

QUESTIONING SEXUALITY
IN REFORM CARIBBEAN JUDAISM

Two Perspectives

RABBI DANA EVAN KAPLAN, PHD,
AND DR. KAREN CARPENTER PHD, CST, PGCHE

I agree with the theory that people who are sexually repressed are those most likely to repress others. This has happened with predictable regularity in the modern era. It applies to the English in the Victorian era, the Boers in South Africa, and in equal measure to the Religious Right in America.

(Rabbi Eric Yoffie, 2010)

This chapter explores the lived experiences of two professionals, a rabbi and a sexologist working in the Caribbean island of Jamaica. Famous for its tourism products of sun, sea, and sex, the island has a small Jewish community that has been without a rabbi for thirty-three years. Kaplan, an American by birth, has studied and worked in a variety of countries and regions including Israel, South Africa, South America, the United States, and now the Caribbean. Carpenter, a native Jamaican also with a multicultural background, is a psychologist and clinical sexologist. Together they question the lived experiences of the larger culture and how this might be interpreted for the individual who is both fully sexual and fully Jewish. In a small community,

as is the current Jewish Jamaican population, the extent to which people present themselves as having partners depends very much on the impression congregants feel they will create by attending services together. The willingness to do so revolves around certain key factors such as (1) whether common-law marriages are accepted by the congregation, (2) whether partners from non-Jewish backgrounds feel welcome, and (3) the extent to which teachings are shared on the meaning of marriage for the community. In the absence of any clarity on these questions, the community reflects the behavior of the larger traditional society, with only those in registered marriages attending with their partners. The remaining pairings stay underground.

The phenomenology follows the issues raised by a culture that professes to be Christian yet glorifies sexuality in its dress, music, and daily living. Christianity, like the inhabitants who now call themselves Jamaicans, has been part of the legacy of centuries of slavery. Over ten thousand Africans were transplanted to the islands against their will, followed by the recruitment of indentured Indian and Chinese laborers. The original Taino population was obliterated through overwork and foreign diseases, which the colonizers brought with them. The island name was changed from Xamaca to Jamaica by the Spanish. During the British reign in the region, Christianity was introduced as a political tool of control, which extended to the control of the sexual expression of the African slaves, who could be both sired and used at the masters' whim. The attitude of the church toward sexuality outside of marriage then and now has generally been repressive and condemnatory. The Christian church has spent more than four hundred years in the islands in its mission of repressing sexual behavior, with little success, as is evidenced by the popular culture.

The music and dance of the island are recognized internationally as two of the most vibrant cultural expressions. These reflect the daily experiences of the society in general, which include multiple partnerships. Approximately half the population of children is born out of wedlock, with visiting "baby fathers" and their multiple "baby mothers." Women in the broader society occupy three main roles for the

Jamaican man: *wifey* (informal wife), *baby mother* (the mother of one or more children but not necessarily a live-in partner), and *maties* (lovers in addition to the wifey or baby mothers). These three titles signal not only levels of attachment but also sexual engagement between a man and his women. It is largely accepted that a man will have more than one woman even if he professes to be monogamous, in which instance he is referred to colloquially as a *one-burner stove*. Couplings often last for short periods of time, and one man may have children with several informal wives or “baby mothers” without living with any of them. Others live together in a pattern of serial monogamy and may take a woman as a “wifey” in a common-law union. Elsa Leo-Rhynie describes the various couplings as “visiting unions.”¹

The result is a kind of sexual schizophrenia that creates two Jamaicas—one of a small, traditional, largely Eurocentric ruling class; and that of the larger Afro-Caribbean majority, with some Indian and Chinese pockets of influence, who see sexual desires and expression as natural and healthy. To prove their respectability, therefore, the majority must outwardly appear to conform to the moirés of the ruling classes, even if it is only an empty gesture.

