
- **Renouncing or Rethinking Left Masculinities: Men's politics, anti-sexism and reflexivity in the UK radical left**  
*Chris Waugh*

SESSION 3B: SEXUAL POLITICS AND NATIONALISM

- **Sexuality and Nationalism, Cultural Politics of Sexuality**  
*Cecilia Belluzzo*
- **Taking Off the Veil and the Sexual Politics of Nationalism: The epistemic oppression of resistance**  
*Gehad Abdelal*

15:45 - 16:15 COFFEE BREAK

16:15 - 18:00 SESSION 4: TRANSFORMATIONS IN SEX LIVES, SEXUAL KNOWLEDGE AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS DURING THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION

Convenors: Alain Giami, Gert Hekma  
Discussant: David Paternotte

- **The 1968 Revolution of Catholic Conjugal Counselling Centres in Belgium**  
*Anne-Sophie Crosetti*
- **Sexual Science and Sexual Revolution**  
*Alain Giami*
- **The History of Cottaging. Changing homosexual practices, places and identifications**  
*Gert Hekma*

## Friday 23 February 2018 - Overview

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09:00 - 11:00 SESSION 5: RIGHTS, JUSTICE AND SEXUALITY

- **Regulating Sexual Citizens---** Towards a sexually liberated gender politics in Taiwan  
*Chen Yi-Chien*
- **We Bid You Be of Hope (Again)**  
*Luci Hyett*
- **Sexual Rights / Sexual Politics**  
*Tom Claes*

11:00 - 11:30 COFFEE BREAK

11:00 - 13:00 SESSION 6

SESSION 6A: REPRESENTATIONS AND SEXUAL REVOLUTION

- **After the Fall: Revolution and reborn in Pasolini's cinema**  
*Andrea Nicolini*
- **Re-Imagining Consent**  
*Milena Popova*

SESSION 6B: GENDER AND SEXUAL POLITICS

- **Putting Gender in Perspective in Boko Haram Terrorist Activity in Nigeria**  
*Ferdinand O. Ottoh*
- **Gender and Liberation in John Rechy's Works**  
*Ewa Ścibior*

13:00 - 13:45 LUNCH BREAK

13:45 - 15:15 SESSION 7: THEORISING SEXUAL REVOLUTIONS

- **Foucault: Madness & Surveillance in Warsaw**  
*Piotr Sobolczyk*
- **From Fourier to Freud: Changing Conceptions of 'Sexual Revolution' in the United States, 1820-1930**  
*Jesse F. Battan*

15:15 - 15:30 COFFEE BREAK

15:30 - 16:45 SESSION 8: WHEN AND WHAT WAS THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION AND WHAT NEXT FOR SEXUAL ETHICS AND POLITICS?

- **A Communism Made to the Measure of the World: Sexual Politics at the Crossroads of Comprehension and Action**  
*Gökbörü Sarp Tanyildiz*
- **On Revolution, Evolutions, Normalisations and Incorporations: Trajectories of sexual ethics and politics**  
*Paul Reynolds*

09:00 - 09:30 REGISTRATION

09:30 - 10:00 WELCOME & INTRO TO THE CONFERENCE

10:00 - 11:30 SESSION 1: RETHINKING THE ETHICS OF SEXUAL REVOLUTIONS

Chair: Paul Reynolds

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**What Morality Pertains If Heteronormativity Is Broken by Diverse Orientations as a Concept**

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**Helen E. Lees** – Newman University – Birmingham, UK

This paper considers what happens at a moral level when heteronormativity is seen as the obvious profile of someone who seems and is (largely) heterosexual yet has an alternative orientation of the sexual. In the case of alternative orientations such as a kink orientation (see Moser, 2016) it is common for such individuals to grow up believing themselves to be heterosexual and indeed to not even be aware that other orientations (apart from homosexuality) exist or may pertain to them to the extent that their heteronormative identity one day may fall and fail to be true.

A lack of social and educational presentations of various orientations affects sexual orientation diversity. *Fifty Shades of Grey* and its 'bestseller-ness' (Illouz, 2014) has played a role in breaking open a model of access to knowing one's orientation that no longer involves going underground to find it if it happens to be 'other'. What happens if heteronormative seeming people understand their experience and feelings are akin to homosexual coming out scenarios from around the 1950's?

The law around alternative sexualities is yet to catch up with rights for freedom of diverse orientations (see Beckmann, 2009). Everyday situations stand to disadvantage such people in their workplaces, communities and families. This paper asks: What happens to our morality about sexuality if heteronormativity is broken by diverse orientations as a concept?

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**Against 'Sex Work'**

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**Bob Brecher** – University of Brighton- Brighton, UK

The term 'sex work' has come very largely to replace 'prostitution' in the progressive lexicon. But while it is entirely understandable that it should have done so, the move is a mistake.

