

(18:14), and Orthodox Judaism recognizes these as two distinct commandments of the traditional 613. If Leviticus 18:22 had already existed, these provisions would have been otiose. The story of Ham and Noah in Genesis 9:20–24 is a euphemistically worded account of father–son incest, of aggression by Ham, “the father of Canaan,” who “saw the nakedness of his father.” The narrator then deploys this primal violation of patriarchal morality—the first homosexual episode in the Bible—to justify the conquest and subjugation of the descendants of Ham by the invading Israelites; it is an erotic legend with a political tendency.

All human societies forbid incest, not for supposed biological reasons, but simply because the prohibition of sexual relations between kinsmen is part of the operational definition of the family. Family status includes both the right to have sexual intercourse with other members of the family and the rigorous denial of that right. The code of sexual morality in Leviticus 18 is a compact among the male members of the patriarchal family not to transgress one another’s sexual rights and prerogatives, a code which the primitive Church ratified and made part of its own constitution (Acts 15:20, 29). Thus homosexual aggression and incest have been culturally defined as perennial problems for the social order.

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### INCIDENCE, FREQUENCY, AND THE KINSEY 0–6 SCALE

Soon after Alfred Kinsey began tabulating the sex data he was collecting in the 1940s it became obvious that several new modes of analyzing it would be

necessary, both for clarity and to avoid confusion. For instance, to show how easy and feasible homosexual contacts are for “the human animal” as Kinsey liked to say, it was necessary to determine their *incidence*—that is, how many people’s sex histories contained at least one such experience to the point of orgasm.

Likewise, an *accumulative incidence* figure was needed to indicate what percentage of the histories reflected at least one such homosexual experience by each age (a gradually rising curve since additional individuals each year either “come out” or try out such activity). These group data also made it possible to draw a curve that would accurately estimate how many subjects would eventually have at least one overt homosexual experience. As Kinsey put it (1948, p. 623), “at least 37% of the male population has some homosexual experience between the beginning of adolescence and old age. . . . This is more than one male in three of the persons that one may meet as he passes along a city street.”

But of course, a single experience does not a homosexual make (even though a sizable portion of lay observers has always been ready to assume so). Nor, in any case, does an incidence figure reflect when and how often homosexual experiences may be repeated—thus the need for some measure of *frequency*. Frequency figures were determined by ascertaining in each history how many and how often homosexual contacts (to the point of orgasm) were experienced by or before age fifteen, as well as during each five-year period thereafter, through age 55.

However, since homosexuality can exist as a psychological response (sometimes in the absence of any kind of overt activity of the kinds noted by incidence or frequency figures), Kinsey also devised his famous Heterosexual–Homosexual scale from 0 to 6:

- 0 = entirely heterosexual.
- 1 = largely heterosexual, but with incidental homosexual history.
- 2 = largely heterosexual, but with a distinct homosexual history.
- 3 = equally heterosexual and homosexual.
- 4 = largely homosexual, but with distinct heterosexual history.
- 5 = largely homosexual, but with incidental heterosexual history.
- 6 = entirely homosexual. (Kinsey, 1953, p. 470)

As indicated, this scale not only takes into account differences in the balance between heterosexual and homosexual actions, but also allows an investigator to consider "psychologic reactions" in arriving at each rating. Thus two people might both be rated "6" for being exclusively homosexual, with one of them living out his or her experiences, while the other might have as little as no overt activity of this kind—for reasons ranging from moral inhibitions to simply a lack of opportunity.

Ordinarily, it is easy to arrive at a single rating for a person's mental and physical responses. But whenever the two are in sharp discord (such as when a man has most or all of his sexual activity with women, but requires homosexual fantasies to actually reach orgasm), there is much to criticize in the compromises implicit in the 0-6 Scale. (To such complaints Kinsey simply pointed out that while rating difficulties and imperfections are, indeed, apparent in some cases, it is nevertheless useful, the best rating device so far, and that more is gained by using than by ignoring it.)

