The Encyclopedia of Lesbian and Gay Histories and Cultures is a comprehensive reference work that surveys the complex histories and wide cultural diversity of lesbian and gay life. It is designed for students and scholars in all fields as well as for the general public. Lesbians and gays have shared many aspects of life, but their histories and cultures have developed in profoundly different ways. To reflect this crucial fact, The Encyclopedia of Lesbian and Gay Histories and Cultures has been prepared in two separate volumes to assure that both histories receive full, unbiased attention and that a broad range of human experience is covered.

The encyclopedia's contributors represent the most respected names in the field of gay and lesbian studies as well as new scholars whose research will advance gender studies into the twenty-first century. Both volumes offer extended treatment of a wide range of topics spanning history, politics, biography, literature and the arts, and science and medicine.

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Gay Histories and Cultures: An Encyclopedia

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This book is dedicated to the memory of

William A. H. Kinnucan
(1949–1998)

“(’twas all he wished) a friend”
Introduction

Bonnie Zimmerman and George E. Haggerty

The Encyclopedia of Lesbian and Gay Histories and Cultures in two volumes is the latest, and we hope the richest, in a long line of publications that attempt to open up for contemporary readers the complex history and wide cultural diversity of lesbian and gay life. Unlike earlier endeavors, however, which tended to limit the kinds of questions that could be asked about the past, these volumes try to avoid the stigma conventionally attached to "homosexuality" and look instead at examples of same-sex desire in different cultures at different times. They are the product of an age in which self-definition is challenged by cultural urgency of various kinds and when lesbian and gay concerns have moved out from the shadows into the bright light of national and international politics. What better moment to undo the misconceptions of the past and to reclaim the histories and cultures that have been denied us? In doing so, we hope to be seen not as appropriating the past but rather as making it available for all sorts of purposes, including but not limited to an increase in present-day awareness. Too often we have been told by others who we are or where we came from. It is time not just to claim our place in history and culture but also to negotiate with the histories and cultures to which we might most closely relate.

History
The study of homosexuality can be said to have begun in 1869, when a generation of medical doctors established the profession of sexology, the medical and supposedly scientific study of sex. Among its earliest objects of study was "inversion"—a term that signified a range of behaviors and attitudes that would later be classed under the term homosexuality. Inversion redefined same-sex desire as an aspect of human personality or essential being, not a sin-laden act against nature. Many of the most prominent figures of early sexology—such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Havelock Ellis—described the invert, or homosexual, in excruciating and, from the perspective of today, stigmatizing or, as contemporary lesbian scholar Lillian Faderman put it, morbidifying, detail. A century later, the prominent French historian and theorist Michel Foucault would point to this construction of the modern homosexual as a signal moment in the history of sexuality.

Although homosexuality became known as "the love that dare not speak its name," in fact, even in the nineteenth century there were many names used for homosexuality: some, like bugger, sodomite, and tribade, referring to the specific sexual behaviors that men and women performed with members of their own gender, and others, like homosexual, invert, and Urning, referring to the identities that were being constructed around these behaviors. The shift from behavior to identity was also to have an unexpected impact: the beginnings of a political movement based upon that identity. Among the early generations of sexologists were several individuals who themselves identified as homosexuals and directed their scholarly activity toward both the elimination of prejudice and discrimination and the demand for equal human rights. These individuals—including Karl Maria Ulrichs, Edward Carpenter, Magnus Hirschfeld,
and Anna Rüling—were pioneers in uniting scholarship and activism, as their descendants would do several generations later.

The period between roughly 1900 and 1930 was one of considerable intellectual activity in the areas of sexology and literature, particularly. But economic crisis and political repression in the United States and Europe would drive nascent gay and lesbian communities, with their potential for scholarly research and creative activity, underground. Although individuals produced monumental work, in general academic institutions generally avoided and suppressed gay and lesbian scholarship. These individuals have become heroic role models: Alfred Kinsey, for example, with his groundbreaking sexological studies, and Jeannette Foster, who self-published an extraordinary study of lesbianism in literature. With the exception of Kinsey, these figures were unable to generate an ongoing academic movement or produce individual scholars to carry on their work. Before lesbian and gay studies could become a reality, something else needed to happen. That "something else" was the gay liberation movement, which burst into public consciousness in 1969 when the patrons of the Stonewall Inn in New York City's Greenwich Village fought back against a police raid. Although political activism and organizing had existed throughout the 1950s and 1960s and had accelerated at the end of the latter decade, the three nights of what has become known as the Stonewall Rebellion galvanized a new generation. Inspired by the civil rights movement in particular, and with experience in that movement as well as in the student, antiwar, and women's liberation movements, gay and lesbian activists organized and mobilized their own movement to end the social, political, and cultural oppression of homosexuals.

Many of these activists were students in universities. They sought to bring their academic work to the service of activism and to apply their political consciousness to their scholarly work. In the same way that African American studies grew out of the civil rights and black power movements, and women's studies out of the women's liberation movement, so did gay and lesbian studies have its beginnings in the gay liberation movement. At that time, very few academics had the psychological and material security to be openly gay or lesbian and to focus their scholarly work on the study of homosexuality. Lesbian and gay professors had long lived more or less comfortably in closets within the ivory towers; however, the growing gay and lesbian movement impelled some professors and graduate students to begin to organize within professional institutions and associations.

Gay and lesbian scholars first began to organize caucuses within professional associations in the early 1970s. For example, the gay caucus of the Modern Language Association first met in 1973 and soon organized large and enthusiastic sessions at the annual MLA meetings throughout the 1970s. Caucuses were also formed in 1974 in the American Anthropological Association and the American Sociological Association. The Lesbian and Gay Caucus in the MLA and its more scholarly counterpart, the Gay Studies Division, continue to thrive, as do the caucuses of the AAA and the ASA. Similar caucuses and divisions exist within the professional associations of historians, musicologists, art historians, psychologists, and so on. These caucuses and divisions have played an important part in opening up the academic profession to new scholarship and new ways of thinking, thus being directly responsible for much of the knowledge collected in this encyclopedia.

A second important source of knowledge came from outside formal academic institutions. From the early 1970s until the present, groundbreaking work has been done by scholars and writers not affiliated with any institutions. These independent scholars worked without financial resources or public recognition, at least until their books and articles were finally published. For some, the Gay Academic Union, founded in New York City in 1974, provided solidarity and support. The GAU, while ostensibly open to both men and women, did, like many other political groups, became a primarily male organization. Lesbians turned to other venues, including lesbian feminist collectives, women's studies programs, and feminist newspapers and journals, to produce their work.

By the mid-1970s, both gay men and lesbians in the United States had produced a substantial body of important work. Jonathan Ned Katz had published *Gay American History*, a collection of primary documents that would shape a generation of scholars; Beth Hodges had produced two journal issues on lesbian writing and publishing (one...
in *Margins* and the other in the influential lesbian feminist journal *Sinister Wisdom*, and under the leadership of John deCecco, the *Journal of Homosexuality* had been established as the first scholarly journal in Gay and Lesbian Studies. By 1981, we would also have seen Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's paradigm-building article, "The Female World of Love and Ritual" (published in the first issue of what would become the premier feminist scholarly journal, *Signs*), John Boswell's rewriting of the history of oppression, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, independent scholar J. R. Roberts' *Black Lesbians: A Bibliography*, and Lilian Faderman's *Surpassing the Love of Men*. Lesbian and gay scholarship was making its mark on the map.

This energy emerged in several places at once, not only in the United States. French social and cultural theorists like Michel Foucault and Guy Hocquenghem used the political urgency of the student uprisings of 1968 to retheorize gay liberation from a post-Marxist perspective, while Luce Irigaray and Monique Wittig revised Lacanian psychoanalysis in ways that offered new paradigms for discussing gender and sexuality in a cultural context. The Australian Dennis Altman published *Homosexual Liberation and Oppression*, which investigated the social and personal consequences of internalized homophobia. In England, Mary McIntosh and Kenneth Plummer considered the ways in which homosexual identities are socially constructed; at the same time, Jeffrey Weeks traced the emergence of lesbian and gay identities. All produced foundational work that helped to give direction to the early gay liberation movement as well as to academic inquiry in the area of lesbian and gay studies. At the same time, artists, writers, and filmmakers throughout North America, Europe, and beyond were producing impressive accounts of lesbian and gay experiences, as dozens of entries in these volumes will attest.

In the 1980s, lesbian and gay scholarship would become formalized as a field of study in the United States, Canada, and a number of European countries, most particularly the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. At times Europe has taken the lead: indeed, the conference "Homosexuality, Which Homosexuality?" held in Amsterdam in 1987 holds the distinction of being the first international lesbian and gay academic conference of the contemporary era. Gay and lesbian studies is thoroughly institutionalized in the Netherlands and is growing in strength throughout Europe, Australia, and New Zealand.

In the United States, at the turn of the millennium, gay and lesbian scholarship is growing in all fields of academic endeavor. It is no longer marginal but now occupies a central place in academic publishing, curricula, and conferences. Not only are lesbian and gay scholars increasingly able to identify as such in the classroom and in scholarly work, but lesbian, gay, bisexual, and queer ideas and theories are addressed with respect by heterosexual colleagues. Lesbian and gay studies programs have emerged at several prominent institutions, and students there are as likely to take a course on the "homosexual" as on the "heterosexual" past. Like ethnic studies and women's studies previously, lesbian and gay studies has left an indelible mark on what we are permitted to know.

This encyclopedia offers accounts of the most important international developments in lesbian and gay history and attempts to assess the state of lesbian and gay culture around the world. This makes it possible to see what kinds of issues and concerns lesbian and gay scholars have had in common around the world. It also suggest how deeply varied has been the experience of those who are attracted to members of their own gender at different times and in different cultures. From one perspective, these differences are so great that no term like *gay* or *queer* or even *homosexual* can encompass them. To see sexual identity as a lens through which to view an impossibly broad range of human experience is to risk obscuring specific and very important differences; but not insisting on this perspective is to be in danger of overlooking profoundly suggestive similarities that make connections across time and space.

**Methodology**

For many readers of these volumes, an immediate question may be raised as to why there are separate volumes on lesbian histories and cultures and gay histories and cultures. Some encyclopedias and reference works are co-sexual, while others have focused on either one or the other, most often concentrating on lesbian issues separately from gay male. For this publication,
the editors chose to develop separate volumes, edited independently but with close cooperation and communication.

Why should lesbian and gay histories and cultures be organized and written as separate volumes? We have done so first because this assures that both histories receive full and unbiased attention. Historically, lesbianism has not always been addressed equally within gay studies. It has been assumed that lesbianism is more difficult to identify historically, more hidden and silenced, less accessible to the scholar. While it is true that chroniclers and historians have addressed female lives less thoroughly in general than male lives, these assumptions may flow less from what exists than from what we have looked for and the questions we have asked. Focusing an entire volume on lesbian histories and cultures assures that full attention be paid to recovering and collecting a full range of information that currently exists.

Moreover, as these two volumes will demonstrate, the difference of gender has always been significant in the conceptualization and experiences of lesbianism and male homosexuality and in the experiences of individuals and communities. Lesbians and gay men have shared many aspects of life—those that flow from self-affirmation and those that flow from resistance to heterosexism and homophobia—but they have also developed in profoundly different ways. Lesbians are marked as female and gay men as male, no matter what the rhetoric about inversion, and in patriarchal systems, gender matters. Feminism, in particular, has been a potent force in lesbian lives from at least the nineteenth century to the present. The more public presence of male homosexuality has often led to different emphases within legal and political movements. The degree to which male lives are recorded while female lives are ignored or suppressed affects the historical record. The fields of lesbian studies and gay studies have, until very recently, developed in an independent, though related, fashion. For these reasons, and many others, we believe that at this time readers will be best served by separate volumes. In the future, editors may choose a different strategy.

Definitions
The most difficult question, of course, is that of definition. What do we mean by “gay” and “lesbian”? Are we only documenting evidence of homosexual behavior? Are there rules of inclusion/exclusion for different kinds of sexual behavior or identity? How do we relate to the “state of alliance” that exists in many contexts, especially in North America, between “lesbian,” “gay,” “bisexual,” and “transgender” identities, or to the reconditioned umbrella term queer, which has preoccupied both the academy and many outside it over the last ten years? It would be disingenuous for the editors to say that the question of sexual behavior and self-definition—that is, did she or didn’t he—did not often influence inclusion or that the issue of sexual identity did not figure prominently in the entry lists suggested and reviewed by advisory editors and by specialists in certain fields. But neither editor sees “homosexuality” as a transhistorical or transcultural condition that can be analyzed in, say, classical Greece, modern Japan, and the last twenty-five years in this history of the United States in anything like similar terms. In fact, one of the intentions of the entries included is to demonstrate the range of difference within what we loosely call lesbian history and culture and gay history and culture.

At the same time, none of us can ignore that we live in a culture in which the past has been appropriated to various ends. Those of us who are lesbian and gay have participated in this appropriation as much or as little as our nonlesbian and nongay contemporaries. The effect of this appropriation is that for better or worse we have a very rich lesbian and gay heritage that itself needs to be documented in a volume such as this. In other words, while there may be no proof that Alexander the Great or Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz were what we would call “gay” or “lesbian,” gay culture and lesbian culture in the twentieth century has used such figures in defining itself, and it would be a mistake to ignore this rich layering of historical detail. In this sense, the encyclopedia is archaeological: a figure, a movement, or a sexual practice might be included for its own sake, of course, but it might also be included because it has been central to lesbian or gay history and mythology. This is not the same dynamic as “strategic essentialism,” whereby historical understanding is sacrificed for an urgent political end; rather, it is a “practical constructionism,” which tries to use historical and cultural difference to tell the story of lesbian and gay culture.
today as well as other stories about other cultures at other times.

For a similar reason we do not call this an encyclopedia of queer culture. "Queer" has had an important recent function in challenging the notion of sexual identity and insisting on a coalition between and among lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered subjects, as well as people of color, sympathetic straights, and others. At the same time, it has created political difficulties of its own. For some, it suggests that sexual identity is the only basis from which to resist hegemonic culture. For others, it seems to dismiss the possibility of those gay and lesbian identities that have produced a rich intellectual and political culture. Queer theory, which was hailed as an answer to the seeming dead end of identity politics, has had to be rethought in light of challenges from grassroots activists as well as the rigorous self-questioning of the theorists themselves. Many of these issues are discussed in entries collected herein. It seems to us, however, that as happy as we might be to "queer" the past, we have not yet reached the point at which the differences that "lesbian" and "gay" imply can be completely ignored. On the other hand, in answer to queer theorists like Michael Warner and others who argue against the minoritizing stigma of lesbian and gay identity and suggest "queer" as an alternative identity that can resist institutionalization and various separatist or assimilative moves in an aggressively generalizing attempt to challenge the ascendency of the normal, we offer this encyclopedia. If it does anything, it shows that the "normal" is nothing more than a fiction that has been challenged in various ways in various cultures at various times with varying success. In this sense, then, it is an encyclopedia of queer histories and cultures after all.

How to Use the Encyclopedia

This encyclopedia is intended for a wide audience, including students, scholars in all fields, and the general public, who is interested in the state of lesbian and gay research. All efforts have been made to write entries in "user-friendly" language, avoiding jargon and technical language that would place a barrier between the experts and their readers. At the same time, the authors have maintained a high level of scholarship, incorporating both passionate engagement and scholarly objectivity. The encyclopedia addresses areas of academic and political controversy, attempting always to address multiple points of view and varied theoretical perspectives. In particular, the authors and editors have worked hard to pay close attention to the inclusivity of race, class, and ethnicity.

The editors are particularly proud of the exceptional group of authors who have contributed entries to these volumes. These include some of the most famous names in the field of lesbian and gay studies as well as junior faculty and graduate students who will carry it forth into the future, independent scholars and writers like those who initiated this field, and the political and community activists who have maintained the important connection between scholarship and activism. These authors position themselves everywhere along the continuum of sexualities: lesbian, gay, bisexual, heterosexual, transgender, and queer. Readers will find both similarities and differences in the selection and treatment of topics in the two volumes. In a minority of cases, entries may overlap. The editors suggest that in the case of general topics—for example, sexology or history or individual countries—readers turn to the entries in each volume for a full treatment. It will prove instructive to see how a topic remains similar, or changes subtly, depending on who writes the entry and from what perspective. Other topics may appear in one volume and not the other: this is not necessarily a sign that an entry is only of interest to one group or the other. The editors found that to limit certain topics to one entry allowed them to cover many more topics over the range of two volumes. In every case, the editors hope that the two volumes are complementary in ways that will benefit users of either volume.

The reader will find that in the places where topics overlap, the entries together create a quilt or web of knowledge, one entry bordering on or leading to many others. For the student who is focused on one very specific question, each entry gives a general overview; for the browser it will lead to many additional topics and questions to be addressed in other entries.

To assist the reader in seeing the connections among the various entries included here, each is followed by a list of cross-referenced entries that relate to or expand it. In addition, each
entry includes a bibliography with the most important and easily accessible titles. In the case of biographies, these include secondary rather than primary texts. Complete books are listed where possible; in addition, major articles are included. It is possible to use the book to study various topics in lesbian and gay studies. To assist the reader, we include a guide to the entries by topic. We also think, however, that these are volumes in which to browse: what better way to spend a few hours than to wend a path through a past (or a present) that is both foreign and familiar.

Readers will note that the encyclopedia does not insist upon rigid consistency in the use of certain terms. Authors have been free to use lesbian, gay, homosexual, bisexual, or queer as is appropriate to the particular requirements of their topics. Entries may also use cultural designations interchangeably, either because of personal preference or historical and political context. Different entries on related topics may emphasize different aspects of the subjects; once again, the editors have insisted upon factual consistency and accuracy while permitting individuality and even a touch of idiosyncracy.

No encyclopedia can be truly comprehensive. We could not include every topic, survey every historical period and every region of the world, or include every individual whose life included same-sex relationships. Biographical entries, in particular, needed to be selective, especially since we have included living figures. There has been an explosion of prominent figures who have "come out of the closet" in recent years, and were everyone to be included, this encyclopedia would be seriously imbalanced toward the present. Moreover, it is difficult to know who will have a long-lasting influence in the future. In considering these problems, the editors have chosen those figures who were the first in their particular fields, or who have already had unquestionable influence and notoriety. The editors recognize that our choices will be controversial, that while anyone will have chosen certain figures, in other cases, different choices might have been made.

The entries as a group move across the disciplines, across historical periods, and across cultures and nations. Some are general and expansive, others limited and particular. The editors have worked hard with the members of the advisory board to make the selections comprehensive, and both the range of fields and the entries within various fields have been the product of much thought and debate. The contributors have also worked to expand fields and define areas in a way that has made our work easier. We are grateful for the tireless efforts of everyone involved with this project.

Neither the editors nor the contributors intend these volumes to codify knowledge in the fields of lesbian and gay history and culture. These are by their natures ever-changing, and there will always be debate about what constitutes them as fields and how they are best represented historically. We hope that these volumes will participate in these debates and even provoke them. Of course, we also think that the debates will be more informed as the result of the wealth of material that is included here. There will always be a certain amount of fragmentation of information and gaps in the knowledge of these fields precisely because secrecy resulting from persecution and ignorance masquerading as science have been so strong a part of their representation historically. If lesbian and gay history and culture as told by lesbian and gay subjects (or those who identify with them) has had to struggle to find its place in contemporary letters, then this encyclopedia represents a new stage, attempting as it does to open up questions that previous encyclopedias of homosexuality considered closed.

Acknowledgments by George Haggerty
I find myself with a number of people to thank. My assistant editors, John Beynon and Doug Eisner, made several years of arduous work seem like fun, and editorial assistants Sukanya Banerjee, Jon Lewis, and Cheli Reutter were energetic and enthusiastic assistants without whom the work would surely have floundered. Especially helpful was Jens Geirsdorf, who worked as assistant editor for illustrations and put in long hours tracking down images and procuring rights. Other U. C. Riverside students (and former students), such as Jon Adams, Todd Black, David Gere, Julia Gardner, John Ison, John Jordan, Maura Keefe, Craig McCarroll, Lisa Nelson, Will Peterson, Rebecca Rugg, and Ashley Stockstill have supported the volume with valuable contributions in their fields of specialty as well as with their ideas and suggestions.
I am grateful to the scholars who agreed to serve on the advisory board, and I benefited from their advice in a number of ways throughout the editing process. The range of fields and specialties within each field bears their stamp, and I thank them all for giving their time and energy to this project.

For the hundreds of scholars who have contributed to this volume, I have nothing but awed respect. That such an august body of contributors could produce such lucid and challenging essays, surpassing my expectations, has been the single most rewarding feature of this project. I have a more intimate knowledge of the field of gay studies now, of course, and I am more than ever impressed by the sheer brilliance of people working in the field.

I have worked with a number of editors at Garland, and each of them has been enormously encouraging about this project. Gary Kuris first persuaded me to take on this project, and I will always feel especially grateful to him for the wit and irony that got this project off on the right foot. Marianne Lown saw us through the long years of soliciting writers and dealing with the first entries, and Richard Steins, though coming to this project much later, has been an encouraging presence for this difficult final phase. Leo Balk, vice president, and Joanne Daniels, senior editor, have also been directly involved in this project and have always given the best advice.

I have also had generous support from the Committee on Research at the University of California, Riverside. Such research support has made it possible to complete this project in a timely manner, and it has also enabled me to have research assistance without which I would have been severely handicapped.

Editing an encyclopedia has a way of making demands on one's friends, and I have been lucky to have had such support from colleagues and friends. At the University of California, Riverside, I would thank Byron Adams, Greg Bredbeck, Jennifer Brody, Richard Godbeer, John Ganim, Stephanie Hammer, Parama Roy, and Carole-Anne Tyler. Katherine Kinney and Geoff Cohen have been willing to listen endlessly to an editor's woes; Sue-Ellen Case and Susan Foster helped to create a community out of which a work like this could emerge. Friends like Bob Glavin, Bill Kinnucan, Davitt Moroney, Christian Boyer, and Mark Steinbrink helped me to keep my purpose clear; and my sister Pat was full of sisterly wisdom.

Bonnie Zimmerman and I have worked together in the past, and I have both admired her abilities and benefited from her sage advice before now. For this project, however, her work on Lesbian Histories and Cultures has been a constant inspiration. Bonnie has offered me endless help as an editor and unflagging support as a friend. I have enjoyed working with her on this project.

My greatest debt is to Philip Brett. Philip has been there all along, and without his example I would probably not be a scholar in this field at all. He has encouraged this project from the start and even welcomed it into our home, where it has been able to flourish.

Finally, I would like to remember one friend who taught me how easy it could be to be gay and how much difference it could make. For thirty years he was the friend I could turn to in any difficulty. He celebrated the start of this project and would have partied at its completion. He died, though, before it was finished. I miss him, but I feel his presence in many little things. Let this one big thing be for him. I dedicate this volume to the memory of Bill Kinnucan.
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Lambda Rising is a gay bookstore in Washington, D.C. The staff of the bookstore composed the entry on “Lambda.”

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David Menasco is a graduate student in interdisciplinary social science at California State University, San Francisco. His baccalaureate degree includes a dual major in psychology and interdisciplinary social science and a minor in human sexuality studies.

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Wendy Michallat, a Ph.D. student of French at the University of Nottingham, England, researching a thesis on francophone banden dessinée of the 1950s, is a published cartoonist who has illustrated several academic publications.

Kitty Millet, assistant professor of comparative literature at California State University at Long Beach, has published on testimonial writings in Latin America, indigenous women’s narration of the Southern Cone, and Holocaust survivor narratives. She has publications forthcoming on Goethe, the cultural history of German wine, post-1945 Judaism, Thomas Mann, Gustave Flaubert, and Djelal Kadir.
Zoran Milutinović, Ph.D., assistant professor of comparative literature and literary theory, University of Belgrade, is the author of two books and numerous articles dealing with twentieth-century drama and drama theory.

Framji Minwalla is an assistant professor in the theater department at Dartmouth College.


Leland Monk, who teaches literature and film at Boston University, is the author of Standard Deviations: Chance and the Modern British Novel (1994) and essays about Austen, Forster, James, and Lytton Strachey.


Davitt Moroney, a musician born in Britain of Italian and Irish parentage, studied at the University of London (King's College) before moving to America for his Ph.D. (University of California, Berkeley). He has lived in Paris since 1980 and divides his time between making records, giving recitals, and teaching. His lover, Christian Boyer, is actively involved with the political work of the Paris Gay and Lesbian Center.


Mitchell Morris, who teaches in the Department of Musicology at UCLA, has spoken and published on many aspects of gay and lesbian studies in music, including popular music and opera.
research interests are culture and law, gender, and visual anthropology.

**Peter M. Nardi** is professor of sociology at Pitzer College/The Claremont Colleges. He is co-editor of *In Changing Times: Gay Men and Lesbians Encounter HIV/AIDS* (1997) and *Social Perspectives in Lesbian and Gay Studies: A Reader* (1998). He is also the special features co-editor of the international journal *Sexualities*.

**Ethan Nasreddin-Longo** is assistant professor of music at the University of California, Riverside.

**Lisa K. Nelson** is a graduate student in English at Columbia University working in American studies and queer/cultural theory.

**Emile Netzhammer** is chair and associate professor in the communication department at Buffalo State College. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Utah in 1987.

**Matthew Guy Nichols** is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Art History at Rutgers University.

**Guillermo Nuñez-Noriega** is in the anthropology department at the University of Arizona. He has published *Sexo entre varones. Poder y resistencia en el campo sexual* (1994).

**Connell O'Donovan** is a freelance writer and historian living in Santa Cruz, California.

**Baden Offord** teaches Australian and Asian studies at Southern Cross University, Australia, and is presently completing his Ph.D. on “Homosexual Rights as Human Rights in Australia, Indonesia and Singapore.”

**Harry Oosterhuis**, assistant professor of history at the University of Maastricht, Netherlands, has published *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany* (1991) and (with James Steakley) *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left* (1995). His next book will be about Richard von Krafft-Ebing.

**Salvador A. Oropesa**, associate professor, Kansas State University, writes extensively on Mexican and Spanish literatures. He has written a book on Ariel Dorfman and a forthcoming one on Antonio Muñoz Molina.

**Ricardo Ortiz** is assistant professor of critical and cultural theory at Georgetown University. He has published several articles on gay Latino writers, including Reinaldo Arenas, John Rechy, and Arturo Islas, and is currently writing a book on Cuban-American literature entitled *Diaspora and Disappearance*.

**Mustafa Fatih Ozbilgin**, from Turkey, is completing a Ph.D. from Bristol University. His current research is on sex equality in financial services sectors in Britain and Turkey.

**Matthew Parfitt** is assistant professor in the Division of Humanities and Rhetoric in the College of General Studies at Boston University. He received his Ph.D. in English from Boston College, and he writes on Robert Frost, hermeneutics, and literature of the World War I era.

**Robert Patrick** wrote gay plays from 1964 (*The Haunted Host*) through at least 1997 (*Hollywood at Sunset*), told how it all started in a novel in 1994 (*Temple Slave*), and in 1996 received the Robert Chesley Foundation Award for Lifetime Achievement in Gay Playwrighting.

**Eugene J. Patron** is a freelance writer who originated a weekly gay-interest column in the *Miami Herald* and has contributed to more than forty publications on five continents, including *The Advocate, The Harvard Gay and Lesbian Review, Lambda Book Report, and Genre*.