While prostitution, in common with many other activities, is certainly work in one sense -- extremely hard, demanding and exacting work -- its description as 'sex work' functions to legitimize the sexual abuse of people by disguising it as 'work'; as legitimate employment recognised as such. After all, military dictators, concentration camp guards and active paedophiles all 'work' in the first sense; but surely not in the second. The legitimising function of 'sex work' works in two ways, one broadly empirical, the other ideological. Empirically, the nomenclature runs together brothel owners, pimps, traffickers and prostitutes, all of whom of course work -- though of course prostitutes work in a fundamentally different way from the others involved in the sex trade. Ideologically, it at once furthers and is furthered by the neoliberal conceit that there is nothing that cannot be bought, thus serving a decidedly anti-progressive cause, namely that of the commodification of the whole of human life.

Thus, the term, however understandable its use, should be dropped -- at least by serious progressives.

11:30 - 12:00 COFFEE BREAK

SESSION 2A: SEXUAL REVOLUTIONS AND EDUCATION

Chair: Piotr Sobolczyk

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**German Sexual Politics in School Child Protection**

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*Miriam Damrow – Georg-August-Universität – Göttingen, Germany*

In 1968/69 a federal board decision by the KMK, the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic ascribed schools the responsibility for sex education at schools. Since then, schools in Germany provide sexual education for children and youth in many different forms.

Additionally, in Germany the Federal Child Protection Act has come into effect in 2012. This Act particularly ascribes schools to ensure prevention of sexual child abuse. Both tasks require special knowledge to be acquired by teachers and teacher students as both aspects refer to sexual politics in heterogeneous, ambiguous and possibly polyvalent ways.

Teachers and teacher students can refer to further teacher education centers which provide courses on many relevant topics for their clientele. Every County [Land] has at least one education centre. Every education centre deals on its own as to what content has to be offered in which form.

To what extent these (further) education centers provide topics relevant for both tasks will be investigated in this study. Respective results of German sexual politics in school child protection will be presented.

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**TRY ME - Creating D.I.Y. Sex Education Play-Spaces for Adults**

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*Lee Cameron – University of Toronto – Toronto, Canada*

“Fluxus possesses... “wit,” “no money,” and a “sense of game.”

Draw a map to get lost.

Play baseball with a piece of fruit.”

FLUXUS Digital Collection

The 1960’s saw an influx of artists working in critical pedagogy: radicalizing notions of curriculum by using experimental arts, games, and ‘play’ (Krstich 2016). Following renewed interest in the pedagogical value of these works, I use the FLUXUS arts movement philosophy of art-amusement, accessibility and open-ended play in my sex education practice in creating adult erotic education ‘play-spaces’ (Maciunas 1965).

At INSEP 2018, I will present the findings of my arts-based research-creation practice in adult sexualities education inspired by FLUXUS. These playful, participatory erotic exploration events that I’ve created and facilitated in Toronto, Canada, allow us to witness what happens\* when we mobilize the revolutionary potential of radical arts moments past to inform new and ever-shifting practices in sexualities today.

Radical “play” and games provide endless opportunities to expand understandings of sexualities education, eroticism, and collective affective experience. This approach challenges the seriousness and instructional emphasis within existing leisure-based sex education work for adults – encouraging yelling, experimental movement, collective breathing, spitting, bodymaps, mirror games, roleplay, among other activities. This work anticipates a sex education that provides space for collective experimentation, one that works consciously and follows particular affects that exceed signification as they are presented, sensed, or ‘tuned into’ in the room.

With this presentation I invite participants to consider what sexualities activism spaces may gain by seizing the opportunity to play around.

\*Signaling both the use of 'happenings' within FLUXUS and other performance arts movements, which made invaluable the use of audience/ viewer participation, and Brian Massumi's work on "feeling of what happens", in calling attention to vitality/affect (Krstich 2016, Massumi 2008).

#### Works Cited & More Information

Maciunas, George. FLUXMANIFESTO ON FLUXAMUSEMENT. Figment of a Newsletter, 1965.

Massumi, Brian. "The Thinking-Feeling of What Happens." *Inflexions: A Journal for Research-Creation* 1, vol. 1, no. 1, May 2008. Open Access.

Krstich, Vesna. "The Pedagogy of Play: Fluxus, Happenings, and Curriculum Reform in the 1960s." *C Magazine*, no. 131, 2016.

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## SESSION 2B: FEMINIST REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICES

Chair: Cecilia Belluzzo

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### **Anasuromai: Showing the vulva as an erotic form of feminist conflict**

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**Carlotta Cossutta** – University of Eastern Piedmont – Vercelli, Italy

Anasuromai is the action of raising the skirt and showing our vulva. Its origins dates back to the ancient worship of the Goddess and is a recurrent element in a number of struggles against patriarchy and sex phobias in every corner of the world.

