

GAY COMMUNITIES, GAY WORLD

GAY COMMUNITIES, GAY WORLD:  
THE EVOLUTION OF INSTITUTIONAL COMPLETENESS  
AND ORGANIZATIONAL SOPHISTICATION

By

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## ABSTRACT

Using the concepts of the institutional completeness of ethnic communities (Breton, 1964) and the gay male community (Lee, 1979) and more recently, 'deviant' organizational sophistication (Best and Luckenbill, 1982), this thesis examines the gay world. I argue that traditional concepts, in solitude or synthesis, cannot wholly illuminate the phenomenon of modern gay evolutionary development. Notions of subculture and community are inadequate tools by which to describe the complexity and cultural materials of a contemporary and emergent ethnographic unit of analysis: the gay world.

Documentary and archival research, personal correspondence and in-depth participant-observation have produced an array of historical and cultural materials and analyses of gay iconography, stereotypes, bars, and gay media. Structural features such as the politicization of homosexuality (the shift from rights lobbying to political and legal litigation) the politics of gender and AIDS, emergent age structures and the paradox of capitalist enterprise and liberation have also been examined.

It is hypothesized that local gay communities (towns, cities, provinces, states and territories) do not themselves wholly depict this gay world. Rather, the communities and milieux are bound as the links of a chain, through often invisible networks of gay information, publishing,

support services, recreation, leisure, unique artifacts and cultural materials. Many of these links exist world wide, traversing international customs, languages, traditions, legal systems, and concrete borders. These links show both variegation and similarity but most are based upon a unique fusion and specific unity, forged by a common prism of homosexual and gay oppression, identity, culture, ideology, and more recently, a still emerging sense of gay identity.

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Most of us do not live there; all of us pass through. Whether to play in, to organize around, to learn from, to engage in sex in and around or to come out to, the ghetto is a cultural homeland. It remains fragile stolen space...repeated visits confirmed that the ghetto is not just space, special as it is, but also time, spent there in the company of survivors. All of us made it, even if just to visit or to make contact...We stand at the crossroads: youth must be able to find our meeting places more easily in these repressive times; older lesbians and gay men have to be able to afford to return to these stomping grounds. I want an accessible ghetto that is not a mega-closet (Lachance, 1986: 9).

## INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE OF THESIS

### Introduction

Contemporary changes within the gay and lesbian movement have created fertile soil for a relatively rapid evolution in terms of organizational sophistication, institutional completeness, cultural and structural differentiation. Much of the extant subcultural theory in addition to the more recent 'state of art' developments do not adequately explain and delineate the more developed deviant subcultures, nor do they effectively distinguish between subcultures and communities. The initial perspective of the thesis was informed by the concept of institutional completeness in terms of ethnic communities (Breton, 1964), the gay male community (Lee, 1979) and more recently, 'deviant' organizational sophistication (Best and Luckenbill, 1982). These theories constitute the most recent sociological contributions to the study of subcultural organizational complexity and sophistication. I will, however, argue that these theories, in solitude or synthesis, do not wholly illuminate the phenomenon of gay evolutionary development. The effort will be made to synthesize applicable elements of the more recent efforts in order to generate a reformulation of the theory and finally, to move beyond them into a new level or dimension of organizational complexity. The latter may furnish evidence for a previously unexplored segment of analysis which is both a contemporary and a currently emerging ethnographic unit: the world level of complexity. Thus, the gay and lesbian network is

considered most appropriate for the present purposes.

Two years prior to the advent of the gay liberation movement of 1969<sup>2</sup>, Simon and Gagnon referred to the homosexual world as "an impoverished cultural unit" (1967, 177-8).<sup>3</sup> However, nearly two and a half decades later it appears that, "the homosexual subculture is fluid and alive, having arisen in a dynamic relationship with the predominant culture and other subcultures" (Rueda, 1982: 30). Further, this thesis will also endeavour to examine the accuracy with which the homosexual 'world' may be regarded:

...as a complex web of interlocking organizations and institutions which, while resocializing its members, provides them with political, social, psychological (and at times even economic) support" (Rueda, 1982: 46).

In sum, both the sociological literature and the annals of the gay press tend to employ the terminology of group, community, subculture and world in descriptions of the gay and lesbian movement. Generally, these concepts are amorphous and the theoretical statements unclear. This then suggests a need for the development of a novel approach to the organizational complexity and institutional completeness of so-called 'deviant' subcultures. Moreover, territorial and subcultural foci alone cannot adequately elucidate the evolution of the homosexual milieu in terms of 'world status'. Rather, self-consciousness, cultural artifacts and structural features must also be taken into account.

Thus, the following will constitute an examination of those aspects which may or may not exemplify a higher level of organizational sophistication. The present endeavour is not undertaken in order to fill

the many lacunae, but is rather an attempt to illuminate the way. It is hoped that this will serve to supplement sociological inquiry within the realm of subcultural analysis. It appears that an analysis of the evolutionary development of the gay/lesbian 'subculture' will also serve to illuminate the shift from socially-defined 'deviance' and sociological concepts of subcultures as 'homogeneous, static and closed' (Fine and Kleirman, 1979: 2), to a unique sense of unconventional, expanding, and as yet emerging, social world alternatives.

#### Outline and Statement of Purpose

The general aim of this thesis is to develop a concise and appropriate conceptualization of the subcultural evolution of institutional completeness and organizational sophistication. I argue, somewhat redundantly, that a reformulation of subcultural theory is necessary in order to accomplish this goal, since much of the extant subcultural theory does not provide adequate means by which to conceive of, and to analyze, contemporary 'subcultures'.

This thesis consists of six major sections, or chapters. In chapter one, the history of subcultural theory in the sociology of deviant behaviour is examined in comprehensive detail. This chapter not only furnishes the uninformed student, lay reader or scholar with an extensive understanding of subculture theory, but also points out the specific ambiguities and deficiencies of the various theoretical formulations. It



is these weaknesses around which the proceeding chapters are organized, and a new, emergent, perspective of deviant (gay) cultural and structural evolution hypothesized.

Chapter two, a summary of gay historical development, furnishes the reader with an understanding of the interplay between deviant (gay) communities and the mainstream. This section, with particular emphasis upon the American scene, as a consequence of its influence upon other countries, summarizes the early history of same-sex relations, from the Renaissance to the present. The effects of capitalism, the early German homosexual movement (1897-1935), World War II and specific, watershed developments of the post-war period are examined. This history also illuminates the formative stages in the development of gay consciousness and gay community. Specific historical events illustrate the way in which mechanisms of causation, growth and transformation are integral to the proceeding development of what will come to be defined as the diverse and emergent gay world.

Chapter three examines the artifacts of gay culture, including the iconography of signs, symbols and argot, gay publishing and media (literature, films and gay bars). While some of these artifacts are unique to various gay communities, most exist as shared symbols, modes of communication and identification, and milieux which are comprehensible to other gay men and lesbians internationally, and serve to create a unique fusion, unity and solidarity among gay people. It is significant that common bonds of oppression, identity, culture and history flourish along

with the simultaneous creation of immense diversity. This discussion offers a sense of the tremendous depth and diversity of gay culture, as it is herein defined. In addition, it points to the kinds of networks and the often invisible links which connect the various gay communities, simultaneously creating the gay world.

Chapter four is based upon a classification of 'pre-world' gay community structures. An original typology is presented, whereby different gay communities are located on a continuum in terms of their degree of institutional completeness and organizational sophistication. Within each of these five discrete levels of development, a particular city or town is examined in terms of the various gay groups, organizations, institutions and services it accommodates. These various gay communities are linked in such a way that, in synthesis, their personnel, organization and evolutionary development, are at once components, and genesis, of the gay world. It is this section, in tandem with chapter five, which further augments the initial scope of the study (see pages 61-66) and provides a detailed and cumulative view of the original schema of deviant organizations (see figure 1, page 63).

Chapter five discusses the structural characteristics of the gay world as a whole. The depth and diversity of this world is reinforced through an analysis of the politicization of homosexuality and the ways in which the various political ideologies and agendas serve to create both conflict and unity among the personnel of this world and between gay and conventional cultures. This notion is further enhanced by an

investigation of the inherent dilemma of the gay world (the problem of segregation versus integration from the mainstream). In addition, the politics of gender and AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), the emergent age structure and institutional developments, and finally, prevailing capitalist enterprise as a liability of modern gay liberation, are examined. Much of this analysis points to the difficulty of capturing the processes of gay world evolution in an ethnographic present.

Chapter six presents an integration and interpretation of the thesis in its entirety. In addition, a brief discussion regarding changing definitions and directions for future research is included. In general, this thesis argues that the extant subcultural theories do not, in synthesis or isolation, adequately explain the development or evolution of gay communities. Moreover, many of these theories overlook the significance of cultural artifacts, institutions and materials which make deviant organizations rich in ethnographic detail and evolutionary development. I therefore hypothesize that the various gay communities and the groups, organizations, institutions, services and personnel which they accommodate, together comprise a *gay world* which, even at this moment, continues to shift, to expand, and to evolve. It is imperative that we remain cognizant of the fact that this process not only transforms gay culture, gay identity, and the gay world, but also modifies the aggregate world in which we are all participants.

## END NOTES

1. I believe that such a conceptualization is not unlike that of Tamatsu Shibutani's (1955) claim that "reference groups should be viewed as reference worlds, or social worlds which are not tied to any particular collectivity or territory." (See Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives", in American Journal of Sociology, 1955, 562-69). Shibutani did not at this time however, relate such a notion of 'worlds' to deviant 'subcultures', nor did he make reference to subcultural patterns of behaviour.

2. Although Lee's ecological approach would suggest a search for particularistic 'territorial loci' (1979, 193). In other words, although the Stonewall Riots in New York forged the "gay community's baptism by fire" (Marotta, 1981), such an event may, according to Lee, be equated with the pre-1969 defence of the Melody Room in Toronto (1979, 193). The 1981 Montreal, Edmonton and Toronto bath raids may be added as a more recent 'crucial event' fostering a territorially-based sense of unity, solidarity and community' among cosmopolitan homosexuals. See Jackson and Persky (1982) and Adam (1987).

3. Although Humphreys noted that:  
if protest marches of the sixties provided the dynamics behind gay liberation, they also contributed a methodological framework for transforming the deviant subculture into a different sort of cultural unit (1979, 136).

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE HISTORY OF SUBCULTURE THEORY: AN OVERVIEW

#### INTRODUCTION

This chapter will focus on the history of subcultural theory, outlining the early ecological perspectives of the Chicago School of Sociology which laid the groundwork for the development of two related perspectives: the social disorganization paradigm within the framework of deviance and the auxiliary studies in the area of race and ethnic relations. A review of the major functionalist, post functionalist and modern British theorists outlines the various perspectives of deviant subcultures and illustrates significant contributions of the major subcultural theorists. Contemporary deviance text readers will be reviewed in addition to the 'state of the art' in subcultural analyses.

Such a discussion is relevant here since much of the thesis focuses upon revising and expanding the area of subculture theory. Moreover, with the exception of modern British theorists who diverge theoretically from their American counterparts, much of the work in this field has been developed through critiques and revisions of previous theories of subculture. The substance of this thesis is oriented in a similar direction. This will be most apparent in the forthcoming section which details 'the scope of the study' (pages 61-66).

Although extensive, this discussion of the history of subculture

theory provides considerable material for the uninformed lay reader or scholar, and may augment the background necessary for the student of deviant behaviour. Thus, the following chapter contributes a comprehensive synthesis of the history of subculture theory which may then serve as a useful instrument of reference, since such a summary has not previously been addressed in this manner.

#### A GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

One of the primary difficulties in the sociology of subcultures generally and deviant subcultures in particular, is the frequency with which the term subculture is used in an arbitrary and unsystematic fashion. In the sociological literature specifically, the categorical term 'subculture' is too often used interchangeably with terms such as group, community, organization world and underworld. As Best and Luckenbill note, 'subcultures' are much generalized in the sociological literature and hence, subculture becomes "...an ambiguous term which encompasses a wide range of relationships and ignores important differences" (1982, 25). The application of the term subculture in an ad hoc fashion has resulted largely in the "blurring of the meaning of the term, [and] confusion with other terms" (Yinger, 1960: 122). Countless articles, such as those by Leznoff and Westley (1956), Yablonsky (1959), Hooker (1967), McCaghy and Skipper (1969), Humphreys (1970) and Dank

(1971), cloak references to communities, worlds and subcultures in ambiguity, failing to differentiate between these terms. Similarly, much of the literature tends to conflate significant distinctions between various types of subcultures, encompassing all other forms within the overarching category and primary rubric of 'subculture'.

Others however, simply employ the term deviant 'worlds' or 'communities' at random (eg. Simon and Gagnon, 1967; Frazier, 1976; Stebbins, 1978; Sacco, 1988), perhaps assuming that the meanings are explicit. Many have avoided these conceptual dilemmas via the absence of such terminology. Erikson's observation of "societies which form special groups whose stated business is to act in ways contrary to the normal expectations of the culture"<sup>2</sup> (1962, 308) perhaps infers but does not explicitly illuminate the concept of subculture.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, "some sociologists (Green, 1946; Gordon, 1947) have equated subculture with subsociety, thereby omitting the cultural aspects of the population segment" (Fine and Kleinman, 1979: 2). Such ambiguous phraseology creates serious obstacles to an articulate conception of the term subculture (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967: 135). In the context of sociological investigation then, the development of a meaningful and perhaps generalizable, subcultural nomenclature may thus be likened to the proverbial search for the needle in the haystack.

Much of the sociological literature presents subcultures as reified, material entities (Fine and Kleinman, 1979: 6) which exist in isolation from the larger, conventional society. Such a view tends to

negate the dialectical relations between the individual and society. (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Best and Luckenbill, 1982). Moreover, attempts to position subcultures whether as part of, or in isolation from, the wider society inevitably encourage the question of whether conventional culture exists independently of subcultures or whether the dominant culture may be regarded as the sum total of all the various subcultures existing within it. The primary difficulty, according to Downes and Rock, is that much of subcultural theory may be regarded as a kind of

...differential magnification, the tuning of the analytical lens to an almost exclusive degree on the 'subordinate cultures', with a corresponding neglect of the 'dominant' or 'subaltern' cultures (1982, 139).

In Arnold's view (1970), 'fuzzy' boundaries separate subcultures from conventional society. Maurer (1955) declared that subcultures 'intermingle' with the dominant culture.<sup>4</sup> The more popular view of a subculture as a 'sub-unit' of the dominant society (Arnold, 1970: 82-3) tends to denote discrete and tangible boundaries which cannot be traversed and are mutually exclusive.<sup>5</sup> In a similar fashion, Empey claimed that "...deviant traditions...occupy a symbiotic tie of some kind with conformist traditions" (1969, 718) although he noted that scientists are only gradually "...becoming aware of the extent of the symbiotic and mutually supporting characteristic" (1969, 721) of deviant and official (non-deviant) interaction.



More recently, Rubington has declared that deviance is largely integrated with the wider society and therefore varies with regard to the levels of participation in deviant and conventional cultures (1982, 64).<sup>6</sup>

He surmises that:

...there is a good deal of traffic across the boundaries of many groups, whether conventional or deviant. Fluidity rather than fixity characterizes relations between the two. This is largely because deviance is more often integrated into society rather than the reverse (1982, 67).

Thus the early American subcultural theories appear in general to have largely overlooked the significance of this dialectic relationship between conventional and deviant cultural nuances and artifacts. Such views fail to acknowledge the dialectical processes of renegotiation, modification, innovation, assimilation, diffusion, integration and change through which the subculture both transforms and is transformed by the wider society and the prevailing social structure.<sup>7</sup>

Although one may argue that 'subcultures' develop primarily as a response to the structural limitations offered or imposed by conventional society (such as family norms, the judiciary, widely supported religious, medical and legal definitions and sanctions), such a view presents a narrow perspective. The key point therefore, is an awareness of the ways in which conventional culture both changes and is changed by 'alternative' (subcultural) world views, practices and beliefs. Moreover, such change is manifest not merely in the shifting of ideas, values, social patterns and styles (Bronski, 1984) but also in the manner by which:

...personnel and information flow across the boundaries of the subcultural system, entering and existing at irregular intervals, and this fluidity must be considered in analysis

(Fine and Kleinman, 1979: 6).

Since it seems that, "the meaning of subculture is...always in dispute" (Hebdige, 1979: 3), an overview of the rise of subculture theory will prove useful in the examination of sociologically salient points of such disagreement. The following, an in-depth investigation of the development of (deviant) subcultural theory, will thus demonstrate the necessity for the emergence of a more sophisticated conceptualization of deviant subcultures. In order to provide a thorough analysis of such subcultures, it is imperative that we develop a subcultural theory which takes into account the character of institutional completeness, organizational complexity and social change in the evolution of deviant subcultures. Moreover, it is perhaps essential that this also be accomplished with an eye to "...the acceptance of man's capacity to create novelty and manage diversity" (Carey, 1975: 109).

Much of the sociological literature tends to equate the frequently ambiguous concept of 'subculture' with deviant communities, sub-groups, secret societies, and anti-societies. Simplistic definitions of subculture abound, regularly available to lay readers, students and social scientists alike. Many of the formulations of subculture contain references to social groups who share norms, values and ideals which vary from those of the wider society (eg. Mansfield, 1982; Ellis, 1986; Aggleton, 1987). The difficulty with this view is such that, "much of the work in this field has left unclear whether subculture refers to a group of people or to the shared ideas of a group of people" (Arnold, 1970:

114). Furthermore, much of deviant subcultural theory fails to take into account existing degrees of subcultural variation and creativity, cumulative processes of development, and the dialectic interplay with conventional society. Clearly, the development of an accurate conceptualization of subculture has yet to be accomplished.

#### The Chicago School: Ecology and Natural Areas

Subcultural theory had its source in the broad 'natural area' approach of the Chicago School (Park, et al., 1936). Although the term 'human ecology' was originally conceived of by Ernst Haeckel in 1869<sup>3</sup>, the "ecological study of the human community" did not appear as a systematic conception until the publication in 1915 of Robert Ezra Park's "manifesto of urban ethnography" (Downes and Rock, 1982: 53), entitled "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour in City Environment" (Wirth, 1945: 71-2).<sup>4</sup> Rooted in the principles of Darwin, and later in the 1928 physiological works of C.M. Child (Gettys, 1940: 99) the perspective of human ecology formed

...an attempt to systematically apply the basic theoretical scheme of plant and animal ecology to the study of human communities (Theodorson, 1961: 3)."

According to the 'web of life' approach, "the ecological order, operating through the ecological processes, is a mechanism of competitive selection" (Dawson and Gettys, 1948: 245).

The early ecologists were largely concerned with describing the patterns of expansion of the city centres (the 1925 'concentric zone' hypothesis of Burgess is a primary example)<sup>1</sup>, in terms of the spatial distribution of adult and juvenile delinquency and psychoses in the Chicago area. The early investigators also relied heavily on the concept of 'natural area'<sup>2</sup> in approaching these studies. Zorbaugh has defined a 'natural area' as "a geographical area characterized by both a physical individuality and by the cultural characteristics of the people who live in it" (1926, 47). Moreover, natural areas such as a 'black belt', a 'Gold Coast' and a 'Chinatown' (among others) all contain a unique "characteristic complex of institutionalized customs, beliefs, standards of life, traditions, attitudes, sentiments and interests" (Zorbaugh, 1926: 47).<sup>3</sup>

Park theorized that competitive cooperation and the 'struggle for existence' resulted in a high level of interdependence among humans who thus formed a 'natural economy' which is comprised of 'symbiotic relationships' (Park, 1936: 23). Park notes that, in ecological terms, such a system is a 'community' and he refers to this as the 'biotic' level. On this level, competition acts to maintain and to restore the communal 'equilibrium' and 'the balance of nature' (Park, 1936: 23-4). On the 'cultural' level however, competition is made manifest in forms of conflict such as war. The 'cultural' level is more social than the 'biotic' and is based largely on "communication and consensus" (Park, 1936: 28).<sup>4</sup> In Park's view, the two levels are distinguished in this way:

...society, from the ecological point of view, and in so far as it is a territorial unit, is just the area within which biotic competition has declined and the struggle for existence has assumed higher and more sublimated forms (1936, 25).<sup>5</sup>

Clearly, for Park, "the cultural superstructure rests on the foundation of the symbiotic substructure" (1936, 28). Moreover, it is the interaction of population, artifacts and technology, customs and beliefs, and natural resources which serve to maintain the balance of the biotic community and the social equilibrium of the society (Park, 1936: 29).<sup>6</sup>

The primary focus of human ecology concerned the spatial distribution of the physical structure and cultural characteristics of society (McKenzie, 1926: 32) which encompassed patterns of urbanization and migration, interrelations of the state, the problems of minorities and in general, the 'material conditions' of human existence (Wirth, 1945: 75).<sup>7</sup> Moreover, in laying the foundation for the investigation of "area rate variations within particular cities", human ecology also fostered the development of "a basis for organizing what is, in effect, a type of subcultural pattern" (Schur, 1979: 90).

The natural area approach gave rise to two distinct but related traditions: first, a view of deviance as a consequence of social disorganization and secondly, a focus on racial and ethnic communities. Although Zorbaugh (1929), Cressey (1932), Anderson (1923) and I discuss these traditions separately for analytic purposes, there is a clear

connection between them, with "much borrowing, overlapping and ambiguity at the boundaries" (Downes and Rock, 1982: 50).<sup>8</sup>

### The Chicago School: Deviance and Social Disorganization

The Chicagoans, perceiving society initially as a healthy aggregate of cooperative symbiotic relationships, began a reformulation of the early ecological perspective. In particular, they noted a correspondence between changes wrought by modern industrialization and rapid urbanization and the development of social disorganization<sup>9</sup> or 'social problems' (Burgess, 1925: 37). Moreover,

The larger proportion of women to men in the cities than in the open country, the greater percentage of youth and middle-aged, the higher ratio of foreign-born, the increased heterogeneity of occupations increase with the growth of the city and profoundly alter its social structure (Burgess, 1925: 37).

The original 'theoretical image' of social disorganization was conceived of by W.I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki in their ground-breaking research on The Polish Peasant In Europe and America, in 1920. Moreover, the early efforts of the Chicagoans in the area of social disorganization spawned such additional studies as: W.I. Thomas' The Unadjusted Girl (1923), Louis Wirth's The Ghetto (1928), and Clifford Shaw's The Jack Roller (1931).

For the Chicagoans then, the spatially distributed ecological processes of population movements, mobility, migration, immigration and competition dislocated the mechanisms of social control and thus resulted in unconventional (deviant) behaviour (Liska, 1987: 63), and this was

particularly apparent in the area to which Burgess referred as the 'zone in transition' (Downes and Rock, 1982: 61). As the incidence of unconventional behaviour increased, rates of disease, vice, insanity, disorder, crime and suicide came to be regarded as "rough indexes of social disorganization" (Burgess, 1925: 42).

#### SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION STUDIES AS PRECURSORS OF SUBCULTURE THEORY

Sutherland's (1924)<sup>2c</sup> theory of differential association was an attempt to explain variability in criminal behaviour as a consequence of one's exposure, interaction and association with law breakers. His was one of the first theories to move from the 'natural area' approach to an investigation of 'culture'. Simply put, Sutherland's theory postulated that in essence, one's chances of becoming a delinquent or criminal were directly related to one's affiliation with delinquent-oriented companions, associates, peers and acquaintances. Sutherland's emphasis on this form of associative behaviour has been regarded as "a precursor of the concept of subculture" (Rubington, 1982: 54).

In 1930 Shaw and McKay proposed a theory of cultural transmission by which they sought to explain the higher rates of delinquency found in urban working class neighbourhoods, which persisted despite transformations in population characteristics (primarily ethnicity) within these areas. The authors observed that the social disorganization of

urban areas appeared as a consequence of decreased parental and social control over adolescents. According to Shaw and McKay, freedom of movement, activity and behaviour led to an increased propensity among adolescents to engage in deviant acts and delinquent behaviours (Rubington, 1982: 53; Liska, 1987: 64).

### The Functionalists

Following the early Chicagoans, a view outlining the significance of motivation in subcultural context, was provided by the functionalists.

Merton's 1938 endeavour, "Social Structure and Anomie", furnished a novel perspective regarding the "strain and inconsistency between culture and society" (Rubington, 1982: 54). Merton viewed this strain as manifest in the disharmony between institutionalized means and cultural goals and in particular, he focused on the various possible types of adaptation to this sociocultural strain. In other words, Merton's theory was based, in a manner similar to that of Sutherland and Shaw and McKay, on the premise that status or goal frustration would lead to some form of problem-solving.<sup>2</sup> Merton's emphasis on the (motivational) significance of cultural goals and the dichotomy between legitimate and illegitimate means was primarily a functionalist critique on much of the earlier work on social disorganization of the Chicago School.



In 1955, Cohen developed a synthesis of the theories of Sutherland, Shaw and McKay and Merton, claiming that "the pure cultural-transmission view fails completely to explain the origin of new cultural patterns" (1955b, 652). Cohen postulated a general theory of deviant (primarily delinquent) subcultures which was based on the struggle for success (largely among working class adolescent boys) and various modes of adaptation to status frustration, social strain and the experience of anomie. Cohen noted that among such youths, communication and sharing with similar others tended to foster the creation of "social-psychological adjustment" solutions (Rubington, 1982: 55).

Rosenberg, et al. have suggested that Cohen's synthesis was largely an effort to outline the structural features of emergent deviant subcultures in addition to augmenting previous sociological inquiry into the psycho-social motivations of deviants (1982, 18). Cohen's natural history approach to the emergence of deviant subcultures proposed five stages of subcultural development: (1) the experience of the problem, (2) communication of this problem with similar others, (3) interaction as a result of the problem, (4) collective development of a solution, and finally, (5) the cultivation and promotion of this innovative pattern to others (Rubington, 1982: 57).

Cohen was particularly concerned with the process by which "similar problems of adjustment" might lead to "exploratory gestures" employed by two or more individuals of like mind, and finally to a mutual agreement or commitment (based largely upon the work of George Herbert Mead and his

'conversation of gestures'). He believed that this route would culminate in the development of group standards based on a "shared frame of reference" (1966, 209-11). Moreover according to Cohen, the subcultural sharing of like needs, values and norms which are dissimilar from those in the wider social system and are enveloped by a special and "sympathetic moral climate", fosters the creation, re-creation and modification of culture (210-11). For Cohen then, the status frustration of working class boys manifests itself in a 'reaction formation' which then culminates in the development of delinquent subcultures.

Kitsuse and Dietrick claim that, in the analysis of the emergence of the delinquent working class male subculture, Cohen has failed to provide historical data and therefore intertwined his commentary inextricably with both past and present (1959, 212-13). The authors also argue that the sociological level of investigation has been obscured through Cohen's emphasis on the more psychological characteristic of motivation (Kitsuse and Dietrick, 1959: 213).<sup>22</sup> Moreover, they contend that Cohen has, in attempting to analyze the emergence of the delinquent subculture, merely provided an explanation of its maintenance. For Kitsuse and Dietrick, the reconstruction of Cohen's theory would be possible only if the original queries were modified (1959, 214). Such a reformulation also

...hypothesizes that the delinquent subculture persists because, once it is established, it creates for those who participate in it, the very problems which were the basis for its emergence. It is possible to derive the further hypothesis that the motivational structure of the participants of the subculture displays characteristics similar to those described by Cohen (Kitsuse and Dietrick,

1959: 214).

In contrast to Cohen's (1955) emphasis on response to status frustration, Miller (1958) suggested that delinquent subcultures arose primarily as a consequence of working class 'focal concerns' such as trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate and autonomy. Miller also took issue with Cohen's notion that "...the delinquent subculture takes its norms from the larger culture but turns them upside down" (Cohen, 1955a: 28). Miller claimed that Cohen implicitly assumed middle-class values as a standard point of reference for all members of society. Therefore, Miller contends that delinquent adolescents were primarily conforming to the attitudes, values and behaviours of lower class culture (1958, 62). That the latter often existed in conflict with middle class norms was thus seen by Miller as an inherent characteristic of the 'distinctive tradition' of lower class culture (1958, 62).

In 1960 Cloward and Ohlin extended the work of Merton and primarily Cohen and, "...shifted the focus of attention from the school to the street and workplace" (Ellis, 1986: 174). They suggested that collective solutions to dilemmas of denied opportunities and the "gap between aspirations and opportunities" (Rubington, 1982: 56) would manifest itself in the development of three diverse forms of delinquent subcultures. These subcultures would be based on the criminal pursuit of material gain (the 'criminal' subculture), the application of violence in order to gain personal status and reputation (the 'conflict' subculture), or organization around the possession and consumption of drugs (the

'retreatist' subculture) (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960: 127). Their view also relied upon Cohen's hypothesis of the influence of the 'conversation of gestures' in the development and maintenance of delinquent subcultures (Cressey and Ward, 1969: 637). In addition, the synthesis of Sutherland's cultural transmission theory and the Mertonian analysis of structural strain shifted the sociological concern from the social problem of the individual to that of the community as a whole (Schur, 1979: 140).

#### The Post Functionalists

Building on the work of Cohen, Yablonsky's examination of gangs as 'near groups' was premised on the view that human collectivities exist along what he referred to as "a continuum of organization characteristics" (1959, 225) and are comprised of varying levels of organization. Yablonsky speculated that groups form the lowest pole of the continuum, mobs the highest and near groups exist in the centre, sharing some but not all of the characteristics of the other two.

Becker has suggested that the deviant subculture largely revolves around a salient sense of shared difference among members of the group, which is dissimilar to that of the conventional (non-deviant) world. In particular, Becker explained:

...their deviance...gives them a sense of common fate, of being in the same boat. From a sense of a common fate, from having to face the same problems, grows a deviant subculture: a set of perspectives and understandings about what the world is like and how to deal with it, a set of

routine activities based on those perspectives (1963, 38).

Matza's (1964) contribution to subcultural theory was largely based on his notion of "subterranean tradition" which he defined as an analysis of the dialectic connections between deviance and conventional society as a process of exchange which serves to modify and to maintain the traditions of each (1964, 224).<sup>23</sup> Moreover, according to Matza, the subterranean tradition was primarily, "...an ideal case of an integrated subculture...[and]...is an advancing of the fundamental sociological notion of the relation between society and its deviants" (1964, 224). Matza has seemingly clarified this notion by employing the term 'subterranean convergence'. This, "...refers to the blending of the conventional culture with the subculture of deviants in a way that conventional values offer subterranean support for deviance" (Frazier, 1976: 59).

Furthermore, Matza's revision of delinquent subculture theory, contained a new emphasis on the free will of the actor, as opposed to many of the earlier theories which viewed the individual as a passive agent, impinged upon by the larger society. His contention that deviance is both determined and chosen in part, "swamped the neat boundaries between this subculture and that which were the hallmark of existing approaches" (Downes and Rock, 1982: 116).

The work of Short and Strodtbeck in 1965 contradicted several points developed earlier by Cohen and Cloward and Ohlin. Specifically, Short and Strodtbeck found little evidence of the distinctive behaviour patterns,

shared group rejection of dominant middle class norms and values, and the cohesive group social organization suggested by earlier studies of delinquent subcultures and groups. Short and Strodbeck's findings regarding the lack of group cohesiveness and commitment tend to support the earlier efforts of Matza and Yablonsky (Rubington, 1982: 56).

An additional view of subcultural materials has been provided by Simmons who suggests that deviant subcultures:

...evolve their own little communities or social worlds, each with its own local myths...its own legendary heroes...its own honorary members...its own scale of reputations...and its own social routine (1964, 280).

The author, however, makes no attempt to differentiate between the concepts of subculture, community or social world. It is merely speculation to suggest that Simmons employed the notion of subculture in this context as the foundation or initial impetus for the further development of a community or social world.

Simmons also suggested that many of the previously studied groups qua subcultures "are amorphous and unstable through time" (1964, 280). The latter however, is wholly based on his research involving rural gangs, student fringe groups, beatnik, hippie and mystic collectivities and a health food coterie (1964, 279). Simmons attempted to develop a more sophisticated view of subcultural complexity and concluded that:

There are discernible deviant social worlds, partially insulated and estranged from the society at large, each with its own subterranean traditions, its own literature and slang, its own beliefs and ways of looking at things

(1964, 281).

In general, Simmons also failed to acknowledge the dialectic relationship between subculture and conventional society as this was previously explored by Matza, Kitsuse and Dietrick and others. Furthermore, in proposing that the development and application of deviant conflict solutions be undertaken only within the confines of the deviant group (1964, 282), Simmons overlooked the salient impact of the culture, norms, traditions and potential supports of the larger society upon the formation and maintenance of deviant groups and subcultures.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, Simmons also neglected to define the context in which he employed the terms worlds, groups and subculture.

McCaghy and Skipper noted that, "the focus of most research obscures the fact that with few exceptions a deviant role occupies a minor portion of the individual's behaviour spectrums" (1969, 260). For the purpose of the present analysis however, it will be argued that, as a 'deviant subculture' becomes more organizationally complex thus increasing its institutional completeness, members are likely to develop and engage a major proportion of their identities, ideologies, behaviours, social and sexual relationships and leisure activities within such a 'world'.

#### Modern British Theorists

Much like the work in American sociology, the British study of subculture has its roots in nineteenth century urban ethnography, and in

particular, in such studies as Henry Mayhew et al.'s 1851, London Labour and the London Poor, and Thomas Archer's 1865, The Pauper, the Thief and the Convict (Hebdige, 1979: 75). However, British studies as a consequence of British history generally, tend to focus more upon class consciousness and specific historical contexts than do most American sociological theorists. Moreover, because of differences in class structure and consciousness, several British authors suggest that, in generalizing American theoretical perspectives to British culture, one is likely to endanger the very cultural and historical specificity of the subject matter (Downes, 1966; Brake, 1974; Clarke, 1974; Mungham and Pearson, 1976; Young, 1983).

The British theorists commonly regard delinquent leisure activities (or subcultures) as emerging out of the conflict between working class and middle class values, and as alternative forms of adaptation to the structural incongruities imposed upon working class youth in the educational and occupational systems (Young, 1983: 32-4).<sup>25</sup> Thus, "youth culture links and explores young people's relations to material production, and also to the social relations that the ideological structure mediates to them" (Brake, 1980: 165).

Brake describes British subcultural theory as consisting of four main approaches: the early social ecology studies of working class neighbourhoods; the sociology of education in which youth culture is examined as a possible alternative to academic success; the Marxist-based cultural approach of the Birmingham School which is largely an analysis



of the relations between youth culture, class and dominant ideology; and the modern deviance-oriented studies of local neighbourhood youth groups (1980, 50-1).

The National Deviancy Conference established in 1968 also fostered the creation of a more 'radical critique' of criminals and deviants which included studies of action, social process and the 'New Criminology' based on a Marxist critique of politics and state policy (Brake, 1980: 60). Studies of youth culture were heavily influenced by the radical perspectives of the Deviancy Conference and, as a result, two sorts of British analyses became predominant. Contemporary cultural analysis focuses primarily upon the meanings of style and the relations between subculture, dominant class positions and hegemony, while ethnographic studies of the subcultural dimension are concentrated upon the relations between behaviour, lifestyle and conventional social structure (Brake, 1980: 61). Moreover, one of the most significant digressions of British theorists from early postulates of the Chicago School concerns the way in which, "critical British researchers have defined disorganization as a historical by-product of social domination of the powerful" (Pfohl, 1985: 169).

The work of the Birmingham School's Contemporary Centre for Cultural Studies focused largely upon the importance of consumer goods (Sato, 1988: 195) and the interrelations between "class conflict, youthful rebellions, and media presentations, and did not entail first-hand ethnographies" (Downes and Rock, 1982: 117). The primary exception to the

latter was Paul Willis who, in his work on Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs (1977) and Profane Culture (1978), chose ethnographic field work as the method by which to investigate the diversity and creativity of 'subordinate cultures' (Willis, 1978: 1). Generally, British work in the area of subculture advanced during the mid-1960s and early 1970s (Young, 1983: 32; Downes and Rock, 1982: 117), as researchers began to augment previously incorporated elements of the early ecological and social disorganization paradigms of the Chicago School.

Several British theorists, such as Brake, P. Cohen and Hebdige, shared in their work "the need to 'capture' cultural meanings yet also to contextualize their social in the larger social structure, usually in terms of its contradictions" (Downes and Rock, 1982: 117). Others however, such as Parker and Marsh, primarily relied upon labelling theory in conjunction with earlier subcultural methods (Downes and Rock, 1982: 117).

In particular, the work of David Downes, The Delinquent Solution (1966), suggested that bored, working-class 'corner boys' are motivated to seek satisfaction in one of the few areas remaining open to them - the commercial goods of the market. It is through participation in the synthetic teenage culture created for, although not by, teenagers that the corner boy responds to problems of adjustment in both lower and middle-class culture (Downes, 1966: 129-134). Stan Cohen's (1972) study of Mods and Rockers, Folk Devils and Moral Panics demonstrated the ways in which labelling youth as deviant results in the response formation of

a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy. Parker's (1974) inquiry into delinquency, The View From The Boys illustrated the problematic nature of determining when a sub-culture is truly a subculture. Mungham and Pearson (1976) endeavoured to 'demystify' the difficulties of working class youth and pointed out that, rather than regarding them with chagrin, efforts must be undertaken to formulate a 'comprehensive class analysis' of modern youth. In Willis's study of adolescent British street corner 'lads', Learning to Labour (1977), he observed that these boys manifested their antagonism toward conventional values through particular hair and clothing styles and behaviour patterns (Sato, 1988: 195). Marsh et al.'s (1978) investigation of soccer ruffians, Rules of Disorder described the means by which ritualized 'subcultural' forms of aggression may be manifested in specific forms of unruly group behaviour. Finally, Dick Hebdige's (1979) analysis of Teddy Boys, mods and rockers, rastafarians, skinheads and punks in Subculture: The Meaning of Style (drawing also from the works of Barthes, 1972 and J. Clarke, 1975), provided an intriguing semiotic analysis of the interplay between hegemony, ideology, homology and subculture.

In his analysis of the inherently ambiguous nature of the term 'subculture', Clarke (1974) examines the dilemma of subcultural boundaries (the question of where subcultures begin and end, or in other words, the ways in which they are demarcated from conventional culture and society in terms of the variations in size, specificity, and inclusiveness/identity across different subcultures). Perhaps more

importantly, Clarke also offered support for Phil Cohen's claim that, "subculture by definition, cannot break out of the contradiction derived from the present culture, it merely transcribes its terms at a microsocial level" (Cohen, 1972: 25). Since Clarke recognized the on-going relationship between the conventional and the subcultural, he identified "the importance of the existing culture as a source for the sub-culture" (Clarke, 1974: 438) and observed that:

...despite a sophisticated analysis of the cultural traditions and history of the community...in the last analysis the sub-culture is still defined in terms of the structural conditions which it cannot hope to overcome: it is epiphenomenal (1974, 439).

The dialectic between deviance and conventionality is apparent in the claim that, although the homosexual 'sub-culture', in offering sanctuary to its members, also provided a kind of solution to problems of adjustment, "this is now providing the basis for a return to influence the dominant culture in terms of a demand for greater rights and freedoms and a halt to discrimination" (Brake, 1974: 440).

Clarke, et al., in their analysis of youth culture, pay particular attention to what they call 'the holy trinity' of post war social changes (1975, 21-5). The latter refers to the increasingly popular ideologies of affluence, consensus and embourgeoisement among the working class. Moreover these authors also point to the importance of the dialectical relations between the dominant 'hegemonic' culture and the subordinate working class from which the youth culture is derived (1975, 38).

Hebdige notes that, as it is most commonly construed, "the word 'subculture' is loaded down with mystery. It suggests secrecy, masonic oaths, an Underworld" (1979, 4).<sup>26</sup> However, in employing a semiotic interpretation of the meanings of the 'symbolic universe', Hebdige himself tends to inspire this ambience of mystery. Hebdige and J. Clarke both employ the term 'bricolage' (developed by Levi-Strauss in 1966) in the sense that, "together, object and meaning constitute a sign, and, within any one culture, such signs are assembled, repeatedly into characteristic forms of discourse" (J. Clarke, 1975: 177).

Clearly for Hebdige, the dominant culture is both intrigued and influenced by the constantly shifting messages reflected in the symbols of deviance.

This notion is clearly apparent in his observation that:

Like Genet also, we are intrigued by the most mundane objects - a safety pin, a pointed shoe, a motor cycle - which none the less, like the tube of vaseline, take on a symbolic dimension, becoming a form of stigmata, tokens of a self-imposed exile...in the styles made up of mundane objects which have a double meaning. On the one hand, they warn the 'straight' world in advance of a sinister presence...On the other hand, for those who erect them into icons, who use them as words or as curses, these objects become signs of forbidden identity, sources of value (Hebdige, 1979: 2-3).

Furthermore, the importance of this symbolism for Hebdige relates to the ways in which we are all to some degree caught in a 'camera obscura', between the mundane world of rituals, forms and objects and a sense of 'otherness' where "the apparent can no longer be taken for granted" (1979, 139-40).

Brake (1980) offers a critical examination of the various British

and American theories pertaining to youth cultures as subcultures.<sup>27</sup> In particular, Brake suggests that "subcultures call into question the adequacy of the dominant ideology" (1980, 22). Moreover, they do this through the repertoire of meanings reflected by their style which, for Brake (not unlike J. Clarke and Hebdige), is largely composed of variations in image, demeanour and argot.

Perhaps then, one of the more significant contributions of the British sociologists pertains to their recognition of the potential degrees of out-group diversity. American observations of the cultural meanings inherent in fads and fashions<sup>28</sup> (Klapp, 1969) and various urban 'scenes' (Irwin, 1977) "as a way of creating identity and meaning in life" (Sato, 1988: 196), have been extended by the expansion of British studies employing such concepts as 'bricolage', homology and style (primarily as these are defined by J. Clarke, 1975 and Hebdige, 1979). Thus, it would seem that British sociologists have helped to create a greater awareness of the 'profane creativity' (Willis, 1978: 1) of unconventional (sub) cultural existence.<sup>29</sup>

#### ETHNIC STUDIES AS PRECURSORS OF SUBCULTURE THEORY

Studies of both deviance and ethnicity comprised an effort, on the part of the Chicagoans and other sociologists, to reformulate the early ecological approach in order to encompass the processes of competition,

segregation and selection, and mobility and dominance associated with differing racial and ethnic groups (Krout, 1931: 175). Generally, the early ethnic "cultural conflict" (Liska, 1987: 177) studies revolved around the "disorganization of native culture and the breakdown of social controls" (Dawson and Gettys, 1948: 210). This was associated with the lack of cultural integration in American society as a consequence of high immigration rates. Moreover, initial conceptions of the term subculture were also derived from the early studies of race relations, ethnicity and cultural variation.

#### The Early Theories (1890 - 1940)

In the period during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, scientific inquiry in the area of race and ethnic relations was handicapped by its preoccupation with a perspective grounded in the principles of biology. Nearly all of the early studies on race (such as D.G. Brinton, Races and Peoples, 1890; Brinton, The Basis of Social Relations, 1902; Schwalbe and Fischer, Anthropologie, 1923; A. Thompson and L.H. Buxton, "Man's Nasal Index in Relation to Certain Climatic Conditions", in Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol.53, 1923) concentrated primarily on observable physiological differences in brain morphology, pigmentation and 'protoplasmic variation'; adaptation to habitat such as dietary habits and response to climate; and matters related to intelligence levels and 'racial superiority' (Neifeld, 1926; Reuter, 1945). Moreover, many of the biologically-oriented studies

concentrated on the Negro as "a matter of political controversy rather than an object of analysis and research" (Reuter, 1945: 453; Dawson and Gettys, 1948; Theodorson, 1961).

Thus, it was not until after the 1920s that the biological perspective gave way to an analysis of the socio-cultural factors relevant to new immigrants such as cultural adaptation, divergence in national customs, and the changes in labour demand between the homeland and the host country (Neifeld, 1926: 430-2). Moreover, the data of analysis shifted from specific individual traits to human relations, and from an emphasis on social structure to one of social process (Reuter, 1945: 455-6). The refocusing of biological to socio-cultural orientation created an awareness of the need to investigate race relations and the ways, according to Reuter, by which:

the excluded individuals become racially self-conscious and develop into conflict groups that are at once dependent upon and potentially at war with the group in whose culture they desire to participate. In the struggle for rights that they feel are unjustly denied them, they develop organization, initiate movements, construct ideologies, and otherwise evolve the complex machinery that goes with organized political activity (1945, 460).

Findings from the studies of changes in the ethnic composition, technological and cultural materials of China (eg. K.H. Shih, China Enters the Machine Age, 1944); Hawaii (eg. A.W. Lind, An Island Community: Ecological Succession In Hawaii, 1938); South Africa (eg. M.S. Evans, Black and White In Southeast Africa, 1916 and Lord Olivier, The Anatomy of African Misery, 1927); and St. Denis, Quebec (eg. H. Miner, St. Denis,



1939), were taken to support the view that a "polyglot population and an unstable social life" corresponds directly with an "invasion of alien peoples" (Dawson and Gettys, 1948: 186). These studies were also informed by the conviction that:

Since the discovery and invention of objects that contribute to the comfort, convenience, and efficiency of people tend to change rather readily and rapidly, and since social structures, ideas, beliefs, opinions, attitudes, and habits tend to be altered rather slowly and reluctantly, a great deal of social disorganization is to be expected as a consequence (Dawson and Gettys, 1948: 594).

#### Origins of the Term 'Subculture'

The evolution of the term subculture has been traced to Gordon's 1947 study of ethnic, racial, class-based and religious groups (Arnold, 1970; Rosenberg, et al, 1982), although it was actually employed earlier by McClung Lee (1945) and by Green (1946). Furthermore, it would appear that others (Sutherland, 1924; Shaw, 1930; Shaw and McKay, 1931) have described the concept of subculture, albeit by implication (Rosenberg et al., 1982).

In an attempt to delineate the levels of culture (individual, group and societal levels), McClung Lee examined the functions of group folkways, mores, conventions, morals and roles. Lee's initial use of the term subculture was essentially a critique of Robert Lynd's claim that within our culture is contained "a wealth of contradictory assumptions" (Lynd, 1939: 62). Lee argued that these assumptions were rather, 'contradictory subcultures' which, in his view, were comprised of "immoral

mores, variant mores and immoretic morals" (Lee, 1945: 488).<sup>31</sup>

Prior to Gordon's study, Green (1946) employed the terms subculture and 'population segment' interchangeably (Gordon, 1947; Arnold, 1970). The term 'population segment' was herein equated with age, religion, class, sex, occupation, ethnic and religious groups and further, were combined in differential fashion to form an individual's 'background'. Green also claimed that some subcultures such as professional beggars were highly organized (1946, 534) but failed to explicitly develop this hypothesis.

Gordon (1947) described a 'sub-culture' in a manner similar to the way in which it was employed by Green, although he was critical of the latter's application of the term. Gordon thus stated that sub-culture referred "...to a sub-division of a national culture, composed of a combination of factorable social situations" such as ethnicity, region of residence, religious denomination and class position (1947, 40).<sup>32</sup> Gordon also explained that he favoured the term subculture over that of population segment because, "...it seems to emphasize more directly the dynamic character of the framework within which the child is socialized" (1947, 41).<sup>32</sup> Moreover in Gordon's view, a subculture "...is a world within a world, so to speak, but it is a world" (1947, 41). Perhaps the intended visual connotation is clear, although the sociological significance of such a 'world' remains obscure.<sup>33</sup>

### The Chicago School

The early ethnic investigators relied heavily on popular anthropological studies<sup>34</sup> such as: Margaret Mead's Coming of Age In Samoa (1928), W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant In Europe and America (1927) and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown's The Andaman Islanders (1933), in formulating hypotheses regarding in-group and out-group relationships and the ways in which ethnic groups "pay tribute to their own inner sanctities" (Dawson and Gettys, 1948: 13). In addition, in conducting an inquiry into urban racial and ethnic communities, as in the early studies on crime, delinquency and social disorganization, the Chicagoans "tended to proceed to the small social scenes which lent themselves to anthropological research" (Downes and Rock, 1982: 58).

Many early studies of diverse racial and ethnic groups consisted of an attempt to outline the various 'phases of interaction' (conflict, accommodation and assimilation) in what has been referred to as "the race relations cycle" (Dawson and Gettys, 1948: 387).<sup>35</sup> Moreover, the increased population growth and mobility, occupational variation, and the expansion of cities favoured the increased rates of immigration, the creation of spontaneous immigrant colonies encouraged the segregation of "foreigners into residential enclaves" (Dawson and Gettys, 1948: 394).<sup>36</sup> Thus, these groups developed special ethnic institutions which served in large part, as the "stepping stones for the immigrant's passage from one social world to another" (Dawson and Gettys, 1948: 394).<sup>37</sup>

Raymond Breton: Institutional Completeness

From the early orientation toward race relations and ethnic studies, Breton (1964) devised a model of institutional completeness by which he sought to examine the composition of ethnic communities. Breton employed the extant religious, educational and public organizations as yardsticks by which he attempted to measure the degree of institutional completeness in these ethnic communities. In particular, Breton's model is based on the number of community churches, welfare organizations and publications (newspapers, community calenders and periodicals) and these three institutions are thus referred to as characteristics of institutional completeness. Breton suggests that the presence of formal organizations serve to solidify the group and to elevate social cohesiveness. In like manner, he observed that:

ethnic communities can vary enormously in their social organization...Institutional completeness would be at its extreme whenever the ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members (1964, 194).

In their analysis of what they refer to as the gay 'community', Harry and DeVall (1978) applied Breton's concept of institutional completeness to Simon and Gagnon's (1973) theory of the 'cultural impoverishment' of the homosexual 'community'. The authors calculated the level of institutional completeness based on the number and types of gay bars in major U.S. cities<sup>38</sup> (contrasting both rural and urban gays), the degree of 'gay ghetto' formation, and the development of specialized

organizations and services.

Harry and DeVall suggest that, although the larger cities (such as San Francisco and others) show "a great measure of institutional completeness" (1978, 146) and a "distinctly gay culture" (1978, 151), gay people continue to be largely employed in heterosexual institutions, and capitalist exploitation has "moved gays a step closer to the mainstream of American consumer culture" (1978, 149). Generally, the authors claim that "such extreme completeness may not be desirable for gays....since such an extreme implies a segregation from the dominant institutions of North American society" (1978, 145). Overall, the authors note that:

...it would seem that the Gagnon and Simon thesis of cultural impoverishment was a time-bound hypothesis that had a measure of validity for certain gay settings, for some gay individuals, and for earlier decades...the growth of gay institutions during the last 15 years, the rise of a sense of collective identity, the creation of a sophisticated political culture, and the efflorescence of a variety of gay recreational styles has significantly expanded the content of that culture (1978, 145).

More importantly however, Harry and DeVall also identified political participation as a potential marker of institutional completeness overlooked earlier by Breton. We will return to the issue of political involvement in chapters to follow.

## CURRENT PERSPECTIVES OF SUBCULTURE

The Deviance Anthologies and Readers In Review

The first edition of the popular Rubington and Weinberg anthology of deviant behaviour (1968) generally promotes a view of subcultures based on the sharing of a common fate, the need for contact with other deviants with similar interests, the 'deviance corridor' and various trajectories by which deviants become aware of, enter, and remain 'within' the subculture (1968, 203-5). It seems that during this time, sociological emphasis rested upon the understanding of inherent subcultural variability in terms of: entrée to the subculture, ideology, interdependence and commitment of members, visibility and interaction with the larger social system, social organization and predominant forms of activity (1968, 206-7).

However, in the earlier works of the 1960s and 1970s, salient points were often transformed into simplistic and general claims such as, "when enough persons assigned deviant status became aware of their common problems, a deviant subculture emerges" (Rubington and Weinberg, 1968 206) and, "subcultures, like cultures generally, state beliefs, values and norms" (1968, 207).<sup>39</sup>

Cressey and Ward suggest that, "a subculture is a set of conduct norms which cluster together in such a way that they can be differentiated from the broader culture of which they are a part" (1969, 634).

Furthermore, the authors asserted that there are "...no people are involved in subcultures" (1969, 634). Although this claim may be taken as evidence that 'subcultures' do change, extend and exist beyond the life or involvement of a particular membership contingent, this view fails to take into account the significance of spokespersons, activists (and perhaps historians) who often generate the impetus for change, mobilization and public awareness. One cannot encourage a comprehension of the history of the emerging homosexual and gay world organization without an eye to the more notable personalities involved in the creation of such a history.

Moreover, many of the earlier anthologies of deviant behaviour offer a 'mixed bag' of so-labelled subcultural themes, ranging from transitory 'bottle gangs', nudists, prostitutes, delinquents, corrupt police officers, to drug addicts and homosexuals (see Rubington and Weinberg, 1968; 1973; 1978; 1981; 1987). Kelly (1976 and 1984) presents similar problems by inferring that female delinquents and battered women may constitute subcultural variations. The theoretically narrow views of deviant subcultures coupled with a broad and disjointed range of subcultural groups (Rosenberg, Stebbins and Turowetz, 1982 vii) distorts the very meaning of subculture.

