

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89891-1 - Love in the Time of Communism: Intimacy and Sexuality in the GDR

Josie McLellan

Excerpt

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## 1 Introduction: the East German sexual revolution

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‘We had more sex, and we had more to laugh about’, said the actress Katharina Thalbach in November 2008, reflecting on her life in East Germany.<sup>1</sup> A startling conclusion, not least because Thalbach, an opponent of the communist regime, left East Germany in the midst of a political storm in 1976 and was banned from returning for the next decade. Nevertheless, in her memories of life under communism, political repression coexists with sexual liberation. This is echoed by the novelist Thomas Brussig, who paints an enviable picture of East German relationships based on love and mutual respect. East Germans, he argues, were ‘generous and tolerant’, ‘freer and more cooperative’, and less ‘watchful and mistrusting’ than West Germans.<sup>2</sup> Such interpretations are by no means the preserve of the eastern German chattering classes. Ordinary East Germans interviewed in 2007 and 2008 spontaneously offered similar memories of the ‘lightheartedness of those years’ and ‘a sexuality without taboos’. One concluded: ‘not everything was good in East Germany, but in principle you could live out your sexuality freely’.<sup>3</sup>

There is something unsettling about these statements. They contradict the idea that life in the Eastern bloc was grey and joyless, and that between the assembly line and the bread queue opportunities for happiness were few. They also suggest a surprising degree of autonomy in private life, at odds with twentieth-century imaginings of authoritarian regimes as fundamentally hostile to sex. Not for nothing does O’Brien, Winston Smith’s torturer in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, boast that: ‘We shall abolish the orgasm. Our neurologists are at work upon it

<sup>1</sup> Irene Bazinger, ‘Im Gespräch: Katharina Thalbach. Wir im Osten hatten mehr Sex und mehr zu lachen’, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21.11.2008, 42. I’m very grateful to Til von Rahmen for this reference. All translations from the German are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Brussig, ‘Aber der Sex war schöner’, *Vanity Fair* [Germany] 17 (2007), 98.

<sup>3</sup> Quotes are from Frau V, Herr P, and Herr D. Details of interviewees can be found in the Appendix.

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now ... There will be no love, except the love of Big Brother.<sup>4</sup> Orwell's Anti-Sex League, it seems, failed to find its realisation in the GDR. But many accounts go even further than this to suggest that in some ways life behind the Iron Curtain was more enjoyable than life in the West. According to many, East German socialism produced conditions that actually encouraged and optimised intimacy, for example women's financial independence and the dearth of sexual consumer goods and pornography.<sup>5</sup> Freed from economic and ideological oppression, women were able to build relationships with men based on mutual trust and respect. As Wolfgang Engler wrote in a widely read book on *The East Germans*, 'seldom was love more socially unburdened'.<sup>6</sup>

The idea that communism encouraged and even enabled intimacy is, however, highly contested. Others hold equally strong views that life under communism was profoundly repressive in sexual matters. Letters written to the German sex shop magnate Beate Uhse after the fall of the Berlin Wall complained bitterly of lives blighted by prudishness and rhapsodised about the potential sexual liberation made possible by communism's collapse.<sup>7</sup> The East German regime did not hesitate to prescribe moral standards, and was quick to intervene in relationships that were seen to threaten the social order. Stasi surveillance could completely shatter the private sphere, most famously in cases such as that of Vera Wollenberger, who was systematically spied upon by her own husband.<sup>8</sup> Even after the decriminalisation of homosexuality, same-sex relationships remained almost completely invisible, with gay men and lesbians dependent on fragile private networks for support, advice, and contact with like-minded people.<sup>9</sup>

So on the one hand we have a narrative of repression which stresses a lack of privacy, and a consequently inhibiting effect on personal

<sup>4</sup> George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989), p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> For a scholarly statement of this position, see Dagmar Herzog, *Sex After Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 188.

<sup>6</sup> Wolfgang Engler, *Die Ostdeutschen. Kunde von einem verlorenen Land* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2000), p. 258.