**Will Petersen**, who holds a B.A. in music from the University of California, Riverside, is an editor/broadcast journalist living in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

**Daniel F. Pigg** is an associate professor of English at the University of Tennessee at Martin, where he teaches courses on medieval and Renaissance English literature. He has published widely on medieval English literature.

**George Piggford** is the co-editor of *Queer Forster* (1997) and the author of essays in *Modern Drama* and *Mosaic*. He is assistant professor of English at Tufts University.
Kirk Pillow teaches at Hamilton College and specializes in Kant and Hegel's aesthetic theories and philosophies of mind.

Keneth Pobo, associate professor of English at Widener University, has eight collections of poems, the most recent being *Cicadas* and *Apple Trees* from Palanquin Press.

Howard Pollack, a pianist and musicologist, is professor of music at the University of Houston. He has authored four books including *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man* (1999).

Todd Porterfield is an assistant professor of art history at Princeton University.

Murray Pratt is a researcher in contemporary French language, literature, and culture, with a special interest in lesbian and gay studies. He has published on Roland Barthes, Hervé Guibert, and AIDS in France; he is currently working at Warwick University, Coventry, England.

Antonio Prieto, who holds a Ph.D. in Latin American studies from Mexico's National University and an M.A. in performance studies from New York University, has written several essays on border-crossing performance art and gay Chicano performance. He is currently lecturer at Stanford University's Department of Spanish and Portuguese, and Information Activist for DataCenter's Information Services Latin America (ISLA).

Brian Pronger, assistant professor at the Faculty of Physical Education and Health, University of Toronto, is the author of *The Arena of Masculinity: Sports, Homosexuality, and the Meaning of Sex* (1991). He also writes on the science and culture of physical fitness.

Shane S. Que Hee, professor in the Department of Environmental Health Sciences, UCLA School of Public Health, is president of the Lesbian/Gay Health and Health Policy Foundation in Los Angeles.

Vincent Quinn, a lecturer in English at the University of Sussex, England, has published work on eighteenth-century British culture and on contemporary lesbian and gay writing.

Diane Raymond is professor of philosophy and chair of the women's studies department at Simmons College in Boston. She is the author of *Existentialism and the Philosophical Tradition* (1990) and co-author (with Warren Blumenfeld) of *Looking at Gay and Lesbian Life* (1993). In addition, she has published essays in feminist theory, bioethics, and queer theory. She is currently working on a book-length project on feminist revisionings of autonomy.

Christopher Reed has published widely on the Bloomsbury group. His books include *A Roger Fry Reader* (1996) and *Not at Home: The Suppression of Domesticity in Modern Art and Architecture* (1996). He is on the art history faculty of Lake Forest College.

Diane Reynolds teaches women's studies at Simmons College in Boston.

Robert Rhyne, assistant professor of French and francophone studies at the University of Southwestern Louisiana (Lafayette), has recently published an article on Paul Valéry's "Art de travailler" in the *Bulletin des Études Valéryennes* and is currently preparing his dissertation (Stanford) on French symbolist author Paul Valéry for publication.

Simon Richter, associate professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania, is the author of *Laocoon's Body and the Aesthetics of Pain* (1992). His article "The Ins and Outs of Intimacy: Gender, Epistolary Culture and the Public Sphere" won the Max Kade Award for best article in *The Germany Quarterly* (1996).

R. Jeffrey Ringer, Ph.D., professor of speech communication at St. Cloud State University in Minnesota, edited the book *Queer Words. Queer Images: Communication and the Construction of Homosexuality* (1994) and continues his research into gay male relationships.

Michael Rocke is an adjunct professor at Syracuse University in Florence. His publications include *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (1996).

Carlos Antonio Rodriguez-Matos is associate professor of Spanish at Seton Hall University.

Eric Rofes has taught education and queer studies at the University of California at Berkeley's graduate School of Education and at Bowdoin College. He is the author of ten books, including Dry Bones Breathe: Gay Men Creating Post-AIDS Identities and Cultures (1998).


Stephen Rooney is a postgraduate research student at the University of Sussex. He is currently completing his doctoral thesis on representations of male homosexuality in British literature of the 1950s and 1960s.

Vernon A. Rosario, a psychiatry resident at the Neuropsychiatric Institute of the University of California, Los Angeles, is the editor of Science and Homosexualities (1996) and author of The Erotic Imagination: French Histories of Perversity (1997).

Wilhelm von Rosen, Dr. Phil., senior researcher and archivist at the National Archives of Denmark, took part in the Copenhagen Gay Liberation Front in the early 1970s. He was co-editor of the gay magazine Pan (1977–1981), and he has written books and articles on gay politics and Denmark's gay history.

Terry Rowden is assistant professor of English at the University of Colorado at Boulder, where he teaches African American literature and gay and lesbian studies. He has published essays on James Baldwin and Carl Van Vechten and is currently completing a book on community and sexuality in modern African men's fiction.

Parama Roy is associate professor of English at the University of California, Riverside, where she teaches postcolonial theory and literatures and Victorian studies. She is the author of Indian Traffic: Subjects in Question in Colonial and Postcolonial India (1998) and is currently working on a project on gastropoetics and diaspora.

Sandip Roy-Chowdery grew up in Calcutta and is currently the editor of Trikone, a quarterly magazine on South Asian lesbian, gay, and bisexual issues, which is published in San Jose, California.

Rebecca Ann Rugg is a student in the dramaturgy and dramatic criticism program at the Yale School of Drama.

Miles D. Samson, associate professor of art history at Worcester Polytechnic Institute, works on the dissemination of modern design and theory in America, gender issues in cultural production, and architecture and design between 1870 and 1930. He has published on Lewis Mumford and the German architectural avant-garde.

Nancy San Martin is a Ph.D. candidate in history of consciousness at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Her research interests include queer theory, nineteenth- and twentieth-century nationalism, and U.S. narratives.

Ritch C. Savin-Williams is professor of clinical and developmental psychology at Cornell University. Recent books include Gay and Lesbian Youth: Expressions of Identity (1990), The Lives of Lesbians, Gays, and Bisexuals: Children to Adults (1996), and . . . And Then I Became Gay: Young Men's Stories (1998). He is currently writing a book on the relations sexuality minority youth have with their families.

Marc Schachter is a doctoral candidate in literature at the University of California, Santa Cruz, working in queer theory and pre- and early modern studies.

Lawrence R. Schehr, professor of French and head of the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at North Carolina State University, is the author of Flaubert and Sons: Reading of Flaubert, Zola and Proust (1986); The Shock of Men (1995); Alcibiades at the Door: Gay Discourses in French Literature (1993); Rendering French Realism (1997); Parts of an Andrology on Representation of Men's Bodies (1997); and co-
editor of Articulations of Difference: Gender Studies and Writing in French (1997).

Udo Schüklek, B.A. (Hons), Ph.D. (Monash), is a German philosopher. He is course leader of the University of Central Lancashire’s Centre for Professional Ethics’ M.A. in Bioethics Program.

David Serlin is a writer, composer, and doctoral candidate in American studies at New York University, where he is currently completing a dissertation on sexuality and medical technology during the Cold War. He is a co-editor of Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism (1996), and a co-editor of the forthcoming anthology Artificial Parts and Practical Lives: Histories of Modern Prostheses.

Juan Antonio Serna teaches Spanish at Arizona State University in Tempe. He works on contemporary literature and film.


Nayan Shah, assistant professor of history at the State University of New York at Binghamton, is writing a book on the politics of public health in San Francisco’s Chinatown and has written articles on sexuality and the South Asian diaspora.

Anthony Shay, who holds a Ph.D. in dance history and theory from the University of California at Riverside, has received five NEA fellowships in choreography. He founded and serves as artistic director and choreographer for the AVAZ International Dance Theatre, which specializes in dances and music of the Middle East, Central Asia, and Eastern Europe.

W. Anthony Sheppard is assistant professor of music at Williams College, where he teaches courses in twentieth-century art and popular musics, opera, and Asian musics. His forthcoming book is on modernist music theater and his current research is focused on cross-cultural musical encounters between Japan and the United States.

Ken Sherill, chair of the political science department at Hunter College, City University of New York, specializes in public opinion and political participation. He has been an expert witness in such landmark cases as Romer v. Evans (Colorado Amendment 2) and Equality Foundation v. Equal Rights, Not Special Rights (Cincinnati Issue 3).

Charley Shively, professor of American studies, University of Massachusetts, Boston, has written two books on Walt Whitman. He has served as a Fulbright professor in Mexico and Ecuador.

Ana Sierra is associate professor in the department of modern languages at Seton Hall University. Her publications include El mundo como voluntad y representacion: Borges y Schopenhauer (1997) and a variety of articles on Latin American literature.

Roger Simpson is associate professor in the School of Communications, University of Washington. A historian and ethicist, he is co-author of An Evening in the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle (1996).

Prods Oktor Skjaervo is Aga Khan Professor of Iranian Studies, Harvard University. His interests range over the entire field of pre-Islamic Iranian civilization, about which he has published over 100 articles and book reviews. He wrote an article on homosexuality in Middle Persian literature for Claude J. Summers’s The Gay and Lesbian Literary Heritage (1995).

Mathew Sloan is a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. His research interests include gender politics and the welfare state.

James Smalls teaches art history at Rutgers University. He has written extensively on queer issues, gender, and race in European and American art of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Bruce Smith is professor of English at Georgetown University and author of Homosexual Art.

Nicholas Derek Southey is senior lecturer in the Department of History at the University of South Africa. Co-editor of *The Historical Dictionary of South Africa*, he works on religion and society as well as on homosexuality in South African history.

Scott Speirs is a graduate student at Tufts University working on queer theory and Victorian literature.

Stephen Sposato is a writer and librarian (Chicago Public Library). He majored in English at the honors tutorial college of Ohio University and has an M.L.S. from the University at Buffalo.


Marc Stein, who received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Pennsylvania, is a visiting assistant professor at Colby College. His forthcoming book is entitled *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: The Making of Lesbian and Gay Communities in Greater Philadelphia, 1945–72*.

Sister Phyllis Stein the Fragrant is currently Mistress of Ceremonies (President) of the San Francisco Mother House. She is also the Mistress of Sistory (historian). As such, she religiously locks herself away in a tiny, tiny room all in the name of ensuring the preservation of the order’s history. (Men all over the Bay Area sigh with relief.)

Terry S. Stein, M.D., professor of psychiatry at Michigan State University in East Lansing, is the former chair of the American Psychiatric Association’s committee on gay, lesbian, and bisexual issues and a past president of the Association of Gay and Lesbian Psychiatrists. He has written and edited numerous publications on mental health issues of lesbians, gay men, and bisexual persons.

Mark Steinbrink is a writer and teacher who has written about Leonard Bernstein and David Hockney for publications such as *Life, Saturday Review*, and *New York* magazine. He has also written a book and an opera libretto about Bernstein’s love affair with Tom Cothran and recently had his portrait painted by David Hockney.

Simon Stern, an assistant professor of English at the University of Utah, is completing a study of authorship and literary property in eighteenth-century England, focusing on Henry and Sarah Fielding.


Brett Stockdill is a queer educator and activist currently doing AIDS research and teaching sociology at UCLA.

Kathryn Bond Stockton, associate professor of English at the University of Utah, has published *God Between Their Lips: Desire Between Women in Irigaray, Brontë, and Eliot* (1994) and *Heaven’s Bottom: Essays on Debasement in “Black” and “Queer” Fictions* (forthcoming).


Robert S. Sturges teaches gender studies, opera, and medieval literature at the University of New Orleans, and he is finishing a book entitled...
Chaucer's Pardoner and Gender Theory: Bodies of Discourse.

Claude J. Summers is the William E. Stirton Professor in the Humanities and professor of English at the University of Michigan–Dearborn. He has published widely in Renaissance literature and gay studies, including Gay Fictions: Wilde to Stonewall (1990) and The Gay and Lesbian Literary Heritage: A Readers' Companion to the Writers and Their Works, from Antiquity to the Present (1995).

Edward Summers, a librarian in the education and social sciences library at the University of Illinois Urbana–Champaign, received his M.L.S. from Rutgers University in 1996.

Michael Sweet is clinical assistant professor of psychiatry, University of Wisconsin–Madison, and a practicing psychotherapist. He has published articles on queer aspects of classical South Asian culture and on Buddhist studies and is presently working on a translation and study of two Buddhist meditation texts.

Holger Szesnat is lecturer in biblical studies at Pacific Theological College, Suva, Fiji. He recently completed a Ph.D. in theological studies at the University of Natal (South Africa).


Richard Taylor is professor of politics at the University of Wales, Swansea. He has edited Eisenstein's Selected Works (4 vols., 1988–1996) in English and written widely on Russian and Soviet cinema.

Alex Robertson Textor is a doctoral candidate in American culture at the University of Michigan, where he studies histories of sexual dissidence and theories of citizenship.

Gary C. Thomas is associate professor in the Department of Cultural Studies and Comparative Literature and the Graduate Program in Comparative Studies in Discourse and Society at the University of Minnesota.

Wesley Thomas (Navajo, born of Mud Clan and Edge of Water Clan, from Mariano Lake, New Mexico) is currently an A.B.D. doctoral student in cultural anthropology at the University of Washington. A regular consultant on traditional Navajo cultural elements, a frequent lecturer in academic and nonacademic settings in the United States and abroad and in Native and non-Native communities, and a consultant to the National Museum of the American Indian, Museum of New Mexico and others. A poet, photographer, and weaver, he is currently writing his dissertation, “Gendering Navajo Bodies.” He has also co-edited the book Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality (1997).

Jacqueline Thomason is a radical feminist and an activist for peace and social justice. A lesbian mother of a gay son, she holds a Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and an M.A. in feminist psychology from the New College of California.

Stuart Timmons is an investigative journalist and author who covers gay and HIV politics and medicine for a variety of national magazines. His biography of Harry Hay, The Trouble with Harry Hay: Founder of the Modern Gay Movement, appeared in 1990.

John Tinker studied English at the University of California at Berkeley and received his Ph.D. in English from Stanford University. He is currently working on a book on William Beckford.

Jeffrey Tobin is a cultural anthropologist who wrote his dissertation at Rice University on “Manly Acts: Buenos Aires 24 March 1996.” He is currently teaching in the Department of World Arts and Cultures at UCLA.

Robert Tobin, associate professor of foreign languages at Whitman College, teaches courses in German and gay and lesbian studies. His research interests include the age of Goethe and the early twentieth century.

Daniel Torres, associate professor of Spanish at Ohio University, is a specialist on colonial and
contemporary Spanish-American literature and has published books on Garcia Márquez, José Emilio Pacheco, and the Spanish American baroque, as well as a novel and a collection of short stories. He is currently working on a book-length project that examines queer poetry from Argentina, Cuba, Chile, and Puerto Rico.

Daniel C. Tsang has done research that focuses on moral panics over sex and gangs. He is a social sciences bibliographer and occasional lecturer at the University of California, Irvine, where he hosts a weekly interview program, “Subversity,” on KUCI, 88.9 FM public radio. He also writes for the Orange County Weekly.

Hans Turley is assistant professor of English at the University of Connecticut. His forthcoming book is entitled Rum, Sodomy, and the Lash.

Carole-Anne Tyler, associate professor of English and chair of the program in film and visual culture at the University of California, Riverside, is the author of the forthcoming book Female Impersonation.

Nancy C. Unger teaches American history at Santa Clara University, specializing in the Progressive era. Her biography Fighting Bob La Follette: The Righteous Reformer is forthcoming.

Alejandro Varderi, associate professor of Spanish at Borough of Manhattan Community College, City University of New York, has written Severo Sarduy y Pedro Almodóvar: del barroco al kitsch en la narrativa y el cine postmodernos and Anatomia de una seducción: reescrituras de lo femenino. He is currently working on a novel and a study of kitsch in Spanish-American narrative.

Paul L. Vasey received his Ph.D. (anthropology) in 1997 from the University of Montréal. His research focuses on the evolutionary implications of female homosexual behavior in Japanese macaques.

Margaret R. Vendreyes, who received her Ph.D. from Princeton in 1997, has been doing research on black American art and artists since 1982. She has just completed a monograph on Richmond Barthé and studies cross-cultural aesthetic and social concerns in the art and life of artists.

Bruce Vermazen is a professor of philosophy at the University of California, Berkeley, a translator, and the musical director of the San Francisco Starlight Orchestra.

Martin Vodražká is a classically trained singer working and living in Prague, Czech Republic.

Eibhear Walshe, a lecturer in the department of English, University College, Cork, Ireland, is the editor of Sex, Nation and Dissent in Irish Writing (1997).

Rae N. Watanabe is instructor of English at Leeward Community College in Pearl City, Hawaii.

Thomas Waugh, an author most recently of Hard to Imagine: Gay Male Eroticism in Photography and Film from Their Beginnings to Stonewall (1996), has taught film studies as well as interdisciplinary curriculum on queer culture and HIV at Concordia University, Montréal, since 1976. He has published in such periodicals as Jump Cut, The Body Politic, and Cineaction!

Cynthia Weber is associate professor of political science at Purdue University. Her focus on international relations and gender/queer theory is best expressed in her book Faking It: US. Hegemony in a Post-Phallic Era (1999).

Jonathan Weinberg, a painter and an associate professor in art history at Yale University, is the author of Speaking for Vice: Homosexuality in the Art of Charles Demuth, Marsden Hartley and the First American Avant-Garde (1993).

Barry Weller teaches at the University of Utah and edits the Western Humanities Review. In addition to collaborating on editions of Byron’s dramas (1991) and Elizabeth Cary’s Tragedy of Mariam, the Fair Queen of Jewry (1994), he has published articles on Renaissance, nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature in various journals and collections, including, recently, Novel Gazing: Queer Readings in Fiction (1997).

J. A. White, Ph.D., is an assistant professor of English at Morgan State University in Baltimore, Maryland.
Lloyd Whitesell received his Ph.D. in music at State University of New York at Stony Brook, where he now teaches. His research interests include Benjamin Britten, the subject of his dissertation, and other topics in lesbian and gay music.

Matthew Williams, author of numerous articles on race, media, and sexuality, attended Goddard College and is currently putting together the sprucemountain.org on-line arts project.

Matthew W. Wise is a music librarian at New York University and has performed with the Lesbian and Gay Big Apple Corps, BAC Symphonic Band, and Hot Lavender Swing Band.

Christopher S. Wood, who teaches art history at Yale University, is the author of *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape* (1993) and writes on the history and theory of art history.


Les K. Wright is assistant professor of humanities and English and liberal arts program director at Mount Ida College in suburban Boston. He edited and contributed to *The Bear Book: Readings in the History and Evolution of a Gay Male Subculture* (1997), is curator of the Bear History Project, was a founding member of the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California, and has published numerous articles on bears, gay history, and German and American cultural studies.

Lawrence L. Wu is professor and former associate chair in the Department of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. He and four other sociologists were authors of an amicus brief in support of same-sex marriage in the recent Hawaii Second Circuit Court and Hawaii Supreme Court cases on same-sex marriage.

Danny Yatim is an Indonesian psychologist and AIDS counselor based in Jakarta.

Christine Yared, J.D., is assistant professor at Grand Valley State University, School of Criminal Justice, where she has developed the course “Sexual Orientation, Law and Policy.” She is also president of the Lesbian and Gay Community Network of Western Michigan and has published and presented articles addressing legal issues for gays and lesbians.

Heather Zwicker, associate professor in the Department of English, University of Alberta, works at the intersection of postcolonial, queer, and feminist theories and literatures.
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Abū Nuwās (c.747–762 to c.813–815)

An emblem of homoerotic Arabic poetry, Abū Nuwās is one of the most celebrated poets of the early Abbasid age. Al-Hasan (b. Hānī' al-Hakami) was born in al-Ahwāz (Iran) between A.D. 747 and 762, and died in Baghdad between 813 and 815. His father might have been a soldier in the army of the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II, and his grandfather was a mawla (emancipated servant) of al-Garrāh (b. Abdallah al-Hakami), a governor of Khurasān of southern Arabian descent, which accounts for Abū Nuwās's avowals of disdain toward Arabs of northern origin (thus indirectly, if not openly, aiming at the family of the Prophet and caliphs, all of the northern tribe of Quraysh, a most provocative stance). His mother is said to have been the owner of a tavern in Basra and her morals the object of much jest. Two anecdotes quoted by Ibn Manẓūr allude to Abū Nuwās's being a mu‘ājir in his youth, a term that could be understood as an escort for rich and refined literati. The same author presents three versions of Abū Nuwās's encounter with the poet Wālība (b. al-Hubāb), a lover of wine and beardless youths. All versions agree that the latter was charmed by Abū Nuwās's wit and beauty and decided to take him to al-Kūfa to effect his formation as a poet. Wālība was generous enough to send him to the desert to master the subtleties of the language. After Wālība's death, the young poet, besides studying Koranic sciences, hadīth (sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhammed), and grammar, became a disciple of the famous transmitter of poetry Khalaf al-Ahmār. Ibn Manẓūr mentions that when Abū Nuwās asked his master for authorization to compose verses, Khalaf ordered him first to learn a thousand poems. Having learned them, recited them before Khalaf for many nights, and asked again for the right to compose, Khalaf enjoined him to forget those verses before he would be able to compose. This Abū Nuwās dutifully did while drinking wine in a monastery. This parable on poetic creation also underlines Abū Nuwās's formidable intelligence, acknowledged by all the learned men of his time. He joined the caliphal court in Baghdad as a protégé of the Iranian clan of Al Nawbakht, and became acquainted with the caliph Harūn al-Rashid's son, al-Amīn, who shared his taste for wine, young and available male servants, and hunting. Although Abū Nuwās had to flee to Egypt as a result of composing a eulogy to the Al Barmak, a family of vizirs to Harūn al-Rashid who were put to death after losing the caliph's favor, he lived the most brilliant period of his life upon returning to Baghdad during his friend al-Amīn's reign (809–813). The circumstances of his death are unknown.

Abū Nuwās's poetic production is particularly renowned for three themes: hunting, drinking wine, and mujūn (libertinism), the last two often connected. His devotion to homoerotic themes and his often scandalous life made him an emblem to the classical figure of the mu'ājin (ribald) and lūtī (active dominant sodomist). Many anecdotes and verses in this field were subsequently attributed to a character who had become mythical, although such attribution should be treated with skepticism. As a former handsome young boy and object of desire for older men, in his poetry he portrays himself as a man in turn attracted by adolescent youths, to whom he can give only the passive role in a sexual encounter. Abū Nuwās does not praise the male body as much as an androgynous beauty, as evidenced in the ghulāmiyyūt (servant girls dressed up as boys to please lovers of both sexes. In
many pieces), the poet falls for a stereotypically described boy, one of those "eternally young ones before whom Time is in debt, and reaches them no more than as much as they wish," who plays at being unattainable, and with whom he will or will not succeed. Those boys are usually court servants, objects of gifts, and sometimes Christians of Arab or Byzantine descent. Fashionable mujun includes witty and ironical allusions to the Muslim (or Christain) faith, in a way often close to blasphemy, as when the poet assimilates his penetration of a Christian boy as an act of jihâd against the infidel. Short pieces offer light and humorous longings of a lover of slender waists:

In the hammam appears what pants hide
So rise in your naked glory, cast a glance and care for nothing
You shall see the arse ending the back of a slender nice looking one
They all murmur to each other their admiration
[at this sight]
Isn't the hammam a place of utter beatitude?
Even if some of its charm is spoilt by those who won't leave their towels... .

Frédéric Lagrange

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See also Arabic Literature; Mujûn; Mukhannath; Nuzhat al-Albaab; Persian Literature

Ackerley, J. R. (1896–1967)
J. R. Ackerley is best known for *My Father and Myself* (1968), a memoir in which Ackerley interweaves the separate stories of his gay life, his father's extramarital heterosexual life, and his father's bisexuality. Because the protagonists of the book failed to tell their stories to each other, Ackerley's interweaving seeks to repair the lamentable fact that "two intelligent people, . . . parent and son," whose lives represent a century of English cultural conventions, "should have gone along together . . . without ever reaching the closeness of an intimate conversation." The memoir shows how heterosexual and homosexual persons have a mutual stake in freeing eros and intimacy from constraint.

Freedom and success in love depend upon intimacy, whose prospects in turn depend, Ackerley suggests, upon widespread, indeed global, sociohistorical and political conditions. Ackerley's *Hindoo Holiday: An Indian Journal* (1932) records Ackerley's employment, in 1923, as a secretary to an elderly gay maharajah of an Indian native state. The native ruler and the English secretary achieve an interracial, anti-imperialist intimacy based on their common dedication to illicit eros. But their friendship cannot withstand the imperialism-intensified homophobia of the ruler's countrymen and of Ackerley's compatriots.

Nevertheless, there are tensions in *Hindoo Holiday's* portrayal of friendship that escape sociohistorical and political intelligibility, just as there are tensions in *My Father and Myself* that evade therapeutic repair. This is because friendship and sexual love have a stubbornly perplexing character throughout Ackerley's work that evokes the limits even of liberated eros and of candid intimacy. Having found no all-absorbing intimate homosexual relation in his life, in 1946 Ackerley became exclusively attached to a pet Alsatian bitch. The responsibilities of his relation to his dog are recounted in the memoir *My Dog Tulip* (1956) and are novelized in *We Think the World of You* (1960), where interspecies affection is weighed against homosexual, heterosexual, and bisexual human eros. Both books brilliantly dramatize a constraint that appears to be inherent in all love, no matter how free, honest, and unashamed love's forms might become.

Ackerley's career began in 1925, when his autobiographical play, *The Prisoners of War*, about homosexuality in a World War I internment camp, had a brief success in London. Ackerley joined the Talks Department of the BBC in 1928, and from 1935 to 1959 he was arts editor of the BBC magazine *The Listener*. Ackerley's work is influenced by the writers T. E. Lawrence and David Garnett, and Ackerley's writing and editorial activity influenced many contemporaries, among them E. M. Forster, whom he encouraged to write gay stories (and whose *A Passage to India* receives a gay rewriting in *Hindoo Holiday*), and Christopher Isherwood.

Robert L. Caserio
Acosta-Posada, Juan David (1954—)
Juan David Acosta-Posada is an excellent example of a writer who is also a culturally aware gay activist of the 1980s and 1990s. Acosta-Posada was born in Cali, Colombia, in 1954. Since 1969, he has lived in Philadelphia, where he has become the most visible gay Latino leader, particularly in the areas of AIDS, human rights, and other issues important to the Latino community. He is the founder and director of Gay and Lesbian Latino AIDS Education Initiative (GALAEI), started in 1989. He is also a founding member of the Latin American Writers’ Collective and its literary magazine, Desde este lado (From This Side), cofounded with Puerto Rican lesbian filmmaker and writer Frances Negrón Muntaner. As an active member of Latino Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGO), Acosta-Posada has been instrumental in bringing cultural and literary issues into the annual national meetings of the most important Latino gay and lesbian organizations in the United States, helping to bridge the gap between activism and general culture and academia. Acosta-Posada’s articles on Latino, gay, and AIDS issues appear frequently in the Philadelphia press. His poems have appeared in periodicals such as the Painted Bride Quarterly and the Evergreen Chronicles, and in the anthologies American Poetry Confronts the 1990s, Shouting in a Whisper: Latino Poetry in Philadelphia, and POESIdA: An Anthology of AIDS Poetry from the United States, Latin America and Spain.