On the 8th of March 2017, during a feminist international strike, Anasuromai was chosen as a form of struggle by two Milanese groups and then replicated in Rome. In my contribution, I would like to highlight the discussions that led to the choice of doing this gesture, the resistance it has encountered in the feminist movement and the reactions it has raised.

In particular, Anasuromai was used in a strike against male violence on women to criticize the woman's vision as a victim. In response to a binary system compressing bodies to a mythological standard, Anasuromai was chosen to show the power of the diversity of shapes, rejoicing in differences. As it was written in the presentation of Anasuromai: "May our body be not a destiny but a tool for resistance, pleasure and revolution". In addition, Anasuromai has developed a full discussion of what it means to show the vulva and how to interpret this feminist symbol without reproducing gender binarism.

I would like to link Anasuromai with feminist reflection on public space and the presence of bodies, especially women, in the squares (e.g. Nicole Loreaux) and the relationship between Eros and conflict (e.g. Audre Lorde). Finally, I would like to show the process for which, collectively, a vulnerability (such as nudity) becomes force.

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### **Fighting for a Society where women want to give birth in – The ribu movement's approach to revision laws governing abortion in Japan in the early 1970s**

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**Anna-Viktoria Vittinghoff** – University of Edinburgh – Edinburgh, UK

This paper analyses the 1970s-radical feminist ribu group's approach to revision laws governing abortion in Japan. Ribu (a Japanese rendering of liberation) were a radical feminist movement that emerged from the New Left in the late 1960s. This heterogeneous movement was tied together by a profound unease over the place of women in radical politics, which they criticised as tied to ideologies of masculinity, and the goal of bringing about a revolution in female subjectivity in Japan. In this paper I will show how ribu applied their criticism of gendered capitalist production in Japan to abortion law. In postwar Japan abortion was a common practice, which women could gain access to via an 'economic reasons' clause in the Eugenic Protection Law. The proposed revisions deleted the economic reasons clause: an action which ribu argued restricted women's self-determination and autonomy over their bodies. Ribu also argued that the new laws smuggled in an ideology of capitalist productivity, which attempted to align Japanese subjects with the economic goals of the state. Through this criticism of the logic of productivity, ribu articulated the proposed revision of the

law with other social issues, such as disability rights and welfare provision. This paper will show how this articulation took place across a range of publications and speeches, and will distil the implications ribu's actions had for intersectional politics in postwar Japan.

13:30 - 14:15 LUNCH BREAK

14:15 - 15:45 SESSION 3

SESSION 3A: MASCULINITIES AND SEXUAL POLITICS

Chair: Alain Giami

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**Truvada, PrEP, U=U: The reinvention of male-to-male sex and gay subjectivity**

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**Rafal Majka** – University of Bielsko-Biała – Bielsko-Biała, Poland

In my presentation I would like to focus on how relatively recent biomedical breakthroughs such as Truvada, PrEP and HIV/AIDS research are helping to unravel the so far dominant HIV-phobic discourse around seropositive persons in gay and MSM communities. Also, the breakthroughs enable gays and MSM to reclaim pleasure, that “unlimited intimacy” (Tim Dean), for the practice of male-to-male sex which has long been overshadowed by a potential consequence of life-long stigmatization. Technological and biomedical novelties are social revolutions in the sense that they make openings in the way social practices have been conceptualized until a particular moment in history. They make possible new ways of socially and sexually relating to one another and cause sedimented reflections and impulses to wither away. Truvada and its generic equivalents – PrEP, that is pre-exposure prophylaxis, and the recent official statement of the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention that undetectable equals untransmittable, can be posited as revolutionary headways into a social space where gay subjectivity is no longer approached as already or not yet diseased and seropositive same-sex-desiring males are not cast away beyond the so called “clean and proper body” of the social.

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**Renouncing or Rethinking Left Masculinities: Men's politics, anti-sexism and reflexivity in the UK radical left**

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**Chris Waugh** – University of Leeds – Leeds, UK

Social movement studies has long acknowledges that movements are not only a uniquely reflexive field of study, but also that analysis of knowledge, reflection and critique produced by movements has been sadly underanalysed by the academy. In this paper, I give an overview of attempts by socialist men in the UK to combat sexism within Left movements. Magazines such as Big Flame and Achilles Heel provided a space for socialist men to reflect on the gender politics of their movements, the role of sex and sexuality, and explore new models of masculinity. I situate these publications in the discourse of activist-self reflexivity and argue for a resurgence of anti-sexist politics in the British left as a response to a number of incidents of sexual abuse.

## SESSION 3B: SEXUAL POLITICS AND NATIONALISM

Chair: Bob Brecher

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### **Sexuality and Nationalism, Cultural Politics of Sexuality**

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**Cecilia Belluzzo** – Università di Bologna – Bologna, Italy

Despite the many victories achieved by women during the past century, the resurgence of multiple forms of nationalism in Western countries have risen concern about the possibility of a regression in the matter of women's rights. On November 9th 2016, the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States of America opened a wound in the fight for gender equality, and shocked a generation of young women who never had to question their freedom.