<sup>7</sup> Dorothee Wierling, 'Vereinigungen. Ostdeutsche Briefe an Beate Uhse', *BIOS: Zeitschrift für Biographieforschung, Oral History und Lebensverlaufsanalysen* 20 (special issue, 2007), 146–155.

<sup>8</sup> Vera Wollenberger, *Virus der Heuchler. Innenansicht aus Stasi-Akten* (Berlin: Espresso/ Elefant Press, 1992).

<sup>9</sup> Christina Karstädt and Anette von Zitzewitz (eds.), ... *viel zu viel verschwiegen. Eine historische Dokumentation von Lebensgeschichten lesbischer Frauen in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (Berlin: Hoho Verlag Christine Hoffmann, 1996); Jürgen Lemke, *Gay Voices from East Germany* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

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relationships. On the other hand, a 'romantic' narrative insists that state interference in private lives was negligible, and that 'top-down' influence was in any case largely benign. But trying to ascertain whether East German sexuality was 'good' or 'bad' is something of a reductive exercise.<sup>10</sup> A more pressing task is to explain the dramatic changes that took place in East German (hetero)sexual mores. Between the foundation of the German Democratic Republic in 1949 and its collapse in 1989, divorce and abortion rates soared, as did the rate of births outside marriage. Nude bathing moved from the preserve of a few to an almost universal fact of life. Nude photography, all but banned in the early years of the Cold War, became the subject of state-sponsored courses and large-scale exhibitions. The central aim of this book is to explain this transformation, and explore its limits.

The changes in East German attitudes towards sexuality and the body challenge some of our wider assumptions about the relationship between sexuality, politics, and society. We still know far too little about the everyday emotional lives of Europeans after 1945.<sup>11</sup> As Dagmar Herzog has pointed out in a brilliant recent essay, 'one of the areas that we still understand the least is the long sexual revolution of the second half of the twentieth century'.<sup>12</sup> This book aims to contribute to this budding historiography which should, as Herzog urges, pay attention both to national peculiarities and to transnational trends and influences. The Western sexual revolution is usually linked to liberalising tendencies within government and civil society. As twentieth-century societies became more democratic, so the theory goes, attitudes towards sexuality became increasingly permissive. A similar liberalisation of sexuality in East Germany, however, calls into question the link with democratisation, particularly in the absence of many of the things which are assumed to have driven the sexual revolution in the West – a free press, the sex industry, the student movement, an independent judiciary. Despite their very different political systems, were the post-war histories of Eastern and Western Europe, particularly their social

<sup>10</sup> On this point, see Mark Fenemore, 'The Recent Historiography of Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Germany', *Historical Journal* 52 (2009), 773; and more broadly Victoria Harris, 'Sex on the Margins: New Directions in the Historiography of Sexuality and Gender', *Historical Journal* 53 (4) (2010), 1085–1104.

<sup>11</sup> For some early results of a number of ongoing projects on women's lives in Eastern Europe, see Shana Penn and Jill Massino (eds.), *Gender Politics and Everyday Life in State Socialist Eastern and Central Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> Dagmar Herzog, 'Syncopated Sex: Transforming European Sexual Cultures', *American Historical Review* 114 (2009), 1295. See also Dagmar Herzog, 'Sexuality in the Postwar West', *Journal of Modern History* 78 (2006), 144–171.

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histories, more similar than they appear at first glance? On either side of the Iron Curtain, Europeans shared comparable social experiences of growing prosperity, urbanisation, secularisation, and increased mobility. What were the effects of such upheavals on intimate relationships? Was there something distinctive about East German intimacy? What does it tell us about what it was really like to live under communism, and what light does it shed on how and why attitudes towards sexuality change? Understanding East German difference, and East German commonality, will help us to understand more fully the history of post-war intimacy.

