

descriptive virtue that Husserl's and above all Scheler's phenomenology would turn to advantage.

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GENDER

FRENCH	<i>différence des sexes, identité sexuelle, genre</i>
GERMAN	<i>Geschlecht</i>
ITALIAN	<i>genere</i>
SPANISH	<i>género</i>

► GENRE, GESCHLECHT, SEX, and BEHAVIOR, DRIVE, NATURE, PEOPLE, PLEASURE

After the end of the 1960s, when biologists, sociologists, psychoanalysts, and philosophers studying sexuality began to take into account what Anglo-Saxon authors refer to as "gender," the debate reached the fields of other European languages, without there being a decision to use, for example, *genre* in French, *genere* in

Italian, *género* in Spanish, or *Geschlecht* in German, as translations of gender. This sort of dodge is explained by the meaning Anglo-Saxon authors, in particular American feminists, gave to "gender" with regard to what goes by the name "sex" in English and *sexualité* in French.

The debate on the differences of the sexes (male and female) began with Robert Stoller's book *Sex and Gender* (1968). In the preface to the 1978 French edition, Stoller defines "the aspects of sexuality which we call gender" as being "essentially determined by culture, that is, learned after birth," whereas what is properly called "sexual" is characterized by anatomical and physiological factors, insofar as they determine "whether one is male or female." If "gender" is a term considered untranslatable, this is because it does not have the same extension as sexuality, *sexualité*. Indeed, sexuality, as understood by psychoanalysis, disappears in the distinction established by these American authors between biological sex and the social construction of masculine and feminine identities. This is a distinction that many adherents are beginning to reinterpret, and that contemporary psychoanalysis can only, and more radically, call into question.

I. The Distinction between "Sex" and "Gender" and Its Reinterpretations

The English term "sex" can reasonably be translated by *sexe* in French, as both languages define sexuality as "the collection of psychological and physiological notions" that characterize it. However, it is sometimes inaccurate to translate "sex" by *sexe*, given that in English "sex" is in many circumstances contrasted with "gender," which is not the case in French. The distinction between "sex" and "gender," which was laid out by Stoller in 1968 and adopted by feminist thought in the early 1970s (see, in particular, Ann Oakley's *Sex, Gender, and Society*), represents for this movement a political and sociological argument in the name of which we must distinguish the physiological and the psychological aspects of sex, without which we would land in a biological essentialism with normative import regarding sexual identity.

The specific attempts to separate the respective contributions of nature and culture in this regard proliferated in the last third of the twentieth century. However, the reliance on a distinction between sex and gender remained unique to English terminology. The *Oxford English Dictionary* mentions, regarding "gender," Oakley's usage ("Sex differences may be 'natural,' but gender differences have their source in culture"). It also refers to feminist usage of the term as representing one of its major uses. The *OED* second edition (1989) defines the term in this way: "[i]n mod. (esp. feminist) use, a euphemism for the sex of a human being, often intended to emphasize the social and cultural, as opposed to the biological, distinctions between the sexes." The most recent online version (June 2011), however, updates the entry to read:

The state of being male or female as expressed by social or cultural distinctions and differences, rather than biological ones; the collective attributes or traits associated with a particular sex, or determined as a result of one's sex. Also: a (male or female) group characterized in this way.

In this context, psychoanalysis, and the meaning it gives to the difference between the sexes, did not have as decisive