The five editions of Rubington and Weinberg's Deviance The Interactionist Perspective (published between 1968 and 1987) demonstrate an increasing trend toward a more cosmopolitan view of subcultural characteristics. This is particularly evident in the claim that "deviant

worlds generally have their own distinctive traditions, these include general outlooks, beliefs, values and norms" (1978, 335).

However, such anthologies have largely continued to employ the sociological concepts of world, community and subculture in an indiscriminate fashion and without substantial endeavour toward much needed plausible sociological connotations of such terminology.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the term 'underworld' also appears in the third edition (1978, 406) and one may only suppose that the intended meaning corresponds to the term subculture, although there is no evidence for this and similar conjecture.

Throughout a twenty-one year publishing history, concepts such as institutional completeness and organizational complexity continue to be omitted. In particular, Rubington's (1982), "Theory of Deviant Subcultures" an additional article contained only in the most recent edition (1987, 203), fails even to infer the possibility of an increasing degree of subcultural organizational and structural evolutionary sophistication.

In a similar manner, Kelly's (1976) 'text reader in deviance' contains references to the 'local gay community' (Corzine and Kirby, 1977 579), the 'gay subculture', 'gay way of life' and the 'gay culture' (Kelly). Not surprisingly, the task of deciphering such terminology largely befalls the reader's own interpretations. Kelly does however suggest the possibility that variation in the degree of structure may exist across different subcultures (1976, 442).



Kelly's second edition (1984), incorporating Best and Luckenbill's, "The Social Organization of Deviants" in a new section entitled 'Structures and Organizational Components', appears to be possessed of a more contemporary view of subcultural organization. Moreover, Kelly infers a growth in the organizational complexity of 'subcultures', recommending further examination of the "underlying organizational structures" of subcultures (1984, 709).

Another addition to the Kelly text consists of a section entitled, 'Deviant Organizations, Decision-Makers and Structures'. The articles herein largely pertain to the moral entrepreneurial process of scientists, controlling white-collar crime among physicians and, significantly, Kelly's (1982) examination of the need for an analysis of the ways in which the social structure in general perpetuates deviant behaviour. Specifically, Kelly argues that the popular 'medical-clinical-individualistic model of change and treatment' (1982, 829) shifts the focus from society to the individual and from the group to the isolate. The problem for Kelly concerns the ways in which

...the disadvantaged or powerless (broadly defined) are frequently perceived and responded to by our schools, our mental institutions, our police departments, our courts, and our parole units (1982, 841).

Moreover, Kelly contends that the failure to examine "the structural-organizational sources of crime, delinquency and deviance" (1982, 842) also encourages the ideology of 'blaming-the-victim' and neglects, "a direct and systematic concern for those factors, conditions, and

environments that have actually given shape to the behaviour or behaviours under scrutiny" (1982, 842).

In the most recent Kelly edition (1989), references to 'subcultures' and subcultural theories have been eliminated. It is perhaps in this way, that Kelly avoids many of the complications associated with subcultural theory. Much of the section entitled 'Noninstitutional Deviance' recounts the fashion in which 'hit men', 'taxi dancers', male and female prostitutes, white collar (corporate) criminals, female body builders and low status 'bailbondsmen' engage in career mobility, neutralization and maintenance of deviant identity, and deviant organizational sophistication (Best and Luckenbill). In general, Kelly claims that 'noninstitutional deviance' focuses on the development of deviance,

...as a result of the actor's own desires and needs; this means that frequently the actor plays an assertive role in moving into a particular type of activity, as well as consciously structuring and presenting a specific self to others (1989, 421).

The popular perspective of subcultural coherence remains evident in contemporary sociological dialogue.<sup>41</sup> Rubington claims that, "deviant ideologies are much more apt to be systematic, internally coherent, and comprehensive to the extent that they comprise a world view" (1982, 42-3). The difficulty however, is that such a perspective fails to acknowledge the potential for the diversity of belief systems and ideologies<sup>42</sup> which may foster both intra-group and inter-group conflict, fragmentation or dissolution.

Rubington has noted six primary elements of deviant subcultures which are specific to the group. These include patterns of behaviour, artifacts, a set of norms and rules, particular argot, a related ideology, and the deflection of stigma through the affirmation of one's self image as a result of temporary group membership (1982, 46-8). Furthermore, Rubington developed a continuum of subcultural variation based upon membership volume, frequency and patterns of intra-group social interaction and the kind of response the deviant groups call out from the wider society. Rubington postulates that bottle gangs form the lowest end of the continuum, followed by the hippie subculture of the late 1960s and the gay subculture of the 1980s "with its many satellites" (Rubington, 1982 48) at the centre, and the communes of the 1960s forming the highest organizational pole of the continuum (1982, 48-49).

While Stebbins notes the abundance of specialized services, organizations<sup>43</sup>, events and publications which "...link members of the homosexual scene with one another in separate towns and cities across the country" (1988, 73), he refuses to equate this organizational sophistication with forms of institutional completeness or emergent evolutionary development. Moreover, he fails to denote the conceptual and perhaps structural differentiation between community and subculture but rather, attempts to disguise this dilemma with the cloak of his often-repeated phrase, "the gay-lesbian scene". At no time however, does he attempt to define this somewhat nebulous concept, and so obscures the issue by referring to deviant groups as worlds, sororities, organizational

worlds and scenes. In like manner, Sacco confuses 'distinctly deviant worlds' (1988, 17) and deviant 'communities', without distinction, although he does include a brief description of Best and Luckenbill's (1982) model of the organizational sophistication of deviants.

Therefore, most of the deviance text readers and anthologies are largely characterized by a lack of consensus regarding deviant subcultures and communities. It is this confusion which warrants theoretical reconstruction and reorganization. In part, the goal of this thesis has been to illuminate possible solutions to the difficulties engendered by the ambiguity and imprecise definitions of prevailing notions of subculture.

#### THE 'STATE OF THE ART' IN SUBCULTURAL ANALYSES

##### John Allen Lee Institutional Completeness of the Male Gay Community

Lee's (1979) model of institutional completeness, as it is applied to the gay male subculture, was explicitly derived from Breton's work on ethnic communities. In the context of Lee's analysis, institutional completeness refers to the idea that a gay man may move within the subcultural boundaries of the gay 'community', dealing only with and within gay-oriented businesses, services and institutions, venturing into the mainstream only on rare occasions. Lee also postulated that innovative 'gay connections' such as communes and collectives would

encourage the future development of a viable gay community (1979, 196), although in terms of Lee's territorial orientation, one should note the limitations of such evolution.

Lee's concept is based upon an ecological model of the territorially-situated gay 'community'. The author examines the boundaries, populations, territory, time ('gay time'), niches, redundancy and energy corresponding to the 'sexual pluralism' of the gay male subculture as an ecosystem. Lee argued that:

An ecological model is proposed (in contrast, say, to a subcultural model) because it emphasizes the interdependence among various sets of social processes each of which is associated with an identifiable population active in relation to identifiable territories (1979, 181).

Moreover, Lee suggests that individual communities and territories exhibit heterogeneity with regard to their degree of institutional completeness.

In his examination of institutional completeness, Lee refers to Toronto as a primary 'identifiable territory'. In other words, for Lee, institutional completeness means that:

A gay citizen of Toronto can buy a home through a gay real estate agent familiar with the types of housing and neighbourhoods most suitable to gay clients. He can close the deal through a gay lawyer, and insure with a gay insurance agent. If he is new to the community and cannot ask acquaintances for the names of these agents, he can consult the Gay Yellow [sic] Pages, a listing of businesses and services which is available in many larger cities. Or he can approach a typical source of connection with the gay community, such as a gay bookstore, or he can consult a local gay newspaper or periodical...he will also learn where he can buy lumber and renovating supplies from a company catering to a gay clientele...gay suppliers of furniture, house plants, and interior decorating. He will find gay

sources of skilled labour or gay cleaning services. Having moved in, our gay citizen can clothe himself at gay-oriented clothing stores, have his hair cut by a gay stylist, his spectacles made by a gay optician. He can buy food at a gay bakery, records at a gay phonograph shop, and arrange his travel plans through gay travel agents...he may be able to deal with a gay credit union. He can contribute money to tax-deductible gay foundations, participate in gay political groups, and enjoy gay-produced programs on cable television. To keep him up to date on everything happening in his gay community he can telephone the Gay Line, which is updated weekly (Lee, 1979: 179-80).

Lee fails to note that for the majority of gay male Torontonians (as well as those in most large cities, with the possible exception of San Francisco), exclusive participation in the gay milieu requires a total commitment on the part of the individual. Such participation also necessitates a high degree of residential, economic and occupational resources, appropriately-situated familial ties, interpersonal relationships, and social networks, an awareness of the availability and accessibility of gay goods and services, a working knowledge of intra and inter-group boundaries, passages, and arenas of potential conflict with the wider society. Finally, a good deal of pre-planning, time-budgeting, and energy are necessary prerequisites. On the whole then, Lee's vision of institutional completeness, although a gay man's Valhalla, may not find its counterpart in the mundane existence of everyman.

This thesis will endeavour to move beyond Lee's ecological model in an attempt to demonstrate that the gay world is not limited merely to discrete spatial, temporal and situational territories. Rather, there is, at present, a larger common map which functions as a gay trajectory,

a kind of gay and 'homosocial' world within which various, diverse and territorially-based communities are situated. Thus, the Gay San Francisco or Southern California are very different than the San Francisco or Southern California perceived or experienced by the conventional resident or tourist. Moreover, Lee's analysis does not provide a meaningful framework with which to connect individual gay territories to the evolutionary development of a more contemporary unit of analysis such as the gay world.

Lee (1979) argues that although the gay community as a subculture of the 1980s may be perceived as institutionally complete (and complex), the lack of a shared native<sup>44</sup> language and the absence of "the vital historical continuity of ethnic groups" (Lee, 1979: 192), makes direct comparison with ethnic groups difficult. To the contrary, the argument will be made that the attempts to reclaim early gay history, the development of gay argot, rhetoric, leisure, politics, philosophy, music, literature, style and in fact 'gay culture' (have and) are contributing to the evolution of a higher level of organizational complexity within the gay world.

#### Joel Best and David Luckenbill: Organizational Sophistication

Best and Luckenbill's account of 'the social organization of deviants' focuses largely on a social-organizational dimension rather than social-psychological or social-structural levels of analysis of 'deviant'

behaviour. Their paradigm, based on a model of organizational sophistication, is primarily composed of "...elements of complexity, coordination and purposiveness" (1982, 24). The authors endeavour to examine variations of deviant organizational sophistication with regard to the following dimensions: membership volume, type of association and participation, degree of stratification and complexity of division of labour, development of coordination, commitment and the determination by which they cultivate, struggle for and realize their goals (Best and Luckenbill, 1982: 24). Their schema is presented in the form of a typology (see preceding page).

The elements are examined along a continuum of five types of deviant social organization which range from simple to complex. The authors do not examine the concept of subcultures in particular although, in discussing deviant colleagues, peers, mobs and formal organizations, they implicitly assume the existence of subcultures. The first three units, loners, colleagues and peers are believed to comprise the 'relatively unsophisticated' forms of deviant organization. (1982, 28). The least sophisticated type are loners who usually engage in acts



Figure 1.

Characteristics of Different Forms  
of the Social Organization of Deviants

Form of Organization	Characteristic			
	Mutual Association	Mutual Participation	Elaborate Division of Labour	Extended Organization
Loners	no	no	no	no
Colleagues	yes	no	no	no
Peers	yes	yes	no	no
Mobs	yes	yes	yes	no
Formal Organizations	yes	yes	yes	yes

(Source: Best and Luckenbill, 1982: 25).

of solitary deviance such as cheque forging, compulsive criminal activity, murder, gambling and embezzling (Best and Luckenbill, 1982: 28). It could be argued that the authors' characterization of loners as organizationally unsophisticated participants in solitary deviant activities would seem to contradict their implicit assertion regarding loners as members of a subculture.

Colleagues also engage in deviant activities such as pool hustling or prostitution without the presence of other deviants. However, they often share a form of subcultural knowledge, learned through contact with similar others, which may include a particular perspective including specialized norms, values, beliefs and argot (1982, 37). Peers too, share a subcultural knowledge, but they often forge stronger bonds than colleagues, develop more supportive and cooperative relationships and engage in deviant activity in the presence of other deviants. Examples of such peers include delinquent gangs and illicit drug users (1982, 45).

The final forms, mobs and formal organizations are believed to exemplify increasingly sophisticated forms of deviant organization. Mobs, such as professional gamblers and road hustlers, develop more of a 'team work' approach, based on a greater degree of coordination, discipline and purposiveness (1982, 55). The most sophisticated and complex type, the formal organization, is exemplified in large, well-developed street gangs and organized crime families. Formal organizations tend to have a more sizable membership contingent, formal vertical and horizontal hierarchical structures, channels of communication and specialized functions, departments and positions (1982, 65).

Best and Luckenbill suggest two additional (although in their investigation, largely unexplored) units of deviant organization: worlds and communities. The authors explain that, in their view, "a deviant world has a large but imprecisely defined membership...on the other hand, communities are highly sophisticated, and deviants sometimes form

communities" (1982, 79). In defining 'communities' as "groups which share a common territory and a higher degree of institutional completeness" (1982, 80), Best and Luckenbill avoid the conceptual dilemmas associated with an articulation of the terminology of 'subculture'. They have however, failed to provide the depth and rich ethnographic detail of many of the popular sociological studies which they themselves cite (Leznoff and Westley, 1956; Hooker, 1967; Dank, 1971; Warren, 1974; Harry and DeVall, 1978; Lee, 1979; Wolf, 1979). Moreover, the authors have also overlooked the significance of the distinctly cumulative and developmental nature of the organizational attributes they have studied. Thus, they have failed to go beyond the majority of popular studies, to contribute meaningfully to the 'state of the art' in subcultural theory, and to provide an analysis which makes manifest the substance and diversity of the modern gay world.

#### The Development of Consciousness: Voices from the Margins

Significant contributions to the 'state of the art' in subcultural theory have also been generated by gay historians, writers and journalists themselves in their conscious attempts to reclaim their history, biographies and politicization. Moreover, such efforts have at different times, both encouraged and hindered the struggle against oppressive social, religious and political structures of conventional society which serve as fetters to rights, privileges and 'gay liberation' in general.

Much of the pre-1969 publishing efforts were rooted in vested self-interest and aimed primarily at justifying and initially, defending gay individual and collective responses to the problems of persecution, powerlessness and ego-management.

The emergence of self and group consciousness have been neglected by theorists such as Lee and Best and Luckenbill. Lee's ecological model does not, in fact, take into account community or subcultural characteristics which are invisible at the outset. Moreover, Best and Luckenbill's emphasis on structure, does not permit them to discern, or to analyze, cultural materials, among which consciousness is significant. Furthermore, much of the American sociological perspective regards subcultural members as 'passive responders', while British theorists (Clarke, 1974; Willis, 1977; and Hebdige, 1979, in particular), cognizant of the importance of consciousness, view subcultural members as 'active creators'.

There are two forms of consciousness evident in the literature: scientific (explanatory) justification and (personal) advocacy sponsorship. In particular, many homosexuals in the United States, Britain and Germany during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (eg. Ulrichs, 1898; Ellis, 1901, 1936; Carpenter, 1906; and Hirschfield, 1914, 1934)<sup>45</sup> employed the scientific rhetoric of the time in an endeavour to explain the physiological and psychological basis of homosexuality, and thus to defend it. Others however, shared their personal views, stories of oppression and private troubles frequently

cloaked in pages of fiction, poetry (eg. Whitman, 1855; Wilde, 1890, 1895, etc.; Hall, 1928)<sup>46</sup>. There were panoramic descriptions of the lifestyle of the homosexual (eg. Vidal, 1948; Cory, 1951, 1964; Benson, 1965; and Crisp, 1968)<sup>47</sup>, in addition to the outpouring of homosexual male and lesbian pulp during the 1950s (see Faderman, 1981; Martin and Lyon, 1972).

In the post-Stonewall era of the early 1970s, the development of group consciousness and the growing politicization (Schur, 1979: 406) of homosexuality led earnest lesbians and gay men to chronicle their lives, relationships and oppression, in addition to offering homosexuals advice on self-esteem, personal growth and coming out (eg. Altman, 1971; Jay and Young, 1972, 1975, 1978; Martin and Lyon, 1972; Weinberg, 1972; Hodges and Hutter, 1974; Clark, 1977; Hunt, 1977; and Kramer, 1978)<sup>48</sup>. Moreover, as Harry and DeVall note, the growing awareness which culminated in a shift from "private troubles to public issues" (Mills, 1959) and from a recognition of isolated individual situations to a collective history, was in large part, fostered by the rising organizational complexity of gay institutions (1978, 153). Although, it may also be in part, that the new awareness of a (perhaps fragmented) collective group history encouraged the development of greater organizational complexity in the emerging gay world.

The initial stirrings of reclaiming "the early history of a movement thought not to have an early history" (Lauritsen and Thorstad, 1974: cover) on the part of gay men and lesbians, was largely stimulated by the explosion of post-Stonewall liberation writings and the intrepid

labours of activists (eg. Altman, Egan, and Hay), historians (eg. Boswell, Bullough, Faderman, Katz, Lauritsen and Thorstad, Smith-Rosenberg and Steakley)<sup>49</sup>, social scientists and researchers (eg. Adam, 1987; D'Emilio, 1978, 1981, 1983; Cavin, 1985; Grahn, 1984; Hooker, 1967 and 1978; Sagarin, 1969; Humphreys, 1970 and 1972; Marotta, 1981).<sup>50</sup>

Moreover, the consciousness (of difference, of homosexuality) expressed in these writings, also encouraged the further development of self-consciousness and group solidarity. It is in this way that the on-going gay and lesbian dialogue contributes to sociological theory, through both scientific literature and personal sponsorship, and serves to expand preconceived notions of the 'state of art' in subcultural theory.

Moreover, the evolutionary development of various gay and lesbian communities and indeed of the gay 'world' as a whole, continues even as sociologists, gay academics and activists endeavour to grasp and to explain this phenomenon. We are then, all of us, striving to play 'catch-up' with a movement that is constantly evolving beyond the grasp of our comprehension. Irwin regarded such development as problematic since:

Subcultural systems are undergoing constant changes due to internal processes of growth and change and due to varying circumstances of the greater social setting of the subculture...certain behaviour at one point in time does not have the same meaning, and relationship to the subculture as it has at another time (1965, 111).

Fine and Kleinman further explain the difficulty for researchers:

Problems of collecting and reporting information are so extensive that many researchers settle for a synchronic analysis of subculture. In so doing, they imply that the content of a subculture during the research is the content of the subculture across time...All groups, but particularly

those which lack formal mechanisms of socialization, have cultural systems which are in a state of flux...(1979, 6).

Thus, studies such as Lee's ecological model of community (1979), cannot take into account those subcultural materials, evolutionary change, organizational developments and ever-changing cultural artifacts. This is primarily because these materials do not fit an ecological perspective, nor are they overtly manifest. Thus, such theories cannot adequately depict the contemporary development of gay and lesbian milieux.

#### The Politicization of Deviance and Homosexuality

Particularly in the post-Stonewall decades, the invocation of the terminology of rights, claims, freedoms and anti-discrimination clauses has moved both gay issues and women's issues into the political arena (Schur, 1979: 427). Although it has been observed that the early homophile and homosexual organizations were focused primarily on offering help and support to individuals and small groups<sup>51</sup> (Schur, 1979: 429), groups such as the Scientific Humanitarian Committee (Germany, 1897), the Society for Human Rights (Chicago, 1924), the Veteran's Benevolent Association (New York City, 1945), the Mattachine Society (New York, 1951) and the Daughters of Bilitis (New York, 1955) were also oriented toward the struggle for liberation, albeit in a loosely organized and somewhat embryonic fashion.

However, the major cleavage and internal conflict of the American

liberation movement of homosexuals occurred during the Stonewall riot of 1969 (Licata, 1985: 178). Thus, the older 'Homophile Old Guard' (Marotta, 1981) broke from the younger, radical liberationist gays, thus creating a cleavage between the two groups. This was largely a consequence of discordant philosophies regarding the ensuing struggle for domination over the rights movement since generally, the homophiles leaned toward more conservative action and the new breed of activists toward militant demonstrations, 'zaps'<sup>52</sup> and affirmative action.

During the inception of post-Stonewall 'gay' liberation, grounded in the militant activism of the previous civil rights movement, many of the existing organizations disbanded. This set the stage for the development of more contemporary organizational forms with varying degrees of group consciousness and a greater orientation toward influencing public attitudes and public policies (Schur, 1979: 430).<sup>53</sup> Moreover, the recent AIDS crisis and the divergent responses of particular territorial communities precipitated a watershed among gay spokespersons such that the epidemic was "swiftly crystallized ...into a political movement for the gay community at the same time it set off a maelstrom of controversy that polarized gay leaders" (Shilts, 1987: 245).<sup>54</sup>

The 'politicization of deviance' frequently consists of a redefinition of the oppressors as the 'problem' (eg. homophobia and racism), a shift in the popular terminology (from homosexuals to gays and from Negroes to blacks), the efforts of collective political organizations toward 'ameliorative legislation', and an increase in public visibility



(Schur, 1979: 431). It would appear that this is particularly relevant to the gay nexus as a consequence of its conscious movement toward 'world' status. Perhaps, as Brake claims,

Sub-cultures...are still arguably a response to structural problems in culturally and historically specific circumstances, but they should also be recognized as an important source of social and political influence (1974, 440-1).

However, if this is truly the case, one could suggest that the significance of a 'world' would be much greater.

That homosexuals have developed a group consciousness and are increasingly involved in politicization does not signify however, that lesbian and gay authors, researchers and social scientists have unearthed a solution to the problematic nature of subcultural terminology. Arnold suggests that:

Whereas the concept subculture was once used only by the sociologist to organize his understanding of the social world, it is now used by the very members of that social world to organize their activity within it (1970, 120).

Hence, the 'mixed bag' of terms such as group, community, subculture and world still persist in the homosexual literature. Particularly within the gay world, this is compounded by the diverse political ramifications (in both the gay and conventional worlds) the kinds of statements, labels and terminology chosen by gay men and lesbians as they speak consciously for and about themselves. Primarily, this refers to the lack of consensus in meaning, response and perceived political intent, among heterosexual and homosexual actors, when applying terms such as homosexual, gay or

lesbian.

#### THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Despite their contributions to the on-going sociological dialogue concerning 'deviant' subcultures generally, the theories, models and typologies proposed by Breton (1954), Harry and DeVall (1978), Lee (1979) and Best and Luckenbill (1982), are not in themselves sufficient to capture the contemporary gay world.

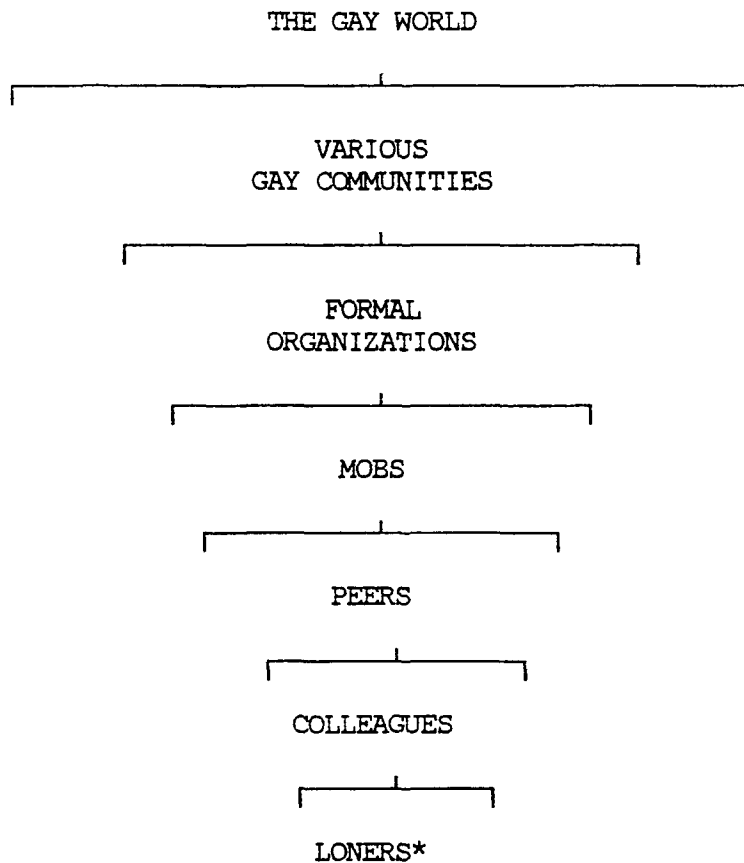
In particular, criticism may be levied at Breton, whose original concept of institutional completeness lacked an appreciation of important political and cultural characteristics particular to the gay world. One must also note that, although Lee and Harry and DeVall explicitly acknowledge variation in levels of institutional completeness, their investigations were confined largely to territorial communities and, particularly in the case of Lee, related to ecological systems. In this view, such communities are not regarded as existing units of a larger whole, nor do these authors address the relation between increasing subcultural organization and evolutionary phenomena.<sup>55</sup>

Moreover, Lee, Harry and DeVall and many other American sociologists have neglected the importance of self and group consciousness, and the role which activism plays in subcultural development. These factors are of primary importance to British sociologists and the latter have contributed a great deal in this area.

Similarly, Best and Luckenbill's typology (which includes loners, colleagues, peers, mobs and formal organizations), fails to appreciate the cumulative nature of increasing organizational sophistication. In other words, Best and Luckenbill do not explicitly address the notion that each ascendant level of sophistication encompasses and reorganizes the levels now included in the newly-developed 'whole'. Therefore, an emphasis on the cumulative nature of organizational sophistication would be illustrated in the following manner (see preceding page).

The author hypothesizes that the gay world does not exist simply in terms of specific territorial 'collectivities' and therefore, ought not to be perceived as an amorphous form of 'subculture'. The communities and milieux of this world are bound as the links of a chain, through often invisible networks of gay information and institutions such as publishing, recreation, leisure, and 'cultural' phenomena such as Pride Day celebrations (on the anniversary of the New York Stonewall Riot of June, 1969), benefit dances and revues, the Washington Quilt Project, various AIDS fund-raising events, territorially-based community centres and bars.

Figure 2.



\* In this context, loners refer to "closet cases" and isolated rural gays who generally have no gay contact.

Moreover, many of these links are world wide, traversing international customs, languages, legal systems, traditions and physical borders. These links show both variegation and similarity, but are all based on a unique fusion and specific unity, forged by common prisms of gay oppression, gay identity, gay culture, gay ideology, gay need, gay desire and more recently, an emerging sense of gay history. Concepts of

the gay world must therefore include these attributes and take into account the different stages of development which characterize their existence. Moreover, these threads, some of which are sturdy and others tenuous, extend both to and from the various branches, territories, tributaries and systems of the gay world.

Therefore, this thesis will attempt to develop a model of (evolutionary) institutional and structural complexity corresponding to the modern gay world. Since, "individuals are, after all, culture carriers who both reflect and transmit through social learning, the attitudes, ideals, and ideas of their culture" (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967: 139), an examination of the ways in which the development of gay world sophistication and complexity serve to modify the on-going dialectic with the wider social world is also germane.

Chapter two will furnish a concise summary of the historical emergence of the gay 'subculture' in order to familiarize the reader with the formative stages of gay world evolution. Chapter three will examine the symbols and cultural artifacts particular to the various gay communities. Chapter four will illustrate the contrasting levels of institutional completeness and organization among various gay communities and chapter five will yield an in-depth examination of the structures and institutions of the modern gay world. Finally, the aim of chapter six will be to provide a coherent summation of the thesis, to offer tentative conclusions, and to examine possible future trends and directions for research.

These chapters, generally speaking, will then serve to 'set the stage' for a reconceptualization of the gay community as gay world. This study may also function as a means of testing the current sociological theories in terms of analyzing the shift toward what initially appears to be a level of unprecedented institutional completeness, structural complexity and organizational sophistication among 'deviant' actors.

In order to extend the concept of institutional completeness (Breton, 1964) in addition to Lee's (1979) territorially-based ecological model, we must also investigate what has been referred to as the "substantial political infrastructure" of the gay world. (Shilts, 1987: xxii). The emergence of the innovative 'cultural institutions of the modern gay world' (Adam, 1985: 659) will also serve as relevant data, as will an examination of gender politics, gay aging, the AIDS controversy, and the currently-emerging modifications (and in fact, redefinitions), by gays and homosexuals, of traditional 'marriages' and family 'units'.

In particular, much of this study will focus on discussions of gay organizations such as the gay publishing industry, political consciousness, churches, and other organizational manifestations. Furthermore, an examination of the present structure of the gay world, incorporating age and gender conflicts, gay capitalistic enterprise, territorially-based 'communities', bars and support services, will serve to enhance our understanding of the international linkages of gay networks and associations, while simultaneously informing us of the diversity in gay recreational, cultural, and symbolic styles and institutions.

Throughout, it must be remembered that the 'deviant' actors of the gay world bring with them varying degrees of socialization to the norms, mores, beliefs, customs, traditions and culture of the conventional world. Hence, as both heterosexuals and homosexuals traverse the 'boundaries' between the two worlds, each adds to the existing material of the other's cultural repertoires, social and political perspectives and in effect, the content of their worlds.

## END NOTES

1. Stebbins' (1988) index contains sixteen page references under the heading of subculture. These however, refer only to sections on transsexuals, nude beaches and lifestyles, religious cults, skid row, gambling scenes, drug users, swingers, homosexuals and transvestites. In this context, subculture as an actual term is absent, perhaps mistakenly inferred in phrases such as 'deviant world', 'sub-groups', 'scenes' and the like.

2. Where the term culture appears in the context of this thesis, the implicit meaning will be identical to that of the anthropologist, E.B. Tylor (Primitive Culture, London: John Murray, 1891). Tylor defined 'culture' as:

...that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (1891, 1).

3. This is particularly evident in the sociological dialogue on homosexual and gay (i.e. deviant) groups since such distinctions or corresponding definitions are lacking.

4. See David W. Maurer, Whiz Mob. Gainseville, Florida: Publication of the American Dialect Society, No.24, 1955, page 10.

5. Cloward and Ohlin's analysis however suggests an age-level integration within the (delinquent) deviant 'opportunity structures' in addition to the influence of 'carriers of conventional values' upon the more deviant members of the criminal subculture. Thus, the authors claim, "the content of the delinquent subculture is more or less a direct response to the local milieu in which it emerges" (1960b, 750).

6. Rubington's typology of participation in deviant and conventional cultures is included here for clarification.

Deviant Type	Conventional Culture	Deviant Culture
1. Two-Worlder	+	+
2. Secret	+	-
3. Public	-	+
4. Marginal	-	-



Source: Earl Rubington, "Deviant Subcultures", Rosenberg, Stebbins and Turowetz (eds.). The Sociology of Deviance. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982, page 65.

7. As Winick notes, "one of the relationships between deviance and social change...is the normalization of behaviour which has previously been frowned upon" (1984, 712).

8. Theodorson attributes the original introduction of the term 'human ecology' to Park and Burgess in 1921 (1961, 3).

9. However, almost one hundred years prior to the development of what is now regarded as 'classical human ecology', studies of the spatial distribution of crime and suicide were documented. These early studies include, for example: M. de Guerry de Champneuf's 1833 analysis of the relationship between age, sex, instruction and geographic locale to suicide, crime and illegitimacy in France (Elmer, 1933: 8-9); various examinations of the ways in which crime and delinquency correspond to increased population density, crowding, and the concentration of poor and working class individuals in unfavourable circumstances in England (A. Allison, 1840; G.C. Holland, 1843; W. Buchanan, 1846); Henry Mayhew's 1862 analysis of The Criminal Prisons of London and Scenes of Prison Life, his ecological studies of the London legal profession and the regional variability of adult and juvenile crime; and Joseph Fletcher's attempt in 1850 to develop an 'index' of crime based on the 'ecological maps' of 'natural areas' in England and Wales (Levin and Lindesmith, 1937: 14-20).

10. Wirth also notes that Park emphasized the unique characteristics of human beings, as opposed to those of plants such that:  
...they are conditioned by their capacity for symbolic communication, by rational behaviour, and by the possession of elaborate technology and culture (Wirth, 1945: 72).

11. According to Dunham, the concentric zone hypothesis of Burgess was actually a revision of Booth's 1891 work, The Survey of the Life and Labour of the People of London (London: Williams and Margate) which was an attempt to chart the "natural, circular growth of the city" (Dunham, 1937: 62). Burgess claimed that cities and towns expand outward radially from the city centre through a process of succession. In particular, Burgess graphed natural area zones of residence in concentric circles in the following manner: Zone I, the business district, was positioned in the centre or the 'Loop'; Zone II was seen as the 'zone in transition', an area of deterioration, poor housing, with a large transient population and partial invasion by business and light manufacture; Zone III was

largely comprised of working class houses; Zone IV was the residential upper class area; and the furthest from the periphery, Zone V was the commuter zone, consisting mainly of satellite cities (1925, 38-9).

The concentric zone theory of Burgess caused much debate among the early sociologists and ecologists. Although this hypothesis was generally accepted (Reckless, for example, applied this theory to a 1926 study of the Chicago vice areas and Shaw, in 1929 to a Chicago study of delinquency) and gained some general support (Shaw and McKay, 1931; R.C. White, 1932; McKenzie, 1933; and Quinn, 1934), several authors take issue with the lack of validity and generalizability of this hypothesis. In particular, the popular claim is that the concentric zone hypothesis is largely applicable solely to the north side of Chicago. See for example, Bartholomew, 1932; Green, 1932; and Abbott, 1936. Moreover, Davie (1938, 92) suggests that such a universal 'ideal type' has no corresponding existence in reality.

12. Although G. Suttles (see The Social Construction of Communities, Chicago, 1972) contends that these natural areas "were very rarely natural" (Downes and Rock, 1982: 71).

13. Zorbaugh distinguishes between natural and administrative areas, suggesting that the latter is comprised of school, health, police and ward districts. The difficulty is that administrative areas 'cut across natural areas', tend to overlook the uniqueness and experience of natural area residents, and fund and gather statistics which are insignificant to natural area application (1926, 47-8).

14. However, several of the neo-orthodox ecologists (such as Alihan, 1938; Gettys, 1940; Firey, 1946; Hyatt, 1946 and Myers, 1950) have argued that the classical ecologists have neglected culture as a significantly influential human factor. For example, Hollingshead notes: ...ecologists must recognize explicitly that culture and socially organized behaviour forms, transmitting through learning subsequent to birth, are the elementary factors which differentiate human from animal society...If this fundamental assumption is taken as a point of departure in ecological analysis, the dilemma of trying to bridge the gap between man in nature and man in society is dissolved (1947, 112).

15. Criticism has been levied at the ecological distinction between the biotic community and the social society. This dual classification appears, to some, as based primarily on ecological "a priori assumptions" (Alihan, 1938: 96) such that "the treatment of them invariably results in their fusion" (1938, 94). See also J.A. Quinn, 1939; W.E. Gettys, 1940; and A.H. Hawley, 1944.

16. The dominant area of the community, according to Park, that with the highest land values such as those in the central banking area and central shopping district. Moving outward from these areas to the periphery of the community, the land values decline rapidly at first, then more gradually closer to the periphery (Park, 1936: 26). Thus, Park states, "both the one and the other are bound up in a kind of territorial complex within which they are at once competing and interdependent units" (Park, 26).

17. Whereas Park (1936) focused largely on the ecological processes of dominance, competition and succession, McKenzie (1926) and later Dawson and Gettys (1948) explored the five processes of concentration, centralization, segregation, invasion and succession.

18. The early descriptive studies of the Chicagoans commonly include: Nels Anderson's The Hobo, 1923; Walter C. Reckless' "The Distribution of Commercialized Vice in the City", 1926; Frederick Thrasher's The Gang, 1927; R.D. McKenzie's The Metropolitan Community, 1928; Clifford Shaw's Delinquency Areas, 1929; Harvey Zorbaugh's The Gold Coast and the Slum, 1929; and Paul Cressey's The Taxi Dance Hall, 1932, all of which generally emerged out of classical ecological theory.

19. Although the early Chicago analysis of social disorganization has been criticized by Matza (see Becoming Deviant, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969) as referring rather to the expression of diversity (Downes and Rock, 1982: 62).

20. Although Cressey (1964, 3) notes that the original formal statement of Sutherland's differential association theory appeared in 1939. Sutherland himself apparently corrected Cressey, stating that it actually appeared in the earlier edition of Principles in Criminology in 1934.

21. In Pfohl's Marxist critique of Merton, he recommended that: What remains tacit or implicit in Merton's work must be made explicit. The political economic structure of capitalism must be seen as a basic source of the contradictions which produce high rates of deviance (1985, 234).

22. This is similar to the claim of Yinger (1960, 122).

23. Sacco claimed that Matza and Sykes' concept of 'subterranean values' specifically refers to "value positions that are in conflict or competition with other deeply held values but which are still recognized and accepted by many" (1988, 17).

24. This is of particular significance within the gay world, many of whose members employ the support of political parties, professional caucuses, business acquaintances, publishing services, friends and family groups (such as FFLAG Toronto, Family and Friends of Lesbians and Gays) who provide economic resources, political and legislative networking, and various types of moral and emotional support.

25. Many of the British authors (Hebdige, Hall and Jefferson, John Clarke, et al.) employ the term hegemony as it has been interpreted by Gramsci, as well as definitions of dominant and subordinate relations as these were previously outlined by Marx.

26. Much of Hebdige's 'semiotic' analysis is explicitly derived from the work of French theorist Roland Barthes. In particular, Pfohl notes that:

Barthes semiotics seeks to decode or recover the subtle and often hidden manner in which signs forge a relationship between the material medium of communication, a signifier (such as a spoken word, visual image, or musical sound pattern), and that which is signified (the context or meaning of a message)...Myths, contends Barthes, is a second order sign system in which ordinary signs are transformatively given an extraordinary meaning so as to naturalize, dehistoricize and thereby ideologically justify an existing social order (1985, 380).

See also Barthes, 1973.

27. Brake suggests that in particular:

What is central to any examination of youth culture is that it is not some vague structural monolith appealing to those roughly under thirty, but is a complex kaleidoscope of several subcultures, of different age groups, yet distinctly related to the class position of those in them (1980, vii).

28. Many years prior, Dawson and Gettys (1948, 616-17) postulated a distinction between fashion (as a manifestation of the desire for both novelty and at different times, conformity), and fads (as 'mechanisms of escape from boredom or frustration').

29. The claim that "the 'gay world' is based on a network of bars, public settings, and groups" (Downes and Rock, 1982: 31) appears to overlook much of the extraordinary work of British theorists such as Brake, 1974 and Hebdige, 1979. Moreover, such a claim offers a superficial and simplistic view since, in order to achieve this status, a 'world' must contain numerous and diverse elements of historical,

cultural, recreational and political relations, meanings, symbols, territories or 'scenes' (Irwin, 1977) and, in a word, styles.

30. See also McClung Lee, "Attitudinal Multivalence in Relation to Culture and Personality", in American Journal of Sociology, Vol.60, No.3, Nov. 1954, pages 294-99, for a brief critique of Gordon's 1947 use of the term subculture.

31. Dawson and Gettys (1948, 581) also appeared to equate the term subculture with collective status similarity and cultural segregation.

32. The difficulty for deviants however (and in particular, homosexuals) is that they commonly lack the experience of anticipatory or childhood socialization.

33. See also Gordon's later work regarding 'the subsociety and the subculture', in Assimilation in American Life, Oxford University Press, 1964.

34. This was so to such a degree that, M.H. Krout explained that for him, the term 'sociology' was synonymous with 'anthropology' and thus he used them interchangeably (1931, 185).

35. See also E.S. Bogardus, "A Race-Relations Cycle", in American Journal of Sociology, Vol.35, No.4, January 1930, pages 610-17.

36. See also R.E. Park and H.A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted, New York: Harper and Bros., 1921.

37. Although such segregation also tends to intensify the 'marginality' of the immigrant (to both self and others). See also E.V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937; M.M. Goldberg, "A Qualification of the Marginal Man Theory" in American Sociological Review. Vol.6, No.1, February 1941, pages 52-8; A.W. Green, "A Re-Examination of the Marginal Man Concept", in Social Forces, Vol.26, December 1947, pages 167-71; and C.A. Dawson and W.E. Gettys, An Introduction to Sociology, New York: Ronald Press Company, third edition, 1948.

38. They concluded, not surprisingly, that "in general, larger cities usually have a greater diversity of types of gay bars" (1978, 139) and that a city population of less than 50,000 people did not usually warrant a single gay bar (1978, 137). Moreover, Karlen substantiated this in 1971 but the current validity of such a claim is dubious.

39. Emphasis added. They do perhaps create, develop, modify, reinforce and transform beliefs, values and norms from within and from the wider culture, but they do not state. Rubington and Weinberg later suggest however, that "The content of any deviant subculture is usually a variation on and sometimes a caricature of the dominant cultural tradition" (1968, 262).

40. Weinberg, Rubington and Hammersmith (1981) also fail to use the term subculture as a substantive organizational concept.

41. Since subcultural theories subscribe, for the most part, to the view that the inner workings of subcultures must be harmonious and coherent, the problem is that:

If we emphasize integration and coherence at the expense of dissonance and discontinuity, we are in danger of denying the very manner in which the subcultural form is made to crystallize, objectify and communicate group experience (Hebdige, 1979: 79).

42. Such as the diversity and conflict (primarily political and ideological) which appear to be present in the gay world.

43. The example which Stebbins provides concerns the quarterlies, clubs and chapters that create a sense of solidarity in what he refers to as 'the Canadian transvestite scene' (1988, 58).

44. Emphasis mine.

45. See also Jonathan Katz, Gay and Lesbian History, New York: Avon, 1976; Havelock Ellis, Sexual Inversion, New York: Random House, 1901, and Studies in the Psychology of Sex, New York: Random House, 1936; Edward Carpenter, The Intermediate Sex, London: Allen and Unwin, 1908; "Magnus Hirschfeld: Autobiographical Sketch" in A Homosexual Emancipation Miscellany, c. 1835-1952, New York: Arno Press, 1975 (reprinted from Victor Robinson, ed. Excyclopedia Sexualis, New York, 1936, pages 317-21) and Magnus Hirschfeld, The Sexual History of the World War, New York: Panurge Press, 1934.

46. See Walt Whitman, Leaves of Grass, The First (1855) Edition, Malcolm Crowley, ed., New York: Viking, 1961; Edward Carpenter, Days With Walt Whitman: With Some Notes on His Life and Work, second edition, London: George Allen, 1906; Oscar Wilde, Portrait of Mr. W.H., Portland, Maine: Mosher, 1901; Radclyffe Hall, The Well of Loneliness, Britain: Jonathan Cape, 1928, and The Unlit Lamp, Ontario, Canada: Orpen Denny's Limited, 1981 edition.

47. See Gord Vidal, The City and The Pillar, New York: E.P. Dutton and Co. Inc., 1948; Donald Webster Cory (pseudonym for Edward Sagarin), The Homosexual In America, New York: Greenberg, 1951, and The Lesbian In America, New York: Citadel Press, 1964; R.O.D. Benson, What Every Homosexual Knows, New York: Julian Press, Inc., 1965; and Quentin Crisp, The Naked Civil Servant, Great Britain: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1968.

48. See Dennis Altman, Homosexual Oppression and Liberation, New York: Avon, 1971; Karla Jay and Allen Young, ed., Out of the Closets: Voices of Gay Liberation, New York: Jove/HBJ, 1972, and After You're Out, New York: Pyramid, 1975, and Lavender Culture, New York: Jove, 1978; Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, Lesbian/Woman, New York: Bantam, 1972; Dr. George Weinberg, Society and the Healthy Homosexual, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972; Andrew Hodges and David Hutter, With Downcast Gays, London: Pomegranate Press, 1974; Don Clark, Loving Someone Gay, California: Signet/New American Library, 1977; Morton Hunt, Gay: What You Should Know About Homosexuality, New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux Inc., 1977; and Larry Kramer, Faggots, New York: Warner Books, 1978.

49. See John Boswell, Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980; Vern L. Bullough, Sexual Variance in Society and History, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976, and Homosexuality: A History, New York: New American Library/Meridian Books, 1979; Lillian Faderman, Surpassing the Love of Men, New York: William Morrow and Company, 1981; Jonathan Katz, op cit.; John Lauritsen and David Thorstad, The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935), New York: Times Change Press, 1974; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America", in Signs, Vol.1, No.1, Autumn 1975, pages 1-29; James Steakley, "Homosexuals and The Third Reich", in The Body Politic, Issue 11, Jan./Feb. 1974, pages 84-91, and The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany, New York: Arno Press, 1975.

50. See Barry D. Adam, The Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Movement, Boston: Twayne Publishers/G.K. Hall and Company, 1987; John D'Emilio, "Dreams Deferred", in The Body Politic, Nov. 1978, and "Gay Politics, Gay Community", in Socialist Review, No.55, Jan./Feb. 1981 (77-104), and Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983; Susan Cavin, Lesbian Origins, San Francisco: ism Press, 1985; Judy Grahn, Another Mother Tongue: Gay Words, Gay Worlds, Boston: Beacon Press, 1984; Evelyn Hooker, "The Homosexual Community", in Sexual Deviance, Gagnon and Simon (eds.), New York: Harper and Row, 1967, (167-84), and "Epilogue" in Journal of Social Issues, (1978), 34, No.3 (131-35); Edward Sagarin, Odd Man In, Chicago: Quadrangle Press, 1969; Laud Humphreys, Tearoom Trade, 1970, and Out of the Closets: The Sociology of Homosexual Liberation, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1972; and Toby Marotta, The Politics of Homosexuality, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981.

51. See Sagarin, 1969.

52. The term 'zap' is most often used to describe conflict which occurs during public lobbying and demonstrations. In this case, a 'zap' refers to the public confrontation of an official or spokesperson.

53. More recently, this is true not only of gay and lesbian organizations but, according to Schur, also for activist groups among, mental patients, the handicapped, prisoners' rights groups, the aged, women's pro- or anti-abortion collectives, anti-prostitution alliances and various ethnic societies (1979, 430-33).

54. Shilts also refers to the on-going gay world debate over 'gay rights' versus 'gay privileges'(1987, 30).

55. Although Harry and DeVall may have implied a similar point since they recognized that, "once an area begins to develop concentrations of resident gays, cumulative effects lead to the further elaboration of gay organizations and commercial establishments" (1978, 144).



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GAY SUBCULTURE AND THE GAY WORLD

But what interests me about the space I'm crossing is its contours, its geography, its signposts, its highways, byways and deerpaths. Who has been there before me? What did they see, feel, learn, do? Who were they after they'd passed through? (Allen, 1986: 186).

#### INTRODUCTION

A brief historical overview will facilitate the comprehension of specific events pivotal to the development of the collective gay subculture, the construction of territorially-based gay communities and the on-going escalation of institutional completeness and organizational sophistication of the gay world. The mechanisms of causation, growth and the modification of subcultures are almost inextricably bound with the perceptions, activities, institutions and sanctions of the wider society.

Subcultural events do not, of course, occur in isolation from the larger conventional society, but rather, subcultural growth and development occur as both response and consequence of the flux of activities within the wider society. Moreover, the subcultural universe often includes co-optation and modifications of that which exists as

convention. Hence, deviant and conventional worlds are always engaged in a continuing dialectic. According to Bronski this means that:

A 'minority' exists because of a psychic boundary, that makes a real or fancied distinction relevant, and the anxious clustering and self-identification of the 'majority' to keep on the right side. The minority is always a repressed part of the majority. Prejudice is not merely a projection of the repressed onto the minority but indeed, it creates the minority qua minority and maintains it in being. Thus the minority is always right in its demands, for it is moral and psychological wisdom for the majority to accept the repressed part of itself (1984, 8).

Much of the history of homosexuals concerns the history of their oppression and labelling by religious, medical, legal and political 'experts' and moral entrepreneurs. Thus, the popular association of sin, sickness, and crime with homosexuality is symptomatic of, "the ability of experts to name, codify, classify and define and thus help determine how people see themselves" (Altman, 1982: 52). It is therefore not surprising that groups of like-minded individuals consequently assemble as members of a gay subculture.

In the present context, gay communities are regarded as milieux within which shared discourse, social networks, friendships and intimate relations develop, flourish, terminate, and are coloured by similar interpretations of the purpose, meaning and socio-political goals of homosexuality (Coleman, 1984: 55). Moreover, the shared experience of being perceived by self and others as 'different' and thus existing outside the majority appears to be of primary importance since, in large part, it serves to bring such a subculture or community together.

Historically, the dogged harassment of homosexuals may be traced

from the obliteration of the 'first wave' of the early homosexual rights movement by the Nazi Machine in Germany during the 1930s, to the 'Pink Triangle Holocaust' (Adam, 1987: 49-50) of World War Two (1943-1945), from Senator Joseph McCarthy's homophobia during the Cold War 'witch hunt' of the 1950s, to the late 1970s and early 1980s evangelical movements of Anita Bryant ('Save Our Children') and Jerry Falwell ('Moral Majority'), to the 1980s corporate elite sponsorship and the demands of the New Right for traditional family solidarity and the conventional value system of the patriarchy. In other words, the hostility of moral crusaders, entrepreneurs and agents of social control has been historically oriented toward homosexuals because, as Bronski suggests:

Homosexuality challenges traditional heterosexual nuclear family structures. Open-ended sexual options, gender role flexibility and permission for non-monogamous and purely sexual relations do not support the family structure (1984, 208).

The following discussion is directed toward providing an adequate historical background which illustrates the development of the gay subculture and its evolutionary movement to gay world status in general. In order that the gay communities of the present may be discussed in some detail, it is necessary that the significant events and developments of the past be understood. This will invoke a comprehension of the evolutionary nature of the gay movement and gay communities in general. Because this evolution is also linked with wider social change, the early history of same-sex relations and the ensuing rise of capitalism will first be considered. Subsequently, the early German homosexual movement,

the ramifications of World War Two, and particular historical developments from the post-war period to the present day will be examined in brief.

In particular, the post-war migration to port cities and war industry centres coupled with the release of the 1948 Kinsey Report augmented the fledgling consciousness of homosexuality which had resulted from the social conditions of the war. Significant historical events for discussion include Senator Joseph McCarthy's reign of terror and the subsequent creation of pioneering gay organizations during the 1950s; the watershed activism of the Stonewall Riots of 1969; the women's movement and increased visibility of gay men and lesbians during the 1970s; and the modern public dilemmas of the 1980s (the distinct opposition of the 'New Right' to homosexuality, the violence and anger of the police bath raids and the impact of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). All of these events have together contributed to the changing nature of gay organizations, gay culture and gay identity. In fact, many of the artifacts of extant and diverse gay communities have been developed and transformed as active responses to the opposition of, and domination by, the mainstream.

#### THE EARLY HISTORY OF SAME-SEX RELATIONS

It has been observed that, with the evolution of society, there develops a socio-cultural pluralism which encourages the creation of

diverse and particular subcultures and alternative milieux (Adam, 1987: x). It is paradoxical however, that the same society which fosters a sense of pluralism and autonomy also creates and institutionalizes the formal sanctions which encourage oppression and persecution. However, the social changes bred from the synergy of the Renaissance and the rise of capitalism accomplished just this. In the proceeding we will observe the manner in which this occurred.

There is much evidence (eg. Bullough, 1976 and 1979; Faderman, 1981; and Adam, 1987) to suggest that homosexual bars, clubs and meeting places existed during the Renaissance, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Throughout England, France and the United States in particular, 'romantic friendships' between women were regarded as a popularized 'institution' (Faderman, 1981: 109). It is probable that such affiliations were, in large part, a consequence of rigid role definitions of male and female and restrictive norms in the area of intimate heterosexual relations (Smith-Rosenberg, 1975: 9).

In particular, because women remained primarily in the private sphere of friendship and family networks, comprised mainly of other women, their daily lives, social routines, and church participation created women-oriented milieux. Women therefore, "assumed an emotional centrality in each other's lives" (Smith-Rosenberg, 1975: 13-15) and:

Friendships and intimacies followed the biological ebb and flow of women's lives. Marriage and pregnancy, child-birth and weaning, sickness and death involved physical and psychic trauma which comfort and sympathy made easier to bear (Smith-Rosenberg, 1975: 24).

Hence, these relationships were not merely socially acceptable but rather, "fashion from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries dictated that women fall passionately in love with each other, although they must not engage in genital sex" (Faderman, 1981: 74). The popular notion of women's asexuality (and the belief that women would not engage in 'abhorrent' behaviours) was precisely that which allowed love between women to flourish (Faderman, 1981: 152).<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to women's segregation in the private sphere, men prevailed largely in the more public sphere consisting of labour, leisure and male friendships. In part, the combination of women's distance from men and their 'homosocial devotion to each other' (Smith-Rosenberg, 1981: 21) may have set the stage for an increased awareness of sexuality and the corresponding threads of suspicion, such that women "were permitted a latitude of affectionate expression...that became more...narrow with the growth of...pseudo-sophistication regarding sexual possibilities between women" (Faderman, 1981: 152).