### Sex and love in postwar East Germany

It is impossible to grasp the extent of change without understanding the conditions in East Germany during the early years of the GDR. The first years of German communism were inauspicious ones for sex and intimacy. The end of the Second World War was accompanied by sexual violence and familial upheaval on an unprecedented scale.<sup>13</sup> Millions of German women and girls were raped by Red Army soldiers during the last months of the war and the first years of the occupation period.<sup>14</sup> Millions of families found themselves on the move, forcibly resettled from Germany's eastern territories or having lost their homes in Allied bombing raids. Millions of German men remained in prisoner-of-war camps in the Soviet Union, returning only years after the war had ended.<sup>15</sup> Millions of women, unsure whether their husbands would ever come home again, faced years of 'standing alone'.<sup>16</sup> For

<sup>13</sup> Atina Grossmann, *Jews, Germans and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); see also Jennifer Evans, 'Reconstruction Sites: Sexuality, Citizenship, and the Limits of National Belonging in Divided Berlin, 1944–1958', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Binghamton University, State University of New York (2001). Evans' monograph *Life Among the Ruins: Cityscape and Sexuality in Cold War Berlin* will be published by Palgrave Macmillan in September 2011.

<sup>14</sup> Norman Naimark, *The Russians in Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), ch. 2; Atina Grossman, 'A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers', in Robert Moeller (ed.), *West Germany Under Construction: Politics, Society and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 33–52; Hsu-Ming Two, 'The Continuum of Sexual Violence in Occupied Germany, 1945–1949', *Women's History Review* 5 (1996), 191–218; Annette Timm, *The Politics of Fertility in Twentieth-Century Berlin* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 268–272.

<sup>15</sup> Frank Biess, *Homecomings: Returning POWs and the Legacies of Defeat in Postwar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make? Women and Marital Status in Nazi and Postwar Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

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some, prostitution was the only way to make ends meet.<sup>17</sup> Even families who were reunited struggled to readjust: husbands and wives had often grown apart during the war years and cramped living conditions made it hard to re-establish intimacy. Nor did the state do much to help such couples. The East German regime's emphasis on ideological and economic regeneration above all else was encapsulated in the opening lines of its national anthem: 'risen from the ruins and facing the future'. The establishment of communism would, Marxist orthodoxy suggested, inevitably lead to private happiness – until then, citizens were expected to defer individual pleasures and devote themselves to the massive task of building the 'better Germany'.

The subject of sex was further problematised by the events of the recent past. The unique sexual culture of the Weimar Republic had been partially tolerated and even supported by German communists, who had campaigned for the reform of laws forbidding abortion and homosexuality.<sup>18</sup> There was a certain amount of overlap between the KPD (Communist Party of Germany) and the Weimar sex reform movement, and social democrats in particular had been involved with the left wing of the nudist movement.<sup>19</sup> But such activities had always caused unease, and many communists remained deeply uncomfortable with the subject of sex and the body. This tendency was reinforced by the reactionary turn in Soviet policy in the mid 1930s, which reversed the liberal reforms that had followed the October Revolution in Russia. Abortion and homosexuality were recriminalised, and the open discussion of alternative forms of family life and sexuality came to an end.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Uta Falck, *VEB Bordell. Geschichte der Prostitution in der DDR* (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 1998), pp. 22–36; Annamarie Troeger, 'Between Rape and Prostitution: Survival Strategies and Chances of Emancipation for Berlin Women After World War II', in Judith Friedlander (ed.), *Women in Culture and Politics: A Century of Change* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 97–117.

<sup>18</sup> Atina Grossman, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Eric D. Weitz, *Creating German Communism, 1890–1990: From Popular Protests to Socialist State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), esp. ch. 6; Manfred Herzer, 'Communists, Social Democrats, and the Homosexual Movement in the Weimar Republic', *Journal of Homosexuality* 29 (1995), 197–226; Cornelia Osborne, *Cultures of Abortion in Weimar Germany* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007).

