# I. TOPICAL ESSAYS

## Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Austria: An Introduction

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The twentieth century was, in many ways, the century of sexuality. No prior era in European history was as strongly defined by issues relating to sex. On the one hand, sex became ever more central to individual identity. The growing interest—and success—in controlling fertility changed heterosexual experiences, albeit in often contradictory ways (as newly heightened expectations of pleasure, especially for women, collided with the challenges posed by contraceptive strategies). At the same time, the growing professionalization of research into sex—in dialectical interaction with the self-representations of sexual minorities—generated an intensifying preoccupation with questions of sexual orientation. Ordinary people increasingly understood and represented themselves not only as beings with sexual identities, but also as beings with sexual *rights*—whether to privacy or to public attention, to "normal" functioning or to the transgression of norms perceived as illegitimate, to intensity of experience or to safety from sexual harm. Sex was also increasingly expected to be the main adhesive in marital partnerships, as the practice of prostitution declined while rates of premarital intercourse with a future spouse rose, and as the years of marriage themselves were imagined as a site for continuously renewed romance, desire, and fulfillment.

On the other hand, sexual matters also acquired growing political salience. In the course of the twentieth century, sexuality became a prime arena of often virulent social and cultural conflict, a key element in processes of secularization and religious renewal, a main motor of commercial development, a constant theme in highbrow art and low-brow advertising alike, and a locus of increasing government-citizen negotiation (whether in courtrooms, classrooms, military brothels, government-funded maternal welfare or marital guidance clinics, or

street demonstrations). In a constantly reconfigured combination of stimulus and regulation, prohibition and exposure, norm-expounding and obsessed detailing of deviance, liberalizing and repressive impulses together worked to make conflicts over sexual matters consequential for politics writ large.

This amplified significance of sexuality, and its ever-spreading intersections with almost all other domains of existence, has to do—and this is difficult to express, but crucial for our comprehension—with the intrinsic complexity of sexual matters. One need only think of the vital role of sexual scandal in making newspaper reading a mass and not just an elite phenomenon in the 1900s-1920s (Is voyeurism itself a sexual act?), the saturation of anti-Semitic rhetoric with sexual innuendo and the role of this sexualized rhetoric in making persecution of Jews seem morally acceptable in the 1930s-1940s (Is there a libidinal element in cruelty?), or the inseparability of antiwar protest from efforts at sexual liberation in the 1960s-1970s (How can we make sense of this moment when so many human beings sincerely believed that making more love could also profoundly change the world?), to recognize the poverty and inadequacy of the theoretical language and conceptual frameworks available to us. Yet, for all of the diffuseness and elusiveness of the terms, looking back on the twentieth century as a whole from the vantage point of the twenty-first, we can also recognize that over the course of that century something like a semi-coherent entity—a complex of physiological and emotional impulses and sensations, acts and ideals—took shape and was designated as "sexuality" in the collective imaginary.

Is the era of sexuality now behind us? Experts on sexuality disagree, and prophecies are notoriously wrong. However, a proliferating number of surveys and analyses, in scholarly publications and pop culture venues alike, indicates that a cluster of new developments are occurring that are changing fundamental assumptions about what sexuality is and how it is experienced. One strand of analysis emphasizes the impact of psychopharmacology (from Prozac and Zoloft to Viagra and Cialis) in changing human beings' relationship to their own and each others' bodies. Others point to the proliferation of Internet porn and cybersex and diagnose what they see as a trend toward the "onanization" of sexuality.[1] Yet others seek to make sense of the notable conjunction of a hypersexualization of visual culture and fashion with a pronounced drop (as study after study—also, apparently, in Austria—shows) in many human beings' levels of interest in sex.[2] Scholars also call attention to the greater pleasure people appear to be finding in exhibitionist self-styling and experiencing themselves as objects of desire than in the actual physiological sensation of orgasm itself; these scholars also note

a trend toward attempting to make sexual encounters more time-efficient, squeezed as they are into overstressed, multitasking lives. All these phenomena together are often conceptualized under the rubric of a "neosexual revolution."[3] Yet another strand of analysis focuses on an entirely different (though, one suspects, not entirely unrelated) phenomenon: the utter centrality of sexual matters in the ascendance of militant Islam and, thus, also to the culture clashes now raging across Western European nations. Secular Europeans have revealed themselves to be rather unprepared to defend the sexual values they claim to hold dear without resorting to racist language.[4]

What is the place of Austria in this tumultuous and complicated history? Austria provides an especially important laboratory for exploring all the broader themes of the history of sexuality in the twentieth-century West. Austria, after all, was home to both Sigmund Freud and Adolf Hitler.