In more recent years, the retentions of British colonial sexuality have been further diluted by the influence of black American popular culture, first through the technology of cable television and second through the Internet and social networking groups. It is not hard to understand how this has come about when you witness the proliferation of cable channels streaming into the living rooms and bars of the most remote areas of the country. Hip-hop music, MTV, and BET are staples of the last two decades, and Jamaica’s own music has had a tremendous influence on the American popular music culture. The two-way exchange between these cultures has not only been through music, as Jamaicans have a long history of temporary employment in farm work programs in the United States as well as the migration of whole families to America. We can easily identify some of the same British colonial overtones spoken of earlier in the American approach to sexuality. When we consider Rabbi Eric Yoffie’s critique of

American repression of sexuality and its Victorian origins, cited above, we could easily replace the word “American” with “Jamaican” and arrive at similar conclusions.²

Other writers, like Carr, argue that a kind of sexual schizophrenia is to be expected because of how far we have come in divorcing our mental life from our physical selves:

Few live up to the contradictory ideas about sex in circulation in contemporary culture. . . . It is an issue of having multiple cultural-religious ideals that are not reconciled with each other or our bodies. We are alienated from our erotic selves. As a result, our sexuality and spirituality are sharply separated. Both are harmed.³

What Carr points out in his critique of the way in which society generally treats “natural desires” is that contemporary ideals of sexuality are impossible to live up to if that ideal includes a single path that renders sexual desires *uncomplicated*. Carr rejects this notion and argues instead for a multiplicity of expressions that allows for many paths to sexual satisfaction and to the sexual self-concept of the individual. The traditional social need for achieving sexual purity has effectively alienated us from our sexual desires and reduced sex to a manageable nonessential. In general, sexual variety is suspect in Western thinking. Within small geographic spaces such as Jamaica, and most of the Caribbean islands, the Christian ethic dictates that sex should remain in the back room, sexual desire is heterosexual, sexual diversity is bad, and where sex is not productive, it should also be seen as sin. Too much sex or too much pleasure derived from sexual contact is considered both harmful and undesirable for spiritual growth. This is certainly true for any type of gay or lesbian activity. A recent public outcry was raised over a text exploring same-sex behavior in a health and family life curriculum manual. The three pages, which were seen as too explicitly supportive of sexual diversity, were withdrawn by the Jamaican minister of education on the grounds that “the family life values espoused by the Ministry of Education are those based on the Christian principles of sexual morality as well as compassion and tolerance for all persons.”⁴

The controversial text was withdrawn from all schools, and the Ministry of Education officer in charge of the project was fired. The Christian doctrine with its sexual prohibitions and Victorian ideals that were imported to the colonies is still in active contention with the African heritage of polyamorous family relationships and centuries-old East Indian and Chinese practices of the *Kama Sutra*, the *devadasi* (Indian “prostitutes of God”),⁵ geisha courtesan training, and any other sexual expressions that fall outside the Christian norm. The combination of African and Asian cultural norms and the colonizers’ greed for human property has been deeply engrained into the mass culture of the islands. Having more children is seen as better, and contraception is seen as a threat to reproductive wealth.

On the other end of the spectrum, polite society upholds the Victorian myth of sexual chastity and purity, which it imbues with social respectability. This Victorian ideal has rarely been practiced by the masses of the Afro-Caribbean population. This “face card,” as the local population would call it, is largely a symbolic respectability preached by the traditional conservatives who describe Jamaica as a Christian society. Forms of sexual expression that deviate from the prescribed forms are publicly decried as sinful and degenerate. Newspaper articles expressing more liberal views are often relegated to the working man’s paper and the XNews, but rarely are allowed on the pages of respectable newspapers without vehement opposition. The effect is usually one of shock, followed by the expected moral outcry, usually disproportionate to the views expressed.

We appreciate that while religion plays an important role in setting boundaries for social behavior, what Jamaicans publicly declare they do and what they actually engage in privately differ greatly, as can be seen by the 2008 National Knowledge Attitude Practise and Belief (KAPB) study conducted by the Ministry of Health, Jamaica. The statistics show that of the total sample approximately 75 percent was sexually active in the last year. More women than men reported being in a cohabiting relationship, and almost half the men (49 percent) and 40 percent of the women in the sample reported being sexually active

but not living with their partner. In addition, 62 percent of men and 17 percent of women reported having multiple sexual partners. No distinction is made in the Jamaican Ministry of Health data reporting between the categories of “cohabiting” and “married,” as this is an artificial distinction in the Jamaican context except as it confers social status and respectability. The same legal rights of state and church marriage are now conferred upon common-law marriages after six years of cohabitation. Children born outside of wedlock enjoy equal legal rights as those within marriage. The results of the 2008 KAPB describe some of the realities of the Jamaican sociosexual context.