Acosta-Posada’s poetry is intensely—aggressively—lyrical and personal, as if it longed to (re)create a private/intimate pastoral space: a locus amenus within the madding crowd of sociopolitical and health problems so bravely faced by the Latino/gay/AIDS activist and poet. His first book, Grasping for Light (dated 1989, the year GALAEI was founded) centers on the experience(s) of love and loss, and words (poetry), the three themes intertwined from the first to the last poem of the collection. Words mark the existence of both love and absence, and they both survive through poetry. Language substitutes nature as the source of imagery; writing is possible only locus amenus; and like the Garden of Eden, it contains/creates both the fruit and the snake, love and grief, everything transformed into words: poems are “the geography of love,” “Words leaning half naked into the afternoons,” “poems, like a flock of paper birds.”

Through his personal and professional involvements, Acosta-Posada has seen many friends and clients die. His second collection of poetry, Migrations to Solitude (1993), tells of such unending loss using motifs similar to those used to express the loss of love: nature and language. Significantly enough, in the face of ravaging death, it is nature that is given a privileged space: the function of (re)constructing love and grief given to language in Grasping for Light, “the way winter & weather impersonate our loss.” Throughout these poems, nature and language struggle to hold on to such space/function. It is also the struggle between rage/grief and poetry, tension that characterizes so much of AIDS-related artistic production. “How do I make the earth sing? Sing?,” proposes and opposes the poem “Sur.” The collection ends with a sensual vision of summer and the all-conquering sun: “The sun’s naked heat undressing our thirst, and rowing towards me still.” But it is a vision of the past (“we were both sixteen”) made possible by language. The only way the poet can make the earth sing (the sun rise) is through words; and thanks to them, anger and grief are both conquered and “constructed” (a word from Grasping) or “impersonalized” (a word from Migrations). There is no way out... for the poet.

The third collection is titled Songs to Survive the Body (1993). Although AIDS is not the focus of the book, it is a generating force. As the poet explains in a letter, “I discerned in the late eighties a preoccupation with the body and desire as a problem in the age of AIDS. [From 1987 on], I became more conscious of the body, alienation, desire, hunger, and death, as central elements in the poems written after that year.” Carlos A. Rodríguez-Matos

Bibliography

See also Activism; AIDS; Poetry

ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power)
LIBERTY
AND
JUSTICE
FOR ALL*

*Offer not available to anyone with AIDS
(Flier by Ken Woodard for ACT UP New York's
U.S. Civil Rights Commission demonstration
in 1988 [Crimp 67])

The direct-action AIDS organization ACT UP
(AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) was formed by
a group of angry queer activists in New York City in
1987. They were angry because tens of thousands of
people had already died of AIDS, yet the response
of the government, the mass media, the medical es-

tablishment, and other institutions was character-
ized by genocidal neglect. By the time ACT UP

started, members of the group had watched while
friends and lovers had died of AIDS. Many people

in ACT UP were themselves living with HIV/AIDS.

They refused merely to sit back and die. ACT UP is
self-described as follows: "A diverse, nonpartisan
group of individuals united in anger and committed
to direct action to end the AIDS Crisis. We meet
with government and health officials; we research
and distribute the latest medical information. We
protest and demonstrate; we are not silent" (Carter
1). Within a short time, there were ACT UP chapters
in various cities across the country and in Europe,
Australia, and Canada.

Since the 1980s, ACT UP has utilized creative,
confrontational, direct-action tactics targeting mul-
tiple aspects of the AIDS crisis, including exorbitant
drug prices, inadequate government funding for re-
search and prevention, sluggish medical research,
inaccessible clinical drug trials, negligent AIDS ser-
vice organizations, and biased media coverage.

These tactics have included phone and fax zaps in
which an agency, corporation, or other group is
bombarded with hundreds of simultaneous phone
calls and faxes. ACT UP chapters have engaged in
marches, rallies, and "die-ins"—sit-ins in which
people symbolically die to call attention to the ever-
increasing number of AIDS deaths.

In other protests, ACT UP has occupied the off-
ces of agencies and corporations, disrupting busi-
ness as usual and using the media to publicize the

ACT UP protesters. Photo by Marc Geller.
AIDS crisis. In the late 1980s, ACT UP New York targeted Wall Street at least three times as a way to highlight the prioritization of profits over human lives. In 1989, after first posing as tourists to conduct surveillance, ACT UP members entered the New York Stock Exchange using counterfeit ID badges. They then chained themselves to the banister leading to the VIP landing and unfurled a banner reading, “Sell Wellcome” (Burroughs Wellcome is the manufacturer of the AIDS drug AZT). The activists used portable foghorns to drown out the 9:30 A.M. opening bell and dropped fake $100 bills imprinted with the words “Fuck your profiteering. We die while you play business” onto the stock exchange floor.

A central element of ACT UP’s work has been forcing government agencies such as the National Institutes of Health to develop more rigorous research programs on HIV/AIDS, improve treatments, and make those treatments more affordable. One early success of ACT UP was to force the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), a federal agency that approves drugs and sets prescribed doses, and Burroughs Wellcome, one of the largest pharmaceuticals in the world, to acknowledge (after a year’s delay) studies showing that the antiviral drug AZT was just as effective at 600 mg/day as at 1,200 mg/day. This halved the price of AZT and reduced the likelihood of the sometimes toxic side effects of the drug.

ACT UP has been particularly innovative in developing art, video, street theater, and agitprop (agitational propaganda) to call attention to the inequities of the AIDS crisis. In 1987, ACT UP’s float in New York City’s annual gay pride parade, trimmed with barbed wire and driven by a man in a Ronald Reagan mask, represented an AIDS quarantine camp. Surrounding it on the street were internment camp guards wearing gas masks and yellow rubber gloves.

Members of ACT UP realized that to fight AIDS, they would have to fight the homophobia that undergirded the epidemic. In true queer fashion, ACT UP has not just exposed antiqueer bigotry but publicly embraced the right to be queer. This includes speaking openly and explicitly about lesbian and gay male sex, publicly displaying homosexual affection, distributing thousands of condoms and dental dams, and unfurling banners promoting safer sex at major league baseball games, the Republican national convention, and other public events. ACT UP has often used video and art to expose the injustice of the AIDS crisis and boldly promote positive images of homosexuality. ACT UP popularized the pink triangle, which homosexuals were forced to wear in Nazi German concentration camps during the Holocaust, as a symbol of queer pride. Notably, the pink triangle has been reversed to point upward as a symbol of hope and resistance. The organization’s mission to emphasize the value of queer lives and vocally defy the status quo is encapsulated in the slogan SILENCE = DEATH, which appears below the pink triangle.

As in other movements, there has been considerable infighting around issues relating to race, class, and gender in several ACT UPs, including Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco. A significant number of ACT UP members, typically but not exclusively white gay men, have been reluctant to focus on how racism and sexism are connected to AIDS. Simultaneously, they have frequently been reluctant to accept the leadership of women and people of color—many of whom have had prior activist experience. In some ACT UPs, this faction has maintained that race and gender are not integrally linked to AIDS and that time spent on these issues would be better spent focusing on AIDS treatment issues and finding a cure.

While some ACT UP members have been reluctant to focus energy on fighting racism and sexism, other members have argued strongly that systemic racial and gender oppression are part and parcel of the AIDS crisis. People-of-color caucuses were formed in many ACT UP chapters to do educational outreach in communities of color. These caucuses have put together educational workshops to challenge racism within the organization, sponsored conferences on AIDS in communities of color, and worked with community-based organizations to improve AIDS services. Most of these caucuses are now defunct, with many of the members having left the organizations to work elsewhere.

One of the primary goals of ACT UP has been to expose the distorted, and often bigoted, coverage of AIDS by the mass media. For example, in 1988, ACT UP New York’s art group, Gran Fury, produced a chilling poster printed in English and Spanish in response to a Cosmopolitan article (January 1988 issue) that asserted that heterosexual women had little to fear from AIDS:

AIDS: 1 in 61
One in every sixty-one babies
in New York City is born with AIDS
or born HIV antibody positive.
So why is the media telling us that heterosexuals aren't at risk?
Because these babies are black.
These babies are Hispanic.

Ignoring color ignores the facts of AIDS.
STOP RACISM: FIGHT AIDS (Crimp 42).

Women, particularly lesbians, have criticized perceptions of AIDS as a gay male disease, pushing for more research on, and services for, women with HIV/AIDS. Women in ACT UP led several protests—disrupting conferences and sitting in at the Centers for Disease Control (CDC)—against the CDC definition of AIDS, which did not include the primary manifestations of AIDS in women for several years. Women's caucuses have challenged the portrayal of women as "vectors of transmission" (to men and to children) rather than people actually at risk for HIV infection themselves. Creating programs for women has meant simultaneously re conceptualizing women as whole people rather than just childbearers and wives and confronting the male centered health-care system. Significantly, lesbians in many ACT UP chapters have stimulated internal dialogues on race, class, and gender and have played a central role in pushing for collective action around these and related issues, such as AIDS among prisoners and injection drug users.

In one action illustrating ACT UP's creativity and determination, ACT UP Chicago led a protest against the failure of the Cook County Board of Commissioners to establish an AIDS ward for women at Cook County Hospital. ACT UP's Women's Caucus, supported by People with Immune System Disorders (PISD) Caucus and the People of Color Caucus, created a symbolic AIDS ward by placing sixteen mattresses, wrapped in sheets covered with slogans about women and AIDS, in the center of a busy intersection, blocking traffic. The women lay down on the beds and refused to move. Over one hundred people were arrested in the demonstration. The AIDS ward was opened the next day.

ACT UP has faced considerable resistance from different groups. Some members of the gay and lesbian community consider their in-your-face tactics to be excessive and counterproductive. The mass media have often painted ACT UP as irrational and extremist. In addition, ACT UP's strong critique of the oppression it believes to be entrenched in U.S. social institutions and culture has alarmed political authorities at various levels. This alarm has sometimes translated into government attempts to destabilize the organization.

While not as severe as the political repression targeting movements of the 1960s and early 1970s, ACT UP has faced repression including police violence, FBI surveillance and harassment, and the use of the judicial system to intimidate ACT UP members. The writer George M. Carter says that "incidents of police brutality include physical assault and verbal abuse sustained by AIDS activists in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York and elsewhere. This affects AIDS activism directly. The point of AIDS demonstrations is lost in the story of violence while activists continue to face the threat of police brutality" (18–19).

FBI files released under the Freedom of Information Act show that ACT UP has been the subject of "Domestic Terrorism" and "Civil Unrest" investigations since its birth in 1987. A campaign of harassing phone calls and death threats targeted ACT UP women nationally, and multiple felony charges were filed against the Houston Three (members of ACT UP/New York) at the 1992 Republican Party convention. Echoing government attempts to divide earlier movements, a grand jury was used to divide queer/AIDS activists in Colorado and to indict three members of ACT UP/Denver on felony charges in 1993 for their participation in an action protesting the AIDSphobia and homophobia of the Catholic Church.

ACT UP's queer political response to the AIDS crisis has been very successful. The combination of extensive educational programs and social protest has been integral in raising awareness in the gay, lesbian, and bisexual community and broader society, increasing government AIDS budgets, opening up experimental trials, and making treatment more accessible. ACT UP chapters in several cities have been key players in the formation of clean-needle exchanges and improved AIDS programs and services for women and for prisoners. ACT UP has played a crucial role in the empowerment of People with AIDS (PWAs) and queers. They have exposed what they consider the inefficiency and greed of pharmaceuticals and the insurance industry, as well as the calculated negligence of the government.

On a broader level, ACT UP has provided a model for confrontational queer political struggles against homophobia and other oppressions. ACT UP has exposed the concrete ways in which homophobia has driven the AIDS crisis; challenged the idea that being gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgen-
dered is bad; and linked AIDS to other issues such as housing, incarceration, sexism, racism, poverty, and militarism. ACT UP has confronted not only the specific institutions and policies that fuel the AIDS crisis but also the underlying beliefs that promote neglect and allow hundreds of thousands to die. Exploding myths about homosexuality, asserting their queerness, and making links to other communities hit by AIDS have been key parts of ACT UP's work.

Since 1991, various factors have contributed to a reduction in the ranks of ACT UP. Many members have died, while others are simply burned out after years of physically and emotionally draining work. Some ACT Upers have moved into paid positions in the ever-expanding AIDS service industry. A lack of interest in society in general and the news media in particular as well as an increasingly conservative political climate have also made AIDS activism increasingly difficult. By 1997, many ACT UP chapters were defunct, but the organization persisted in some cities and continued to "ACT UP" against AIDS. "After we kick the shit out of this disease, I intend to be alive to kick the shit out of this system, so that this will never happen again," -the late Vito Russo, ACT UP New York member (Crimp 302).

Brett Stockdill

**Bibliography**


*See also* Activism; AIDS; AIDS Organizations, U.S.; Gran Fury; Lesbians and Gay Men; Nazism and the Holocaust; Pink Triangle

**Activism, International**

In the age of globalization and rapid-fire movement of both information and money, when distances contract and national borders appear increasingly irrelevant, the distinction between local and international activism may seem difficult to maintain. Local activists often take an international perspective and call on the examples—or the resources—of other countries to reinforce their domestic message; news of victories or defeats on a local level may spread worldwide and have a global impact. On closer inspection, though, inequities of power and resources still prevent many groups from working in a transnational arena; other groups possessing such resources may likewise be reluctant to enable the participation of others.

However, a number of activist organizations are specifically dedicated to working on gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered issues on an international scale—whether regional, subregional, or global.

The oldest such group is the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA), founded in 1978 in Coventry, England, as the International Gay Association. ILGA is currently a federation of approximately 300 organizations, which holds a World Conference for its members every two years and distributes an English-language bulletin for its members via its administrative office in Brussels, Belgium. In 1997, ILGA changed its structure to increase regional power and representation. Where formerly positions in its governing secretariat had been distributed among member groups, an Executive Board representing all world regions as well as two secretaries general (one male, one female) now manage the organization between world conferences. The organization has no paid staff but maintains an active presence on the Internet.

The International Lesbian Information Service (ILIS) was formed in the late 1970s by a number of women reportedly responding to sexism and lack of lesbian representation in the then National Gay Association. ILIS is now located in the Netherlands, where a group of dedicated women (all volunteers)
A newsletter has been produced since 1984 in English and Spanish, containing current news and information from lesbians around the world. The group maintains contacts with lesbians from over sixty countries. In 1986, the group held its first and only international conference in Geneva for approximately 200 lesbians from about forty countries. The conference was disrupted by issues of racism and militarism, yet regional efforts were launched at this event, and many contacts were made between key lesbian activists still organizing in the movement today. ILIS has maintained its modest goals (with a very modest budget) of increasing communication and information about lesbians worldwide and strategically participating in certain international events such as the UN World Conference on Women and the Gay Games.

The International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC) is a U.S.-based organization advocating worldwide against human rights violations on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, or HIV status. IGLHRC was formed in 1991 to bridge the gap between the mainstream human rights movement and the growing lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender movements worldwide. With twelve staff members and offices in New York and San Francisco, IGLHRC monitors, documents, and mobilizes responses to human rights violations in partnership with thousands of grassroots organizations in over 120 countries. The organization produces regular action alerts in three languages, mobilizing responses to urgent situations that need international attention. IGLHRC also provides support to asylum seekers; provides technical assistance to grassroots lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and other sexual minority groups in developing countries; and produces human rights reports.

The International Gay and Lesbian Youth Organization (IGLYO), formerly the Union of Gay and Lesbian Youth, has functioned since 1983 as a loose group of lesbian and gay youth activists who hold an annual conference and produce a newsletter.

Other organizations of gays and lesbians are also becoming more international in focus. The World Congress of Gay and Lesbian Jewish Organizations has a membership nearing 300, advocating for greater inclusion of lesbian and gay issues in mainstream Jewish international institutions. The Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches, founded in 1968, also has over 300 churches, primarily in the United States, but with 30 churches in other countries.

Some organizations of bisexuals and transgendered people are taking a more international scope, notably Female-to-Male International. An international bisexual conference is held every three years, although no formal international organization has grown from it. Participants in both these groups are largely drawn from the United States and Europe but do include some representation of other parts of the world.

Finally, some mainstream international organizations contain gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered components. Amnesty International, for example, hosts an international network of "members for gay and lesbian concerns," who press that organization to improve its generally languid record of response on sexual-orientation issues.

Significant regional networks of gays and lesbians also exist. ILGA has held regional conferences in eastern and western Europe and in Latin America. Since the early 1980s, lesbians have been meeting as part of annual feminist conferences for Latin America and the Caribbean, called the Encuentros Feministas; in 1987, these subgatherings
were formalized as a separate conference, the Encuentros Lesbianas Feministas, held approximately at three-year intervals. The Asian Lesbian Network (ALN) was formed in 1991 after the first Asian lesbian conference in Thailand. A loose network of lesbians from ten Asian countries, as well as of Asian lesbians living outside the continent, ALN holds biennial conferences and as of 1998 is formalizing its constitution and membership.

Numerous conflicts and contradictions not only inhibit but inhere in the effort to create international coalitions. Economic, racial, and even linguistic privileges have been particularly divisive. As the examples above suggest, conferences have been a primary venue for sharing strategies and building alliances—including not just meetings organized around activism but events such as pride festivals, international gay and lesbian film festivals, and even the Gay Games. However, travel itself is a privilege that many activists working on a local level do not enjoy. And activists may find themselves further excluded by the language in which international conferences are held—usually, though not uniformly, English. The burgeoning of the Internet is sometimes taken to promise activists more democratic access to information, but computers, Internet service providers, and even electricity are hardly evenly distributed; gay and lesbian Internet resources are still dominated by the developed North.

Still, significant advances have been achieved by working at an international level. Although efforts by ILGA to obtain consultative status at the United Nations have been stymied by right-wing U.S. opposition and allegations of "pedophile influences," it has recently won similar status at the Council of Europe. In 1995, IGLHRC helped organize a global grassroots campaign for lesbian participation in the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing. This significantly raised the visibility of issues of sexuality and sexual orientation within UN structures. In the 1990s, major international non-governmental organizations, including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, have also slowly begun to respond to the most egregious abuses committed against people owing to their sexual orientation.

Arguably, however, the most significant outgrowth of the still nascent international gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered movement has not been its effect on these established institutions but the slow building of an international consciousness—an awareness of both the need for, and the continuing difficulty of, solidarity between activists divided not only by distance but by barriers of culture, identity, and access to power. This process is gradual and certainly still unfinished. Yet as it goes on, it will ensure that the groundbreaking struggles of local activists can become known and understood in wider circles, which in turn can give those struggles new effect, new respect, and new meaning.

Scott Long
Julie Dorf

Bibliography

See also Activism, U.S.; AIDS; Gay Games; International Law; Metropolitan Community Church; Politics (Global); Youth

Activism, U.S.
As a means of effecting change and raising consciousness, the dynamic of activism as utilized by gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people (as well as people with AIDS) has contributed greatly to the creation of most contemporary gay communities and gay identities. There have been innumerable and widely diverse interpretations of gay activism during the last half-century, but the association of activism with sexual identity is itself a concept virtually unknown before the twentieth century.

The 1948 study by Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, put homosexuality
squarely in the American public’s consciousness for the first time, and his use of sexuality as a group identifier enabled homosexuals to view themselves as members of an identifiable minority. Defining a shared identity and examining how society discriminated against homosexuals was a core focus of the earliest homophile groups in the 1950s, such as the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis.

Whether to seek acceptance of homosexuals as a distinct group deserving of equal legal protection or to take a more assimilationist approach—presenting homosexuals as virtually "normal" and "well adjusted" to fit into society—was an ideological struggle that divided the membership of many of these homophile groups. The first public gay protests in the mid-1960s were something of a hybrid of the two strategies. Calling for an end to witch-hunts targeting gay federal employees and military personnel, protesters outside the White House, State Department, and Independence Hall in Philadelphia dressed in suits and ties (skirts for women) in a conscious attempt to look like the average American.

The civil rights and black power movements of the 1950s and 1960s were pivotal in shifting the ideology and strategies of virtually all contemporary minority rights struggles. Achieving equality and strengthening group identity became a matter of asserting rights and reclaiming cultural identity, rather than simply seeking the acceptance of mainstream society.

In the struggle to attain full equality for homosexuals, the 1969 Stonewall riots were quickly seized upon by a new generation of gay activists as the kind of self-definitional moment after which nothing would be the same again. Previous nonconfrontational appeals for society to accept homosexuals were traded for loud, direct public actions demanding the rights which were being withheld from gays and lesbians. Activism quickly expanded beyond the tool of a handful of dedicated activists to become a popular form of gay community liberation. The increased exposure given to gay issues in mainstream media was seized upon by gay activists to exert pressure on various targets, and the media itself came under fire for slanted reporting.

Many of the activist groups that formed in the months and early years following the Stonewall riots cultivated a new, positive, collective gay identity by staging public demonstrations of "gay power" and "gay pride." But there was an increasing divergence of opinion among these groups as to their specific agendas and goals, including the repeal of sodomy laws, ridding gay establishments of Mafia connections, protecting homosexuals in the workplace, ending police harassment, and deciding whether and how to support other "liberation" and grassroots movements—the women’s movement, the Black Panthers, the antiwar movement—all competing for the attention and energies of the gay community.

Lobbying city and state governments to enact laws protecting homosexuals from discrimination was another focus of gay activists in the early to mid-1970s. While initially gays met with notable success, such as the passing of a human rights ordinance in cities like Ann Arbor (1972) and Minneapolis (1975), singer Anita Bryant led a successful campaign in 1977 to repeal a similar ordinance in Dade County (Miami). Extensive media attention given to the public vote against gay rights in Miami put gay activists on the defensive, and they suddenly had to fight to protect recently won rights. The attack by Bryant and her religious fundamentalist supporters on the idea of gays and lesbians as a group needing protection from discrimination would be repeated by conservatives over the next decade who portrayed gay rights activists as fighting for special rights for homosexuals. The 1978 slaying of openly gay San Francisco City Supervisor Harvey Milk and police attacks on gay protesters in the city’s Castro neighborhood in 1979 further heightened awareness of the precarious inroads gays and lesbians had made toward being accepted by society.

After the initial terror of the unknown that accompanied the arrival of the AIDS epidemic in the early 1980s, the gay community challenged the inadequate response of government, the scientific community, and the medical industry to the crisis of HIV and AIDS. ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) was particularly successful in staging direct public demonstrations and protests—a die-in (bodies prone on the pavement) on Wall Street and phone zaps (jamming) of corporate switchboards—in an effort to have these issues addressed.

Recognizing the power of advertising, ACT UP made considerable use of graphic images and succinct messages (particularly the pink triangle and the “Silence = Death” equation) in attracting the public’s attention. Commanding that attention was also the aim of the direct-action group Queer Nation, whose members chanted, “We’re here! We’re Queer! Get Used to Us!” Born of the same grassroots activism of ACT UP, Queer Nation sought
both figuratively and literally to acquire space for gay concerns by staging actions in the late 1980s and early 1990s such as “kiss-ins” in malls and challenging prohibitions against same-sex dancing at Disney World.

In the 1990s gay activism continued to organize around gay rights issues and promoting greater visibility of gays and lesbians in all areas of society. A two-year tourism boycott by gays and lesbians of the state of Colorado was launched in 1993 after a statewide voter referendum voided all municipal gay rights legislation. In New York City and elsewhere, school curricula that include discussions of nontraditional family structures, such as gay and lesbian parents, remain a contentious issue. The right of gay and lesbian couples to adopt children and the campaign to have states sanction marriage between same-sex partners is likely to preoccupy gay activists for some years to come.

After the 1992 election of the relatively gay-friendly Clinton administration, there was a shift in some of the energies of gay activists from public actions to focusing on internal gay community debates over sociocultural currents. Particularly volatile in the late 1990s was the issue of promiscuity and fidelity (including the quest for legalized gay marriages), as related to continued high rates of HIV infection, bathhouse shutdowns, and the extent to which overt sexual expression is celebrated in the gay male community.

Within the broader concept of gay activism are a number of activist movements with more specific foci: activism directed toward lesbian issues, bisexual issues, and transgender issues; activism pairing sexuality with co-constructs of identity such as race and ethnic background; activism on campuses and in the workplace, as well as within the labor movement. Growing popular use of the Internet has made it possible for activists to broadcast information electronically to the gay community and readily coordinate actions.

Yet these activist movements often take as much issue with their perceived lack of visibility within the gay community as they do with mainstream society. The lesbian community has expressed considerable frustration over the lack of at-
Attention given to women's health issues, especially after the prominent role lesbians have played and continue to play in confronting the AIDS epidemic. Activists have also been challenging gay community organizations on the gender, racial, and overall diversity imbalance of having predominately white gay men in leadership roles. **Eugene Patron**

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See also ACT UP; Activism, International; AIDS; AIDS Organizations, U.S.; Gay Left; Hay, Harry; Mattachine Society; Queer Nation; Stonewall Rebellion

**Adelphopoiesis**

*Adelphopoiesis* is a liturgical rite that originated in the early Greek-speaking Christian churches. (The equivalent rite in the Slavic spiritual churches was called *bratotvorenia.*) The Greek term means literally “brother-making” or “friend-making,” and the rite has typically been understood as a ceremony establishing a special kinship between the persons joined by it. Some scholars have argued that the rite developed as an adaptation of pre-Christian forms of nonbiological kinship, such as brotherhood-in-arms. The Christian rite was certainly used on occasion to seal a peace between warring parties or to strengthen social relations outside family lines. Other scholars have seen the rite as a continuation of certain kinds of adoption practiced in the Roman Empire for dynastic and economic reasons. But the Christian rite of *adelphopoiesis* did not have fixed legal consequences, say, for inheritance. Indeed, perhaps in the majority of cases, the rite seems to have served as a public enactment of some special affection between two Christians. John Boswell proposed that the *adelphopoiesis* served in some cases as something like a church-approved lesbian or gay marriage. Arguing both from the content of the rite and from historical accounts of same-sex couples joined by it, Boswell held that ordinary Christians would sometimes not have been able to distinguish the practice of the rite of *adelphopoiesis* from standard Christian marriage ceremonies. Boswell’s reinterpretation has not been generally accepted. **Mark D. Jordan**

**Bibliography**


See also Couples; Friendship

**Adult Bookstores**

The combination adult bookstore/video arcade provides for the rental, purchase, and consumption of pornography. One of the few commercial spaces not strictly either heterosexual or homosexual, the typical adult bookstore features a mélange of products promising to satisfy a variety of sexual aims. In this particular instance, it is ironic that in many localities the goals of capitalism take precedence over so-called community values; certain consumers need to locate homoerotic merchandise, and, given the threat of shame or ostracism involved, must be able to do so without having to ask for help. The space of the porno shop is thus polymorphously perverse, rendered increasingly so by capitalism’s commodification of even “aberrant” sexual desires.

Adult bookstores are located in both urban and rural environments, usually concentrated in downtown areas or along rural highways. Most customers are men; while more women appear to be visiting such establishments recently, they are usually accompanied by men. Bookstores are typically divided into a front area that sells magazines, novels, videos, lubricants, and sexual novelties such as dildos, penis pumps, and blow-up dolls, and a back area featuring an adult movie arcade in which customers sometimes have sex. (It is a testament to the puritanical strains in U.S. society that even during such a severe health crisis such as AIDS, the only
place to purchase a safe and effective lubricant in many towns and cities has been an adult bookstore.)