<sup>19</sup> Giseler Spitzer, '"Nackt und frei". Die proletarische Freikörperkulturbewegung', in Hans Joachim Teichler and Gerhard Hauk (eds.), *Illustrierte Geschichte des Arbeitersports* (Berlin and Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., 1987), pp. 174–181; Giseler Spitzer, 'Die "Adolf-Koch-Bewegung". Genese und Praxis einer proletarischen Selbsthilfe-Organisation zwischen den Weltkriegen', in Hans Joachim Teichler (ed.), *Arbeiterkultur und Arbeitersport* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Deutsche Vereinigung für Sportwissenschaft, 1985), pp. 77–104.

<sup>20</sup> Janet Evans, 'The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Woman's Question: The Case of the 1936 Decree "In Defense of Mother and Child"', *Journal of*

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Given that many of the leaders of the East German state had spent the majority of the Nazi period in Soviet exile, it was inevitable that some of these attitudes returned with them to Germany in 1945.

The Third Reich had also left an uneasy legacy with regard to sexuality. Its peculiar mixture of licentiousness and repression had glorified the heterosexual naked body, and allowed a certain degree of permissiveness with regard to unmarried sex between Germans.<sup>21</sup> Sex without procreative potential or between racial groups, however, was penalised with massive brutality.<sup>22</sup> There is little direct evidence as to how this experience was remembered or received in East Germany. No doubt the fact that Nazism was explained in strictly Marxist terms, as a product of monopoly capitalism, made it easier for East Germans to ignore or forget its other aspects. What is striking is the unwillingness of the East German regime to overhaul legislation in this area. Although the ban on abortion was temporarily lifted in the wake of the Red Army rapes, the 1950 Law for the Protection of Mother and Child allowed abortion only in cases where the mother's health was severely threatened or there were eugenic grounds for a termination.<sup>23</sup> Male homosexuality also remained illegal, as paragraph 175a of the legal code, introduced by Nazi legislators, was retained on the East German statute books. Homosexuality was not persecuted on anything like the same scale as under the Nazis, but the retention of this paragraph was nevertheless a

*Contemporary History* 16 (1981), 757–775; Daniel Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia: The Regulation of Sexual and Gender Dissent* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). On the persistence of prudish official attitudes in the late Stalinist period (and the rather more permissive attitudes of young people), see Juliane Fürst, *Stalin's Last Generation: Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 250–291. On the Khrushchev period, see Deborah Field, *Private Life and Communist Morality in Khrushchev's Russia* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007).

<sup>21</sup> Herzog, *Sex After Fascism*, ch. 1; Dagmar Herzog (ed.), *Sexuality and German Fascism* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2004).

<sup>22</sup> On sex between racial groups, see especially Birthe Kundrus and Patricia Szobar's contributions to Herzog, *Sexuality and German Fascism* (Kundrus, 'Forbidden Company: Romantic Relations Between Germans and Foreigners, 1939 to 1945', pp. 201–222, and Szobar, 'Telling Sexual Stories in the Nazi Courts of Law: Race Defilement in Germany, 1933 to 1945', pp. 131–160). On the persecution of homosexuals, see Günter Grau, *Hidden Holocaust? Gay and Lesbian Persecution in Nazi Germany 1933–1945* (London: Routledge, 1995); Harry Oosterhuis, 'Medicine, Male Bonding and Homosexuality in Nazi Germany', *Journal of Contemporary History* 34 (1997), 187–205.

<sup>23</sup> Kirsten Poutrus, 'Von den Massenvergewaltigungen zum Mutterschutzgesetz. Abtreibungspolitik und Abtreibungspraxis in Ostdeutschland, 1945–1950', in Richard Bessel and Ralph Jessen (eds.), *Die Grenzen der Diktatur. Staat und Gesellschaft in der DDR* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1996), pp. 170–198; the text of the 1950 legislation can be found at [www.verfassungen.de/de/ddr/mutterkindgesetz50.htm](http://www.verfassungen.de/de/ddr/mutterkindgesetz50.htm).



deliberate decision to ignore calls for a change in the law and continue the criminalisation of gay men.<sup>24</sup>