How then are we meant to understand the role of sexuality within the community of Jews in Jamaica? A brief glimpse of the historical role of Jews in Jamaica shows us that their involvement dates back to the beginning of the sugar plantations. While Jews did not enjoy the legal rights of the colonial slave masters, their engineering ability was to set them apart as the architects of the sugar industry. Without the influx of Sephardic Jews to the Caribbean and Latin America, it is safe to say the sugar industry as we now know it could not have been born. The Jewish people, while adept at thriving on the margins, found an essential role for themselves within the slave economies of the New World:

Marranos [secret Jews] played a leading role in introducing sugarcane cultivation to the Atlantic islands of Madeira, the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, and Sao Tome and Principe in the Gulf of Guinea, and in the 16th century to the Caribbean Islands. They also brought the civilization of sugarcane from Madeira to America, and the first great proprietor of plantations and sugar mills, Duarte Coelho Pereira, allowed numerous Jewish experts on sugar processing to come to Brazil.⁶

The original Jewish community has changed over time, and as the current congregation seeks to solidify its identity, it may be useful to examine what it means to operate as fully Jewish, fully Jamaican, and fully sexual as separate identities as well as components of a single, integrated self. A phenomenological approach to the issue affords us the opportunity to explore the subjective responses of both researchers in

their capacities as spiritual and psychological care professionals along with the lived experiences of their community.

While modern Jamaica is a relatively advanced country with multiple universities and various newspapers and other outlets for intellectual expression, there are very few Jewish voices who attempt to have an impact on the broader society. This was certainly not true in the past, when many of the great cultural and social trendsetters were from Jewish backgrounds. But from the time of the mass emigration of the mid- to late 1970s due to political unrest, there have been few prominent Jewish voices who are not only Jewish by origin but speak as active and committed Jews. Ainsley Henriques has been the only one who comes to mind. Over the past three decades or longer, he has been the voice of the Jewish community, speaking to local media when requested and foreign media when visited. In addition, he has become intensely interested in Jewish genealogy and has become an expert in Jamaican Jewish family origins.

This leaves a tremendous amount of territory open for exploration. For the approximately 2.8 million Jamaicans, there have been relatively few religious perspectives available to inform contemporary issues. Many of these voices have been fairly monochromal, projecting similar or identical perspectives on complex issues, usually taking what many might see as simplistic and even fundamentalist positions on various controversies that became important at specific points in time. The opportunity for a rabbi to present a distinctly Jewish and yet influential perspective is thus enormous.

One of the central opportunities of being a rabbi in Jamaica is that of having an impact on the broader society. Any rabbi coming to Jamaica today is aware that they are following in the footsteps of illustrious predecessors. Jamaicans of a certain age all listened to the very first popular radio talk show host, Rabbi Bernard Hooker, who served the United Congregation of Israelites for about nine years in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Rabbi Hooker had a tremendous following because of his entertaining and yet helpful commentary in response to Jamaicans of all backgrounds who called in to his show. This was a time in which

there were limited opportunities for entertainment, and so his show was one of a very few options, thereby adding to its following.

The rabbinic writer of this article had the opportunity to participate in the program “Rabbis Without Borders” sponsored by Clal during the 2011–12 year. One of the central arguments made by this program is that rabbis should reconceptualize their role to see as clients not only members of their own congregations, but also broader social circles of whatever sort. The program did not attempt to define what these broader circles might consist of but rather made suggestions that might prove fruitful.

Being in a position to present Jewish perspectives on issues of societal concern is a tremendous opportunity. It needs to be done rather carefully, however. For example, there are certain hot-button issues that are almost guaranteed to result in the advocate being labeled deviant if particular liberal positions are taken. A new rabbi needs to cautiously navigate through these potential minefields if he or she wants to have a positive impact on society without creating a negative backlash or generating hostility toward the Jewish community.

Historically, the Jamaican Jewish community has looked inward. They did not see their role as advocating for Jewish values outside of their community—with the exception of Rabbi Hooker. So this outward-looking approach is a radical departure from established norms over a more than 360-year span. Nevertheless, we believe that the time has come for such an approach. Judaism needs to take responsibility for making a positive impact on Jamaican society. Many people believe that fundamentalist Christianity, which has become the dominant form of Christian religion in Jamaica, has failed as a value system that can realistically assist mature people in making balanced and thoughtful decisions as they relate to non-heterosexual conduct, sexual conduct outside of marriage, or sexual variety within marriage. There is therefore tremendous room for Judaism to have a positive impact on Jamaican civil culture.