At the very beginning of the twentieth century, as the contributions by David Luft and Scott Spector note, Vienna was already known as the city of sex. This was true even as, and however paradoxically, Vienna was also considered a traditionally-minded, provincial backwater run by a conservative, bourgeois elite. What was it about this Habsburg empire hothouse of ennui and enervation that also made it a center of explosively productive aesthetic and philosophical experimentation, and that generated such a rich proliferation of theorizing about the nature of sexual drives, orientations, and obsessions? By the 1920s, Vienna was capital to a much smaller country, run by socialists, and—as Maria Mesner's article demonstrates—was also home to some of the earliest sex reform clinics anywhere in the world. The motivations of the founders of these clinics ran the gamut from fantasies of eugenic perfectibility to empowerment of the poor to greater sensual enjoyment and control over their own fertility. In these early decades of the twentieth century, both under imperial and then under socialist auspices, Vienna was understood as a main hub of cultural production in the wider orbit of German culture. (When conservative Italian Catholics, for instance, in the 1920s condemned Germans as sexually obsessed, they certainly were referring to Vienna as much as to Berlin.)[5] Yet it is precisely the combination of similarities *and* differences between German and Austrian developments in the decades that followed that makes Austrian history such a valuable site for testing the strengths and weaknesses of many of our standard assumptions about causation and periodization in the history of sexuality.

The history of sexuality in Austria is just beginning to come out from the shadow of the history of sexuality in Germany, a history into or under which is has too long been merged or subsumed. Ground-

breaking work on Austrian sexuality specifically has been undertaken by Ingrid Bauer, Matti Bunzl, Franz Eder, and Maria Mesner.[6] All four are also represented in this volume with new work. What this volume seeks to bring into focus, however, are *both* the unusual and the more broadly resonant aspects of Austrian sexual history. For instance, as Ingrid Bauer and Renate Huber's comprehensive co-written article on Austrian women's numerous—voluntary and involuntary—sexual encounters with the American, British, French, and Soviet military occupiers in the 1950s makes clear, as does Franz Eder's analysis of the media-mediated diffusion of sex-affirmative values in the Austrian populace from the 1930s to the 1960s (despite and yet also because of the successive interventions of Nazis, postwar conservatives, and consumerism-enjoining liberalizers), developments in Austria echoed those in Nazi and then West Germany, but also took their own distinctive course. This resulted in part from the at once more tradition-bound and claustrophobic quality of postwar Austrian culture (including the long-unchallenged political influence of the Catholic Church). It was due as well to the relative lack of international scrutiny experienced by Austrians in the initial four postwar decades (which, for complicated reasons, caused the realm of sexuality to be much less a site for coming to terms with the Nazi past than it would be in the continuously morally monitored case of West Germany).[7]

Austria's insularity and the long delay in its confrontation of its national past, in turn, provide at least a partial explanation for the often surprisingly crude and aggressive expressions of both homophobia and anti-foreigner racism which the final three contributions analyze. Matti Bunzl's essay on the key factors facilitating the rise of queer visibility and the precipitous subsequent decline of homophobia in the 1990s offers an optimistic interpretation of the unexpected benefits of Austria's incorporation into the European Union and of the political elites' desire to present Austria as a beacon of sophisticated cosmopolitanism. Pieter Judson tells a less hopeful story about the all-too-easy resurgence of fantastically muddled and histrionic homophobic notions in the midst of a 2004 scandal over child pornography and consensual homosexuality at a Catholic seminary in St. Pölten, and Julia Woesthoff reveals a similar dynamic in her reading of the sensationalist media coverage surrounding the restriction of immigrants' abilities to marry Austrians in a law passed in January 2006. Inchoate but intensely held notions of love as the only acceptable basis for any marriage coexist with hyperventilating tales of immigrant men who pay for "fictitious marriages" to drug-addicted Austrian prostitutes or hapless single mothers. Crucially, all three of these essays reveal just how many *other* political and cultural issues are getting processed when Austrians argue with one another over