In the wake of this radical change of direction in the American politics, on April 26th 2017, Hulu released the first season of "The Handmaid's Tale", adapted from Margaret Atwood 1985's novel.

In the frames of Nicola Lacey's reflections on law's sexual violence in today's society (2002) the present work aims at highlighting how Hulu's series appeared as a powerful warning in these particular times, posing the question: is revolution still necessary?

As an exasperated example of bio-power's abuse and of the oppressive implementation of sexual politics, "The Handmaid's Tale" evokes Gisela Bock's considerations concerning women position in Nazi's National Socialism(1992). The series, also, evidences the actual and current fears and concerns of thousands of women, and immediately becomes a manifesto of the spontaneous movement of dissent that spread in the US after the election.

As Carole Pateman (1992) and Silvia Vegetti Finzi (1992) have shown in their works, today women's rights for citizenship and self-determination outside the boundaries of motherhood are still far from being fully recognized.

Emerging from this background, "The Handmaid's tale" reveals itself as an effective call for resistance, showing how how 50 years after the explosion of 68' protests, the battle is not over and revolution is still needed.

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### **Taking Off the Veil and the Sexual Politics of Nationalism: The epistemic oppression of resistance**

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**Gehad Abdelal** – University of Georgia – Athens, USA

In this paper, I will discuss the phenomenon of taking off the veil (hijab), in the Egyptian society, especially after 2011 revolution. Since the 1950s, the veil plays an essential role in the national fundamental movement's structure in Egypt as a decolonial resistance. In this article, I will investigate how taking off the veil as a resistance against the sexual politics of Islamic national movement develops an epistemic oppression of resistance. I will analyze three aspects of the sexual politics of the veil.

The first, the veil (as a norm and practice) is used in Egyptian Islamic national movement as a source of epistemic exploitation of women's political identity in the resistance against western colonization. The second, the colonial sexual politics structure the veil as a source of epistemic exploitation of women's political identity. The colonial discourse structures the veil analyzes as a source of oppression. Moreover, this colonial discourse uses this analysis to keep the colonial sexual politics of the Muslim woman. The third, therefore, taking the veil off as a resistance to Islamic national movement develops an epistemic oppression that overlaps the sexual politics of decolonial and colonial discourses together. The woman faces double bind of oppression when she takes the veil off. The decolonial discourse considers the woman who takes off her veil as she relinquishes her Islamic identity and accepting the western colonization. On the other hand, the colonial discourse considers this woman resisting an oppressive system, therefore the western discourse gains more power of providing its specific understanding of the woman position and politics in the Islamic world.

I will focus on two notions of this epistemic oppression: 1- the epistemic credibility of the woman that who took her veil off. 2- perpetuity of justification regarding self-position. She has to give endless

justification and explanation of her position. This paper engages Nawal ElSaadawi works about Islamic fundamental discourse sexual politics.

15:45 - 16:15 COFFEE BREAK

16:15 - 18:00 SESSION 4: TRANSFORMATIONS IN SEX LIVES, SEXUAL KNOWLEDGE AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS DURING THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION

Convenors: Alain Giami, Gert Hekma  
Discussant: David Paternotte

Beyond the radical changes that occurred in sexual practices and sexual relations during the sexual revolution, this panel will discuss how these changes were supported and accompanied by changes in social, religious, scientific and medical knowledge and in the organisation of urban space. The panel will identify and discuss changes occurred in three major social apparatus: the church, bio medical science, and the organization of urban space, and it will focus on the controversies and discussions that were developed in these different social places. There was not only an enormous change in what people did in terms of sexual practices but also how people changed their ideas and social thoughts including, family planning, gender relations between and inside the genders, adults and youngsters, relations to questions of authority, religion, medicine and sciences. The panel will also discuss the long term consequences of this sexual revolution and some of the current outcomes and limitations of these changes. The sexual revolution was typical of an age of criticism of powers that may no longer be self-evident nowadays. This panel will discuss these connections and engage with questions how people changed what they did in this field of changing political, religious and scientific attitudes

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### **The 1968 Revolution of Catholic Conjugal Counselling Centres in Belgium**

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**Anne-Sophie Crosetti** – Université Libre de Bruxelles – Brussels, Belgium