This impact can be achieved in numerous ways, whether through the media or actual live events. The key premise is the goal to provide an alternative conceptual framework for understanding how to analyze

a particular social problem without proselytizing. In other words, our goal is to help Jamaicans use Jewish wisdom to add richness to the public discourse without pushing them to formally adopt Judaism as their religion. Judaism does not believe that one needs to believe in Judaism in order to go to heaven; there is thus no necessity for non-Jews to convert to our religion. Equally, the Christian belief in Messiah need not be threatened by Jewish thought. Rather, we see a huge lacuna in the public discourse and believe that it can benefit Jamaican society to provide a voice that can rationally and logically explain alternative perspectives to pressing problems.

Jamaican, Jewish, and Sexual

There are three possibilities as to what sex is about: pleasure, procreation, or oneness. Judaism, believing that the path to holiness is always found in the “golden middle,” rejects the extreme far-right view that sex is only for making babies. Neither does Judaism embrace the extreme secular view that sex is only for fun and pleasure. Rather Judaism says that the purpose of sex is to synchronize and orchestrate two strangers together as one. Sex is the ultimate bonding process.⁷

When Rabbi Shmuley Boteach speaks of the purpose of sex as existing in the “golden middle” for pleasure, procreation, and bonding, he is of course referring to sex within marriage, and he makes this clear in his book *Kosher Sex*. Yet for a great number of Jamaicans, Jewish or otherwise, sex and childbearing outside of marriage is not only common, it is accepted. So too is having children with multiple partners. Boteach speaks primarily to sex within marriage and affirms the idea that Judaism takes the more moderate, balanced approach to sexual relations by viewing it as both pleasurable and reproductive. Many of the teachings on sexuality as it relates to issues of a woman’s sexual rights would seem very radical to the larger Christian population; for example, “Marital sexual relations are the woman’s right, not the man’s.”⁸ The same might apply to

tolerance toward same-sex relations and what Boteach refers to as the spiritual connection that is established through the bodily act of sex. Where Christian views would converge with Boteach's is in the matter of sex remaining within marriage. The Jamaican Jewish community appears to be looking for answers as to how best to incorporate their partners and families into the congregation and how this might be received by long-standing members of the community. In very small communities and groups, the behaviors of members come under closer scrutiny than in larger groups where individuals can remain fairly anonymous. The pointed absence of partners in nontraditional units within the congregation speaks to this silence around what constitutes appropriate sexual unions.

Other perspectives on the Caribbean experience include the psychoanalytic response of persons like Frantz Fanon. He describes the psychological health of the society as a direct reflection of the family structure. Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* seeks to provide a psychoanalytic approach to the questions of race and cultural identity in the West Indies. His focus in particular is on the notion of the "black man," which Fanon outright rejects as racist, because for him it describes nothing and reduces a whole race of people to a fictitious stereotyped identity that cannot be understood. We accept that even Fanon's use of the word "race" is problematic. Notwithstanding this, what is interesting about Fanon's treatment of the transplanted African, who is an alien in the West Indies, imprinted with an alien identity, such as British, French, or Dutch, is his constant comparison throughout his work between the experiences of the black man and the Jew. Fanon's task as a black, Martiniquen psychiatrist working in France is to present a clear analysis of what it means to be labeled in this way. He asserts that both Jew and black man present a threat to hegemonic society. The Jew is seen as an intellectual and financial threat and is described as having unusual capacities in these areas. The black man, Fanon argues, poses a sexual threat. It is not hard to see how a black Jew poses both an intellectual and sexual threat to those who believe in these stereotypes. Not only is there the suspicion that these black

Jews can think deeply, but they are also sexual suspects and must be kept poor and ignorant if they are to be properly controlled.

Two realms: the intellectual and the sexual. An erection on Rodin's Thinker is a shocking thought. One cannot decently have a hard-on everywhere. The Negro symbolises the biological danger; the Jew the intellectual danger.⁹

The fear is that not only will they reproduce quickly but in so doing will require more resources and therefore seek also to acquire more wealth. In his attempt at providing a psychoanalysis of the Antillean, Fanon asserts that the Negro's psychosis is only ever fully apparent in the face of the colonizer. Whether the colonizer is in reality the literal European or exists in the stamps of European approval left behind by the past colonizers is not important for the purpose of this chapter, as the effect is the same. The sexual behavior and practices of Jamaican Jews are likely to be no different from those of the larger population. Many of those attending services on a regular basis have been assimilated into the congregation as adults, bringing with them familial and partnership patterns that predate their assimilation. How should they behave sexually? This is obviously a delicate issue that has to be handled carefully.