sex, love, and marriage—from Austria's international status to the tensions between reform-minded and authoritarian-traditionalist Catholics to the challenges both of integrating immigrants and of regulating their entry.

It is specifically this continual dual function of sexuality in the twentieth century—the way it serves as a transmission belt for wider cultural conflicts even as it is itself being produced and reproduced as an intelligible domain—that weaves its way through all of the contributions to this volume. David Luft's meditative opening contribution—an excerpt from his book, *Eros and Inwardness*, a historically situated, nuanced interpretation of the works of Otto Weininger, Robert Musil, and Heimito von Doderer—revisits the much-debated phenomenon of *fin-de-siècle* Viennese culture's remarkable density of sex-related aesthetic and philosophical productivity. Other scholars—like Carl Schorske, Stephen Beller, and Sander Gilman—have stressed intergenerational tensions, the prominent role of Jewish intellectuals in the city's cultural life or, conversely, the power and pervasiveness of anti-Semitism in their speculative assessments.[8] Luft, by contrast, emphasizes the crisis of the male ego at the onset of the modern era. On the one hand, reflecting on heterosexual relations was a way to think through a wider sense of alienation and anxiety prompted by the collapse of liberal political and cultural confidence and to navigate the challenges of nihilism and irrationalism, as well as the tensions between scientific materialism, morality, and metaphysics. Writing about sexuality offered opportunities for pondering a more general feeling of "uncertainty about the reality and coherence of the self."[9] On the other hand, while Austrian feminism was still in its infancy at the turn of the century and posed hardly any threat to the power of men, Luft concludes that male writers of the era were very much preoccupied with the perceived threat of female sexuality and their own reactions to it.

Turning from the select circles of now canonized writers, Scott Spector directs our attention to the less well heeled, "ordinary" working-class people of Vienna, in particular the readers of the newly expanding tabloid press, as well as the underworld of streetwalkers and working-class homosexuals so often sensationally rendered in these new periodicals. Many scholars have sought to respond to Michel Foucault's challenge to make sense of the dialogic dynamic by which the very same juridical and medical professional discourses which stigmatized same-sex desiring individuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also served as a catalyst and framework for those individuals to define themselves and "talk back" on their own behalf.[10] Yet—aside from court records, with their own inherent biases—we rarely have sources which permit us to understand the intricacies of this, as Spector

phrases it, "feedback loop of pathologization and potentially liberating sexual identity" from the point of view of working-class subjects. A riveting series of letters to the editor of the Viennese *Kriminal-Zeitung* in 1907 forms the basis of Spector's intriguing analysis of one such feedback loop: a wide-ranging repartee between the paper and readers over the nature and origins of homosexuality, the incidence of homosexuality in Viennese culture both high and low, the prevalence of cafés and other watering holes with a queer clientele, and the value (or not) of reforming or abolishing Paragraph 129 (b), which criminalized same-sex activity. While recognizing that letter writers were most likely not always telling the truth about their own identities and social location, Spector nonetheless mines the evidence for fascinating insights into how queer subjects in this historical moment phrased their challenges to heteronormativity and represented themselves, as well as into the ways that sexual scandal magnetized public attention and produced new conceptions of sexuality in the process.