The year 1968 is a crucial moment for the Catholic Church regarding contraception and abortion: the publication of *Humanae Vitae*, a papal document that forbids birth control whatever means (periodic continence and coitus interruptus excepted) after years of discussion on the matter is a turning point on many levels. A closer look at the organisations that were in charge of, or dealing with, the question of contraception and abortion in French-speaking Belgium (Catholic Conjugal Counselling Centres and Pro Vita) reveals the evolution of discourses and practises on the “contraceptive revolution” and what is at stake when it comes to sexuality within the Catholic world. Since its release, the 1968 encyclical is indeed considered by Catholics as a sexual politics aimed at regulating the increasing practise of limitation of birth control and demands of decriminalisation of abortion. The document therefore impacted the lives of those who tried to live under the Catholic moral. We can thus observe a growing opposition between those who read *Humanae Vitae* as a moral guide (Pro Vita) and those who saw it as the Church’s failure to understand genuine life of Catholics (The Catholic Conjugal Counselling Centres). The two different paths followed by these Catholic groups is a way to understanding the trajectory of the institutions as well as of the people who work in these institutions. It highlights the evolution of the Catholic Conjugal Counselling Centre into proper Planned Parenthood and the estrangement process from Catholic norms regarding sexuality. The history of these centres, in regard to Pro Vita, is also the history of how sexual revolution was gradually accepted and even set up by these same centres, a true revolution that took root in the Catholic moral.

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## Sexual Science and Sexual Revolution

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**Alain Giami** – INSERM-CESP – Paris, France

The presentation takes as its premise that there was a sexual revolution in the western world between the early 1960s and the beginning of the 1980s. This sexual revolution had at least two characteristics: (1) the dissociation of reproduction and erotic life and the recognition of the legitimacy of pleasure outside procreation; (2) the acceptance and legitimacy of sex outside marriage. These arrangements existed before the early 1960s but they were not legitimated by science and medicine and in some cases were criminalized.

It draws on Mossuz-Lavau's work "Les lois de l'amour" (1991) which described this period in France by analyzing the change in law (penal and civil), public policy, education and access to health services regarding sexual conduct and gender. The presentation will review the major scientific and medical changes that occurred before and during this period such as the discovery and the dissemination of the hormonal contraception (Pincus, 1960), the development of sex research as a specific and autonomous field (1964), the re-discovery of the psycho-physiology of orgasm which established orgasm as a normal physiological reaction (the Human Sexual Response Cycle) (Masters & Johnson, 1966). These events were followed by the development of medical advances in sex change surgery (Benjamin, 1966), the de-psychiatrization of homosexuality (APA, 1973), and the development of sexo-active drugs such as Viagra (1998) which opened the way to the enhancement of the sexual activity of older men beyond reproductive age.

The presentation based in the field of Science & Technology Studies (STS) discusses how science and medicine (bio-medicine) contributed to important changes in sex and gender and became one of the central regime of truth to legitimate moral and ideological choices and in particular sexual choices and later on contributed to the normalization of sexual conducts previously considered as deviant. The Foucauldian idea of 'regime of truth' applied to bio-medical and public health science will be discussed in this perspective to better understand the reciprocal influence of cultural and scientific developments on social movements and the transformation of moral values concerning sexual conducts

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## The History of Cottaging. Changing homosexual practices, places and identifications

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**Gert Hekma** – University of Amsterdam – Amsterdam, The Netherlands

One of the major losses that the sexual revolution brought about was the disappearance of 'homo-active' public toilets in the public space. For centuries homosexuality, or earlier sodomy or pederasty belonged to the demonized behaviour of men that could result in the death penalty in most European countries. Nonetheless same-sexual behaviour took place in a wide variety of places like, in Amsterdam, churches, the city hall, in front of mostly willing guardians who sometimes got paid, parks, bars or public toilets along with many other different places. This took place till the late 20th century when these places apart from parks and some bars lost their more or less public and sexual function. New venues had developed in particular in gay bars, sometimes with dark rooms, sauna's and another variety of spaces like sex cinema's.

The change in place for sexual gratification went with changes in what it meant to be a pederast, sodomite, homosexual or gay. The first major change was from feeling a culpable person who was a sinner for the churches towards a person identified as a homosexual, often seen by other and themselves in the famous words of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs of the 1860's being 'a female soul in a male body' who, in terms of desire, preferred heterosexual men (boys, soldiers, sailors, working class men) following the heteromodel of gender opposites: men with women, in this case straight men with gay men, here mainly for casual sex. This border traffic between gay and straight was made easy until the 1960's because women had to stay virgin till marriage, leaving the men who were deemed the more sexual beings, a vast world of female prostitutes, or gay men as a cheap alternative who may have sometimes paid them. This ended in the 1960's when women didn't need to remain virgins any longer and heterosexual relations became more easy. At the same time homosexual men lost their feminine characteristics and became 'normal' gay men who no longer looked for their sexual opposites, straight men, but their equals, other gay men. The transformations

of male and homosexual identifications in the years of the sexual revolution went together for various reasons with changes in their sexual practices and preferred places for sex.

I will discuss this change taking place during the sexual revolution using the marvellous book of Marc Martin, *Fenster zum Klo* (2017) and my own research on Amsterdam.