The 1950s were not a time of unrelieved repression.<sup>25</sup> The state attempted to incorporate women's rights into both legislation and daily practice (with mixed success).<sup>26</sup> The sex reform movement continued to have a muted influence in the world of publishing, particularly in the lists of the Greifenverlag.<sup>27</sup> A new publication, *Das Magazin*, was launched in 1954, with a cheery mix of literature, features, and erotica that was both to shape and to reflect East Germans' attitudes towards sexuality. By and large, though, the state tended to act in a morally prohibitive way. Attempts to revive the Weimar popular nudist tradition were met with incomprehension and moral panic. 'Protect the eyes of the nation!' implored Johannes R. Becher, the East German minister for culture.<sup>28</sup> Reproductive heterosexuality was handed down from the highest levels. The Ten Commandments of Socialist Ethics and Morals, unveiled by East German leader Walter Ulbricht in 1958, left little doubt as to how citizens should lead their lives (see Figure 1.1). 'You should live cleanly and decently and respect your family', thundered commandment number nine.<sup>29</sup> In some ways, the gap between regime and population was not so wide. By and large, most East Germans aspired to be 'clean' and 'decent', and disapproved of those who were not. But what was meant

<sup>24</sup> Günter Grau, 'Liberalisierung und Repression. Zur Strafrechtsdiskussion zum §175 in der DDR', *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 15 (2002), 323–340; Günter Grau, 'Return of the Past: The Policy of the SED and the Laws Against Homosexuality in Eastern Germany Between 1946 and 1968', *Journal of Homosexuality* 37 (1999), 1–29.

<sup>25</sup> Herzog, *Sex After Fascism*, 193; Mark Fenemore, 'The Growing Pains of Sex Education in the German Democratic Republic', in Lutz D. H. Sauersteig and Roger Davidson (eds.), *Shaping Sexual Knowledge: A Cultural History of Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Europe* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 71–90.

<sup>26</sup> Ina Merkel, ... und Du Frau an der Werkbank (Berlin: Elefantentpress, 1990); Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make?*, ch. 7; Donna Harsch, *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family and Communism in the German Democratic Republic* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007). Heike Trappe, *Emanzipation oder Zwang? Frauen in der DDR zwischen Beruf, Familie und Sozialpolitik* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), is an excellent sociological account of these and subsequent policies on women's fertility choices and working lives.

<sup>27</sup> Carsten Wurm, Jens Henkel and Gabriele Ballon, *Der Greifenverlag zu Rudolstadt 1919–1993. Verlagsgeschichte und Bibliographie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), p. 135.

<sup>28</sup> In a classic case of communist paternalism, Becher was himself a practising nudist, but opposed its dissemination to the wider population: Lutz Thormann, '“Schont die Augen der Nation!” Zum Verhältnis vom Nacktheit und Öffentlichkeit in der DDR', unpublished MA thesis, University of Jena (2007), p. 20.

<sup>29</sup> *Protokoll der Verhandlungen des V. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands. 10. bis 16. Juli 1958 in der Werner-Seelenbinder-Halle zu Berlin* (Berlin: Dietz, 1959), p. 159.



Figure 1.1: Abisag Tüllmann: ‘Ten Commandments for the new socialist people and a declaration of love to the [German Democratic] Republic on the stairs of a school’. The banner below the ‘Ten Commandments’ reads: ‘We love our Republic with Walter Ulbricht for Germany’s happiness.’ Photo taken in 1963 in Schenkenberg, Brandenburg.



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by these terms would shift quite considerably over the following thirty years, transforming the landscape of intimacy in the process.