The early forms of a 'male homosexual underground' were evident by the nineteenth century (Wolf, 1979; Marotta, 1981; D'Emillio, 1981 and 1983; and Adam, 1987) and this is probably related to the numbers of young men and boys relocating to larger cities from small towns to seek their fortunes (Bullough, 1976: 625). They were drawn to the growth and expansion of the large cities because they provided, "a diverse array of activities, anonymity and the opportunities for individuals of like mind to come together and gay individuals to create a gay community" (Bullough,

1976: 625).<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, the relationships of English and American 'eccentrics' such as actors, writers and artists seemed to rest above suspicion, deflecting social stigma by possessing a kind of 'special status' in that "their peculiarities could always be attributed to artistic temperament" (Faderman, 1981: 56-7).<sup>4</sup> In Paris during the late 1800s and early 1900s, many male and female artists assembled to form a 'rudimentary subculture' (Harris, 1973; Faderman, 1981; Altman, 1982; and Adam, 1987).<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Klaiich notes that in the early 1900s, Paris was "gay in all senses of the word!" (1974, 162). Again, those members of the elite bourgeoisie were permitted a freedom unparalleled by other social classes, and the 1920s Parisian view of the world was:

...quite naturally divided into rigid class systems, and into gay and straight; and in their extension of such logic, to be upper class at its finest was also to be gay. Even if she were raised by a washerwoman, as was the case with Romaine Brooks, her lesbianism gave her automatic rank as an artist: to be lesbian was at its finest also to be upper class (Harris, 1973: 75).

Women's increasing independence from men generated social concern for the sanctity of marriage and family as fundamental institutions since this autonomy strained against the bonds of traditional marriage and normative expectations at the same time that it created other alternatives for women.<sup>6</sup> The overarching power of patriarchal culture rose to the fore during this time and, "it was at this moment when women threatened to escape male control, that lesbianism crystallized as a suppressed and reviled identity" (Adam, 1987: 38).

Accordingly, throughout much of the twentieth century, notions of 'love' were redefined and reconstructed to include both sex and the potential for abnormality. In most cases, love and sex were perceived in combination such that, "love necessarily means sex and sex between women means lesbian and lesbian means sick" (Faderman, 1981: 311). Such labelling created a paradox of sorts, and the early Renaissance 'romantics' seem now to have become distortions, since:

...much of the history of same-sex friendships is lost to us because of their careful concealment. What is known today of this period is seen through the prying eyes of their enemies, and it is early persecutory campaigns that make us aware today of the origins of the gay world (Adam, 1987: 6).

On the other hand however, the social changes of the twentieth century created a new dimension of love for women which served to free them from the oppressive bonds of asexuality and reinforced 'passionlessness' of the Renaissance (Faderman, 1981: 312).

#### Capitalism and Change

It appears that the transformation of Western societies, from agrarian modes of production to urban industrial systems in the period between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, introduced complex social changes in the areas of family, marriage, sexuality and the social construction of gender. In turn, such change promoted the modification of private life and intimate relationships (Adam, 1987: 3). Possibilities created by the new urban industrial means of production and patterns of



wage labour included increased geographical and social mobility; the development, primarily among men, of private meeting places; and the creation of novel and innovative social alternatives which supplemented the traditional family unit.

Some historians argue that the emergence of capitalism (in conjunction with the social, cultural and economic conditions created by the Second World War) was a critical factor in the emergence of local gay communities. This is because the free labour system relocated men and later women from the home to the marketplace, creating greater autonomy and agency in the realm of affective personal relationships and sexuality (D'Emilio, 1981: 78-9).<sup>7</sup> It is these changes which are most commonly linked to the emergence of a collective gay identity and territorial community. In particular, Coleman (1984) and D'Emilio (1983) claim that the key 'sociological preconditions' for the emergence of a conscious and enterprising gay identity include a developed capitalist society, increased rates of urbanization and industrialization, and a pluralistic Protestant culture which generates an awareness of alternatives within the nuclear family arrangement.<sup>8</sup>

The preceding socio-economic and cultural transformations have served as the vanguard for the emergence of homosexual self-consciousness and the development of early communities. Since advanced capitalism brings with it increased production, decreased kinship ties, a decline in the significance of the gender division of labour, greater independence for women, freedom from sexual repression, high consumption, easy credit,

a relocation of courtship to commercial spheres (bars and restaurants) and social milieux, and a 'technological rationalization' (Altman, 1982: 89-94), advanced capitalism is perceived as bearing a causal relation to the changing organization of the family.

Overall, the wage labour system imposed by capitalism created a myriad of alternatives such that,

A complex set of socioeconomic factors and political possibilities created the crucible in which homosexuality became organized into gay and lesbian sub-cultures in Western countries...cultural diffusion became an important stimulus for parallel development of the gay world and its movement in the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Adam, 1987: 12).

Furthermore, of the more discordant consequences of social, cultural and systemic changes wrought by capitalism, industrialization and free-labour competition, the most problematic concerns the "alienation from man to man" (Adam, 1987: 12). As a result of this alienation, modern homosexual and gay communities "have been among the solutions, offering oases of refuge and intimacy in a depersonalized atomized world" (Adam, 1987: 12).

## HISTORICAL MOMENTS: AN OVERVIEW

The Early Homosexual Movement: Germany 1897-1935

The importance of Germany during the late 1800s and early 1900s concerns the provision of an "early history of a movement thought not to have an early history" (Lauritsen and Thorstad, 1974: cover). It is believed that the first homosexual liberation organization was formed in Germany in 1897, originally consisting of four members who called themselves 'The Scientific Humanitarian Committee' (SHC). The primary goal of the SHC was directed toward the decriminalization of homosexuality, through the abolition of the notorious Paragraph 175 of the German Penal Code.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, between 1899 and 1923 the SHC published the 'Yearbook for Intermediate Types' and many regard this as the original homosexual periodical, although Adam claims that the first homosexual periodical was produced by Adolph Brand in 1896 (1987, 18).

In 1902, German (male) homosexuals formed a second group, calling themselves 'The Community of the Special'. By 1907 however, the two groups had grown separate and distinct, unable to reconcile their social and political conflicts (Lauritsen and Thorstad, 1974; Adam, 1987).

In 1919, the SHC acquired a building "which was to become an international centre for gay liberation and sex research" (Lauritsen and Thorstad, 1974: 27) and was referred to as 'The Institute For Sexual Science' (ISS). During the next several years the founder of the SHC,

Magnus Hirschfeld, stored thousands of volumes of homosexual books, letters, photos and pamphlets at the ISS.

During 1933 however, the ISS was vandalized by Nazi stormtroopers (an estimated one hundred Nazi students from a nearby military academy) who burned the contents<sup>10</sup> and razed the ISS to the ground (Lauritsen and Thorstad, 1974; Steakley, 1975; Isherwood, 1976; Adam, 1987). Thus, the earliest homosexual 'movement' was exterminated by the Nazis, the Stalinists, and the Fascists (Steakley, 1975: 91).<sup>11</sup>

#### The Nazi Machine: Second Quarter - World War II

The 'Nazi Machine' failed to grind to a halt after the destruction of the ISS and the death of Magnus Hirschfeld. Rather, it seemed that the Nazis, having defined homosexuals (among others) as a social problem, were only beginning and what remained of the early homosexual movement, "was soon to be so thoroughly obliterated that few would remember it had existed at all. Gay people were to suffer a systematic campaign of intimidation, harassment, and ultimately genocide" (Adam, 1987: 25). Accounts report that some fifty thousand people were charged with violations of Paragraph 175 of the German Penal Code during the Nazi regime (Steakley, 1974; Adam, 1987), although the sum total of homosexuals killed at this time is the subject of much debate.

The Nazis' World War Two "Project Pink" (the placing of pink triangle emblems on the clothing of known or suspected homosexuals)<sup>2</sup> often resulted in the torture, illness or death of homosexual prisoners (Steakley, 1974: 89). The wielding of Nazi authoritarianism clearly illustrates the power of naming and the omnipotence of control. Thus,

The Holocaust then effectively wiped away most of the early gay culture and its movement through systematic extermination and ideological control. Its legacy was a wilful forgetting by both capitalist and communist elites who tacitly confirmed the Nazis' work by denying lesbians and gay men any public existence (Adam, 1987: 54-5).

This annihilation did however leave something beneficent in its wake such that,

...the German movement offered a lifeline for isolated but aware lesbians and gay men, influencing their thinking and helping lay the groundwork for movements that emerged after World War II (Adam, 1987: 17).

#### World War II and The North American Experience

In particular, the atmosphere of the Second World War shifted the location and context of homosexuality and encouraged the emergence of the homosexual, a conscious sense of identity, and a desire for a community of 'kindred spirits'. Berube refers to this as the "gay ambience" created by the Second World War (1981, 20). Those who discovered other like-minded individuals also managed to enhance their self-esteem in addition

to forging initial ties with the gay subculture, many of which were later nurtured during the post-war period.

The application of the term homosexual also created the opportunity for individuals to define their own identities and to give meaning to hidden or unknown desires in addition to lending credence to those sensations which were previously only suspect (D'Emilio, 1981: 80). Thus, the situational context of the War, the tangible distance from wives, children, parents, the unfamiliar geographic and residential arrangements and daily routines probably "helped to weaken the pattern of milieu which previously reinforced the heterosexual dichotomy" (D'Emilio, 1983: 31).<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, the war also helped to "forge a group existence" (D'Emilio, 1983: 39) among homosexuals by exposing thousands of men to large cities where anonymity prevailed, new friendships were developed, and the relative absence of previous restrictions, traditional norms and expectations facilitated an initial gay consciousness through entry into the emerging gay subculture and helped to ease the process of 'coming out' (D'Emilio, 1983: 31).

During the second world war, homosexual women also experienced a novel tolerance of lesbianism in general since the army had weakened its admittance restrictions as a consequence of the need for female soldiers, nurses and casual labour.<sup>4</sup> The coalescence of lesbian identity was encouraged by the war largely because, as D'Emilio has observed:

The large-scale entry of women into the work force, the geographic mobility that many of them experienced, the removal of millions of young men from the home front, and the concentration for the first time of substantial numbers of women in the armed forces created a qualitatively new and

unique situation in which women might come out and lesbians might meet one another (1983, 100).

#### SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD

The following provides a brief overview of the major historical developments which transpired in North America during the post-war period. This chapter does not endeavour to include the minutiae of events salient to homosexual community development, but rather focuses upon the more significant historical 'milestones' relevant to the evolution of the modern gay world.

Immediately following the war, many homosexuals took up residence in the port cities and centres of war industry such as Los Angeles, Key West, New York, the San Francisco Bay area, and various other 'Ports of Call'. Many men, particularly those who had received a dishonourable discharge from the army as a result of their known or suspected homosexuality, opted to remain in such areas rather than to confront the anticipated disgrace back home.

The migration of homosexuals during the post war period thus fostered an expansion of homosocial milieux such as gay bars, meeting places and gay-oriented organizations (D'Emilio, 1983: 32). In turn, this led to the establishment of more cohesive groups of homosexuals who were becoming more cognizant of their 'group needs' (Boone, 1979: 63), and to the dawn of what was later regarded as the 'institutionalization of

homosexuality' (Bullough, 1976: 664).<sup>5</sup> In sum, Adam explains:

Wartime left an ambiguous legacy to women, gay people, and national minorities. On the one hand, it had opened unprecedented employment opportunities and exposed millions to new life-styles both at home and abroad. On the other hand, the end of war brought pressures to restore the prewar social order - or an idealized memory of it - and this restoration sought to roll back new financial and personal freedoms (1987, 61).

The first enduring<sup>6</sup> North American homosexual organization appears to be 'The Veteran's Benevolent Association' (VBA) which was formed in New York City in 1945. The VBA was largely a social club with a membership of ex-military men attempting to sustain the links they had forged during wartime (Bullough, 1976: 666). Following the development of the VBA, Harry Hay, an active homosexual, conceived of 'The Bachelors for Wallace' in 1948. Although many historians describe the group as authentic, it is worthy of note that it existed only as Hay's brain child - an idea he discussed during a gay party which was never consummated in its original form (Katz, 1976; Altman, 1982; Adam, 1987). Hay's early ideas did, however, serve as the catalyst for the future Mattachine Society.

The 1948 Kinsey Report (and, to a lesser degree, the 1953 Report) played an important role in the development of homosexual consciousness in that it initially mapped the "unsurveyed sexual landscape of the nation" (D'Emilio, 1983: 37). The Report, in combination with the social conditions of the post-war period, suggested to both the older 'homophile movement' (Klaich, 1974: 220) and the hidden homosexual population that homosexuality was much more widely practised than the public would admit. This provided the homosexual population with scientific evidence for the



existence of large groups of homosexuals (Klaich, 1974; D'Emilio, 1983; Adam, 1987) and signified to homosexuals that they were not alone. In this way, "Kinsey also provided ideological ammunition that lesbians and homosexuals might use once they began to fight for equality" (D'Emilio, 1983: 37-8).<sup>17</sup>

The latter part of the decade, 1949, heralded the development of an interracial and mixed gender social service organization entitled the Knights of the Clock, Inc., which was to last for a period of five years. (Humphreys, 1972: 51). Most of these early groups are, however, considered largely innocuous.

#### The 1950s: McCarthyism, Mattachine and the D.O.B.

— 1/2 Senator Joseph McCarthy linked homosexuality to communism as 'a threat to the American way' and, during the 1950s, aspired to disclose all homosexuals employed in the Washington State Department (Altman, 1982: ix). The ensuing 'witch hunt' became a search and destroy mission propagated by homophobia. Whereas, during the 1940s, army and navy recruits were warned against the homosexual witch hunts, the homophobia of the 1950s encouraged the ferreting out and persecution of homosexuals (Berube and D'Emilio, 1984: 759-60). It has been reported that the military discharged approximately one thousand accused homosexuals during the 1940s, but during the 1950s, the number increased to just over two thousand individuals (Berube and D'Emilio, 1984: 760).

The Cold War homophobia and anti-communism of the McCarthy era unleashed its forces, aiming them toward the destruction of homosexuals. To this end, Joseph McCarthy: initiated F.B.I. support; created rigorous censure for known homosexuals; labelled lesbians and gay men as 'national security risks' and 'moral perverts'; gathered information on the so-called 'gay world' in general<sup>8</sup>; initiated aggressive raids on known gay bars and park areas; permitted full sanction for police harassment and brutality toward homosexuals; and instructed the post office to trace all homosexual mail correspondence in order to access a more substantial homosexual contingent<sup>9</sup> (D'Emilio, 1983; Adam, 1987).

McCarthyism also had an impact on the Canadian scene and the corresponding 'witch hunts' were conducted primarily through the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), the National Film Board (NFB) and the National Research Council (NRC) (Adam, 1987: 59). The homophobia of the time was evident in the program devised by the "Royal Canadian Mounted Police...to map all the homosexuals in Ottawa, a project eventually abandoned when the map at police headquarters became overwhelmed with red dots" (Adam, 1987: 59).<sup>23</sup>

The 1950s created an atmosphere in which two social incongruities became evident. The first concerns the contrast between the diversity of social arrangements provided by the war, and the sudden "tightening web of oppression in McCarthy's America" (D'Emilio, 1981: 81) and the repression experienced generally throughout the early post-war period (Adam, 1987: 62). The second focuses on the seemingly paradoxical

development of 'pioneering gay organizations' during a time of intense homophobia and repressive control. Thus, it appears that only because the homosexual militants broke with the "accommodationist spirit of the 1950s" (D'Emilio, 1983: 174) that the momentum for the early homophile, and later gay, movements developed as they did.

In 1951<sup>22</sup>, during the height of homophobia, the Mattachine Society<sup>23</sup> was founded by Harry Hay (Martin and Lyon, 1972; Coleman, 1984; Adam, 1987) and this "marked the radical beginning of a continuous history of gay political organization in the U.S." (D'Emilio, 1978: 127).<sup>23</sup> The early Mattachine was quite different than previous homosexual 'social groups' in that,

It had a secret, cell-like, and hierarchical structure; it developed an analysis of homosexuals as an oppressed cultural minority; and, as a corollary of that analysis, the Mattachine Society pursued a strategy for social change that rested on mass action by homosexuals (D'Emilio, 1978: 131).

Furthermore, this hierarchical organization was based on a kind of 'guild system' with a centralized leadership and a "pyramid of 5 orders of membership, with increasing levels of responsibility as one ascended the structure" (D'Emilio, 1978: 133).

Toward the end of the 1950s, however, the Mattachine had expanded its membership, diversifying to such an extent that several smaller and more specialized groups evolved from the original. ONE, Inc. for example, emerged out of the Mattachine as a primary educational and social service organization. Moreover, ONE Institute (the public education arm of ONE, Inc.) offered courses on homosexuality beginning as early as 1960

(Humphreys, 1972: 54).

In 1955 a group of four lesbian couples formed the Daughters of Bilitis (D.O.B.)<sup>24</sup> (Martin and Lyon, 1972; Marotta, 1981; Adam, 1987). Initially, the goals of the D.O.B. involved contact and support for lesbians and was geared to creating "changes in straight society" (Marotta, 1981: 57). Eventually the D.O.B. suffered a predicament similar to that of the Mattachine: intra-group conflict. Thus, the group became motivated by the (unsuccessful) attempt to reconcile the members: the militant activists desirous of building "a strong and coherent homophile movement" (Marotta, 1981: 57), and the accommodationist 'homophile old guard', caught in the tail-wind of post-war anxiety and the apprehension induced by McCarthyism (Marotta, 1981; D'Emilio, 1983; Adam, 1987).

Gradually, the personnel of both Mattachine and D.O.B. shifted, transforming their goals, ideology, public messages and political activities. Simultaneously, they become more militant and less wary of public reaction. However, by 1973 with the advent of the Gay Liberation Movement, the strongest chapters of the D.O.B. had disbanded and the Mattachine was on the verge of collapse. As Schur has noted,

Complex internal and external relationships, routinization, displacement of goals, and even the growth of entrenched ideologies and vested interests can all undermine activist commitment and unity (1979, 435).

The 1960s and Stonewall: From the Margins to the Community

The 1960s were a time of intense political struggle for radical activists and militant gays such as Harry Hay, Jose Sarria, Del Martin, Phyllis Lyon, Lisa Ben (an acronym for 'lesbian'), Randy Wicker, Craig Rodwell and Barbara Grier. Between 1952 and 1965, the number of magazine, journal and media articles on homosexuality increased (D'Emilio, 1981: 84)<sup>13</sup> and by the mid 1960s, the gay 'subculture' appeared more visible due to the new accessibility of gay literature and the weakening conservatism of the press and the mass media in general. Such changes should be regarded in terms of their causal relation to the strengthening of homosexual group identity and community bonding (D'Emilio, 1983: 175). However, as homosexual visibility and activism intensified, the degree of public reaction rose accordingly.

The 'countercultural ideal' of the late 1960s provided a manifest contrast to the homophobia of the mainstream media and the public social definitions of non-conformity. This ideal also provided an alternative perspective for homosexuals themselves such that:

The countercultural ideal was seen as the only vision of community compatible with the fact that different people had different endowments and interest, that different individuals set out to grow at different times and with varying degrees of skill and dedication and that self-discovery and self-realization proceeded at different rates and produced different results in different individuals (Marotta, 1981: 313-14).

Moreover, the early homophile movement was based, not only on the hippie counterculture, but on the progress made by the homophile old guard and

the civil rights movement. As Teal explains, "blacks provided the concept of an oppressed minority getting their thing together, threw out notions of co-operation with the oppressors and developed concepts of group consciousness and self-pride" (1971, 50). Moreover, all three developments created an anti-capitalist, pro-power, 'alternative culture' attitude in addition to the "alliance with the non-homosexual oppressed" (Teal, 1971: 85).

In June of 1969, the New York Police Department instigated a riot that would develop into an intermittent 'street disorder' spanning nearly four days and nights.<sup>26</sup> Frustrated and angry about continued police harassment, brutality, intrusion into homosexual social milieux, and finally, the attempt to close the popular Stonewall Inn on Christopher Street in New York City, gay patrons and passersby decided that it was time to retaliate. Conservative homosexuals fought side by side with drag queens, transvestites and lesbians as they hurled insults, rocks and bottles at the police (Marotta, 1981: 71-7). There is no single explanation for the fact that Stonewall occurred on this particular night as opposed to any other, except that, as Craig Rodwell (the founder of The Oscar Wilde Bookstore in New York) explains, "it was just everything coming together, one of those moments in history where, if you were there, you knew that this is IT" (Weiss and Schiller, 1988: 67). Moreover, gay people were "tired of the old 'We Walk In Shadows' routine" (New York Mattachine Newsletter, August 1969). It was the genesis of an embryonic self-recognition that the gays, like the blacks during the civil rights

movement, did have a dream.<sup>27</sup>

It was through the riots that Stonewall "gave the gay community its baptism by fire" (Boone, 1979: 86) and helped to "forge a sense of community" (Wolf, 1979: 65). The Stonewall riots sparked the emergence of nation-wide support, grassroots networking, and encouraged the creation of a strong lesbian liberation movement (D'Emilio, 1983: 233-6). The transformation of homosexual and lesbian self-oppression to stronger, more positive and cohesive self-images also laid the cornerstone for the inception and expansion of homosexual social centres, churches, professional associations, sports leagues, vacation communities, record companies, theatre groups, gay presses, and film collectives. Perhaps more importantly, Stonewall helped to facilitate an awareness of the range of possibilities for those gay men and lesbians who were committed to the cause of liberation and in this way,

Not only were gay liberation leaders nurtured and encouraged by the peace and black liberation movements but these social tides have shared the special skills of the oppressed (Humphreys, 1972: 10).

Stonewall also engendered a sense of responsibility among homosexuals toward homosexuals. Two years after the Stonewall riots, The Body Politic advised its gay and lesbian audience that, "the liberation of homosexuals can only be the work of homosexuals themselves."<sup>28</sup>

Post-Stonewall: The 1970s

The homosexual movement of the 1970s appeared to take as its own, causes and issues in the areas of law and politics, religion and the church, medical establishments and the media (Coleman, 1984: 57). Fundamentally,

...the definition of homosexuals as a separate and definable category created the basis for a political movement, and the emergence of this categorization in the nineteenth century coincided with the beginnings of the early homosexual rights movement (Altman, 1982: 111).

In general, the gay movement fulfilled four primary functions for homosexuals: it helped them to foster and define a sense of gay identity and community; it furthered the establishment of a sense of legitimacy within the context of the larger society; it endeavoured to challenge the "general heterosexism of society" (Altman, 1982: 118), and it gathered momentum in the struggle for legal equality of homosexuals. The latter preceded the victory of a number of specific gay legal appeals and significantly, helped to facilitate the removal of 'homosexuality as mental illness' from the American Psychiatric Association's 'Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders' in 1973 (Adam, 1987: 81).

During the post-Stonewall 1970s, homosexual energies were focused primarily on the "making out of distinctive enclaves and neighbourhoods" (Coleman, 1984: 59) in addition to the development of religious caucuses and chapters in the larger American cities. As gay consciousness and identity emerged, the gay liberation movement also served as the impetus



for the women's liberation movement and in particular, the 'lesbian-feminist' movement, complete with a new form of women's consciousness.

#### THE 1980s: MODERN PUBLIC DILEMMAS

The rise of the 'New Right' during the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Albany and Toronto bath raids in the early part of the decade, and the outbreak of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) have meant that, borne of necessity, "lesbians and gay men have organized around the diverse aspects of their lives to meet new needs and problems and to create communities in new places" (Adam, 1987: 134). Recent history shows that they have risen to this challenge, creating new structures, services and institutions. Gay men and lesbians have also become more visible, more vocal and more organized than ever before.

#### The Rise of the New Right

The 'New Right' may be regarded as the most modern form of public opposition to homosexuality. The new, and often more subtle forms of homophobia are generally expressed in one or more of the following ways. The first of the 'new' moral entrepreneurs, Anita Bryant, is most commonly

regarded as the leader of a "pro-family coalition" (Adam, 1987: 109). Bryant's 'Save Our Children' crusade during the late 1970s was a campaign for the repudiation of homosexuality largely on the grounds that homosexuals engaged in child molestation in their search for 'converts'. Moreover, Bryant reinforced the ideal of the nuclear family as the 'haven in a heartless world' (Adam, 1987: 110).

The inherent paradox of this ideology is primarily one of contradiction in that, while the New Right struggles for a return to the pre-capitalist and rural sense of community, its members regard the new intimacy of the modern gay communities (or world) as largely, a loss of community. Moreover, even as participants of the New Right decree that freedom of opportunity is essential to entrepreneurial advancement, its citizens derogate the new generation of homosexual merchants, investors and consumers. In this way, "the irony of the New Right position is its fervent support of American (Canadian) capitalism at the same time as it struggles against modernity" (Adam, 1987: 110).

The second expression of the New Right indicates a vanguard which struggles to maintain "moral and political influence in an increasingly diverse and secular society" (Adam, 1987: 111). These Evangelists appear to be well-organized and influential although this is largely a consequence of abundant economic resources and voluminous, although dispersed, sponsorship. Reverend Jerry Falwell's 'Moral Majority' campaign of the early 1980s (not unlike Anita Bryant's crusade) preyed upon the apprehension of parents, concerned for the safety and sanctity

of their children, and gathered support from the many anxious about the destruction of the 'moral fabric of society'.<sup>29</sup> In so doing, Falwell had discovered the means by which to pontificate and to peddle homophobia to the masses.

Most of the Evangelists expound 'hellfire and damnation' upon those who deviate from the laws of God and Man (the homosexual as most grievous sinner), and many suggest that homosexuals are disciples of Satan. Recently, crusaders have declared that the high proportion of AIDS among homosexual men is a 'scourge inflicted by God' as retribution. This has been one method by which (potential) public sympathy for homosexual AIDS victims has been neutralized, while at the time, this ideology has created acceptable, legitimate, and institutionalized forms of heterosexism and anti-gay discrimination.

The third and most recent expression of the New Right has been referred to as the 'octopus'<sup>30</sup> of the corporate elite, their families and political affiliates (Adam, 1987: 114). These are the champions of conservative morality and the traditional nuclear family. Generally speaking, this 'octopus' refers to the businesses and spokespersons who exchange sponsorship, endorsement and lucrative remuneration for workplace adherence to traditional family values and social norms. In other words, the financial support of monolithic corporations is frequently traded for the enactment of discrimination policies (refusal to hire gays, blacks or Vietnamese) among smaller or independent companies. Thus, the corporate elite provides:

...significant capitalist backing to create a set of

political lobbies and policy institutes with which to cultivate the profamily, single issue, and religious right organizations for the capitalist class (Adam, 1987: 114).

It is the power of privilege and the privilege of domination which currently serve to exclude gay people from certain employment opportunities. The recent publicity of the Coors discriminatory (anti-gay) company policy and subsequent boycott of Coors beers in gay bars is an appropriate example of modern corporate domination, as well as the response of the gay world to such attempted subjugation.

#### The Bath Raids: Mainstream Violence and Gay Anger

Events surrounding the police raids at popular metropolitan bath houses are well known to gay and lesbian community members, but to the non-gay, newspaper accounts are frequently misleading. The following, while focusing on events surrounding the gay community in Toronto, Ontario, is provided only as an example. There have been numerous bath raids in other Canadian and American cities (such as Montreal, Quebec and Albany, New York) which have acted as similar catalysts to confrontations between the police and the gay community as a result of police violence and community response. The data regarding the specific events of the Toronto bath raids are, however, much more accessible than those which pertain to the Albany community. This then is the basis for the focus upon Toronto although generally, the situation is not dissimilar across

the various communities.<sup>31</sup>

Although many lesbians do not condone the 'fast food' sexual marketplace (Adam, 1987: 100) of the gay male milieu, the police brutality and mass arrests of the 1981 raids on four Toronto bath houses and several in Albany, New York engendered a sense of empathy, compassion and collective rage among gay men and lesbians. These raids have been referred to as the "crucial turning point in the growth of the city's gay community" (Hannon, 1982: 273) for both Toronto and Albany. During the bath raids of February 5 and June 16, 1981, police officers and officials engaged in immoderate violence, pillage and verbal abuse resulting in the bodily harm of many gay men, the desecration of 'bawdy house' buildings (e.g. fist holes in the walls, broken doors and windows), and the legal prosecution (many were arrested on 'trumped up' charges) of 286 'found-ins' (patrons) and 20 keepers (owners).

Although rooted in the shared experiences of oppression, stigmatization, persecution and same-sex relations, each gay community has forged its own bonds of strength, solidarity, politicization and diversity, as a consequence of particular territorial events and circumstances. In New York City, gay liberation arose out of the turbulence and conflict between the local gay community and police officials which climaxed during the (now famous) Christopher Street Stonewall Riots of 1969. In Toronto, the seeds of gay mobilization were sown by the synthesis of gay activist George Hislop's unsuccessful 1980 campaign for city alderman, the breakdown of police and gay community

relations and the gay activism and anger inspired by the 1981 bath raids (Lynch, 1979: 247).<sup>32</sup>

### The Impact of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)

In many ways, AIDS has served to reinforce the popular association of homosexuality with disease and perversion, also becoming useful as a new kind of "ammunition for the homophobic right" (Altman, 1988: 94). In this sense, AIDS has also augmented "the heterosexual association of anal sex...[and homosexuality in general]...with a self-annihilation" (Bersani, 1988: 222). By the mid-1980s, AIDS had truly become "the monster in the closet, scaring us to sleep" (Black, 1985: 207). The metaphorical nexus associated with the disease and the public response of the (heterosexual) majority has been largely unfavourable, frequently homophobic, and interpreted, by popular evangelists and lay people alike, as divine retribution for immoral and unlawful behaviour.

At the outset, AIDS appears to have weakened the rudimentary solidarity in the larger communities which began to accommodate a large aggregate of afflicted (gay) members. In many ways, among gay men and lesbians, AIDS has reduced group numbers, intensified the experience of oppression by the majority, heightened intra-group gender, ideological and political conflicts and differentiation, and cast a pall on the language of 'rights', the status of homosexual as 'human', and the

liberation movement in general.

On the other hand, the epidemic has created a distinctive unity among gay men and many lesbians by reinforcing similarities in their struggles for acceptance, legal rights and privileges and more recently, for survival. The advent of AIDS has also generated new dimensions of gay community and gay world organization including specialized support groups and telephone hotlines, statistical, general research and referral personnel, public speakers and educational packages, new forms of community support and outreach programs. AIDS has also encouraged many gay community groups to enter the political arena, challenging anew the legal, judicial, and health care systems. Much of the current litigation and policy disputes are aimed at the development of just and non-discriminatory hospital and workplace guidelines, testing and insurance policies, medical and social support premiums, research and development funding and government subsidies. Finally, AIDS has stimulated renewed interest among gays in the struggle for acceptable human rights codification. The epidemic is, in many ways, the latest chapter in the continuing evolution of the gay world and thus, the most recent catalyst for the increasing organizational sophistication and institutional completeness of gay communities within this world.

## CONCLUSION

Much of this chapter involves a 'setting of the stage' for the forthcoming chapters. This historical overview provides the reader with a background in the social and historical emergence and development of gay communities, upon which chapters three (culture), four ('pre-world' community structures) and five (gay world structures) are built. A more complete and chronological listing of the genesis of gay and lesbian organizations, periodicals, magazines and publications is included in the Appendices as a tool for quick reference.

In general, this history indicates that the traditional sociological perspective (eg. Lee, 1979; Best and Luckenbill, 1982) which designate subcultures as passive, is a partial and inadequate view. Particular events, such as the watershed Stonewall Riots of 1969, prove that activism, as a product of (self and group) consciousness, plays an integral role in subcultural evolution and the development of discrete communities and institutions.

The importance of this chapter should now be clear. Discrete cultural and structural characteristics, in conjunction with particular historical contexts, overlap and form the basis of the modern gay world. Much of the richness and diversity of this world is also a consequence of a unique gay culture, which simultaneously allows gay men and lesbians to 'pass' as straight and to be at once a part of and separate from, the mainstream. The artifacts of gay culture will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.



## END NOTES

1. There were exceptions to this however. Historical periods which encouraged a tolerance of homosexuality included Greek Antiquity during which love between men was seen as a higher 'Platonic ideal' and the early 'gay Christians' of the second century A.D. who were themselves involved in same-sex relations (Boswell, 1980: 135). Evidence of the latter comes from the dialogue of Achilles Tatius during the second century A.D. (MacLeod translation, page 205) as a general expression on the part of the early 'gay Christians':

Let no one expect love of males in early times. For intercourse with woman was necessary so that our race might not utterly perish for lack of seed...Do not then again...censure this discovery as worthless because it wasn't made earlier, nor, because intercourse with woman can be credited with greater antiquity than the love of boys, must you think love of boys inferior. No, we must consider the pursuits that are old to be necessary, but assess as superior the later additions, invented by human life when it had leisure for thought (Boswell, 1980: 126).

2. Accordingly, Stage cautions scholars, academics, historians and lay persons alike not to simply dismiss such behavioural nuances. She admonishes that, "to deem women's homosocial and homoerotic behaviour innocuous is dismissive and perhaps worse than to damn it as deviant" (1980, 247).

3. See Randolph Trumbach (1977, 10-34) for a discussion of the existence of well developed underground homosexual communities in the large cities of eighteenth century Europe.

4. Female artists, writers and intellectuals of the Renaissance coupled as 'kindred spirits', believing that women-directed friendships would heighten their creative efforts since the latter were largely ignored by men (Faderman, 1981: 29). Examples of nineteenth century and early twentieth century romantic friendships believed to be homosocial and/or homosexual in nature include: Katherine Loring and Alice James; Sarah Jewett and Annie Fields; Edith Somerville and Violet Martin (who collaborated on several written works under the pseudonym of Martin Ross); Katherine Bradley and Edith Cooper (alias Michael Field); Radclyffe Hall and Una Troubridge, and Mary Meigs and Marie-Claire Blais.

5. The more popular members of this 'rudimentary subculture' included Natalie Barney, Romaine Brooks, Radclyffe Hall and Oscar Wilde.

However, caution is advised in interpreting such data since, as Boswell notes:

Individual writers recording their personal feelings in isolation, no matter how numerous, probably do not constitute a 'sub-culture' in its most common sense, but a network of such persons, conscious of their common difference from the majority and mutually influencing their own and other's perceptions of the nature of their distinctiveness does indicate the sort of change at issue here (1980, 243).

6. It has also been suggested that social concern in the area of women's independence arose from and was reinforced by the depictions of love between women in the French poetry and literature of the time, as well as in the emergent theories of the sexologists Kraft-Ebbing, Havelock Ellis and Karl Ulrichs who warned against 'inversion' and the 'disease of lesbianism'.

7. Although, data acquired from Cavin's study of thirty different societies indicates that lesbianism existed "...across all pre-industrial economies and subsistence levels and is not confined to the capitalist mode of production" (1985, 122-4), this does not mean that self-consciousness, institutional completeness, or organizational sophistication also follows in non-capitalist societies.

8. D'Emilio suggests that gay and lesbian identities have not always existed, but that the development of a conscious gay identity is a product of history and particularly, of the development of capitalism (1983b, 102-104). The author also makes an important distinction between homosexual 'behaviour' and 'identity', arguing for the discreteness of each. Moreover, D'Emilio illuminates the inherent paradox of the contradiction between capitalism and the family most clearly in the following:

On the one hand, capitalism continually weakens the material foundation of the family, making it possible for individuals to live outside the family, and for a lesbian and gay identity to develop. On the other, it needs to push men and women into families, at least long enough to reproduce the next generation of workers (1983b, 110).

9. The SHC initiated a petition advocating the abolition of Paragraph 175 although the petition itself was presented some twenty-five years after its original inception (Lauritsen and Thorstad, 1974: 11-16).

10. Lauritsen and Thorstad (1974) estimate that more than ten thousand volumes from the ISS collection were destroyed although Steakley (1975) claims that it was closer to twelve thousand books and three thousand, five hundred photos.

11. Rector claims that the razing of Hirschfeld's Institute was an attack on both homosexuality and Judaism, since Hirschfeld was both Jewish and homosexual (1981, 25).

12. See also, Erwin J. Haeberle, 135-39 and Rudiger Lautmann, 141-160 in Licata and Petersen (eds.), 1985.

13. Hirschfeld's observations during World War I resulted in his commenting that, "war is an opportunity for throwing off for awhile, all the irksome repressions which culture imposes and for satisfying temporarily all those repressed desires" (1934, 27).

14. D'Emilio suggested that during the war, the "Women's Army Corps became the almost quintessential lesbian institution" (1983, 27).

15. However, Murray argues that it is doubtful that the many individuals in receipt of a dishonourable discharge from the military were also those more likely to participate as new members of post-war homophile organizations (1984, 25-6).

16. The term enduring is used here to refer to organizations and groups which survive over a number of years, such as the VBA which lasted for approximately nine years (Humphreys, 1972: 50). There are many organizations which were extremely short-lived and obscure such as the 'Society for Human Rights', incorporated in Chicago late in 1924, which seems to have appeared on the scene first. Although Adam (1987, 42) claims that it was the "first formally-organized gay movement group in the U.S." (publishing only two issues of a journal entitled Friendship and Freedom), it is seldom noted by most authors and gay historians. The 'Quaker Emergency Committee' of 1945 and the 'George W. Henry Foundation' emerging from the dissolution of the former (Humphreys, 1972: 50), were also short-lived and relatively innocuous.

17. However, the Kinsey Report did not provide the impetus for homophile organization (as Sagarin, 1969; Altman, 1971; Licata, 1985, and others suggest), but rather served as an instrument which stimulated an awareness of the existence of like others, and the potential for organization. Moreover, it is my opinion that the composite of social changes introduced by capitalism, situational context of the Second World War, publication of the first Kinsey Report, and the advent of the nineteen-sixties Civil Rights social movement archetype created the necessary awareness and encouragement for conscious homophile (and later, homosexual, lesbian and gay) association and organization. The early homophile sensibility was also bolstered by Senator Joseph McCarthy's reign of fear and restriction of movement during the nineteen-fifties. See also Stephen O. Murray, 1984, pages 29-34.

18. It has been suggested that, by 1952, there existed a string of gay beaches, parks, bus stops and bars 'cruised' mainly by gay men as part of an "informal communication network of the gay male subculture" of the time (D'Emilio, 1983: 70-1).

19. It appears that the U.S. postal surveillance persisted until 1966 (Newsweek, June 13, 1966: 24) although Adam (1987) refers to the termination of the postal surveillance in 1958.

20. Adam refers here to John Sawatsky, Men In The Shadows. Toronto: Doubleday, 1980, pages 112-29.

21. Adam also points out that it was not until 1951 that the owners of one particularly well-known gay bar (The Black Cat in San Francisco) finally established the legal right to serve gay customers (1987, 63).

22. The literature is in agreement that the name 'Mattachine' was chosen by Harry Hay because "Mattachines were medieval court jesters who told the truth to kings while hiding behind masks. The name's symbolic importance should not be underestimated" (Humphreys, 1972: 52).

23. However, Humphreys notes that the Mattachine Foundation was founded in 1950 and, as a result of treason, suspicion and personality conflicts among the directorate, a new and diminished membership contingent took over in 1953, as the Mattachine Society (1972, 52). Humphreys also suggests that:

If one interprets this transfiguration as a discontinuity (as ONE, INC., does), then the Mattachine Society is not the oldest continuing homophile organization in the United States. In that case, ONE, inc., founded on October 15, 1952, as an offshoot of the Mattachine Foundation, receives the crown (1972, 52-4).

24. The name of the group was derived from a poem about Bilitis, a woman who presumably resided on Lesbos during the time of Sappho. The name D.O.B. was apparently chosen by the members because it sounded "like any other women's lodge" (Martin and Lyon, 1972: 238). At the height of its popularity, the D.O.B. also had vital chapters in Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Los Angeles, Miami, New Orleans, New York, Portland (Oregon), San Diego and San Francisco (Teal, 1971: 189).

25. An active member of the Mattachine, Randy Wicker placed a two-line advertisement in the Village Voice in New York City. The ad read: "sample packet of homosexual publications mailed in a plain wrapper." Wicker apparently received nearly six hundred requests for orders (D'Emilio, 1983: 160).

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE ARTIFACTS OF GAY CULTURE

We need to know that we are not accidental, that our culture has grown and changed with the currents of time, that we, like others, have a social herstory filled with individual lives, community, struggles and customs of language, dress and behaviour that when looked at in their entirety form what we call herstory - the story of a people. To live with herstory is to have a memory not just of our own lives but of the lives of others whom we have never met but whose voices and actions we must be connected to...We are able to record the birth of new ways and to watch the dying of old ones. Herstory will make all of us feel at one time a part of the community and, at other times, deeply lonely as we watch the changes come (Joan Nestle, "Living with Herstory", keynote address for Amazon Autumn's Sixth Annual Lesbian Fall Festival, November 1982, as quoted in Schwartz, 1984: x).

### INTRODUCTION

The cultural artifacts of various gay communities, and the gay world as a whole, are rich, unique and diverse. The features of this culture are displayed in signs, symbols, colours and modes of dress (iconography) which serve to unify lesbian and gay community members through the creation of a shared symbolic discourse and visible means of identification, while simultaneously enhancing individual diversity and at times, incongruity.

Public activities and events (Lesbian and Gay Pride Day

celebrations, demonstrations and marches) become symbols of liberation, activism and change in themselves, replete with their own unique icons and signs (Pride Day buttons, tee shirts and banners). These symbols thus become abbreviations which epitomize the reactions of gay communities to the oppression of the mainstream in addition to portraying the rewards (public recognition, advocacy and celebration) of visibility. Thus, the struggle toward change, common issues and group solidarity are enhanced by the presentation of symbols and the common understandings of them which have developed in various gay communities.

The unique vocabularies, argot, rhetoric and terminology of the gay world serve to isolate community members from the mainstream by providing a means with which to exclude non-members (heterosexuals). This specialized vernacular also creates a bond between community members and increases intra-community solidarity. Phrases, terminology and slang serve as general symbols for the identification and recognition of others, providing a specialized discourse by which to express collective experiences and common realities.

Many of the terms (eg. *urning*, *homosexual* and *'queer'*) employed by the dominant culture to characterize, and ultimately control, gay people, have been co-opted in some form by gays themselves. Since many of the terms common among gay men and lesbians have been appropriated from previous and mundane usage (eg. *gay*, *straight*, *trick* and *rough trade*), there is a general lack of consensus regarding their origins and extant definitions. Therefore, the attempt has been made to provide a general

knowledge of their historical origins and current connotations.

Gay publishing, press and film efforts have increased gay and lesbian visibility in the mainstream, in addition to expanding public discourse in this area. Moreover, the articles, magazines, journals and books written by and for gay men and lesbians have begun to fill the void of mainstream presses which typically do not advertise gay bars, restaurants and special events. The veritable explosion of gay publishing now offers many alternatives for the young or closeted gay, the public gay man or lesbian, parents or friends of gays, and gay scholars and historians. There are community calendars and newsletters, glossy magazines, scholarly journals, travel and accommodation guides and maps, gay presses, book store reviews, novels, reprints of antiquary literature, periodicals and poetry, and monthly mail order catalogues which detail the new gay and lesbian book releases. Moreover, many mainstream publishing companies now accept lesbian and gay novels and scholarly works, as do some of the larger film companies (in addition to the smaller independent gay, lesbian and feminist film-makers).

Lesbian and gay bars have always been an important facet of gay culture and are still the primary facilitators of community organization and awareness. New gay or lesbian residents, visitors, or young gays in medium to large cities continue to seek out gay bars to orient themselves to a new community scene, or to gather initial information on gay groups, services and events within the surrounding area. Many of the early bars were integral to the organization of community in that they served as a

means of educating the uninformed in terms of roles (the butch-femme dichotomy) and gay and lesbian social norms. Although gay bar milieux functions as a means by which gays are further segregated from the mainstream, most also provide a welcome atmosphere of acceptance which increases individual self esteem and acts as a fetter to the process of self-oppression. In addition, the bars have provided an important pool of social contacts, friends and sexual partners for gay men and lesbians.

The proxemics of the gay bars are unique in much the same ways as their mainstream counterparts. There are gay bars and bistros which specialize in particular kinds of music, entertainment, recreation, food and beverage specials, dress codes, gender, personality types and role-playing (macho or effeminate) and fetishes (leather, sadomasochism, uniforms, cross-dressing). All of these manifest a distinct atmosphere, a particular kind of clientele and a discrete iconography. In many ways, gay and lesbian bars epitomize a microcosm of shared experience and they remain powerful symbols of gay culture, identity and gay and lesbian life.

Therefore, iconography, terminology and slang, the gay media and films, bar milieux and proxemics, will be explored in terms of the ways in which they function to create, enhance and modify the symbolic universe of meanings within the gay world, and through processes of reinterpretation, increased visibility and co-optation, in the mainstream. That many aspects of this gay culture have been internalized and in many ways, codified by gay men and lesbians will become clear in the following.



THE DATA PROBLEM:  
A DILEMMA OF RELIABILITY

In the realm of gay culture and gay history in general, the problem of disclosing reliable data is compounded by the fact that many early homosexual and lesbian volumes and materials have also been burned, banned and otherwise rendered inaccessible. As early as 380 A.D. Sappho's songs and verses were classified as immoral and burned by the Catholic Church in Rome.<sup>1</sup> Those which remained, were largely destroyed in the West during the twentieth century (Boswell, 1980; Faderman, 1981; Klaich, 1974; Bullough, 1976, 1979) and the meagre writings which endured are now difficult to locate in original form and translation. During the desecration of the German Institute for Sexual Science in 1933, an estimated ten to twelve thousand documents, including those accumulated by Magnus Hirschfeld and yearbooks of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee, were destroyed (Lauritsen and Thorstad, 1974; D'Emilio, 1978, 1983; Altman, 1982; Steakley, 1974, 1975). Moreover, the censors subsequently banned Radclyffe Hall's classic, The Well of Loneliness, published in England in 1928, for a total of thirty-one years. American publishers, who apparently bought the rights in 1929, began immediate printing and distribution. Later that year, eight hundred and sixty-five copies of the book were seized by the censors and burned and, although only four months later, the book was declared 'not obscene', the loss of these original copies is irrevocable (Adam, 1987; Altman, 1982; Klaich,

1974).

The historical trinity of sin, sickness and crime commonly used to describe homosexuality has been largely a consequence of the temporal consciousness, and the social and political atmosphere of a particular time period. Thus, testimonials, newspaper and magazine accounts may serve only to illuminate particular biases. Biographies, poetry, letters and journals, as the most sought after cultural materials, may be enmeshed in the author's own masques or encoding scheme. Since, "...what bills of sale and tax are to economic history, poems and letters are to the history of personal relations and attitudes toward them" (Boswell, 1980: 22), a reliance upon such materials may invoke subjective and retrospective biases which are also prone to difficulties of recall and translation. Much of the early data has therefore been distorted through repressive censorship (Crew and Norton, 1974).

The wholly preserved evidence, of which we are certain, also contains a class bias, by which we are more aware of the sexual activity and romantic patterns of the intellectual elite or the Bluestockings (Faderman, 1981: 86-7). This is largely because the letters and journals of the upper classes are more often preserved, incorporated into archival records, library collections, museum or special holdings displays, and included in later biographical materials (Faderman, 1981: 91; Altman, 1982: 95). Thus, it is inaccurate to equate the experiences of the upper class to those of working class or little-known individuals.

That much of the cultural materials of early homosexuals have been censored, deleted, coded and altered means that there is a distinct possibility of distortion. The accuracy, validity and reliability of data relevant to the historical development of early homosexual subculture, gay communities and the gay world in general is often controversial and we are thus frequently uncertain when speaking in historical terms (Hayes, 1981: 31). Moreover, sundry opinions concerning the genesis of homosexual and gay signs, symbols and argot frequently conflict such that:

The art of marshalling evidence around a topic such as the gay and lesbian movement, inevitably induces a retrospective coherence into a subject and hides the very real history of fits and starts, fragile initiatives and collapses, and individual feats of boldness that characterize the formation of any social movement (Adam, 1987: 161).

This dilemma, involving the selectivity of memory, retrospect, censorship, encoding and the inaccessibility of materials, imposes limits on many studies of gay and lesbian history. While we must remain cognizant of the implications of such problems, there are few alternatives to employing the data materials at hand. It is important to note that these dilemmas affect not only history, but any investigation of an ethnographic present. Therefore, the following description of gay culture and cultural artifacts is rife with problems of validity, reliability and temporal specificity since many of these artifacts are almost always in flux, as a result of the social processes of co-optation, reinterpretation and transformation. Many of the cultural materials discussed in the following chapter are thus consigned to an immediate past, becoming

historical fragments, rather than slices of extant or mundane reality.

#### A Note on the Concept of Culture

The provision of an explicit definition of the fundamental concept of culture is germane to this discussion. Moreover, in the area of subculture theory in general, the notion of culture is a multifarious one particularly because notions regarding 'culture' are frequently employed as a rubric for so much of the content of social life. It is sufficient for our purposes to locate and define cultural systems as containing, "the system of ideas, beliefs, values, expressive symbols and grounds of meaning whereby individuals define situations, act, and evaluate both their own situations and the actions of others" (Pearson, 1979: 12). Moreover, as Geertz describes it, culture is a relation between and among "webs of significance" (1973, 5) and it is within these webs that the 'cultural objects' of nuance, sign, specialized language and rhetoric, and artifact (Rubington, 1982: 49) are developed, modified and maintained.

Culture is never static, but always in flux (Willis, 1978: 172) and although the cultural artifacts of the gay world may exist in forms different from those of the dominant culture, they cannot exist as wholly dissimilar, since 'culture' and 'society' are both, "part of a necessary circle in which neither term is thinkable alone" (Willis, 1978: 174). As Bray writes,

The figure of the homosexual, either as we see it there in its first and early form among the molly houses or as it is now after more than two centuries of change, has never been

a welcome part of the society, the atomized, pluralistic society, which gave rise to it. But it is its reflection (1982, 114).

It is therefore the aim of the following cultural analysis to attempt 'to make sense of and understand' the elements of gay culture 'from the viewpoint of the actors involved' (Pearson, 1979: 68).

#### Co-optation and Other Issues

A good deal of the lack of consensus regarding gay culture concerns the fact that the once-popular fashions, jewellery and colour schemes which have characterized gay male (and lesbian) styles have been largely 'defused' (Clarke, 1975: 188). 'Defusion' refers to the process whereby the symbolic meaning is co-opted out of the group from which it originally emerged. Thus, "the symbolic elements, especially dress and music are separated out of the context of social relations" (Clarke, 1975: 188). As these symbolic elements are transformed into commodities available on the common market, the significance of the original icon is often misconstrued or transformed entirely.<sup>2</sup> Hence, as more heterosexual males have begun to affect jewellery, cologne, pink and lavender clothing and black leather, the co-optation of such symbols has led to a decline in the certainty and value of prior meanings. Thus, the identity and recognition of signs have become somewhat ambiguous (Goodwin, 1989: 27). The new gay and lesbian visibility has resulted in increasing co-optation, by the mainstream, of cultural artifacts and in particular, signs, symbols,

dress, demeanour and varying degrees in simultaneous combination.<sup>3</sup> This means that,

A slow process of assimilation and integration also takes place: values, ideas, social patterns and styles once identified solely with gay men begin showing up in the dominant heterosexual culture (Bronski, 1984: 3).

The authentication of the genesis of gay symbols and styles remains problematic due to the miscellany of opinion and the extant volume of non-consensual data. As the following chapter unfolds, much of this may appear rather as fable, steeped in legends and folklore, philosophy and poetry, mythology and fantasy. Since, "the twilight zone that lies between living memory and written history is one of the favourite breeding places of mythology" (Woodward, 1960: viii), this cannot be avoided. The existing literature which explores the origins of gay signs, symbols and argot, while scarce, is frequently embroiled in gay story-telling at its finest, or rooted in camp and esoteric 'fairy tales'. It is not my intention to denigrate the efforts of those who have successfully augmented the literature in this area but rather, I wish simply to acknowledge the inherent dilemma of presenting a wholly accurate, literal and consensual portrayal of gay style and gay culture.

### Gay and Lesbian Iconography

The iconography of gay culture, or the study of icons and signs, points to a sundry of seemingly unrelated items which have come to be associated with homosexuality or 'gayness'. All of these augment the cultural materials and mundane realities of gay communities, the gay world, and the dominant culture. Many are also steeped in a history which gay people are now reclaiming as their own. Included in these cultural and iconographic artifacts are symbols (the pink triangle, the lambda, the silver pinkie ring and others), dress (hanky codes, leather, denim, key chains, uniforms and jewellery), particular colours (hues of pink, lavender and purple), events (Lesbian and Gay Pride Day), particular terminology and slang (such as gay, straight, cruising, dishing), the gay media (magazines, newsletters, novels, journals and films), and assorted territories and milieux (cruising areas, parks, gay and lesbian bars, clubs and restaurants). Each of these will be examined in order to illustrate the complexity and variety of extant gay world culture and of the communities which together comprise, and have created, this world.