09:00 - 11:00 SESSION 5: RIGHTS, JUSTICE AND SEXUALITY

Chair: Gert Hekma

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### **Regulating Sexual Citizens--- Towards a sexually liberated gender politics in Taiwan**

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**Chen Yi-Chien** – Shih Hsin University – Taipei, Taiwan

The district court decision of a Taiwanese woman sentenced to 298 years (2 years executed) in prison for adultery shocked the nation and the world, as much as the judicial decision of the constitutional court to allow same---sex marriage at the latest by May 24, 2019. While affirming freedom to obtain sex information, Grand Justices upheld criminal law of distributing and possession of obscene materials that destroys the prevalent sex morality order of the time. How exactly does law regulate 'sex'?

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between the sexual politics and gender equality rights pursuit. It operated on the premise that there is room for a criticism which takes into account the larger cultural context in which "sex" "sexuality" "gender" is conceived and produced. This project is composed of 3 parts; first, I examine the relationship between sexuality and the law, through reading the current Taiwanese legal system including norms and judicial practice. Secondly, I will focus on the sex related topics, adultery, rape, prostitution, HIV related regulations, Same-sex marriage included. We need a more holistic view on sexuality in the law. Thirdly, I then critically examine the relationship between sexuality, the nation and globalization. Sexuality does play a crucial role in the nation's survival and to the reproduction of 'the nation'. Finally, I would re-imagine a pro-sex gender politics as the citizenship formation for Taiwan.

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### **We Bid You Be of Hope (Again)**

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**Luci Hyett** – University of Wolverhampton – Wolverhampton, UK

The age of consent is a polarised concept which has caused a dissonance between the law and society for the past one hundred fifty years. s9 Sexual Offences Act 2003 epitomises the discord when it creates an offence of Sexual Activity with a Child which envisages that a girl under the age of 16 (and even those under 13) can consent to penetrative sexual acts with an adult. This article contends that whilst it is meritorious of Parliament to create an offence of strict liability which renders liable, any person having sexual intercourse with a girl under 16, the symbolic value of the broad offence label does little to communicate the full extent of the guilty conduct of the perpetrator (where penetration is involved). It argues that the label in fact perpetuates attitudes toward girls under 16: that they are self-determinate, sexually autonomous miscreants sent to inveigle ordinary men with their youthful and phlegmatic eroticism. Indeed, such attitudes contributed to the lack of investigation and prosecution in the Rotherham and Rochdale Child Sexual Exploitation matters where girls were deemed to have contributed to their own abuse. However, it contends that girls between 13 and 16 are learning to become autonomous adults and the fragility of their vulnerability throughout this process is something which Parliament has a duty to protect. It suggests that the law should thus, deem those under the age of 16 as lacking the legal capacity to consent to sexual intercourse which would give rise to a rebuttable presumption of non-consent under the auspices of the Rape offence. Finally, it asserts that this is justified, not only to end impunity for the exploitative circumstances and subsequent abuse that exist in the modern-day treatment of young girls but also challenges the misogynistic attitudes amongst men and boys that commodify them

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## Sexual Rights / Sexual Politics

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**Tom Claes** – Ghent University – Ghent, Belgium

The post WWII era has seen the emergence of a widely embraced human rights discourse and activism. Human rights were later on applied to specific groups and specific sectors, like, e.g., women's and children's rights and labour and sexuality. The formulation of so-called 'sexual rights' is one of the latest developments and they are now widely mobilized in sexual activism and development policies.

The UN played a crucial role in the formulation and promotion of this agenda of sexual and reproductive health and rights. This process, however, is fraught with intense discussions and tensions in which two opposed sexual politics and 'visions of sexual justice' (Duggan) often clash: on the one hand a conservative regulationist one focused on family values, and on the other hand a liberal one aimed at the realization of sexual equality, respecting autonomy and diversity.

Progressive activists and movements of all stripes have enthusiastically embraced this rights-based sexual politics of equality and agency. But recently this has come under increased scrutiny and heavily criticized as an overly individualistic and decontextualized stance that obfuscates the impact of the wider neo-liberal economic and political context. A sexual politics of freedom and choice so is claimed fails to properly account for structural and cultural gender and power imbalances, precariousness and vulnerabilities. It also is unable to problematize the intensifying marketization and commodification of sexuality and leads to a politics and ethics of freedom and tolerance (often couched in terms of 'citizenship', 'agency', 'empowerment', and 'choice') over a politics and ethics of solidarity and care.

In my talk I will critically evaluate these allegations and weigh the pros and cons of a sexual rights based sexual politics. I will argue that a sexual rights and health agenda - the often-correct criticism notwithstanding - still has huge emancipatory potential and when properly connected to issues of gender, social and economic justice can serve as the basis for the development of a notion and practice of sexual justice.