### The East German sexual revolution

At first glance, East Germany seems like an unlikely place for a sexual revolution. Many of the key tropes of the Western sexual revolution were simply not present in the East, in particular erotica entrepreneurs such as Beate Uhse or Hugh Hefner, radical feminist statements like the ‘Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm’, and widespread media discussion of sex. Indeed Dagmar Herzog suggests that, unlike West Germany, the East did not experience a sexual revolution.<sup>30</sup> Her term ‘sexual evolution’ emphasises the gradual, undramatic nature of change and also implies that these developments were very different to the sudden and public changes in the West. Although Herzog acknowledges that East Germans ‘carved out their own freedoms’, her account tends to emphasise the evolution of official attitudes towards sex, particularly the role played by progressive sexologists and the state-led spread of women’s rights.<sup>31</sup> There is no doubt that official attitudes towards sex evolved – and that sexologists had a role to play in this. But the social history of sexuality shows that change also happened from the bottom up, and that these changes resembled and, in some cases, exceeded Western sexual revolutions. The sexual evolution from above needs to be understood alongside the revolution from below: these two developments intertwined with and fed off each other.

By insisting that a ‘sexual revolution’ did not take place in East Germany, we risk drawing a false dichotomy between East and West. It is true that public discussion of sexuality was much more circumscribed than in the West and, as we shall see, this had important implications for the nature of East German intimacy. But in other respects, the Eastern and Western sexual revolutions were surprisingly similar. It is inarguable that fundamental changes took place in the choices people made about their private lives and that these changes took place over a relatively short period of time. And, in some cases, changes in East German sexual behaviour were more radical than those that took place in West Germany and elsewhere in the developed world.

<sup>30</sup> Herzog, *Sex After Fascism*, p. 192; Dagmar Herzog, ‘The East German Sexual Evolution’, in Katherine Pence and Paul Betts (eds.), *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), pp. 71–95.

<sup>31</sup> Herzog, ‘The East German Sexual Evolution’, p. 83.

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Denying East German developments the label 'sexual revolution' also makes claims for Western sexual revolutions that they simply cannot bear. Change everywhere was patchy and often highly localised. Much of the sound and fury of the sexual revolution took place in the metropolis and was communicated to the wider population only at second hand. Leicester was not London, Poitiers was not Paris, Braunschweig was not Berlin. Beth Bailey's study of Lawrence, Kansas, points out that most Americans lived away from the cutting edge, in towns and cities without gay saunas, red-light districts, or singles bars.<sup>32</sup> Nonetheless, this did not mean that the sexual revolution passed them by; in fact, their changing attitudes towards sex were an integral part of it. As Bailey points out, metropolitan radicals and sexual entrepreneurs alone could not transform sexual behaviour. It was also shaped by 'people who had absolutely no intention in abetting a revolution in sex'.<sup>33</sup>

Bailey's findings raise an important point about the causation of sexual change, which challenges the existing literature's emphasis on the public discussion and commodification of sex. Herzog, writing about West Germany, points to a combination of commercialised sexuality, legislative reform, and the New Left's interest in, and obsessive discussion of, sexuality.<sup>34</sup> Jeffrey Weeks' work on Britain argues that increasing affluence destabilised existing sexual norms and encouraged a more market-driven sexuality to come to the fore.<sup>35</sup> Sheila Jeffreys, in contrast, describes a patriarchal counter-revolution based on the sexual domination of women. Drawing mostly on evidence from the UK, she paints a picture of elite sexual radicals whose work shored up male supremacy.<sup>36</sup> These scholars do not agree on the causes of the sexual revolution; they do, however, all focus on discourses about, and discussions of, sexuality.

Bailey, on the other hand, describes the ways in which individuals' decisions about their own sexual behaviour also played an important role. Similarly, Hera Cook's account of a 'long sexual revolution' in British women's control of their fertility, culminating with the introduction of the Pill, stresses technological and social factors over cultural ones.<sup>37</sup> Rather than simply being led by the radicals of the revolution,

<sup>32</sup> Beth Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 5.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>34</sup> Herzog, *Sex After Fascism*, pp. 141–142.

<sup>35</sup> Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1989), pp. 250–251.

<sup>36</sup> Sheila Jeffreys, *Anticlimax: A Feminist Perspective on the Sexual Revolution* (London: Women's Press, 1990), pp. 91–144.

<sup>37</sup> Hera Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, and Contraception 1800–1975* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).