

composed by the activist Kurt Hiller. Two years later, in 1930, the Danish parliament did reform the law—the first country in Scandinavia to do so.

The Contemporary Situation. After World War I Denmark acquired a reputation as a country with unusually liberal attitudes toward sexuality, and Copenhagen became a mecca for the sex-starved tourist from the rest of the world. The Forbundet af 1948 was founded by Axel Axgil and Hjelmer Fogedgaard, and in 1949 it began a periodical, *Vennen* (Friends). The Forbundet stimulated similar organizations in Norway and Sweden. In Denmark it grew into the major national gay and lesbian organization and recognized by the authorities as such. Active today on many fronts, it not only counsels homosexuals on their personal problems in all spheres of life, but also conducts education and propaganda meant to enlighten the general public and undo the legacy of defamation from the past, and collaborates with foreign homophile organizations. All its activity is conducted by a staff of volunteers.

A particular notoriety accrued to the Danish capital as the venue of the male-to-female sex change operation performed on Christine Jorgensen (who died in 1989 after living as a woman for almost forty years). Gay tourists flocked to Copenhagen, though the city later lost its primacy in this regard to Amsterdam. The effect of Denmark's liberal laws on pornography has been disputed, some claiming that free availability reduced demand. Some of the pornography offered for sale in Denmark contains photographs of quite young children. In any event, Denmark and Sweden played major roles as laboratories for the sexual revolution of the 1970s, while the United States took the lead in the gay liberation movement.

In 1976 the legal age of consent to homosexual relations was reduced to 15; consensual sexual activity with a boy under 15 but not less than 12 years old is a misdemeanor. The sentence is usually—

but not always—suspended, but a foreigner found guilty is fined and immediately deported. The burden of proof in such cases rests with the police, who do not investigate on their own initiative but only in response to a complaint.

In 1989 the Danish parliament approved a far-reaching law granting legal sanction, except the right of adoption, to same-sex unions; however, its benefits are not extended to foreigners.

See also Andersen, Hans Christian; Bang, Herman.

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DETECTIVE STORIES

See *Mystery and Detective Fiction*.

DEVIANCE AND DEVIATION

Sociologists and criminologists have adopted the term deviance to refer to behavior that is prohibited, censured, stigmatized, or penalized by the normative structures of a society. The boundaries of the concept, and its appropriateness for homosexuality, have not been settled; it originated in the wish for a neutral term that would not imply approval or disapproval of the activity, whatever the attitude of the host society might be. Critics of the approach assert that it offers little more than a jumble of "nuts, sluts, and perverts." For the study of homosexuality, however, its value may lie in the fact that it does make one think of analogies (and differences) between homosexuals and other groups.

The words deviation and deviant, while designed to be neutral and statistical

terms, are related to a system of concepts centered on alterations in direction which have an extensive historical background of inherited judgmentalism. The legacy of these ideas facilitated the acceptance of the terms, but at the same time undermined the attempt to keep them value free.

Historical Semantics. Some of the background is Judeo-Christian. A rabbinical exegete, Bar Kapparah, glossed the term *tō'ēbāh*, "abomination"—a word of importance because of its occurrence in the prohibitions of the Holiness Code of Leviticus—as meaning *tō'eh attāh bāh*, "you are going astray because of it". Another scripturally rooted instance occurs in Jerome's rendering of *Exodus 23:2*: "Non sequeris turbam ad faciendum malum, nec in iudicio, plurimorum acquiesces sententiae, ut a vero devies." ("Do not follow the mob in doing evil; nor in your thinking yield to views of the many, so that you deviate [go astray] from the truth.") This application of *devio*, "to turn from the straight road, to go aside," is rooted in the ancient metaphor of human life as a journey.

There is also a contrast between *perversion* and *conversion*, both from the Latin *verto*, "to turn [round]." Moreover, there is a Hebraic background to this idea of turning around = reform of one's life.

Until early modern times, this complex of meanings does not seem to have been brought into use in connection with homosexuality. Then there is Sir Simonds D'Ewes' usage: "He [James I] had his vices and deviations." (1625).

Another variation on the *verto* root, the modern term *inversion*, was introduced by Arrigo Tamassia in 1878. Unconsciously this coinage takes up the late medieval idea of "the world upside down." French medical writers (Paul Moreau, 1880; Valentin Magnan, 1885) are responsible for introducing another directional term, *aberration* (from *ab* + *erro*, "wander off"), for certain types of sexual conduct, including same-sex relations.