Maria Mesner's contribution on 1920s Vienna analyzes another site of interaction between members of the working class and educated professionals: marital and sex advice clinics. The 1920s are a crucial decade in the history of sexuality not least because these years mark the transition from an era of popular searching for new ways of understanding sex—a kind of pressure from below—and a novel interest on the part of the state and local governments to intervene in the realm of sex, to be responsive to popular longings, but also to channel and redirect them in ways we can, in retrospect, see were actually highly normative. Mesner reconstructs for us the phenomenon of self-appointed activists who sought to meet their clients' needs but also to define them (albeit in a striking diversity of ways). She also reads the evidence against the grain to assess the kinds of concerns that clients brought to the counseling centers and to identify the instances when they were at cross-purposes with the motivations of the activists. Mesner has especially important things to say about eugenics and the tentacles of "bio-power"—even as she also documents working-class individuals' far greater interest in controlling fertility than in improving the "quality" of their offspring. In juxtaposing evidence of activists' and clients' concerns, Mesner is able to give us glimpses of contemporaries' changing assumptions about the very nature of corporeality. She evokes powerfully the perceptions of contemporaries about the damaged state of women's bodies, the misery and conflict and "neurosis" within couples over sex, and male anxieties and "scruples" around masturbation and potency.

Franz Eder takes up the story where Mesner leaves off, and he emphasizes the striking continuities in popular sexual values between

the 1930s and 1960s, despite the regime changes due to the Anschluß, the defeat of National Socialism, the decade of military occupation and Cold War, and then the growing independence of Austria. One of Eder's great strengths has to do with his sophisticated understanding of the ideological work of the media. He helpfully directs our attention not just to the content of images and texts, but also to the strategies of address employed, and to the many invitations provided by the media to aspire, to compare, to define, to imagine. He also usefully insists on seeing the diffusion of ideologies not as a one-way street between government and populace, or media and populace, but as a continuously interactive and multisite process in which reception also involves adaptation, intensification, reaction, relay, and reinterpretation. Contradictions within discourses and intersections between discourses often strengthen rather than undermine their impact. The value of this more expansive understanding of both media and ideology for furthering our understanding of such elusive but central topics in the history of sexuality as the nature of desire can hardly be overestimated. For example, as Eder explores, it is crucial that although National Socialist imagery and texts certainly insisted on the health, beauty, and strength of the Nazi sexual vision as a contrast to the decadent "Jewish" sensuality of the interwar period, from the populace's perspective the message received and put into lived practice was one of "positive sexualization." As Eder notes, the idealized images of the naked body, as internalized fantasies, could intensify both anticipation and the sensations of actual encounters. Conversely, to make the matter even more complicated, the republication of images labeled disgusting and degenerate could just as well have served as fantasy supports, despite or, perhaps, even because of the negative rhetoric accompanying them. Similarly, Eder reads the cacophonous, mutually competing but simultaneously mutually reinforcing rhetorics of Christian conservatism, consumerism-inciting sexualization of advertising and magazine reportage, and Kinsey-emulating statistics and analysis as *together* accelerating popular "expertise" and the focus on sexuality in the postwar decades—all long before the so-called Sexual Revolution occurred.

Deepening our understanding of the complex transformations in popular mores in the occupation decade of 1945-1955, Ingrid Bauer and Renate Huber put the sexual experiences of Austrian women at the center of their comprehensive and analytically revelatory assessment of the "romantic triangle" between these women and the foreign soldiers and Austrian men rivaling for their attention. Their main aim has been to systematize, for the first time ever, what is known about the contrasting experiences in the British, French, U.S., and Soviet zones, and also to consider how the issue of "race" played out with respect to

Moroccans in the French army, African-American GIs, and "Asian" Soviets. But the relevance of their contribution goes far beyond the empirical. Particularly illuminating are Bauer and Huber's insights into the intricate overlapping of the ever-evolving present with the Nazi and wartime past, as what happened during the war was continually referenced and reinterpreted in the aftermath of defeat; once again, it becomes clear how sexual relations can offer a site for processing a whole range of matters seemingly unrelated to sex. At the same time, more than any other contribution, this essay captures a remarkable sense of female sexual agency, self-assertiveness, and inventiveness. It also conveys, both through the inclusion of evocative quotes and through the authors' thoughtful and theoretically informed reflections, a great deal about the complexity of emotions brought to transnational sexual encounters: the inextricability of erotic attraction from such matters as the physicality of music or cleanliness; the powerful appeal of self-confidence or nonchalance, but also the fundamental role of material assets and power itself in making (some) men appealing to (many) women; as well as the acute pain and longing to connect with long-lost fathers expressed by some children of occupation relationships many decades later.