#### SIGNS AND SYMBOLS: GENESIS AND MEANING

The manifest symbols and argot of the modern gay world taken singly or in combination, in gay or in straight milieux, serve as embodiments of gay identity, gay style, and in fact, gay culture. Many symbols, such as

the pink triangle, the lambda, the silver pinkie ring, the coloured necktie, the rainbow flag and others, allow gay men and lesbians to recognize another and to maintain a consciousness regarding one's sexual orientation while in a position of concealment. They may also serve as a signal to others that one is 'out' (publicly gay) or epitomize a personal, yet temporal, rebellion of mainstream norms. There are new fads, symbols and emerging icons, ever-changing in their vision, meaning and style.<sup>4</sup> The primary connotations of signs and symbols may also change over time, such that:

The relationship between experience, expression and signification is therefore not a constant in subculture. It can form a unity which is either more or less organic, striving toward some ideal coherence, or more or less ruptured, reflecting the experience of breaks and contradictions (Hebdige, 1979: 126-7).

Although, as the level of gay and lesbian consciousness rises amidst the corresponding increase of organizational sophistication within the gay world and its cultural milieu, a degree of intra-group consensus regarding particular signs is also cultivated. Many of these symbols exist simultaneously as non-verbal cues by which gay people come to recognize each other, and as a means by which to conceal this identity from straights (non-gays). Symbolic objects once employed to signify one's covert membership as 'other' are currently adopted as badges<sup>5</sup>, assertions of visibility, pride, resistance or rebellion, such that:

...the tensions between dominant and subordinate groups can be found reflected in the surfaces of subculture - in the styles made up of mundane objects which have a double meaning. On the one hand, they warn the 'straight' world in advance of a sinister presence - the presence of



difference - and draw down upon themselves vague suspicions, uneasy laughter, 'white and dumb rages'. On the other hand, for those who erect them into icons, who use them as words or as curses, these objects become signs of forbidden identity, sources of value (Hebdige, 1979: 3).

Meanings may seem cryptic and often prosaic, and nuances of sexuality and disposition apparently concealed, but the way in which they are depicted or made manifest is dependent not only on the 'symbolic world of the actor' (Plummer, 1975: 159), but on the experiential repertoire of the audience as perceiver. An attempt to discern the superficial connotation of the sign is also made more complex because, "a sign does not simply exist as part of reality - it reflects and refracts another reality" (Volosinov, 1973: 10). From the perspective of dialectical materialism, signs, arising through social interaction with others, become not only a part of consciousness, but also generate external phenomena which form ideological links between individuals (Volosinov, 1973: 11).

#### The Symbols of Gay Culture: An Exploration

Two of the most visible symbols of the gay liberation movement, the pink triangle and the lambda, are also those most widely recognized by conventional culture (Goodwin, 1989: 25). Certainly, the easiest to trace is the pink triangle, used by the Nazis of the Third Reich in Dachau (near Munich, now West Germany) during World War Two. Known or suspected homosexuals were forced to wear a two and three-quarter inch pink triangle

on the right side of the trousers and the left side of the jacket ensuring the clear visibility of their stigmata at all times (Lauritsen and Thorstad, 1974: 44). The highly visible inverted pink triangle adopted by gays since the post-war period and identifiable on buttons, pins, pendants, earrings and tattoos, is commonly placed on a contrasting black background, with the slogans 'Never Again!' or 'Silence = Death'. This is utilized by modern gays to symbolize a history of oppression and persecution, and represents a poignant reminder of the horror of the Nazi Holocaust. This is perceived by many as a warning, symbolic of the need for progress and perseverance in the struggle for gay rights and liberation (The Body Politic, 1977: 3).<sup>6</sup>

Significantly, many of the signs and symbols visible in the modern gay world have seen their creation in the post-World War Two era. Some however, have much earlier ancient origins and meanings, although ancient roots are often attributed to symbols which have been more recently developed. Many people for example, believed that the Greek letter lambda worn by homosexuals had its roots in ancient Greece. Although lambda represents the first letter in 'lambazein' or 'lezbizein' and appeared in early Greek graffiti as a capital letter 'A' which is similar in appearance to the letter lambda, with the implied meaning of 'fellate' (Dynes, 1985: 81), it also has several other meanings. Lambda was seen by the Greeks as designating balance and the corresponding actions necessary to maintain balance; the Spartans regarded lambda as synonymous with unity; the Romans interpreted lambda as representing 'knowledge as

the light in the darkness of ignorance'; for present day physicists, lambda symbolizes the exchange of energy (Goodwin, 1989: 26); and for mathematicians, it is used in statistical calculations. Lambda was however, chosen by a homosexual physicist as the symbol for the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) in post-Stonewall 1970. Interpreting lambda as a symbol of 'kinetic potential' in physics, the physicist saw this as a most appropriate symbol for the new Gay Liberation Movement (Marotta, 1981: 145; Dynes, 1985: 81).

The 'labyris' (also commonly spelled 'labyrs') or double-bladed hanging axe worn by lesbians and feminists, is most commonly believed to represent female strength. Reportedly, this symbol dates back to ancient Crete (Alyson Publications, 1989: 99) although it is also believed to have originated in the early Amazon culture where societies were said to be ruled by strong, masculine women. Walker claims that the labyris was used in battle by Scythian women warriors and wielded as a ceremonial sceptre by the ancient 'Amazonian Goddesses' Artemis, Demeter, Gaea and Rhea (1983, 523) although this is not wholly corroborated by the relevant literature.

Intertwined or 'double' men's and women's symbols (the two are placed side-by-side so that the circles of the symbols overlap) are common in the modern gay world and are worn on tee shirts, buttons, earrings, ties and finger rings. Largely because of the mundane quality of singular symbols, the intended meaning of the double sign is clear to both the gay and straight audience. Three similar interlocking symbols commonly

designate interest or participation in menage-a-trois or non-monogamous sexual relationships.

The colour lavender is frequently linked to and worn by gay men, lesbians and feminists. In 1970, for example, all of the women wore lavender armbands at a mass meeting in New York City to protest public views of lesbians and feminists (Faderman, 1981: 340). Lavender armbands were also worn by gay men and lesbians demanding the 'right to love' at the Washington Square rally in July of 1970 (Teal, 1971: 36). 'Lavender culture' has been reported as existing for many decades, although the genesis probably occurred during the late 1960s or early 1970s. Generally, lavender or purple is thought to have been adopted by homosexual men and women because it is an "implicit androgenous" colour (Young, 1978: 41) which combines the (blue) male principle and the (pink) female principle (Young, 1978: 41; Dynes, 1985: 33).

There is another tale of origin however. Purple, a relative hue of lavender, has also been traced beyond the male/female colour principles, to early shamanism and the witches of the Old Religious Craft (Grahn, 1984: 6-7). Purple has been regarded as representing strong spiritual powers and, as Grahn suggests:

Purple represents, brings about, and is present during radical transformation from one state of being to another. Purple appears at twilight and at predawn. It stands at the gate between the land of the material flesh in one world and the land of the spirit or soul in another and is present in the envelope of energy that surrounds the body...the aura (1984, 6-7).

The adoption of the colour lavender by early homophiles led to the

"borrowing of a device from the civil rights movement" (Time, 1966: 43)<sup>7</sup>, the incorporation of the equality symbol (=) on a lavender background on buttons, tee shirts and demonstration banners. Although the symbol is common today, it appears to pre-date the Stonewall liberation era of the 1960s (Time, 1966: 43), making its appearance on the book jackets of homosexual literature during the 1930s (Klaich, 1974; Altman, 1982).<sup>8</sup>

Green is another colour often associated with lesbians and gay men, particularly when worn on Thursdays (Dynes, 1985: 33; Grahn, 1984: 77-81; Wolf, 1979: 38; Ellis, 1936: 299). Grahn argues that this association has its roots in the tribal healing folk 'fairies' of the British Isles in 58 B.C. (1984: 77-9). These little people (the fairies) allegedly wore green for camouflage and protection while they engaged in hunting as their primary activity (Grahn, 1984: 77-9). It has also been suggested that the idiom of 'never wear green on Thursday' has its roots in the Celtic wise women and witches who were clothed only in green during their Thursday festivals (Grahn, 1984: 80-1). Finally, green has also been linked to nineteenth century Britain where it was employed as a coded recognition system among gays (Dynes, 1985: 33). Earlier in history however, the clothing of homosexuals under the reign of the Roman Empire, had shades of green woven into the fabric for similar reasons (Dynes, 1985: 33).

Homosexual men favoured the wearing of red neckties as badges of recognition as early as 1897 (Ellis, 1936: 299; Bullough, 1979: 610).<sup>9</sup> It is not clear whether this was so because Havelock Ellis, the pioneering bisexual sexologist, claimed that they did, or whether Ellis had

accurately observed the apparel of gay men. One might surmise however that, since red is a derivative of pink, homosexual men relied on the 'feminine' colour principle in their search for similar others (Dynes, 1985: 33). Moreover, Altman (1982, 34) observes that throughout much of the 1900s, homosexual men have also been identified primarily by a penchant for jewellery, tennis shoes, floral shirts, scarves, shoulder bags and earrings.

In the English and Parisian literature of the early 1900s, there is a plethora of lesbian stereotypes surrounding characteristics of dress, manner and demeanour. In particular, Klaich (1974, 166) and Faderman (1981, 354) note that women wore dinner jackets, monocles and ties in Paris during the early 1920s and 1930s. This may have been in part, a response to the imagery of Radclyffe Hall's watershed lesbian novel, The Well of Loneliness, which was published in England during 1928.<sup>13</sup>

There have been many references to the wearing of pinky rings (usually made of silver and turquoise) on the little finger of the left hand, by women in Paris of the 1920s and 30s (Klaich, 1974: 30; Wolf, 1979: 38). In many gay and lesbian circles, this practice is still common today among those (usually older individuals) who prize discretion regarding both their own sexual orientation and recognition by others. Such rings, worn for the purpose of homosexual self and other identification have been traced to legendary characters in mythology and to the occult tradition. One author claims that the little finger, named after the God Mercury, symbolizes science, spiritual power, wit and

communication (Grahn, 1984: 15). The occultist bent leads us to an ancient (undated) tale of a male Caddo Indian who practised cross-dressing. He is purportedly endowed with powers of sorcery and was said to be protected from evil-doers by a tiny purple spot on the little finger of his left hand. Thus, Grahn advises, this is how the little finger has come to be regarded as a symbol of homosexual recognition and as such, a "badge of office" (Grahn, 1984: 13).

Signs, symbols, dress and demeanour<sup>11</sup> in a gay social context may be overt or subtle. The seasoned gay man or lesbian combines a particular form of dress with subtle body movements and prolonged eye contact (Wolf, 1979: 39) not unlike 'pick ups' and 'come ons' in the straight world, except that these contacts are often (particularly outside of the gay milieux) much more veiled and discreet. For the gay man in a gay context, "putting on the key rings, denim and handkerchief of the clone is an assertion of group identity, just as a black might grow an afro hairstyle for the same reason" (Altman, 1982: 104).

The starting point of the symbolic presentation of gay self and gay desire concerns the placement of the symbol. The right side of the body is used to designate the passive role and the left side, is associated with active participation. This is so whether one affects key chains, pinky rings, teddy bears (in the front or rear pocket, to signify the desire to cuddle and/or be cuddled) earrings or handkerchiefs. However, during the mid-1970s, pocket handkerchiefs provided gay men with an important channel for the non-verbal communication of their sexual

roles and desires.<sup>12</sup>

Combinations of colour and placement have led to the creation of a complex 'Hot Hanky' or 'Pocket Drapery' code (Forbes, 1978-79: 18). Therefore, worn on the left, red handkerchiefs signify the wish to engage in brachiopractic intercourse and on the right, to act as the insertee. Dark blue implies a desire for anal intercourse and light blue, for oral stimulation. Black denotes participation in sadomasochism. White, worn on the left designates a desire to be masturbated and on the right, the proclivity to masturbate both participants. Olive green worn on the left connotes a liking for military uniforms, and on the right a penchant for wearing them. On the left, mustard signifies the search for a 'well hung' male (having a penis of eight inches or more), while on the right, it suggests that the wearer is possessed of large genitalia ('well hung'). Yellow designates an interest in 'watersports' and brown, in scatological activities. Handkerchiefs or bandannas worn around the neck or forehead indicate a willingness to perform either active or passive roles (Forbes, 1978-79: 18; Goodwin, 1989: 26-7).

Other artifacts worn by both gay men and lesbians, include handcuffs, black leather, studded belts, wrist bands and arm cuffs, all of which taken in combination, usually infer participation in sadomasochism. Singly, they may designate a burgeoning interest in sadomasochism or point to the unenlightened gay.

Matchbooks, table serviettes, cigarette papers and bits of packages, beer labels and miscellaneous slips of paper with telephone



numbers scrawled across them have been referred to as "the coinage of the gay subculture" (Hamilton, 1973: 100). It is not uncommon for gay men and lesbians to collect phone numbers during an evening at the bar, dance, or community event and to save them for future contact. Many busy gays see friends and acquaintances most often at public gay social gatherings and it is customary to exchange numbers particularly in the case of one who has moved, is noted for losing or misplacing phone numbers, or simply fails to keep in touch. Lesbians and gay men who do not attend the bars or social events with regularity are often prodded to accept telephone numbers of friends and acquaintances who implore them to call.

The exchange of phone numbers also precipitates the formation of a new friendship or intimate sexual relationship and more often, these phone numbers serve as an important social or sexual contact with other gays. One might even dial a number (recorded on a matchbook or cigarette package bearing no name) for the sole purpose of determining who the owner might be, although this is much more common than most will publicly admit. An emerging cognizance of the popularity of telephone exchanges has recently prompted many gay bar and bath house owners to supply special 'business cards' to their patrons. These free cards are usually imprinted with the trade name or logo of the bar, along with ample space with which to enter a name, address and phone number. This is a remarkably new phenomenon and one which I suspect presently serves a dual purpose. On one hand, these cards serve as a highly visible and relatively inexpensive form of advertising with a wide potential for distribution within and

between gay communities. On the other hand, the availability of the cards (often accompanied by a pen or pencil tied with string to the bar or table upon which the cards are located) may prevent slow service caused by the perpetual interruptions of wait or serving staff by patrons requesting paper or writing utensils. The latter seems to serve as the more reasonable explanation since it demonstrates justifiable recompense for the original investment of printing and supplying the cards.

#### The Relation of Sign and Culture: An Illustration

The annual June celebration of the anniversary of the Stonewall riots, Lesbian and Gay Pride Day (Pride Week in San Francisco), explicitly describes the existence of a vastly diverse and visible community. This 'Pride Day' celebration, occurs in most major North American cities (Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Boston, Los Angeles, New York) on the last Sunday in June. The themes of this day are visible gay pride and the relative freedom to gather together with hope and energy, although some join with bitterness and hostility.

Cawthra Park in Toronto is just one of the many settings for such a scene. The park is literally filled to overflowing with people, the majority of whom are gay men and lesbians although participants and on-lookers are not exclusively gay. Uninformed passers-by often wander through the park, gay positive (accepting) friends and family and members of FFLAG (Family and Friends of Lesbians and Gays) often share the

celebration. Dozens of booths offer information on the latest gay publication, safe sex, the AIDS Quilt Project and calendars of events. Wares for sale include gay books (from the Toronto gay book store and Archives), lesbian and gay video tapes depicting love stories, docudramas and events of special significance to a lesbian and gay audience (The AIDS Quilt Project, the 1987 March on Washington, highlights of Provincetown), specially crafted Pride Day buttons, jewellery and sweat shirts (all bearing the annual Lesbian and Gay Pride Day colours and logo) and various types of summer foods (watermelon, peaches, punch, yogurt, hot dogs and pop).

Throughout the day, participants listen to lesbian and gay music (gay or gay-positive performers such as Lorraine Segato, the Toronto Gay Men's Chorus, the Nancy Sinatras, Sheila Gostick, the Clichettes), dance to the music in the street or the park, watch lesbian and gay plays (often written by gay playwrights Sky Gilbert or Harvey Fierstein), and patronize gay and lesbian information booths (which offer a veritable smorgasbord of new and used books, Pride Day paraphernalia, gay and lesbian posters, records, tapes, videos, pottery, tee shirts, sweat shirts, buttons, key chains, AIDS information and condoms).

During Pride Day only, celebrants may purchase food with "gay money" received with the purchase of beer (one "gay buck" with every beer). Gay money refers to specially printed and dated dollar bills, which are used toward the purchase of all fast food (the most popular are pizza and hot dogs) available on the park premises. This token system

tends to reinforce one's loyalty to the community since many people view this as a return on the investment of participation in the Pride Day celebrations. Moreover, it neutralizes some of the resentment toward the yearly increase in beer prices. Simultaneously, I suppose that gay money also carries the message that drinking beer (produced by a corporation or small independent company which is both gay-positive and cognizant of the viable market of the local gay community) is an appropriate manner by which to participate in the Pride Day festivities.

Other activities of the day include gathering information (regarding up-coming political rallies, religious gatherings, and special events on the local and national scene), renewing old acquaintances or rekindling old flames and most importantly, celebrating the anniversary of "gay and lesbian liberation" (the Stonewall riots of 1969) with partners and friends at an enormous, open air, lesbian and gay 'daytime party'. It is usual to see dozens of varied pink and lavender hues, pink triangles and lambdas everywhere: on tee shirts, buttons, shorts, earrings, bandannas, hats, visors, bracelets, pendants, tattoos and finger rings. Slogans such as 'Proud to be Gay', 'Out of the Closets' and 'I Am What I Am' are visible on banners, flags and printed tee shirts, often accenting entwined men's and women's symbols and the striped, six-colour rainbow flag (employed originally in San Francisco since about 1979) which symbolizes gay freedom.

In the middle of the park or on the street, on this day more than any other, the affection between lesbian and gay couples or friends is

unabashed and open: two gay men embrace on the street, a young lesbian couple share a tender kiss, lovers and friends walk through the park hand-in-hand, two men with coloured bandannas dance together at the entrance to the park, and two women in leather, sitting astride a motorbike parked outside the 519 Community Centre, share a long look and a quick hug. For this one day only affection knows no prohibition and there is a temporary sense of safety (perhaps autonomy) inside the vast lesbian and gay community bounded by outsiders and curious on-lookers who, as is often the case at the scene of an accident, are both repulsed and fascinated by the gay community, its sudden visibility and refusal to remain silent. This day most clearly illuminates the importance of gay and lesbian links to symbol and identity, community and coding.

The Pride Day celebration climaxes (but does not end) in the Pride Day March from Church and Maitland, Carlton to Yonge, Bloor to Church, meeting back again at the 519 Community Centre at the entrance to Cawthra Park. Gay men and lesbians of every age, creed, colour and religion, gather together: hopeful, energetic and dynamic, behind the banners which best symbolize their group affiliation. A few of the groups marching behind the enormous 'Lesbian and Gay Pride Day' banner include: the Lesbian Mothers' Defense Group, Gay Fathers of Toronto, HUGS (Hamilton United Gay Societies), Gay Asians, Metropolitan Community Church, Gay Youth of Toronto, ACT (AIDS Committee of Toronto), Catnaps (gay guesthouse in Toronto), FFLAG (Friends and Family of Lesbians and Gays), TAG (Toronto Area Gays), and numerous others.

Youth knows no fear on this day and the general attitude is one of excitement and energy. The march begins and the followers conform initially to the lanes (two have been blocked and traffic metered down to two lanes) and pylons, outside of which they are forbidden. Police officers (gently, for the most part) and parade marshals remind the marchers to keep inside these lines so they do not obstruct the traffic and street car routes. This is sometimes difficult: they are dancing to the loud rock and roll music piping out of the speakers of the van leading the parade. In the anterior however, the "dykes on bikes" (the lesbian motorcade parade escort) circle and honk. The cars beep their horns, some stare and wave, banners and balloons are held high above the crowd, the music blares, gay men and lesbians dance together, the drag queens and gays smile and wave wildly from atop their floats, the 'dykes on bikes' rev the engines of their motorcycles and the marchers, stand on street corners waiting ever impatiently for the rest of the parade to catch up, chanting while they wait, "Dykes on bikes, Dykes on bikes..." to a staccato beat.

There are other chants, held silent until the march reaches the more peopled streets of Yonge and Bloor and suddenly someone in the crowd decides the group is too quiet and that there is no real message in the rock and roll music. Suddenly, a machine gun burst of, "Out of the closets, into the streets, gay rights now!" The crowd sputters for a moment, the fire dies. The leader tries again: "What do we want? Gay rights! When do we want them? NOW!" A few more follow and the chant is

repeated until interest wanes. Another, "Look over here, look over there, gay people are everywhere!" On and on, until the leader's voice cracks and a parade marshall smiles, hands her a megaphone and the chants continue. Confused bystanders stop and stare, some shaking their heads as they read the banners or attenuate to the messages of the chants. Here and there in the marching crowd (some estimated that 50,000 attended the Toronto march in 1989, although more conservative estimates suggest a total of 10,000 marchers) balloons are released and, as children on the street watch, a rainbow of colours wafts to the clouds. The Church Street gay crowds gather on steps and in sidewalk patios and under banners of good wishes and support, they raise their drinks and beers to cheer the marchers.

There is much lavender here, a vista of labyris and lambda, male and female symbols intertwined, earrings and pinky rings and affection between couples, partners and friends, as they dance arm in arm or share a moment's embrace. Such icons are everywhere during the gay and lesbian parades and, as Hall has observed:

...ritual, masque, hieroglyphs and anarchy [are used] to reach viewers. The parades are the homophobe's nightmare come true - which probably explains the necessity of the police, whose function is to neutralize the signs and symbols, to 'frame' the street stage in order to keep it from bursting through to onlookers. Our enemies understand the power of theatricality of these occasions, and frequently use film clips of the parades to convince legislators that civil rights for gay people should be defeated (1978, 16).

The marchers wave and walk and dance, bedecked in gay pride buttons and wearing their best gay and lesbian jewellery (silver double women's sign earrings, lambda chains, and purple Pride Day bandannas), they hold their banners high for the audience, for themselves, to affirm self-esteem and identity in the spirit of this celebration. Why? Many, although not all, are young and gay and proud and this march has evolved into much more than a celebration; it will become a memory, imagination and photos, captured by friends and strangers - an icon for other, perhaps less militant years and reminiscent times. But, what does Lesbian and Gay Pride Day really designate? For many, it is a manifest demonstration of struggle, for others, a public affirmation of lesbian or gay identity. Pride Day may hold deeper meanings, too - ones which express the innermost motivations of the celebrants. In the words of New York gay activist Steve Kuromiya:

We came battle-scarred and angry to topple your sexist, racist, hateful society...We came...holding hands and kissing and proudly waving fifteen-foot banners and chanting "ho-ho-homosexual." In one fell swoop, we came to destroy by mere presence your labels and stereotypes with which you've oppressed us for centuries. And we came with love and open hearts to challenge your hate and secrecy (Teal, 1971: 335).<sup>3</sup>

#### Connotations of Terminology and Slang

The history of labels which have been applied to same-sex relations largely contains within it the history of the creations of sexologists,



psychoanalysts and psychiatrists. Homosexual men and women have, however, co-opted (and developed new connotations regarding) a considerable portion of mainstream terminology as a response to their having been 'captured' within the labelling trinity of sin, sickness and crime. The following offers a limited exploration of the more common synonyms (such asurning, homosexual, homophile, gay and straight) which have been historically employed, by the mainstream to describe, and thus to control, same-sex relations. These terms are also employed by gay men and lesbians and preference for a particular label often serves to denote one's political persuasion and the manner by which one regards proactivism and militancy. For example, the individual who readily identifies the self with the term 'homophile' is most likely to be over forty, well assimilated into the mainstream and prone to dislike or refuse reactionist agendas.

This discussion is supplemented by brief general notes regarding the nature of mainstream slang which explores the origins of popular synonyms for homosexuality, including the various connotations of terms such as fag or faggot, homo, fairy, queer and dyke. These terms, and their negative implications, have primarily been employed as a means by which to subjugate gay men and lesbians and to segregate them from the dominant culture and from one another. The response of gay men and lesbians has been a gradual development of a unique vocabulary of phrases, gay slang and argot. The attempt has also been made to delineate the origins of these terms as a reference tool for future researchers and the interested public.

### Urnning

The 'third sex theory' of the 'pioneer of the homosexual emancipation movement' (Kennedy, March 1978: 23), German lawyer Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, based on biological determinism (the view of a male-female dichotomy was widely accepted at the time), defined a male homosexual (although he never used the term) as a woman's soul contained in a man's body (Kennedy, March 1978: 24).<sup>14</sup> The terms 'urnning' and 'uranian' (a reference to the God Uranus) which Ulrichs devised in 1864, were derived from the speech of Pausanias in Plato's Symposium. Modifying the character names of the legend, Ulrichs fashioned names for male and female homosexuals (urnnings, urnningins and muningins); male and female heterosexuals (dionings and dioningins); homosexual men who preferred effeminate male partners (mannlings); and those who preferred strong, masculine partners (weiblings) (Bullough, 1979: 6; Marshall, 1981: 142-3; DuBay, 1987: 88). Although Ulrich's theory permitted him to accept his own homosexuality and encouraged him to speak out for the rights of other homosexual men and women, his congenital theory of homosexuality was largely deposed in 1879 by the medical-sickness model initiated by Krafft-Ebing (Kennedy, 1981: 108).<sup>15</sup>

### Homosexual

Hungarian translator<sup>16</sup> Karl Maria Benkert coined the term 'homosexual' in 1869 (Lauritsen and Thorstad, 1974) although it gained

more attention in 1880 when employed by Gustav Jaeger (Dynes, 1985: 66). The term did not however become popular until the first World War. Homosexuality infers an explicit biological and sexual concept (Chesebro, 1981a: 186) and is largely devoid of social context. Thus, the term homosexuality fails to take into account the "intersubjective reality" of gay men and lesbians (Chesebro, 1981: x-xiv).<sup>17</sup>

### Homophile

The Greek roots of the term homophile imply a definition of 'loving the same' and although it may have been used in Germany during the 1920s, Dynes (1985, 66) suggests that it became internationally diffuse as a consequence of the advocacy of the International Committee for Sexual Equality in Amsterdam during the 1950s. Moreover, as Dynes notes, "historians of the gay movement sometimes refer to the years 1950-1969, when the word was in vogue, as the 'homophile period'" (1985, 66). Although many homosexuals preferred the term homophile because it diminished the pervasive sexual character of their differentiation from the main, militant liberationists of the 1970s co-opted the term 'gay' because it was commonly associated with light-hearted happiness.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, according to Plummer (1981, 61) the term 'homophobia' (the aversion of or dislike for homosexuals) was first introduced by George Weinberg, Society and the Healthy Homosexual (1973). It appears that the concept of homophobia was probably a modification of "homoperotophobia" as it was addressed by Wainwright Churchill in, Homosexuals in the Male

Species: A Cross Cultural Approach, 1967.<sup>19</sup>

### Gay

There are many theories regarding the genesis and original connotation of the term 'gay'. Cordova suggests that it is derived from France, becoming popular in burlesque of the middle ages to refer to 'pseudo-feminine' or 'swish roles' (1975, 16). Boswell proposes that the term 'gai' is traceable to thirteenth or fourteenth century France, where it was used to signify 'courtly love' and during the fifteenth century, with reference to homosexuals (1980, 43). Dynes on the other hand, claims that it was first employed in seventeenth century England to denote the immoral behaviour of men and women and was not printed in its current form before 1933 (1985, 58-9).

Klaich suggests that it was not until Gertrude Stein 'playfully' employed it in several poems and short stories during the 1920s and 30s that it became fashionable in France (1974, 30). Similarly, Faderman declares that the term gay was popular in writer's circles during the 1920s and it was only these individuals who wholly understood the intended meaning (1981, 308). Boswell notes that the term was used as a pass code for English gay circles in the early twentieth century (1980, 43). According to Teal however, Reed Severin's 1970 article in the Advocate claimed that the word 'gay' first appeared in 1925 in Australia and may have been derived from the book, The Young Man's Friend by J.A. James in 1879, in which the author defines 'gay' as "loving pleasure, especially

forbidden pleasure; wanton" (Teal, 1971: 44).

However, according to Martin and Lyon, the word gay was "a means of double talk in a hostile straight (heterosexual) society" (1972, 5). Bullough declares that gay became a term of identifying prostitutes in much the same way in which bohemian was used (1979, 47). As, "an American euphemism for homosexual" (Dynes, 1985: 58-9), the term gay became popular in the 1960s and is still the preferred term by which many homosexual men and women refer to themselves. The reason for this is that in gay and lesbian context, it serves both as a recognition of diversity and provides a "meaning-centred, social and multidimensional concept" (Chesebro, 1981a: 186). Whatever its exact place of origin, several authors agree that 'gay' was first uttered aloud on the Hollywood screen by Cary Grant in the 1938 film, Bringing Up Baby (Boswell, 1980: 44; Russo, 1981: 47).

### Straight

The use of the word 'straight' to mean heterosexual has also been assimilated into mainstream culture. Boswell suggests that, originally, the term may have been derived from the term 'straight arrow' inferring conformity to conventional values in slang argot (1980, 45). Dynes also reports that 'bent' is often used in Britain as an antonym for homosexual (1985, 136).<sup>23</sup> Moreover, according to Williams, during the play, Streetcar of Desire, Mitch suggests that Blanche may be 'straight'; to which she replies, "What is straight? A line can be straight, or a street, but the human heart, oh no, it's curved like a road through mountains!" (Williams,

1972 :54). This dialogue does not appear in the popular published editions of the play.

### Mainstream Slang Examined

"The trouble is", writes Michael Riordon, "...that no people mean exactly the same thing by the same word. The resulting confusion leads directly to high art, adventure, war, and chaos" (1978, 308). In particular, once-innocuous terms such as 'faggot', 'homo', 'fairy' and 'queer' have largely been appropriated from their original context. In mundane vernacular, 'faggot' (or 'fagg' in Norwegian) once denoted a heap or bundle of wood for burning (Funk and Wagnalls, 1972: 228)<sup>2</sup> and (from the French 'fagot' to the English translation, 'faggot') an obese or unkempt woman (Dynes, 1985: 52). 'Fag' has been used to denote weariness caused by hard labour and in Britain and to refer to an English public school boy who provides menial services for an upperclassman. In popular British slang 'fag' denotes a cigarette and in American lexicon, it refers to a homosexual (Funk and Wagnalls, 1972: 228). The term is not a common one in the social discourse of lesbians and gays, although it is employed by both as a derogatory comment on the effeminate behaviour of gay men, or as a term of affection among gay men. In regard to the latter, it is the context of the term, the tone and demeanour of the speaker which are integral to an understanding of the way in which the term 'faggot' is

intended.

The partial term 'homo' was originally derived from Greek, meaning the same (eg. homogeneous, homologous, homonym). 'Homo', in addition to denoting the genus to which modern man belongs, is also currently used as an abbreviation for homogenized milk. It is most frequently used today as slang, to refer to homosexuals in a derogatory manner and is rarely used by gays themselves with the exception of special occasions (such as the annual dance in Toronto which has been called 'Homo Hop' for the past several years).

Currently, the term 'fairy' is generally understood to refer to homosexuals and in particular, to effeminate males. It once was used commonly to refer to small, delicate and beautiful imaginary beings (Collins, 1981: 195; Funk and Wagnalls, 1972: 228). The term 'fairy' also spelled 'faery' was originally derived from the mythical beings of the European folklore tradition (Dynes, 1985: 53). It is widely used in camp among gay males (particularly to refer to effeminate males) and is intended as a term of affection and humour rather than as a derisive adjective. However, when used by heterosexuals to describe homosexuals, the connotation of 'fag' is most often negative.

In its present connotation, 'queer' most commonly refers to a homosexual. It was once a popular term used to refer to an odd or unusual person, place or thing and was also used in the mid-eighteenth century to indicate counterfeit coin and banknotes (Dynes, 1985: 119; Funk and Wagnalls, 1972: 542). A combination of the two meanings probably

generated the phrase, "as queer as a three-dollar bill". The term is not a popular one among most gay men and lesbians, although there are older gay people who, having become familiar with the term, prefer to regard themselves as 'queer' as opposed to gay or homosexual (Dynes, 1985: 119).

The word 'dyke' (also spelled 'dike') once referred to a causeway, ditch, embankment or barrier (Funk and Wagnalls, 1972: 179; Collins, 1981: 168) although it is now popular American (and Canadian) vernacular for lesbian, particularly those who are regarded as 'butch' or mannish. It is often used in conjunction with male-identified terms to indicate the degree of perceived masculinity (eg. butch dyke, bull-dyke or diesel dyke). Dynes notes that in the slang of the late nineteenth century the term 'dike' was used to describe men (and women) who engaged in cross-dressing (1985, 44). Once strictly pejorative, the term 'dyke' has been co-opted by lesbians themselves to infer strength, self-affirmation, defiance of the norm and overt resistance (Hayes, 1981: 33).

Most of the previous terms, appropriated from common, mundane vernacular, have been utilized to insult, humiliate, offend and to define gay men and lesbians in terms of 'categories' which cast them beyond the pale. This lexicon serves to distance gay people from themselves and from conventional culture, to label them as unacceptable and evil, and to be defined always as the 'outsider', the 'other'. By incorporating several of these terms into everyday experience, gay men and lesbians have attempted to resist the imputed labels of conventional culture, and have struggled to develop their own rhetorical nuances and vocabularies of



meaning.<sup>22</sup>

### Gay Slang and Argot: Rationale

Most of the terminology employed by conventional culture to describe homosexuals are actually "histories of ideologies" (Bentley, 1977: 288-303). The response of gay men and lesbians has thus been to develop their own argot and slang and to promote these terms such that they, "keep circulating folk myths" and may well be perceived as the gay (and often lesbian) attempt to control the social definition of the situation (Hayes, 1981: 33). Moreover, the specialized signs, symbols and vocabularies constitute the diverse aspects of a gay system of communication which functions to legitimize and give meaning to the experience of being gay or lesbian (Sonenschein, 1969: 290).

Hayes (1981a, 45-56) has developed a categorization of gay terminology based on the variations of visible dialogue and demeanour within secret (situation of covert gayness), social (with other gays) and radical-activist settings (purposive assemblies). In covert settings, he notes that gays are adept at innuendo, gender-switching, coded language and frequent references to often 'arcane synonyms'. In the social situation he reports that camp, sexual categorizations (size queen, auntie, leather, S/M, drag queen) and Hollywood names (Bette Davis, Camille, Tallulah Bankhead) appear replete with precious and fragile

mannerisms and quick verbal wit. In the radical-activist setting, Hayes has observed an avoidance of gay lexicon, dramatic rhetoric (statements concerning power and anger) and the lingo of self-consciousness (personal dynamics, meaningful relationships, self-actualization). In sum, Hayes suggests that,

Perhaps ironically, the proudest affirmation of one's personal identity and the most paranoid repression of it in the gay community are achieved principally through the existence of Gayspeak (1981, 56).<sup>23</sup>

In this chapter, the terms gay argot and gay slang are employed interchangeably and both refer to the "specialized vocabulary for describing their world" (Best and Luckenbill, 1982: 39). However, it is in this area that gender divisions become increasingly apparent. Gay slang and argot do not fully crystallize into a shared language for gay men and lesbians since, in large part, the gay world remains overwhelmingly male and urban" (Blachford, 1981: 204).<sup>24</sup> Thus, in the realm of language, the common sense of oppression between lesbians and gay men may actually exist as a kind of "cerebral bond" (Altman, 1979: 104).

Many of the terms used by gay men (such as rough trade, trick, number) have been co-opted from criminal and deviant groups and (in the case of such phrases as sixty-nine, get laid, go down, blow job) heterosexual males (Hayes, 1981: 39). Moreover, several writers suggest that the male gay subculture simultaneously reproduces and modifies, alters and resists, the dominant culture (Blachford, 1981: 185). For Blachford, this becomes increasingly apparent in a synthesis of: the

dominance of male language and pejorative toward women within the gay world (as it reproduces traditional patriarchal attitudes toward women); the style of gay male sexual objectification and 'cruising' activities (which fail to challenge the ideology of male dominance and oppression); and the adoption of traditionally male 'expressive artifacts and concrete objects' (Willis, 1977: 172). The latter include construction boots, plaid shirts, lumber jackets, macho uniforms (sheriffs, police officers, mechanics) and symbols of violence such as black leather, studded belts and wrist bands, heavy watches, hand-cuffs, steel chains and metal-toed boots which all serve to reinforce the 'ideology of machismo' (Blachford, 1981: 182-93).

Although, "...gay slang, like the slangs and argots of other cultures, has also functioned as a bond among gays, signalling one's identification as a member of the gay community" (Stanley, 1974: 387), such language may also function as a vehicle for self oppression and the exclusion of others. For example, much of the gay male argot<sup>22</sup> relies on the male-female dichotomy (such as butch-nelly, active-passive and the inverse application of he and she), pseudo-feminine adjectives (such as swish, flaming faggot, faggy, screaming queen, bitch, girl, closet queen, troll, old queen, chicken-hawk, piss-elegant) and conversational references to tearooms, glory holes, rimming, fisting, cruising and dishing (gossiping).<sup>25</sup> The language of the lesbian is paltry compared to that of the gay man, revolving again around the dichotomy of butch and femme (synonyms of the former consist of dyke, bull dyke, diesel dyke,

bulldagger and of the latter, only femme or fem is popular) and of lesbian and heterosexual (a woman who chooses gay men as primary escorts and friends are often referred to as a 'fruit fly' or 'fag hag' and a heterosexual woman as a 'fish').<sup>27</sup>

There is much debate regarding the use of gay slang and many gays and lesbians feel that the surrender of this lexicon will lead to a waning of early gay culture. Others however, believe that the avowal of gay slang will foster the eradication of gay second-class status (Hayes, 1981: 40). Many writers argue that a rejection of gay slang will serve to reduce potential and existing inequalities between gay men and lesbians since a male-dominated system of language and rhetoric cannot help but reinforce the traditional gender imbalance in society. It does however, appear that:

If gay communication did not meet the needs of the gay subculture, it would not exist. It functions in several ways, helping to define the subculture, marking both members and non-members; it is a medium through which the cultural heritage of the gay community can be conveyed; it is a casual, humorous way of communicating with people with whom one feels comfortable; it is a means of discussing taboo subjects openly (or semiopenly) without fear of discovery...All these functions of the gay argot are subsumed under one larger role the language plays: it aids in establishing and maintaining subcultural cohesion (Goodwin, 1989: 28).

THE GAY MEDIA:  
GAY AND LESBIAN PUBLISHING AND PRESS

The pages of the gay press have been instrumental in fostering self-consciousness among gay men and lesbians in addition to heightening the awareness of the existence of like others. Publishing efforts have thus become symbols of uniquely gay structures, of the power to network within and between gay communities, of the freedom to enter the realm of public discourse, and of the sheer number of gay groups, individuals, organizations and institutions. Early periodicals, magazines, journals, poetry and novels have also added to the materials of gay culture and gay history in general.

The freedom to publish was not always so apparent. Katz (1983, 163) offers an informative analysis of the moral, political, economic and religious powers which exact social tension between the contestants of speech and silence. These powers have historically contaminated the public discourse pertaining to sexuality and the erotic. The dilemma is best explained by noting that generally, the drills of the publicly-sanctioned 'conspiracy of silence' have been mastered so well by homosexuals themselves that as Katz admonishes:

There have been silences: Overt censorship and self-suppression, writer's own strategic and patterned omissions, distortion, indirections, euphemisms, coding (by allegory, metaphor, symbol, and even colour), and a psychological, subjective focus of discussion that has left the social and historical organization of sex, the political economy of lust, a mystery, even as "same-sex" and "different-sex" intimacies were more widely and openly debated (1983, 163).

Although homosexuals have historically struggled against silence and censorship, this conflict has not wholly inhibited the panoply of novels, newsletters, tabloids and magazines written, and more recently published, by gay men and lesbians.<sup>28</sup> Most of these writings are not representative of scientific justifications for homosexuality or explanatory forms of self-consciousness (see pages 54-58). Rather, they are illustrative of variegated and emergent self-consciousness which has largely been disclosed in anecdotes, biographies and other various forms of personal sponsorship such as poetry, non-fiction and novels.

The increasing media coverage (and ensuing public acceptance of the terms homosexual and gay) of the early homophile movement as well as the acknowledgement of the very existence of homosexuals, "took homosexuality out of the shadowy realm of deviance and criminality and placed it in the light of social reform" (D'Emilio, 1983: 218).<sup>29</sup> This has helped to reinforce both individual and group consciousness and encouraged homosexuals to take risks that would previously have been avoided (D'Emilio, 1983: 227).

Much of the early twentieth century lesbian fiction, depicting love and romance between women (one frequently a teacher or older woman) at girls' schools and colleges, appeared in magazines such as Century, Harper's, Ladies Home Journal and Strand, for example (Faderman, 1978: 802).<sup>30</sup> The early homosexual content novels and magazine fiction were largely steeped in pseudonyms, cloaked and coded to avoid public suspicion or charges of obscenity.<sup>31</sup> In Gertrude Stein's 1922 short story, "Miss

Furr and Miss Skeene" the relation of Georgine and Helen was only fully understood by those who were themselves involved in same-sex relationships (Faderman, 1978: 812). Thus, Stein wrote:

They were regular in being gay, they learned little things in being gay, they learned many little things that are things in being gay, they were gay every day, they were regular, they were gay, they were gay the same length of time every day, they were gay, they were quite regularly gay (Stein, 1922: 19).

Radclyffe Hall's The Well of Loneliness, published in England in 1928, was subsequently banned for thirty-one years and later published in the United States (Martin and Lyon, 1972; Marotta, 1981; Adam, 1987; Weiss and Schiller, 1988).<sup>32</sup> The Well coupled with Hall's understanding of homosexual social milieu, drew much attention to the plight of homosexuals. Rife with a cast of butch and femme stereotypes, an atmosphere of desperate oppression and a tragic conclusion, The Well has remained one of the 'classic lesbian love stories' to the present day.

On the front cover of Gore Vidal's The City and the Pillar (published in 1948) Book Week declared that it was, "the first American novel to represent openly and on a full-scale...the homosexual sub-culture in contemporary society." Moreover, Tennessee Williams' Memoirs, characterized Vidal's novel as "one of the first homosexual novels of consequence" (1972, 146). Following the release of Vidal's book, a member of the early Mattachine, Edward Sagarin published The Homosexual In America (1951) and later, The Lesbian In America (1964) under the pseudonym of Donald Webster Cory. The former was so successful that Cory (Sagarin) opened a book service and arranged for the publication of a

number of homosexual-content books, by promising an audience for the publishers (Bullough, 1979: 666). Once convinced, the publishers had little difficulty in procuring the books since, as Weiss and Schiller note, "there were so many lesbian novels in the United States [before 1940]...There were more than 500 novels with clearly discernible lesbian content published" (1988, 23). Recognition of the market potential also led American publishers such as Avon and St. Martin's Press to release a number of gay titles during the 1950s.<sup>33</sup>

Much of the literature (e.g. Bullough, 1976: 666; Martin and Lyon, 1972: 244-5; Bullough, 1979: 69; and Adam, 1987: 63-4) suggests that the earliest American homophile magazine was Vice Versa, published from 1947 to 1948 (9 issues) by and for lesbians in Los Angeles. The Society for Human Rights in Chicago did, however, publish two issues of Friendship and Freedom in 1924 (van der Veen, 1988: 17). This was apparently followed by One in 1953, The Mattachine Review in 1955 and The Ladder in 1956. The difficulty with these early magazines was that both Mattachine and The Ladder in particular, tried to "diffuse social hostility as a prelude to changes in law and public policy" through excessive conformity to heterosexual behaviour and expectations (D'Emilio, 1983: 109). This dilemma resulted in conflict between the conservative desire for conformity and simultaneous acceptance and the modern militant faction, which rendered the early dialogue of the Mattachine and The Ladder ineffectual and for the most part remained, "caught between caution and rage" (Bronski, 1984: 146).



Lesbian publishing peaked in the 1950s<sup>34</sup> and 60s with an explosion of "lesbian stories for the masses" (Faderman, 1981: 355; Martin and Lyon, 1972: 18) which were printed and distributed by some of the larger conventional publishing houses. Early lesbian fiction writers such as Ann Bannon, Paula Christian, Dallas Mayo, Claire Morgan, Valerie Taylor, Rene Vivian and Gale Wilhelm have been lauded as helping to form the vanguard of lesbian 'pulp' novels (Martin and Lyon, 1972; Altman, 1982; and Adam, 1987).<sup>35</sup> It seems that the shape and form of the homophile movement of the 1950s was largely set by 1956 and thus, publishing became the central and most important homosexual activity (D'Emilio, 1983: 168).<sup>36</sup>

It was also during the early 1960s that discourse on homosexuality became visible in the general press and mainstream magazines such as Time, Look, Newsweek, and The New York Times.<sup>37</sup> Public discourse on homosexuality in Life magazine first appeared in 1964 in an article entitled "Homosexuality In America". The byline explains, "the secret world grows open and bolder. Society is forced to look at it - and try to understand it" (Welch, 1964: 66).

Prior to 1969, the Village Voice refused to print the word 'homosexual' and declared the term 'gay' obscene because the staff of the Voice equated it with 'f--k' (Teal, 1971: 63). The Voice agreed only upon the word 'homophile', which was then unacceptable to the gay militants (Gay Liberation Front) and after a gay demonstration protest outside the offices of the Village Voice, the staff conceded that upon payment, advertisements containing either of the three terms would not be censored

(Teal, 1971: 63-65). Two months later, a similar confrontation occurred between the GLF and the Los Angeles Times (Teal, 1971: 73-4).

The 1960s brought other changes such as the opening of the first gay book store, The Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore in New York City in 1967. During the same year, a glossy gay newsmagazine, The Advocate, began publishing local and international events, politics, religious news and advertising of interest to gays. The attractively packaged format of this magazine had never before been available in the pages of the gay press and The Advocate helped to point out that, "the commercialization of a subculture is one way to promote the assimilation of that culture into the mainstream" (Bronski, 1984: 177). As Crew and Norton have observed, "homosexual literature is not in the mainstream, not because the mainstream is heterosexual, but because the mainstream is homophobic" (1974, 280).

The new post-Stonewall gay press also provided, "an extension of and a technique for outreach and communication within the gay community" (Bronski, 1984: 151). The expansion of homosexual and lesbian newsletters, magazines, bar rags<sup>38</sup> and novels has created channels of communication which function as significant "transition paths toward gay identity" (Altman, 1982: 118). The increase in general discourse and articles pertaining to lesbians and homosexual/gay men has encouraged gay people to "find their own voices" and to 'experiment with novel forms of dialogue' (D'Emilio, 1983: 113). The expanding homophile and homosexual dialogue has also strengthened the existing, although tenuous, group

identity in addition to making manifest a new and burgeoning awareness of politics, religion and gay 'coupledom' (Coleman, 1984: 57).

The 1970s and 80s brought homosexuals increased visibility in the pages and screens of mainstream media. Through newspapers, journals, magazines, radio, television and Hollywood films, gays became more informed regarding the organizational growth of communities, and began to relate on a larger scale to similar others. Moreover, with a minimum of one or two gay book stores in most large American and Canadian cities, lesbian and gay novels, magazines and newsletters became much more accessible both by mail (to rural or closeted gays) and in person. Extensive numbers of small gay publishing houses have developed. Fag Rag Books, the Naiad Press<sup>39</sup>, Out and Out Books, Times Change Press, Good Gay Poets, Persephone Press, Spinsters Ink, ism Press, Calamus, Sea Horse Press, Gay Sunshine, Diana Press and Daughters, Inc. Avon, Bantam, Harper and Row, Signet, Bard, Talonbooks, the Crossing Press and Fawcett Crest include but a few of the current American publishers who now release and distribute (non-academic) gay titles.<sup>40</sup>

European and American energies previously geared to the struggle for gay and lesbian liberation have diminished somewhat during the 1980s and the desire for entertainment has taken their place (van der Veen, 1988: 23). The result has been a discernible explosion of gay and lesbian magazines during the 1980s, with an estimated mean circulation of six thousand per gay press edition (van der Veen, 1988: 29). Moreover,

...in the eighties? Nearly 2,000 titles with circulation figures of 80,000...The eighties seem to have loosed a flood of big gay men's mags, specialized art, literary and

scientific magazines, glossy entertainment monthlies, and a shower of small periodicals...for Jewish, British lesbians, for disabled lesbians, for successful lesbian businesswomen, for S/M lesbians, for Christian German homosexuals, for Dutch gay and lesbian humanists, for man-boy lovers, and even a financial newsletter for gay stockbrokers, for Australian counsellors and for American countryside men - to name but a few (van der Veen, 1988: 29).

In general, these magazines have served as a vehicle for the movement of many of the larger gay communities out of the shadows and despair of the subversive 'twilight underworld' and future possibilities now seem unlimited in volume and variation.<sup>4</sup>

#### Gay and Lesbian Films and Oppression: General Remarks

In one sense, "movies are one of the clearest and most accessible of looking glasses into the past, being both cultural artifacts and mirrors" (Haskell, 1987: xviii). They are however, frequently subject to retrospective bias and endurance of memory. Perhaps there are really, "two cinemas: the films we have actually seen and the memories we have of them" (Haskell, 1987: 42). Most of the early mainstream Hollywood films which dealt with the subject of lesbianism or homosexuality also reinforced traditional stereotypes (the butch-femme dichotomy) while simultaneously reflecting existing societal attitudes and conservative mainstream values. Civil rights clauses and litigation coupled with the increased public visibility of lesbians and gay men however, have led to a reduction in the portrayal of stereotypes in modern films.

Hollywood censorship has had a tremendous impact upon all facets of production, distribution, modification and suppression of films dealing with homosexuality and lesbianism. The Hays Office Code of the 1930s (also referred to as the Motion Picture Production Code), obscenity laws, the Bureau of Customs, the Catholic Legion of Decency, the Supreme Court and the National Office for Decent Literature (D'Emilio, 1983: 130-1; Russo, 1981: throughout), have all condemned homosexuality as immoral subject matter for Hollywood film.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the Hays Office Code was initially formed to ensure the protection of the Hollywood Film Industry from external censorship (Russo, 1981: 31).

Corporate Hollywood often went to great lengths in order to launder any indications of 'sexual deviance'. The first example, a 1931 German film entitled *Madchen In Uniform* (translated as "Girl in Uniform") was filmed as two complete versions with varying conclusions. In the original version, the young school girl, forbidden to associate with the female teacher with whom she has become infatuated, commits suicide; in the other, the girl is rescued by the other students at the boarding school. Both versions of the film were however later banned in Germany by Goebbels (Erens, 1979: 162) as a consequence of the portrayal of an 'abhorrent' female relationship and the potential misinterpretation of rebellion against Prussian authority.

The second example, a 1931 version of *The Children's Hour* was initially rejected by the censors because of potentially discernable lesbian content. The film was then rewritten for the screen by the

original author (Lillian Hellman) and this version, entitled *These Three*, appeared on the screen in 1936 shorn of all references to lesbianism which were replaced by heterosexual plot and text. This "sanitized version of *The Children's Hour*" (Russo, 1981: 258) later gave way to a second version of the 1931 original, which was released in 1962. This most recent version, developed with the help of the original director and screenwriter, was also entitled *The Children's Hour*. The product of one script, originally rejected by the censor board in order to protect the sensitivities of mainstream (heterosexual) audiences, generated three films, contextually similar and distinct.

In 1961 the Production Code relaxed the regulations prohibiting the overt portrayal of homosexuality on the film screen and the revision noted that homosexuality was no longer a film taboo, "...provided any references are treated with care, discretion and restraint" (Russo, 1981: 118-22).

The products of mainstream Hollywood cinema, as Dyer (1984), Wood (1986) and Russo (1981) note, have included numerous gay and lesbian sub-text films during the last two decades and many from the early 1900s in which exaggerated homosexuality (ultra-feminine men and masculine women) and camp are blatantly visible to the informed viewer (Russo, 1981; Weiss and Schiller, 1988). Iconographic stereotyping<sup>43</sup> has pervaded many of the early silent pictures and the films of the late 1960s and 70s (*The Killing of Sister George*, 1968; *The Boys In The Band*, 1970; *The Naked Civil Servant*, 1975; *La Cage aux Folles*, 1978; *Sergeant Matlovich Versus the*

U.S. Air Force, 1978). Although, "early gay stereotypes in film were signals, testaments to the existence of others at a time when nobody was supposed to know that there were others" (Russo, 1981: 153), current mainstream Hollywood films appear to offer camp as comedy rather than condemnation. Producers, directors and distributors are also aware that gay and lesbian content films (*Making Love*, 1981; *Personal Best*, 1981; *Lianna*, 1983; *Consenting Adult*, 1984 tele-film; *Kiss of the Spider Woman*, 1985; *The Fourth Man*, 1986; *The Colour Purple*, 1986; *Desert Hearts*, 1986; *My Two Loves*, 1986 tele-film; *The Gold-Rimmed Glasses*, 1987; *An Early Frost*, 1987 tele-film; *The Decline of the American Empire*, 1987; *Torch Song Trilogy*, 1988; *Wonderland*, 1989) draw larger and more diverse audiences (with more disposable income) than ever before, since a larger proportion of the current movie offerings are more frequently geared to the gay and lesbian population.