The combination of applying these measures of incidence, of frequency, and of placement on the 0-6 Scale (tabulated yearly or for a lifetime) not only permitted the Kinsey Research to cast out oversimplified stereotypes long used in defining heterosexual and homosexual variations, but to offer a variety of samples of its white male population, among them

that:

58 percent of the males who belong to the group that goes into high school but not beyond, 59 percent of the grade school level, and 47 percent of the college level have had homosexual experience to the point of orgasm if they remain single to the age of 35.

13 percent of males react erotically to other males without having overt homosexual contacts after the onset of adolescence. (This 13 percent, coupled with the 37 percent who do have overt homosexual experience, means that a full 50 percent of males have at least some sexual response to other males after adolescence—and conversely, that only the other 50 percent of the male population is entirely heterosexual throughout life.)

25 percent of the male population has more than incidental homosexual experience or reactions (i.e., rates 2-6) for at least three years between the ages of 16 and 55.

18 percent of males have at least as much homosexual as heterosexual experience in their histories (i.e., rate 3-6) for at least three years between the ages of 16 and 55.

13 percent of the male population has more homosexual than heterosexual experience (i.e., rates 4-6) for at least three years between the ages of 16 and 55.

8 percent of males are exclusively homosexual (i.e., rate 6) for at least three years between the ages of 16 and 55.

4 percent of males are exclusively homosexual throughout their lives after the onset of adolescence. (Kinsey, 1948, pp. 650-51)

Here, as elsewhere, data concerning homosexuality is cited for males rather than for females, not out of "male bias" but mainly because equivalent female data often cannot be understood without extensive additional explanation. Orgasm, for instance, is fundamental to virtually all overt male sexuality, while with females, psychological arousal, overt sexual action, and actual orgasm are often discon-

certingly apart. In fact, orgasm is reached in only about half of female homosexual contacts (and in a still smaller portion of female heterosexual contacts).

Moreover, female sexuality tends to be far more pliant, and thus more changeable, than equivalent male responses. Thus while the sexual revolution made no appreciable change in the male percentages cited above (Gebhard, 1969), certain changes in female responses, especially regarding homosexual try-outs, have been noted subsequent to Kinsey's 1953 findings (Bartell, 1971; Tripp, pp. 271, 272). The reasons for these and a host of other complex matters in both male and female sexuality continue to intrigue sex researchers, and continue to validate the Kinsey 0-6 Scale as a much needed and appreciated measuring and descriptive device.

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## INDIA

The Republic of India includes over 800 million people crowded onto the Indian subcontinent, an appendage of the Asian mainland which it shares with Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Bhutan. Historically, the Indian cultural zone has included all of the subcontinent as well as the island of Sri Lanka, and at times large areas of Southeast Asia, though India's political boundaries have been a frequently

shifting kaleidoscope.

*Attitudes toward Sex.* Indian history, geography, and demography all exhibit a rich diversity of traits, making generalizations hazardous. Sexual attitudes and practices also show considerable variation, ranging from the classic sex-affirming *Kamasutra* and the world-famous erotic sculptures of ancient temples to the extreme prudishness of ascetics who condemned all forms of seminal emission and a modern educated elite which still derives its inspiration from Victorian England.

Shakuntala Devi observed in 1977 that "any talk concerning homosexuality is altogether taboo" and that "serious investigations on this subject in India are almost nil." This taboo, which applies with somewhat less rigor to discussion of sex in general, can be traced back to at least the British colonial occupation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Independence, which came in 1947, has done nothing to loosen it.

The strength of this taboo is such as to lead noted Indologist Wendy O'Flaherty to describe India as "a country that has never acknowledged the existence of homosexuality." While Giti Thadani was right to call this observation "factually incorrect" in an unpublished paper, as a broad generalization it is not so far from the truth; one must search far and wide to find the exceptions.

Any discussion of homosexuality in India must be placed against the background of the Indian social system, which is centered on the extended family. The first obligation of any Indian is to his or her family, not to his own goals. Everyone is expected to marry (as arranged by the families) and procreate sons. Until the marriage takes place (often to a complete stranger), the modern Indian of either sex is expected to remain celibate and avoid masturbation, though some allowance is made for the involvement of males with female prostitutes. Nevertheless, there