The arcade is spatially separated from the remainder of the shop and usually requires an admission fee. It is rare to find women in the video arcade. One of the consequences of the explosion of the home video porno market has been the escalating homoeroticization of the arcade. Given the falling price of VCRs, many people now watch porno films at home. As a result, arcade customers tend to be searching for homoerotic contact—the primary exception being people who don't have access to VCRs or video rentals, or people who wish to view pornography without being detected by other members of their household.

Like many spaces in which consensual homoerotic activity may occur, adult bookstores blur the distinction between public and private. Theoretically open to the public, like tearooms they are spaces where private activities transpire. Some shops advertise themselves as private clubs and require the purchase of a membership. The fee must be sufficiently low to attract customers who may visit only a single time and high enough to discourage customers who might exploit the shop's cruising potential without actually purchasing anything.

In addition to purchasing commodities, visitors to the adult bookstore sometimes develop conventional social relationships. The space around the counter seems to be a particularly active area, especially if the clerk invites conversation. Depending on the store and its community, some customers might exchange pleasantries and discuss other aspects of their life such as their job, particularly the "regulars," who in smaller communities are likely to recognize one another from other (homoerotic) social settings. These factors challenge the view that those attending the bookstore are simply interested in sex.

John Champagne

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See also Bathhouses and Sex Clubs; Pornography; Tearooms

Advocate
The oldest continually produced gay publication in the United States, the Advocate was founded in 1967. Originally titled the Los Angeles Advocate, it became gay America's first all-news publication as well as the first to operate as a commercial enterprise financed entirely by advertising and circulation revenue. Founder Dick Michaels surreptitiously printed his first several issues on a printing press in the offices of the ABC Television Network, where his lover worked in the mailroom. In 1970, Michaels shifted from monthly to biweekly publication and dropped "Los Angeles" from the title to become the Advocate. He then transformed his local newspaper into a national one that published gay news from across the country.

In 1974, former Wall Street investment banker David B. Goodstein paid Michaels $1 million for the Advocate then spent another $2 million converting it into a cultural magazine subtitled "Touching Your Lifestyle." Redesigned with a bold, modern look, the Advocate documented the myriad dimensions of the gay culture, including gay America's enormous impact on such diverse subjects as men's fashion and the disco music craze. The magazine also moved gay publishing into the mainstream, becoming one of the dozen fastest-growing magazines in the country.

In the late 1970s, Goodstein began to place more emphasis on news, changing the Advocate's subtitle to "America's Leading Gay Newsmagazine." A major force in this transition was reporter Randy Shilts, who joined the staff in 1976 and undertook such blockbuster projects as documenting the explosion of gay bars and bathhouses into a big business with annual receipts of $120 million and the emergence of a national gay health crisis as the incidence of venereal disease soared to epidemic proportions. In 1978, Shilts left the Advocate to work in the mainstream press.

When the AIDS epidemic erupted in 1981, Goodstein was so skeptical about what caused the disease and how it was spread that he opted not to sound the alarm, even though his magazine's eighty thousand circulation was triple that of any other gay publication. The Advocate did not advocate that gay men wear condoms during anal intercourse until 1983—a full two years after some other gay newspapers had published that advice.

The Advocate did, however, take the lead in attracting big-ticket advertising to gay publishing. In 1982, it landed Absolut vodka as the first major national advertiser in the gay press. The magazine's momentum waned in 1985 when publisher Goodstein died of colon cancer.
When a spate of glossy gay magazines emerged in the early 1990s, the Advocate unveiled a slick new look highlighted by its switch from newsprint to glossy paper. The redesign helped the magazine reap the benefits of dozens of mainstream advertisers seeking to attract the affluent gay dollar. Among gay glossies, the Advocate was the most news-oriented. It was during an Advocate interview in 1992 that candidate Bill Clinton promised that, if elected, he would lift the ban against gay men and lesbians serving in the armed forces.

Rodger Streitmatter

Bibliography


See also Bookstores; Journalism; Shilts, Randy

Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–1167)

Aelred takes his name from the Cistercian monastery of Rievaulx in northeastern England, which he served for some years as abbot. A powerful spiritual writer, he is rightly regarded as one of the founding theologians of the Cistercian movement, which sought a more ascetic practice of the Christian monastic life. Aelred enters the history of homosexuality in part because of biographical facts, in part because of certain themes in his theological writings. Aelred himself describes his passionate attachments to men, and he confesses that he was particularly afflicted with sexual temptations. His biographer conceded when challenged that Aelred was sexually active as a young man and perhaps even notoriously so. The least strained conclusion is that Aelred had some sexual experiences with other men when young. Moreover, there are in Aelred's writings many passages that strike modern readers as homoerotic. His treatise "On Jesus at the Age of Twelve" encourages quite graphically the practice of devotion to the body of the young savior. In other writings, Aelred addresses equally strong devotion to the body of the crucified Jesus. At the same time, in many other passages Aelred explicitly condemns as sin genital contact between members of the same sex. Whether or how far Aelred should be counted a closeted homosexual or a gay writer depends almost entirely on how those terms are defined.

Mark D. Jordan

Aestheticism

The terms aestheticism and homosexual were both coined in the nineteenth century and each had a notable impact on the others' formulation. This relation did not attain public recognition until Oscar Wilde's trials in 1895, when the dandy-aesthete's image and epigrammatic wit became familiar signifiers of homosexuality. By that time, however, aestheticism itself had already passed its peak in popularity. Overlapping with the decadent movement, the pre-Raphaelite movement, and the notion of l'art pour l'art (art for art's sake), aestheticism is a theory of art and life that entered primarily French and British culture during the second half of the nineteenth century, although its influence can also be found in other parts of the world including Canada, Germany, Italy, Latin America, Russia, and the United States. Aestheticism's principal tenet is that the worthiest of human endeavors is the full appreciation of beauty, which is an end in itself and which need not address utilitarian, political, moral, or other concerns. With advocates encouraging people to try to sustain such a temperament during every waking moment, aestheticism became signified by an amazing array of items, including literature, art, fashion, household goods, decor, poses, and terminology. This cultural production became known as the aesthetic movement.

Aestheticism arose from theories dating at least as far back as Immanuel Kant's Critique of Aesthetic Judgment (1790) and his claim that the ideal aesthetic experience demanded the "disinterested" contemplation of an object without any consideration of its practical or moral value. The argument for beauty's autonomy from cultural and political dictates made its earliest aestheticist appearance in the preface to Mademoiselle de Maupin (1835), in which French author Théophile Gautier argues in fa-
toward the "spiritual" utility provided by beauty and one's maximum experience of diverse pleasures over the practical utility that so many critics were demanding from art. The novel's hero, D'Albert, offers an erotic enactment of Gautier's argument by searching for new sensations that he locates in the sexual encounters among himself, his mistress, and the cross-dressing eponymous heroine. Both aestheticism and its association with uncommon sexual acts were later developed in French literature by Charles Baudelaire, Joris-Karl Huysmans, Gustave Flaubert, and others, although their representations of same-sex desire were often more objectifying and titillating than sympathetic.

The notion that the appreciation of beauty is the most valuable human capability did, however, encourage positive conceptions of male-male desire, most apparently in England. Predating a number of texts now in the aestheticist canon, such as Gautier's L'Art moderne (1856), Baudelaire's Les Fleurs du mal (1857) and Salon de 1859 (1859), Algernon Swinburne's Poems and Ballads (1866), and Walter Pater's Studies in the History of the Renaissance (1873), the first recorded use of the term aestheticism in England is George Brimley's 1855 review of Alfred Tennyson's poem "The Lotus-Eaters." While not suggesting sexual unconventionality, Brimley criticizes the poem for its lack of moral emphasis and its focus on the external environment, rather than God and society. Swinburne introduced a more full-bodied aestheticism to England when he used its arguments in an essay defending Baudelaire's work. He could not have been surprised by the critical attacks against his own later Poems and Ballads, which highlights a decadent image of sexual desire in such pieces as "The Leper," "Hermaphroditus," and "Anactoria."

The most influential articulation of aestheticism's principles as a theory of art and life is in Pater's collection of essays, The Renaissance. The disinterestedness of aesthetics, as described by Kant, means that appreciation demands the experience of sensual pleasure while disregarding the actual object that causes such pleasure; it can thereby be used to sanction same-sex admiration of the physical body. In the essay "Winkelmann," from The Renaissance, Pater defines such admiration as a necessity for the appreciation of beauty when he argues that Winkelmann's romantic friendships with beautiful men reflect the same developed sensibility that led him to appreciate fully Greek sculpture without any sense of corruption or shame. Not only an advo-

Critics and parodists also encouraged the association of aestheticism with homosexuality. W. H. Mallock's New Republic (1877) caricatures Pater as Mr. Rose, an aesthete attracted to young men. Vernon Lee incorporates lesbian desire into her novel Miss Brown (1881) to articulate notably both an elitist and a sympathetic model of aestheticism. W. S. Gilbert's play Patience (1881), Robert Hichens' novella The Green Carnation (1894), various pieces by Ada Leverson, and George Du Maurier's numerous cartoons in Punch magazine also use suggestions of same-sex male desire to poke fun at aestheticism. At the same time, these products of popular culture helped extend aestheticism's credo and its own positive image of male-male attraction to a broader audience. Wilde, however, was aestheticism's greatest marketer, as well as one of its most important authors. He infused a homoerotic aestheticism into many of his works, including The Picture of Dorian Gray and Salome. Even his children's stories such as "The Happy Prince" combine aestheticism, uncommon affections, and a Paterian notion of sympathy in their critique of utilitarian, bourgeois values.

Other authors and artists from England and elsewhere who participated in aestheticism include Gabrielle d'Annunzio, Aubrey Beardsley, Max Beerbohm, Sergey Diaghilev, Henry James, Lionel Johnson, Mikhail Kuzmin, Marc-André Raffalovich, Rainer Maria Rilke, John Symonds, Arthur Symons, and James McNeill Whistler. A sympathetic strain of aestheticism's parodic formulations extends into such twentieth-century camp texts as Ronald Firbank's Concerning the Eccentricities of Cardinal Pirelli (1926) and Christopher Isherwood's Mr. Norris Changes Trains (1935).

Dennis Denisoff

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Aestheticism 15
A


See also Dandy; Decadence; Diaghilev, Sergey; English Literature; Firbank, Ronald; French Literature; French Symbolism; German Literature; Greek Love; Homosexuality; Isherwood, Christopher; James, Henry; Kant, Immanuel; Kuzmin, Mikhail; Pater, Walter; Pederasty; Raffalovich, Marc-André; Symonds, John Addington; Tennyson, Alfred Lord; Wilde, Oscar; Wincklemann, Johann Joachim

Africa: Precolonial sub-Saharan Africa

The most ancient depiction of homosexual practices in sub-Saharan Africa comes from the San (Bushmen), a classless hunter/gatherer people once scattered in small migratory groups throughout southern Africa. One of the many paintings they left behind on rock faces shows a group of men apparently engaged in anal or intracrural (between-the-thighs) intercourse. This dates from at least 2,000 years ago.

The communitarian San were gradually displaced or assimilated by more complex societies that spread throughout the continent over the past two millennia. Their enormous diversity makes generalization of limited values. Nonetheless, three features of premodern cultures that affected attitudes toward homosexual relationships and practices appear to have been fairly consistent across the continent. First, wealth tended to be measured in people attached to a household rather than in land holdings or conspicuous consumption. This made heterosexual marriage and reproduction a material as well as moral imperative. Second, societies tended to be very homosocial, with strict sexual divisions of labor and space. Third, the notion of community extended beyond the living to include ancestral spirits. Strange or eccentric behavior in individuals could be explained as their being possessed by such spirits.

The political economy of heterosexuality derived from the fact that, unlike in most of Europe or east Asia, land was abundant and shortage of people was the principal constraint on food and other production. As a result, children were not only considered as wealth and prestigious in their own right but were also a means to acquiring further wealth and prestige. Daughters in particular were valued for their labor and for the “income” they brought to the family upon marriage. Indeed, bride-price accumulated from several daughters not only enriched a family but was also a means of advancing the prospects of sons, who could then afford to marry upward. Many daughters also served the political interests of a family in that they could be given as reward to loyal male clients or to establish interfamily alliances.

Sons, meanwhile, were generally required to marry before they were given their own fields, cattle, and the social status of manhood. Wives who did not subsequently get pregnant could be divorced, would lose the social status of womanhood, and would invite shame (and the possible expense of reimbursing bride-price) upon their family.

Heterosexual marriage resulting in successful pregnancy was thus the vocation that children were taught from earliest years. For a man or woman to forgo this and at the same time to elicit condemnation of family and community for the love of another of the same sex was an absurd and dangerous life choice, and in some cases there were explicit prohibitions against it, including the death penalty. The Orientalist stereotype of a “Sotadic (or torrid) zone” where homosexuality was unknown or highly discouraged is therefore largely correct empirically, if homosexuality is understood as a lifelong identity or persistent condition.

The second generalization about sub-Saharan African societies, however, is that pronounced homosociality created conditions for widespread homosexual “play.” Homosociality meant that boys and girls, as well as men and women, conducted their daily lives in largely separate spheres. They typically had different crops, separate fields, separate huts, and their own institutions, games, duties, rituals, and so on. As a result, erotic touching between same-sex friends of the same age was considered quite normal and in no way threatening to future heterosexual relations. Indeed, homosexual sex play was often regarded as appropriate “training” for future heterosexual marriage, preferable to heterosexual mixing that could result in illegitimate pregnancies and political complications.

Homosociality was especially pronounced in pastoral, hunting, or militarized societies. In these, men in groups could be away from home for long periods of time. Among the Azande (of the present-day Central African Republic) and Zulu (southeastern South Africa), pederastic “marriages” among warriors were said to have been conditioned in part to keep the men from developing mixed loyalties while they remained in the army. Among the Nuba (southwestern Sudan), homosexual relations between
comrades-in-arms were said to have been "widespread" owing to fear of the enfetterment and supposed loss of virility that love and marriage to women could entail. The term "widespread" was also applied to homosexual relations among Tutsi and Hutu male youths, particularly at the royal court, where women were excluded.

Situational explanations of homosexual behaviors should be treated with great caution. It is a fact, however, that young men in the more stratified societies often lacked access to women and so turned to each other for intimate companionship and sexual release. Heterosexual contact could be restricted by decree or taboo, by men's inability to afford bride-price, and by the practice of polygyny on such a grand scale by elite old men that marriageable women were simply not available. The risks of adultery could be so high—death or mutilation in the Azande case—that taking boys as badiya ngbanganga (court lovers) was a "very sensible" alternative. A similar situation among the Kololo/Lozi of western Zambia was rued by David Livingstone. Such behavior in no way invited stigma or precluded moving on to heterosexual marriage when circumstances allowed.

Legitimate, nonsexual friendships among men may also have acted as a cover for otherwise forbidden or inconceivable homosexual love. Reflective of this, contemporary gays and lesbians in Zimbabwe have coopted the word sahwira to denote a loving homosexual relationship. The all-important appearance of heterosexual virility for men could also be maintained regardless of reality through the custom of "raising seed," a practice found throughout the continent. By this, a man who was impotent or uninterested in consummating his marriage to a woman could invite a brother or friend to impregnate her. The children and prestige that ensued belonged to the husband, who was then free to pursue his sexual preferences without compromising his social standing.

In rare cases, revulsion at the idea of heterosexual sex was so strong that individuals resisted the intense social and economic pressures to marry. The third generalization about premodern cultures was that such defiance could be explained by spirit possession. A woman possessed of a male spirit could legitimately marry another woman, could remain unattached, and could dress and behave as a man. Similarly, a man possessed by a female spirit did not attract condemnation but could be an accepted part of the community. The Konso of Ethiopia had no fewer than four words for such "effeminate" men, while among the Langa of Uganda, jo apele (impotents) were married by men, dressed as women, and purportedly simulated menstruation.

A man so possessed could in some cases win considerable respect if his ability to commune with powerful ancestors was thought to be effective. The first Portuguese to visit Angola found that such transvested "sodomites" were an apparently respected caste of jin bandau or quimbanda (medicine men). Kirby also writes of an ancient tradition of "medicine men" among the Ovambo in Angola and Namibia. One of their ritual functions was to entice men who showed evidence of sexual uncertainty to come out, as it were, charging their clients for the service.

Male homosexuality with ritual connotations appears to have crossed the Atlantic with the slave ships in the sixteenth century to become a part of African-American culture: African "sodomites" were tortured and burnt at the stake during the Portuguese and Spanish Inquisitions in their colonial territories. The early-twentieth-century ethnographer Gunther Tessman also noted that anal intercourse among the Fang or Pangwe of Cameroon was imputed to have magical qualities in some cases, allowing the active partner to draw "medicine" for acquiring wealth from a friend who desired to share.

Colonialism and capitalism, as they spread throughout Africa at the turn of the nineteenth century, had contradictory effects on African sexuality. On the one hand, colonial rule put an end to many of the taboos, military traditions, and grand polygyny that once favored homosexual "play" in some societies. Christian ideologies and colonial laws meanwhile offered new injunctions against "unnatural acts," turning what had formerly been play into a crime punishable by death, a hundred lashes, or five years in prison. Colonial rule also weakened old men's monopoly on marriageable women. Young men and women were able to gain independent access to cash and hence to abscend from parental control or pay their own bride-price. In some of the new urban centers, a culture of conspicuous heterosexual consumption emerged in response to this freedom and against the other "emasculating" tendencies of colonial racism.

On the other hand, colonial regimes demanded vast amounts of cheap labor and set about to procure it in ways that frequently abetted homosexual behavior. Above all, they encouraged or compelled men to migrate to work while leaving the women and children behind in the rural areas. When the men had ceased to be useful, they were sent back to the "labor...
reserve," where women's labor supposedly maintained hearth and home. This benefited capital by justifying African men's less-than-subsistence wages, lack of pensions, or injury compensation; scrimping on building a proper urban infrastructure; and frustrating development of an organized, politically conscious proletariat.

In South Africa, where the migrant labor system became the most entrenched, cities and industrial centers were as much as 90 percent male. The men were typically housed in vast hostels or compounds where access to prostitutes let alone wives was extremely limited. The former, in short supply and high demand, tended to suffer from high rates of venereal disease. Entanglement with prostitutes was thus costly both in financial and health terms. For a migrant worker to take a town wife or prostitutes undermined his ability to maintain a rural household—the real source of his social standing and his only real insurance against injury, unemployment, and old age.

Under these circumstances, a common practice emerged of men taking young boys as "wives." Throughout southern Africa this was known as "mine marriage" (bukhontsana, izinkotsana, ngochane). The husband used the boy for sexual gratification as well as other domestic work. In return, the boy expected gifts and protection in a dangerous, alienating environment. Eventually, when the "wife" had saved a bit and was confident enough, he could leave the "marriage," possibly to acquire a "wife" of his own.

Male prostitution also emerged in the early years of colonial rule. This derived in part from the understanding that intracural sex with males was safer than vaginal sex with prostitutes. From the sketchy testimony of repeat offenders in the colonial courts, it also appears that the anonymity of urban centers enabled the emergence of a gay minority—men who were exclusively homosexual by preference.

Thus traditions of homosexual behaviors and "sexual inversion" existed throughout sub-Saharan Africa prior to the coming of Europeans. The homosexual practices and identities that arose in the early colonial period also reflected indigenous expressions of sexuality in a rapidly changing context, rather than imitations of exotic behaviors, as some African chauvinists now declare. 

Marc Epprecht

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See also Colonialism; Kenya; South Africa; Zimbabwe

African American Gay Culture

Although it is difficult to pinpoint something as untraceable as the emergence of a culture, there can be little argument that the beginnings of a recognizable tradition of African American gay men’s culture can be found in the explosion of black creativity that has come to be called the Harlem Renaissance. The number of major figures in this movement considered to have been either gay or bisexual is startling. They include most notably Countee Cullen, Alain Locke, Claude McKay, Walter White, Langston Hughes. Nugent’s short stories “Sadji” and “Smoke, Lilies, and Jade” are generally considered to be the premier texts in African American gay literature, and Wallace Thurman’s novel Infants of the Spring offers the first explicit representation of a gay black man in African American literature.

Although a number of gay black writers achieved public recognition, most notably Willard Motley and Owen Dodson, James Baldwin was the first African American writer to consistently present homosexual themes and characters in his work. But his depictions of black gay men cannot be read as in any way celebratory. He was soon followed, however, by science fiction writer Samuel Delany, who more explicitly and positively explored alternative sexualities although more often than not leaving black men out of the picture until relatively late in his career. The emergence of a self-defined and self-consciously black gay aesthetic can be seen with the publication of two landmark anthologies of gay black men’s writing—In the Life: A Black Gay Anthology (1986), edited by Joseph Beam, and Brother to Brother: New Writings by Black Gay Men (1991), edited by Essex Hemphill. Most of the directions taken in subsequent gay black men’s writing can be discerned in the work collected in these volumes as well as in that promoted and generated by the black gay writers collective Other Countries, established in New York City in the early 1980s.

It is not surprising that literature would be an area in which gay black expressiveness would first reveal itself. Less expected, however, is the extent to which the black church has also served as a sanctuary in which many gay men could lead relatively open lives and express their personalities despite the church’s putative rejection of homosexuality as a sin. The commonplace and often satirized notion of the black church as a haven for “sissies” was reflected in the rejection of Christianity that was one of the key components of black nationalism in the 1960s, as evidenced by the homophobic pronouncements regularly issued by such key nationalist figures as LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka) and Eldridge Cleaver. Unfortunately, this homophobia has been taken up wholesale in the discourse of Afrocentricity into which black nationalism has metamorphosed and the often Afrocentrically inspired notions of community that one finds in much rap music. Relying on historically and anthropologically falsified images of a monolithically heterosexual “Africa,” Afrocentricity keeps in circulation the notion of the “unnaturalness” of black homosexuals consistently challenged by modern gay black men’s writing, art, and filmmaking.

Until the emergence of the contemporary gay black scene, those gay black men who chose to live uncloseted lives and still function within the public sphere were usually forced to compromise by wielding influence through the mediation of a more acceptably heterosexual figure as can be seen most obviously in the lives and careers of civil rights activist Bayard Rustin, who strategically avoided the spotlight throughout his career, and jazz composer Billy Strayhorn, much of whose work was presented to the public as having been created by his mentor, Duke Ellington. Marlon Riggs’s documentary Tongues Untied and the controversy surrounding its broadcast on national television, Riggs’s sequel, Black Is . . . Black Ain’t, and Jennie Livingston’s Paris Is Burning brought gay black men’s culture unprecedented prominence and decisively signaled the end of black gay invisibility.

As Riggs wrote of his own success, “Negro faggotry is in vogue.” The popularity of E. Lynn Harris’s best-selling novels Invisible Life and Just As I Am with both heterosexual and gay black readers and the success of the transgendered performer RuPaul indicate the extent to which gay black expression has, however problematically and
Asteriskically for now, entered the mainstream of American popular culture. This is especially apparent when RuPaul's multimedia omnipresence is contrasted with that of some of the similarly gender-ambiguous performers who preceded "him," such as Little Richard and the disco superstar Sylvester.

Much of the work of contemporary gay men has been both to clarify the real continuities and to articulate the real differences between gay black men's culture and the African American and the often racist gay white communities between which African American gay men are uncomfortably situated. Keith Boykin's One More River to Cross: Black and Gay in America is a particularly important attempt to articulate this position. Only within the climate created by post-Stonewall gay activism and the rise of the disco movement of the 1970s and the flooding into the commercial mainstream of gay style and sensibilities was the ground set for the emergence of black gay men's culture and the sensitive and unapologetic representation of gay black men's lives. This emergence was slowed down but not destroyed by the onset of the AIDS epidemic, which hit the gay black community especially hard for reasons related primarily to the way in which information about the crisis was structured and disseminated. Black males make up only 6 percent of the U.S. population, yet as many as 23 percent of those with the disease have been African American men.

Although much still needs to be done, it is a long road that leads from the tragic image of the gay black hustler presented in Shirley Jackson's 1967 documentary Portrait of Jason to the self-loving expressiveness of contemporary songwriter and performer Blackberri.

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Aging

Gay gerontology has become a well-established field of research only in the past two decades. Prior to 1980, scholarly research on aging was almost oblivious to the existence of older gays and lesbians. Even today there are college texts devoid of any reference to gay aging, making these elders invisible to generations of graduate therapists and counselors in fields serving seniors. With no shortage of popular mythology about the "sorry state" of old homosexuals, fictional literature often supports such a gloomy view. Meanwhile, the "liberated" gay subcultures of North America (and often elsewhere) remain youth-obsessed, and many younger homosexuals consider the "elders of their tribe" to be unfortunate figures, lonely and bitter at best, predators on youth ("chicken hawks") at worst.

Much of the gay media that has mushroomed since 1970 is heavily slanted toward youth. Advertising in gay community newspapers is heavily weighted with images of gays and lesbians under thirty. In gay novels and periodicals, younger gay and lesbian readers are often subtly—and sometimes not so subtly—exposed to an image of their own future in which thirty is old and forty is "over the hill." Although there are some positive images, such as the aging gay detective Dave Brandsetter in Joseph Hansen's mysteries, major gay novels like Andrew Holleran's 1996 novel, The Beauty of Men, still portray gay aging as a frightening prospect.

A counterculture of gay aging has slowly emerged to battle these myths with positive images of older lesbians and gay "daddies." With a little effort, it is possible to obtain gay pornography featuring older models. More gay autobiographies and journals are available, providing histories of a positive gay maturity, such as Alan Helms's Young Man from the Provinces (1994) or the controversial but charmingly camp writings of Quentin Crisp. However, in the gay subculture of bars, discos, baths, and other specifically gay facilities, most men find it a severe disadvantage to show signs of aging. Some gay telephone dating lines compel users to classify themselves by age, and those in the older categories often do not get messages.

Early scientific research on gay aging varies in its conclusions. Some studies supported the argument that homosexuals adjust well to age, while others argued theories such as "accelerated aging"—the notion that homosexuals experience the effects of aging at an earlier chronological age than do heterosexuals. Indeed, age forty was often the baseline
for recruiting a “scientific” sample of “older homosexuals.” Forty is still the base recruiting age of many gay organizations for elders, such as Prime Timers.

One of the consequences of the period immediately after Stonewall was a variety of attempts to compensate for previous antigay images by actually suggesting that homosexuals enjoyed “advantages” over heterosexuals in adjusting to old age. Theories such as “crisis competence” argued that homosexuals who survived to old age had overcome more life crises than most heterosexuals, and so were better able to deal with stresses of aging. Today a more moderate position is usual: on key issues of health, friendship, and satisfaction with life, older homosexuals do not appear to differ significantly from the general population.

Gays and lesbians in most metropolitan urban centers have worked to build “institutionally complete” communities, in which a range of services from food stores, restaurants, travel agencies, and physicians to legal, accounting, and counseling services are available from gay-positive suppliers. The “gay yellow pages” of such cities list a wide range of services; yet services for older homosexuals remain glaringly underdeveloped. Remarkably few gay urban subcultures offer a range of programs for gay seniors even remotely comparable to services available for heterosexuals (or gays who pass as straight). There are few travel programs for elders and even fewer gay and lesbian retirement facilities. In 1996, the friends of Harry Hay, one of the early heroes of gay liberation, were compelled to issue an international appeal in the Journal of Homosexuality for funds to help Hay and his lover with the poverty that besets many gay elders.