During the current decade, there has also been an expansion in 'counter-cinema' aimed at the production of films which deal with issues such as growth and self-awareness, feminism, the structure of patriarchy, lesbian relationships, gay men and lesbians as family units, coming out, lesbian and feminist herstory, gay history, and sex-role stereotyping. Activist, counselling, educational and erotic films have been produced by lesbian and feminist collectives, lesbian and gay resource centres, independent film-makers, feminist co-operatives and small film companies. Serious gay and lesbian film critique is readily available in the pages of popular magazines such as Jump Cut, Film Commentary and Films and

Filming. Contemporary gay and lesbian film commentary (written both by and for gay men and lesbians) is also available in The Advocate, Christopher Street, Xtra! and intermittently in Out/Look, Rites, Angles and Fireweed.<sup>44</sup>

#### LESBIAN AND GAY BARS AS MICROCOSM

Gay and lesbian bars<sup>45</sup> have been referred to as a "quintessential institution of contemporary gay life" (Young, 1978: 43). This is relevant to both past and present roles since the bars frequently provide the primary entry points into, and the central institutions of, gay or homosexual milieux (Abbot and Love, 1978: 94; Newton, 1976: 115). In addition, many continue to regard the bars as a "rite of passage, an initiation into the underworld" of gay and lesbian life (Jay, 1983: 19)<sup>46</sup> and as symbols of a rich and diverse culture. It is within the gay and lesbian bar network that friendships are developed, acquaintances renewed and sexual partners considered. Moreover, community events, local support service information, national news, health pamphlets, and other articles of particular interest to gay men and lesbians are advertised in calendars, newsletters, bar rags and local magazines. These are generally available inside the door, on the bar or distributed to side and centre tables. Such publications are usually free of charge to patrons.<sup>47</sup>



The bar milieu still remains an important cultural institution within which gay men and lesbians seek friends, companions and partners; announce, develop and maintain group activities; access support services, current news and community events; and provide a certain level of acceptance which buffers social stigma (particularly for young gays and lesbians).<sup>48</sup> For many openly gay men and lesbians, the bars serve as a nucleus for networking activity and, "as a multi-functional community centre" (Mulvey and Steriti, 1988: 2). Moreover, as Altman observes,

Anyone gay or straight, who has ever entered for even a few hours into a predominantly lesbian or gay milieu has been immediately struck by a fully-blown, variable and multi-levelled culture; from which most cultural and social patterns seen elsewhere first emanated and were developed (1982, 2).<sup>49</sup>

This is however, not only true of the bars, but of various tributaries of the gay world in general. Vantage points at the lower end of the continuum of organizational sophistication and institutional completeness include: bars, local dances, book stores, lesbian and gay concerts and at the other extreme: the gay press, business organizations, community centres, gay and lesbian religious groups and chapters of the Metropolitan Community Church and Pride Day celebrations. It is, in part, the purpose of the present work to illuminate the significance of these gay cultural artifacts, organizations and institutions.

A Note on the History of Gay Bars

Accurate disclosure of the origins of the first gay bar is entirely contingent upon where and to whom one directs such queries (Judell, 1978: 135-6). Much of the evidence suggests that a well-developed homosexual milieu, during the late sixteen and early 1700s, was largely centred around the 'Molly Houses' (also referred to as 'Molly Clubs') in London (Adam, 1987; Bray, 1982; Bullough, 1976; Trumbach, 1977; and Ward, 1709).<sup>50</sup> Coward (1980) and Rey (1985) describe the growing incidence of arrest for sodomy in Paris during the early 1700s.

D'Emilio (1983) notes that gay male bars existed in the Bohemian hedonistic cultural niches of San Francisco prior to the turn of the century. Stevenson (1908), Burnham (1973) and Katz (1983) detail the social clubs, restaurants, cafes and music halls patronized by lesbians and gay men during the turn of the century, in American cities such as San Francisco, Chicago, Boston, New York and others. Weiss and Schiller (1988, 20-22) discuss the role of the speakeasies in New Orleans, New York and San Francisco during the 'roaring twenties' where gay men and women congregated.

Moreover, early lesbian bars are said to have appeared first as 'salons' catering to upper class artistes in Paris during the early and mid nineteenth century (Faderman, 1981: 369). Lupton notes that one of the female bar owners she interviewed claimed that, in the years during and after World War Two, women began to patronize the bars and taverns as

a result of their increased access to financial resources and thus, women also became more accustomed to participating in the public sphere (1979, 582).

Generally speaking however, the Black Cat bar in the North Beach area of San Francisco, is thought to be one of the earliest prototypes of the lesbian and gay bars as they currently exist.<sup>51</sup> Like many of the more popular bohemian meeting places of the early nineteenth century, the Black Cat became "a place where several worlds intersected" (D'Emilio, 1983: 186). It was not until the 1950s that the Black Cat began serving a large gay male clientele and in 1951 the owners struggled successfully for the right to serve liquor to gay patrons (Adam, 1987: 63). This ruling was later challenged in 1955 and statutes were enacted to prevent licensing of taverns believed to be 'resorts for sexual perverts' (D'Emilio, 1983: 187). The police, the liquor control board and the statutes of the San Francisco legislature continued to observe the Black Cat closely for potential infractions over the course of several years.

#### The Proxemics of Lesbian And Gay Bars

The proxemics of the gay and lesbian bars are intentional and symbolic; "the illusion of the public ("out for the evening", "a night on the town") and the private (the semidarkness of anonymity) are carefully balanced" (Newman, 1978: 141). In particular,

The gay bar communicates a number of messages; its lighting, its layout, and its ambience all contribute to this process. Dim, coloured lights convey a sense of privacy and intimacy.

The floor plan generally allows the patrons easy visual access to people throughout the bar, but it also requires that, when crowded, patrons must come into close contact with one another. Indeed, the proxemics of the gay bar stand in marked contrast to those of social situations in the mainstream white American culture (Goodwin, 1989: 13).

The difference between the two is largely a matter of the degree of permeability and amount of value accorded personal space. Thus,

One also notices among gay men an abandonment of personal space, that invisible shell we all carry around our bodies. No one is normally allowed within this area, but among gay people there is a lot of physical contact, both affectionate and sexual. This violation of personal space is more than a result of people's finding themselves in a crowded room; it is a response to the isolation homosexual people feel in heterosexual society. Everyone needs acceptance and friends; one way the gay subculture meets this need is by eliminating the barriers normally associated with personal space (Goodwin, 1989: 28).

There are specialized bars which cater to almost every kind of social and sexual preference within the gay world. A sampling of such bars include: leather (S and M), cowboy (denim and leather western wear), uniform (police, biker, army or navy), beer only, expensive cafes (specialty liqueurs, wines, coffees and pastries for the higher-income bracket), dyke, cruise, back-room (quick sex), nellie (effeminate males), drag show clubs, sports, week-end only, unlicensed late-night dance clubs (for the non-drinking and underage crowd) gay-men only, lesbian-only and gay men and lesbians (mixed bars). However, only in large metropolitan cities accommodating a highly-populated and well-developed gay community, does one find such diversity.

Each particular type of bar has a specific, although usually tacit, etiquette. One becomes necessarily and rapidly familiar with specific routines such as: cruising (or not), friendly conversation with the bartender or wait staff (or appropriate social distance), acceptable introductions to unfamiliar patrons (first-names-only, pseudonyms or nicknames) expected mode of dress (denim, leather, preppie, formal, casual or 'anything goes') or behaviour (macho, effeminate or neutral) and physical placement within the bar (special areas which indicate an individual's particular desires in a non-verbal manner).<sup>52</sup>

Not unlike the majority of heterosexual bars, attendance at particular establishments may change over time and thus reflect one's: preferred form of entertainment (disc jockey, jukebox, drag shows, comedy routines or live musical performers), desire for social versus sexual encounters, the degree of difficulty regarding transportation (the location of the bar), the choice of one's friends or social group, beer, soft drink, liquor and food prices, (presence or absence of) entertainment or cover charges, and personal musical inclinations (preference for rock and roll, punk, disco, pop, country or mixed).

No two gay bars are the same, and all exhibit a unique blend of atmosphere, motifs (exclusive icons or symbols), music, dancing, lighting, finger foods (some bars offer free potato chips, pretzels, peanuts, popcorn or samples of featured menu items), particular bar brands (types of liquors and specialty drinks as well as schnapps, house wines or imported beers), happy hour drink or food specials, activities (video

games, pool tables, pinball machines, contests, sports teams) and personalities (live performers, popular disc jockeys preferred wait staff or favourite bartenders). This type of gay milieu, like single bars, discos and roadhouses, attracts a particular assortment of clientele who serve, in their own fashion, to alter the landscape of the bar.

In the larger urban cities (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York) where gay and lesbian bars are more numerous, there also tends to be more competition for business.<sup>53</sup> In order to realize a necessary profit and so remain in operation, many bar owners have introduced hours for 'shifting clientele'. Many popular gay or lesbian bars cater to a variety of heterosexual patrons (business people, retirees, factory workers, office clerks, labourers) during the daylight hours (serving brunch, lunch, drinks and sometimes early dinners) which then 'shifts' to a primarily lesbian or gay clientele at a certain hour. Daytime regulars of the bar or restaurant are frequently aware of the customer shift and one often observes, during the changeover, a dimming of the lights, a change in the type and volume of music (disc jockey or jukebox), and one can watch the bar and dance floor being prepared for the evening.

There is tremendous disparity in the number of existing gay male and lesbian bars. One of the primary reasons for this is that gay and lesbian bars often arose in unsafe areas of the city and for women, the risk of solitary night travel is generally greater than for men (D'Emilio, 1983: 98). Since women also have differential access to financial

opportunities and resources, most women's bars were not situated in prime areas nor did they boast an interior decor as grand as those found in many of the men's bars. Visits to the bars also require an acknowledgement of one's sexual identity (D'Emilio, 1983: 98) and lesbians in general do not have access to the "transitional opportunity" structure (social and sexual situations) of the gay male milieu (D'Emilio, 1983: 99). It is not surprising then, that gay men's bars have outnumbered those for lesbians and continue to do so today in most large cities in the world.

#### The Bar Milieux: Stereotypes, Role-Playing and Camp

The early lesbian bars in particular helped to assign and to reinforce 'severely dichotomized roles' of butch and femme, so that most lesbians were forced to choose masculine or feminine roles (Wolf, 1979: 23). In large part, this is because the lesbian bar is best described as a microcosm and viewed (by gay and lesbian patrons and members) as:

...a world within our world replete with its own cast of characters, governed by its own rules, maintaining its own rites and rituals, and even comprising its own special geography...others like her are not trapped within the bar because it is smaller than life but because it is more real and larger than life. The shades of the underworld become more meaningful than the people on the outside world just as the shadows on the wall were more lifelike to the inhabitants of Plato's mythological cave (Jay, 1983: 18-19).

Sexual roles<sup>54</sup>, reinforced in the atmosphere of the bars, became the only models they knew and many lesbians, "...played the roles in public and then we went home and fought about them" (Martin and Lyon, 1973: 6).<sup>55</sup>

In large part, the reason for this is that as Wittman observed in Refugees In Amerika: A Gay Manifesto, gay men and lesbians:

...have lived in these institutions all our lives, so naturally we mimic the roles. For a long time we mimicked these roles to protect ourselves - a survival mechanism. Now we are becoming free enough to shed these roles which we've picked up from the institutions which have imprisoned us (1969, 161).

In contrast to the butch and femme role-playing of the early lesbian bars, gay men have developed a sense of unity and of bonding through 'camp'<sup>56</sup> which most gay men define as: "a way of being human, witty and vital...without conforming to the drabness and rigidity of the het male role" (Dyer, 1977: 11). Camp, as humour, fun, identity, bonding, self-protection against and resistance to the oppression of mainstream culture<sup>57</sup> (Dyer, 1977: 11) is really a matter of style, the way in which one responds to people, events or things, and this consists primarily of removing the serious content from the context of everyday things (Dyer, 1977: 12).<sup>58</sup> According to Newton (1976, 106-10), the themes most apparent in camp are: incongruity (the juxtaposition of masculine-feminine polarities), theatricality (the style and dramatic flair as performed to encourage interaction between actor and audience) and humour (camp as clowning, playing, transforming the emotions from the mundane to the ridiculous).<sup>59</sup> Clearly,

...the essence of camp is its love of the unnatural: of artifice and exaggeration. And Camp is esoteric - something of a private code, a badge of identity even among small urban cliques (Sontag, 1982: 105).<sup>60</sup>

Thus, both the gay male 'drag queen'<sup>61</sup> and the lesbian 'bull dyke'



epitomize the rejection of traditional male/female, masculine/feminine role expectations and the conventional active/passive, strong/weak gender dichotomy (Stanley, 1978: 127).<sup>62</sup> Moreover, as Newton defines it, "camp is not a thing. Most broadly it signifies a relationship between things, people, and activities or qualities, and homosexuality" (1976, 105).<sup>63</sup>

The humorous style of camp has however, formed such an impression on conventional culture, that the latter has co-opted much of the meaning and the essence of camp as its own. It is likely that the co-optation of camp into conventional culture actually began during the Renaissance and in the salons of bourgeoisie French, English and German societies. Thus camp, once an important facet of gay male identity, does not exist to the same degree in the modern gay world and does not serve the same bonding function, since much of the meaning has been diffused by its expropriation by the wider society.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, as Williams once observed:

Of course "swish" and "camp" are products of self-mockery, imposed upon homosexuals by our society. The obnoxious forms of it will rapidly disappear as Gay Lib begins to succeed in its serious crusade to assert...a free position in society which will permit them to respect themselves (1972, 50).

This provides a somewhat superficial rationale however. The organizational sophistication, politicization, consumer culture and the AIDS crisis of the modern gay world (taken singly or in combination) necessitate a great deal of energy and appropriate much of the leisure time available to many gay men. As a result, the energy and desire necessary to participate in the spirit of camp have markedly decreased.

Through camp however, homosexuality becomes generally more

palatable to members of conventional culture. The silliness of camp humour simultaneously endears the actor to the audience, enticing them through laughter, and reinforces their ties to conventional culture, augmenting the actor's identification as not of them: but as other. Homosexuals and camp, viewed from the distance between the two cultures, leads the mainstream to see them (temporarily at least) as comedic actors, titillating and entertaining. For the moment then, they are simultaneously objects of curiosity, repulsion and tolerance.<sup>65</sup>

#### CONCLUSION: THE INTERNALIZATION OF CULTURE

It is not merely the structure and milieu of the nation-state which lend meaning to subcultures, communities or worlds since, as Shibutani argues:

Each social world, then, is a culture area, the boundaries of which are set neither by territory, nor by formal group membership, but by the limits of effective communication (1955, 565).

Although specialized iconography, argots and non-verbal behaviours are historically, temporally and culturally-bound (Hayes, 1981: 37) those relevant to the gay world often transcend such boundaries. A case in point is the co-optation of the pink triangle from Hitler's Germany by gay men and lesbians who now affect the triangle as a symbol of the dangers of oppression and of the silence of the oppressed.

The gay world, tethered by often tenuous networks (such as the sometimes short-lived institutions of particular gay and lesbian bars,

restaurants, support groups, publications and iconography) still appears to be largely based on a common stigma, shared oppression and similar experiences. This is true whether one observes gay men and lesbians in Montreal, Buffalo, England, New Zealand or Turkey. Although the legal rights, language, organizational sophistication, institutional completeness, specific nuances and characteristics, and social opposition to local gay and lesbian communities may differ in various geographical regions, each country, territory, province and state serve as a link in the growing chain of the gay world.

Thus, gay signs, symbols, modes of style and dress (iconography), argot and vernacular, publishing, press and films, bar milieux and proxemics, role-playing and camp all serve as important cultural vehicles for orientation, transmission and communication within and between specific territorial communities and the gay world in general. All of these features have been discussed in terms of the ways in which they serve to create, enhance and transform the symbolic universe of meanings within the gay world and, as a consequence of increased gay and lesbian visibility and the trend toward co-optation, within the mainstream.

These cultural materials are however, differentially significant to residents of the various communities. In a small rural town for example, a stranger with a lambda or pink triangle pin might be regarded as a welcome ally. To a group of gay men sharing beer at a popular metropolitan gay bar, such symbols may serve the purpose of self-affirmation as an integral component of their identity kits. To the

closeted lesbian or gay man however, a glimpse of such a symbol or magazine or the exposure to a conversation in gay vernacular might facilitate initial contact with a local gay community group or bar, or perhaps serve as the catalyst for the emergence of self-awareness.

Originally, the fledgling gay world was created out of a sense of similarity and commonality. The internalization of gay culture and cultural artifacts, which frequently transcend the boundaries of race, colour, religion and sometimes age and gender, serve to unite and to maintain the links of the gay and lesbian world. Simultaneously, the evolution of diversity (in the areas of age, sex, politics, religion and consumer enterprise) also tears this initial unity asunder, creating conflict, opposition and strife equally among groups and individual members. It is to the structural features of the gay world, as they are generated by a uniquely gay culture, that we now turn our attention.

## END NOTES

1. Actually Steinshouer (1984, 277) estimates that a mere six hundred lines of the original twelve thousand of Sappho's poetry have endured, although these are largely fragmented and are of dubious and varied translation.

2. Moreover, as York observes:

The fact that American capitalism can co-opt almost anything no matter how ostensibly subversive is a truism so bizarre, so fascinating in its implications as to give many sensitive souls perpetual cultural shock (1979, 58).

3. Altman also suggests that the development of baths and 'bawdy houses' as gay (male) service institutions has encouraged "the co-option of the gay world's surface hedonism" (1979, 44).

4. This is in contrast to H. Montgomery Hyde's mistaken contention that, "unlike Freemasons, homosexuals do not use secret signs by which they make themselves known to their like-minded fellows" (1970, 21). Much of this work however, is generally misinformed, exceptionally dated although relatively contemporaneous, and not occasionally subject to homophobic stereotyping.

5. The badge, Smith notes, "originates in a deliberate desire to create fundamental semantic confusion" (1988, 141).

6. No author cited.

7. No author cited.

8. A. Nolder Gay has also referred to the lavender rhino as 'new symbol of gay liberation' in the Boston area. Apparently, the rhino was used as an icon to represent an often misunderstood, habitually peaceful animal which ought not to be provoked (1978, 44-5). It has more recently been co-opted as the logo and 'mascot' of a new gay and lesbian bar in Toronto.

9. Hayes also notes that the necktie was an important signal of recognition between homosexuals in both nineteenth-century Europe and twentieth-century America (1981, 36). Apparently, homosexual men sported green ties in Paris, black in Frankfurt, and red in America.

10. As Kaye/Kantrowitz observes, "a classic is a chosen book or writer; and it is also an institution...we breathe it - a signpost of our culture, or one of its common foods" (1984, 250).

11. For more information on signs and symbols associated with homosexuality, gayness and lesbianism (such as calamus, hare, ladslove and the rainbow flag), see Alyson Publications, 1989, pages 99-100.

12. Hayes suggests that these pocket codes may have been first employed in Colorado mining towns during the nineteenth century (1981, 36). The relative absence of women at weekly dances meant that men with pocket bandannas assumed the role of the leaders (masculine-active) and those without became the followers (feminine-passive).

13. Teal refers here to the Philadelphia Free Press, July 1970.

14. According to Marshall (1981) and others, Ulrichs' view of homosexuality exacted an influence on many writers who were struggling with the problem in personal terms. Among them were Havelock Ellis, Magnus Hirschfeld, John Addington Symonds and Edward Carpenter. In the fashion of Ulrichs' model of the biological determinism, Carpenter wrote Love's Coming of Age (1895) and Symonds discussed homosexuality in A Problem of Modern Ethics (1896) followed by A Problem in Modern Ethics (1901).

15. For more detail concerning the origins of 'urning', see also Dynes, 1985, page 145.

16. Dynes notes that, although many authors suggest that Benkert was a physician, he was actually a litterateur and translator (1985, 67). Benkert has is also known by his pseudonym, Karl Maria Kertbeny.

17. McIntosh argued that the homosexual role refers, "...not only to a cultural composition or set of ideas but also to a complex of institutional arrangements which depend upon and reinforce these ideas" (1968, 189).

18. Richard Summerbell and Paul Aboud's ab-nor-mally HAPPY (Vancouver, Canada: New Star Books Limited, 1985) offers a 'high camp' view of popular gay slang and argot. This one however, is not for the serious researcher or intellectual.

19. See also Dynes, 1985, 66.

20. For more detail concerning the connotations of the word 'straight' in gay argot, see also Dynes, 1985, pages 42-44 and 136.

21. Bray (1982, 21-30) also suggests that this may be related to the association of homosexuality with witchcraft and the subsequent burning at the stake of homosexuals.

22. For additional information on such terms as faggot, dyke, gay, lesbian, homosexual and the origins of the colour lavender, lambda and calamus, see in particular parts one and two of the well-written, sixteen-part series "Gay In America", San Francisco Examiner, June 4, 1989-June 25, 1989 (various authors).

23. Darsey (1981, 61) however argues that Hayes has removed communication between and among gay people from both its historical and cultural context and has therefore overlooked many of the nuances of 'Gayspeak'.

24. We may also envisage the term 'white' added to this list.

25. Jokes, folklore and anecdotes share common themes in gay and lesbian argot. In addition, these particular styles of communication often function as a means of identifying other gays and lesbians and as subtle vehicles for 'coming out'. For a more in-depth analysis, see Goodwin, 1989, especially chapter 2.

26. See pages 175-178 of this thesis for a discussion of the essence and functions of 'camp'.

27. Hayes has noted that, while it is difficult to extract generalizations regarding the subject matter of labelling, the following two propositions appear to have been time-tested. These facts suggest:

- that labels are inescapable and ever-changing; they will be proposed from outside and urged from within.
- that few lesbians and gay men remain neutral on the subject; they line up from one end of the spectrum ("I wish to be associated with no label") to the other ("I wish for a precise, empirical, and universal definition") (1981a, 35).

28. van der Veen (1988, 15-22) classifies the history of the gay and lesbian press into four primary periods: 'Germany and North European activity' (1896-1933), 'hiding' (1933-1967), 'explosion' (1968-1979), and 'the eighties' (current).

29. On March 8, 1969 police raided the Snake Pit in Greenwich Village, taking 167 patrons into police custody. The report on this raid (Jonathan Black, "The Boys In The Snake Pit: Games Straights Play", Village Voice, March 19, 1970, pages 1, 61-4) ended the "blackout" on news of 'gay militants' in the pages of the Village Voice (Teal, 1971: 114).

30. See also Jan Hokenson, "The Pronouns of Gomorrha: A Lesbian Prose Tradition", in Frontiers, Vol.10, No.1, 1988 (62-9) and, Margaret Crosland, Women of Iron and Velvet: French Women Writers after George Sand, New York: Toplinger, 1976.

31. On the subject of obscenity trials see for example: Hyde, 1962; Ellmann, 1988; and Baker, 1985. For a brief discussion of the 1957 New York trial of Allen Ginsberg's book of poetry, HOWL, see Weiss and Schiller, 1988 (especially pages 52-53). For a complete and illuminating bibliography on the obscenity trials of The Body Politic and Glad Day Bookshop in Toronto, see Crawford, 1984.

32. It was still impossible to procure an expensive English first edition as recently as 1976. Crates of books were stopped long before they reached Canada and the 'offending material' removed without recompense for monies paid in advance.

33. See Roger Austen, Playing the Game (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1977) for a first-rate account of the history of American (male) homosexual novels.

34. For a brief chronicle of Jeannette Foster's self-publication of Sex Variant Women in Literature in 1956, see Jay, 1978, pages 257-61.

35. 'Pulp' generally refers to (once) inexpensive 'lesbian' romance, adventure and mystery novels which were relatively easy to obtain. Most of the lesbian 'pulp' of the 1950's however, is steeped in the twilight shadows, homophobia and despair in such titles as Warped Desire, The Queer Darkness and The Twisted Ones. Generally speaking, "it was mostly torrid, tasteless stuff...A purple-prose, cliché-ridden formula reigned supreme, as did ultimate victory of conformist values" (Goliger, 1989: 15). See also Koski and Tilchen, 1978, pages 262-74.

36. In an interview with 'variant literature' collector, Barbara Grier (of Missouri), she suggested that her collection of some ten thousand lesbian and gay books and periodicals may be one of the largest private libraries in the world (DeLano, 1976: 47).

37. In July of 1962 New York City's 'listener-supported' radio station WBAI-FM also broadcast a program on homosexuality as discussed by eight male homosexuals of the Homosexual League of New York (Newsweek, July 30, 1962: 488).

38. 'Bar rags' refer to the free tabloids published by gay communities which are available at most gay and gay-identified bars, restaurants, book stores and specialty shops. They are most commonly found just inside the front door(s) of these establishments and contain local and national news items, advertisements, and community events.

39. Naiad Press of Tallahassee, Florida bills itself as "the oldest and largest lesbian publishing company in the world" (Naiad Press Inc., 1990 calender). Naiad, founded in 1973, now publishes over one hundred and twenty titles and distributes (throughout the United States



and Canada) a yearly calender as well as monthly flyers offering special discounts and publication updates.

40. For an illuminating discussion of the relationship between lesbian and gay books and the American Library Association during the early 1970s, see Barbara Gittings, "Combatting the Lies in the Libraries", in Crew (ed.), *op cit.* 1978, pages 107-18.

41. For a brief but comprehensive overview of the events, publications and people important to homosexual, gay and lesbian history, see Alyson Publications, 1988, especially pages 11-31 and 142-199.

42. The early Batman series televised between 1966 and 1967 is now regarded by many gay men as the epitome of camp at its most odd!

43. Dyer defines iconography in the following manner: "...films use a certain set of visual and aural signs which immediately bespeak homosexuality and connote the qualities associated, stereotypically, with it" (1984, 31).

44. For critique, commentary and discussion of gay and lesbian films see, in addition to those listed in this bibliography: Steven (ed.), 1985; Russo, 1986 (31-4); Weiss, et al, 1986 (22, 50); Zita, 1986 (27-30); Lippe, 1986-87 (81-88); Brunsdon (ed.), 1986; and Kuhn, 1982. For an excellent history of lesbian and gay characters on the American stage and screen, see Curtin, 1987.

45. For a critique of the limitations and superficiality of the gay and lesbian bar milieux, see Newman, 1978.

46. Adam argues however that gay and lesbian bars are not as integral to the development of the lesbian and gay community as they once were and thus,

As in the United States and the United Kingdom, gay organizations unfolded in Canada and throughout the 1970's even in small towns and rural areas where, for the first time, they often preceded the commercial infrastructure of bars and public meeting places (Adam, 1987: 85).

47. This is probably the reason that Jim Clifford, a marathon group member of the Gay Liberation Front, once asked, "Do you suppose that the gay bar is gay media?" (Teal, 1971: 156).

48. For more information on the functions of the gay bar milieu, see Hooker (1965), Cavan (1966), Achilles (1967) Dank (1971), and Weinberg and Williams (1974).

49. cf. Felice Picano, A True Likeness, 1980, xi.

50. Not unlike the modern lesbian and gay bars, Bray notes that, "...the milieu of the molly houses existed in its own right independently of the individuals who might compose it at any one time" (1982, 85).

51. For further discussion of the early gay bar scene in America, see also Kelsey, 1978 and Jackman, 1978.

52. In many gay male only bars for example, there is a section referred to as 'the meat rack'. Standing in this section indicates a desire to 'cruise' or to be 'cruised' (pick up a partner for a sexual encounter or to be picked up). In both male and female bars, sitting or standing alone at the bar counter often indicates a similar desire.

53. For a brief but interesting history of the lesbian bar scene in Toronto, Ontario, see Bearchell, 1981, 25-7.

54. The character of butch and femme are indicative of expected, often exaggerated role-playing. Ponse suggests that such roles: ...as used in the lesbian world, involve[s] the adaptation of masculine and feminine roles, modeled after typifications of these roles in the heterosexual world. The woman who plays the masculine role is called the butch, while the femme plays the stereotypical traditional female role (1978, 124).

Lesbians who rejected the polarity of such roles were ostracized and called 'ki-ki'. There is no doubt that during the early 1950s and 60s this was a derogatory label (Abbot and Love, 1978: 93).

55. Davis and Kennedy suggest that the rigidly enforced role behaviours of lesbians during the 1950s must be viewed within the broader social context of post-war sexual repression and corresponding ideology. Hence, such similarities are according to the authors, indicative of, "a close connection between the evolution of heterosexual and homosexual cultures" (1986, 22). For more information regarding the early butch and femme roles of the 1940s and 50s, see Davis and Kennedy, 1986, especially pages 13-20.

56. As Newton accurately states, "drag and camp are the most representative and widely used symbols of homosexuality in the English speaking world" (1976, 100).

57. For a critique of camp as a form of resistance against the dominant social order, see Britton, 1979, pages 11-14. Britton argues that camp is really a parody of femininity and as such, it cannot serve as an effective weapon against the oppression of lesbians and gay men. Therefore, the author claims that camp is a weapon which gay men in particular turn upon themselves, augmenting the social intolerance which, if modified, becomes self-hatred.

58. There are several gay authors who perceive camp as an integral facet of gay culture. See for example, Altman's examination of whether camp is 'soul' (1971, 138-40), Silverstein's "God Save The Queen" (November 1970), and Humphrey's discussion of the cultural contributions, the "camp genius for style innovation, for new art forms" of the gay 'community' (1972, 73-75).

59. A specific Canadian example concerns the now-defunct Toronto group, "The Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence". This small group of gay men assembled in the early 1980s and disbanded in 1987. During their days together they dressed as nuns, attending meetings, parades and gay and lesbian social gatherings. Although they did engage in fund-raising, their primary function was camp - esoterica in its purest form.

60. Stanley claims however that, "the essence of camp is the refusal to take oneself seriously" (1978, 128). It is my understanding that most gay men and many lesbians would argue that it is rather the refusal to internalize and unleash oppression on the self. Hence, camp serves more as a buffer against stigmata, although it may simultaneously reinforce extreme stereotyping from the main.

61. Drag may often exact tension within the gay world and, as Goodwin notes, "many activists feel that drag is politically incorrect since it reinforces stereotypes and since it can be interpreted as chauvinistic. Others feel that drag is passe" (1989, xv).

62. In a like vein, Adam believes that,  
...the queen and the dyke are, in a sense, emancipated.  
They are doing that which many of us would like to do -  
proclaiming their feelings and desires to the world (1987,  
83, cf. "Homosexuals Without Masks", One, 1958, no author  
cited).

63. Although, as Darsey accurately observes, camp is neither universal within or exclusive to the gay world (1981, 62). Indeed, several facets of the gay world are neither exclusive nor universal but they exist as integral to the organizational sophistication of the gay world. See also Russo (1976, 17) and Sontag (1964, 515-30) for further discussion.

64. As Altman notes, many gay people embrace the notion that their "role is to entertain and titillate the straight world" (1979, 102). Because much of conventional culture consumes camp as a commodity and a viable form of entertainment, much of the audience during 'drag shows' and 'impersonation' is made up of heterosexuals.

65. As a consequence, several films which parody homosexual camp and stereotypes have generally been successful in attracting and appealing to mixed (lesbian, gay and mainstream) audiences.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE STRUCTURES OF 'PRE-WORLD' GAY COMMUNITIES

Our sexual orientation is our commonality, of course, but our sense of community goes well beyond that commonality. Our common experience of being different in a way that is profoundly discredited and derisively devalued gives us a common history of individual and collective struggle for a hard-won yet tentative space in society that is the real basis of our community. It is the ignorance and bigotry of those who cannot see past our sexual orientation which deafen their ears to what we are saying about and during Lesbian and Gay Pride Day (S.R. Atkinson, 1989: 5).

## INTRODUCTION

The development and cognizance of higher levels of organization have influenced the residents of smaller and less developed gay communities. Such an awareness generally makes it possible for gays to remain in these areas simply because there are alternatives, should the pressure of passing (as non-gay) prove intolerable. At the same time, however, there is some evidence that world development also acts as a fetter to the development or reconstruction of smaller community institutions. In the latter case, a local culture in the process of perishing may be integrated into a more developed and complex community structure, making it a part of a larger whole. Thus, there is a certain

amount of inter-community diffusion which may transform the very nature of all levels of community development and local culture.<sup>1</sup>

An original typology has been developed as a means of illustrating the five distinct levels of community organization and development, from the lowest level (the 'commuter zone'), to the level of 'occasional communities', the 'middle range', further development and 'pre-world' (highest) level of community organization. However, it is worthy of note that such discrete variations between levels or degrees of development are rarely apparent in mundane reality, and have been outlined in this manner only for the purpose of the present analysis.

These communities are both similar and disparate from one another and are integrated and separate from the mainstream in varying degrees. Most of them however, share a common history, stigma, iconography and vernacular although these features also differ with regard to the achieved level of organizational and institutional development. Many of these areas are located some distance from larger, well-developed gay communities. Thus, the publishing, political, religious, recreational institutional and service structures of each area differ accordingly.

It is hypothesized that all of these levels of community, in varying combinations and diverse geographical localities, are at once components and genesis of the extant gay world. In solitude and synthesis, each community serves in some way to modify, enhance and create gay culture and the gay world as a whole. Many of the links which tie the various gay communities together (such as gay identity, ideology and

information networks) are often ephemeral and imperceptible to the non-gay. These links traverse international language barriers, geographical borders, cultural traditions, age, race, religion and class. The unique fusion of gay identity, enhanced by similar responses to mainstream oppression and attempts to recover a common history, continue to coalesce in the emergent and evolutionary kaleidoscope of gay culture.

Other ties, such as the milieux of lesbian and gay bars, specialty shops, community centres, special events and fund-raising drives are more overt and thus, discernible to the public eye. Although most are located in corporeal territories, the central characteristics of gay iconography and co-optation, argot and lingo, press and media ventures, role-playing and bar proxemics show similarities across different gay communities. In particular, the panoply of gay publishing and press transmits information, community reports, social, legal and political news bulletins and scholarly commentary both within and between the various communities. The proceeding chapter outlines each of the five levels of community development in considerable detail. Subsequently, this discussion augments the original model of evolutionary institutional and organizational complexity (see Figure 1) which is elucidated in the following chapter (see Figure 3).

### A Preliminary Apologia

There are several deficiencies intrinsic to the ensuing discussion of various gay communities<sup>2</sup> and a preliminary apologia is therefore appropriate. The first problem is largely a result of temporal definitions of the situation which are constantly being transformed by individuals, groups, and society in general. This paradox may be conceived of as the dilemma of viewing the past through the eyes of the present. In other words, because researchers cannot move backward in time, to a point prior to the present level of gay community development and in fact, the evolution of the gay world (as few as ten or twelve years ago would be sufficient for this purpose), it becomes difficult to accurately describe and in fact, define, a pre-world existence.

Moreover, since many of the communities discussed in the following chapter continue to evolve and to develop, whatever may be said about them is characterized from the perspective of the present only. When this analysis has been recounted however, such a description must be construed as accurate only in terms of yesterday, but is not wholly relevant for today or tomorrow. Therefore, all ethnographic analyses of evolutionary development bring with them the dilemma of intrinsic obsolescence as present is immediately consigned to past. It is thus imperative to recognize the impossibility of 'catching up' with evolutionary development. That such analyses are problematic means that the 'genuine' nature of gay community development may be captured only with reference

to a somewhat imprecise 'ethnographic present'.

Finally, the collection of ethnographic data within the lower levels of gay community development (commuter zones and occasional communities) is approximate at best. This is because such communities are generally characterized by a need for secrecy in addition to the intrinsic transitory and ephemeral features of the group. Moreover, most of these small cities and rural or semi-rural areas do not accommodate gay groups, organizations<sup>3</sup> or gay-oriented businesses (such as bars, book stores, and restaurants) and therefore, the gay population is generally composed of loners, colleagues and peers. Thus, it is not the absence of gatekeepers as such, which impedes the process of data collection in these areas, but rather the veritable invisibility of gay people (individuals or social networks) in general.

#### Variation Between Communities: The Levels Defined

Each territorial community<sup>4</sup> is itself comprised of varying degrees of institutional completeness. Naturally, the variation between large urban city centres (such as Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, New York, San Francisco, Boston and Los Angeles) and small rural towns (such as Sasparilla Bay<sup>5</sup>, Barrie, Welland, Amherst and Burlington) serve as obvious and extreme polarities. Thus the smaller and less populated cities (such as Hamilton, St. Catharines and Rochester) appear as gradients along the



continuum between institutionally complete communities and the peripheral areas which lack institutional completeness and bear a low level of organizational sophistication. Each of the lower levels of organization is subsumed by the one above. The multi-faceted gay *world* is thus comprised of all of these levels as they are situated according to temporal, spatial, historical and geographical conditions.

The introductory schema of levels of gay community development and organization (see Figure 1) is now insufficient for the purpose of providing a detailed continuum. A further elaboration thus provides a more explicit and characteristic illustration of the varying degrees of institutional completeness and organizational sophistication (see Figure 3, preceding page).

#### The Lowest Level: Commuter Zone

The lowest level of institutional completeness corresponds with a lack of organizational sophistication. It is also comprised largely of individuals (many of whom may be 'closet cases') which Best and Luckenbill (1982) have characterized as 'loners', although there are likely to be a few 'colleagues' or associates among the residents. Thus, the small Canadian towns and cities of Barrie, Orillia, Niagara Falls, Dakota Point<sup>6</sup>, Sasparilla Bay and Stoney Creek, have little to offer their gay residents, beyond their proximity to other larger cities which host a distinct and accessible gay milieu.

Figure 3.

## MODIFIED OVERVIEW OF LEVELS OF GAY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

## THE GAY WORLD



## GAY COMMUNITIES

I. 'PRE-WORLD' (highest) level of community development, prior to achieving true world status (New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Provincetown). This area accommodates the largest number of organizations, services and institutions and these are referred to as "formal organizations".

II. FURTHER (higher) level of development (Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Buffalo) with some formal organizations, larger numbers of small groups, associations, informal supports and services as well as fewer bars than level I. Areas are not institutionally complete, although they display a higher level of organizational sophistication than level III. More "mobs" here although these shall be referred to as 'associated groups'.

III. 'MIDDLE RANGE' level of development (Hamilton, Rochester). Fewer organizations and groups, many alternatives in larger urban areas detract from the possibility of institutional completeness and reduce community solidarity. Most of gay population gathers in groups of "peers" with some associated groups and usually one formal or semi-formal organization.

IV. OCCASIONAL COMMUNITIES accommodate a lower level of development (Mississauga, Newark, Lethbridge) which are referred to as "occasional communities" largely because they commonly host one support group and infrequent dance or sporadic event. Mostly colleagues, although of course, loners are common.

V. COMMUTER ZONES exhibit the lowest level of development (Barrie, Burlington, Dakota Point). No organizations or community groups. This is wholly a 'commuter zone' which may also be referred to as "bedroom communities" hosting more "colleagues" and "loners", some "peers" but less than above levels.

These areas, for the active gay, are largely 'commuter towns' often referred to as 'bedroom communities', where one sleeps but rarely remains during hours of work or leisure. Many of these residents rely on the people in their communities for employment, housing, goods and services (such as groceries, liquor, furnishings, telephone, hydro and perhaps health care), some acquaintances and friends, familial relations, and a sense, however routinized or remote, of daily living. However, for the gay man or lesbian, close friendship networks, leisure time, social events and intimate relationships may take place wholly within the boundaries of another town or city. This occurs in large part of necessity, but too, out of a desire for anonymity which permits one to keep a job, retain status and acceptance in his/her community of residence, and to maintain harmonious family ties.

It is worthy of note that not all gay men and lesbians in rural areas feel disadvantaged by the absence of a visible and active gay community. In fact, as Miller has shown, "the mainstreaming of gay and lesbian life" (1989, 9) has not occurred in many small American cities and towns such as Selma, Alabama; Bunceton, Missouri; and Olgilvie, Minnesota, among others. Nor has gay liberation proper come to the rural Canadian areas of Dakota Point, Ontario; Lethbridge, Alberta; Coombs, British Columbia and North Bay, Ontario. But this does not mean that there are no gay men and lesbians in these cities and towns. How do the lesbian and gay residents of such areas contact others? How do they reconcile their gayness with the absence of a viable gay community in the

towns in which they reside?

Both gay and non-gay individuals usually choose a place of residence for specific reasons such as the proximity to friends or family, gainful employment, studies at a local college or nearby university, or the maintenance of an intimate relationship. In any case, the place of residence is almost always a product of choice, specific to the individual. One woman chose to live in Sasparilla Bay because her partner's employer required her to live within a one mile radius of her place of work. Another lesbian moved from a small town to Dakota Point, Ontario to follow her chosen profession, aware that the higher pay scale could not fully compensate for the cold northern weather and relative isolation from the gay community. During off duty time, vacations and weekends however, she usually commutes to Winnipeg, Buffalo, Colorado or Toronto and has thus remained, for the most part, in touch with the various lesbian and gay communities. One gay man left the Toronto area to live with a partner whose new job took him to the more rural district of Elginia, Ontario<sup>1</sup>. A gay male couple moved from a comfortable home in Hamilton to Toronto when one partner's firm requested relocation. A Toronto lesbian couple separated when one woman was offered a high paying job in Boston and the other did not wish to leave Canada. Still another lesbian chose to remain isolated in the small town of Amherst to be near her lover who, fearful of custody battles, continued to reside with her husband and children. Eleven years later, although the relationship between the women endured, the residential situation remained virtually

unchanged.

The needs, goals and struggles of gay liberation do not touch everyone in the same way. For those who do not live as openly gay individuals, personal priorities may be focused on continuing in a high-paying or rewarding career and/or maintaining a significant relationship. For these people, practical needs take precedence over extended participation in a visible gay community with its gay bars, support groups and services, marches and cultural symbols. Although some individuals are aware of the existence of gay communities and organization, the sounds and images exist, for the most part, as both a low priority and a distant reality. Many small town residents frequently content themselves with a partner or small circle of (gay or gay-positive) friends, an occasional vacation or trip to a larger city, and a form of impression management which permits them to pass as 'straight' and thus to maintain job or career security. In this sense, such individuals tend to live on the periphery of the gay world by virtue of their sexual orientation and sporadic contact with other gays.

Frequently, the gay residents of small towns (such as Barrie, Welland, Dakota Point, Amherst and Tonawanda) will attempt to seek out similar others and to collect information regarding the most proximate gay community. This may be undertaken in several different ways. In the current gay 'world' newspapers, magazines, travel guides and local community calendars abound, serving as information networks which detail specific community events, bar locations and business hours, dance dates

and current news. These are usually available in bars, gay (or gay-positive) book stores and through mail order distributors. Often, such information is initially provided by a friend or acquaintance familiar with a local gay community. Having procured a travel guide (such as The Gayellow Pages, Places of Interest, Inn Places or The Guide) the 'commuter zone' gay man or lesbian may also utilize this as a reference guide by which to make contact with other gay organizations, direct membership inquiries, place an ad in the personal column or join a 'pen-pal' club to make new gay friends or find a lover, purchase other guides, books or magazines by mail, find a telephone number for the nearest gay telephone service, or discover that the nearest gay community (perhaps with a few gay bars, support groups, religious chapters or monthly dances) is within commuting distance for weekends or days off.

It is in this way that the interested gay resident of a small town or city frequently becomes involved with one or more gay communities outside his or her residential area. Thus, the process of networking, integral to the development of the gay world, has begun for the newly-conscious gay man or lesbian. However, such activity may be viewed as one more link in the networking chain since the individual has clearly been informed by someone else (or in the case of a newsletter or magazine, something else) already involved in the process. The informer of a previously-unexperienced gay person has probably either been involved with a local gay community or has gleaned information him/herself from another involved or knowledgable party. This is an important way in which gay

community information is passed from one group or individual to another - across towns, provinces, states and countries.

Thus, when a gay man or lesbian visits Buffalo and explores the local gay community, it is almost certain that he or she will pass the details on to other gay individuals in Toronto, Hamilton, or wherever the information may be most usefully transferred to others. For example, when the gay men from Los Angeles attended the annual Pride Day Celebration in Toronto last year, they exchanged gossip, news and information with gay Toronto residents regarding their respective communities. Clearly, they will pass this on to others, and they to still others over time, in an almost infinite chain of gay information and networking. This 'gay grapevine' transcends the particular communities and makes knowledge (however inaccurate, or embellished as it moves through the various channels of communication) of the 'world' and indeed the world itself, possible.

The need for such an exchange can best be illustrated by the following anecdote. While preparing for a trip to Jamaica in late 1982, a lesbian couple were discussing the local gay community in the West Indies with several other gay and non-gay friends. They had been informed by several people that the gay community was small, poorly organized and invisible, but that it did exist. Content with this meagre 'proof', they began almost immediately watching and listening for signs, symbols, codes, gay advertising and newsletters. The women spoke with members of the hotel staff in Montego Bay, the vacation tour guide, the local tourist

information bureau and a few of the friendlier locals. The two were told, in no uncertain terms, that there was no gay community because people didn't like gays and besides, there were "no gays in JA" (the local lingo for Jamaica). Undaunted, the couple continued making inquiries among native Jamaicans. Finally one suggested that they speak to a Jamaican woman named 'Ricky' who could usually be found with a group of friends in front of an old bridge near the downtown area. As it turned out 'Ricky' was a very large 'butch-looking' woman, perched on a powerful motor bike which was dwarfed by Ricky's size. Although the women approached her with courtesy and caution, she responded by announcing loudly, for the benefit of passers-by: "I don't like honkies and I ain't got nothin' to tell ya!" To make a long story short, Ricky was not about to acknowledge the existence of any gay people, not to mention leading the women in the direction of the bars they had heard about. Seven days later, the couple still had not heard of nor seen a gay bar or disco and for them, the gay community was simply invisible in Jamaica.

Two weeks after their return home, a female friend, one of the people who had described Jamaica's underground gay community to the couple, returned from vacation, to chide them gently. She informed the women that they had just missed the gay bars (of which there are apparently three) by a few yards. Thus, it is not accurate to claim that Jamaica is without a local gay community, only that the latter tends to be largely invisible and inaccessible to the uninformed (gay) tourist.



### The Occasional Community

There are other communities however, where one goes to spend an afternoon, evening or special occasion. Such areas include: North Bay (accommodating one gay support group, "Gay Nipissing", which operates a telephone line one evening per week); Niagara Falls, New York (boasting one 'mixed' gay and straight guest house); Kelowna, British Columbia (entertaining one support group); Newark, Delaware (the University of Delaware houses a campus gay and lesbian group which produces a lesbian and gay radio weekly programme); Lethbridge, Alberta (sponsoring an AIDS information and referral service for mixed clientele); and Mississauga, Ontario (which at present houses one gay and lesbian support group known as 'Gay Equality Mississauga' or GEM for short, whose telephone service operates one evening per week and dances are held on an erratic basis).

These cities and towns share an increase in organizational sophistication, although they are in no way institutionally complete. Along with the 'loners', these areas are characterized largely by the presence of 'colleagues' or associates, although there is evidence for the existence of a few 'associated groups'. The latter term substitutes for Best and Luckenbill's (1982) 'mobs' category which does not adequately depict the form of social or support group most often evident at this level of organizational sophistication. All of these areas include one or two gay groups, most of which provide specific services at least one day per week, and are often composed of a fluctuating membership

contingent. The latter usually occurs as a consequence of the absence of a visible and coherent gay 'community', without which the group cannot form an enduring coalescence or unity.

Moreover, as other gay communities become more organized and institutionally complete, the existence of alternative communities draws membership and energy away from smaller, disorganized, conservative or homophobic areas. This reduces the evolutionary potential for institutionally-incomplete communities, allowing only the possibilities of contribution by young gays (whose migration is restricted by age, parental or financial limitations), transient gays (area visitors or short-lived residents), or new migrants to the area. The latter may bring with them the experience of previous residence in a more institutionally-complete community, participatory activism, and gay-oriented current news, events or available publications. Or, these new residents may simply adopt a stance of camouflage or anonymity, which appears to be so prevalent among gay people in small towns (see Miller, 1989, for example).

#### The 'Middle Range' Level of Development

However, in the 'middle-range' cities, characterized by a higher level of institutional completeness, organizational sophistication (such as Hamilton and Rochester) lesbians and gay men find a much wider range of gay and gay-oriented activities. The most prevalent forms of social interaction usually include groups of 'peers', some 'associated groups'

and a few 'formal organizations' (Best and Luckenbill, 1982) which are commonly headed by an 'umbrella group'. The number of gay bars, book stores, employment opportunities and specialized goods and services do not however always meet increasing demand. The need for social alternatives and for a more visible sense of gay community, leads many to commute to larger centres such as Toronto, Montreal and Buffalo. First, a brief examination of the history and development of the Hamilton gay community may help to illuminate this level of organization.<sup>8</sup>

In 1972 the McMaster Homophile Association began small membership meetings on the McMaster University campus. The Homophile Association generated a successful and enduring 'Gayline' telephone counselling and referral service staffed by lesbian and gay volunteers in 1973 and published the newsletter Dialogue, which was discontinued by 1979. However, factionalism within the Association and tensions with the university combined to render the Homophile Association virtually defunct by 1980.<sup>9</sup> A few members of the original McMaster Homophile Association initiated the development of a new and modified support group entitled 'Hamilton United Gay Societies' (typically abbreviated HUGS) which has become the 'umbrella' group for specialized branches, sub-groups and services of the Hamilton lesbian and gay community, becoming incorporated as a non-profit organization by early 1983. Outgrowths from HUGS now include: a dance committee; gay youth support group, for those under twenty-one years of age (whose meetings and membership tend to be somewhat erratic)<sup>10</sup>; the Hamilton Lesbian Collective or H.L.C. (formerly entitled

the Gay Women's Collective or G.W.C.); a recreation and planning committee; the gay father's group (originally affiliated with the Toronto Gay Fathers at its inception on February 14, 1981) whose membership now includes gay men over thirty years of age; the Gay Phoenix (a community newsletter and calender initiated in February of 1982 in slightly different format); the Hamilton-Wentworth Gay Archives (formed by one of the original HUGS members as the Archives History Project); and, since May of 1988, the HUGS BBS (computer bulletin board system) which offers an all-women's section, a Canadian Gays echo-mail board, local messages and other special areas of particular interest to lesbians, gays and bisexuals.

Originally, HUGS was a small, informal group whose members, weary of having their weekly meetings shuffled from various building and room locations on the McMaster campus, moved completely off the university grounds. Until April of 1982, when HUGS was able to lease their first office in downtown Hamilton, members conducted meetings, rap groups, and 'Gayline' training session in the private home of one of its members. The original G.W.C. was forced to do likewise until one of the branches of the Unitarian Church approved the use of one room for the bi-monthly meetings. The coordinators of the "Tea Dances" (licensed dances held on Sundays) encountered a similar situation, moving from one hall to another until locating a semi-permanent home in the heart of downtown Hamilton. Moreover, HUGS also holds an annual picnic and corn roast near Toronto, and the Gay Phoenix continues to provide community news and a calender of

events for Hamilton lesbians and gays.

Other activities for gays and lesbians which are not directly affiliated with HUGS now include: a gay bowling league; "Live and Let Live", a gay and lesbian chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous; and a casual gay and lesbian-positive softball league.

May of 1982 saw the initiation of an M.C.C. (the non-denominational Metropolitan Community Church for gay men and lesbians) chapter in downtown Hamilton. For several years, Hamilton gays complained that they were compelled to commute to Toronto or Kitchener in order to attend Sunday M.C.C. worship services and M.C.C. social events. Perhaps the habit of commuting, or the social circles developed, could not be broken for the Hamilton chapter disbanded after several months, due to the lack of membership and community support. Thus, gays and lesbians in Hamilton, Burlington, Stoney Creek and surrounding area are once again forced to attend M.C.C. services in the nearest host community.

The same is true of the annual Pride Day celebration and parade. Perhaps it is because Hamilton lesbians and gays have become accustomed to (and somewhat apathetic regarding) the size of the turnout of Toronto's June celebration<sup>11</sup> or perhaps it is difficult to draw a comparable crowd in the city of Hamilton. Perhaps too, Hamilton cannot yet gather an adequate amount of financial, legal and gay community support (from non-gay politicians, police officers, downtown businesses and members of the parks board, the lay and still largely homophobic heterosexual community). Regardless of the grounds, many Hamilton lesbians and gays continue to

march under HUGS banners, youth group signs or special interest group banners at the constantly-expanding Toronto Pride Day parade on the last Sunday in June of every year since 1981.

For several years, Hamilton boasted a single gay bar known as \_\_\_\_\_.<sup>12</sup> Originally gays and lesbians met at the \_\_\_\_\_ Tavern (once staffed almost completely by gay men) until \_\_\_\_\_ disco opened on the floor above. Although not gay-owned or managed, \_\_\_\_\_ draws a primarily gay and gay-positive crowd who are themselves a heterogeneous group in terms of class, colour, age, sex, race, religion and place of residence. The \_\_\_\_\_ Tavern, on the other hand, draws a mixed gay and straight crowd, although it is currently identified primarily as a straight establishment. Moreover, during the last several years \_\_\_\_\_ has undergone renovations geared to providing more comfort, space, and aesthetic attractiveness for its patrons. The doors of the mezzanine now permit one to enter \_\_\_\_\_ through the \_\_\_\_\_ Tavern, but not to return through the interior. There are now separate washroom facilities for the both of the bars and this was apparently a response to the requests of the patrons of both bars.