What can we draw on? Deliberations on the proper sexual conduct of the Reform Jew have come out of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. In 1998, the Ad Hoc Committee on Human Sexuality of the CCAR set out what it termed "Reform Jewish Sexual Values." They enunciated ten values for relationships, which for the most part support the existing relationship pattern in Jamaica, with the exception of number seven, *b'rit*, which would certainly exclude the majority of Jamaican adult interactions. These values include sexual interactions that reflect (1) *b'tzelem Elohim* (in the image of God); (2) *emet* (truth); (3) *b'riut* (health); (4) *mishpat* (justice); (5) *mishpachah* (family); (6) *tz'niyut* (modesty); (7) *b'rit* (covenantal relationship); (8) *simchah* (joy); (9) *ahavah* (love); and (10) *K'dushah* ("holiness").¹⁰

Relationships are expected to embody the mutuality of the spiritual relationship with God while partners are expected to be honest about what gives them sexual pleasure, sharing honestly both the joys and the challenges facing the relationship. The connection between our sexual behavior and our well-being is to be maintained as well as the concern for the physical and emotional suffering of others. The values expand to include not only heterosexual couples but also same-sex couples, who are all encouraged to preserve and support the next generation. The values encourage couples to demonstrate modesty in their deportment and language. Partners are expected to make a covenant of faithfulness to each other, making the relationship exclusive. Up to this point the values have been easy to apply to most Jamaican partnerships; however, the exclusivity expected of Reform Jews elsewhere may not be reasonable to expect of some members of the community locally. It would not be seen as out of the ordinary for Jamaicans to enjoy more than one relationship simultaneously, even if polite society frowns on the practice. Joy, love, and holiness are the three final values that Reform Jews are encouraged to incorporate in their relationships. The joy is that of giving of oneself in sexual activity that is consensual; the love is that which begins with self-love and regard of self and which extends to others. Holiness or *k'dushab* is achieved in part by the regard we have for each other and the act of setting ourselves apart and remaining special to our partners. The document concludes, "It is hoped that the sexual values described in this statement serve as a source of guidance that leads us to a life of holiness."¹¹ With the exception of those values that encourage exclusive, monogamous relationships, all others may be achieved through healthy intimate relationships between consenting adults in the local community. What, if any, is our obligation to those members of the community who may subscribe to the Jamaican practice of "visiting unions"? We can hardly exclude whole groups of people with legitimate claims to being Jewish on the ground that they have not followed all of the suggested sexual and relational practices included here.

Integrating the Three

What is peculiar to modern societies, in fact, is not that they consigned sex to the shadow existence, but that they dedicated themselves to speaking of it ad infinitum, while exploiting it as the secret.¹²

Michel Foucault, contemporary French philosopher, in his groundbreaking work *The History of Sexuality*, traces the chronology of modern sexuality. He looks at the origins of sexual repression, prohibition, and regulation to the point where we have repressed sexual expression to such an extent that we now spend inordinate amounts of time both feeling guilty and confessing our sexual crimes and misdemeanors. For Foucault, this obsession with sexual regulation is in itself a form of modern psychosis, an unnatural obsession with the private lives of others. Foucault would argue for individual self-regulation.

In the synagogue in Jamaica, there is a tacit agreement not to discuss sex directly, which exists alongside the clear understanding that Jews—unlike Christians—do not see sex as dirty, something to be stigmatized as transgressive. Tensions exist between the desire to be seen as upholding the core sexual values of traditional, respectable society and appearing too libertarian, too Bohemian, too *laissez-faire*. In private, congregants may express incredulity at what they may see as the puritanism of many of their Christian peers, but there have been no public declarations that support this position.

What is particularly remarkable is that the Jamaican Jewish view toward sexual behavior is much closer to the actual sexual practices of the larger population and might provide a more useful ethical lesson, as opposed to the fundamentalist Christianity so prevalent in the country, a Christianity that creates a dichotomy between good and bad, moral and immoral, angels and devils. This uncompromising moralistic preaching drives much sexual behavior underground, thereby making it harder to address and perhaps correct. If something is no longer talked about, it is then taken off the agenda. We have already mentioned the contribution of persons such as Rabbi Hooker, who also described himself as a

rabbi for all Jamaica and embodied this principle. We believe he can serve as a model for the future rabbinate in Jamaica.