Matti Bunzl and Pieter Judson's essays on homophobia throw the "positive sexualization" accruing to heterosexuality in the postwar decades into sharp relief. As Matti Bunzl's prior work has documented, postwar Austrian prosecution of homosexuality was exceptionally harsh. Austria was one of the few Western European nations which criminalized lesbianism as well as male homosexuality, with the result that lesbianism in the postwar period was nearly invisible to outsiders, and male homosexual networks and meeting spaces were clandestine and constantly vulnerable. Multi-year prison sentences were standard until the liberalization of the law in 1971 (over 13,000 convictions since 1945), and ongoing systemic homophobia and new legal strictures explicitly limiting queer associational life and media visibility until well into the 1990s made for a two-decade time lag in the advent of gay and lesbian liberalization in comparison with the United States, France, or West Germany. The pressures to perform heterosexuality (for instance, by entering into "fake" marriages) were pervasive; the Catholic Church was unabashed in insisting on the maintenance of criminalization and social abjection; and the Socialist party was hardly committed to providing much of a contrasting legal agenda.[11] It is against this background that the enormous benefits to gays and lesbians of Austria's entry into the supra-national context of the European Union in 1995, the exuberant manifestations of queer pride in the Rainbow Parade of 1996, and the subsequent embrace of queers as symbols of Austria's newfound

suave trendiness are especially remarkable. Comfort with, even celebration of, queerness, became *the* marker of Austrian maturity and chic.

Pieter Judson's cautionary tale about the sex scandals at the archconservative St. Pölten seminary in the summer of 2004, however, although also hilarious in his particularly acerbic rendition, is a sobering reminder that the newly acquired status of *Vorzeige*-queers and the diminishment in reported feelings of homophobia in national surveys has not correlated with an ability on either the media or the public's part to think very tolerantly, or even very clearly, about sexual orientation and "deviance." A series of incidents—child pornography found on seminary computers, a suicide, a photograph of adult seminarians kissing at a Christmas party, an accusation that the director of the seminary had engaged in homosexual behavior—fused in the public's mind into composite proof of the Catholic Church's malfeasance. Consensual adult homosexuality was merged willy-nilly into widespread anxieties over what was assumed to be a priestly predilection for pedophilia or at least the abuse of teacher-student power disparities. Centuries-old anticlerical reflexes linking the celibacy requirement with sexual abnormality were updated for the era of the Internet and obsession with child sexuality; media sensationalism rerouted legitimate concerns about clergy child abuse of both boys and girls and Catholic hierarchy cover-ups into a full-fledged "homo-panic" that invited leering voyeurism and outraged hysteria by turns. The rather incoherent reassertions of heteronormative fantasies provided by letters to the editor in the wake of the scandals—from "everyone should have a healthy sex life. Get rid of celibacy" to "a priest with a family would have a greater sense of responsibility" to "a married priest with a good woman who can support him [. . .] that would be a good model"— reveal yet again, albeit from a different angle than that analyzed by Eder, just how much ideologies operate via inchoate assumptions as much as through any direct purveyance of information or analyses.

Julia Woesthoff's article takes the story up to the very present, as the human rights-securing European Union described by Bunzl turns also into "Fortress Europe" attempting to stem the tide of illegal immigration. Woesthoff sorts out the conflicting evidence from the media spin. What she finds is that in the past decade the number of binational marriages has risen to almost one in four of all Austrian marriages; within the same time span, the public preoccupation with the possibility of "fictitious" marriages (that is, marriages for the sole purpose of facilitating the foreign partner's immigration) has increased exponentially, as have government efforts to respond with legal strictures and monitoring strategies. Anywhere from one quarter to one third of all binational marriages each year are considered to be "under suspicion."