The Hamilton gay community, led by HUGS, did make an attempt to establish a bar and restaurant managed by and for gay men and lesbians. The short-lived 'Century Place Restaurant' was also referred to as 'the HUGS Bar' (on one evening per week during which its doors were opened strictly to lesbian and gay patrons). The restaurant was owned by a heterosexual business woman who, judging this to be a lucrative endeavour,

agreed to lease to HUGS on several conditions. Unfortunately the partnership soured and, opening its doors to the Hamilton gay and lesbian community in September of 1982, the HUGS Bar closed not quite three months later when the Century went up for sale in November of the same year.

In 1988 however, another alternative bar opened its doors in downtown Hamilton. \_\_\_\_\_ was rumoured to be gay positive, although the owners preferred not to publicly identify themselves as gay-oriented in order to reduce potential problems with the wider community (property damage and 'gay bashing' are the most prevalent dangers for gay establishments and individuals in the downtown core). The bar does advertise in the local gay community newsletter The HUGS Phoenix and in the widely circulated Toronto Xtra!, insuring a least a partial gay clientele. It is a much smaller bar than \_\_\_\_\_ although it does offer a 'cosy' atmosphere, with a working fireplace near the entrance for those cold winter nights. The dance floor however, is tiny and the music loud enough to prohibit intimate conversation, but the atmosphere is an accepting one, particularly for gay men. Women are welcome, but are usually outnumbered by the male patrons and employees. Moreover, the clientele of this bar is generally a younger male crowd and this is one of the reasons why many of the gay women tend to prefer \_\_\_\_\_ (although here too, the gay men frequently outnumber the women) if they cannot commute to another, larger city.

With the opening of the Women's Bookstop in 1987, Hamilton lesbians and gays were offered an additional reason to patronize their own

community. Prior to this, the easiest way to obtain gay books, journals and literature for interest or research, was to go to the gay book stores in Toronto, Montreal or Buffalo or to order them by mail. Although at present, the University book store stocks a few academic and general titles of interest to gays, and several downtown book stores carry a few of the mainstream authors (organized in general fiction sections), there are no gay magazines or quarterlies available and the variety, selection and specialization of the gay book stores cannot be matched.

Moreover, since the unfortunate demise in February of 1987, of The Body Politic (TBP), Canada's most popular gay liberation magazine<sup>13</sup>, The HUGS Phoenix and the free supplement to TBP (Xtra! which was originally added in 1984 as a community calender) were all that remained to offer Hamilton gays information regarding community events. Until recently one would have to drive to Toronto to pick up a free copy of Xtra! (which has expanded its news coverage and content since the termination of TBP), but it is now available at the Hamilton gay bar.<sup>14</sup>

1988 also ushered in a new (or perhaps revived might be a more appropriate term) Hamilton support group: GLAM or Gays and Lesbians of McMaster. At present, this group is in its infancy, engaged mainly in peer support for other gay and lesbian university students.<sup>15</sup> It is impossible to project what the future holds for GLAM.

In sum then, what does Hamilton offer gays and lesbians? The list includes: two gay bars, although clientele in both establishments is varied; a popular gay-positive cafe; several different support and special



interest groups both affiliated and separate from the central HUGS gay organization; a gay bowling league and seasonal softball team; a book store which carries several lesbian and gay titles; an AIDS referral and counselling service (HANDS) which offers help to anyone with AIDS, ARC or HIV-positive status, their partners, friends and families, and anyone interested or concerned about AIDS-related diseases in addition to publishing their own newsletter; one general gay community newsletter and a gay newspaper imported from the most proximate large gay community (Toronto); one popular gay male cruising area in the downtown core and another city park popular for anonymous sexual encounters. Although there are some employment opportunities for gay men and lesbians (in the bars, cafe, book store and the few hairdressing salons owned by gays)<sup>16</sup>, these are scarce and most do not offer the likelihood of dealing solely with gay people (as do several establishments in downtown Toronto).

Thus, there is evidence of a gay population<sup>17</sup>, known gay areas or niches (but not quite territories, with the possible exception of one street in particular), gay energy and 'gay time' (late on weekday evenings after the completion of heterosexual obligations of work and corresponding extracurricular activities) (Lee, 1979: 187) and late Saturday evenings. There is however, no real 'boundary' around the Hamilton gay community, but rather it is extremely diffuse due to the proximity to the larger gay communities of Toronto and Buffalo. Thus, much of the energy of Hamilton gays (Lee, 1979) tends to be re-directed to these other communities.

As a consequence of the scarcity of alternative (wholly-gay) milieux and the hours of business in the bars in Hamilton (designated by the Ontario Liquor Control Act) 'redundancy', defined by Lee (1979, 189) as the existence of "back-up systems", is difficult at best. After the bars and cafe(s) have closed, by which time support group meetings have also concluded, and hair salons and book stores have closed for the day, the only possible alternatives to returning home alone include cruising one of the two city areas in search of anonymous sex or companionship; if one has been invited, attending a gay party in a private home; or rounding up a few people at bar's end for an impromptu get-together in one's own home. Thus, any existing 'redundancy' in Hamilton is more a consequence of one's intimate and social gay networks than a product of an existing level of institutional completeness within the gay community.

Hamilton's political organization (HUGS) also accommodates several recreational sub-groups (Breton, 1964). There are, however, no professional or religious organizations and educational orientation is manifest only in the HUGS Speaker's Bureau which may be classified as a sub-group rather than a well-defined organization with the resources to carry out its purpose of large-scale education of the public. As we shall see, this is not the case in the more organizationally sophisticated and institutionally complete gay community of Toronto.

### Further Organizational Development: A Higher Level

The urban centres of Toronto, Buffalo, Vancouver and Montreal offer a much greater range of alternatives and opportunities for those wishing to move primarily within gay milieux. In these areas, the range is broad and the activities diverse. These cities all contain a number of formal organizations (complete with particular goals, an internal hierarchy, specialized political strategies, lobby groups, information networks and publications), many associated groups, informal supports and services, a host of bars, cultural and recreational activities and special community events. In 1989 for example, a numerical comparison of the gay organizations, support services, bars, church congregations and publications in Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal and Buffalo would best be summarized in the following manner (see preceding page).

The miscellaneous organizations category includes: gay florists, accountants, financial advisers, graphic arts, archives and history projects, travel agents, pet groomers, physicians, AIDS services, Venereal Disease clinics, bath houses, health and recreational club facilities, interior designers, hairstylists, lawyers, insurance agents, guest houses, property managers, upholsterers, landscape, painting and mailing services, caterers, psychotherapists and counsellors, telephone information lines, political associations and committees, special interest groups (for gay youth, gay minority groups, university associations and gay and lesbian support groups. In each of these four cities only one of the book stores

Table 1.

## A COMPARISON OF GAY ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS I

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SERVICES	MONTREAL	TORONTO	VANCOUVER	BUFFALO
Organizations (Miscellaneous)	34	39	43	14
Book Stores	3	3	1	3
Community Centres	0	1	1	0
Religious Groups & Chapters	3	6	5	3
Bars and Restaurants	43	18	14	11
Publications	2	3	1	2
Total	83	68	65	33 <sup>18</sup>

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listed is wholly gay; the others stock many lesbian and gay titles and display them in a well-marked lesbian and gay section.

This level of organizational sophistication and institutional completeness, as well as the coalescence of gay and lesbian self-consciousness, is perhaps best illustrated in a brief overview of the Toronto lesbian and gay community. The University of Toronto Homophile Association (touted as the first gay organization in Canada) was formed by a group of approximately sixteen 'self-acknowledged homosexuals'

(perhaps spurred by reports of the Stonewall riots in New York City in June of the same year) in October of 1969 (Hannon, 1989: 5). In 1971, CHAT (the Community Homophile Association of Toronto) was founded, leading the way for other developments during the same year, which included a more radical group entitled Toronto Gay Action, a York University campus homophile group (Hannon, 1989: 5), and the first issue of The Body Politic (Canada's most widely circulated gay liberation magazine until its demise in 1987) which began its fifteen-year history in November.

Gay and lesbian bars existed in Toronto long before the development of homophile associations and gay liberation groups, although they were mostly private and after-hours clubs, some of them housed in dingy, well-disguised basements beneath warehouses in industrial areas and business sectors. Although lesbian and gay bars are now generally accessible to the public<sup>19</sup>, as recently as ten or eleven years ago, several gay bars screened their patrons carefully. In fact,

Just to remind the hundreds of women (and handful of men) who passed through The Bluejay on a weekend that they were in for an underground experience, prospective customers had to make it past an unmarked door, the mandatory coat check, signs asserting management's right to throw anybody out, two Doberman pinchers (sic) and either one of two owners, Patty or Robin, armed with a membership book. All that for entry to a long, smoke-filled room (Bearchell, 1981: 25).

Similarly, at the now defunct women's Cameo Club<sup>20</sup>, in a dark and isolated industrial section of the city, one peered through a mail slot in the heavy steel door. If you appeared as expected (like a lesbian or then, a 'dyke') or were in the company of one of the regulars, the door would be opened. You would then be looked over by a very tall, heavy,

gruff lesbian who would, by way of peering right through you, decide your age and sexual orientation. If you passed this inspection, a cover charge of two dollars would be demanded, your hand would be stamped and you would be permitted to enter. Something of an adventure awaited, in the semi-darkness of a large dance floor surrounded by wooden tables, metal chairs and a surprisingly well-lit bar area. The ceiling was covered with aluminum foil and was faintly reminiscent of a cave, until the strobe and disco lights caught and were reflected, prism-like, around the entire room, making it look less like a warehouse and more of a colourful cavern. Moreover, men were permitted inside the bar only when accompanied by a regular patron or a group, at least one of whom was recognized by the door person.

Many of the 1960s and 1970s Toronto gay bars have long since disappeared and, as a consequence of gentrification, they have been revamped by heterosexual, affluent entrepreneurs or razed by the bulldozers of development, shopping mall finance, parking lot allocation and condominium design. The latter is the reason for the recent closure of the Chez Moi, a popular two-floor women's bar and disco in the downtown area. This has left Toronto lesbians with several alternatives: the \_\_\_\_\_, until recently the only other women-only bar; the \_\_\_\_\_, a licensed member's club for women only; the mostly-male \_\_\_\_\_ or the more expensive and mixed-clientele, \_\_\_\_\_; or the men's bars which require a gay male escort which are all options which were unavailable several years ago. Gay men have also rallied to the aid of lesbians in the Toronto

community, offering solutions to the void experienced by regulars of the Chez. Indeed, several of the men's bars are now holding special women's nights and one popular men's bar and restaurant has now become a new women's bar, a substitute for the recently defunct 'Chez'.

Lesbians and gay men in Toronto can also choose from a wide variety of alternatives to the bars. One might prefer to attend a meeting of Gay Asians; Gays and Lesbians Aging (GALA); Gay Fathers of Toronto; Gays and Lesbians at U of T; the Lambda Car Club; Gay and Lesbian Alliance at York; Lesbian and Gay Youth Toronto; Gays and Lesbians at the University of Toronto (GLAHUT); Lesbians of Colour; Toronto Rainbow Alliance of the Deaf; or Zami (for black and West Indian lesbians and gay men). Or, if one wishes to participate in sports, one may choose among the Pink Turf Soccer League, Running Wilde (running club), the Rotators Curling League, the Not So Amazon Softball League, the Downtown Swim League, the 'Out and out Club' (hiking), or the Judy Garland Memorial Bowling League. The Barracks (private social club) and the Club also offer gay men health club, gym and sauna facilities.

For a gay man or lesbian with time on their hands, volunteer possibilities include: Toronto Area Gays, AIDS committee of Toronto, Casey House (Toronto's AIDS Hospice), RTPC (the Right To Privacy Committee) or Gay Courtwatch (legal service referral and defence committee), Canadian Gay Archives, Toronto Counselling Centre for Lesbians and Gays, Lesbian and Gay Community Appeal, Lesbian and Gay Pride Day Committee, Gay Community Dance Committee, CLGRO (Committee for Lesbian and Gay Rights in

Ontario), Womynly Way Productions (sponsors concerts, dances and special events), or the 'Lesbian Phonenumber'.

Or, if an individual wishes to drop in for a social gaff or information, they might check at the community centre, the University Homophile Association, the private women's club or one of several popular cafes. Professional lesbians and gay men might wish to contact the Association for Gay Social Workers, Gays and Lesbians in Health Care, the Toronto Lambda Business Council. If one happens to be a parent concerned about a son or daughter's homosexuality, or wish to seek further information, one can contact Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays or the Sexual Orientation and Youth Program.

Lesbians and gay men requiring crisis intervention or support may choose between approximately fifty-eight peer support and self-help groups and services; seventeen telephone lines; twenty-four coming out and counselling service groups; and several gay and gay-positive private practice counsellors, psychotherapists and psychologists. If one is casting about for something to do during an evening or weekend, there are several entertainment alternatives, including gay films at the Carlton, a gay play at Tarragon Extra Space, one of the many holiday, special occasion and fund-raising dances at the bars, Buddies In Bad Times Theatre, the St. Lawrence Centre for the Arts, the SAC Hanger Pub, the Factory Theatre or the Bathurst Street Theatre. If one requires overnight accommodations, there are four gay guesthouses (although two are specifically for men). Should a lesbian or gay man wish to undertake a



gay studies course, there are several now available at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute.

If one wishes to take part in a worship service, or to contact other gays and lesbians of a similar religious denomination, existing chapters in Toronto include: Aware (Christian Reformed), Christos Metropolitan Community Church (Christian, special emphasis on AIDS and outreach programs), Chutzpah (Jewish), Dignity (Roman Catholic), Integrity (Anglican), Lutherans Concerned, Metropolitan Community Church (typically abbreviated M.C.C., for non-denominational Christians), Seventh-Day Adventist Kinship Canada, Toronto Affirm (United), or the Unitarian Universalist Lesbian/Gay Concerns Committee - First Congregation (First Congregation and the gay community in general).

If one is interested in hearing a gay radio program, one can choose 'Sound Women' (Sundays 12:00 to 1 p.m.), the Pink Antennae (Tuesdays 7:00 to 8 p.m.), or Gaywire (Thursdays 6:15 to 7 p.m.). If a gay man or lesbian is seeking information regarding local community events, restaurants or bar hours, one can pick up a copy of Xtra! (bi-weekly and available free at most bars and gay book stores), The Web published monthly for women (also available free), Broadside (monthly for women, available at all three popular book stores), Rites (monthly, available at several book stores and social establishments), or the Directory of Services in Toronto's Lesbian and Gay Community (on sale at the gay book store).<sup>21</sup>

Gay men and lesbians may purchase clothing, jewellery, furniture, framing, and real estate, and have gay individuals clean, landscape or look after your home or pets while you are absent. There is also a gay-positive Credit Union (Bread and Roses was established in 1978), and area gays handle accounting, tax returns, stocks, bonds, financial counselling and investment services. Moreover, if one searches carefully, a gay dentist, physician, hairstylist and lawyer may be located. It would seem, in fact, as if there is no restriction of movement within the gay community. However, one cannot always buy groceries, liquor, appliances, cars and household goods, have mail delivered and garbage picked up by gay people. There is almost no way to insure that one will always (or often) be served by a gay person at a bank, department store, emergency hospital department, dry-cleaners, newspaper stand, theatre, government office, police department, shoe store, record shop or corner variety.

There are areas of the city which are more amenable to a larger percentage of the gay population, including Church, Wellesley, Sherborne and Yonge Streets. It is not, however, always financially feasible to reside in this areas since, renovation, gentrification and heightened demand have caused a continued increase in rental rates and property values. Moreover, many of the gay businesses cannot afford large salaries for their employees, and as a result of the population of Toronto, gay employment opportunities are limited, although not to the same degree as Hamilton, Rochester, Mississauga, Dakota Point, Barrie, or many of the smaller towns in the United States.

Cawthra Square Park (particularly during the Pride Day celebration on the last Sunday in June) is visible, although temporary gay territory, as are many of the bars, cruising areas of the parks, and particular areas surrounding popular gay guest houses and gay book stores. There is also a certain amount of redundancy in the city, as a result of the many late night cafes and after-hours clubs. However, since the Ontario Liquor Control Act also presides over this area, it is impossible to purchase beer, wine or liquor after 1:00 a.m. in the gay bars, restaurants or cafes. As is the case of Hamilton, one must host a social get-together, resign oneself to drinking coffee or pop in an after-hours establishment, or commute to the closest American city which, if one is in Hamilton or Toronto, happens to be Buffalo, where most of the bars close at 4 a.m.

Thus, Lee's (1979) concepts of gay time, gay energy, gay population and gay niches (although the latter two are obviously much larger, more visible and easier to locate than those corresponding to lower levels of development, institutional completeness and organizational sophistication) can be applied in much the same manner that they are in the cases of Hamilton and Rochester.

However, the Toronto gay community appears to accommodate almost all of Breton's (1964) markers of institutional completeness including: religious, political, recreational, professional and educational organizations (although the latter is a relatively recent occurrence within the community), two gay newspapers and a small community newsletter (in addition to several small, erratic publications).

Welfare organizations, one of Breton's original markers of institutional completeness, is not apparent in this community in its typical form, although for the first time, we do see a modified version. Fund-raising campaigns, dances and special community events are frequently organized around the sole purpose of providing financial support to specific groups or individuals. There are dances held to raise money for the annual Lesbian and Gay Pride Day celebration; special performances of plays, screenings of films and autographing of new books by gay authors are arranged so that a percentage of the proceeds will benefit particular groups of PLWA's (persons living with AIDS) or Casey House (the AIDS Hospice); several individuals whose employment has been terminated as a consequence of their sexual orientation have received help in the form of benefit proceeds, community support and political lobbying on their behalf.

The 1979 Barracks Defense Fund and the 1982 Right to Privacy Committee (RTPC) campaign were organized to provide emotional, legal and financial support to the 'found-ins' of the police bath raids. More recently (1985), the labour movement, with the help of several gay-positive lawyers and the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights in Ontario (CLGRO) launched a 'Karen Andrews/Local 1996 Access to OHIP Committee' campaign in support of Andrew's struggle to obtain OHIP coverage for her lesbian partner of ten years and two children by a former marriage. Although Andrew's employer, the Toronto Public Libraries Board agreed to pay the family premiums, OHIP refused to comply. This arbitration

therefore not only challenges OHIP regulations, but calls into question the inadequacy of traditional definitions of the family. Thus, the campaign has been entitled, "We Are Family".<sup>22</sup>

The community organized benefit dances, coin donation boxes were placed in many gay establishments, and buttons were printed and sold at Lesbian and Gay Pride Day, gay book stores and other gay-oriented businesses. Proceeds from these efforts helped in part to pay Andrews' legal expenses. The response of the community is such that once a precedent is established, it becomes an advantage for all lesbians and gay men (although perhaps in different ways). Such fund-raising, although less well-endowed than mainstream financial aid systems, are dependent largely upon voluntary contributions from others, and somewhat temporary (as a response to sudden, unforeseen circumstances, individual or community need) since it is not necessarily a constant. Thus, this community support system can be regarded as an early or emergent form of in-group welfare and is, at present, a kind of artefact, rather than an formally-organized institution of the Toronto gay community.<sup>23</sup>

Finally, the boundaries encompassing many gay communities are both relatively invisible and highly diffuse. The latter is largely a consequence of the volume of migrants, tourists and visitors to the Toronto area, who commute from Hamilton, Mississauga, Barrie, Orillia, Burlington, Peterborough, Welland, and as Lee noted, "...at least fifty miles in each direction" (1979, 182). In like vein, Breton suggests that:

The presence of formal organizations in the ethnic community sets out forces that have the effect of keeping the social relations of the immigrants within its boundaries. It tends

to minimize out-group contacts (1964, 197).

#### The 'Pre-World' (Highest) Level of Community Development

At the highest level of institutional completeness and organizational sophistication, we find in the gay communities of Chicago, San Francisco, New York and Los Angeles<sup>24</sup>, an increased degree of variability, an expansion of gay and lesbian consumer goods, community events, recreational and social alternatives, and a greater likelihood that more gay persons will secure employment within the gay community. In short, we find more reasons for the gay resident of any one of these cities to remain within its periphery. The largest variation between these cities and those of Montreal, Toronto, Buffalo and Vancouver, is one of degree since "the institutionalization of the movement has occurred more rapidly and more completely in some parts of the country than in others" (Mauss, 1975: 396). For gay men and lesbians generally, these cities, replete with diverse gay milieux, are more closely representative of the ideal, the gay person's Valhalla, than any other.<sup>25</sup> However, to say that gay clubs, groups, associations and institutions evolved historically prior to the development of any other, is also true.<sup>26</sup>

This level of institutional development accommodates a large number of 'formal organizations' as well as all other solitary and group forms including loners, colleagues, peers and associated groups. The gay and

gay-positive groups, services, organizations and community centres in these well-developed cities include the kinds found in Toronto, but they have also become more specialized since gay ownership is more visible and predominant. In these larger cities, specialty shops oriented particularly to lesbians and gay men include giftware and cards, novelty items and erotica, leather, video, pets, jewellery and antiques. Gay and lesbian counselling services and professionals are now available for help in the areas of substance abuse (drugs and alcohol), dieting, AIDS peer counselling and resource centres, funeral services and grief counselling, and health care in general. A 1989 comparison of New York City, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Chicago, would be illustrated in the following manner (see preceding page).

All of these American cities accommodate large numbers of organizations, book stores, bars and restaurants, illustrating a high level of diversity within lesbian and gay communities. It is necessary at the outset to remain cognizant of the fact that the existing volume and diversity of institutions and organizations do not always accurately reflect the number of individual members or involved parties. More often, particular individuals are simultaneously involved in several groups (networking) and there is frequently a good deal of overlapping personnel.<sup>27</sup>

These cities, in particular, play host to a wide range of groups, activities and alternative gay and lesbian milieux. An inventory of all

the extant groups and organizations would prove to be a lengthy and

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Table 2.

A COMPARISON OF GAY ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS 11

SERVICES	New York City, N.Y.	San Francisco, California <sup>28</sup>	Chicago, Illinois	Los Angeles, California
Organizations (Miscellaneous)	369	80	65	72
Book Stores	4	8	1	3
Community Centres	1	1	2	1
Religious Groups & Chapters	16	12	14	15
Bars and Restaurants	57	70	54	68
Publications	10	3	3	5
Total	457	174	139	164 <sup>29</sup>

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somewhat redundant enterprise. It is however, necessary to note that this level has developed a greater multiplicity than any other, with the exception of the gay world proper.<sup>30</sup> In fact, Fernandez recently estimated that the proliferation of gay organizations in the United States has now



reached a total of eight thousand, ranging from small groups of stamp collectors to the National Gay Rights Advocates which retains a mailing list of over forty-five thousand members (1989, 4).

This wide range of diversity and organizational sophistication does not, however, necessarily correspond to a complete level of institutional completeness. It is only in the larger and more developed (mainly American) cities that one would conceivably spend the greatest amount of time in lesbian and gay milieux. This is primarily because the less evolved cities do not provide all of the necessary services, activities, employment opportunities and leisure alternatives whereby one can remain, for the most part, in gay and lesbian environs.

#### CONCLUSION

The preceding chapter (in conjunction with chapter five) provides evidence for a world level or structure based on a case study of gay and lesbian organization such as those which have been described herein. The author hypothesizes that these various communities are interwoven and contribute to the personnel, organization and development of the gay world, making the existing gay world possible.

Five discrete levels of community development and organization have been examined in detail and included, in ascending order of complexity, the lowest level 'commuter zone', the 'occasional community', the 'middle range' level, further development: a higher level and the 'pre-world' (highest) level. These various levels of community development have been outlined in terms of the groups, services, organizations and institutions within them, and this model has been supplemented by current figures and ethnographic data. The classification of these levels may appear arbitrary, but such distinctions have been created for prevailing analytical purposes only.

It has not been my intention to characterize this world in approximate terms, although as a consequence of the continuing process of emergence and evolution, such a world as it is portrayed today has already undergone changes which relegate the description to past tense. In other words, a general representation of the gay world must, of necessity, be regarded as a temporal approximation since we can neither hold evolution stationary nor social organization constant.

Much the same is true of the proceeding discussion of gay world structural features including the politicization of homosexuality, the politics of gender and AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), age structure and capitalist enterprise. For, even as these structures are examined, they are engaged in the processes of change and transformation. Thus, an analysis of such features must be developed in terms of an ethnographic present since the communities, their cultural artifacts and

particular characteristics continue to emerge, to evolve and to alter much of the terrain of the gay world and, in fact, the world as a whole.

## END NOTES

1. Personal communication from Dr. Richard A. Brymer, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario (November 1, 1989).

2. The term 'community' as employed in this context, generally refers to:

...those aspects of human and social interdependence that do not necessarily involve communication and consensus, but arise from the simple fact of men and organizations coexisting in the same geographical location (Becker, 1966: 21).

3. The term organization, as it has been used throughout this work, generally refers to "those kinds of structures that have one or a few formally stated purposes" (Becker, 1966: 17).

4. The precise term 'community' illuminates one of the more inherent difficulties in the definition of homosexual groupings of any nature. That is, one may well question whether homosexual membership truly constitutes a gay or homosexual "community", a "sub-culture", a "counter-culture", a "minority", an "alternative lifestyle", a "society" (Chesebro, 1980: 131; Hatterer, 1970: 10), a "society within a society" (Cory and LeRoy, 1963: 5), or whether a group of homosexuals may in fact create a gay "world" (Reiss, 1967: 207; Blachford, 1981; Harry, 1982; Harry and DeVall, 1978; and Hoffman, 1968: cover). In a similar manner, Foster and Murray, assert that:

To those who work in the heterosexual world and live in the homosexual world, homosexuality is neither sub-culture nor counter-culture. Rather it is an inter-culture. For homosexuality is everywhere. It sits next to you at the office. It brushes shoulders with you when you shop. It visits, perhaps even lives, in your home. It is both a way of life and a state of mind (1981, cover).

Moreover, Plummer proposes that:

The most important thing about a man's situation is that he lives simultaneously in two very different worlds. In the first place he is a mammal of quite ordinary properties, yet at the same time he lives in a symbolic universe" (Plummer, 1975, 11, cf. McCall and Simmons, 1966: 39-40).

Warren suggests that while, "...community is a matter of time, space interaction and human relationships, and special knowledge" (1974, viii), the gay community is not necessarily tied by specific places and times

since the gay sense of community is bound by a common sense of secrecy and stigma (1974, 13). In addition, Warren notes that the notion of community is also contingent upon "...the sharing of a bond of fellowship that transcends concrete situations" (1974, viii). Therefore, "the boundaries of place and time, then, serve only to locate the particular people; descriptions of their relationship, interaction, and knowledge are also specific to the group but do not depend on it for their form" (Warren, 1974: 13). More importantly Warren advises that:

All of us live in worlds, and some of us even have identities. A world is a unit of experience, such as work, the gay world, or the family, which exists before we enter it and continues if we leave it; identity is a clear answer to the questions Who am I? and Where do I belong? Although worlds are wide open to observation, identities often remain elusive (1974, vii).

5. Sasparilla Bay is a pseudonym for a small waterfront town in Ontario with a population of approximately twelve thousand. There are a few public lesbians and gay men but it is a small conservative tourist area and potential consequences of involuntary detection as a result of this work take precedence over specificity. The nature and content of this thesis necessitates cloaking three geographical areas in particular in order to protect the inhabitants against potential discrimination or trauma.

As May admonishes, "the fieldworker owes confidentiality to his researched population just as surely as the physician or lawyer owes it to patients or clients" (1980, 356). This is particularly true in the case of research involving 'deviant' populations as publicly defined and in the context of this thesis, safeguarding the anonymity of those who do not wish to be revealed is primary. I have embraced the ethics adopted by the American Anthropological Association, which state that:

In research, an anthropologist's paramount responsibility is to those he studies. When there is a conflict of interest, these individuals must come first. The anthropologist must do everything within his power to protect their physical, social, and psychological welfare and to honour their dignity and privacy (Principles of Professional Responsibility, 1970, paragraph 1).

See also Spradley, 1980 (20-25) and May, 1980 (368). For the complete text of the Principles of Professional Responsibility formulated and published by the Standing Committee on Ethics, 1970, see Thomas Weaver (ed.), To See Ourselves: Anthropology and Modern Social Issues, Glenview: Scott, Foresman, 1973.

6. Dakota Point is a pseudonym used to designate a rural area of Ontario. This town, hidden in the northland, boasts a population of approximately three thousand people. See note number 5.

7. Elginia is a pseudonym, in the manner of Sasparilla Bay and Dakota Point, for a township in southern Ontario with a population of approximately six thousand, four hundred. Several of the gay and lesbian residents I have spoken with have chosen to conceal their sexual orientation and partnerships. Refer to note number 5.

8. In the ethnographic style of Whyte (1943) and Brymer and Farris (1967) in particular, I have attempted, throughout the thesis, to weigh the potential for this research to do harm. This ethical quandary is particularly apparent in the subject matter of this chapter and I have attempted to circumvent any potential difficulties within gay communities by remaining cognizant of the Kantian Categorical Imperative which advises one to treat others as ends in themselves rather than as means. Therefore, as Spradley notes:

No matter how unobtrusive ethnographic research always pries into the lives of informants. Participant observation represents a powerful tool for invading other people's way of life. It reveals information that can be used to affirm their rights, interests, and sensitivities, or to violate them (1980, 22).

Initially, one of the goals of this chapter was to provide a kind of 'guide map', whereby students, scholars, gay men and lesbians could traverse the gay communities (of Hamilton and Toronto in particular), exploring the unfamiliar niches and establishments at their leisure. However, such an outline also provides similar knowledge to hostile or unintentional others which is potentially harmful to various gay communities. It can be argued that much of this information resides largely within the public domain, although the gathering of such data requires at least an initial understanding of the ways in which it may be obtained. I am concerned not only with the safety and anonymity of those individuals whose sexual orientation remains undisclosed, but also with the sanctity and integrity of the gay community as a whole. As May suggests:

Communities, as well as individuals, have their own kind of integrity. Misshapen, imperfect and unjust as communities may be, they have their secrets, their sorrows, their aspirations, their special rhythms, and their values that ought not lightly to be disrupted (1980, 364).

Since it is my intention to do no harm and there exists reasonable doubt regarding the potential costs and benefits associated with the naming of specific gay establishments, I have chosen not to name them. Should someone require this information in order to undertake scientific replication of this thesis or scholarly research in the area, the author may be contacted through the Department of Sociology, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. It is my hope that perhaps, in the gay world of the future, this obligation to protect will be unnecessary.

9. Much of the information surrounding the demise of the McMaster Homophile Association is based on rumours and hearsay and therefore is not reiterated in these pages.

10. In the early 1980s HUGS risked losing its liquor licence for the lesbian and gay dances as a consequence of underage drinking and drug charges by local police investigating the dance hall. This caused friction between the gay youth and adults which eventually culminated in restricted entrance to the dances for those without age of majority, although this rule has now been revoked. The internal difficulties of the gay youth group have in sum yielded meeting cancellations, inter-group conflict and a shift in member personnel.

11. According to several sources, approximately twenty-five thousand attended Toronto's 1989 Lesbian and Gay Pride Day (Honey, 1989: A3, and Popert, 1989: 12) as compared to the one thousand attending Toronto's first Pride Day in 1981.

12. A reliable informant noted that the Hamilton gay bar opened as a hotel and brothel in 1897, adding a large bar area in 1927. In 1972 the brothel was closed and the \_\_\_\_\_ Tavern became one of the meeting places for gay men and lesbians, although not overtly so. \_\_\_\_\_ disco opened in 1977 on the former hotel room floor, and for a short time, was open six evenings per week. Hours of operation have now returned to three nights per week.

13. Not all past readers of The Body Politic would refer to its demise as unfortunate, however. There were many skirmishes with the law (the magazine was charged with obscenity many times over its fifteen year history) and readers, angered by explicit advertisements, radical politics or The Body Politic's support of a volatile group (such as 'Men Loving Boys Loving Men'), often cancelled their subscriptions and sent hostile letters to the editor. The accumulation of financial arrears primarily led to the cessation of The Body Politic, although this was also coupled with a lack of clear purpose and meaning (see Bebout, 1987: 4-5 for more information).

14. Such gay bar 'freebies' are often referred to as 'bar rags' and the Hamilton gay bar has taken a lesson from its Toronto counterparts in making such community newspapers available to Hamilton gays (both The HUGS Phoenix and Xtra! are complimentary at the door). There is almost no better place to read a gay community newspaper than in a gay bar with a beer or drink in front of you while you pass the time or wait for friends. A smart business person is generally aware of the mutual advantages of such a service.

15. GLAM did however hold one public dance on McMaster campus in late 1988, although I understand that because it was not a success (low attendance and harassment of the patrons by heterosexual 'tourist' males), there are no plans for another in the immediate future.

16. Of which, to my knowledge, there are currently two in Hamilton.

17. There remains no real consensus with regard to gay population figures. Several years earlier, Karlen estimated that some ten million of the two hundred million people in the United States "are or will become exclusive or predominant homosexuals - more than there are Jews or Americans" (1971, 511). Hayes also described homosexuals as "America's largest subculture" (1976, 256) and more recently, Lucco's conservative estimate arrived at a figure of three-quarters of a million gay men and lesbians in America (1987, 35-6). In 1985, U.S. data suggested a population of 238.7 million (Statesman's Yearbook, 1989-90, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1989) and in Canada in 1986, an estimated population of 25,354,064 (as quoted in the Globe and Mail, April 14, 1987, from Statistics Canada, June 1980 Population Census). If we then divide these population statistics by the pedestrian figure of ten percent believed to be gay, we would arrive at a gay and lesbian population of 23,870,000 in the United States, and 2,535,406 in Canada.

18. These figures are borrowed in part from Gayellow Pages: The National Edition. New York: Renaissance House, 1989.

19. There are exceptions to this, however. On particularly special occasions (such as during Sunday brunch prior to the special screening of the Boston-produced lesbian soap opera, "Two In Twenty", at a Toronto women's bar), heterosexual couples with children will be greeted politely at the door. Once it is explained that they are about to enter a lesbian bar, the family usually exits quietly.

20. The Cameo Club opened in 1975 and was defunct by 1984. Apparently, one of the first gay bars in Toronto was 'Maison de Lys' which opened in 1961, becoming the Music Room a year later and closing after a fire in 1966. The Melody Room opened in 1963 as an after-hours club at 457 Church Street and later became a men's bar known for a short time as Tanks. Due to the failure of Tanks, it was later changed to a lesbian bar named Sappho's which was the target of arson a scant two weeks later. In the early 1980s, it re-opened as a bar and restaurant for men and women called Together, which was successful until about mid-1985 when, after a change of ownership, it subsequently became the men-only bar The 457 and later, Together Again for lesbians and gay men. The bar has



currently resumed the name The 457 and once again welcomes primarily gay men.

There were a number of women's bars which did not endure, unable to compete with the long-standing Bluejay which closed in 1978. The unlicensed Pussycat Club both opened and closed in 1975. The Fly By Night opened in 1979 and closed one and a half years later. Deja Vu, housed in the former Bluejay, opened in 1980 for one year and was succeeded by the now-defunct Eve's in 1981. There were two lesbian Eve's bars with the same owner in different locations and both have long since closed (Bearchell, 1981: 25-7).

21. Much of the information on pages 22 to 24 is a synthesis of that which is contained in: Social Services Network, 1989; Gayellow Pages, 1989; Toronto Lambda Business Council, 1988-89, and various 1989 issues of Xtra!

22. In addition, the "CLGRO (Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights of Ontario) Working Group for Relationship Recognition" arose from the Toronto Conference on gay and lesbian spousal issues, entitled 'On Our Own Terms', in August 1989. The group is currently working toward the political, social and legal recognition of gay and lesbian families.

23. However, a more formal economic system is found in San Francisco's Atlas Savings and Loan Association and to a lesser degree in the Toronto pro-gay Bread and Roses Credit Union. More than a decade ago Adam noted that,

Although there are no homosexual banks, gays have made a tentative beginning with regard to the organization of an economic movement with the establishment of an employment bureau for homosexuals (1979, 314).

24. Also, to a degree in Washington, D.C. (with organizations and groups totalling ninety), Boston, Massachusetts (a sum of 95) and Provincetown, Massachusetts (71 groups and services, although 52 of these are guest houses, hotels and bed and breakfast accommodations). Provincetown, a favourite travel hot-spot, is quite different in that, apparently heterosexuals comprise a population minority, out-numbered by the lesbian and gay residents and tourists.

25. The large American cities in general manifest higher degrees of institutional complexity and organizational sophistication than their Canadian counterparts. Moreover, according to the International Gay Travel Association (IGTA) in Denver, Colorado, the top ten domestic travel destinations are in descending order of preference: Key West, Florida; San Francisco, California; Provincetown, Massachusetts; New York City area; Southern California; Miami and Ft. Lauderdale, Florida areas; Hawaii;

Washington, D.C.; New Orleans; and Phoenix, Arizona (Alyson Publications, 1989: 101).

26. See both Chapter two and the Appendix II (Chronology) for a synopsis of gay and lesbian historical development.

27. For many gay people who reside or emigrate to, vacation and visit:

San Francisco remains the capital city of Gay America - the Emerald City, the gay Oz...there is a gay chamber of commerce, the Golden Gate business Association, and a gay and lesbian thrift institution, the Atlas Savings and Loan Association...If the homosexual demi-monde that is so visible on Castro Street has given San Francisco a lurid image to the rest of the nation, the prim neighbourhoods of gay-owned Victorians suggest another reality: a solid, hard-working and civic-minded middle class that has little in common with the gaudy campiness of the street people (Morganthau, et al., 1983, 34).

Moreover, as Becker and Horowitz once noted, San Francisco has been regarded by many as, "an experiment in the consequences of tolerating deviance" (1971, 6).

28. These figures have been compiled with reference to Renaissance House, 1988; Alyson Publications, 1989; and personal communication.

29. Personal correspondence with over ninety groups and organizations failed to discern even approximate membership statistics. I was, however, informed by several organizations that no such collection of figures had been undertaken. I suspect that this is in large part, a consequence of shifting group membership, transitory personnel, and the generally ephemeral nature of the organizations. As a corollary of the latter, any attempt to collect such data would probably be viewed by group members as dangerous or threatening. In a very real sense, it would likely jeopardize the anonymity which is essential to the participation of some group members. Herein lies the essence of the barrier to data collection in the gay world.

30. To be examined in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF THE MODERN GAY WORLD

The unveiling of the memorial AIDS quilt for the first time provided a somber (sic) adjunct, as did the AIDS victims in wheelchairs who led the march. There were small and poignant reminders of loss, too, like the lone South Dakotan whose T-shirt stated simply, "I'm Marching For Michael Hackett - He Didn't Make It." The quilt itself, the size of two football fields, was composed of almost two thousand rectangular panels. Each was inscribed with the name of someone who had died of AIDS, and many panels were decorated with flowers, palm trees, and intimate touches such as poems, pictures, and embroidered guitars and tennis rackets. On display just a few hundred feet from where the speakers (including presidential candidate Jesse Jackson, United Farmworkers president Cesar Chavez, and actress Whoopi Goldberg) were exhorting the crowds, the quilt left everyone in tears. The quilt was both monumental and personal, and with the Washington Monument on one side and the dome of the Capitol on the other, its brightly colored panels stood out boldly in the afternoon sunshine (Miller, 1989: 301).

## INTRODUCTION

Much of the existing sociological dialogue fails to capture the reality and the essence of the modern gay world. This is largely because theorists, such as Breton (1954), Harry and DeVall (1978) and Lee (1979) do not account for the cultural and political characteristics integral to the creation and maintenance of this gay world and the various communities

of which it is comprised. It is this area in which British sociologists have contributed much to our understanding of culture, cultural artifacts and materials, such as the significance of signs, symbols and self-consciousness (eg. J. Clarke, 1975; Hall and Jefferson, 1975; Hebdige, 1979; and Brake, 1980).

Moreover, Lee (1979) conceives of the various communities as ecological territories and thus fails to develop the association between subcultural organization, increasing self and group consciousness (both explanatory justification and advocacy sponsorship) and evolutionary phenomena. Best and Luckenbill (1982), also fail to recognize the cumulative nature of organizations in their model of the social organization of deviants. The authors overlook the notion that each ascendent level of sophistication encompasses and transforms the lower levels, creating a reorganization, and continuous interplay between the various levels of organization.

Lee presumes, I think, that the various communities exist as gay world structures unto themselves and therefore no attempt is made to illustrate a higher level of development such as the gay world, within which these communities are largely constituent parts. Each of these communities contribute similar and simultaneously distinct slices of gay and lesbian life to the gay world proper, but many of the structures of this world transcend particular communities and link them together. This is particularly apparent within the lower levels (eg. the 'commuter zone', 'occasional community' and 'middle range'), since these are, by virtue of

their relative size and geographical isolation, at once a part of, and discrete from, the larger gay communities. Rural residents may contribute to the development of the gay world by participating in existing or emerging political structures, by their voting behaviour and political tenets (which ultimately may have an effect on existing intra-group factionalism). They may also engage in volunteer work for a local community newsletter or magazine, patronize a gay bar, restaurant or guest house while on holiday, or contact gay service groups for information. All of these activities, as they are undertaken by numerous gay and lesbian residents, serve in some manner to enhance, transform and to maintain the links and cohesion of the gay world.

It is the structures of this world (the politics of homosexuality, gender, Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, emerging age-grade systems and modern capitalist enterprise) which reorganize all prior levels of community development. However, while the gay world continues to expand, the lower levels of community development tend, in some ways, to become nonessential. This means that the absence of service and political infrastructures in the less organized communities ('commuter zones' and 'occasional communities') motivates the residents of these areas to direct their concentration and energies to the larger communities (such as further development and 'pre-world' levels). Consequently, the communities in which they reside cannot become institutionally complete or organizationally sophisticated, although the gay world in general continues to evolve.

This chapter focuses on the structures of the gay world which are both specific to, and simultaneously transcend, territorial communities. The movement of gay men and lesbians from 'the closets to the courts' will be discussed in the following, as this process has culminated in the politicization of homosexuality, whereby 'private troubles' have been transformed into 'public issues' (Mills, 1959). The politicization of homosexuality has developed largely as a response to the oppression, intolerance and persecution engendered by mainstream culture. Some of the structures and institutions which presently exist in the gay world (such as community centres, publishing companies, religious chapters<sup>1</sup>, health clinics, gay and lesbian illness support groups, teen outreach programs, telephone counselling services, senior programs, and public awareness forums) have been modelled on their counterparts from the main, although others (such as Lesbian and Gay Pride Day<sup>2</sup>, AIDS outreach programs and special events) have been created, and tailored, to fit the needs of each particular gay community. That such efforts are always successful is, however, questionable.

The atmosphere and events of the post-Stonewall era, during the last two decades, have created conditions germane to the evolution of gay communities and the gay world. This expansion has in turn, engendered an increasing heterogeneity within the gay world which is apparent in conflicts of interest, dissention and in particular, political and structural factionalism within the gay world and between this world and the mainstream.

Among gay men and lesbians, much of the chasm is a result of the discord between the 'homophile old guard' (the older, more conservative and acquiescent bloc) and the radical militant faction (the younger, more vocal gay activists). The defensive strategies of the conservatives allow them to co-exist with the dominant culture primarily through 'passing' (as non-gay), accommodation and public conformity. The activists, on the other hand, employ a strategy of offence, preferring confrontation, litigation and public visibility. Clearly, the mainstream is audience to two vastly discordant factions and this will be further examined in the present chapter.

The politicization of homosexuality also extends to other issues and among the more salient are the politics of gender and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). There has been, and continues to be, much factionalism between lesbians as a consequence of conflicting interests, value definitions and goals of the 'radicalesbians' and the conservatives. This is very similar to the chasm created between the 'homophile old guard' and the 'militant radicals'. However, among members of the radical group, an individual's sexual relationships, public behaviour and personal preferences are defined in terms of whether they are or not politically appropriate (the politically correct-politically incorrect dichotomy). The conservatives however, welcome the sense of solidarity and community among lesbians, as a consequence of their mutual history, oppression and stigma.

The relationship between gay men and lesbians has, during different historical periods, vacillated between unity, conflict, abhorrence and solidarity. Many lesbians continue to regard gay men as adversaries because of the dominance and power accorded them by virtue of their maleness in a social structure which categorizes women as subordinate. The effeminate male and masculine female stereotypes perpetuated only in the mainstream, but also among gay men and lesbians themselves.<sup>3</sup>

The new dilemmas posed by the outbreak of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) have motivated the creation of a unique service infrastructure (buddy systems, support groups, information networks and telephone distress and referral 'hotlines') and accelerated civil rights litigation and institutions (hospices, funding and research services) within gay communities and the gay world. Thus, expansion and evolution have been an integral part of the response systems of gay men and lesbians to the disease and the political, legal and social-psychological traumas related to AIDS, ARC (AIDS-related complex) and HIV-positive infection. The present chapter will briefly address the politics, modern difficulties and strategies by which gay men and lesbians have attempted to cope with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.

The issue of gay world age structure is examined through a review of the current literature on gay aging, an examination of rites of passage and the double stigma (of old and gay). It appears that lesbian and gay age structure is a recent phenomenon and one which is currently in the process of emergence. The existence of this age structure, albeit in the



early stages of germination, suggests that the gay world in general is more organizationally sophisticated and institutionally complex than ever before. That gay men and lesbians are beginning to address their concerns about aging and bereavement means that litigation in the areas of same sex spousal benefits, grief, survivorship, burial provisions, chronic care, nursing home regulations and legal rights in general, are likely to accelerate.

Finally, it is suggested that as a result of the capitalist mode of production in Western societies, gay and lesbian liberation now exudes a price. To be a young gay person 'coming out' in the late 1980s and early 90s is a more expensive and less satisfying endeavour in some ways. Original writings (journals, periodicals, first edition novels) are currently more difficult to locate, many are out of print or the costs are prohibitive. Moreover, within the gay world, supply is not always equal to demand and that which is available is now costly.

In other words, the gay 'ghetto' has now become part of a larger and more lucrative enterprise. Once-informal supports, services and information packets are now parcelled as various fragments of bureaucratic, (frequently incorporated) hierarchically-organized institutions which exchange their goods for currency. It is not uncommon today for heterosexual and gay shop, restaurant and bar owners to post cover charges (to enter the establishment) and to demand excessive liquor and food prices. This is particularly the case in smaller cities where there is little or no competition for lesbian and gay patrons and their

wages.

In general, mainstream and gay entrepreneurs have become cognizant of the fact that gay men and lesbians are willing to purchase the symbols of their culture (pink triangle buttons, lambda pendants, logos emblazoned on expensive sweat shirts and exclusive jewellery items). These symbols and many others have now become commodities on the open market and not occasionally, these goods carry exorbitant price tags. It is not my aim to justify, or to fully account for the costs of gay and lesbian liberation, only to point out this relatively recent and on-going feature of the modern gay world.

#### The Gay World Defined

An explicit and comprehensible definition of the term 'gay world' is germane to this discussion and to the thesis in general. The 'gay world', as it is employed in this context, refers to an evolving and dynamic cultural milieu, characterized by an assortment of communities which host sundry religious and political ideologies, belief systems, iconography, vernacular, social networks and a history. These are all simultaneously a part of, and discrete from, conventional culture. The gay world is, according to Blachford, "...multi-faceted, multi-tiered and pluralistic mainly because of its location at the intersection of a large number of other cultural forms" (1981, 185).

This world is also characterized by special modes of communication (magazines, journals, books, music), media (independent film-makers, writers, publishers, artists, actors, recording houses), religious and political leaders, popular gay and lesbian heroes (activists, writers, politicians or spokespersons), and a constantly evolving "service infrastructure" (Hamilton, 1973: 195) which is focused largely upon outreach, community, referral and support programs. That gay men and lesbians, in both rural and urban areas, are cognizant of gay and lesbian events and activity in other provinces, states and countries is testimony to the extraordinary and ubiquitous gay world channels of communication.

The evolution and transformation of the gay world is not only a process of shifting membership or group personnel, of changing beliefs, values or ideologies, although such elements constitute a significant influence upon group change. More importantly, the shifting relations between the gay world and mainstream culture are evident in current revisions of legal sanctions, human rights<sup>4</sup> and anti-discrimination clauses<sup>5</sup>, enhanced media exposure<sup>6</sup>, the strengthening of positive relations between metropolitan police departments and the local gay community<sup>7</sup>, and the re-election of openly-gay Canadian MP's (eg. Svend Robinson in Burnaby, British Columbia) and American congressmen (eg. Barney Frank in Washington, D.C.). All of these serve to stimulate the on-going transformation and evolution of the gay world.

Therefore, it is largely because of the interaction between the gay world and mainstream society that both cultures continue to evolve

and to exist always in flux rather than stasis.<sup>8</sup> It is this character of the gay world which frequently precludes narrative precision. The corollary is that this evolving gay world is situated in a temporal present which, once discussed, is then almost immediately consigned to an historical past.

#### The Inherent Dilemma of the Gay World

The gay movement, not unlike the women's movement, has not been without inherent dilemmas and contradictions. There are, for example, specific tensions intrinsic to the creation of a separate lesbian or gay identity or visible community territory, either of which tend to dislocate gay people (in word, thought, residence, ideology and deed) from the wider social milieu. Even as the boundaries of this world continue to expand and thus to become more diffuse and heterogeneous, discrete and exclusive institutions are simultaneously created.

Many of the existing gay institutions are modelled on those found in cultural convention, although some of those recently emerging are regarded by the wider society as archetypes which they in turn modify, and co-opt. The attempt by gay men and lesbians, to remain at once a part of and inherently separate from the wider society, are increasingly evident since, in their isolation from the larger society, gay people are also faced with the challenge of impressing their similarity and thus,

their legitimacy upon the wider culture. Indeed, many of the norms and values of the gay world and its territories "may be partially distinctive, but they also overlap with their heterosexual counterparts in many ways" (Plummer, 1975: 160).

Clearly,

One of the traps of the organization is that it causes a further chasm between the deviant minority and the dominant majority. This is not an ideological chasm so much as a physical or interactionist one; that is organization may provide a small social structure for an independent world of deviants, all bound together by one characteristic, moving within a single circle and hence, less within the world at large. It is the problem of separatism versus integration (Sagarin, 1969: 243).

It becomes evident that, "gay knowledge has two tasks: to teach the differentness of gay as well as its sameness" (Warren, 1974: 121). The dilemma for gay people concerns the manner by which to remain simultaneously discrete from, and integrated with, the heterosexual world, and in fact, how best to choose between the two alternatives. From the perspective of the latter, the problem is that:

The world once seen as composed of two types of people - the good and the bad, the normal and the abnormal, the black and the white - now becomes a potpourri of variegated stigma labels which are available for application under a wide variety of situations (Plummer, 1975: 113).

Therefore, the separation of homosexuals from the general population may serve to hasten naming, labelling and the 'containment and control' of the gay territorial community (Plummer, 1975: 87). The model of 'homosexual hostility' has at its root, "the three dialectical moments discussed by Berger and Luckmann - of men creating 'reality',

internalizing that 'reality' and having that 'reality' in turn define and create them" (Plummer, 1975: 116). Hence, it is both the existence and visibility of gay people which simplifies the task (for moral agents and officers of social control) of locating and condemning them.

The struggle for homosexual liberation has also created conflict and strife across lines of class, sex, race and ethnicity (D'Emilio, 1983; Altman, 1982). The difficulty is that individual perspectives, needs, and interests do not always transcend sexual orientation (D'Emilio, 1983: 94) and this is, in large part, both consequence and facilitator of the growing diversity, institutional complexity, and organizational sophistication of the modern gay world.

In the context of the gay world, the most mundane has now become political. This is particularly apparent in terms of the 'coming out' process (publicly declaring one's homosexuality by word or deed). Indeed, coming out has been deemed "the gay movement's central political act" (Jackson and Persky, 1982: 224) in that the new visibility generated by self-declaration is in a very real sense, "a conscious giving up of power" (Mohr, 1988: 327). The realm of the mundane also includes one's choice of mode of dress and demeanour, rhetoric and argot, friends and social group, terms by which one chooses to describe him or herself (lesbian, dyke, gay, homosexual, faggot), the situation in which the coming out originally occurs, one's choice of gay or lesbian reading material, the clubs or organizations chosen as recipients of one's public, financial or voluntary support. All of these personal choices and individual

preferences, whether public or private, have now coalesced into the general body politic of the gay world.<sup>9</sup>

### THE POLITICIZATION OF HOMOSEXUALITY

The term 'politics' and the corresponding ideology is perhaps the most difficult structure to define within the context of the gay world. As there exists no single homosexuality but rather a myriad of 'homosexualities' (Ebert, 1977; Bell and Weinberg, 1978) there exists, in like vein, no single political bent, ideology or universal definition. In a manner similar to the politics of mainstream culture, the key words most appropriate to gay politics are diversity, flux and change since one of the most salient features of aggregates of (both heterosexuals and) homosexuals is the very diversity of homosexuals themselves. Vacha has likened this diversity to:

...the analogy of a common cemetery ivy. I know of no plant that has so many leaves different from one another...Yet for all the differences of leaves, like the differences of homosexuals, they all have the same artery supporting them (1982, 7).