Medical writers of the late nineteenth century show some statistical use of the term *deviation*. The word seems to have been introduced into the social sciences by the anthropologists Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict in the 1920s. In her discussion of Samoa, Mead contrasts deviation upward, a kind of withdrawal, with deviation downward, delinquency. The locution did not become popular outside of professional circles until after World War II, when it absorbed some of the connotations of Durkheim's *anomie*. The term *deviant* hovers between a covertly pejorative meaning and a value-free use ("A character structure which is normal among us may be deviant among the Kwakiutl." Gregory Bateson, 1944). The term *variant* enjoyed some popularity among lesbians in the 1950s and 60s.

Slang Analogues. While deviance and deviation are terms used by scholars, colloquial speech indicates that the directional metaphor was adopted by the deviant groups themselves. In order to understand this point it is useful to focus on the contrast between straight, on the one hand, and crooked or bent, on the other. The *Oxford English Dictionary* records a colloquial use of straight as "honest, honorable, frank," in 1864. During the same period the word meant "chaste" (of a woman). Some contamination from the Biblical "strait is the gate" is likely.

Since at least 1914, criminal argot has applied *bent* both to individuals (thieves) and things (e.g., a bent ["hot"] car). The secondary usage of bent, "homosexual," has been current in British slang since the fifties. The term crooked, which parallels bent in the criminal sense, does not seem to have a sexual use. The origins of the sexual use of "straight" (as an antonym to "bent"?) are problematic, though it clearly was widespread in homosexual circles before it became a part of the general vocabulary as an equivalent for "heterosexual" during the 1970s. During the sixties straight had acquired a new meaning: "not using drugs" or "not under

the influence of drugs at the moment" (paralleling sober). Later expansions included "not inebriated" or "teetotaler." The term is semantically greedy, and new usages are appearing; thus in reference to employment, it may mean "normal/reportable to the government/taxable." Nonetheless, there remain three main layers to the colloquial meaning of straight: (1) honest or respectable; (2) heterosexual; (3) drug-free/sober. As with many argot terms this polysemy (multiplicity of meanings) serves the purpose of the deviant user group in confusing eavesdropping outsiders, even though this effect fades as the term seeps into general usage. From a sociological point of view, one can also note the testimony of the word about the propinquity of populations brought together by the maintenance of the victimless-crime laws. These groups are "birds of a feather" because society has made them so.

Built along lines similar to "bent" is the term "kinky," which originated as a directional term, developed a reference to criminality, and in recent times, perhaps in reaction to the growing sexual use of "straight," gained a non-pejorative sexual sense as a reference to erotic eccentricity, whether heterosexual or homosexual.

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DIAGHILEV, SERGEI PAVLOVICH (1872-1929)

Russian cultural figure and ballet impresario. Diaghilev came from a family of provincial nobles whose fortune derived from ownership of a vodka distillery. In 1890 he went to St. Petersburg to pursue a career while living in the household of his aunt and uncle. Their son Dmitri ("Dima") integrated the young man into a preco-

ocious set that had formed at his gymnasium, including the artists Alexander Benois, Konstantin Somov, and Leon Bakst. The newcomer soon established a sexual relationship with his handsome cousin Dima, and they traveled on holiday to Italy together. Diaghilev, who eventually discovered that he lacked the talent to become either a singer or a composer as he intended, began to look for another area in which to make his mark. He found it in the burgeoning artistic and cultural activity of what has come to be known as Russia's Silver Age. Russian symbolist poets and artists were casting off the narrow constrictions of aesthetic utilitarianism in favor of new trends that were both cosmopolitan and at the same time in touch with Russia's historic past.

The first great phase of Diaghilev's impact on the arts lasted from 1899 to 1909. He became the animator of *Mir Iskusstva* ("The World of Art"), which was both a group of intellectuals and artists and a sumptuous magazine. Although this work of editing and promotion brought Diaghilev into contact with ballet, at this time he was concerned with all the arts, for the program of cultural renovation proposed by *Mir Iskusstva* was all-embracing: painting, poetry, drama, dance, even architecture and the crafts. Unfortunately for Diaghilev, *Mir Iskusstva* was to lead to his breakup with his cousin-lover, for Zinaida Gippius, an ambitious writer and member of the group, succeeded in taking Dima away from him in 1904.

From 1906 to 1909 Diaghilev was engaged in organizing a series of exhibitions of Russian art in Paris, as well as performances of Russian concerts and operas. In 1908, in the course of organizing a ballet company, he had his fateful meeting with Vaslav Nijinsky, a promising young dancer at the Imperial Ballet. At that time Nijinsky was being kept by a wealthy aristocrat, Prince Pavel Lvov who seemed, however, willing to part with his protégé. In their five years together, Diaghilev was able to shape Nijinsky into