11:00 - 11:30 COFFEE BREAK

11:00 - 13:00 SESSION 6

SESSION 6A: REPRESENTATIONS AND SEXUAL REVOLUTION

Chair: Miriam Damrow

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## After the Fall: Revolution and reborn in Pasolini's cinema

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**Andrea Nicolini** – Università di Verona – Verona, Italy

Why does society try to organize and control sex as it does violence? Is it because sex is as dangerous as violence, or is it because, more than violence, sex destroys the symbolic order that structures society? In adopting Leo Bersani's theory on sexuality, I argue that society controls and organizes sex in order to protect itself from its revolutionary nature. Sublimating sex within a symbolic order becomes in fact the way by which society protects itself from changing. From this theoretical perspective, I explore the film *Teorema* by Pasolini as an artistic expression of the revolutionary power of sexuality. In *Teorema*, Pasolini describes the story of a bourgeois family that encounters an obscure and unintelligible figure who, in having sex with each member of the family, destroys the family's symbolic order, giving each of them the possibility of living otherwise. Pasolini uses many expressions to define this *queer* figure, including the Italian word *diavolo* (devil) that comes from the Ancient Greek *diaballein* (to separate - dia = division, *ballo* = put). This is the opposite etymology of the word "symbol" *synballein* (syn = together, *ballo* put). As I want to show, *Teorema* is not a diachronic history but a theoretical *essay of images* through which Pasolini shows how sexuality is

both inherently destructive of the symbolic order that seeks to sublimate it, *and* the way by which people can be reborn from the ruins of the symbolic.

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## Re-Imagining Consent

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**Milena Popova** – University of the West of England – Bristol, UK

In this paper I examine erotic fan fiction (amateur fiction based on books, films, or television series and published online) as a site of cultural activism around issues of sexual consent.

Fan fiction is predominantly written by women and non-binary people, a majority of whom identify as members of gender, sexual and romantic minorities. This group is statistically more likely to include survivors of sexual violence and be impacted by issues of sexual consent in other ways. These demographics are reflected in the community's output: stories focused on sexual and romantic relationships, frequently sexually explicit and focusing on same-gender relationships.

I use textual and discourse analysis of both fan fiction texts and community practices to examine how these stories relate to issues of sexual consent and particularly socially constructed power differentials in intimate relationships. I argue that they can be seen as a kind of cultural activism: using creative output to challenge dominant discourses of sexuality and consent and the gendered power structures around them, and present alternative imaginaries of how structural inequalities of power can be negotiated in intimate relationships. I also demonstrate that the fan fiction community itself has purposefully created infrastructure and spaces that prioritise the wellbeing of sexual violence survivors and allow for the safe exploration of issues of consent. I argue that this kind of cultural activism and reframing of dominant discourses is an essential first step for any sexual revolution.

### SESSION 6B: GENDER AND SEXUAL POLITICS

Chair: Jesse F. Battan

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## Putting Gender in Perspective in Boko Haram Terrorist Activity in Nigeria

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**Ferdinand O. Ottoh** – University of Lagos – Akoka, Yaba, Nigeria

This paper is motivated by the dimension the Boko Haram terrorist activity has assumed in the last three years, especially the abduction of 276 secondary students in Chikbo village in the north-east, Nigeria. Since their abduction it has become clear that the girls are to be indoctrinated on the ideology of the group. The paper argues that women and girls are used mainly as suicide bombers. Besides, they are used as sex partners to the men with the resultant consequence of unwarranted pregnancy. No doubt, women and girls bear the brunt of this insurgency but inadvertently the society suffers for it. The Boko Haram terrorist activity has impacted on the society in several ways. First, it exacerbates inequalities between women and men. Second, the girl-child in the north-east has become a chattel through early marriage contraction to the highest bidder who can offer them protection against abduction and sexual slavery. Third, it is also devastating and debilitating that the majority of the internally displaced persons in the north-east are women and girls who suffer human rights abuses which include killings, rape and other forms of sexual violence, torture, mutilation and forced recruitment. The feminist and gender-based violence theories offer explanation to the phenomenon under investigation. It adopts a historical methodological approach through documentary evidence to show how women and girls are victims and also perpetrators of various attacks under the aegis of the Boko Haram. The paper concludes that women and girls should be focused in de-radicalization of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

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## Gender and Liberation in John Rechy's Works

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**Ewa Ścibior** – University of Warsaw – Warsaw, Poland

One of the most notable chroniclers of gay liberation movement in American literature was John Rechy. In 1963 he published his first novel, *City of Night*. A semi-autobiographical story of a young man who becomes a hustler, it immediately became controversial due to its honest representation of homosexuality. Although some critics saw the protagonist's reluctance to admit his sexual orientation as a sign of the author's internalized homophobia, I consider those accusations to be misguided due to the novel's unprecedented sympathetic representation of non-normative characters. Rechy's later works further established his reputation of a staunch advocate for gay rights, the most significant of those being *The Sexual Outlaw: A Documentary* (1977), where he vehemently protests against the criminalization of homosexuality.