There are numerous politically-oriented homosexual trajectories (such as the North American Man/Boy Love Association referred to as NAMBLA, radicalesbians, gay political bureaucrats and entrepreneurs, sadomasochism (S/M) and bondage and degradation (B & D) groups, radical and conservative contingents) which add to the sexual politics of the gay

world. Although many of these groups are small in number and may appear invisible to the uninformed observer, they do in fact, add to the "substantial political infrastructure" (Shilts, 1987: xxii) of each gay community, and of the gay world as a whole. The various threads of social and sexual politics also, perhaps unintentionally, divides the gay world into distinct political categories, by according various and frequently derogatory labels, moral codes and value systems, which then expedites the alienation of gay people from one another.

In the arena of gay politics, much of the energies are directed toward establishing the personal as public<sup>10</sup> and thus, as Mills (1959) would say, transforming private troubles into public issues. One of the unintentional consequences is that:

When the ultimate political objective is to remove stigma from the differentness, the individual may find that his very efforts can politicize his own life, rendering it even more different from the normal life initially denied him (Goffman, 1963: 114).

Since homosexuals are commonly imagined as jeopardizing traditional culture and values, homosexuality itself is seen as political ideology. In the opinion of much of the mainstream, homosexuals eschew normative modes of reproduction and of power and thus, to be homosexual is also to be political. As Ohio State Law Professor Rhonda Rivera admonished, "when you wake up and the person in bed next to you is of the same sex, you're in politics, honey" (Jacobs, 1989b: 37).

Buoyed by a relative sense of freedom and a fledgling awareness of numerous others (thanks to the Second World War and the Kinsey Report),



small homosexual and homophile groups during the post-McCarthy era, adopted an accommodationist stance fuelled by an attitude of civil libertarianism (Murray, 1984: 22). This meant that the majority of homosexuals shared a belief in the importance of conformity to, and acceptance by, conventional culture. However, the pressure of 'passing' as heterosexual boosted by frequent police raids on homosexual bars and subsequent closures, fear of discovery (and corresponding job loss, financial hardship, rejection by friends and family) and the absence of pro-homosexual legislation led many members (of the Mattachine and the D.O.B. in particular) to adopt a more militant ideology.<sup>11</sup>

The militants of the 1960s began to break away from the accommodationist stance of the homophile 'old guard' of the 1950s, preferring a semi-organized, more visible and proactive agenda. The previous efforts of the homophiles to gain social tolerance and understanding was replaced by demands for rights and opportunities, couched in a more visibly political stance involving confrontational strategies (such as zaps and demonstrations) and affirmative action techniques. Much like the black organizations generated by the civil rights movement, homosexual and gay organizations have fostered the rise of contemporary radicals and radical organizations (Yearwood and Weinberg, 1979: 308).

The politicization of the gay movement occurred largely as a result of both individual and collective actions and reactions.<sup>12</sup> The Stonewall Riots of 1969 engendered a new awareness among homosexuals and gays,

creating a consciousness of the rewards and advantages of visible and public resistance. That post-Stonewall gay consciousness was primarily aimed at the rebellion and resistance of traditional heterosexual, nuclear family structures is evident in the virtual explosion of letter writing campaigns, demonstrations, zaps, lobbying, marches, the exercise of positive censorship (successful lobbying for the deletion of or public apology for anti-gay remarks made on radio, television or in newspaper articles), and the attempts to coalesce lesbian and gay concerns with those of other social movements.<sup>13</sup> Thus, as Humphreys observes, a visible and collective gay activism is an increasingly important means by which to bolster one's own self-esteem and to deny the internalization of oppression and as such,

...stigmatized persons redeem their own discredit by demanding reparation for suffering endured. They confront condemnation with their own moral indignation, cashing in a lifetime of stigma borne for the right to make moral demands on their accusers (1972, 149).

Through the co-optation of strategies employed during the black civil rights movement, gay activist groups and leaders have become aware that "the key to [their] success lies in its ability to influence - and ultimately control - policy makers" (Rueda, 1982: 188). Moreover, the adaptation of the slogans of the civil rights movement ("Black is Beautiful") and advocating that "Gay is Good" functioned as a necessary and important vehicle for gay men and lesbians. This technique simultaneously helped to neutralize negative public stereotypes and stigmatizing labels and enhanced an emergent sense of positive self-

identity (Tanner, 1978: 124).<sup>14</sup>

In the early 1970s, demonstrations and lobbying were largely concerned with issues of mundane rights and privileges. The important issues of the day involved the right to assemble in public, the establishment of homosexuality as a valid 'lifestyle', the right to same-sex dancing, increased visibility, positive media exposure (in the language of 'gay' as opposed to homosexual) and the eventual elimination of the sin-sickness-crime trinity of homosexuality, through techniques of confrontation which gradually created a rent in the armour of mainstream resistance.

During the 1980s however, confrontation has shifted to (pro-gay and lesbian) litigation as gay men and lesbians struggle with the state for the right to non-discrimination (on issues related to housing, education and employment<sup>15</sup>), to marry, raise and adopt children<sup>16</sup> and for same-sex partners to share employer benefits (such as medical and dental insurance). The recent "gayby boom"<sup>17</sup> and corresponding creation of lesbian and gay parenting groups<sup>18</sup>, the United States<sup>19</sup>, American municipalities<sup>20</sup>, and countries<sup>21</sup> which have decriminalized homosexual acts; concluded that sexuality is an irrelevant factor in custody disputes<sup>22</sup>; and allotted legal marital status to couples of the same sex<sup>23</sup> have, in combination, also necessitated an emerging redefinition of the family. The challenge to traditional definitions of the family, by gay men and lesbians, is largely a response to the fact that, "the ideal of "proper" family life embodies the racist, sexist, heterosexist, and anti-working

class politics of many moral conservatives" (Kinsman, 1987: 200).<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, some Canadian provinces (Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, the Yukon Territory), American cities (California, San Francisco) and four countries (Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden) have now adopted anti-discrimination clauses which protect the rights of gay men and lesbians. Furthermore, New South Wales (Australia), Finland and France have partial clauses which protect gay men and lesbians from particular forms of discrimination, such as housing, employment and social benefits (Tielman and de Jonge, 1989: 185-242). According to the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in Washington, a total of thirteen states, seventeen countries and sixty-three cities have passed some kind of anti-discrimination laws on the basis of sexual orientation, although the majority are generally limited to the prohibition of job discrimination (Fernandez, 1989: 4).

It is clear that the development of conscious political activity, party affiliation and endorsement techniques are among the many consequences of evolving institutional and organizational complexity in the gay world. There are numerous and varied political groups, clubs and organizations across Canada and the United States, although the vast majority in Canada are connected with the N.D.P. and in the United States, have formed various Democratic party constituencies.<sup>25</sup>

Many gay men and lesbians now feel that the myths and stereotypes which are frequently wielded as weapons against gay people will be dispelled only by political activism aimed at the election of gays and

the promotion of positive public images. As Shilts has observed, "we must be judged by our leaders and by those who are themselves gay, those who are visible" (1982: 362).<sup>26</sup> The politicization of the gay movement has thus been forged primarily through the election of gay politicians and the placement of gays in political positions of power and authority.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, as Adam claims, the institutional formalization of gay organization has developed in large part through the creation of the "professional" spokesman, the development of a bureaucracy and paid (as well as volunteer) personnel (1979, 306). This has also heightened networking and communication between various political clubs and the New Democratic Party (NDP) in addition to intensifying relations between politics and gay businesses (Altman, 1988: 89-92).

Gay men and lesbians have specifically acquired the skills with which to distribute campaign support funds in order to bolster preferred candidates; encourage mail participation in gay issues by constituent groups; maintain "report cards" and ratings on congressional, legislative and parliamentary candidates (Alyson Publications, 1989, 114-139); assemble community Political Action Committees (PACS) such as the Human Rights Campaign Fund and similar human rights special interest groups<sup>28</sup> (Jacobs, 1989a: 35); and generally, organize political goals and voter drives, mobilize resources, and initiate a higher degree of community politicization and voting activity (Riddiough, 1988: 2-23). The current catch phrase of gay political activity would best be described as an international effort aimed toward 'organizing, mobilizing, publicizing',

and above all, 'politicizing'.

There are several large and well-developed gay American political organizations (in particular, the Gay and Lesbian Democrats of America and the National Gay Task Force, both of Washington, D.C.) which encourage and promote lesbian and gay political activity. Generally, such organizations have constructed sets of specific and well-developed by-laws which regulate all areas of organizational activity including: the goals and purpose (of what is frequently referred to as 'the corporation', specified regions of activity, membership categories (regular, associate, lifetime, organizational) and fees, meetings, executive committees, officers (removal, replacement and nomination of), board of trustees, records, polls of member clubs and parliamentary authority (GLDA By-laws, 1988).

These sophisticated organizations also provide gay political handbooks, manuals, primers and grassroots organizing tools to interested persons, political parties and affiliated groups. Current information guides and packets now offer advice on organizing lobby days, state action, sodomy repeal, student organization support, AIDS-related issues, youth support, gay and lesbian prisoner support, gay and lesbian seniors, resource groups and media guides, as well as strategic techniques for starting a community centre, gay switchboard, support or political action group (NGTF, 1989).

Furthermore, mainstream politicians and political parties have become increasingly cognizant of the fact that an average of ten per cent

of voters are themselves gay, and a larger bloc are empathetic, positive, or neutral on the subject of homosexuality, pro-gay legislation and gay rights. Thus, they are beginning to direct more attention to these potential voters as well as developing platforms and campaigns geared to the satisfaction of gay and pro-gay voters. It is certain that the political 'catch-22' of the mainstream has also become a dangerous balancing act where one tries not to inflame the homophobes, while keeping the gays relatively quiet and simultaneously obtaining as many votes as possible.

Shilts has noted that during the en masse immigration of gays to San Francisco during the early 1980s, "gays composed one of the most solidly liberal voting blocs in America...largely because liberals were the candidates who promised to leave gays alone" (1987, 15). Rueda agrees that the participation of gays in the political sphere goes well beyond singular 'homosexual issues' and suggests that, "consistent with a general liberal orientation, homosexual organizations have adopted the goals of liberal America" (1982, 212). The increasing evolution, expansion and organizational sophistication of the gay world may also function as a liability, such that:

...in connection with the gay liberation movement, this very broadness and inclusiveness of the stigmatized category can also mean a good deal of factionalism, since within the potential constituency are many cross cutting social and political groupings (Schur, 1979: 435).

## The Politics of Gender

### Gay Men and Lesbians

Certainly there are political and structural dilemmas associated with the fact that the politicization of homosexuality coincided with the emergence of (lesbian and gay) gender politics. Moreover, repercussions did not occur only within the gay world, but in the mainstream between the dominant male world and the 'world of women' (eg. the feminist movement).<sup>29</sup> It is however, the gay world which is most germane to this discussion.

Stanley claims that much of the tension between gay men and lesbians concerns the fact that, whatever their psychological make-up, a gay man "always reserves the right to revert to the male supremacist role" (1978, 128). She argues that gender discrepancies in sources of anger and frustration, psychological make-up, and the lack of lesbian identities, traditions and histories (1978, 123-131) have resulted in lesbians being "syllogistically reduced to zero" and treated as "trivial marginalia, digressions" (Stanley, 1978: 128).

Jant and Darsey observe that, "lesbians find gay men to be sexual and superficial, and gay men find that lesbians have raised their consciousness to the point of unrelenting rage and defensiveness" (1981, 26). This describes merely the tip of the iceberg since, in the reality of the mundane, there are disagreements and visible tensions between gay men and lesbians and it often appears as if there are two separate and conflicting communities which exist simultaneously.<sup>30</sup> In the eyes of



many lesbians, the gay man epitomizes, albeit to a lesser degree, the dominant male power of patriarchal mainstream structure. The fact that both gay and non-gay men have historically obtained larger salaries, broader and more lucrative employment and business opportunities, higher disposable incomes, and owned more of the gay bars, guesthouses, book stores, publishing houses, newspapers and magazines and gay businesses in general, and continue to do so, causes discernible antagonism between lesbians and gay men. Many lesbians assert that gay men simply replicate patterns of heterosexual male power and privilege and that, "the male gay world - in part - reproduces masculinity and patriarchy, but...the gay world also sustains systems of consumer capitalism, hierarchies of social class and divisions of age" (Blachford, 1981: 207).

A typical and recurrent argument advanced by many non-gays relates gender conflict between gay men and lesbians to the existence of same-sex bars and social milieux. It is this issue which brings the controversial question of 'why separate bars for gay men and lesbians' to the fore. Many gays and lesbians prefer a mixed (both men and women) bar atmosphere while others prefer to spend their time in a bar reserved exclusively for either men or women. The main reason for the latter is that both the purpose, and often the design, of the gay male bars and discos are inherently different for those oriented toward a lesbian clientele.

Generalizations notwithstanding, many of the male patrons choose a bar on the basis of its interior structure (visibility of entrance and dance floor, accessibility to bar or wait staff) specialty (leather or

denim), clientele ('fey' or macho) and form of entertainment (drag, popular music, comedy 'revues') in terms of how these characteristics facilitate personal anonymity, cruising and access to sexual activity. The presence of what is commonly referred to as 'the meat rack' is a significant indicator of sexual availability since 'the meat rack' is a highly visible stand-up area of the bar which is reserved for gay men who are willing to partake in sexual activity. The men gather in this section of the bar, conscious of their evaluation (and physical attractiveness ratings) by an audience of ready on-lookers. They then tarry, awaiting the delivery of a free drink, meaningful eye contact, suggestive body language, or a direct approach from an interested potential sexual partner or companion.

#### Among Lesbians

Nogel notes that, historically, the initial difficulty for lesbians was that they existed in the twilight realm, between the gay liberation movement and the women's movement, and neither fully addressed their concerns or particular forms of oppression (1981, 263). Moreover, lesbian-feminism as a movement, "exists in a dialectical relationship between the women's liberation movement and the gay liberation movement. It is at once a part of, and separate from, each" (Nogel, 1981: 264).<sup>31</sup> It would seem that lesbian-feminism is aimed toward challenging patriarchal power, compulsory heterosexuality, and the dominant social

order, as it is reinforced by the women's liberation and the gay liberation movements, through affirmative action, self-assertion and a cognizance of the secondary status accorded women inside both movements (Nogel, 1981: 264-9).

When the Daughters Of Bilitis (D.O.B.) initially agreed to support the National Organization of Women (NOW) during the early 1970s, issues surrounding lesbianism, labelling and intra-group diversity were met with hostility (Martin and Lyon, 1972: 286-7). Fear of the 'lavender menace' (Martin and Lyon, 1972: throughout) was expressed by many NOW members and non-members alike.<sup>32</sup> Others however, asserted their own views of the movement and, as one non-gay NOW member declared:

I believe deeply that female sexuality is a key issue in the women's movement. Until every woman is able to say, 'Okay, so you think I'm a Lesbian...I will neither confirm or deny it', the women's movement will go nowhere. You see, I want liberation, not just equality (Martin and Lyon, 1972: 290).

Moreover, as Bohmer (1988, 83) suggests, the conflict between the lesbian contingency is best described in terms of its similarity to the struggle between the post-Stonewall gay militants and the homophile old guard. Thus, there is much social and political unrest between the 'radicalesbians' (who find no common ground with homosexual men or heterosexual women) and those who prefer the masque of passivity, the apparent inculcation of heterosexual values (who prefer, for reasons of safety and personal security, to pass as heterosexuals).<sup>33</sup>

However, as Lewis (1979, 164) has observed, the lesbian separatists (also referred to as 'radicalesbians') have actively isolated themselves

from both the women's and the gay movement. For such a group, gender has become the praxis of action, behaviour, beliefs, values and existence. The difficulty is that the new emphasis on politically correct (PC) behaviour and activism has culminated in an ideology which polarizes the lesbian components of each gay community. The antagonism between politically correct and incorrect ideologies (Lewis refers to this as PC and PI dichotomy) has led to discord among lesbians. The prerequisite for politically correct behaviour has now become a tiresome and somewhat frustrating form of impression management; a public image which frequently prevents lesbians from cultivating close ties with one another, and such friction also impedes the development of a cohesive and political sense of community (Lewis, 1979: 179).

Furthermore, the tendency for lesbian friendships to evolve out of former love affairs suggests that, "at any one party, everyone in the room may be related to everyone else through former lovers" (Sang, 1984: 60). Although even in the more institutionally complete and organized communities of the present day, such overlapping friendship networks may serve as an 'extended family' (Sang, 1984: 61) as well as a vehicle for continued social contact with a widening circle of other lesbians (Sang, 1984: 62). In this manner, the intimacy of such networks may be regarded as advantageous and beneficial although continued closeness to one's former lovers may also be seen as problematic. A lasting friendship with one's former lover may not appear visibly onerous, although it has the potential to place a great deal of strain upon one's present partner, and

may thus constitute a threat to the stability or intimacy of the current relationship. These social networks are frequently the root of conflict, tension and jealousies among partners which may eventually lead to the termination of the relationship.

It is not uncommon to encounter lesbians who regard gay men as misogynists, or gay men who view lesbians as poor imitations of men, or man-haters. However, such judgements appear to be more copious among those lesbians and gay men who involve themselves in limited or same-gender associations. A good part of the disapproval and condemnation between gay men and lesbians, although antithetical to the unification of a true gay 'community', appears to be a by-product of the internalized stereotypes and gender role socialization inherent to mainstream culture. I believe that, for the most part, an iconoclastic emphasis on gender conflict does not account for the shared experiences and common understandings which so often unite gay men and lesbians in a collective cause or a similar stigma response.

#### A Note on the Politics of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

The continuing crisis of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) has generated a contemporary breed of gay activist and has created new dilemmas, public and private challenges, and unresolved issues for gay men and lesbians. That the disease is not exclusive to gays does not mean

that their experiences of AIDS may be paralleled with those of heterosexuals. Although there are obvious similarities, AIDS has illuminated differences in value-orientation, experiential reality, empathy and political activism between homosexuals and heterosexuals.

As Shilts observed, "the general apathy that the United States had demonstrated toward the AIDS epidemic had only deepened the distrust between gays and heterosexuals" (Shilts, 1987: 541). From a gay perspective, heterosexual apathy has served to legitimize their unpopular and subordinate status. This has been heightened by gay cognizance of the fact that it was only as public figures championed the cause (Rock Hudson's death by AIDS in 1985, former Washington Redskins star Jerry Smith's publicity in contracting the disease AIDS, and Elizabeth Taylor's AIDS benefits, fund-raising and publicity), that the public responded, generated funds and took action (primarily in the area of research and development).

Gay people were incensed about the 'embarrassment' of AIDS by which public figures maintained and justified their silence and as Shilts explains, "by the time President Reagan had delivered his first speech on the epidemic of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, 36,058 Americans had been diagnosed with the disease; 20,849 had died" (1987, 596). Clearly, for many gay people:

...who emigrated to mainstream society daily to work, the heterosexual life-style seemed surreal. Here people wondered whether they could afford a second colour television set or if they should have a child. Gay life now consisted of more prosaic concerns, like whether your lover was going to die next week or if one day you would wake up and find a purple spot that foretold your death

(Shilts, 1987: 519).

The shared sense of concern about AIDS has forged, "...a new basis for community...founded on caring" (Miller, 1989: 135), among gay men. The AIDS action committees, AIDS hospices, gay men's health clinics, AIDS and ARC (Aids-Related Complex) support groups, buddy systems and public awareness forums are evidence of an new empathy and a stronger unity among gay men. Moreover, as Miller observes, the AIDS epidemic has encouraged many individuals to participate in 'organized gay life' for the first time (1989, 135). During the last several years, gay AIDS activists have also engaged in an 'out-reach' program to further inform and to educate heterosexual professionals (such as: medical personnel, the clergy, primary and secondary school curriculum and policy-makers, teachers), partners, parents, friends and members of other AIDS high-risk groups, as well as the general population.

This out-reach has primarily consisted of proposals to incorporate the experiences and knowledge of both groups in areas such as AIDS counselling, education, PWAS (Persons with AIDS) and PWLAS (Persons living with AIDS) support services, challenges to legislative ambiguity or deficiency and lobby and fund-raising groups. The outreach program has also engendered the development of hospice and home care services, increased visibility of preventive goods and services (educational pamphlets, heightened advertising and media sensitivity, increased availability of condoms, homosexual and heterosexual education related to 'safe sex' practices, and in general, a growing public dialogue geared to

the development of understanding, techniques of prevention and research into AIDS and people living with AIDS. One Los Angeles gay political activist and consultant has also observed that the new gay institutions and AIDS hospices, "are revolutionary and will benefit society for years to come" (Jacobs, 1989: 34).

Thus, the present AIDS crisis appears to be a pivotal impetus for the intensification of community mobilization, organization, collective support, intra-group solidarity and heightened networking across the communication channels of the gay world. For many local gay communities (particularly those in larger cities) the stages of denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance common to death and dying<sup>34</sup> exist not only in personal experience, but also in ideological context, and are made manifest in recent political activism. In general, as Crimp suggests:

In spite of the very real tensions and differences between lesbians and gay men, our common oppression has taught us the vital necessity of forming a coalition. And having negotiated and renegotiated this coalition over a period of two decades has provided much of the groundwork for the coalition policies necessitated by the shared oppression of all the radically different groups affected by AIDS (1988, 250).

AIDS has not solely encouraged harmonious relations within each gay community, but rather it has simultaneously created political unrest and conflict among both individuals and groups. One of the political difficulties of the AIDS crisis was the way in which political conflict divided leaders of the gay community (Shilts, 1987: 248). The volatile nature of gay politics was best exemplified by the response to author and



activist Larry Kramer's cryptic and intense article "1,112 and Counting" in a 1983 issue of New York Native (Issue 59, March 14-27).<sup>35</sup> As Shilts observed, Kramer's piece "...swiftly crystallized the epidemic into a political movement for the gay community at the same time it set off a maelstrom of controversy that polarized gay leaders" (1987, 245).

Also of particular interest is the enduring conflict between the Alice B. Toklas and Harvey Milk Lesbian and Gay Democratic Clubs of San Francisco. Their respective mentors, Jim Foster and Harvey Milk, were often at odds and these disputes eventually coalesced in perpetual political friction between the clubs. Generally however, the Alice B. Toklas Democratic Club advocated a rather conservative and low-key AIDS campaign, while Milk adherents vouched for a radical and aggressive approach to the problem (Shilts, 1987: 278). This has been dealt with at great length elsewhere as has the issue of the politics of AIDS.

I have little to add to the comprehensive and illuminating achievement of Randy Shilts (And The Band Played On, 1987), and the fine works of Neil Miller (In Search of Gay America, 1989), Dennis Altman (AIDS in the Mind of America, 1986), Douglas Crimp (editor, AIDS: Cultural Analysis, Cultural Activism, 1988) and Larry Kramer, (Notes from the Holocaust, 1989).

## AGE STRUCTURE IN THE GAY WORLD

Neugarten, et al. have suggested that, for heterosexuals:

Expectations regarding age-appropriate behaviour form an elaborated and governing behaviour of interaction, a network of expectations that is embedded throughout the cultural fabric of adult life (1965, 711).

If age stratification provides "...a framework for interpreting this social meaning of age and the manifold ways age meshes with social structure and social change" (Foner: 1978: 340), how then are we to view the way in which age and homosexuality interact? Moreover, if it is the case that, "at any particular period, knowing about an individuals's age is a key to the various roles the person occupies and his or her social standing in the community" (Foner, 1978: 341), does this then apply equally to both homosexual and heterosexual constituencies within a given general population?

These are but a few of the issues which must be investigated in order to explore the issue of age structure in the gay world. Much of the evidence suggests that there is, in fact, an age structure within this world. This means that the gay world has attained a higher level of institutional completeness than is apparent in the research to date.

### A Brief Review of the Literature

Much has been written, particularly during the last two decades, on the subject of homosexual (gay) aging.<sup>36</sup> A good deal of this literature focuses on the clinical and psychological implications of homosexual aging (Friend, 1978; Kelly, 1971;), while several studies (Warren, 1974; Hooker, 1967; Harry, 1982 and Harry and DeVall, 1978, etc.) are primarily concerned with the social networks of gay people (friendship, partner and homosocial relations) and the significance of community support in later life. Other articles focus primarily upon the presentation of memoirs, biographies, life course reviews and changing socio-historical contexts of the lives of gay elders (Vacha, 1985, Berger, 1982; Adelman, 1980).

There is much to be learned from an exploration of aging within gay communities, particularly in light of the growing interest in gay aging in the fields of social and clinical gerontology. The primary hiatus in the substantial body of general interest and scholarly literature on aging is clearly in the aging experiences of the modern gay man and lesbian. Rather, the accent is placed, as it is in mainstream literature in general, on the legitimacy of the life course of the dominant majority.<sup>37</sup> It is important however that we do not see the life course as static, but rather recognize the importance of the "ebbs and flows of involvement and investment" (Clausen, 1976: 38) as they occur over the course of a lifetime.

Much of the literature in the area of homosexuality and aging, invests substantial energy in refuting the popularized stereotype of the lonely, bitter, elder homosexual, reminiscing in depressed solitude of a life replete with severed family ties, missed opportunities, childlessness, public homophobia turned inward, disjointed friendship networks, sexual promiscuity and lovelessness. There is little doubt regarding the importance of demystifying the "hazy folklore" (Kelly, 1977: 329; Demos, 1986: 143) and pervasive public stereotypes surrounding elder gays. Such stereotypes are usually detrimental for all older persons (both gay and non-gay) and have a tendency to invalidate many of their experiences, needs and problems.

One is tempted then, to propose a re-focusing upon other more salient issues, such as that of ageism, age stratification and organization within the homosexual world; the values and meanings attributed by gay world members to older years of life; and issues relevant to age-grading and age structures throughout the life course of the homosexual. The following then, ought to be regarded as a tentative exploration of the initially salient 'age structural' variations of homosexual and heterosexual expectations and rites of passage throughout the life course.

A Note on Gay and Lesbian Rites of Passage

For the heterosexual, the imputation of negative social sanctions correspond with increased years of life (Neugarten, et al, 1965: 716). Therefore, the prescriptive social norms and rules of youth, give way to the greater constraint and restriction of proscriptive norms for the aged. In contrast, the social rules and proscriptive norms for the homosexual appear as social pressure toward conformity (opposite-sex dating, marriage and family) and the multi-faceted, political, legal, psychological and moral entrepreneurial processes which prevail across the life course. The reaction of the homosexual to such social sanctions appear in a myriad of situational, temporal and individual behaviours and corresponding definitions of the situation. The key then, is the accent on proscriptive (things you should not, must not, ought not to do) norms and social expectations, across the life course of the homosexual.

Similar to the first sexual encounter, long-term relationship, and aging in general, 'coming out' is an important rite of passage. Much of the literature refers to an early crisis of identity among (primarily male) homosexuals. This is manifested in the 'coming out' process (Friend, 1987: 310-11; Kimmel, 1978: 117) whereby the homosexual either a) becomes aware of self as different from others (peers, family, reference groups) and later accepts a definition of self as homosexual or b) acknowledges publicly to others one's self identity as homosexual. The experience of 'coming out' has been referred to as the first turning point, or phase in the 'adult gay career' (Harry, 1982: 218; Simon and

Gagnon, 1973; Weinberg, 1970).<sup>38</sup>

It appears that the process of 'coming out' is an extremely important rite-of-passage and may in fact be the point at which the gay person becomes a 'full fledged adult' in the gay world. In other words, since this process does not occur among heterosexuals, it may be understood as a kind of re-socialization, since the gay world, as it is perceived from the standpoint of the individual, necessitates the learning of an unfamiliar argot and style, begets novel rules, values, territories and the attenuation to new modes of dress, demeanour and behaviour.

Much disagreement regarding gender differentiation and aging exists, in terms of the meaning of the aging experience (Friend, 1987: 315) across the life course of male and female homosexuals.<sup>39</sup> There are also gender variations in rites of passage, and organized gender-based age structures. Generally however, Achilles claims that:

Clearly, the organizing event in male sexuality is puberty, while the organizing event for females is that period of romantic involvement that culminates for most in marriage (1978, 251).

Chapman and Brannock (1987, 78) infer the significance of self-awareness and identification of lesbians which sets the stage so to speak, for further lesbian identity development. The authors have developed a "Proposed Model of Lesbian Identity Awareness and Self-Labeling" which suggests the following five stages of identity development among lesbians: initial same sex orientation; incongruence which accompanies one's awareness of feelings which seem 'different' than those of others and of

peers; the self-questioning and (sexual) exploration; the identification of self as lesbian; and finally, choosing same sex orientation and lifestyle (Chapman and Brannock, 1987: 79).

Harry (1982, 218) on the other hand, defines three phases in the career of the **adult** male gay/homosexual. These phases are: first, the coming out process; the second, generally consisting of an increased homosocial and homoerotic participation in the (homosexual) community and sexual involvement with like partners; and lastly, the crisis of aging, which serves to refocus "...the older gay male's social energies toward alternative social relationships" (Harry, 1982: 218) and, during which he tends to decrease his affiliation with the gay world. These three stages however, are much too general when one considers that the entire life course of any (heterosexual or homosexual) individual surely cannot be adequately determined by one's passage through these three relatively simplistic stages. Moreover, this view portrays the third stage 'crisis of aging' as a single stage, rather than acknowledging the likelihood that it functions as one of many interrelated stages.

Several authors (Friend, 1980 and 1987; Gagnon and Simon, 1973) point to the notion of "accelerated aging" among homosexuals, which is described as "...experiencing oneself as old at an earlier age than one's chronological peers define themselves as old" (Friend, 1987: 315).<sup>40</sup> Moreover, Harry and DeVall (1978, 131) provide evidence that this process of accelerated aging largely occurs during the second decade of life for heterosexuals.

Taub and Leger (1984, 182-3) note that generally, young gays share a similarity of values such as hedonism, promiscuity and bar sociability and place much greater emphasis on the sexual element than do older homosexuals. The presence of shared beliefs and values however, would more commonly occur within a similar age cohort of homosexuals. In other words, although a group of youths may in fact, share comparable values and interests, the latter are also defined by sexual orientation and thus the depth of peer group commitment may also be contingent on the awareness of one's sexual identity.

Furthermore, it is not likely that the values and ideals of homosexuals are largely rejected by the majority of their heterosexual peers, particularly within the largely heterosexual milieu of high schools, colleges and universities. Thus, there appears to be a tendency toward a form of 'youth consciousness', not unlike class consciousness although the commitment and sharing of such a 'youth consciousness' must also be contingent on the sexual orientation of individual members of the youth cohort (Foner, 1978: 361)<sup>41</sup>.

Similarly, Harry (1982, 120) surmises that typical adolescent culture is primarily organized around such heterosexual relations as dating and sports which "...seems almost maximally ill-suited for the boy who is either cross-gendered, or experiencing homosexual desires, or both" (Harry, 1982: 28). Moreover, the author notes that "many gay men engage in normative heterosexual relations during adolescence" (Harry, 1982: 28).<sup>42</sup> Among homosexual adolescents, Harry suggests that much more



emphasis is placed on academic (and conforming) achievements which counterbalance the effects of peer isolation (1982, 140).

Moreover, evidence points to the process of adolescent 'defeminization' occurring earlier among heterosexuals (Harry, 1982: 24). This is contrasted with the homosexual adolescent's tendency to adopt more feminine mannerisms and engage in transgenderist behaviours such as camp. In addition, heterosexual males commonly adopt feminine characteristics (qualities of nurturing and sensitivity) in later life and conversely, homosexual males tend to become less feminine in older years of life (Demos, 1986: 121; Harry, 1982: 23). Perhaps this also suggests that the discos, sexual promiscuity and gay social events act as validating symbols for gay youth and that the individual's need (or desire) for identity reinforcement and/or validation of identity may decrease across the life course. In this way, an easy acceptance of one's homosexual self identity, social or familial group and partner are likely to correspond with increasing years of life.<sup>43</sup>

Age preferences among homosexuals manifest both divergence and similarity when compared to those of heterosexuals, although contradiction is apparent in studies of the latter. Harry and DeVall conclude that older heterosexual males prefer younger women (1978, 131). There is however, contradictory evidence suggesting that older male and female homosexuals prefer their own age cohort (Raphael and Robinson, 1980: 216), and that gay males over the age of forty or forty-five prefer younger partners (Harry and DeVall, 1978: 124-5; Harry, 1982: 205, 219).

The Distress of the Double Stigma: Old and Gay

Much of the literature points to a greater emphasis upon youth and physical attractiveness among homosexual males as compared to heterosexual males (Friend, 1987: 315; Harry, 1982: 219; Warren, 1974: 84-5; Hoffman, 1968: 52; Simon and Gagnon, 1973; Weinberg, 1970), and several authors claim that this is particularly apparent in gay bar settings.<sup>44</sup> Hooker (1967, 176) notes too that, "nothing is more conspicuous in the 'gay' bar market than the emphasis on appearance: on dress, manner and body build." Similarly, Hoffman comments that, "youth is very much at a premium" in such a mecca (Hoffman, 1968: 54) and proclaims that:

...virtually the sole criterion of value in the homosexual world is physical attractiveness, being young and handsome in gay life is like being a millionaire in a community where wealth is the only criterion of value (1968, 155).

In this way, much in the manner of conventional culture, "age segregation in the gay community often prevents older and younger gay men from checking out their possibly erroneous assumptions about each other" (Berger, 1982: 29). As Blachford suggests, "age stratification is also prevalent with its stigma against being old in this society and a worship of the idea of youth itself" (Blachford, 1981: 186). Vacha adds that a double stigma exists for the older male homosexual - "the old and unmarried" (1985, 193). Nelson adds that assigning tabula rasa status to the newborn and obsolescence to the old means that, "ageism is the shroud our culture wraps around death, making it impossible for people even to acknowledge their fears much less examine them" (1985, 124).

The Genesis of Gay World Age Structure

Berger claims that problems among older homosexuals are largely a consequence of their relative invisibility in the gay community such that they generally lack specialized support services to provide counsel and advice in times of loss of a partner, death and bereavement (1982, 13-14). The author also contends that most gay communities remain primarily oriented to younger people and therefore offer few (if any) older role models. As a result, older gay people become increasingly isolated from heterosexual and homosexual communities as a result of the lack of supports and meeting areas for homosocial interaction (1982, 14). The author also notes that elder gays homosexuals have been taxpayers for a good portion of their lives but receive few social services in return (Berger, 1982: 14).

There is some contention regarding the question of whether homosexuals encounter unique problems related to aging and later life.<sup>45</sup> Kelly (1977, 331) and Vacha (1985, 191-4) note that the gay elder frequently experiences particular problems of discrimination during processes of illness, death and bereavement processes. In particular, the same-sex partner of a gay man or lesbian is often denied hospital and chronic care nursing home visitation (in some emergency situations, and particularly in Intensive Care Units where only blood relatives are permitted), experience interference in the administration of burial and funeral service arrangements, and is often denied possession of joint or

personal property as designated in the will of the deceased partner.

The appropriation of such rights is often a result of conflict, homophobia and failure to recognize the validity of the remaining partner's previous relationship with the deceased. This is generally expressed by the biological family, their legal representative and a (perceived) dominant familial status in relation to the deceased. It is these dilemmas which have encouraged gay men and lesbians to politicize and to publicize their concerns in such areas and in so doing, to challenge the present status of differential heterosexual and homosexual rights and privileges.

The situation as previously described by Berger has undergone much change during the current decade. Gay men and lesbians, many of them aware that they will have no children (and inadequate pensions for some lesbians) or close family members to provide physical and emotional care for them if necessary during later years, are mobilizing to create specific services to meet their own needs. Many gay people envision exclusively-gay and lesbian nursing homes, retirement centres and apartment complexes for gay seniors.

Currently, there are numerous community organizations (the largest of which include the New York-based SAGE (Senior Action in a Gay Environment) which was founded in 1977 as the first organization to address the unique needs of older gays and lesbians, and G.L.O.E. (Gay and Lesbian Outreach to Elders) a social service and outreach program for the over sixty age cohort)<sup>46</sup>; groups such as Older Lesbian Energy, a

support group in Arlington, Massachusetts, SOL (Slightly Older Lesbians), a support and social group for the over thirty, with branches in Berkeley, San Jose, San Diego, Denver and Santa Cruz, the SSGLC (Society for Senior Gay and Lesbian Citizens), a support and social group in Los Angeles for the fifty-five and older and Operation Concern, a gay and lesbian elder community outreach program in San Francisco<sup>47</sup>; and specially-designed publications (such as Broomstick, published in San Francisco for all women over forty, Holiday Bulletin, a Minneapolis correspondence club which provides for contact with and between older gay men, and Golden Threads, a Massachusetts contact magazine for lesbians over fifty.<sup>48</sup>

Although the age structure of the gay world is still embryonic, there is evidence which suggests that in future, it will crystallize, becoming an important issue for political campaigns, special interest groups and community support service organizations. Just as exclusive milieux have been created for the young gay and lesbian (youth telephone lines and referral services, support groups and after-hours unlicensed discos and dance clubs), associations of Gay Fathers and Lesbian Mothers, so too, are we witnessing the emergence of unique social, support and special interest groups, bars which cater to older clientele<sup>49</sup> and alternative living arrangements for elder gays and lesbians. There is little doubt that in future, such groups for older gays will coalesce into an important part of the movement and will effect social change in the gay world and the mainstream.

## CAPITALIST ENTERPRISE: THE HIGH COST OF LIBERATION

The increased expansion of what was once a 'gay ghetto' has continued throughout the 1980s. A new omnipotent generation of commercial and consumer-oriented business enterprises now thrive in most large urban centres with visible gay communities. Moreover, it becomes increasingly apparent that many of the links and supports integral to the lesbian and gay nexus of the 1970s have now become commodities in the modern gay world. Coupled with a growing sense of sophistication, gay organizations have evolved into bureaucratic institutions replete with a myriad of geographical branches, many of them comprised of hierarchies of technocratic efficiency experts, administrative specialists, intellectual substrata and entrepreneurial aspirations. The tendency of centralized gay community services and operations to shift from non-profit status to consummate incorporation means that profit-making and in a word, capitalism, reign as more recent and central concerns of the gay world.<sup>53</sup>

In recent years, the cover charge for entry into the lesbian and gay bars has increased, as has the price of drinks. This appears to be a primary consequence of the need for such environs, the high business risk and the demand of the patrons (Newton, 1972: 115). Thus, the high rates of demand, coupled with a lack of alternatives in many communities results in higher prices. In larger cities, where there are often several gay and lesbian bars and social alternatives, competition frequently helps to control cover and drink charges. Moreover, when business owners raise

prices and discover their patrons willing or able to cover the increased costs, there is, in the interests of profit margins and business enterprise, no reason not to do so.

To be a gay person earlier in the movement (throughout the mid 1970s and early 1980s) was a much more satisfying and less costly endeavour. Many of the special publications, bibliographic materials, original gay and lesbian novels, and collectible items were (as few as seven and eight years ago) less than half the price of what most of these items sell for today. As the market demand has increased, prices seem to have risen accordingly. Furthermore, although there are more books, magazines and journals written primarily by and for gay men and lesbians on the market, many of the popular classics are out of print or impossible to find. Collections of early magazines and newsletters are available only to the affluent and occasionally, individual volumes may be unearthed by an exclusive antiquary bookseller. In addition, more recent writings and reprint editions are costly and must be ordered direct from an American or British publishing company (which again, increases the cost substantially).

Conventional (non-gay) entrepreneurs have also begun to realize the potential market for lesbian and gay greeting cards, lapel pins, games<sup>51</sup>, cassettes and records, posters, books, magazines, jewellery and coffee mugs. Several of these items may now be found by browsing carefully in specialty jewellery boutiques, small flea markets and surplus outlets, novelty distributors and general gift stores as well as in

exclusive gay gift and book stores. Other items, such as Pride Day paraphernalia, are often sold by independent non-gays on the street or in the park area during the Pride Day celebrations.

Vendors often wave at marchers and other participants and proclaim that their wares must be seen. It is often easy to distinguish these merchants from their gay and lesbian counterparts by the goods they have for sale. Collections of black and white metal triangles, rock group buttons, nondescript tee-shirts, sundry vogue sunglasses, costume jewellery (emblazoned with peace signs, motorbicycle logos and an array of indeterminate designs) and improper pink triangles (apex pointing upward instead of down) quickly permits recognition of the non-gay vendors hoping to 'cash in' on a celebration which largely excludes them. It would seem that:

Weber's "spirit of capitalistic enterprise" is time-and-space-bound, but the spirit of the innovating enterpriser has flowered in Periclean Greece as well as in Reformation England and in the United States (Lee, 1966: 271).

Moreover, it is worthy of note that a percentage of funds received at gay business and support booths is frequently remitted in one form or another to the gay community at large. This is clearly not the case with most conventional entrepreneurs.



## CONCLUSION

Much of the extant sociological literature fails to capture the diversity and complexity of the modern gay world. In particular, Breton (1954) and Harry and DeVall (1978) have overlooked the significance of cultural artifacts and political structures upon 'subcultural' evolution. Many sociologists (Lee, 1979 in particular) have neglected the importance of 'deviant' consciousness in subcultural development and, in the manner of Best and Luckenbill (1982) fail to acknowledge the cumulative nature of, and interplay between, various levels of 'deviant' organizational sophistication.

Lee (1979) also examines gay communities as ecological territories in terms of the varying degrees of institutional completeness. This perspective fails to account for the significance of gay culture and consciousness in subcultural organization and evolutionary development. However, as in mainstream culture, the cultural artifacts and materials of the gay world fragment, shift and combine to form social structures and institutions which aim to serve the lesbian and gay population. Moreover, the images, events, nuances, conversations and gay occasions - both mundane and spectacular - transcend the territorial and geographical boundaries of each particular gay community.

The institutionalization<sup>52</sup> of the gay world finds as its parallels the black civil rights movement and the women's movement, both of which have generated specialized services, institutions and unique structural

characteristics. The growing politicization of homosexuality in which 'private troubles' are transformed into 'public issues' (Mills, 1959) has stimulated a movement among gay men and lesbians from 'the closets to the courts', and engendered a shift from techniques of accommodation to those of litigation. This has subsequently created increasing heterogeneity and factionalism between members of the gay world and dissention between this culture and the mainstream. Much of this conflict is a product of the strategic opposition between the conservative 'homophile old guard' (pro-accommodation) and the growing bloc of radical activists (pro-confrontation). Similar forms of discord are apparent among gay men, lesbians and the dominant culture.

The politicization of homosexuality has also coincided with the growth of gender politics within the gay world and the dominant culture. The relationship between gay men and lesbians has fluctuated between solidarity and conflict. Some gay men and lesbians continue to establish cross-gender relationships which are based largely upon a sense of common history, stigma and shared cultural artifacts. Others define themselves as distinctly gay or lesbian and these interpretations are based on particular political ideologies in addition to the subordinate or superordinate social status assigned respectively to male and female by a patriarchal culture.

The advent of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) has also stimulated both unity and discord among members of the gay world and the dominant culture. As several authors have observed (notably Shilts, 1987;

Crimp, 1988; Altman, 1986; Kramer, 1989 and Miller, 1989), AIDS originally created much dissention among gay men (and between gay men and lesbians). However, a gradual cognizance of the severity and complexity of the disease has resulted in heightened solidarity and group mobilization among and between gay men and lesbians. AIDS has also inspired the creation of a specialized and unique service infrastructure and innovative institutional arrangements in addition to the acceleration of civil rights litigation and challenges to extant clauses and charters of human rights.

There are other emerging structures, institutions and organizations which continue to evolve and to develop at a relatively rapid pace. An examination of the recent literature on gay aging, the rites-of-passage unique to gay men and lesbians and the double stigma of old and gay provides evidence for the existence of an emergent, albeit fledgling, crystallization of age structure in the gay world. This is a relatively recent phenomenon and may in fact, coincide with the current focus on the aged in the dominant culture, and recent developments in the fields of geriatrics and social gerontology.

Another recent phenomenon within the gay world concerns the dilemma of gay and lesbian liberation. In the 1980s, liberation has become, for many gay men and lesbians, a capitalist enterprise. In other words, as larger numbers of individuals have begun to patronize gay bars, restaurants, guest houses and book stores, consumer costs have increased accordingly. Cover charges and rising liquor prices are now commonplace at many gay establishments. This is particularly apparent in the smaller

cities and towns which offer few alternatives and little competition for the one or two gay or gay-positive businesses that do exist.

Conventional (non-gay) and gay entrepreneurs have also become cognizant of the potential, and relatively untapped, consumer market among gay men and lesbians. Signs, symbols and iconographic materials (emblazoned on buttons, jewellery, clothing and calenders) have become marketplace commodities. First edition books, obscure chronicles and early movement periodicals and magazines are difficult to acquire and when available, fees for original or reprint editions are generally prohibitive.

Lesbian and gay books, bibliographies and buttons were once available free of charge at various special events and community celebrations. Generally, such items are now available for a fee, although they are often in limited supply. Thus, what was once a 'gay ghetto' has now become part and parcel of the capitalist market and can, when the product and location are popular or unique, be an extremely lucrative endeavour. To be a gay man or lesbian in the late 1980s or early 1990s is a much more costly endeavour than during the early years of the movement. Such is the price of the new emancipation.

## END NOTES

1. The Universal Federation of Metropolitan Community Churches, based in Los Angeles is the largest international and gay religious organization. The UFMCC, with a total of 264 existing chapters worldwide (209 across the United States, 14 chapters in Canada, and 41 throughout Latin America, Europe and Australia), is the first enduring gay religious federation. The Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), "a prime example of a thoroughly institutionalized concretion of a change movement" (Humphreys, 1972: 156), was originally founded by Reverend Troy Perry in 1968 as a non-denominational church. MCC offers worship services, 'unions' (gay bondings, sometimes referred to as marriages) and social events for gays and lesbians.

There are also several other religious organizations throughout the world including Dignity/Dignite (Catholic), Integrity (Episcopalian), Affirmation (Mormon), Lutherans Concerned and Chutzpah (Jewish). These however are mainline denominations and function independently of the MCC. Other gay religious support groups include Seventh Day Adventist Kinship, Gay Buddhists and Christian Scientists. Rueda estimated that a total of 331 gay American religious congregations, independent of the MCC, were formed by 1980 (1982, 272). He also noted that, "one of the ways in which the homosexual movement becomes part of (sometimes even central to) religious networks is by working with other churches on 'social action' projects" (Rueda, 1982: 287).

As Teal suggests, "Perry's churches for homosexuals...have been criticized for their encouragement of separatism" (1971, 280), although perhaps they should also be commended for allowing many to express their personal religious convictions in an atmosphere of acceptance. The alternative of course, after relinquishing mainstream church worship, is to wholly forsake organized religion.

In Canada, the Council on Homosexuality and Religion (Winnipeg, Manitoba) functions in much the same manner. The CHR was founded in 1976 and registered as a non-profit corporation in 1977, achieving the status of charitable organization in 1979. The organization serves primarily as a referral service for information, education and public awareness, contact personnel and a clearing house for publications, many of which are printed and distributed by the CHR.

New Ways Ministry, based in Mount Ranier, Maryland, serves as a centre for networking, support services and advocacy for gay and lesbian Catholics. NWM was founded in 1977, incorporated as a non-profit tax exempt corporation in 1978, and currently publishes a quarterly newsletter entitled Bondings. Rueda once claimed that:

Although the power for which they are competing is ecclesiastical, it is still power and both Dignity and New Ways Ministry are essentially *political* organizations jockeying for positions within the Catholic Church (1982, 367).

2. Lesbian and Gay Pride Day is referred to by many annual participants as an 'institution'.

3. The relationships and political factionalism between gay men have been discussed implicitly in this thesis. However, more detailed investigations have previously been accomplished by various authors. See for example, De Cecco and Shivley, 1978; Marotta, 1981; Altman, 1982; D'Emilio, 1983; McWhirter and Mattison, 1984; Goodwin, 1989; Kramer, 1989; and Miller, 1989.

4. On October 1, 1989, eleven gay male couples were legally married in the town hall of Copenhagen, Denmark. Denmark is now the first country in the world to legalize gay marriages (Wockner, 1989: 4).

5. In a landmark 1989 decision, an Ottawa judge has declared that prohibiting 'private family visits' between a gay inmate and his lover constitutes a violation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and thus must be permitted (The Hamilton Spectator, November 7, 1989: A3). This is an important first step toward a crystallized redefinition of the family, which includes gay and lesbian couples both with, and without, children. It is also a significant milestone for future revisions of gay and lesbian hospital visitation rights, insurance benefits and legal codification of wills and testimonials.

6. Such as the gay-positive segments of (the character 'Francesca') the popular Tracy Ullman Show and the popular sitcom, 'Cheers'. Other gay media success include Tony Awards for best actor and best play for Harvey Fierstein's (play and film) "Torch Song Trilogy", an Oscar awarded to Robert Epstein for his docudrama, "The Life and Times of Harvey Milk", the success of recent plays dealing with AIDS, William Hoffman's Broadway hit, "As Is" and Larry Kramer's "The Normal Heart".

7. See, for example, Arnold Bruner's report to Mayor Arthur Eggleton and the Council of the City of Toronto, Out of the Closet: Study of Relations Between the Homosexual Community and the Police, Toronto, Ontario: 1981.

8. It is also the gregariousness of gay people, which Hamilton refers to as, "the herding instinct among gays" (1973, 192-96), which continues to make subsequent gay world evolution possible.

9. It has not been my intention to provide historical minutiae, particularistic details of individual gay or homosexual activist networking, or an in-depth analysis of congressional and political developments. These have been well-documented elsewhere by Adam (1987), D'Emilio (1983 and 1981), Marotta (1981), Boswell (1980), Steakley (1975), Sweet (1975), Tobin and Wicker (1972), Teal (1971) and others. Political candidates and supporters of the American gay movement, including Henry Wallace, Mayor John Lindsey, Senator Edward Kennedy, President Jimmy

Carter, Mayor Dianne Feinstein, Mayor Edward Koch and Governor Jerry Brown have been discussed by Rueda (1982), The Advocate, The Body Politic and Christopher Street and others.

10. In like manner, Weitz also claims that, "...the feminist movement was and is based on the premise that the personal is political" (1984, 246).

11. Davis and Kennedy suggest that the early lesbian role-playing served as a form of resistance to social oppression. The authors argue that, "...with the development of the political activities of gay liberation, explicitly political organizations and tactics replaced butch-fem roles in leading the resistance to gay oppression" (1986, 24).

12. Rueda suggests that:

Organizations are nothing but extensions of the relationships among individuals. The primacy of individuals in social and political activism is often lost because of our tendency to think of social structures as absolute (1982, 419).

13. Although, Mohr argues that such a coalescence will inevitably result in failure, primarily because the goals of each movement are not identical (1988, 328).

14. Weitz contends however, that "...the male gay liberation movement never truly developed a political theory of homosexuality and homophobia, but simply created a more activist civil libertarian position" (1984, 246).

15. As recently as 1970-1971, according to the United States Department of Labour, known homosexuals were forbidden to hold state licences for more than fifty-five occupations. This meant that homosexuals were prohibited from becoming accountants, barbers, dentists, lawyers, liquor store owners, physicians, plumbers, real estate brokers, cab drivers, veterinarians and of course, teachers, among others (U.S. Department of Labour, 1970-71).

16. Ricketts and Achtenberg note that gays were permitted to act as foster parents as recently as 1973 in Chicago (1987, 90). Moreover, the first legal adoption by an overtly gay male couple took place in Los Angeles in March of 1979 (1987, 92).

17. Garrison (1989, 28-9) coined this term to refer to the one thousand or more babies that have been born in San Francisco, Boston, Washington and New York to gay and lesbian couples in the past five years.

18. Such as the Bay Area San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Parenting Group, founded in 1983, which now supports an estimated membership of over three hundred (Garrison, 1989: 28).

19. These include Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Illinois, North Dakota, Ohio and Oregon. Wisconsin, New Mexico, Vermont and Nebraska have specifically decriminalized sodomy (Mohr, 1988; ILPA, 1988; Simpson, 1976).

20. These include: East Lansing, Ann Arbor and Detroit, Michigan; Alfred, New York; Seattle, Washington; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Boulder, Colorado; Berkeley and San Francisco, California; and Columbus Ohio (ILPA, 1988).

21. Including Egypt, Madagascar, Senegal, Argentina, Aruba, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, Netherlands Antilles, Peru, Uruguay, Iraq, Israel, South Korea, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Spain and Canada (ILPA, 1988). Moreover, as Mohr notes, Canada decriminalized gay sex in 1969 as a response to Prime Minister Trudeau's now celebrated claim that, "the state does not belong in the bedrooms of the nation" (1988, 94).