Yet, as Woesthoff unravels the story, it becomes clear that media hype, as in Judson's tale, is crucial to the rerouting of the public's concerns. While at least 40 percent of the binational marriages are between Austrian men and foreign (often Eastern European) women, these couplings merit little attention. Instead, there is a profusion of headlines and chatter over the 60 percent of binational marriages entered into by Austrian women. Many of these are to Turkish men, or men coming from the countries of the former Yugoslavia. While activist groups that seek to assist these women advance the slogan that "marriage is not a crime," or tend to see these women as motivated either by love pure and simple or by a desire to "rescue" their partners from deportation, the government and the media are more inclined to see desperation or conniving for easy money as the motivations. Ultimately, as Woesthoff notes, what is actually revealed is a strenuous attempt to ward off the reality that unquestioned assumptions about marriage are under siege from so many sources—from the prevalence of divorce to heterosexual cohabitation to the pressure to recognize same-sex unions; the incessant talk about binational marriages as somehow not based on "true love" reveals the already-existing and ever-widening disconnects between sex, affection, and marriage as an institution which also bestows legal privileges.

Where does this leave us? Whatever the remainder of the twenty-first century will hold in store for us, there is no question that this is a good moment to inquire into the intricacies of sexuality in the twentieth. There are many areas which deserve far more research. One of these is the phenomenon of long-term popular acceptance of illegitimate births in some regions of Austria, a phenomenon which reaches back into the nineteenth century, even as its character has changed over the course of the twentieth.[12] Another (and related) area worthy of systematic study has to do with what might be called "sex tourism" within Austria—the prevalence of short-term consensual affairs between skiing (or hiking) tourists and locals, already in the 1950s-1960s. Two further topics which need differentiated and sustained analysis involve the history of prostitution within Austria (though also now, in the post-communist era, the prostitution traffic reaching across the border into the Czech Republic), and the other kind of sex tourism—the phenomenon of Austrian men traveling further abroad to have sex-for-pay, first to Thailand in the 1960s-1970s, and then to South America and the Caribbean in the 1980s-1990s.

A very different topic with substantial ramifications for the comparative history of religion as well has to do with the peculiarities of the history of the Catholic Church in Austria. One dimension that needs much further research is the gap between church influence on politics

and popular secularization; many Austrians are nominally affiliated with the church and depend on it for the celebration of life-cycle events such as baptisms, marriages, and funerals, but certainly do not orient themselves to its teachings.[13] This phenomenon varies considerably by region within Austria.[14] Its evolution needs to be periodized and described far more carefully. In this context, it will be especially important to consider the unique features of fascism in Austria as well. Because of its overlap with authoritarian Catholicism, Austro-fascism had perhaps more similarity to the fascisms in Spain, Romania, Italy, Slovakia, Croatia, and Vichy France than to German Nazism.[15] The potential consequences of this difference for sexual politics in Nazi Austria, and its militarily occupied aftermath, have yet to be carefully specified.

It would be good as well to know more about the sex radical activists trying to advance the Sexual Revolution in Austria in the 1960s-1970s. From Maria Mesner's work on the history of feminism and the campaign for abortion rights, we know how much activists "looked across the border" to West Germany and France for orientation on strategy and for opportunities to pressure the Austrian government to keep pace with international developments.[16] But we know far less both about the internal dynamics among sex radicals and about their relationships to the populace as a whole and to the media. The history of the Sexual Revolution in West Germany suggests just how crucial the voyeuristic fascination with *other* people's sexual experimentations was in advancing liberalized sexual values—and ultimately in the liberalization of sex-related law.[17] It is also possible that the history of sexuality in Switzerland will offer a better comparative vantage point for making sense of Austria; there, too, we find a gradual loosening of popular mores without political fanfare in the earlier postwar decades, then a countercultural youth rebellion delayed until the 1980s.[18]

Finally, as almost all the essays gathered in this volume suggest, albeit in completely different ways, the relationship between sexuality and the media in the twentieth-century West is one of the most important theoretical and empirical problems facing us. The whole phenomenon of "sex as spectator sport" has yet to be understood as a profoundly political factor (fostering as it does *both* identificatory and emancipatory *and* punitive and reactionary impulses with respect to sex itself) and simultaneously offering the site for battling over a multitude of other social and cultural conflicts. A glance at the current crisis over sexual freedoms in the United States—the demand for teen celibacy, the assault on contraception for the unwed, the virulent attacks on same-sex marriage, the efforts to cast aspersions on condom effectiveness, the hysteria over Internet pornography—indicates just how potent a weapon

this spectator sport has become for political and religious conservatives. One can only hope that Europe will continue to pursue a more generous path.