The majority of gay elders now over fifty were teenagers or young adults in the 1930s to 1960s, a period in which it was risky and rare to be openly gay. Gays and lesbians of that period tended to absorb a hatred of homosexuality from the dominant heterosexist culture and thus frequently failed to develop pride in their own gay identity. In spite of gay liberation, many of these elders have remained closeted and self-effacing. Large numbers of gay elders have not found gay liberation particularly helpful to their own lives, remaining isolated from gay community organizations, where they expect to feel unwelcome. Some even resent the way gay liberation destroyed the underground gay culture of pre-Stonewall days.

The Stonewall generation of gay and lesbians now reaching middle age spent their young adulthood becoming more comfortable with their sexual orientation. Many learned to expect and demand social rights and services equal to those of heterosexuals. Meanwhile, a paradoxical mix from gay pride days to “respectable” campaigns for AIDS relief has made society at large somewhat more tolerant of homosexuals. Large numbers of middle-aged gays today have marched, protested, and served as activists and leaders in gay communities. As gay and lesbian elders in the new millennium, they are not likely to settle for the second-class status imposed on the older homosexuals of the 1980s and 1990s.

While many aspects of gay life are still changing, some have remained the same for centuries. One of the most interesting is the love relationship between two gays or lesbians of widely different chronological ages—the intergenerational relationship. Modern gerontology clearly distinguishes between chronological and other measures of age (e.g., biological, psychological). Sometimes a person of twenty-five or thirty prefers the company of someone much older who has the benefit of years of experience and qualities of maturity, wisdom, and stability not commonly found among young people. Meanwhile, an older person may feel much younger.
than his years in comparison with the energy levels, sports and hobbies, and lifestyle interest of his peers.

The intergenerational partnership that results when such individuals meet can greatly benefit both. Unfortunately, the ageism still widespread in gay communities has tended to devalue these partnerships, applying labels such as "sugar daddy" for the elder and "gold digger" for the younger, as if the only purpose of these relationships were economic. Partnerships such as those between novelist Christopher Isherwood and artist Don Bachardy, which began when Isherwood was near fifty and Bachardy only eighteen and which endured until Isherwood’s death more than thirty years later, demonstrate that much more than money is involved.

In addition, the near absence of gay and lesbian elders from the communal experience of younger homosexuals deprives them of suitable role models. Typical young heterosexuals have no lack of elders on which to pattern their adjustment to basic life issues such as education, work, vocation, friendship, marriage, and aging. The younger heterosexual can see what it is like to become a parent, teacher, manager, or spouse. Many younger homosexuals are denied these guides to growth and development. One of their teachers may be gay, but no one in the class is likely to know it. Perhaps the person who represents their vocational ideal is gay and even mentioned in the history books; but the fact of being gay has almost always been erased from the official history. It remains for older gays, especially those who have lived a happy and successful life, including full acceptance of their sexuality, to provide younger gays with role models wherever possible.

The burst of interest in and publishing about gay gerontology during the 1980s has subsided, and there is presently a lull in research that cannot be entirely explained by a general cutback in funding. Lee’s Gay Midlife and Maturity was the last sociological contribution to the field. Only three psychotherapeutic studies have been published since, and nothing of a general nature that would bring the problems of gay aging to the attention of growing gay communities, much less attract the scientists in gerontology. Symptomatic of the lull, a second edition of Berger’s Gay and Gray (1982) was published in 1996 with a new foreword, but the rest of the book is the 1982 version, which is based on 1970s research. Research remains to be done to examine both the condition of today’s elders and the changes coming as "liberated" generations of gays and lesbians approach retirement. — John Alan Lee

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See also Bear Culture; Couples; Crisp, Quentin; Gay Relationships; Isherwood, Christopher; Pederasty

**AIDS**

Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) is a disorder characterized by a severe suppression of the immune system that renders the human body susceptible to a variety of normally manageable infections, cancers, and other illnesses. The syndrome is caused by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), a retrovirus of unknown origin that primarily infects and destroys white blood cells (particularly a type known as T lymphocytes, or T cells), which help clear disease-causing microbes from the bloodstream. In addition, HIV directly infects other cells in the central nervous system, the digestive tract, and other sites in the body. There are actually two different versions of HIV: HIV-1 and the far less common and somewhat less harmful HIV-2, found mainly in West Africa. In the absence of further clarification, the generic use of the term HIV almost universally refers to HIV-1, although both versions can cause AIDS.

While commonly referred to as being of epidemic proportions, AIDS is pandemic as it is found throughout the world. By 1996, approximately half a million AIDS cases had been reported in the United States, with another quarter-million people believed to be infected with HIV. The comparable worldwide estimates are some five million AIDS cases and twenty million HIV infections. In the developed world, as many as 50 percent of people with HIV/AIDS have been gay men.

**Pathology and Treatment**

Once introduced into the human body, HIV replicates inside white blood cells using an enzyme called reverse transcriptase. The virus releases new copies of itself into the bloodstream and, in the pro-
cess, kills the cell. The multiple newly created copies of the viruses then infect additional white blood cells, continuing the cycle and spreading the infection. AIDS is not a single disease per se but a diagnostic category created by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). For individuals with HIV who are thirteen years or older, a diagnosis of clinical AIDS is made when there is an abnormally low count of one type of T cell (the CD4 cell). The drop in T cell count can occur in one of two ways: the absolute count per cubic millimeter of blood can drop from the normal range of 600 to 1,000 down to below 200, or CD4 cells can account for less than 14 percent of all lymphocytes.

An AIDS diagnosis can also be made whenever a person with HIV experiences one or more of 25 "AIDS-defining illnesses." Among the most common illnesses are opportunistic infections caused by protozoa, fungi, bacteria, or other viruses that are normally held in check by the immune system but that an immunocompromised body is unable to combat. The chief opportunistic infections are Pneumocystis carinii pneumonia, cytomegalovirus, Mycobacterium avium complex, herpes, tuberculosis, toxoplasmosis, histoplasmosis, salmonellosis, candidiasis, cryptococcosis, coccidiodomycosis, and, in women, microsporidiosis. A variety of cancers, including lymphoma, Kaposi's sarcoma, and, in women, invasive cervical cancer, are also associated with AIDS. Further, severe loss of lean body mass (wasting) can result from the direct infection by HIV of the gastrointestinal tract. Direct HIV infection of the nervous system can cause encephalopathy (dementia), peripheral neuropathy, and other neurological complications. The immediate cause of death in people with AIDS is usually related to the effects of an opportunistic infection or cancer rather than to HIV itself. Effects of opportunistic infections are wide-ranging and can cause such severe conditions as loss of motor control, blindness, neuropathy, hearing impairment, and seizures.

The course of disease progression from initial HIV infection to clinical AIDS varies dramatically among individuals, owing to a range of factors in the genetic and immunological makeup of the infected individual, the particular strain of HIV with which he or she is infected, and the quality of primary health care, as well as other possible but as yet unknown biochemical cofactors. Shortly after infection with HIV, many people experience "seroconversion syndrome," characterized by acute flulike symptoms as HIV first overwhelms the immune system before being brought back under control. A period of clinical latency typically follows during which most people are asymptomatic or have relatively minor symptoms such as night sweats, diarrhea, and skin rashes.

The clinical latency period can range from around two years to over fifteen, with the mean time around ten years. Research has indicated that, despite the appearance of general health, the body's immune system itself is at nearly constant war with HIV, with billions of new T cells and billions of new copies of the virus being created daily. As blood tests indicate declining immune function, many individuals are put on prophylactic medications designed to ward off the opportunistic infections to which they are becoming increasingly susceptible. While a small percentage of individuals with HIV seem never to progress to AIDS at all, the vast majority develop AIDS-defining illnesses over time.

As of late 1998, there was no "cure" for AIDS in the sense of a treatment that could completely neutralize HIV or totally eliminate it from the body. The first antiretroviral drug approved for use against HIV was the highly toxic substance zidovudine, or AZT. By 1996, however, standard therapy against HIV had become the combined use of three antiretroviral drugs. The most commonly used antiretroviral drugs were five nucleoside analogs reverse transcriptase inhibitors (AZT, ddl, ddC, 3TC, and D4T) and the three protease inhibitors (saquinavir, indinavir, and ritonavir). In early tests, the combined use of nucleoside analogs, protease inhibitors, and other antiretroviral drugs, all of which attack the virus at different points in its replication cycle, produced a dramatic lowering in the level of HIV, or "viral load," detectable in the blood of many patients.

As of mid-1998, protease inhibitors had realized much of their promise, with the death rate from AIDS in some areas dropping by as much as 60 to 80 percent and the occurrence of new opportunistic infections also greatly diminished. However, early concerns that multiple-drug-resistant strains of the virus might begin to be transmitted were beginning to be borne out; by mid-1998 there were at least two known cases of an individual becoming newly infected with a strain of HIV which is already resistant to all available antiviral drugs. Further, there is increasing evidence that the antiviral medications themselves may exact a heavy toll on people with AIDS, including liver damage, redistribution of
body fat from limbs to torso, and cardiac conditions. And, finally, while it appears to be possible to dramatically reduce viral load, total reversal of infection, or "eradication of the virus" remains purely theoretical, in part because HIV is able to remain in latent form in certain cells.

In addition to antiretroviral combination therapy, a wide variety of prophylactic regimens and other treatments for opportunistic infections and cancers are standard for people with AIDS, notably drugs like acyclovir for the suppression of herpes and Bactrim or other antibiotics to prevent pneumonia. Research has been undertaken toward a vaccine for HIV as well as toward other "immune-based" therapies aimed at boosting the body's own defenses rather than at attacking HIV directly. A variety of complementary or alternative treatments are also frequently employed, such as holistic, traditional Chinese, and Ayurvedic medicines.

Transmission and Prevention

HIV is transmitted by three principal routes: from mother to child, through blood-to-blood contact, and via sexual contact. Maternal transmission can occur in utero, during delivery through the birth canal, or through breast milk. Evidence has emerged that the use of antiretroviral therapy during pregnancy can reduce the risk of maternal transmission from about one in four to fewer than one in ten.

Blood-to-blood transmission occurred in numerous cases early in the epidemic through direct transfusion of infected blood or blood products, notably the clotting factors needed by hemophiliacs. However, since the institution of routine screening for HIV in 1985, blood transfusions have rarely caused HIV transmission in the United States. Blood-to-blood transmission also occurs, albeit very rarely, as a result of accidental exposures such as blood splashes in health-care settings.

The most common mode of blood-to-blood HIV transmission occurs through the sharing of unsterilized hypodermic needles and syringes by injecting drug users. HIV is transmitted not just on the tip of the needle but also in the syringe itself, since a small quantity of blood normally backs up into the syringe after all the drug has been injected. Because in many parts of the world, the supply of needles and syringes is tightly controlled by prohibitionist drug laws, many injecting drug users are forced to share their "works" with others, essentially inoculating themselves with the virus and causing very high rates of transmission that could largely be eliminated by making needles freely available. In the absence of needle-exchange programs, some public health outreach efforts have focused on teaching at-risk populations to clean drug paraphernalia with bleach, although the actual effectiveness of such cleaning methods has been seriously questioned. Injecting drug users frequently pass along the virus not only to their drug-using partners but also to their sexual partners and, directly or indirectly, to their children.

Sexual transmission, by far the most common mode of transmission, can occur whenever the HIV-infected bodily fluids of one person have direct contact with the mucous membranes or the broken skin of an uninfected person. The most infectious bodily fluids are blood, semen, and vaginal/cervical secretions, all of which have been proven to transmit the virus. Although HIV has been isolated in saliva, tears, and certain other bodily fluids, it is usually found in quantities so low that these and other secretions probably cannot normally transmit the virus. The mucous membranes most commonly implicated in HIV transmission are those of the rectum and the vagina, although transmission does sometimes occur through the mouth, the urethra, and, in uncircumcised men, the head of the penis. Because HIV must be introduced directly into the bloodstream for infection to occur, and because the virus dies quickly outside the human body, the risk of infection through routine casual contact or less intimate sexual behaviors appears to range between minimal and nonexistent.

Over time, a rough hierarchy of sexual risk behaviors has been discerned. The highest risk is posed by anal or vaginal intercourse, particularly for the receptive partner. Oral sex poses a lower but nonetheless significant risk, again particularly for the receptive partner. Other sexual behaviors, such as kissing and frottage (nonpenetrative rubbing), are considered low- or perhaps even no-risk. The presence of cuts, tears, or lesions (such as those caused by sexually transmitted diseases) in mucous membranes or skin can significantly increase the risk of transmission by providing HIV more ready access into the body. Epidemiological evidence suggests (although it cannot conclusively prove) that the great majority of HIV-positive gay men were infected through receptive anal intercourse; the remainder may have been infected through insertive anal intercourse, receptive oral sex, heterosexual contact, injecting drug use, or by other routes.

Of all sexual behaviors, receptive anal intercourse creates the most efficient route for sexual
transmission of HIV. This is because the mucous membranes of the rectum are relatively delicate and thus easily torn during intercourse, providing multiple points of entry for the virus from the semen of the infected partner into the bloodstream of the uninfected one. Studies have demonstrated that sexual transmission of HIV can be almost completely prevented by the consistent and correct use of latex condoms with water-based lubricants during anal or vaginal intercourse. (Animal-skin condoms prevent pregnancy but not HIV transmission, while oil-based lubricants can cause latex to crack.)

HIV prevention campaigns, particularly within the gay community, have been built largely upon the singular message that condoms must be used for each and every act of intercourse with a partner who is known to be HIV-positive or whose HIV status is unknown. In practice, however, sustaining "safer sex" over a lifetime has proven to be a difficult challenge for many people, particularly when individuals are under the disinhibiting and judgment-imparing influence of alcohol or other drugs. Further, outreach campaigns to gay men have often overlooked particular subpopulations, such as cossed men and bisexual men, or promoted messages that were ineffective for certain ethnic or racial subpopulations. In addition, there are practical concerns, such as that condoms are sometimes not available during impromptu sexual encounters, sometimes rupture or slip off during intercourse, and, for many people, create a psychological barrier to full sexual intimacy with a regular partner.

While fellatio poses little or no risk to the partner on whom it is being performed, the partner who is performing the fellatio definitely can become infected, especially if the act is taken to the point of ejaculation into the mouth. This risk can be essentially eliminated if a condom is worn, but condom use during oral sex is widely considered to radically diminish the quality of the experience for both partners. Alternatively, the active partner may avoid putting the head of the penis in his mouth, although this also reduces the intensity of the experience. Most commonly, the partners may attempt to withdraw the penis before ejaculation. Even if successfully enacted, however, the withdrawal strategy leaves open the possibility of contact with pre-ejaculatory fluid, which is probably also capable of transmitting HIV. Another popular form of oral sex among gay men, oral-anal contact, or "rimming," has not been demonstrated to cause HIV transmission but does present a high risk of exposure to intestinal parasites and other microbes that can cause serious illness, particularly in the immunocompromised.

Overall, the risk of HIV transmission through oral sex appears to be considerably lower than anal or vaginal intercourse because, among other factors, of the relative impermeability of the mucous membranes of the mouth and the presence of HIV-inhibiting substances in the saliva. Nonetheless, it is absolutely clear that oral sex can transmit the virus. It is also possible that cases of transmission via oral sex have been undercounted because standard epidemiological practice has been to assume that any HIV-positive person who has had unprotected intercourse became infected that way rather than through oral sex.

Because it represents such a gray area, oral sex has been the source of stormy controversy within the gay male community. Proponents of a "harm-elimination" model have argued that, since there is some level of risk involved, all unprotected oral sex must be avoided. Their counterparts from the "harm-reduction" perspective have emphasized the relative unlikeliness of this route of transmission and the need to focus attention on reducing incidents of unprotected anal intercourse.

Emergence in the Gay Community
In the developed world, AIDS was first identified among gay men in major urban centers; in the developing world it has primarily afflicted heterosexuals. The first signs of the epidemic were detected in 1981 by officials at the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, who noted an unusual increase in incidence of Pneumocystis carinii pneumonia and Kaposi's sarcoma, two previously rare conditions that are among the most common AIDS opportunistic infections. Because of its perceived concentration among gay men, the syndrome now called AIDS was initially known as "gay cancer" or "Gay-Related Immune Deficiency" (GRID).

It soon became clear that the new syndrome was most commonly found among men associated with a "fast-lane" lifestyle including heavy drug use and frequent sex with multiple partners in gay bathhouses and other public sex environments. Some early theories of causation centered around the use of nitrate inhalants ("poppers") and other street drugs. Other theories recognized the possibility of sexual transmission.

The new syndrome was soon running rampant through such large gay male communities as New
York's Greenwich Village and San Francisco's Castro district. Because of the long clinical latency period between HIV infection and the appearance of first symptoms, many thousands of gay men were infected long before the first AIDS cases were identified. In the early to mid-1980s, entire social networks of gay men began simultaneously to take sick and begin dying. Amid such a siegelike atmosphere, gay communities throughout the developed world soon developed self-help networks and service agencies, preeminently Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) in New York City, to provide treatment information, palliative care, support services, and safer-sex education.

The early years of the epidemic were most thoroughly documented by San Francisco Chronicle reporter Randy Shilts in his 1987 book, And the Band Played On. From the perspective of Shilts and many others, the epidemic was allowed to spiral out of control because of the hostility and indifference of the government and the society at large alongside mass denial from within some sectors of the gay community. Few mainstream politicians and policymakers were willing to grapple with the sensitive issues of sexuality inevitably raised by the epidemic. Indeed, President Ronald Reagan (1981–1989) did not even publicly mention AIDS by name until 1987. At the same time, many gay leaders, still influenced by the 1970s ethos of sexual liberation and deep suspicion of officialdom, initially refused to support bathhouse closure or endorse safer-sex practices.

Eventually, it became clear that grassroots prevention efforts had succeeded in effectuating mass behavioral changes that dramatically curbed the rate of new infections among gay men. One San Francisco study, for instance, found a 90 percent drop in sexual risk behaviors among gay men between 1978 and 1985. The best available data on overall rates of HIV infection among gay men in the U.S., from studies conducted by the University of California at San Francisco, indicate that between 1987 and 1997 the prevalence of HIV among gay men in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Chicago dropped by about two-thirds, from as high as 50 percent to around 15 percent, although the drop was more marked among white men than among men of color.

Despite an ever-expanding death toll in the gay community—as well as among hemophiliacs, injecting drug users, and some other populations—public attention to the AIDS epidemic was scant until 1985, when film star Rock Hudson died of AIDS. The connection of the disease to a high-profile, heterosexually perceived celebrity is widely regarded
as being the catalytic event that brought AIDS to the forefront of national debate. As fears of a “heterosexual epidemic” spread, however, antigay attitudes became more pronounced and numerous right-wing public figures called for coercive public health measures such as mandatory HIV testing, aggressive contact tracing, and involuntary quarantine for all those who tested positive. Many conservative religious leaders continued to describe AIDS as divine retribution for sexual transgressions. Rather than being perceived as the innocent victims of a viral infection, many gay (and, particularly, bisexual) men with AIDS were instead regarded as potential vectors of incurable disease into the general population.

In an explosive response fueled by fear and rage, gay men, along with lesbian, bisexual, and heterosexual allies, began expanding their efforts beyond support services and prevention activism to outspoken protest through demonstrations and direct actions. In 1987, the flagship of AIDS protest organizations, ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) was launched in New York City. In short order, new chapters were formed throughout the United States, Canada, and western Europe that undertook dramatic street protests aimed at government officials, public health agencies, and pharmaceutical companies. Among the goals of ACT UP and other protest groups were increased funding for treatment and research, faster drug approval processes, and expanded prevention efforts. ACT UP maintained a commitment to radical democratic practices that made it extraordinarily flexible and innovative but also highly decentralized and organizationally chaotic.

Inevitably, the impact of the AIDS epidemic was also powerfully felt in the social and cultural realms. Gay male fiction, poetry, dance, performance art, music, theater, and other arts became suffused with images of pain, loss, decay, and death. At points, gay male artists and artists became nearly synonymous with AIDS. Among the landmark works of AIDS-related gay literature have been Larry Kramer’s The Normal Heart and Reports from the Holocaust: The Making of an AIDS Activist; Paul Monette’s Borrowed Time: An AIDS Memoir; Tony Kushner’s Angels in America plays; Andrew Holleran’s Ground Zero; and Terence McNally’s Love! Valour! Compassion! AIDS-themed works in the visual arts have been produced by gay artists such as photographer Robert Mapplethorpe, Keith Haring, and the Gran Fury art collective. Other prominent gay artists grappling with AIDS have been dancer/choreographer Bill T. Jones and performance artist David Wojnarowicz. Among the most common artistic images evoking the epidemic are red ribbons worn for AIDS awareness, the massive AIDS Memorial Quilt, and the pink triangle symbol above the slogan “Silence = Death.”

In retrospect, the late 1980s represented the high-water mark of AIDS activism. By the early 1990s, AIDS was increasingly becoming “normalized.” While the feared large-scale heterosexual epidemic never fully materialized in the developed world, the 1991 disclosure by basketball star Magic Johnson that he had tested HIV-positive had an impact comparable to that of Rock Hudson’s disclosure six years earlier. AIDS became somewhat de-stigmatized as people became less concerned about contracting HIV through casual contact. With many of their goals realized and their ranks depleted by ongoing death, ACT UP and other protest groups grew moribund.

On the political front, high hopes that the administration of President Bill Clinton would launch a Manhattan Project to find a cure for AIDS went unfulfilled, although Clinton did pay far more attention to HIV/AIDS than had either Reagan or Bush. Overall, however, the epidemic began to level off among gay men even as it became ever more thoroughly entrenched among poor urban populations of color. By the mid-1990s, advances in the treatment of opportunistic infections and other AIDS complications helped to foster a sense that AIDS was becoming a chronic, manageable, perhaps survivable disease. The introduction of protease inhibitors in 1996 magnified this sense, even leading some to predict that the epidemic was slowly grinding to a halt, or at least that the “crisis” phase of AIDS had passed.

While undeniably optimistic, many AIDS professionals also saw dangers in the more relaxed attitude of many gay men toward the risk of HIV infection. Evidence emerged that some older gay men were relapsing into earlier unsafe behaviors, while other young gay men, who had not witnessed the effects of AIDS firsthand, were forming a second wave of new infections. Some forward-looking researchers raised concerns that the epidemic might become worse than ever if mutant strains of HIV developed that were multiply drug resistant, more easily transmitted, and/or more virulent. In 1997, journalist Gabriel Rotello sparked a huge controversy with his book Sexual Ecology, which argued that 1970s-style patterns of sex with larger
A numbers of partners will always create biological conditions that promote epidemics of sexually transmitted disease, whether caused by HIV or other microbes.

Whether or not AIDS continues in the direction of becoming a chronic, manageable illness, the epidemic has made an indelible impact on the course of gay history. Surfacing at a time when gay men and lesbians were making their first tentative forays onto the public scene, AIDS forced a societywide recognition that homosexuality was a common phenomenon and that virtually everyone had relatives, friends, or acquaintances who were gay. Despite many significant backlashes against the gay community, the social response to AIDS has on the whole been balanced, with the most extreme and coercive proposals of right-wing forces rarely enacted.

Yet if the epidemic has forced a beneficial recognition of the reality of homosexuality and begrudging acceptance of gay communities in the United States and other developed countries, it has come at a high cost. The human toll of the AIDS epidemic in terms of pain, suffering, death, and mourning has been incalculable among gay men and all others affected by so devastating a disease. The deeper scars left upon the collective psyche of the community can only be guessed at now but will continue to be felt for decades to come.

Raymond A. Smith

Bibliography


See also ACT UP; AIDS in the U.S. Media; AIDS Literature; AIDS Organizations, U.S.; AIDS Performance; Dance and AIDS; Gran Fury; Haring, Keith; Kramer, Larry; Kushner, Tony; McNally, Terrence; NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt; Sexually Transmitted Diseases

AIDS in the U.S. Media

From 1980 to 1985, the U.S. media's coverage of the AIDS epidemic was sporadic; in 1985–88, it soared to a high level of public hysteria and panic; 1987–92 marked a focused attention on treatment issues; and the coverage since 1992 can best be described as the moment of normalization. The urgency about the epidemic has disappeared in the media because of the significant decline of coverage since 1992, while the clinical, social, and political uncertainties surrounding it continue domestically and globally.

Research suggests that the coverage of AIDS in the U.S. media can generally be characterized in the following ways:
1. The language of reporting tends to be euphemistic (as in 1994, "the exchange of bodily fluids"), mystifying (as in "guilty victims," "general population"), and sometimes inaccurate (as in the "AIDS test").

2. Short-lived and often decontextualized reporting triggered by specific and highly "newsworthy" events (such as the stories concerning Rock Hudson, Kimberly Bergalis, Magic Johnson, and Greg Louganis, as well as blood contamination stories) outweighs in-depth and analytical reporting.

3. Reporting latches onto and perpetuates fixed social and symbolic hierarchies (e.g., innocent/guilty, heterosexual/homosexual, exposed/closed, First World/Third World).

4. By convention and by myth, AIDS is still linked to homosexuality as a foundation (as both cause and effect) of the crisis.

5. The image of gay men infected with the virus is consistently cast in stereotypical ways: (a) they are "burned out" by their fast-lane lifestyle; (b) they are abandoned by their friends and families; (c) they are terrorized and devastated by their own sickness; (d) some of them continue to engage in "dangerous" sex; and (e) others regret and denounce their "former lifestyle."

6. Time and timeliness preoccupy journalists, who often turn to rhetorical constructs such as projections, statistical speculations, and doomsday scenarios in their reporting.

7. Journalists depend heavily on a small group of medical authorities to shape and control reporting.

8. AIDS activism is often confused with, and collapsed into, gay and lesbian activism.

On television, scientific documentaries continue to serve the important function of translating dense scientific information into the vernacular. But in television and film, the single most important format by which AIDS is represented is the genre of gay melodrama. Such films and television programs as An Early Frost (1985), Our Sons (1991), Long Time Companion (1991), Philadelphia (1994), and It's My Party (1996) all chronicle and dramatize the sociopsychological transformation of largely middle-class white gay men by means of AIDS. Many of them underemphasize the politics of gay life. None of them portrays the experiences of gay minorities. Of late, television films like A Place for Annie (1994) and A Mother's Prayer (1995) have worked to "de-gay" the crisis by shifting its focus to infants and children with AIDS and the struggle of their (typically single) mothers.

Alternative media images of AIDS have proliferated side by side with dominant images. They work to remap the crisis by presenting a more complex depiction of gay men with AIDS (as in The Living End [1992] and Zero Patience [1994]), the experience of women and minorities (as in Doctors, Liars, and Women: AIDS Activists Say No to Cosmo [1988] and Tongues Untied [1989]), a multitude of safer-sex practices (as in Safer Sex Shorts [1990]), and activist interventions through graphic arts (such as Gran Fury). Such alternative representations of AIDS can alter our perception of the crisis now and for the future.