In my paper I intend to take a close look at the way Rechy's characters perceive their sexual orientations and gender identities and at their struggles to reconcile them with what is expected of them. In doing so, I wish to trace the changing levels of their self-awareness and argue that they are strictly connected to their mistrust in the socially accepted concepts of gender and sexuality. True emancipation for Rechy occurs when one understands the limitations of the accepted social roles, not only those present in the mainstream society, but also within the gay community. This is especially visible in his portrayals of drag queen characters, who remain controversial figures to date.

13:00 - 13:45 LUNCH BREAK

13:45 - 15:15 SESSION 7: THEORISING SEXUAL REVOLUTIONS

Chair: Paul Reynolds

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## Foucault: Madness & Surveillance in Warsaw

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**Piotr Sobolczyk** – Polish Academy of Sciences – Warsaw, Poland

Recent biographical research (so far published only in Polish) on Michel Foucault's stay in Warsaw in 1958-1959, where he finished his *Madness & Civilisation*, which ended in his expulsion from communist Poland due to a homosexual scandal provoked by the secret service, allows us to reconsider the possible echoes of the communist experience in Foucault's work. *Madness & Civilisation* is an obvious example, but also *Discipline and Punish* (French title *Surveiller et punir* demonstrates better the idea of permanent surveillance which the philosopher experienced in Warsaw). The interviews that Foucault gave later in his life, e.g. on the questions of geography or on the role of public intellectuals, demonstrate that he was aware of the cultural difference of soviet and western cultures. Yet this difference is not elaborated in his works. Also Foucault's theory of sexuality calls for such a commentary on the "soviet difference". These I shall try to offer.

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## From Fourier to Freud: Changing Conceptions of 'Sexual Revolution' in the United States, 1820-1930

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**Jesse F. Battan** – California State University – Fullerton, USA

From the beginning of the 19th century to the first two decades of the 20th, sexual radicals in America have struggled to inaugurate a social revolution through the liberation of desire. While this has been a constant, their perspectives on the nature of desire, the politics of repression and, correspondingly, their programs for liberation—the very sexual and political revolutions they envisioned—have been continually redefined.

Paying special attention to changes in ideology, praxis, and the political, social and cultural contexts in which they developed, my paper will sketch significant shifts in the revolutionary projects devised by a variety of American sexual radicals (including utopian socialists, communists, state socialists, anarchist, cultural radicals, and feminists) in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, it will explore the relationship between shifts in the programs of sexual radicals and changes in the sexual behaviors in the general population that have come to be associated with “sexual revolution” as a category of historical analysis.

15:15 - 15:30 COFFEE BREAK

15:30 - 16:45 SESSION 8: WHEN AND WHAT WAS THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION AND WHAT NEXT FOR SEXUAL ETHICS AND POLITICS?

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**A Communism Made to the Measure of the World: Sexual Politics at the Crossroads of Comprehension and Action**

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*Gökbörü Sarp Tanyildiz* – York University – Toronto, Canada

This paper takes as its point of departure the need for a new configuration of the notion of class in relation to sexual politics. Such a new configuration can mobilize interventions in what I take to be an endemic problem in contemporary politics: the quest for inclusivity in the political that has nonetheless led to an unchecked desire for totality, or the dictum that all marginalized positions be accounted for at once and for all time. The effort to cope with an endless social fracturation of identifications (e.g. queer, disabled, racialized etc.) stymies political action as it attempts to include all possible subject positions in their allied fractuality. However, this attempt in turn usurps or undermines the possibility of a political space that would be capable of addressing and responding in action to the needs such subject positions present in the first place. In particular, I focus on the recent discourses of queer theory that have challenged the centrality of class as the key political site of social transformation. Most Marxist responses to this challenge of queer theory have been to enfold sexuality back into class analysis, i.e. by arguing that queer sexuality intersects with, or is co-constitutive of the larger problematic of class oppression. This disconnection in contemporary politics points to a deeper diremption between comprehension and political action, and thus will be the initial ground by which I frame my subsequent discussion. In order to account for this problematic construction of the relation between class and sexuality, a deeper register of thinking is required: that of the relation between comprehension and action in their temporal significations. This relation is not a simple rehearsal of issues of praxis; rather it is demonstrative of a more fundamental –and under-theorized– relationship between theory and practice. Often accounts of praxis occlude this deeper issue of the diremption between comprehension and action by automatically pointing to an imputed ‘dialectical relationship’ between them without showing how this dialectics is contingent upon the specificities of the socially mediated forms in a given mode of production in history.

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**On Revolution, Evolutions, Normalisations and Incorporations: Trajectories of sexual ethics and politics**

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*Paul Reynolds* – Edge Hill University – Ormskirk, UK