## Notes

1. Alexander Schuller cited in Rüdiger Lautmann et al., "Germany," in *The Continuum Complete International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*, ed. Robert Francoeur et al. (New York: Continuum, 2003).

2. Ernest Borneman, "Hat es eine sexuelle Befreiung gegeben? Oder: Der Verfall des sexuellen Begehrens 1960-1990," in *Sexualität in ausgewählten sozialwissenschaftlichen Perspektiven* ed. Wolfgang Dür et al. (Vienna: Institut für Soziologie, 1997), 127: "A large number of doctors, sex therapists and marital counselors [. . .] have reported, in short, about the death of sexual desire and sexual satisfaction in the rich countries of the first world. The sexual doldrums extend so far that one could describe contemporary Austria as a two-thirds society, in which one third states that it is sexually inactive." Note as well, however, the most recent news brought by a (Pfizer-funded) Global Sex Satisfaction study: After a world-spanning survey of more than 27,000 adults between the ages of 40 and 80, University of Chicago researchers found that the Austrians were, overall, the ones "most satisfied with their sex lives." See "Global Sex Survey: Satisfied in the West," NPR, July 12, 2006, http://www.npr.org.

3. Volkmar Sigusch, *Neosexualitäten: Über den kulturellen Wandel von Liebe und Perversion* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2005).

4. See, on France, the Netherlands, and Germany, Joan Scott, "Symptomatic Politics: The Banning of Islamic Head Scarves in French Public Schools," *French Politics, Culture, and Society* 23.3 (Winter 2005): 106-28; "Integration auf Niederländisch: Der Holland-Test der eisernen Rita," *Spiegel Online* 14 March 2006; "Die Gesinnungsprüfung," *taz*, 4 January 2006, 3.

5. Bruno P.F. Wanrooij, "The History of Sexuality in Italy (1860-1945)," in *Gender, Family and Sexuality: The Private Sphere in Italy, 1860-1945*, ed. Perry Willson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 177.

6. See especially Ingrid Bauer, "'Austria's Prestige Dragged into the Dirt'? The 'GI-Brides' and Postwar Austrian Society (1945-1955)," *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, vol. 6, *Women in Austria*, ed. Günter Bischof et al. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1998), 41-55; Matti Bunzl, *Symptoms of Modernity: Jews and Queers in Late Twentieth-Century Vienna* (Berkeley: Univ. of California P, 2004); Franz X. Eder, *Kultur der Begierde: Eine Geschichte der Sexualität* (Munich: Beck, 2002); Franz X. Eder, "Sexual Cultures in Germany and Austria, 1700-2000," in *Sexual Cultures in Europe: National Histories*, ed. Franz Eder et al. (Manchester, 1999); Maria Mesner, "Political Culture and the Abortion Conflict: A Comparison of Austria and the United States," in *From World War to Waldheim: Culture and Politics in Austria and the United States*, ed. David F. Good and Ruth Wodak (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999), 187-209; Maria Mesner, "Auf dem Weg zur Fristenlösung: Eine Reform mit Hindernissen," in *Frauen in Bewegung—Frauen in der SPÖ*, ed. Irmtraut Karlsson (Vienna: Löcker, 1998), 83-112; Maria Mesner, "Vom Paragraph 144 zum Paragraph 97: Eine Reform mit Hindernissen," in *Beharrlichkeit, Anpassung und Widerstand: Die Sozialdemokratische Frauenorganisation und ausgewählte Bereiche sozialdemokratischer Frauenpolitik, 1945-1990*, ed. Dr. Karl Renner Institut (Vienna: Dr. Karl Renner Institut, 1993), 377-513. On the history of sexuality in Austria specifically, see additionally Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991); Claudia