John Nguyet Erni

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See also AIDS; AIDS Organizations AIDS Performing; Gran Fury; Media; Television

AIDS Literature

That so many autobiographies, novels, plays, poems, short stories, and memoirs have been written about AIDS puts it in the very top ranks of literature about disease. This is all the more remarkable, given that this literature has been produced in fewer than twenty years, whereas plague, cancer, syphilis, and other illnesses have had all of human history in which to find their scribes. The meaning of AIDS is contested in these works; it has been tied to personal and cultural immorality but also to personal heroism and social criticism. Because AIDS has struck many gay men in developed countries, its literary meanings must be considered in the context of literary traditions regarding homosexuality. Those traditions involve many problematic and objectionable representations that linger over contemporary writing about gay men almost as much as AIDS itself. Consequently, much contemporary writing by gay men is at pains to resist literary representations that denigrate homosexuality, doing so to imagine a future at once less vulnerable to the epidemic and more favorable to gay people. In large measure that resis-
AIDS literature takes the form of portraying gay men not as hapless victims or as predatory creatures but as valuable people actively involved in determining their own futures.

It was not always to the advantage of homosexuality or AIDS that AIDS writing sometimes drew on traditional ways of writing about homosexuality. For example, in the 1987 short story "Porphyria’s Lover," by Ferroll Sams, the narrator is a duplicitous bisexual man whose liaisons with men are anonymous, manipulative, and ultimately fatal. His high school lover commits suicide, in part because of the narrator's coldness: "I am not queer and never will be." Nevertheless, he becomes famous in San Francisco's bathhouses as "Roscoe," the pet name he uses for his penis. But his sexual prowess is a cover for a predatory nature. Acting out an urban legend, Roscoe kills a man by inserting a greased hamster into his anus. For Roscoe, homosexuality means anonymity and deceit: "You can’t really trust anybody in this world." In the end, he contracts an HIV infection, infects his wife, who in turn infects their child, who ultimately dies with AIDS. Roscoe kills the interior designer who had befriended him and his wife, and—that done—contemplates whether to end his own life with a bullet before the police arrive or whether to die in jail all the while intimidating his jailers with HIV-infected saliva. As portrayed in this story, homosexuality is a profound evil, leading to vice and death. Every named gay man in the story dies, and a few others besides. In literary traditions of this kind, AIDS functions merely as another means to secure the death of gay men, as another consequence of the evil of homosexuality.

More favorable to gay men was writing about AIDS that overlaid the epidemic onto that paradigmatic gay literary form—the coming-out story. Paul Reed’s Facing It (1984) was the first U.S. novel to look at AIDS in a sustained way. That novel prefigured many of the themes that subsequently occupied AIDS writing. Even so, it relied on certain stock conventions regarding homosexuality. One of the key dramas of Facing It is whether the protagonist’s family will reunite with their son after he is diagnosed with AIDS. Both Andrew’s parents reject homosexuality, and AIDS doesn’t make things better. “To be involved in that kind of situation, and now this too,” his mother worries. Even Andrew wonders whether his AIDS is a judgment on his worth: “It’s like punishment, that’s how I feel sometimes. Like God has waved his hand and said that we must pay.” Andrew’s father, Chuck Stone, has disowned his son and refuses a reconciliation, calling Andrew the greatest disappointment of his life: “Andy is not my son anymore, no matter what’s happening.” This "stone chucker’s" own brother had committed suicide because of his homosexuality, thus invoking an all too typical ending to the narrative life of gay men. Throughout the novel, AIDS becomes a problem to be managed and sometimes a secret to be kept, like homosexuality before it. Indeed, there is a closeted gay man in the novel who obstructs AIDS research, in part to throw suspicion away from his sexual orientation. It is only when an old friend threatens to expose his “houseboys” that he agrees to fund AIDS research. Blackmail has also been a staple of writing about homosexuality.

If this novel drew on conventions of gay literature in dealing with family acceptance and the closet, it also drew on the gains of activism to portray gay people positively. It presents Andrew Stone, who has AIDS, in a loving relationship with David Markham, who takes up AIDS journalism to make inroads against the indifference of the public to gay people. Andrew’s sister, Beth, offers criticism of the “family values” that in fact work against family love. Some physicians are also shown as being in common cause with gay men facing down the epidemic, and despite Andrew’s death, there is room for hope that all these struggles have not been in vain. There are in this novel the stirrings of activism and community among gay men—and their allies—that are necessary to the dignity and health of gay men.

In the early years of the epidemic, many writers tried to eulogize the growing number of dead, and they adopted elegiac traditions of mourning, in ways that had not been done publicly for gay men before. For example, novelist and essayist Andrew Holleran wrote a number of essays in Christopher Street that are at pains to resist cultural mythologies about gay men as moral abominations. By contrast, Holleran pictured his circle of friends as cultured, accomplished, and vibrant. For example, he said of his friend O.: “0. included, invited, charmed, cooked for, and amused so many people that, going uptown to have dinner there, one always felt a bit like a child on Christmas morning—one never knew what would be under the tree. He was merely the best of hosts—that’s all.” The deaths of men like O., Emie Mickler, and George Stambolian leave Holleran bereft, and such is the overriding tone of his 1988 anthology, Ground Zero, and 1996 novel, The Beauty of Men. He even goes so far as to say that “anger is subsumed, lost, in sadness.” If there is ab-
ence of anger on the part of some men toward the epidemic, it is because they have long been accustomed to ill treatment, and because they are not quite sure what to do about the epidemic. The immediate task at hand, then, is to offer testimonial to the lives of gay men lost to AIDS, to give some sense, as novelist George Whitmore put it in the title of his essays on AIDS, that Someone Was Here.

Whether this elegiac approach was adequate to the epidemic became one of the central questions of AIDS literature. Critic Douglas Crimp rejected the notion that creating artistic works that express human suffering is the only way (besides, perhaps, helping to raise money for research) that artists should respond to the epidemic. On the contrary, he proposed an activist aesthetic that would directly engage many of the assumptions by which the epidemic—and gay men—are understood. No dramatist exemplifies this approach more unrelentingly than Larry Kramer. His 1985 play The Normal Heart was a scorching indictment of social malevolence toward gay people and the indifference gay people show toward their own lives and responsibilities. Kramer not only asserts a gay history (“I belong to a culture that includes ... Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Alexander the Great, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci”), he also rallies gay people to the cause of fighting AIDS by comparing the epidemic to the Holocaust (“Yes, everybody has a million excuses for not getting involved. But aren’t there moral obligations, moral commandments to try everything possible? Where were the Christian churches, the Pope, Churchill?”)

In The Normal Heart, Kramer was unsparing in his criticism of society at large and of gay men in particular—whom he accused of complicity in their own suffering because they refused to raise their voices against political indifference. For Kramer, as for other authors, the fight against AIDS was inescapably a fight for gay dignity and self-respect. Urging gay men to overcome their complacency, Ned Weeks, the principal character in The Normal Heart, observes in a defiant tone, “It’s all there—all through history, we’ve been there; but we have to claim it, and identify who was in it, and articulate what’s in our minds and hearts and all our creative contributions to the earth. And until we do that, and until we organize ourselves block by neighborhood by city by state into a united visible community that fights back, we’re doomed.” The path from lamentation to rage is a short one in the first decade of gay writing about AIDS. Kramer continued to repeat these same sorts of recriminations in his essays, Reports from the Holocaust (1988), and his play, The Destiny of Me (1992).

One of the central problematics of AIDS literature of this kind was whether a fight against AIDS also meant a fight against gay sex. For example, in The Normal Heart, Dr. Emma Brookner encourages Ned Weeks to “tell gay men to stop having sex.” That suggestion, meaningful at a time when there was no clear indication of how AIDS was acquired, was bound to grate because it ran contrary to the learned pride of gay men and to the primacy of sex in gay culture, especially when that message continued long after it became clear that latex barriers were as much protection from HIV as most gay people needed. Brookner’s counsel recalls moralistic “solutions” to the “problem” of homosexuality. Some writers avoided this kind of problem by writing about the past or by moving AIDS to the edge of the drama. For example, Allan Hollinghurst’s 1988 novel, The Swimming Pool Library, was set in the time just before AIDS, “the last such summer of its kind there ever was to be.” Hollinghurst was then free to tell a psychologically acute and sexually rich tale of gay lives prior to the epidemic Other writers focused on gay lives in the present that were not swallowed up in the epidemic, to indicate that gay men would survive and flourish, the epidemic notwithstanding. Christopher Bram’s 1989 In Memory of Angel Clare described a circle of friends after the death of one of their members. For writers like these it was important that AIDS not be taken as a refutation of gay life, even if AIDS did reconfigure the meaning of the past and expectations of the future.

One writer exemplifying both elegiac and activist themes is Paul Monette, who, in the 1988 memoir Borrowed Time, takes the reader almost day by day through the account of losing his lover, Roger Horwitz, to AIDS, despite endless medications, clinic visits, hospitalizations, and experimental treatments. Monette, infected with HIV himself, opens the memoir this way: “I do not know if I will live to finish this.” In some ways such memoirs should be read as attempts to create a verbal equivalent of the epidemic as gay men experience it. Certainly that is the effect as Monette describes the fears and harrowing experiences of the epidemic, matters he likens more than once to living on the barren moon. Contrary to their expectations of a lifetime together, Paul and Roger face their own mortality even as they watch their circle of friends...
fall sick and die. They are not, however, impassive about their futures. Positioned by their intellects and social standing, Paul and Roger try to stave off illness by searching out state-of-the-art medical care: “Life was about survival and challenge—so meet it.” Toward that end, they pursue any experimental drug that might help, but Roger dies nevertheless. One of Monette’s observations about the need to express love to the dying serves equally well as the motive for this kind of memoir: “Loss teaches you very fast what cannot go without saying.”

Part of what cannot go without saying, for Monette, is a study of the lives of gay men and their living through the epidemic in U.S. society. In his 1990 novel, Afterlife, Monette describes how AIDS structures the lives of a circle of Los Angeles AIDS “widowers” who knew full well the meaning of AIDS. They had all “watched the disengagement of the brain, when the men with the tubes in their arms couldn’t remember they were dying anymore. No more than they could remember being alive, or who the figure was sitting weeping softly by the bed.” In consequence, they bond together, an improbable group, but one that knows flashes of hatred for those who haven’t been touched by AIDS. In fact, virtually all of the novel’s gay characters are HIV-infected. Golden boy Sonny Cevathos finds answers to his infection and looming illness in the vagaries of New Age channeling. After fits and starts, Steven Shaw finds love with Mark Inman, and both are happy to be “not alone, because time was very short.” Dell Espinoza, by contrast, takes vengeance on homophobic society as an AIDS terrorist; he assassinates Mother Evangeline, a TV preacher who says Jesus would never have cured a man with AIDS. After killing Mother Evangeline, Dell then takes his own life. This novel is a mourning of the coming of AIDS (“The old life, the lost one, was all that made any sense”) and a chronicle of its central place in the lives of gay men, but it is also a novel in which gay men can struggle toward outlooks other than cynical bleakness. In this context, Dell’s behavior seems less part of a political program than a spasm of rage against prominent social figures who feed their ambitions on hatred of gay men.

Monette’s poetry in Love Alone (1988) and Michael Lynch’s poetry in These Waves of Dying Friends (1989) are elegiac in their own way as they struggle to express the enormity of loss in the epidemic, but they also express political objections to the treatment of gay men in society. Monette, for example, asserts the value of gay men in his “Brother of the Mount of Olives” by asking all “far brothers” to “pray that my friend and I be still together / just like this at the Mount of Olives blessed / by the last of an ancient race who loved / youth and laughter and beautiful things so much / they couldn’t stop singing and we were the song.” But idyllic prayers won’t go very far in meeting the political needs of gay men, and so Monette also rails against society with unvarnished anger. In “Manifesto” he writes: “we need / the living alive to bucket Ronnie’s House / with abattoirs of blood hand in hand lesions / across America need to trainwreck the whole / show till someone listens.” In “Yellow Kitchen Gloves,” Lynch describes a demonstration of AIDS activists outside the U.S. Supreme Court. The demonstrators write the names of dead PWAs on latex gloves they don to mock the police monitoring the demonstration. Lynch issues a cry to the troops: “We want you all beside us on these steps, / this other dancefloor, / gloved fists in the air / defying the empowered who deny / our lives and deaths, our fucking, and our hate.” Gloved in the dignity of the dead, the demonstrators are not immobilized by mourning; they demand a reckoning with heterosexist oppression. It turns out therefore that elegy and activism can coincide in the same literary and political projects.

Tony Kushner’s drama Angels in America (1992 and 1994) also frames AIDS as a question of the survival and dignity of gay men. Before larger questions about the social fate of gay men as a whole can be answered, it must first be settled whether Louis Ironson will leave his lover, Prior Walter, who is diagnosed with AIDS: “K.S., baby. Lesion number one. Lookit. The wine-dark kiss of the angel of death.” After consulting a rabbi and grappling with his own conscience, Louis does in fact leave Prior: “I have to find some way to save myself.” For his part, Prior is tempted by an angel into accepting a vision of the world as static and unchanging, a world in which there would be no AIDS. Prior rejects this world, because it is the world of change and challenge and, yes, disease that is ultimately important to human beings: “If I can find hope anywhere, that’s it, that’s the best I can do. It’s so much not enough so inadequate but . . . Bless me anyway, I want more life.” When Louis wants to reunite with Prior, Prior has learned a thing or two from AIDS about endurance and will not take him back. Though their relationship does not stand the test of AIDS, they remain friends, which is a victory in its own right because AIDS
not only alienated gay men from society, it also threatened to alienate them from one another. The will of gay men to survive the epidemic is evident in Prior's closing remarks: “This disease will be the end of many of us, but not nearly all, and the dead will be commemorated and will struggle on with the living, and we are not going away. We won't die secret deaths anymore. The world only spins forward. We will be citizens.” While Angels is primarily concerned with individual relationships, it does invoke the necessity of a political consciousness for the well-being of gay men.

Because of their links with the epidemic, writing about sex and drug use must either confront AIDS directly or find some narrative technique to contain its effects. AIDS has an entrenched place in the lives and perceptions of gay men, whether or not it is mentioned directly. Just as earlier gay writers had to resist pathological interpretations of homosexuality, contemporary writers must struggle to resist facile equations of AIDS with immorality and with death. There are many different literary fronts in a battle of this kind. Writing that has as its task the blessing of the dead does not necessarily interfere with a vigorous political literature inasmuch as both work to improve the social standing of gay men. As the record has shown, illness is not only brute suffering but it can be the occasion of personal and social growth. At its best, AIDS writing is both the record of and the spur to that progress. Reflecting the demographics of the groups most affected by the epidemic and those positioned to write about it, most writing about AIDS has been done thus far by white gay men. By comparison, writing that reflects the lives of other groups affected by AIDS is not as well developed. Essex Hemphill's anthology Brother to Brother does contain short fiction about AIDS from an African American perspective, and the 1992 anthology Positive Women collects first-person narratives about AIDS from women around the world. Imagining the full range of social progress will, of course, require contributions from men and women of all ethnicities and sexual orientations.

Poet James Dickey has observed that writing about AIDS becomes highly problematic when it moves from a single, powerful instance to numbing mass death. AIDS literature is now at a crossroads because the epidemic has taken such a toll. AIDS has lost much of its shock value. As critic John Clum has observed, the fortifying memories that gay men have of a time without AIDS have faded as a new generation of gay men came of age with AIDS taken for granted. As it is unclear that there is any treatment for AIDS on the horizon, the hope of a future without AIDS proves a receding goal, though from time to time optimism along these lines does appear in the medical literature. It is not surprising that Larry Kramer has declared more than once that the war against AIDS has been lost. Whether he is right or not, for the time being AIDS is here to stay. This impasse in overcoming the epidemic may have contributed to the sprees of vengeance that occur in Robert James Baker's Tim and Pete (1992). In that novel, a gang of AIDS terrorists stalk conservative politicians whom they plan to kill for failing to take the epidemic, and gay men, seriously. This novel augurs many of the challenges ahead for AIDS literature: how to break the stranglehold of AIDS on the lives of gay men when neither the past nor the future offers clear refuge from the epidemic.

Timothy F. Murphy

Bibliography

AIDS Organizations, U.S.
AIDS knows no boundaries, nor do the organizations that have arisen in response to the AIDS crisis. The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) National AIDS Clearing House has a database with information on about nineteen thousand organizations in the United States. This database, while incomplete, gives a sense of the scope of AIDS organizations.

Types and Examples of AIDS Organizations
The 1983 Denver principles addressing the rights of people with AIDS (PWAs) and the responsibilities of all of us mapped out the basic principles and strategies that continue to form the basis for AIDS organizations.

Activist organizations have pressured, advocated, demonstrated, performed, mourned, and threatened to achieve change. They have educated themselves and others about the complexities of biomedicine, immunology, research methodologies, finance, and corporate politics. Probably the most well known of the activist organizations—the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP)—celebrated its tenth year of activism and advocacy in March 1997. ACT UP describes itself as “a diverse, nonpartisan group of individuals united in anger and committed to direct action to end the AIDS crisis.” It is a loose coalition of organizations with a common mission that share information and may coordinate actions. From its inception ACT UP has advocated changes in the way research for new drugs is done and demonstrated against excessive corporate profits on AIDS drugs. Harm reduction through needle exchange, condom availability, and accurate information about HIV transmission has also been on the ACT UP agenda. One of ACT UP’s greatest strengths has been the ability of its members to develop areas of expertise, to disseminate the information rapidly, to develop policy based on it, and to create public actions to help put the policy into action. This strength has also been instrumental in weakening ACT UP. As individuals developed expertise, they often moved on to create or participate in nonprofit organizations that focused on that particular expertise. Many of the human service, legal, treatment action, and arts organizations discussed here were created by and are staffed by people who developed their skills in ACT UP. Thus, while ACT UP’s power as an organization may have lessened over the years, its methods and commitments have spread through other organizations so that the work continues, often in different forms.

Affinity groups are small groups, typically six to fifteen people who work together around a particular philosophy, a shared degree of willingness to risk arrest and police violence, and a commitment to a particular set of issues. These groups are often long term. Affinity groups can frequently execute fast, dramatic, and highly effective actions. Examples of affinity groups are the Marys, the Treatment Action Group (TAG), and City AIDS Action, all in New York City. One of the most moving and dramatic actions by the Marys was a funeral procession for one of their members who had died from AIDS extending from New York City to Washington, D.C., with a memorial service at the White House.

TAG and City AIDS Action carry on the ACT UP tradition of excellent research and policy development and powerful political action. Their focus is on treatment developments and making these available to all PWAs. There are also many small, short-term (sometimes existing for one action or event), and politically radical groups. Bad Cop, No Doughnut, and Slut Nation in San Francisco have done effective and informative zap actions, for example.

Other AIDS activist organizations include Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG), which has expanded its mission to address AIDS issues politically and socially, and Mothers Voices,
grassroots organization of mothers organized specifically to address the AIDS crisis. A large number of organizations have arisen to address the monumental health needs of PWAs. In every state, new organizations have grown up or existing ones have been extended to provide services to PWAs. These range from the National Institutes of Health (NIH) to churches and other community institutions to community-based organizations working on needle exchange and medical marijuana.

Project Inform, a nonprofit, volunteer organization, was founded in 1985 "to collect, review, and distribute information on experimental drug treatments for HIV/AIDS." Project Inform has been a source of information not only for PWAs but also for physicians who treat PWAs. Project Inform's information gathering and analysis have literally saved the lives of many PWAs who otherwise would not have had information about treatment choices or an appropriate standard of care. The American Foundation for AIDS Research (AmFAR) funds scientific research on AIDS prevention and treatment, as well as social research, policy analysis, and advocacy for public policies on legal and ethical issues relating to AIDS and HIV.

Organizations such as Planned Parenthood, the American Red Cross, and the Visiting Nurses Association have interpreted or reinterpreted their mission to enable them to provide information and services related to HIV and AIDS. Sadly, the hospice movement has had to grow in order to provide services including housing, food, and basic care for PWAs to facilitate death with dignity. The AIDS pandemic has raised numerous legal issues such as fair treatment in the workplace, appropriate care, services in prisons, and provision of services by government organizations. Hundreds of legal organizations have sprung up to meet this need. When a PWA becomes ill, basic services such as food and shelter are addressed by churches and other social institutions that have expanded their existing services and by organizations such as Project Open Hand, developed especially to meet the needs of PWAs. Project Open Hand in Atlanta, Chicago, and San Francisco, for example, delivers daily meals and bags of groceries weekly to the homes of PWAs. Other service organizations provide one-on-one care for PWAs, including practical support and companionship.

The complexity of the needs of PWAs and the fragmentation of health and social services led to the creation of organizations whose primary mission has been to coordinate information and services in a particular geographic area. This service has been needed equally, though for different reasons, in urban and rural environments. In rural areas, the need for coordinating information and services is driven by the relative scarcity of services, the relative lack of information and awareness of AIDS, and special issues about confidentiality that arise in a small community.

Women with HIV and AIDS are underserved both as women and when they are also poor and/or women of color. The initial, symptom-based definition of AIDS excluded most women because women have different symptoms from men. Similarly, drug testing and research protocols tend to exclude women. Transmission methods may be different for women than for men, and women have different issues and constraints about safe sex than do men. Women frequently have family obligations that make it more difficult for them to receive treatment and in general to obtain the level of care that they need. It is therefore critical that research, policy, treatment protocols, and services for women be integrated into all organizations and that organizations specifically address the needs of women with AIDS.

Women frequently have family obligations that make it more difficult for them to receive treatment and in general to obtain the level of care that they need. It is therefore critical that research, policy, treatment protocols, and services for women be integrated into all organizations and that organizations specifically address the needs of women with AIDS. ACT UP was instrumental in changing the CDC definition and thus making social services benefits available to women with AIDS. Women Alive, in Los Angeles, is an organization "committed to providing support, a sense of community, and a powerful voice for women living with HIV/AIDS."

People living in poverty, especially the homeless, also have special issues. They often do not have access to community services. As drug treatments becomes more costly and more complex, the poor and homeless are less likely to have access to information about available treatments or the drugs themselves. This lack of access may be because they cannot afford treatment or are deemed by the medical establishment to be unable to maintain the complex protocols required for successful use of new drugs. This population is likely to be excluded from research protocols in which new drugs are first made available. Expansion of outreach for human services such as the delivery of meals and groceries to this group is one of the challenges presented to AIDS organizations. The Center in Oakland, California, is an example of an organization that serves the poor and homeless.

The many social, cultural, and economic issues faced by people of color also affect them in relationship to AIDS and HIV. Blacks Educating Blacks About Sexual Health Issues (BEBASHI) is an edu-
A cational organization that provides information about sexual health issues, particularly AIDS, to the black, Hispanic, and other minority communities.

Men and women with AIDS in prison face extraordinary barriers to maintaining health and obtaining appropriate medical and other services. Condoms are not available—indeed, they are often forbidden—and the level of health services is poor or nonexistent. The People With AIDS Coalition (PWAC) in New York City has led the way in providing support to PWAs in prison and giving them a voice through PWAC publications.

Children and youth are another group with special needs. The schools have become a battle ground between AIDS organizations and others who want to teach youth about AIDS transmission and prevention, on the one hand, and those who place moral strictures against sexual activity above the need to save lives through preventive measures such as condom use.

The arts community has been especially hard hit by AIDS. At the same time, artists use their work to provide information about AIDS and to sustain PWAs with community arts programs. Visual AIDS provides venues for showing the work of artists with AIDS and coordinates Day Without Art to communicate the impact of the AIDS crisis on the arts. Day Without Art honors artists who have died from AIDS and those who are living with AIDS. It began with the shrouding of public art and in recent years expanded to provide opportunities for artists living with AIDS to present their work to the public. In 1998, more than 5,000 organizations and institutions worldwide participated in Day Without Art. Visual AIDS’s archival program documents the work of artists with AIDS. The Actors fund provides services to PWAs in the entertainment community. AIDS Art Alive uses the visual arts to promote positive responses to the AIDS crisis.

With so many services and organizations, and rapid change continuing to occur, there is a need for coordinating policy as well as services. The SF AIDS Foundation is “actively involved in a number of key federal issues, including funding for the Ryan White CARE Act, AIDS housing, health-care reform (Medicaid), research and treatment, and issues related to confidentiality.” The foundation coordinates with other organizations to advocate within federal and state programs. There is a wide range of government organizations from the various county, state, and federal Departments of Health and Human Services, including the National Institutes of Health and the Centers for Disease Control, to the organizations that distribute and manage Ryan White funds.

**Direction and Issues**

AIDS organizations have been characterized by their ability to adapt to new information and emerging needs. As the AIDS crisis continues, the toll of death and dying has often helped people to recommit to working against this pandemic. It has also at times exhausted individuals and depleted organizations. While the promise of new drugs has given hope, the efficacy and long-term impact of these drugs is still unknown, and their availability is in practice severely limited. These advances in treatment, and the insufficient information about them, have also dulled the general awareness of the continuing monumental level of this crisis.

As AIDS organizations mature, they have of necessity become more aware of the general issues of delivering health and human services to all people. Ideally, this knowledge will lead to coalition building with other activist and human services organizations. We can see this trend, for example, in the work of the PWAC organizations. A major challenge to AIDS organizations is to maintain high levels of activism, research, and service; to expand the political agenda to ensure that the needs of all PWAs are addressed; and to continue to fight for the rights of all PWAs and people infected with HIV. The added challenge is to do this in the face of the continuing tragedy of large numbers of people dying of AIDS; the ignorance, indifference, and at times the seeming hostility of the U.S. government; and a corporate culture that too frequently values greed above life.

*Jacqueline Thomason*

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**Web Sites**

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AIDS Performance

Since the earliest days of the AIDS epidemic, performance has proven to be one of the most effective means of galvanizing people in the fight against the disease. Shortly after reports of the first fatalities in the early 1980s, and with growing concern and anxiety about the emerging health crisis, artists and community activists began to produce benefit performance events to raise funds for direct support for those afflicted and to educate others who might be at risk. These events were often held in nontraditional theater venues such as community centers, bars, and cabarets. Performance was also an important component of early public gatherings meant to commemorate the dead, such as memorial services, candlelight vigils, and marches.

The first plays to address AIDS include One, Jeff Hagedorn's one-person drama produced by Chicago's Lionheart Theater in 1983; Warren, Rebecca Ranson's multicharacter play, produced by Atlanta's Seven Stages Theatre in 1984; and The A.I.D.S. Show, a collaborative production at San Francisco's Theatre Rhinoceros in 1984. One and Warren were both produced as AIDS fund-raisers, education campaigns, and memorials. Productions of these plays often helped launch local AIDS service organizations throughout the United States. Early AIDS plays, like early AIDS activism, were directly linked with lesbian and gay politics and the lesbian and gay theaters that emerged after Stonewall.

The first plays produced in New York City were Night Sweat by Robert Chesley and Fever of Unknown Origin by Steven Holt. Both these plays, however, failed to galvanize New Yorkers. It was not until 1985, with the premieres of William Hoffman's As Is and Larry Kramer's The Normal Heart, that AIDS theater crossover into the mainstream. Both these plays were produced by prestigious theater venues, guaranteeing critical reviews in the national media. As Is, produced by the Circle Repertory Company, was the first AIDS play to be staged on Broadway. The Normal Heart, produced by the New York Shakespeare Festival at the Public Theatre, remains to this day the most controversial AIDS play. Unlike earlier plays that set out to represent the psychosocial issues of people with AIDS and their supporters, Kramer's play focuses on the institutional networks of power—government, medical science, media—that ignored AIDS in the years 1981–84. Perhaps more than any other play, The Normal Heart brought national attention to AIDS. The play has been produced throughout the United States as well as internationally.