Despite all that has been said here about the need to recognize and appreciate the existing sexual culture of the island, it would be disingenuous to suggest that some of the local sexual practices should be encouraged. The compromise has to be made between freedom of sexual expression on the one hand and some of the cultural mores and taboos that guide sexual behavior, on the other. For example, young men and women in Jamaica believe that early pregnancy is a means of proving their manhood or womanhood. There is also the practice among the poorest of women of having multiple baby fathers, who do not necessarily provide support for their offspring, and a general intolerance of same-sex behavior. These are not cultural practices that benefit us, and while we may not be able to eradicate them, much has to be done to educate the population to make choices that benefit the public good. The ten values addressed by the CCAR Ad Hoc Committee certainly provide a starting point for both discussion and action among the community as it seeks to play a role in Jamaican sexual and cultural life. This requires us to be able to explain and advocate for a liberal Jewish sexual ethic that supports those values that reflect *mish-pachab*. It appears, however, that the last monograph written on the subject of Reform Jewish sexual ethics was Eugene Borowitz's *Choosing a Sex Ethic: A Jewish Inquiry*, originally published in 1969. Therefore, Borowitz's book is useful primarily to give a historical perspective on where Reform Jewish thinking was, at this crucial turning point in history. While much of it may remain relevant, there needs to be much more recent and methodologically more sophisticated approaches that take into account the tremendous development that has occurred in Western society and particularly in Reform Jewish thought in the intervening decades.

Of course, any ethical teachings that might be useful for a society have to be transmitted in a form that is culturally appropriate and easily understandable. Rabbi Hooker, for example, is still remembered by virtually all Jamaicans of a certain age because of his radio call-in show,

which was considered to be a pioneering programming effort. There is a popular story about a man who called in one day, expressing dismay that he believed his wife was cheating on him, which in the local expression is called “giving him bun.” Rabbi Hooker was completely unaware of this expression, but he did know that bun is a Jamaican sweet bread that people generally eat with cheese. So, entirely innocently, he suggested to the man that he buy cheese and give it to his wife to serve together with the bun! People still laugh about this response forty years after the fact. It does highlight the reality that viewing Judaism as a religion that has lessons for everyone is an important religious value, but in order to be effective, it has to be explained in the context of a given culture. The Jewish community needs to enunciate a clear set of values that can provide a thoughtful, non-fundamentalist methodology for dealing with the difficult issues that Jamaicans face. Whether we choose to take a descriptive or prescriptive approach to sexual ethics, the result is the same; it must be culturally relevant if it is to impact a people in their personal lives, or “livity,” as Jamaicans call it.

NOTES

1. Elsa Leo-Rhynie, *The Jamaican Family: Continuity and Change* (Kingston, Jamaica: Grace Kennedy Foundation, 1993).

2. Eric H. Yoffie, “Sexual Obsession and the Fall of the Religious Right,” *Huffington Post*, December 1, 2010, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/rabbi-eric-h-yoffie/sexual-obsession-and-the-_b_785785.html.

3. D. M. Carr, *The Erotic Word: Sexuality, Spirituality, and the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 8.

4. Anastasia Cunningham, “Sex Text Scrapped—Ministry Pulls Controversial Book from High Schools,” *Gleaner* (Jamaica, WI), September 15, 2012, <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20120915/lead/lead1.html>.

5. Leah Hyslop, “India’s ‘Prostitutes of God,’” *Telegraph*, September 20, 2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/expat/expatlife/8008562/Indias-prostitutes-of-God.html>.

6. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., s.v. “Sugar Industry and Trade, vol. 15, p. 487–488.”

7. Shmuley Boteach, *Kosher Sex: A Recipe for Passion and Intimacy* (New York: Broadway Books, 1999), 28.

8. “Kosher Sex,” *Judaism 101*, <http://www.jewfaq.org/sex.htm>.

9. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 165.

10. Central Conference of American Rabbis Ad Hoc Committee on Jewish Sexual Values, "Reform Jewish Sexual Values," *CCAR Journal*, Fall 2001, vol. 48, no. 4. 9–13.

11. *Ibid.*, 13.

12. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, vol. 1, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 35.