Schoppmann, *Verbotene Verhältnisse: Frauenliebe, 1938-1945* (Berlin: Querverlag, 1999); Erika Thurner, "Die stabile Innenseite der Politik: Geschlechterbeziehungen und Rollenverhalten," in *Österreich in den Fünfzigern*, ed. Thomas Albrich et al. (Vienna: Österreichischer StudienVerlag, 1995), 53-117; Wolfgang Dür, "Liebe ohne Zeit: Zufällige Intimsysteme und die moderne Gesellschaft," in *Neue Geschichten der Sexualität: Beispiele aus Ostasien und Zentraleuropa, 1700-2000*, ed. Franz X. Eder and Sabine Frühstück (Vienna: Turia & Kant, 2000), 279-302; Christine Zerzer, "Sexuelles Verhalten österreichischer Schüler," in *Jugendsexualität: Forschungsergebnisse einer Untersuchung an über 2000 Schülern in Österreich*, ed. Rudolf Weiss (Innsbruck: Univ. Verlag Wagner, 1978), 55-71; and Verein für erzählte Lebensgeschichte, ed., *Ich weiss über die Liebe gar nicht viel: Waldviertler Frauen erzählen über Heirat, Liebe, Sexualität und Aufklärung* (Vitis, 1990).

7. See Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2005).

8. Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1981); Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989); Sander Gilman, *Freud, Race, and Gender* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993). On these books and the terms of debate, see also Matti Bunzl's review of Harry Oosterhuis' *Stepchildren of Nature* in "Sexual Modernity as Subject and Object," *Modernism/ Modernity* 9.1 (2002): 170-71.

9. David Luft, *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna: Weininger, Musil, Doderer* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago P, 2003), 21.

10. Especially impressive formulations of this challenge and its rich interpretive implications can be found in Harry Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago P, 2000); as well as in George Chauncey, "From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: The Changing Medical Conceptualization of Female 'Deviance,'" in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, ed. Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons (Philadelphia: Temple, 1989), 87-117; and Jens Rydström, *Sinners and Citizens: Bestiality and Homosexuality in Sweden, 1880-1950* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago P, 2003).

11. Bunzl, *Symptoms of Modernity*. See also my review in *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, vol. 14, *Austrian Foreign Policy in Historical Context*, ed. Günter Bischof et al. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2005), 394-400.

12. See in this context the remarks about some regions of Austria having the highest illegitimacy rates in the world in Hans Harmsen, "Mittel zur Geburtenregelung in der Gesetzgebung des Staates," in *Sexualität und Verbrechen*, ed. Fritz Bauer et al. (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1963), 175.

13. The Nazi newspaper *Das schwarze Korps* was already commenting on the gulf in Austria between church attendance and orientation to church teachings on birth control in the 1930s. See "Österreich erwache!" *Das schwarze Korps*, 25 Feb. 1937, 6.

14. See "Austria." *About, Inc*. <http://atheism.about.com/library/world/AJ/bl_Austria Index.htm> (accessed 15 May 2006).

15. Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York: Vintage, 1998), 31-32; cf. Herzog, *Sex after Fascism*, 42-55, 103-07.

16. Mesner, "Vom Paragraph 144 zum Paragraph 97," 441-42.

17. See in this context Herzog, *Sex after Fascism*, 141-52; and Dagmar Herzog, "Sexuality in the Postwar West," *Journal of Modern History* 78 (March 2006): 144-71.

18. See Jean-Daniel Blanc and Christine Luchsinger, eds., *Achtung: Die fünfziger Jahre. Annäherung an eine widersprüchliche Zeit* (Zurich: Chronos, 1994); and Heinz Nigg, ed., *Wir wollen alles und zwar Subito! Die achtziger Jugendunruhen in der Schweiz und ihre Folgen* (Zurich: Limmat, 2001). What requires more research, for Switzerland as for Austria, is the interrelationship between homegrown radical impulses and those emerging from the German and wider European 1968.