Larry Kramer, who helped found the Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC), the AIDS service organization that he also criticizes in The Normal Heart, went on to help found the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) in 1987, a direct-action group committed to ending the AIDS crisis. ACT UP, which grew to have chapters throughout the world, demonstrated its own form of street theater influenced by agitprop performance, calling attention to a diverse range of AIDS issues and protesting an equally diverse group of individuals and institutions. Performance was instrumental to these demonstrations and protests. Throughout the late 1980s and up through the early 1990s, ACT UP was the most visible and influential site of AIDS activist performance. Already by this time, however, people with HIV and AIDS had formed specific theater ensembles and had begun staging their own works. Companies such as Artists Confronting AIDS, founded in Los Angeles by Michael Kearns and Jim Pickett, and New York City's HIV Ensemble were designed to provide people with HIV and AIDS an opportunity to convey their AIDS experiences through performance and in the theater.

Beginning in the late 1980s and continuing throughout the 1990s, emerging and established playwrights and performers began to write and produce AIDS plays for regional and national stages. Gay playwrights such as Harry Kondoleon, David Greenspan, Scott McPherson, Terrence McNally, Harvey Fierstein, and Craig Lucas were among the first dramatists to address AIDS in their work. Solo performers and performance groups such as Charles Ludlam and the Ridiculous Theatre, Michael Kearns, Ron Vawter, Luis Alfaro, Tim Miller, Pomo Afro Homos, and David Drake had also begun to explicitly discuss and reference AIDS, many as early as the mid-1980s. The proliferation of AIDS...
performance in the late 1980s also included plays and other productions by women. Paula Vogel, Diamanda Galas, Cheryl West, and Sarah Schulman were among the first women playwrights and performers to join Rebecca Ranson and write about AIDS. Nonetheless, despite the diversity of style, content, and form that these plays and performances displayed, nearly all these works focused on gay men with AIDS.

The late 1980s also saw the proliferation of community-based AIDS educational theater initiatives designed to educate individuals and populations living on the margins or entirely outside of white gay male culture. Productions such as San Francisco’s Asian AIDS Project’s Love Like This Theater Program or Los Angeles’s Teatro Viva! were successful in their outreach efforts to specific communities underaddressed or neglected by more mainstream AIDS service organizations and outside the representational framework of AIDS theater. Like the AIDS performances of the early 1980s, these efforts invested in educating audiences in HIV prevention.

AIDS theater returned to the national spotlight in 1992 and 1993 with the premieres in Los Angeles, London, and New York City of Tony Kushner’s two-part play Angels in America, which linked AIDS issues with U.S. national politics. The play won various prestigious awards including the 1993 Pulitzer Prize for drama. Kushner, like Larry Kramer before him, used the international attention generated by his play to speak out about AIDS in the media. With the success of Angels in America, Kushner emerged as one of the most outspoken and influential voices in the fight against AIDS. In the wake of Angels and with the recent commercial success of such plays as Paul Rudnick’s Jeffrey, Terrence McNally’s Love! Valour! Compassion!, and Jonathan Larson’s Rent, AIDS theater entered the mainstream. Commercialization, while never the goal of AIDS performance, brings new opportunities for artists and audiences. Rather than seeing these works as the culmination of AIDS theater, one must remember that community-based AIDS theater continues to be performed in smaller venues and that these works still matter in the ongoing struggle against AIDS.

David Román

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See also AIDS; AIDS Quilt Songbook; Kramer, Larry; Kushner, Tony; Ludlum, Charles; McNally, Terrence; Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt; Pomo Afro Homos

AIDS Quilt Songbook

The AIDS Quilt Songbook was conceived and organized by baritone William Parker (1943–1993) as a singer’s response to the AIDS epidemic. Although the first songs were written specifically for baritone, Parker saw the project as infinitely expandable in reflecting the manner of the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt, capable of embracing a mixture of vocal and instrumental forces. The first performance, in Alice Tully Hall, by Parker, Kurt Ollmann, William Sharp, and Sanford Sylvan on June 4, 1992, was billed as the AIDS Quilt Songbook–1992, Parker’s open-ended conception of the piece. Composers in the Songbook range from established figures—both gay and straight—such as Ned Rorem, William Bolcom, Lee Hoiby, and John Harbison, to younger figures, many of whom likely will not live to fulfill their promise. Some of the songs are to texts by the composers themselves (Fred Hirsch, Richard Thomas); others are settings of the poetry of James Merrill, Kabir (translated by Robert Bly), David Bergman, and others. Boosey and Hawkes has published a score of the original eighteen songs (#VAB-303), fifteen of which were also recorded by their creators (Harmonium Mundi HMN 907602); profits from both are donated to the AIDS Resource Center.

As Parker wished, composers have continued to add to the Songbook: new songs were commissioned for a performance in Minneapolis on December 1, 1992 (Parker’s last public performance before his death), and later recorded. Heartbeats: New Songs from Minnesota for the AIDS Quilt Songbook (Innova 500) includes these eight new songs, as well as seven from the original Songbook; it widens the work’s perspective by addressing issues of women living with AIDS and includes more women composers and performers. Several of the new songs transcend a narrow definition of art song: Janika Vandervelde’s “Positive Women,” for example, calls for a narrator, a solo violinist, and a women’s choir.

The subject matter of the Songbook’s songs varies in the specificity of its confrontation with the disease: some poems are allusive or metaphorical; others are more literal and include quite graphic symptomatic descriptions. The poetic forms are
similarly diverse, encompassing both sonnets and unrhymed prose. Almost all present a gay male perspective. The musical settings demonstrate a wide variety of musical styles, from Broadway patter (“AIDS Anxiety”) and atonal angularities (“The ’80s Miracle Diet”) to neoromantic lyricism (“Walt Whitman in 1989”).

Stephen McClatchie

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**AIDS Writing in France**

The HIV/AIDS epidemic in France has resulted in both the highest infection figures of any Western European country (35,773 cases of AIDS in 1995) and in profound social and cultural perturbances and reevaluation, affecting the ways in which homosexuality in particular figures in the national consciousness. As in the United States, the epidemic has also been experienced as affecting other socially excluded groups such as drug users and sex workers. Official reactions to the threat moved through stages of dismissiveness and inaction, to well-intentioned campaigns that urged solidarité and targeted the young but still failed to counter conservative attitudes around issues such as public (homo-)sexuality and condom use. For instance, in 1988 a poster campaign advocating condom use was deemed too sensitive to be shown in the Paris subway.

Artistic representations and responses in the 1980s and 1990s have therefore been made within a context of political and social debate: equally, the reconfiguration of sexual and social mores in France led to innovative responses. With the right seizing on AIDS as an excuse to restrict newly acquired liberties won by gay men, the earliest texts in which AIDS figured were such works as *Danger de vie* by Michel Simonin, published in 1986; Jean-Paul Aron’s essay, first published in the *Nouvel Observateur* in 1987, “Mon sida”; and Guy Hocquenghem’s *Ève* (1987). In short, writers have been concerned with claiming a voice and an identity, the right to speak publicly about AIDS and homosexuality in the first person.

Hervé Guibert (1955–1991), the most notable author to write about discovering he was HIV-positive and becoming ill with AIDS, did so indirectly through the genre of autofiction, a self-writing practice that is neither wholly true nor wholly invented, which he had already put to use in earlier texts about his sexuality. The 1990 publication of Guibert’s *À l’amí qui ne m’a pas sauvé la vie* attracted much publicity, mainly for “betraying” the secret of Michel Foucault’s AIDS-related death by writing about the last days of the philosopher using a changed name. However, as Ralph Sarkonak has shown in his *Texte* article, Foucault appears more as an opportunity for Guibert to advance his project of exposing the body in pain and writing into death. The text opens with a veiled declaration of Guibert’s HIV-positive status, at the same time holding out the possibility (later proving vain) that he has found a cure.

Further criticism of Guibert, together with questions about Cyril Collard’s 1989 book and film *Les Nuits fauves*, came from campaign group Act Up–Paris, who objected to their representations of gay men as self-regarding narcissists and/or murderers (Collard for his depiction of the semiautobiographical bisexual character Jean, who has unprotected sex with his girlfriend, Laura; Guibert for plotting to drip blood into the wineglass of Bill, the American who offered the illusory cure).

Later works by Guibert continued to foreground the dynamics of self-revelation, performative identity, risk, and writing the body; worth special mention are *Le Paradis* (1992), a fantastic travelogue inscribing all sense of self and identity with radical epistemological doubt, a video diary entitled “La Pudeur et l’impudeur” (first shown 1992) documenting transcendental moments, daily struggles, and a Russian roulette scene of his failed suicide, and a harrowingly terse hospital diary written towards the end of his life, *Cytomégalovirus* (1992).

Other writers to use the témoignage, or witnessing, form in experimental and often therapeutic ways include Alain-Emmanuel Dreuilhe, in his metaphorization of the struggle against disease written partly in a North American context, *Corps à
A
corps (1987); Barbara Samson, who, in On n’est pas sérieux quand on a dix-sept ans (1994), offers the account of how, as an anorexic, she is seduced by HIV-positive Antony, and her struggle to come to terms with her changed HIV-status and use her life affirmatively; and Cargo vie (1993), by Belgian-born author Pascal de Duve, who during a sea voyage, both explores his own illness and revisits his past, poetically embracing a new love affair for the virus VIH relationship to replace his affair with “E,” who abandoned him. A related trope, which Ross Chambers calls “accompaniment witnessing,” offering accounts of the tender/vicious relationships between those ill with AIDS and their lovers, and exploring issues of duty, mourning, and responsibility beyond the trite solidarité of poster campaigns, includes L’Accompagnement (1994) by René de Cectatty, Yves Navarre’s Ce sont amis que vent emporte (1990), and Michel Manière’s À ceux qui l’ont aimé (1992). Françoise Baranne’s Le Couloir (1994) provides the perspective of a professional carer, while Les Quatiers d’hiver (1990) by Jean-Noël Pancrazi is a more general elegy to a lost community, marking the devastation to Paris’s gay scene caused by the ravages of the epidemic.

Later generations of French authors pick up on and radicalize the developments of new forms of identity and relationships found in the works of their predecessors. Guillaume Dustan’s Dans ma chambre (1996) controversially documents the unfolding dramas among a group of sexually adventurous friends on the Paris scene, while Vincent Borel, in Un Ruban noir (1993) combines elements of rave culture, alternative medicine, and ecological cosmographies to explore forms of social organization that favor an AIDS-positive outlook. One self-conscious literary text to cast further doubt on the ability of dominant paradigms of individual identity to “resist infection” is Le Fil (1994) by Christophe Bourdin, the opening section of which implicates the reader in the minutiae of personal defenses against contamination that fail to prevent the virus’s infiltration of text and body alike.

Murray Pratt

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See also: ACT UP; AIDS; AIDS Literature; AIDS Organizations, U.S.; Foucault, Michel; Guibert, Hervé; Hocquenghem, Guy; Navarre, Yves

Alley, Alvin (1931–1989)
This African American dancer and choreographer was founder of the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater. Born in Rogers, Texas, the only child of working-class parents who separated when he was an infant, Ailey and his mother moved to Los Angeles in 1942. Shy from his itinerant Texas life and already aware of his homosexuality, Ailey turned to dance when a high school classmate introduced him to Lester Horton’s Hollywood studio in 1949. Horton, an openly gay white man from Indianapolis, Indiana, had created a multiracial school and concert company that performed his challenging choreography. Under Horton’s tutelage, Ailey developed as a dancer and learned the essentials of stage design, music awareness, costuming, and storytelling.

Ailey poured himself into study and developed a weighty, smoldering performance style that suited his athletic body. He moved to New York in 1954 to dance with partner Carmen De Lavallade in the Broadway production of Truman Capote’s House of Flowers. Performing success led Ailey to found his own dance theater company in 1958.

The Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater began as a repertory company of seven dancers devoted to both modern dance classics and new works created by Ailey and other young artists. Successful from the start, the company’s first concert premiered Ailey’s masterful Blues Suite (1958), set in and around a barrelhouse, which depicts the desperation and joys of life on the edge of poverty in the South.
Early performances of the unequivocal masterpiece *Revelations* (1960) established Ailey's company as the foremost dance interpreter of African-American experience. The dance quickly became the company's signature ballet, eclipsing previous concert attempts at dancing to sacred black music. *Revelations* depicts a spectrum of black religious worship, including richly sculpted group prayer ("I've Been Burred"), a duet of trust and support for a minister and devotee ("Fix Me, Jesus"), a ceremony of ritual baptism ("Wade in the Water"), a moment of introverted, private communion ("I Wanna Be Ready"), and a final, celebratory gospel exclamation, "Rocka My Soul in the Bosom of Abraham."

Although Ailey maintained an affable, closeted public persona, his work consistently encouraged male homosexual spectatorship in its varied depictions of glamorous masculinity, as in the hypermasculine working men of *Blues Suite*, and the sensitive but sensually deprived religious archetypes of *Revelations* and *Hermit Songs* (1961), set to the Leontyne Price recording of Samuel Barber's song cycle. The extravagant costume and setting design of works like *Quintet* (1968), *Flowers* (1971), and *The Mooche* (1974) fit a prevalent mold of campy excess enjoyed by some gay audiences. Ailey created dance imagery that acknowledged male and female homosexuality in abstract work he made for the American Ballet Theater (*The River*, 1970) and his own company (*Streams*, 1970). These two dances include sections that recognize a sensual, intimate bond between men and women in dances of same-sex partnering framed by opposite-sex encounters. Among his later works, *For "Bird"—With Love* (1984) included an extended lyrical section for five men that described a nurturing connection among the musicians of Charlie Parker's quintet.

Ailey carefully guarded his public persona of masculine virility dissociated from homosexuality. He suffered a nervous breakdown in 1980, which some associates attributed to pressures surrounding administering his world-famous company; his career as a choreographer, which produced over fifty ballets for an international roster of companies; and his status as a figurehead statesman of African-American artistry. He died of AIDS in New York City. His company and its associated school, which was incorporated in 1967, continued under the direction of former star dancer Judith Jamison and remains the most celebrated and active company of American modern dance artists. *Thomas DeFrantz*

**Bibliography**


**See also** African-American Gay Culture

**Alan of Lille (c.1120–1203)**

Alan of Lille was a student and teacher in the Parisian schools, then a churchman with various ecclesiastical duties, including conducting public controversies with heretics. He wrote extensively and in a variety of genres on the principal topics of Christian theology. One of his earliest works is a mixture of prose and poetry entitled the *Complaint of Nature*. It presents an allegorical "dream" or vision in which the goddess Nature bewails human sexual deviations. Instead of following the reproductive cycles set by divine plan, human beings have fallen into sterile practices, including same-sex copulation. Although Alan's work has often been read as an attack on male sodomy or even clerical sodomy, it is concerned on its surface with a wider variety of sex-
ual practices. It links sexual deviation with the greed of prostitution and seems to hint at what we would call bisexuality and masturbation. Moreover, a number of anomalies in the allegory suggest that Albee does not mean it to be taken literally. He may be suggesting, for example, that nature will always fall into sexual irregularity until it is instructed by Christian theology and aided by divine grace. Albee's later, explicitly theological works condemn same-sex desire or activity in terms typical of twelfth-century theology.

Mark D. Jordan

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Albee, Edward (1928–)

Grandson by adoption of his namesake, the famous, powerful theatrical impresario, American playwright Edward Albee rose to fame in the lively Off-Broadway theater of the 1950s with a series of one-act plays. One of those, The Zoo Story (1958), has distinct homoerotic overtones in the Central Park meeting of an uptight middle-class man and a volatile stranger. This cautious glimpse of homosexuality and transgression of the gender order was daring in the 1950s. The title character of The American Dream (1960) is a scantily clad hustler. The homoerotic overtones in Albee's early work were combined with scathing attacks on conventional heterosexual marriage and an alarming amount of sort of misogyny that was part of the pre-Stonewall gay stereotype.

In the early 1960s Albee moved to Broadway, first creating a sensation with his lengthy full-length dark comedy, Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf? (1962), which depicts two grotesque, unhappy heterosexual couples. Martha, the most memorable character, is a heavy-drinking, sexually promiscuous woman who constantly excoriates her husband for not being as powerful as her beloved father. Martha's camp humor and extreme behavior, coupled with her and her husband's inability to have children, have led some critics and directors to see her as a man in drag and, thus, the central couple as two gay men rather than a man and a woman. Such a heterosexist reading, denied by the playwright, blunts and limits Albee's satire. The Pulitzer Prize committee denied the prize to Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf? because it did not reflect American values (the prize went to a musical, How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying).

Albee did receive the Pulitzer two years later for A Delicate Balance, which was successfully revived on Broadway in 1996. Like his previous work, A Delicate Balance mixes social satire with existential meditation on the meaningless void that human behavior and language futilely try to deny. Amid the barren, terrified heterosexual couples is the comic character Claire, another Albee female gargoyle, who takes the play into the realm of camp.

For a number of years Albee alternated original works with adaptations of novels by James Purdy, Carson McCullers, and others. Often these works, too, had homoerotic overtones, e.g., The Ballad of the Sad Café (1964) and Malcolm (1965). Along with Tennessee Williams and William Inge, Albee was subjected to homophobic attacks from a number of mainstream critics. Tiny Alice (1964), which is filled with homosexual innuendo, inspired a flurry of nasty critical jibes, including Philip Roth's description of the play's language as "pansy rhetoric."

After a series of disasters in the 1970s and 1980s (The Lady From Dubuque [1979], The Man Who Had Three Arms [1983]), Albee had a major success with Three Tall Women (1991), whose central character is a dying woman who has spurned her gay son.

A number of basic themes permeate all of Albee's work: spiritual nihilism, death, marriage as a battleground, the cruelty and indomitability of women, the sacrificed son, and the often denied but
omnipresent homoerotic dimension of relations between men. He is most interested in those moments when the surface of social intercourse becomes disrupted by the irrational, even the spiritual.

John M. Clum

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Albert the Great (c.1200–1280)

Albert of Lauingen, who even during his lifetime was called Albert “the Great,” rose to fame as a theologian and early leader of the Dominican order. He had a long and various career as university teacher, religious superior, and bishop. Best known today as the mentor of Thomas Aquinas, Albert is properly appreciated in his own right for his commitment to integrating Christian theology with the full range of scientific and philosophical knowledge available to him. The most impressive evidence of this is a set of commentaries or paraphrases on the whole corpus of Aristotle. Albert did not admit the project of integration into his views on same-sex desire. Ignoring medical teaching on the possible physiological causes for same-sex activity, Albert condemns “sodomitic sin” as a deadly contravention of the purposes for which God created genital organs. The sin, which is found especially in the powerful and well educated, overwhelms reason by the very intensity of its desire. It is almost never uprooted, Albert adds, and it spreads quickly from one person to another. Although he never defines exactly what he means by “sodomy,” Albert seems to have in mind chiefly sexual relations between men, since he allows in one place that female masturbation may not be so serious a matter.

Mark D. Jordan

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See also Aelred of Rievaulx; Alan of Lille; Augustinian of Hippo; Christianity; Paul, Saint; Sodomy; Thomas Aquinas

Alcibiades Boy at School (L’Alcibiade fanciullino a scola)

An anonymous text published in Venice circa 1650, L’Alcibiade is considered one of the most obscene works of Italian literature. It has been attributed to the friar Antonio Rocco, a prominent figure of the so-called Accademia degli incogniti (Academy of the Unknown), notorious for its libertine ideology and its strong anticlericalism. Since the Academy of the Unknown was composed of the most affluent members of Venetian society, it could afford to ignore the constant threats of the Catholic Church. L’Alcibiade is structured as a dialogue between a teacher and his student in ancient Greece.

Filotimo, a renowned Athenian teacher, attempts to convince Alcibiades, his beautiful young disciple, to let him penetrate him. Although the adolescent allows his mentor to kiss and to caress him, he denies Filotimo his virgin ass. To accomplish his desire, the master performs an ironic reversal of the relationship among rhetoric, sodomy, and the Bible. In L’Alcibiade, Genesis 19 hovers as an unspoken reference; even the term “Sodom” remains absent from the text. Rocco does not allow the Bible to articulate its mythic discourse against homosexuality. Being aware of the powerful and destructive force inherent in any myth, the author “silences” the biblical narration. Rocco sees sodomy as the quintessential expression of man’s “natural” desire for power. In “Amore e puro interesse” (“Love Is Sheer Interest”), a discourse delivered to the Academy of the Unknown, Rocco makes

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it clear that for him love is nothing but a longing for power.

“When one loves,” Rocco states, “one loves oneself and not the other.” In *L'Alcibiade* sodomite love is intrinsically ironic; that is, it constantly distances itself from its own articulation. Because its goal is the fulfillment of a desire for power, sodomite discourse interprets, falsifies, and nullifies any previous discourse. As Rocco writes at the beginning of his text, the best way of imparting one’s own knowledge is to stick it (one’s “knowledge”) into one’s interlocutor’s ass. The teacher’s rhetoric is infused with puns and irony. For instance, to convince his beautiful pupil to give in to his desire, Filotimo states that the expression “contra naturam” has been misinterpreted. “Cunt being called ‘natura,’” the teacher argues, “asshole has been called ‘contra naturam,’ simply because it is on the side opposite cunt” (51). The teacher also stresses that vagina is called “natura” not because the ass is “contra naturam,” but only because the vagina generates man. According to the master, the act of giving birth is usually called “natura.” However, Filotimo hastily adds that desire is multifaceted. Man does not look for pleasure only to generate other human beings. Every kind of desire is natural. The master also reminds his pupil that man’s desire for a boy is superior to that for a woman because a man and a boy are more similar to each other. Moreover, articulating a modern-sounding argument in favor of homosexuality, the master says that Sodom had been burned not because it supported sodomite practices but because it was inhospitable.

*Armando Maggi*

**Bibliography**


*See also* Italian Literature; Italian Renaissance, Sodomy

**Alcohol and Drugs**

Alcohol and drugs are here grouped together on the basis of their shared social function in enhancing recreational activities and their ability to lead to chemical dependency. Scientific studies in the early twentieth century sought to establish a correspondence between alcoholism and homosexuality, to demonstrate how the one led to the other, or vice versa. In reality, alcohol and drug use by gay men corresponds generally to that of American society as a whole, with two notable exceptions: the central role the gay bar continues to play in gay culture and, for some, the continuing importance placed on sex and its enhancement through alcohol and drug use as a hallmark of gay life or identity.

Alcohol is a physical depressant that creates an initially euphoric state as the drinker’s inhibitions are relaxed, and allows for a more spontaneous sexual arousal. Larger quantities cause portions of the brain to shut down, deadens the nervous system (dulls sense of pain), and causes loss of balance, blurred vision and speech, impaired judgment, or unconsciousness. Taken to such a degree as to cause alcohol poisoning, it may cause permanent brain damage or induce a coma, a heart attack, and death. Prolonged use of alcohol (alcohol abuse) often leads to the onset of alcoholism (the loss of the ability to control one’s drinking), which may include additionally the symptoms of irritability, extreme mood swings, blackouts (memory loss), lack of ability to concentrate, decreased motor skills, alcohol-induced psychosis and other personality transformations, and a wide range of ensuing social, family, and health problems.

The term *drug*, as used here, describes a variety of mood-altering chemical agents of a narcotic or otherwise potentially physically additive nature, which serve, at least initially, a similar recreational (social or sexual) activity function as alcohol. These include stimulants (amphetamine, cocaine), depressants (barbiturates, alcohol), hallucinogens (LSD, psilocybin, marijuana), and narcotics (morphine, heroin, opium, methadone), and their “designer drug” derivatives. Each drug has the potential to become addictive (physically or psychologically habit-forming), and each, in turn, may follow its own trajectory to the addict’s self-destruction.

Drinking and/or recreational drug use often play a key role in the social behavior of gay men, whether in a bar cruising situation, or socializing with friends at home, over dinner, at a bar, or at a party. Few latitudinal studies have been undertaken to explore the myriad subcultures of gay social groups, cliques, gay extended families, and their variant drug and alcohol use. Until recently, most studies addressed the issue of alcoholism and the
problem drinker. More recent research affirms the expected patterns: moderate and light drinkers tend to socialize with each other in a wide range of social settings; heavy drinkers and alcoholic drinkers tend to organize their social life around drinking with other heavy drinkers; and abstinent or “recovering” alcoholics tend to socialize with others in recovery and/or around Alcoholic Anonymous–related activities. Some gay men do not drink or use drugs at all, also for a variety of reasons—religious, medical, social, or personal.

Recent studies have found that being in or out of a primary relationship has no long-term bearing on the amount of alcohol and drug use. Light users who may have drunk a bit more while frequenting the bars while single tend to use less when they leave such social situations. Similarly, heavy drinkers tend to drink just as heavily coupled as they did while single, perhaps doing so at home or among a private circle of friends rather than at the bars.

The gay bar remains a venerable institution in the gay community. For a very long time it was the only social space in which homosexual men could meet; in many ways, it mirrored the traditional English pub as the urban dweller’s public “front parlor.” In many places outside major cities, the gay bar still serves this unique role, and the bartender is often both respected as an authority figure or confidant and revered as a sexual icon. In places with a sufficiently large gay population, other venues for socializing have developed, Metropolitan Community Church parishes or AIDS support organizations being the most often cited. Where alternate social outlets exist, lighter drinkers tend to become involved in community or leisure activities. Nevertheless, the gay bar as social locus and the degree of social activity organized around bars or drinking (as compared with heterosexual society) remains relatively high. For this reason, the recovering alcoholic often substitutes AA meetings and social activities for the bar, thus allowing him to remain socially connected to the gay community. In many places MCC and/or AA are the only social alternative to the gay bar.

Les Wright

**Bibliography**


See also Circuit Party Scene; Metropolitan Community Church

**Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.E.)**

Alexander III of Macedon, commonly known as “the Great,” the son of Philip II and Olympias, conquered the vast area from Asia Minor in the west to modern-day Afghanistan and India in the east. His expedition of conquest (334–324 B.C.E.), designed as revenge for the Persian attempts to invade Greece in 490 and 480/479 B.C.E., resulted in the destruction of the Persian Empire of Darius III and in the export of Greek language and culture to countries as far-flung as Egypt and Bactria.

Alexander attempted publicly to fuse aspects of Greek and Persian culture. From 330 B.C.E. his court dress comprised both the traditional Macedonian hat and cloak as well as the Persian crown, tunic, and girdle, symbols of the absolute monarchy he perpetuated.

In 327 B.C.E. he married Roxane, the captured daughter of a Bactrian noble, and, in 324 B.C.E., one of the daughters of Darius III, in a mass marriage ceremony at Susa. His friend and almost certainly his lover, Hephaestion, married another daughter of Darius in the same ceremony.

Hephaestion, a Macedonian noble who held several commands during the expedition, was one of the elite corps surrounding Alexander. Later, the Cynic philosophers claimed that Alexander was defeated only once—by Hephaestion's thighs. His sudden death at Ecbatana in 324 B.C.E. plunged Alexander into uncontrollable grief, reminiscent of Achilles' grief for Patroclus in Homer's *Iliad*. The manes and tales of all horses were shorn (as Achilles had done), music was forbidden, and the male population of a neighboring tribe was massacred as a sacrifice to Hephaestion's spirit. Alexander planned a gigantic funeral monument, to be built with bricks from the breached walls of Babylon, but there is no evidence that this plan was ever fulfilled. Zeus Amun's oracle decreed that Hephaestion could be worshiped as a hero.