22. These include: California, Washington, Oregon, Alaska, Indiana, New York and South Carolina (ILPA, 1988).

23. Including Denmark, Sweden and San Francisco (ILPA, 1988).

24. Perhaps it is worthwhile to broach the question of whether the term 'minority' appropriately captures the homosexual population. Since Moore suggests that characteristics of minorities include: 1) a special history often involving 2) discrimination and the creation of primarily negative stereotypes and the common development of 3) a form of subculture, with 4) a variety of "coping structures" (1976, 237), we might agree that there are important, albeit superficial, similarities.

Kinsman argues, on the other hand, that gay affirmation of 'minority status' merely constitutes an attempt to claim the legitimacy and respectability accorded to particular minority groups (1987, 191). According to Stephen O. Murray, who compared the Toronto gay community and the city's ethnic community of the 1970s, "...only in terms of familistic orientation is there a difference between the urban gay community and urban ethnic communities" (1979, 172). However, we ought not to disregard the fact that the extant pattern of familial organization is, after all, one of the primary characteristics upon which social and political distinctions between gays and non-gays is based.

25. Recent personal correspondence from Gay and Lesbian Democrats of America (Washington, DC) lists seventy-one democratic clubs across the United States (GLDA, June 1, 1989).



26. Although Shilts argues that the political persona of the late Harvey Milk (San Francisco City Supervisor) was not as pivotal as the timing of his election to office and subsequent assassination. In his view:

The entire story of the life and death of Harvey Milk rang so true to the experiences of gays throughout the country because it already seemed a part of the homosexual collective unconscious, even before it happened; that it happened to one man in San Francisco was a mere formality (1982, 348).

27. A brief list of openly-gay elected officials includes Elaine Noble (State Legislator, Massachusetts, 1974), Svend Robinson (Member of Parliament, Ontario and British Columbia, current), the late Harvey Milk (San Francisco City Supervisor, 1978), Art Agnos (Mayor, San Francisco, current), Harry Britt (San Francisco President, Board of Supervisors, current) and Barney Frank (Congressional Representative, Massachusetts, current).

28. According to Jacobs, the San Francisco-based Human Rights Campaign Fund, is currently "one of the top ten independent American PACS" (1989a, 35).

29. Personal communication from Dr. Richard A. Brymer, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario (December 1989).

30. Gay men and lesbians have long debated the issue of 'appropriately defined' homosexuality in terms of its meaning and gender affiliation. Thompson (1985, 56) claims that in assuming the term homosexual is universally applicable to gay men and lesbians one participates in a 'category mistake' as the distinction between the two is abundantly clear. In a similar manner, Stanley (1978, 124-5) cites the separation lesbians and gay men according to the dissimilarity of their respective lifestyles. She argues that since, "there are lesbians and there are homosexuals...we need the terminological distinction in order to do justice to the two different kinds of experience" (Stanley, 1978: 124-5).

Warren however suggests that,

A homosexual identity is distinguished from a gay identity by the gay community, although not by the stigmatizing society. A homosexual identity simply describes one's sexual orientation, whereas a gay identity implies affiliation with the gay community in a cultural and social sense (1974, 149-50).

This is not a popular distinction in the academic literature, although it frequently appears in the current newsletters, bar rags and magazines, published by and for the gay world. There is no real consensus regarding the appropriate terminology and it is frequently a consequence of one's individual choice and political status (conservative or militant).

31. It is important to note that, as Weeks contends, "...the very extension and broadening of the available sexual categories as a result of the women's and gay movements points to their disintegration as unitary categories" (1982, 306).

32. In 1970 popular lesbian writer Rita Mae Brown (author of Sudden Death, Six of One, Rubyfruit Jungle, Bingo and many other works) was dismissed from NOW on the grounds of lesbianism.

33. Lewis refers to the polarization of lesbian communities (closeted or private lesbians and activist or public lesbians) as the 'subculture gap' (1979, 63).

34. Local gay communities varied in the degree of outrage and response to the crisis of AIDS. In this case, this very diversity underscores the dilemma of generalizing behaviour on a 'world level'. However, many of the AIDS activists of the early 1980s, AIDS victims and community spokespersons collectively underwent experiences similar to the five stages of dying (see Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, On Death and Dying, New York: Macmillan Inc., 1969).

35. This article is summarized by Shilts (1987, 244-45) and reproduced in its entirety by Kramer (1989, 33-50).

36. A contradiction seems apparent in the present escalation of mainstream interest in homosexuality and aging and the growing concern (both lay and professional) regarding increasing numbers of homosexuals (and others) afflicted with AIDS, ARC and ARC-II and HIV-carrier status. Is such an interest, like the posthumous compassion offered to dead heroes, sparked only because so many are dying, or is it perhaps a response to the fact that both homosexuals and heterosexuals are contracting the disease and related symptomatology?

37. Stanley however, asks the provocative question, "have you ever wondered why if heterosexuality is, in fact, "natural", it had to be institutionalized?" (1978, 125).

38. Several authors suggest that the process of coming out usually occurs at a median age of nineteen or twenty years (Harry, 1982: 134; Harry and DeVall, 1978: 64; Dank, 1971). However, there appear to be countless cases in which this process occurs earlier in adolescence or much later in the life course.

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In the usual complicated dialectic of self-affirmation of groupness and the perception of a group by others, a realization has come that emergent communities are potential lucrative markets: a profit can be made from groups in search of an identity and a heritage. When repression gives way to repressive tolerance, minority groups become special markets and have commodities symbolizing group membership tailored for them...(Murray, 1979: 173).

### SUMMARY

Many of the concepts associated 'deviant subcultures' in the sociological literature fail to provide adequate means by which to describe the evolutionary development of the gay world and emergent structures and institutions. However, specific recent developments in the theoretical 'state of the art' provide constructs which are useful in exploring the genesis and on-going evolution of this world. In particular, Breton's original formulation of 'institutional completeness' (1964), its later application to the study of the territorial gay 'community' (Lee, 1979) and the more recent synthesis of process and organization sophistication (Best and Luckenbill, 1982) have guided the conceptual framework of this thesis, and the characterization of the

emergent gay world.

Most of these theories have in general however, failed to capture the cultural materials (historical patterns and increasing consciousness and internalization, iconography, assorted community and territorial milieux, publishing and press, argot and rhetoric) and structural features (the politicization of homosexuality, gender and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) and recent and emerging phenomena such as age grade systems, structural and institutional development and the repercussions of market consumption and capitalism on the liberation movement within the modern gay world. This has been discussed in extensive detail in Chapter One which furnished a background in the history of subcultural theory. The remainder of the thesis was based primarily upon a reconceptualization of the social organization of gay men and lesbians.

Chapter Two outlined the history of the relations between the members of the gay world and conventional culture, which are generally personified by persistent intolerance, oppression, persecution and social conflict. The early history of same-sex relations (the sixteenth to the nineteenth century), the effects of the shift from agrarian production to industrial capitalism, the early homosexual rights movement in Germany (1897-1935) and the social conditions perpetuated by World War Two were examined in terms of their relationship to the development of early homosexual consciousness and community.

Synopses of significant watershed events of the post-war period illustrated the processes of causation, growth, transformation and in a

word, evolution, integral to the development of gay world organizational sophistication and organization. This discussion contributed to the cognizance of the processes inherent to the development of lesbian and gay consciousness, organizational sophistication, institutional completeness, cultural and structural diversity and in general, the evolution of gay and conventional communities, the dominant culture and the gay world.

The genesis and codification of shared signs, symbols, rhetoric and argot (lesbian and gay iconography) were discussed in detail in Chapter Three in order to illustrate the richness and diversity of what now comprises modern gay culture. A lack of consensus regarding the origins and meanings of many of the symbols, argot and slang is one of the consequences of their co-optation by the mainstream.

Many sociologists (eg. Breton, 1954 and Lee, 1979) have overlooked the importance of consciousness among 'deviant' groups and have therefore failed to examine relevant cultural materials and artifacts. Several British theorists (eg. J. Clarke, 1975; Hall and Jefferson, 1975; Hebdige, 1979; and Brake, 1980) have emphasized the importance of consciousness and iconography upon cultural organization and evolution, and have contributed significantly to sociological discourse.

This chapter also examined the development of a common self and group consciousness as apparent in the vast assortment of media produced primarily during the last four decades. The latter includes early periodicals, community calendars, bar rags, glossy news magazines, poetry

and novels, scholarly journals and small independent lesbian and gay presses in addition to mainstream gay and lesbian-oriented films.

An outline of the history of gay and lesbian bars and an examination of the proxemics, roles, stereotypes and camp have demonstrated the manner by which these milieux continue to serve as entry points, symbols, media, community centres and institutions, in terms of their territorial locations in various communities. The bars retain significant functions in the modern gay world in that they provide a buffer against stigma (although at times entry into or egress from a gay bar may reinforce public censure), a pool of potential friendship networks and sexual partners, and a grapevine of community events and information. This chapter, in large part patterned on British perspectives, explored the cultural artifacts by which gay men and lesbians perceive, interpret and organize their experiences, realities and, in fact, their world.

The mosaic of gay and lesbian social milieux, committees, institutions, religious chapters, political organizations, referral and support programs, special interest and working groups, counselling, educational and public awareness programs, alternative media, entertainment and publishing, and recreation and leisure group activities which have developed as responses to the dominant culture, are considerable. Moreover, Rueda refers to the proliferation of professional caucuses and special interest groups as the "intellectual substratum" (1982, 44) of the gay world. A brief list of Canadian examples includes the Gay Academic Union, Gay Library Association, Gay and Lesbian Caucus

for the Modern Languages, a special interest group affiliated with the Modern Language Association, Canadian Lesbian and Gay History Network (founded in 1985 as a joint project between University of Toronto and the Canadian Gay Archives), and the Gay and Lesbian Resource Centre (established as a response to the dissolution of the Winnipeg Gay Community Centre in 1988).

Chapter Four introduced and interpreted a distinctive and contemporaneous typology which delineates distinct levels of 'pre-world' gay and lesbian communities, each composed of varying degrees of institutional completeness and organizational sophistication. These levels were referred to, in ascending order, as the 'commuter zone', the 'occasional community', the 'middle range', 'further development' and 'pre-world' (highest) community development. Each of these levels were outlined in detail, augmented by current figures, illustrative examples and ethnographic data.

This chapter proposed that each of these levels, concurrently similar and distinct from the others, exist simultaneously as components and vehicles for the enhancement, modification and creation of the gay world as whole. Most of these communities share a common stigma, iconography, cultural artifacts and vernacular, although the extent and complexity of these features differ according to the level of existing organizational and institutional development. Thus, the degree and sophistication of political, religious, media, recreational and service structures of each area were seen to vary. The link which ties these

various communities together is the gay world proper. The sense of shared gay culture, identity, ideology and information networks serve as the cohesive bonds of this world.

The gay world subsumes all lower levels of organization, creating an interplay within and between these communities and the mainstream. However, the development of the gay world also impedes the expansion, development and reconstruction of smaller communities and renders many of them non-essential. There are two reasons for this: first, it is not uncommon for a local culture in the process of perishing to be integrated into a larger community, becoming a component of the larger whole rather than struggling to survive as a separate entity. Secondly, as particular gay communities become more institutionally complete, these alternatives draw residents and motivation away from the smaller communities, reducing their potential for further development and evolution. These forms of redundancy are more likely to occur within the lower levels of development ('commuter zones' and 'occasional communities').

Chapter Five outlined the ways in which the modern gay world and the mainstream are modified, transformed and enhanced by the various communities, politicization and discord which encompass gender politics and the more recent issues and challenges propagated by the cataclysm of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). Patterned primarily on the black civil rights and women's movements, the increasing politicization of homosexuality and subsequent transfer of gay men and lesbians from the 'closets to the courts' is an effective means by which to transform



'private troubles' into 'public issues' (Mills, 1959).

Moreover, this politicization has meant that bonds of oppression, identity, culture and history once common among many gay men and lesbians now flourish concurrently with increasing (intra-community and intra-world) heterogeneity, diversity and factionalism. This chapter briefly explored some of the more salient issues involved in determining relationships of solidarity and conflict, between gay men and lesbians, and among lesbians. In the case of gender politics and sexual orientation, it is clear that the 'personal is political' (Weitz, 1984: 246).

The appearance of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) has also generated both unity and discord among and between members of the gay world and the mainstream. At present, it appears that solidarity and mobilization, particularly among gay men, have inspired the creation of a unique service infrastructure and institutional innovation. In addition, civil rights litigation and lobbying aimed at challenging the existing human rights legislation has accelerated. The politics surrounding the AIDS controversy were examined only briefly in this chapter since this has previously been accomplished by numerous others, the most comprehensive of which include Altman (1986), Shilts (1987), Crimp (1988), Kramer (1989) and Miller (1989).

Chapter five also presented a brief review of the current literature on gay aging. An examination of lesbian and gay rites of passage and the double stigma of old and gay pointed to a recent and

accelerating cognizance of the special needs of the lesbian and gay aged. The emergence of gay and lesbian age structures and a corresponding service infrastructure also suggests that the organizational sophistication and institutional completeness of the gay world is continuing to evolve and to expand. Generally, a heightened awareness of problems unique to gay men and lesbians is crystallizing in the evolution of special structures to deal with these problems and with the everyday social realities of the *gay world*.

The final and most recent phenomenon of this evolution concerns the impact of modern liberation on the gay world as a whole. Chapter Five hypothesized that the relative emancipation of the present movement demands both financial and emotional sacrifices among gay world members. This has not been previously explored in the literature and was largely tentative speculation, based exclusively upon recent observations and experiences of the author. In general, mainstream and gay world entrepreneurs are becoming more aware of the relatively untapped consumer potential of gay men and lesbians. As more conventional and gay industrialists begin to escalate prices, decrease quality, stock limited supplies, and place a premium on goods and services which were once free for the asking, what was once referred to as the 'gay ghetto' is increasingly emerging as a bureaucratic enterprise, firmly entrenched in the capitalist system of the dominant culture. These are but a few of the costs associated with the modern liberation of the gay world.

## DISCUSSION

Research and investigation in the area of the gay 'world' is currently hindered by its novel and ephemeral qualities which arise as a consequence of its emergent and evolutionary nature. One of the difficulties is that, while I do not propose that the gay world be considered a reified sociological construct but rather an existing social and hence, sociological reality, one cannot be entirely certain that it is manifestly corporeal to the impartial non-gay, neophyte observer, rural or surreptitious gay, or to the critical sociologist. It appears evident that, for the urban gay academic, gay male or lesbian participant, this gay world exists as a highly visible and corporeal entity. Moreover, such a level of organization is particularly conspicuous for the residents and participants who traverse this world and experience its essence, since, "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Thomas and Thomas, 1928: 572).

Theoretically, individuals who so desire could remain primarily, although not yet fully, within the milieu of the gay world. They would be expected generally to conform to normative laws (e.g. rules governing criminal behaviours, vehicular speed limits, drinking and driving regulations), standard moral principles and orthodox codes of (public and private) social conduct. It appears that the existing level of institutional completeness has not yet reached such a degree that contact with the larger culture is considered unnecessary.

Just as there are laws, norms, rules, social conventions and codes of conduct which must be obeyed, so too, are there a miscellany of goods and services which are not yet available solely within the confines of the gay world. These goods and services include grocery, alcoholic, personal hygiene and drug-related articles; emergency medical care, dental, educational, postal, telephone, electrical, housekeeping, consulting, employment and repair services; and an assortment of business, housing and employment opportunities. This does not imply that gay people are generally excluded from participation in these areas, but rather that they still constitute a relatively invisible minority within these occupations.

That these aggregate gay communities have coalesced and acquired a 'world' level of organizational sophistication ought now to be apparent.

In sum,

...in large metropolitan areas, acceptance of homosexuality has grown and will continue to grow, among several segments of the population, heterosexual as well as homosexual. This can only lead, as some observers have pointed out to diversification, integration, and the spread of several interrelated homosexual worlds...in large metropolitan areas, many of these already exist and have become communities in their own right (Rubington, 1982, 52).

It is these various communities which together constitute, and thus make possible, the existing gay world.

That single events such as Gay and Lesbian Pride Day, or the closing of a gay bar, a raid on a book store or bath house, or the street 'bashing' of a gay man, is comprehensible to other cultures, languages, races and religions, suggests that the gay world is truly interrelated. Moreover, that particular experiences, events or phrases conjure up

similar images among gay people everywhere is evidence for a shared gay cultural and symbolic universe, or in other words, a gay world.

It must be emphasized that as these communities and their cultural artifacts, institutions and structures continue to evolve, they modify and enhance much of the landscape of the gay world in addition to that of the mainstream. Moreover, it should be stressed that this analysis of the gay world has been developed in terms of an ethnographic present as a consequence of the continuing processes of emergence and evolution. This world, as it is portrayed herein, has already undergone change and transformation and, since we cannot hold evolution constant nor social organization stationary, it is almost immediately consigned to an historical past. Thus, the gay world which has been represented in this thesis must be viewed with a cognizance of its temporal and approximate nature.

#### The Future of the Gay World: A Few Remarks

The gay world of the 1990s will likely continue to expand and to evolve as a consequence of increased lobbying for gay rights (insurance benefits, legalized marriages or 'unions' and new forms of lesbian and gay spousal and family legislation) and will yield more visible and numerous extended gay families (adoption, in-vitro fertilization and artificial insemination). It would seem that future support of gays and

lesbians by mainstream politicians (newly cognizant of the potential voting bloc among gays and lesbians) will continue to increase and will serve to intensify visibility and acceptance of gay men and lesbians by the dominant majority. A good deal of the historical interaction between gay men, lesbians and the mainstream has been characterized by a general view and common fear of homosexual, homophile and gay people as 'subterranean others'. Much of mainstream public opinion in this regard has, however, acquired a considerably more positive orientation in recent years. As a result, as gay men and lesbians become increasingly more visible in the media, literature, academia, and everyday life, they may in fact become more accepted, more tolerated and more mundane.

Whether the gay world will, in future, become more discrete from, or integrated with, conventional culture is difficult to determine. However, I believe it is more likely that the two processes will occur simultaneously. That is, even as the gay world proceeds to nurture specialized and distinctive cultural artifacts, organizations and institutions and thus grows more discrete; this world will also expand its affiliation with the dominant culture, thus becoming more diffuse. The latter process will become increasingly apparent in the arena of gay politics, particularly in terms of AIDS, civil liberties and human rights issues in general.

In addition, the acceptance and integration of increased numbers of gay men and lesbians into mainstream political, occupational and professional opportunities (in the realm of judicial, educational,

religious and health care systems) will not serve to augment the extant degree of institutional completeness within a particular gay community. Rather, a high degree of gay assimilation into the mainstream will have just the opposite effect, and many will surely view this as desirable. Although such assimilation to conventional culture would have the effect of reducing institutional completeness, the likelihood is that it would also serve to expand and to render the boundaries of the 'gay world' more diffuse. Conversely, should gay men and lesbians continue to form new business partnerships, to patronize favourite gay and lesbians bars, restaurants, specialty shops, book stores and community centres and to struggle for gay rights and privileges, the predicament of segregation versus integration will endure.

Moreover, increasing consumerism and capitalist enterprise will expand the book stores, specialty shops and mail order products aimed at lesbians and gay men. It is plausible that extensive participation in the gay and lesbian marketplace, by conventional and gay entrepreneurs and business executives, will stimulate an inundation of high-priced gay and lesbian products such as icons, posters, movies and videos, books and glossy magazines, travel guides and other miscellaneous items.

In future, it will be efficacious to investigate whether the association of homosexual, gay or lesbian with 'deviant' is, in fact, an appropriate equation, given the evolution of the gay world. Several of the gay men and lesbians with whom I have spoken hypothesize that religion will be the final barrier prohibiting and challenging pedestrian

acceptance of homosexuality by the mainstream. An inquiry of this nature may constitute one of the more salient avenues for impending research and investigation.

Certainly other avenues for future exploration and sociological analyses include the redefinition of family, spousal issues, the crystallization of gay world age structure and institutional development, the social and ethical implications of AIDS during the 1990s, the reverberations of political factionalism and a detailed cost-benefit analysis of the conditions of modern liberation.

#### Concluding Note

While by no means a declaration of analytical completeness, the purpose of this thesis has incidentally become two-fold. Initially, the thesis was premised upon the development of a comprehensive perspective, and definition, of the gay world as "...a universe of meanings, carried by language, symbols and mythologies (as well as rituals and ideologies)" (Wax, 1980: 273) which is also comprised of variegated levels of organizational sophistication and institutional completeness. The 'gay world' has previously been referred to in the sociological and popular literature only as an abstracted reification, an ambiguous construct simultaneously interchangeable with subculture, sub-society, alternative lifestyle and territorial community. However, this thesis supports the



hypothesis that this world exists as a relatively recent, emerging and corporeal ethnographic unit: the *gay world*.

Secondly, it is hoped that in addition to the body of the text, the literature reviews, comprehensive reference notes, appendices and bibliographical information, will provide the reader with an adequate selection of introductory tools and alternative resources for further consideration, investigation and research. Should these resources also in some way benefit readers experiencing identity distress or historical curiosity, this thesis will then have achieved its supplementary goal.

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX I  
METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Preliminary Remarks

In a style comparable to that of John Lee (1979), much of the research data contained in this thesis has been collected through personal participation and observation. Many of the ideas and speculations are distinct products of the author's 'native' status in the *gay world* and fourteen year participation in various communities, lifestyles, organizations and political structures. Although many of the documents and archival materials exist largely within the public domain, it is imperative that one has acquired at least a partial understanding of how to begin the processes of specific data collection and information retrieval. Details and descriptions of the history, cultural artifacts, publishing and press, community development, organizational, political and service infrastructures, various milieux, and emerging institutions and structural features of the gay world are not always explicit in the annals of the popular press, public gay and lesbian chronicles, or dominant media. As a member of the gay world, I am certain that there were far fewer avenues closed to me, than I would have anticipated as an outsider.

Thus, in the fashion of Jant and Darsey (1981, 12), I wholly reject the claim of detachment, or dispassionate objectivity regarding the subject matter of this thesis. As a native of the group proposed as a

case history, I too feel that, "the disinterested pursuit of knowledge acquires, for its very virtues, the reputation of being unrelated to social realities" (Frye, 1967: 2). It is imperative that one makes an obvious effort to present "accurate labels that reflect[ed] the view of homosexuality as seen out of their own particular life's window" (Hayes, 1981: 33).

Certainly, there are pragmatic difficulties associated with the ethnographic research process. For this reason, it is important to remain cognizant of the fact that:

The ethnographer has much in common with the explorer trying to map a wilderness area. The explorer begins with a general problem, to identify the major features of the terrain; the ethnographer wants to describe the cultural terrain. Then the explorer begins gathering information, going first in one direction, then perhaps retracing that route, then starting out in a new direction...Like an ethnographer, the explorer is seeking to describe a wilderness area rather than trying to "find" something (Spradley, 1980: 26).

Indeed, the ethical issues involved in participant-observation research with groups publicly-labelled as 'deviant' are numerous. Those of paramount importance include the maintenance of confidentiality, the protection of anonymity and the acquisition of 'informed consent'. This is, however, not the occasion to discuss these issues in great detail, nor to investigate the sundry ethical implications of such research. This has been successfully accomplished by Becker (1966 and 1970), Brymer and Farris (1967), R. Wax (1971), Douglas (1976), May (1980), Thorne (1980), M. Wax (1980), and Taylor and Bogdan (1984).

It is sufficient for present purposes to note that, in research on

'deviant' subjects or communities and subsequent documentation, the primary difficulty is one of "multiple identities" (Chrisman, 1976; Thorne, 1980). As Chrisman suggests:

In addition to being observers, [fieldworkers] may have a work role...they may be a committed member of a group...they may share ethnic identity where that is a salient quality of participants...they may...be taken to be any number of things" (Thorne, 1980: 290).

Since, in the manner of Lee (1979) and others, I have acted as a 'deviant' much longer than an observer, or sociologist, there are certain moral underpinnings, values and biases which may have slightly modified the content or direction of this research. As Becker has observed, "we can never avoid taking sides" (1966, 245) and the material contained in this thesis makes no statement to the contrary. Certainly, it is apparent that a certain amount of bias contaminates the raw data of many participant-observation and ethnographic research studies. However, I make this clear at the outset and suggest that it is one of the fundamental limitations of the present study.

This work is not however aimed at advocacy scholarship and the attempt has been made to balance personal prejudices with sociological analyses and ethnographic data. Although it is frequently more difficult to remain objectively detached, it would seem that in this case, the advantages outweigh such an obstacle. It is desirable to regularly calibrate one's sociological lens in order to enhance cognizance of those activities, events and extant features of the group which are liable to be taken for granted. It is these features which commonly require

explanation as well as interpretation, and this is often the case with regard to lay readers, group members and sociologists alike. The honing of one's sociological lens is accomplished, in large part, by persistent exploration and dialogue with others who are both a part of, and distant from, the gay world. Often, this refers particularly to those external to the confines of sociology.

#### Method

As Glaser and Strauss have noted, "when someone stands in the library stacks, he is, metaphorically, surrounded by voices begging to be heard" (1967, 163). The same is true of a gay sociologist browsing in a gay book store or bar, attending a gay drag show, concert or social gaff. I have, as many others have done (eg. Cory, 1951 and 1964, Lee, 1979, Sagarin, 1979, Hayes, 1981, Shilts, 1982 and 1987), taken these observations as 'data' from numerous sources and various casual 'informants' (Hayes, 1981a, 45-57). Specifically, I have followed the methodology of Hayes and Lee in part, and have spent a good deal of time listening to the voices of gay people in bars, at meetings, dances, in the pages of periodicals, magazines, novels, bar rags, the sociological literature (both past and recent) and in the argot, jokes and stories we have shared with each other over various computer bulletin board systems.

I have acted as a native participant observer, much in the manner

of Lee (1979), Marotta (1981), Grahn (1984) Murray (1984), the late Richard Troiden (1988), and others too numerous to mention. It is clear that a native member of the group has the ability to comprehend the nuances much better than an outlander, and is rarely compelled to undertake the processes of gaining trust and access, of developing a workable level of understanding, argot and impression management prior to undertaking the actual research. I have also been involved in networking at the grassroots level which has permitted me an understanding of the process and the politicization of homosexuality, one which is not readily fathomable to an outlander. A passion for books encouraged an amateur review of gay literature, journals and magazines some six years before the advent of this thesis and yielded an ample background with which to begin this research. A long-standing habit of saving anything book-like also provided me with much information regarding the development of the gay world and its organizational sophistication, as did pouring over early issues of the Advocate, Christopher Street Magazine and the Body Politic.

Much of the information contained in the previous pages has been gleaned through informal discussions, intensive (although prior) participation in the Hamilton Gay Community, Gayline Counselling, HUGS, GWC, Youth Group, Speaker's Bureau, Dance Committee, Gay Phoenix, HUGS Bulletin Board System (BBS), visits to gay bars, dance clubs restaurants, Lesbian and Gay Pride Day events, concerts, special events, film and video presentations, gay and lesbian conferences and the Names Project (the AIDS Quilt) throughout Ontario, Buffalo and Rochester, New York, and to a

lesser extent, Montreal. I have also acted as a member of CGRO (the Committee for Gay Rights in Ontario), RTPC (the Right to Privacy Committee, Toronto), VGC (Vancouver Gay Community) and GHC (Gays In Health Care, Toronto).

I have relied most heavily upon the journals, magazines, books and general literature of various gay communities in an attempt to outline those gay and lesbian perspectives which were at once both analogous and discordant from my own. Personal collections of back issues permitted me to spend hours sorting through an array of periodicals including the Body Politic, Action, Broadside, Fireweed, Pink Inc., Connexions (all of Toronto), HALO and GO Info (London), GO Niagara and Gay Unity Niagara (GUN), Rights and Freedoms (Ottawa), the Lesbian Connection (Michigan), Fifth Freedom (Buffalo), Bondings (Maryland), Gays For Equality (gfe, Winnipeg) Lesbian/Lesbienne (L/L, Kitchener-Waterloo) and Gay Information (Sydney, Australia).

The more recent publications surveyed include Alternative Expressions (Buffalo), Rites, Xtra!, the Gay Archivist, Lesbian and Gay Pride Day magazines (LGPD) and the WEB (all of Toronto), Gaielivraison (Winnipeg), the Guide (Boston), Broomstick and Out/Look (San Francisco), Campaign (Australia), Lesbian Ethics (New York), Lambda Rising (Washington, D.C.) and L'Androgyne (Montreal). Travel guides such as the Gayellow Pages (National Edition #17, 1989) and Places of Interest to Women (1988) and the community-oriented Toronto Area Gay Directory (1989) have been indispensable resources for contact and dialogue. Prevailing



membership in the Sociologists Lesbian and Gay Caucus, the Gay and Lesbian Caucus for the Modern Languages (a sub-group of the Modern Language Association), and the Lesbian and Gay History Network has also yielded extensive newsletters, bibliographies, book reviews and resource lists.

I have examined a variety of other gay press resources including novels, plays, anthologies, cultural and historical studies, lexicon and semiotic analyses and miscellany. Moreover, lesbian/feminist journals and reviews, the sociological and historical literature in addition to excellent journalistic contributions by such authors as Hannon (1981, 1989), Fitzgerald (1987), Shilts (1987), Fernandez (1989), Garrison (1989) and Jacobs (1989), have added much to the content of this thesis. Many researchers are well-versed in the value of teasing out applicable references and there are many exceptional bibliographies which have facilitated this particular quest. The better bibliographies include Dynes (1987), Crawford (1984), MacCowan and Cruickshank in Cruickshank (1982), Grier (1981)<sup>1</sup>, Foster (originally 1956, reprinted 1985) and Malinowsky's International Directory of Lesbian and Gay Periodicals (1986). Although somewhat dated, bibliographies compiled by Parker (1966 and 1971), Sharma and Rudy (1970), Weinberg and Bell (1972), Arno Press (1975) and Bullough, Legg, et al. (1976)<sup>2</sup> are worth investigation for researchers working in the area of homosexuality. The value of tracing sociological abstracts, individual bibliographies and journal references cannot be overstated.

In following the research trail, I contacted several groups and organizations throughout Canada and the United States. I forwarded query letters to ninety-five American and Canadian clubs and organizations, informing them of both my sexual preference (in order to appear both sincere and non-threatening) and my academic research (offering informed consent in the only available fashion). Of these, eleven of the American organizations failed to acknowledge my inquiries (two letters were marked 'return to sender') and eighteen of the lesbian and gay organizations in Canada did not. The American organizations which did respond were most helpful, sending me free publications, newsletters and best wishes in my research. Most of the Canadian organizations forwarded only the specific information requested, when available, with the exception of three groups.<sup>3</sup>

Overall, this extensive correspondence also served many incidentally beneficial purposes, such as providing me with information on other existing groups, supplementing my understanding of the diversity of the gay world, and affording me just cause to commence on-going dialogue with many warm, friendly and helpful people. The Canadian Gay Archives (CGA, Toronto), the Council on Homosexuality and Religion (CHR, Winnipeg), the Committee on Lesbian and Gay History (Annandale-on-Hudson, New York), Svend Robinson, M.P. (Ottawa), the National Organization of Gay and Lesbian Scientists and Technical Professionals (Chicago, Ill.), New Ways Ministry (Mt. Ranier, Maryland), the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches (UFMCC, Los Angeles), the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF, Washington, D.C.), the Harvey Milk Lesbian and

Gay Democratic Club (HMLGDC, San Francisco), the Gay and Lesbian Democrats of America (GLDA, Washington, D.C.) and the staff of the San Francisco Examiner have, in particular, been most generous and terribly kind.

Although research may be regarded as a cumulative process and therefore a highly worthwhile endeavour, it brings with it many limitations. Most significantly, while engaging in sociological inquiry, it is imperative that both researcher and audience remain cognizant of the fact that, "all the data will never be 'in', since the social world is always changing and since new research is always being done" (Schur, 1979: 495). This is particularly apparent with regard to the on-going evolution of the gay world.

## NOTES

1. See Barbara Grier, The Lesbian in Literature, Tallahassee, Florida: Naiad Press, third edition, 1981; and Lyndall MacCowan and Margaret Cruikshank, "Bibliography", in Cruikshank (ed.), Lesbian Studies: Present and Future, New York: The Feminist Press, 1982 (pages 237-273).

2. See William J. Parker, Homosexuality: Selected Abstracts and Bibliography, San Francisco: Society for Individual Rights, 1966, and Homosexuality: A Selective Bibliography of Over 3000 Items, Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1971. (Supplements published 1977 and 1985); Vern L. Bullough, W. Dorr Legg, et al., An Annotated Bibliography of Homosexuality, New York: Garland, 1976; Martin S. Weinberg and Alan P. Bell, Homosexuality: An Annotated Bibliography, New York: Harper and Row, 1972; and Unmesh D. Sharma and Wilfred C. Rudy, Homosexuality - a select bibliography, Waterloo, Ontario: Waterloo Lutheran University, 1970.

3. For example, two gay men from one of these organizations, based in Toronto, graciously offered to meet me at a lesbian and gay bar in Hamilton in order to personally deliver bibliographic materials in order to save postage and mail damage. Another gay man in Winnipeg attempted to assist me in gathering statistics which, even at this time, are unavailable. He also suggested possible avenues of assistance, forwarded me a 'care package' of assorted materials and expressed a genuine interest in the success of the research.

## APPENDIX II

CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR INTERNATIONAL HOMOSEXUAL AND GAY GROUPS,  
ORGANIZATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

- 1896, Germany - Adolph Brand (writer and bookseller) published der Eigene which focused on classical culture and man-boy relationships.
- 1897, Germany - Scientific Humanitarian Committee (SHC) assembled.  
Published The Yearbook for Intermediate Types, 1899-1923.
- 1902, Germany - Community of the Special founded.
- 1909, France - Akademos published.
- 1911, Netherlands - Dutch version of SHC established by a lawyer named Schorer. Published annual reports.
- 1921, Berlin - First known gay theatre company, "Theater des Eros", founded.
- 1924, Chicago - development of the Society for Human Rights.  
Published Friendship and Freedom, 1924. (2 issues).
- 1924, France - First French gay journal, Inversions published. (5 issues).
- 1940, Netherlands - Dutch gay and lesbian organization, COC (Cultuur-en Ontspannings-centrum or the Centre for Culture and Recreation) founded. Published Levensrecht (now called SEK), first three issues, 1940. An outgrowth of the COC, the Dialog Foundation, a service group, provides referrals, counselling and information.
- 1945, New York (male), Los Angeles (female) - Veteran's Benevolent Association (VBA).  
Lisa Ben (pseudonym and acronym for 'lesbian') a member of the female chapter of the VBA distributed Vice Versa, a mimeographed paper, 1947-1948 (9 issues), although it reached mainly private households.

- 1948, New York - Harry Hay developed the idea of the Bachelors For Wallace, which never assembled as a group, although many authors imply that it did). Hay later applied these original ideas to the formation of the Mattachine.
- 1949, New York - Knights of the Clock, Inc. founded.
- 1951, Los Angeles - Development of the Mattachine Foundation.  
Published Mattachine Review, 1955-1967.
- 1952, Los Angeles - One, Inc. emerged out of the Mattachine.  
Published One, 1953-1969, although several sources claim that it was defunct in 1967.
- 1955, Boise, Idaho - Homosexual 'witch hunt' occurred, during which more than one hundred men were questioned and nine were sentenced to prison terms with maximum sentence of fifteen years.
- 1955, San Francisco - Daughters of Bilitis (D.O.B.) formed.  
Published The Ladder, 1956-1972 (although some sources suggest that The Ladder was published solely during the years 1963-1966).
- 1957, Great Britain - The Wolfenden Report, a study by the British government, was undertaken and recommended the de-criminalization of homosexual acts between consenting adults. The Report finally passed into law in 1967.
- 1958, Great Britain - founding of The Homosexual Law Reform Society. Now Albany Trust, it operates as a counselling and information service for homosexuals.
- 1961, San Francisco - The Tavern Guild established as an advocacy group for "gay control of gay bars" which frequently mobilized to resist police pressures (Teal, 1971: 108).
- 1962, Toronto - The Melody Room, an after-hours club featuring drag shows opened at 457 Church Street. The address is significant: 457 Church later became the lesbian bar and dining coterie, Together. It subsequently changed hands several times in mid nineteen-eighty, becoming a lesbian and gay establishment, The 457, lesbian-only, Together Again and is presently a gay male bar and restaurant, The 457.

- 1963, Washington Mattachine, New York Mattachine, Janus Society of Philadelphia and the D.O.B. formed the East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO), which was succeeded in 1965 by a series of Eastern Regional Coalitions of Homophile Organizations (referred to as ERC, ERCH, and more commonly, ERCHO).
- 1963, England - Minorities Research Group founded by and for lesbians (the name of the group is somewhat misleading) and published the broadsheet Arena Three. However, by 1966, membership still remained at less than one thousand and the group was headed toward dissolution.
- 1964, Vancouver - ASK Newsletter, published by the Association for Social Knowledge. ASK disbanded in 1968 and publication ceased.
- 1964, Toronto - Gay (later entitled Gay International) premiered, published by the Gay Publishing Company.
- 1964, Toronto - Two, modelled on San Francisco's One magazine, published by Gayboy (later Kamp) Publishing Company.
- 1964, San Francisco - formation of the Society for Individual Rights (SIR). Published Vector beginning 1965.
- 1964, San Francisco - Council on Homosexuality and Religion (CHR) established.
- 1965, Los Angeles - Tangents, under the rubric of its popular corporate name, the Homosexual Information Centre (HIC) was established. Published monthly newsletter, Tangents.
- 1965, Netherlands - COC published Dialogo until 1967.
- 1966, Toronto, Canada - Two magazine published monthly for one year.
- 1966, North American Conference of Homophile Organizations (NACHO) held their first conference in Kansas City. The problem was that "...NACHO had become a bureaucracy and was on its way to becoming a super-organization" (Dick Leitsch, MSNY Delegate, 1970).
- 1967, Los Angeles - The Los Angeles Advocate was first published by Personal Rights In Defense and Education (PRIDE) as a monthly newsletter, which became a full tabloid in 1969 and was published bi-weekly as The Advocate in May of 1970 (continuing).

- 1967, New York City (Morningside Heights) - Formation of the first 'university chartered' American homosexual organization, the Student Homophile League (SHL) established at Columbia University.
- 1967, New York City (Greenwich Village) - The Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore opened by gay activist Craig Rodwell.
- 1968, Los Angeles - Reverend Troy Perry founded the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC)
- 1969, Toronto - The University of Toronto Homophile Association, Canada's first distinctly gay association, formed in October.
- 1969, New York - Gay Liberation Front (GLF) formed. Published Come Out!
- 1969, New York - Gay Activist's Alliance (GAA), the more 'hip', less revolutionary alternative to GLF, emerged.
- 1969, New York - Founding of Dignity (often referred to as Dignite), a gay Catholic congregation, with chapters throughout the world.
- 1969, Netherlands - COC published SEQ (which replaced the previously defunct Dialogo) until 1971.
- 1970, Buffalo, New York - Fifth Freedom published monthly by the Mattachine Society of the Niagara Frontier, Inc. Superseded by New Fifth Freedom in February 1983 as a result of internal Mattachine factionalism and membership turnover.
- 1970, New York - The Gay Community Centre of New York opened in December.
- 1970, San Francisco - Lesbian Mother's Union organized.
- 1971, Toronto, Canada - The Body Politic (TPB) published until November of 1987.
- 1972, Ottawa - GO Info first published (July) by Gays of Ottawa.
- 1972, Chicago - National Coalition of Gay Organizations (NCGO) formed, and was sponsored by Gay Activist's Alliance (GAA) and Chicago Gay Alliance (CGA).
- 1973, New York - formation of the National Gay Task Force (NGTF).
- 1973, Toronto, Canada - The Canadian Gay Liberation Movement Archives. Name changed to Canadian Gay Archives in 1975.
- 1974, New York - initial publication of The Wishing Well, a lesbian contact publication.



- 1975, Toronto, Canada - formation of the Coalition for Gay Rights in Ontario (CGRO). The name was changed to Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights in Ontario (CGLRO) in 1985-86.
- 1975, London, Ontario - HALO Grapevine published by Homophile Association of London, Ontario. Current title, HALO Newsletter.
- 1977, Toronto, Ontario - Gay Archivist published by the Canadian Gay Archives (continues on irregular basis).
- 1977, Baltimore, Maryland - New Ways Ministry (NWM) formed.
- 1978, Toronto, Ontario - CGRO News published. Succeeded in 1983 by It's Your Move (continuing).
- 1978, Toronto, Ontario - Lambda Business Council incorporated.
- 1978, Toronto, Ontario - Bread and Roses Credit Union established for the purpose of withdrawing monies from other financial companies refusing to divest their South African holdings. The motto of Bread and Roses is, "banking for social change". Their most recent advertisement proclaims, "come in and see what it feels like to be openly gay and proud in your bank!" (Pride Day leaflet, June 1989).
- 1978, Washington - First gay march on Washington drew almost one hundred thousand participants, and the Washington march in 1987 attracted five hundred thousand (O'Loughlin, 1989: 36).
- 1979, Toronto, Ontario - Action published by the RTPC (Right To Privacy Committee).
- 1979, U.S. - Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) organized, now spanning over two hundred chapters in the United States. Family and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (FFLAG) is the Canadian equivalent.
- 1980, St. Catharines - Gay Niagara News published by Gay Unity Niagara (GUN). Ceased in 1983.
- 1980, Vancouver, B.C. - The Radical Reviewer Published. Ceased in 1984.
- 1980, Vancouver, B.C. - Community newsletter (Feb.) became VGCC News (March) published by the VGCC (Vancouver Gay Community Center), succeeded in 1983 by Angles (continuing).
- 1980, Hamilton, Ontario - McMaster Homophile Association defunct, superseded by Hamilton United Gay Communities (HUGS).

- 1980, Toronto, Ontario - The Right To Privacy Committee (RTPC) was organized as the mature version of the Barracks Defence Fund (financial support group for bawdy house found-ins and keepers) of 1979.
- 1982, Buffalo, New York - The Gay and Lesbian Community Center opened.
- 1982, Hamilton, Ontario - The Gay Phoenix monthly newsletter published by HUGS (continuing).
- 1982, Hamilton, Ontario - HUGS gay and lesbian office opened in central downtown.
- 1984, Toronto, Ontario - Xtra! published by Pink Triangle Press.
- 1985, New York - founding of "Harvey Milk High School" (named after the gay San Francisco city Supervisor, Harvey Milk, who, along with Mayor George Moscone was assassinated by former city supervisor Dan White in 1978) opened by the staff of the Hetrick-Martin Institute (a social services gay youth centre founded in 1983 in New York City).
- 1985, Los Angeles - Northern Lights Alternatives (NLA) assembled to ~~foster~~ foster gay support for people living with AIDS and AIDS-related illnesses.
- 1986, Hamilton, Ontario - Hamilton Aids Network for Dialogue and Support (HANDS) established.
- 1986, Washington, D.C. - Names Project (AIDS Quilt) first begun by Cleve Jones and friend as they designed a quilt in their back yard to commemorate the death of a close friend.
- 1986, Buffalo New York - Alternative Expressions published monthly beginning in August, continues.
- 1988, Hamilton, Ontario - HUGS BBS established (operating 24 hours per day, 7 days per week).
- 1988, Los Angeles - NLA published first Alternatives Quarterly, furnishing a gay forum for AIDS discourse, health and grief counselling, providing access to available support services, and news of AIDS-related developments on the National front.
- 1988, Los Angeles - "Lambda Delta Lambda", the first American lesbian sorority, assembled at UCLA.
- 1988, Britain - Clause 28 (prohibiting homosexuality) was passed by the British Parliament.

1989, Copenhagen, Denmark - First country to legalize gay marriage. Eleven gay male couples were married at Copenhagen City Hall on October 1.

## APPENDIX III

## MAJOR ORGANIZATIONS AND SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

AIDS Organizations and Resources

**ACT UP: AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power**  
496-A Hudson Street, #G4  
New York, New York. 10014.

**AIDS Committee of Toronto (ACT)**  
P.O. Box 55, Station F  
Toronto, Ontario.  
Canada. M4Y 2L4.

**Canadian AIDS Society**  
267 Dalhousie Street, #201  
Ottawa, Ontario.  
Canada. K1N 7E3.

**Hamilton AIDS Network for Dialogue and Support (HANDS)**  
143 James Street South, Suite 900  
Hamilton, Ontario.  
Canada. L8P 3A1.

**International Association of Lesbian and Gay Archives (ALGAL)**  
3823 - 17th Street  
San Francisco, California. 94114.

**The NAMES Project (The Names Project Quilt: An AIDS Memorial)**  
Box 14573  
San Francisco, California. 94114.

**Northern Lights Alternatives Canada**  
The AIDS Mastery (AIDS and ARC workshops)  
P.O. Box 5145, Station A  
Toronto, Ontario.  
Canada. M5W 1N5.

Educational Resources

**Canadian Gay Archives (CGA)**  
 Box 639, Station A  
 Toronto, Ontario.  
 Canada. M5W 1G2.

**Committee for Lesbian and Gay Studies at CUNY (CLAGS)**  
 City of New York Graduate Centre  
 c/o Long Island University  
 University Plaza,  
 Brooklyn, New York. 11201.

**Gay and Lesbian Caucus for the Modern Languages (GLMCL)**  
 (Publishes GSN, Gay Studies Newsletter)  
 P.O. Box 415  
 Kittery, Maine. 03904z.

**One Institute**  
 3340 Country Club Drive  
 Los Angeles, California. 90019.

**Winnipeg Gay and Lesbian Resource Centre**  
 Box 1661  
 Winnipeg, Manitoba.  
 Canada. R3C 2Z6.

Miscellaneous Special Interest Groups

**Gay and Lesbian History on Stamps Club**  
 Box 3940  
 Hartford, Connecticut. 06103.

**International Gay Rodeo Association**  
 Box 50270  
 Reno, Nevada. 89513.

**International Gay Travel Association (IGTA)**  
 P.O. Box 18247  
 Denver, Colorado. 80218.

**Lesbian and Gay Community Appeal of Toronto**  
 Box 2212, Station B  
 Toronto, Ontario.  
 Canada. M5S 2T2.

National Association of Black Lesbians and Gays  
19641 West Seven Mile  
Detroit, Michigan. 48219.

Realty Referral (Gay Realtor's Network)  
Box 14221  
Portland, Oregon. 97214.

Older Gay and Lesbian Groups

Gay and Lesbian Outreach to Elders (G.L.O.E.)  
c/o Operation Concern  
1853 Market Street  
San Francisco, California. 94103.

Golden Threads (correspondence club for lesbians over 50)  
P.O. Box 2416  
Quincy, Massachusetts. 00269.

Senior Action in a Gay Environment (SAGE)  
208 West 13th Street  
New York, New York. 10011.

Political Organizations

Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights in Ontario (CLGRO)  
P.O. Box 822, Station A  
Toronto, Ontario.  
Canada. M5W 1G3.

Gay and Lesbian Democrats of America (GLDA)  
114 - 15th Street NE  
Washington, DC. 20002.

Hamilton United Gay Societies (HUGS)  
P.O. Box 44, Station B  
Hamilton, Ontario.  
Canada. L8L 7T5.

The Harvey Milk Lesbian and Gay Democratic Club (H.M.L.G.D.C.)  
P.O. Box 14368  
San Francisco, California. 94114.

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF)  
1517 U Street NW  
Washington, DC. 20009.

Professional Groups

Alliance for Gay and Lesbian Artists in the Entertainment Industry  
P.O. Box 69A18  
West Hollywood, California. 90069.

American Federation of Teachers National Gay and Lesbian Caucus  
3328 Edgemont Street  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 19134.

Association of Gay and Lesbian Psychiatrists  
1721 Addison Street  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 19146.

Association of Lesbian and Gay Psychologists  
2336 Market Street, #8  
San Francisco, California. 94114.

Committee on Lesbian and Gay History  
Department of History  
Bard College  
Annandale-on-Hudson, New York. 12504.

Gays and Lesbians In Health Care (GLHC)  
P.O. Box 6973, Station A  
Toronto, Ontario.  
Canada. M5W 1X7.

Gay and Lesbian Task Force, American Library Association (GLTF)  
3824 Fremont  
Chicago, Illinois. 60613.

The National Organization for Gay and Lesbian Scientists and Technical  
Professionals (N.O.G.L.S.T.P.)  
P.O. Box 14138,  
Chicago, Illinois. 60614.

Society for Gay and Lesbian Philosophy:  
Gay and Lesbian Caucus (SGALP and GALC)  
Department of Philosophy  
University of Wisconsin  
Madison, Wisconsin. 53706.

OR:

Department of Philosophy  
John Carroll University  
University Heights, Ohio. 44118.

Society of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists (SOLGA)  
Anthropology Department  
Wayne State University  
Detroit, Michigan. 48202.

Sociologists' Lesbian and Gay Caucus (SLGC)  
P.O. Box 415  
Claremont, California. 91711.

Religious Organizations

Council on Homosexuality and Religion (CHR)  
Box 1912  
Winnipeg, Manitoba.  
Canada. R3C 3R2.

Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) Toronto  
2029 Gerrard Street East  
Toronto, Ontario.  
Canada. M4E 2E3.

New Ways Ministry  
4012 - 29th Street  
Mt. Ranier, Maryland. 20712.

Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches (U.F.M.C.C.)  
5300 Santa Monica Blvd. Suite 304  
Los Angeles, California. 90029.

Popular Publications

The Advocate (glossy monthly magazine)  
Box 4371  
Los Angeles, California. 90078-4371.

Alternative Expressions (monthly community news booklet)  
P.O. Box 446  
Buffalo, New York. 14204-0446.



Broomstick (monthly magazine by and for women over 40)  
3543 - 18th Street, #3  
San Francisco, California. 94110.

Campaign (Australian monthly newsmagazine)  
P.O. Box A228  
Sydney South, New South Wales. 2001.

Christopher Street (glossy monthly magazine)  
Box 1475  
New York, New York. 10008.

Journal of Homosexuality (monthly scientific/academic journal)  
c/o The Haworth Press, Inc.  
12 West 32nd Street  
New York, New York. 10001-3813.

Out/Look (glossy national lesbian and gay quarterly)  
Out/Look Foundation  
347 Dolores Street, Room 333  
San Francisco, California. 94110.

Partners (monthly newsletter by and for gay and lesbian couples)  
Box 9685  
Seattle, Washington. 98109.

Rites (lesbian and gay newspaper, published ten times per year)  
Box 65, Station F  
Toronto, Ontario.  
Canada. M4Y 2L4.

Xtra! (bi-monthly community newspaper)  
Box 7829, Station A  
Toronto, Ontario.  
Canada. M5W 1X9.

## APPENDIX IV

## POPULAR GAY AND LESBIAN TRAVEL GUIDES

Guide Cris:

This international guide, published in San Francisco in 1958, appears to be the first of its kind but is not presently one of the more popular travel guides for Canada or the United States (Dynes, 1985: 62).

Bob Damron's Address Book:

Published annually for men, San Francisco (The Dameron Company, P.O. Box 11270, San Francisco, California, 94101) since 1964. Currently contains over 6,000 listings.

The Dameron Road Atlas:

Published by the Dameron Company first in 1989, the Atlas provides maps and listings for 65 major metropolitan areas in North America.

The Woman's Traveller:

Published by the Dameron Company, new in 1989.

Spartacus Guide:

Men's guide published annually in Amsterdam since 1970.

Gayellow Pages:

Published annually in New York (Renaissance House, Box 292 Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014) for men and women since 1973.

GUIDE to the Gay Northeast:

Monthly magazine for men (Fidelity Publishing, Boston, Mass. 02199) published since 1980.

Places of Interest to Women:

Published annually (Ferrari Publications, P.O. Box 35575, Phoenix, Arizona. 85069) since 1981.

Places of Interest for Men:

Published annually by Ferrari Publications, Phoenix Arizona, since 1985.

INN Places:

Special accommodation-only version of Places of Interest Guide. Published annually for men and women by Ferrari Publications, Phoenix, Arizona, since 1988.

Gaia's Guide:

Published annually in New York and London for women, since 1975.

Lavender Guide:

Published in Montreal since 1988, by the Montreal Gay community's 'Project Lavender'.

Gay Travel Maps and Guides:

A collection of twelve information brochures and maps detailing gay clubs, bars and organizations in major Canadian and American cities. Published by David James Press, Ltd. (Flushing Ave. and Cumberland St., Bldg. 280, Suite 603, Brooklyn, New York. 11205) and updated annually. These maps and guides are usually available free at local gay book stores and small businesses.

Final Glances

Quentin Crisp, famous gay English writer:

There are many aspects of the contemporary gay subculture that I find ridiculous, but nothing could be more ridiculous than to say, as some critics have, that I am antihomosexual (sic) simply because I do not embrace every twitty gay fad that comes along. I think that a lifetime of listening to disco music is a high price to pay for one's sexual preference. (As quoted in Rutledge, 1987: 198-99).

Bette Midler, U.S. entertainer:

For Christ's sake, open your mouths; don't you people get tired of being stepped on? (As quoted in Rutledge, 1987: 201).

Robert Morley, English actor:

It's a wonder you have any homosexuals in America, because daily, the children are bombarded with anti-homosexual propaganda. You even pronounce the word differently than we do - you give it a rather nasty sound. (As quoted in Rutledge, 1987: 199).

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