Alexander's attitude to same-sex sexual relations seems typical of the Greek mores of his age, but his passionately enduring love for Hephaestion undeniably surpassed his infatuation with Roxane and his desire for the young Persian eunuch Bagoas. By Roxane, he had a son, who was murdered, together with his mother, in 311 B.C.E. After Alexander's death, his empire was divided among his generals, who established ruling dynasties in their respective spheres of influence (for example, the Ptolemies in Egypt).

Representations of Alexander, especially sculpture and coinage, tend to depict an idealized youth, with an Apollo-like mien. In fact, by 331 B.C.E.,
Alexander, who considered himself a descendant of Hercules, began to portray himself as a son of Zeus Amun. His favorite sculptor, Lysippus, was responsible for one of the most famous portraits of Alexander, with his head inclined toward the left and his hair swept back from a middle parting. In 1995 a Greek archaeologist claimed to have found the tomb of Alexander at Al-Maragi, near his favorite oracle of Zeus Amun at Siwa, in Egypt, but this has been hotly disputed.

Michael Lambert

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See also Alexandria; Egypt, Ancient; Greece, Ancient; Plato; Rome, Ancient

Alexandria
Named after its founder, Alexander the Great, Alexandria was established in 331 B.C.E. near the western mouth of the Nile, after Egypt had been wrested from Persian rule. Under the Ptolemies, the Macedonian dynasty that ruled Egypt after Alexander's death, Alexandria became Egypt's capital, its major port, and the intellectual center of the Mediterranean world.

Designed as a Greek city-state with its own citizenship, coinage, and laws, Alexandria developed into a vibrant, multi-cultural city with strong Jewish and Egyptian communities that did not enjoy the full citizenship intended for the original Greek settlers and their descendants. Under Roman rule, Alexandria became the second-largest city in the Roman Empire, with a population of more than 500,000.

Under the Ptolemies, the museum and library at Alexandria became the primary research centers in the ancient world, where major discoveries (such as the existence of the ovaries) were made in the fields of medicine, mathematics, and geography, and where the great epics of Homer were arranged in books and edited.

A new style of literary composition (the Hellenistic or Alexandrian), characterized by innovative versification, the subjective expression of sexual desire and emotion, as well as by arcane subject
matter, was inspired by the scholar-poets, such as Callimachus (third century B.C.E.), who catalogued the library’s contents and compiled a bibliography of Greek literature. The library eventually contained about 500,000 papyrus rolls—approximately 100,000 modern books.

Alexandrian love poetry is of particular interest; poets like Asclepiades and Meleager wrote exquisitely shaped love epigrams, addressed to both sexes, which profoundly influenced Roman love poets like Catullus and Propertius. Although Alexandrian erotic poetry is predominantly bisexual, love for boys is celebrated in the poems that make up book twelve of the Palatine or Greek anthology, which contains some of the gems of Alexandrian same-sex poetry.

The association of Alexandria and homosexual poetry has been continued in the modern era by another Alexandrian-born Greek poet, Constantine Cavafy (1863–1933), whose lyric poems capture the homoerotic sensuousness of his Hellenistic forbears. Other authors, like Lawrence Durrell, have attempted to capture the decadent languor of a city Durrell describes as “princess and whore, the royal city and the anus mundi.”

The later history of Alexandria is one of conquest, decline, and renaissance. Roman rule, which began with the defeat and suicide of Cleopatra VII (69–30 B.C.E.), the last of the Ptolemy, was followed by that of the Byzantine Greeks. The Arab conquest (C.E. 641) eventually led to the decline of the great port into a small fishing village, as the Arabs established a new capital at Fustat, now part of old Cairo. Under the sultan Muhammad Ali in the early nineteenth century, Alexandria was transformed into a bustling, commercial port again, with the cosmopolitan air of the ancient city. The Egyptian revolution and Gamal Ab-del Nasser’s expulsion of British and French citizens in 1957 led to the depletion of the foreign community, especially the Greeks and the Jews who had given the city its special character.

Michael Lambert

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See also Alexander the Great; Cavafy, Constantine P.; Durrell, Lawrence; Egypt, Ancient

Alger, Horatio (1832–1899)
Born in 1832 to the Reverend Horatio Alger Sr., an outspoken abolitionist and Unitarian minister, and his wife, Olive Augusta Alger, herself a popular writer and lifelong fighter in causes of women’s suffrage, Horatio Alger was a leading American writer of tales for young people. His stories about Ragged Dick (1868) and Tattered Tom (1871) established the pattern for more than a hundred rags-to-riches stories in the American literary tradition. Initially, serialized in Student and Schoolmate, a magazine for both boys and girls, his overnight literary sensations took nineteenth-century America by storm. In an era of national expansion, Alger heroes left the farm to seek their fortunes; they always returned in time to save the old homestead from the clutches of villainous squires. Critics describe his work as bristling with the energy of a young and developing nation with pioneers ever moving toward unknown frontiers.

The repressed fact about these wholesome narratives was Alger’s own dark secret. Found guilty of a “crime of no less magnitude than the abominable and revolting crime of unnatural familiarity with boys,” Alger left Brewster, New York, where he had hoped to follow in his father’s footsteps, and moved to New York City, where he began to write. This scandal emerged after an archival discovery made by a biographer in the early 1970s. Details of earlier biographers confirmed his interest in lower-class boys and his devotion to the real-life subjects of his many novels. Since these discoveries, the myth of an American success has had to be rewritten with the centrality of pederasty in mind. The most successful attempts at this rewriting are listed below. The classic American boy’s story must be understood as a tale of desire.

Craig McCarroll

Bibliography

See also Fiction; Pederasty; U.S. Literature

Almodóvar, Pedro (1949–)
The Spanish filmmaker Pedro Almodóvar was born in Calzada de Calatrava (Ciudad Real, Spain) and
Pedro Almodóvar gets a kiss from his star Rossy de Palma.
Photo by Marc Geller.

moved to Madrid in 1967. After Franco's death in 1976, he joined other artists and intellectuals to celebrate a new era of cultural and social freedom, known in Madrid as the movida. He performed in a rock n' roll band wearing heavy makeup, fishnets, and skirts, wrote stories for La Luna magazine disguised as the porn star Patty Diphusa, and made super 8 shorts with titles like Sex Comes, Sex Goes (1977) and Fuckfils . . . Fuck . . . Fuck Me . . . Tim (1978). These films were connected to the American underground of Kenneth Anger, Jack Smith and John Waters, Hollywood melodramas, and comic books. The films were screened in homes, night clubs, and the cafeteria of the Alphaville cinemas, with the director improvising a live sound track filled with camp humor and Spanish pop music.

Almodóvar's shorts and personal displays, cheerfully celebrated by the audience, anticipated the blissfulness of his feature-length films, which may be seen as the expression of a postmodern carnivale or Baroque saturation framed by Spanish, Latin American, and North American popular culture. Hence, from Pepi, Lucy, Bom and Other Girls on the Heap (1980) to The Flower of My Secret (1995), the blend of romantic music such as the Castellan cuplé, the Caribbean bolero, and the Mexican ranchera alludes to Almodóvar's celebration of sentimentality. On the other hand, the recycling of Hollywood films from the 1940s and 1950s brings to his movies the Spanish nostalgia for the MGM and Twentieth-Century Fox productions that en-
livened, with the glowing red lips of their stars, the darkness of Franco's dictatorship.

With this strategy, the director enhances the lives of transvestites, transsexuals, homosexuals, lesbians, and heterosexual women, and reenacts the clash of gender and moral conflicts of Spanish society by means of an excessive mise-en-scène. In this sense, The Law of Desire (1987) subverts sexual and religious codes, and unifies through first-degree kitsch Spanish popular culture, in the scene where Tina's home altar, cluttered with all types of paraphernalia, becomes the deadly backdrop for Pablo and Antonio's last sexual encounter performed to the rhythm of the bolero "Lo dudo" (I Doubt It). Moreover, the film deconstructs machismo by presenting melodrama within an exclusive male domain.

Conversely, Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown (1988) brings melodrama back to feminine territory and delves more deeply into the emotional conflicts of heterosexual couples that unfolded in What Have I Done to Deserve This? (1984). In this way, Pepa's appearance signifies the determination of any Spanish woman for being acknowledged in the masculine world, without giving away the seductive power of the full feminine attire.

In subsequent works like High Heels (1991), Kika (1993), and Live Flash (1997) Almodóvar has further used and, it may be argued, abused popular culture. However, aside from the aesthetic value that in light of a postmodern sensibility such reiteration might have, his remain powerful tools in the process of subverting an increasingly conservative society and making more audible the voices at the margins of phallic discourse.

Alejandro Varderi

Bibliography

See also Anger, Kenneth; Film; Film: New Queer Cinema; Smith, Jack; Spain; Waters, John

Altman, Dennis (1943–)
An international commentator on gay politics and cultures and professor of politics at La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia, Dennis Altman has written and edited eleven books including a novel, The Comfort of Men (1993), his autobiography, Defying Gravity (1997), and five others on gay politics.

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Altman's *Homosexual Oppression and Liberation* (1971) was the first book internationally to describe and theorize the emerging gay liberation movement in the United States and elsewhere. It is difficult to overestimate its contemporary political importance in the context of a hundred years of writing by homosexuals attempting to change how homosexuality was perceived and represented. Since 1971, Altman's books and articles have anticipated, charted, and in many ways defined some of the major issues facing gays and sexual politics and their relationships to feminism, the state, and wider political cultures.

Altman has systematically addressed cultural, political, and sexual issues that have to do with the impact of HIV on gay men both locally and internationally. He writes in a personalized voice that combines his own experience, wide research, and participant observation. The resulting writing has involved an informed, sometimes passionate voice in dialogue with the traditions of radical sexual politics, liberalism, and socialism.

Michael Hurley

Bibliography


See also AIDS; Australia; Homosexuality; Oppression; Sociology of Gay Life

American Indian/Alaskan Native Gender Identity and Sexuality

The categorization of gender identity and sexuality within Native communities in the Americas is complex. Self-identity in the United States according to censuses have yielded almost two million Natives in about 545 tribal groups speaking a variety of Native languages and exhibiting varied cultural contours. It is exceedingly difficult to generalize because each Native nation is unique—culturally and linguistically.

In the past, several attempts have been made by non-Native researchers to address Native gender and sexuality issues. And only recently, Native people themselves have begun to provide some clarification about Native gender and sexuality. From that we have learned, gender is primarily a process and is not considered static.

The key issue being discussed at present is the long-standing indigenous cultural recognition of gender categories beyond man/boy and woman/girl. Some people have labeled additional genders as "alternative" genders. Within diverse Native contexts, however, there are no "alternative" genders. There are, instead, additional markers that are part of the continuum of gender categories.

In each of the tribal groups in the United States, tribal languages designate specific gender categories. For example, in the Navajo nation, which is located in the American Southwest, a specific term is used within traditional cultural settings to classify a male-bodied person who functions in the role of a woman. That person is referred to as *na'dleeh*. A female-bodied person who functions in the role of a man is referred to as *dilbaai*. Another example, within Lakota culture, is the use of the term *winlcte* when referring to a male-bodied woman. Thus, each tribe in North America has its own explanation about how gender markers are created, established, and used.

Beginning in the sixteenth century, the male-bodied and female-bodied persons briefly described above were labeled by European military colonists and missionaries as *berdaches*. This term and its underlying concept has been forced on Native people since then, and has proliferated in use through introductory textbooks in Western educational systems. The word *berdache* was never part of Native conversations until contemporary times. Recently, both Native and non-Native people have challenged the use of this label as a catchall for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered Natives. By the late 1980s, a new term had evolved. The new term "two-spirit," is not intended to mark a new category of gender. Instead, "two-spirit" is an indigenously defined pan-Native North American term that bridges Native concepts of gender diversity and sexualities and those of Western cultures.

"Two-spirit" is used by some people who formerly referred to themselves as either gay or lesbian. Also, the word is used by some tribal members who no longer have their cultural information avail-
able to help or define their gender identity or mark themselves linguistically with a tribal term.

In very few Native communities are tribal members defined as gay, lesbian, two-spirit, or by their specific tribal gender term, which does not refer to a man or a woman. There is flexibility in how gender markers are used, and this varies from one tribal group to another. Thus, gender identity or sexuality changes according to what environment someone is in at any given moment. For example, when one is a participant in a religious event on a reservation, a specific tribal term is used, for example, na'dleeh, dilbaai, or winkte. But when one leaves the reservation and returns to an urban area, he or she may be referred to as a gay or a lesbian. Furthermore, this same person could be labeled as a two-spirit when not within his or her own reservation but in another Native community or at a gathering of Native people. In addition, Native people who no longer have a direct relationship with their heritage might use this label, or they might simply refer to themselves as gay or lesbian.

To complicate the Western view of gender and sexuality, sexuality in Native cultures often has different tribal or cultural definitions. Within the very few traditional Native settings where the basic cultural rules are abided by, a sexual relationship between a male-bodied woman and a heterosexual man is viewed as a heterosexual relationship. This type of relationship is, however, viewed as homosexual in Western cultures. The same is true for a relationship between a female-bodied man and a heterosexually defined woman: their relationship in Native cultures is seen as heterosexual. Gender status is the deciding factor in how these relationships are defined. In most traditional Native communities, gender supersedes the physical sex of a person’s body.

The way gender and sexuality are defined within traditional Native communities in the United States is obviously different from how relationships are constructed within the broader Euro-American cultures. For example, some Native sexual relationships are defined and established in ways that preclude bisexuality. In these communities, bisexuality is seen to exist only if one is unable to acknowledge the importance and function of traditionally expanded categories of gender status and role.

The world of engenderment—the ways in which genders are conceived, assigned, and lived—is extremely varied among American Indian, Alaskan Native, and First Nations (Canadians) societies. There has been little analysis of indigenous words, which are contextually placed within a lexicon of the attributions of gender by speakers of Native languages. Rather, there is increasingly a designation of terms for those individuals who fit third- or fourth-gender categories—be they males or females in their outward appearances. Outsiders who attribute meaning and gender categories for the occupants of these gender roles often utilize these terms. Even though the gender researchers often state that they have checked their words with their “informants,” there is seldom a referral to reconfirm the linguistic connotation of these appellations. It was thus encouraging in the late 1990s to note that emic analyses are beginning to occur in the field of naming, designating, and attributing the range of gender occupancies in some aboriginal groups. This direction is significant, for it is an attempt to deal with the permutations of gender-specific categories within indigenous total cultural frameworks, rather than subsuming them under “gay and lesbian studies” alone. These new attempts should also focus upon the ways in which terms are shared in a given cultural group and the ways in which they are seen to differ in the ordinary usage in this cultural group. This latter caveat is necessary in order to give meaning to the cultural construction of gender. *Wesley Thomas (Navajo) Beatrice Medicine (Standing Rock Lakota)*

**Bibliography**


*See also* Anthropology; Berdache; Canada; Gender

**Amsterdam**

This medieval city experienced its greatest expansion and its Golden Age in the seventeenth century, when it considered itself to be the center of the world. The first signs of subcultures of sodomites are to be encountered in the latter part of that century, and they became abundant with the large-scale persecutions of sodomites in the Dutch Republic.
Cruising took place during the 1950s and began as a more prompt sexual practice in Amsterdam, which had developed earlier and was known for its liberal attitudes. Sexuality in the Netherlands, especially in Amsterdam, generated significant subcultures of gay men and lesbians. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these subcultures were often targeted by raids and police persecution. The few Dutch gays to be prosecuted under this law had had sexual relations with German soldiers. Soon after the war, a significant subculture of bars and dance halls unfolded in Amsterdam. Lesbians played a key role in this expanding subculture, often acting as bartenders. The most celebrated example was the butch dyke Bet van Beeren of 't Mandje, a bar frequented by gay men, lesbians, sailors, and prostitutes. The DOK, the largest gay dance hall in the world at its inception in 1952, brought Amsterdam world fame. The first leather bar, Argos, in the 1950s and the first gay sauna in the 1960s bolstered Amsterdam’s reputation as it became an important travel destination for gay British and French men.

The COC, the Dutch homophile movement, was launched in Amsterdam in 1946 and enjoyed its heyday during the sexual revolution of the 1960s and early 1970s. As early as the late 1950s, Amsterdam had already become a gay capital, with a burgeoning subculture and a strong political movement. Halfway through the 1970s, lesbian and gay groups questioned sexual politics. In the late 1970s, a whole network of gay groups sprang up alongside the COC, in trade unions, political parties, universities, medicine, and many other walks of life. AIDS hit Amsterdam slightly later than other gay centers, and the response of the gay movement and the government was more prompt. Sex venues and darkrooms were not shut down, because they were regarded not just as places for virus transmission but for safe-sex education as well. An important institution has been the homosexual help organization—the Schorzer Foundation—founded in 1967 and growing wings during the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s. Amsterdam’s gay reputation has been ebbing since the 1980s, although one new impulse in the 1990s has come from kinky sex parties. Yet as other western European cities began to generate sexual infrastructures similar to those Amsterdam had developed earlier, the city relinquished its head start. The

Amsterdam Canal Parade. Photo by Jan Carel Warffemius.
advantages it can still boast are its tolerant social climate, compact urban structure, and architectural beauty.

Lesbians have been consistently marginal in Amsterdam's subculture. The first exclusively lesbian bar opened in 1970, but later efforts to establish similar venues met with little success. The predominant features of lesbian life at present are circles of friends meeting at home or on sports fields. A few small, mostly mixed bars are the visible part of the lesbian scene, and some discos and bars feature monthly lesbian parties. In the gay movement, where lesbian women were largely absent up to the 1960s, they gained an equal place in the 1980s and 1990s. Today equal homosexual rights have been virtually secured in the Netherlands, and both the national and the city government have resolved to pursue policies of nondiscrimination toward gays and lesbians. Some major incidents, such as gay bashing at the national pride day in nearby Amersfoort in 1982 and the murder of a gay man cruising in an Amsterdam park in 1985, gave a strong boost to homosexual politics in the Netherlands.

In many cities, including Amsterdam, the police force is now required to learn about gays and lesbians and to protect gay cruising places. At the Amsterdam city hall, a deputy mayor and a city official have been charged with shaping a form of homosexual emancipation that emphasizes lesbian visibility, and the city council has several openly gay or lesbian members. The city authorities have strongly endorsed the 1998 Amsterdam Gay Games. While gay and lesbian emancipation is thus a prominent feature of Amsterdam politics, city officials still show little awareness that their city is a major gay tourist attraction and little willingness to promote this attribute. Much to the contrary, they are extremely wary of Amsterdam's "bad" reputation as a city of sex and drugs. A planned campaign to advertise Amsterdam as a gay capital was initially called off, owing to adverse reactions from commercial interests, but has since been resumed. Amsterdam may be a gay capital, but its gay institutions and opportunities do not enjoy universal endorsement from politicians or from the public at large. Gert Hekma

Bibliography

Anarchism
Anarchism, a variety of socialism, was forged in the political and economic struggles of the mid-nineteenth century. By 1900 it could claim millions of adherents around the world. The Russian Revolution of 1917 and the rise of fascism in the 1930s cut deeply into anarchist ranks. Since that time anarchism has subsisted as an intellectual and cultural tradition rather than a mass movement. Though they differ on tactics and goals, all anarchists uphold the sovereignty of the individual and reject representative politics. Inspired by their ideals, anarchists have formulated trenchant critiques of religion, law, marriage, and other social relations.

Throughout its history anarchism has provided a home for sexual dissidents. During its heyday, anarchist journals such as Revista Blanca, Mother Earth, and The Free Comrade published articles sympathetic to homoeroticism. Benjamin R. Tucker and Emma Goldman were among the few public figures to defend Oscar Wilde during his sexual show trial of 1895. (Historian George Woodcock argues that the fury unleashed toward Wilde was, in part, a function of Wilde's political writings.) In the early 1900s, Goldman and Alexander Berkman gave public lectures on the subject of homosexuality. Less well-known anarchists such as John William Lloyd, E. Armand, and John Henry Mackay wrote extensively on same-sex eroticism.

In the late 1960s anarchism reemerged as a strong influence in gay and lesbian politics. In Paris in 1968, graffiti appeared on walls calling for the liberation and multiplication of homosexual desires, and Murray Bookchin's work circulated in New York's Gay Liberation Front. The direct-action tactics and decentralized structure of gay liberation and lesbian-feminist groups, and more recently ACT UP and WHAM (Women's Health Action and Mobilization), were anarchist in form if not always in inspiration. In the post-1960s era, periodicals such as the *Arrow: Bulletin of the Mackay Society* continued in the now venerable tradition of anarchist sexual agitation. Contemporary radical feminists, such as Bonnie Haaland, who are critical of social purity crusaders, identify themselves as anarchists. And today
in many cities, anarchist bookstores continue to be some of the few places that carry literature that dis-passionately—and sometimes passionately—examines intergenerational eroticism, sadomasochism, and other marginalized sexual practices.

Anarchism has also influenced in the world of gay and lesbian arts and letters. Henry James's novel The Princess Casamassima was one of the many works of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to feature anarchists. The bohemian demi-monde of the period was suffused with anarchist imagery and influences: the Decadent writers and artists of Europe were identified as anarchists by both supporters and detractors; the anarchists Leonard Abbott and Helena Born celebrated the expansive sexuality found in Walt Whitman's poetry; and Margaret Anderson and George Sylvester Viereck (who would later become a Nazi sympathizer) were but two of the Greenwich Village literary avant-garde who flirted with anarchism. In the post–World War II era, the work of Paul Goodman, the rather less-well-known authors of “queer zines,” and others have kept alive anarchist thought and practice in the realm of sexuality, politics, and the arts. Terence Kissack

Bibliography

See also ACT UP; Decadence; Gay Liberation Front; Goodman, Paul; James, Henry

Androgyny

“When you meet a human being, the first distinction you make is ‘male or female?’ and you are accustomed to make the distinction with unhesitating certainty,” Freud tells us in his famous 1932 essay on femininity. Because it confounds just such confident participation in our sex-gender system, androgyny, from the Greek andro (male) and gyné (female), has been both valorized and vilified over the years, together with its sometime synonym, hermaphroditism, or intersexuality. Whereas intersexuality is most often understood as a relatively rare biological hybrid of male and female, androgyny usually is imagined as a potential in all of us, a psychological composite of masculinity and femininity that for some of its advocates necessarily expresses itself in bisexuality, rather than hetero- or homosexuality. In the West, the androgyne has often figured the wholeness or totality of one who seems to transcend the limitations of having only one sex or sexuality, at once both and neither. Writers and other artists—from the romantic poets Coleridge and Shelley to feminist modernist Virginia Woolf—therefore frequently have claimed that the great mind is androgynous, rather than expressive of a single gender. Philosophers too have embraced androgyny, perhaps especially those interested in the religious occult, including traditions in which Christ is represented as having feminine as well as masculine qualities. For psychologist Carl Jung, who was fascinated by alchemy and hermeticism, the healthy psyche was androgynous, integrating female anima and male animus so as to fully realize human potential. Like Jung, idealizers of androgyny have found support in the Western tradition of mysticism (as well as in Jung himself), but more recently, they have turned to non-Western cultures for recognition of the legitimacy and even special powers of the androgynous or transgendered, from the Indian hijra to the Siberian shaman, the Native American berdache or winkte to the Polynesian mahu. Nevertheless, the most often cited source for the value of androgyny is still Plato's Symposium. According to Aristophanes, one of the characters in that Platonic dialogue, the perfection of the androgyne threatened even the power of Zeus himself. Zeus therefore split them—together with the two single-sexed and homosexual beings whose union was evidently equally disturbing to the gods and generally forgotten by Plato's later readers. Ever since, human beings have been searching for their missing half; it is this comedy of love and lack that finally allayed Zeus's fears.

The belief that androgyny is a liberation from limiting and polarized gender and sexual roles led to its embrace by both feminists and gay liberationists in the early 1970s. Carolyn Heilbrun opened her influential feminist text on the topic, Toward a Recognition of Androgyne (1973), by arguing that androgyne “suggests a spectrum upon which human beings choose their places without regard to propriety or custom” (xi). In a chapter in the equally important Homosexual Oppression and Liberation (1972) entitled “Liberation: Toward the Polymorphous Whole,” Dennis Altman called for “freedom from the surplus repression that prevents us from recognizing our essential androgynous and erotic natures” (83), including our “bisexual potential” (94),

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A sentiment echoed by Gayle Rubin in her much-cited 1975 essay, “The Traffic in Women”: “The dream I find most compelling is one of an androgynous and genderless (though not sexless) society, in which one's sexual anatomy is irrelevant to who one is, what one does, and with whom one makes love” (204). However, androgyny quickly came under fire from some of the very feminists who had endorsed it, including lesbian feminist Adrienne Rich, who excluded her poem about it, “The Stranger,” from her collected poems and later wrote a critique of it in Of Woman Born (1976). For Rich and others, androgyny had come to be complicit with, rather than critical of, patriarchy. Androgyny seemed to be a personal, rather than political, solution to the problems of the sex-gender system, and in any case, it did not recognize gender inequity as crucial to that system’s institutions and functioning. The androgynous, as the word itself suggested, was most often a man perfected through the addition of some femininity; this only reinscribed the masculine as the norm and ideal and consolidated the construction of the sexes as opposite and complementary without exposing that fabrication. As feminists pointed out, by the late 1970s and early 1980s, androgyny was little more than a fashion statement that signified a generalized eroticism congruent with new youth ideals of gender. The basic heterosexual appeal (and sexism) of male glam and heavy metal rockers and of female body-builders was generally supported, rather than subverted, by their assimilation of some cross-gender elements of character, costume, or physique, as long as it was not explicitly bisexual, as with David Bowie, or too “butch” and potentially lesbian, as with Bev Francis, one of the lead female weightlifters in the film Pumping Iron II.

At about the same time as androgyny fell out of favor with feminists, it also ceased to function as an ideal in the gay movement, which in response to Michel Foucault’s History of Sexuality and other postmodern critiques of sexuality and gender began to question the whole notion of “liberation” to which androgyny was tied. The initial gay enthusiasm for androgyny owed something to its similarity to early homophile movement notions of homosexuals as a “third sex” of “uranians” or “inverts” combining the masculine and the feminine (which owed much to the work of sexologists and psychoanalysts such as Magnus Hirschfeld and Freud). As lesbians and gay men began to struggle against the medical establishment’s view of such “gender dysphoria” as a sign of poor mental health and gender inadequacy, rather than androgynous wholeness, they increasingly rejected drag, butch-femme roles, and other forms of gender-crossing and combining. Lesbian and gay movement theorists, like feminists, began to stress the Foucaultian notion that gender identities were social constructs and the psychoanalytic idea that they were impossible ideals, locating differences within as well as between the sexes that made calls for the androgynous addition of gender difference seem naive. More recently, however, there has been a revalorization of drag and cross-dressing as self-reflexive examples of the social construction of gender and as critiques of the gender binary, an argument made by both “queer theorists” and members of the gender community, including transvestites, drag queens, drag kings, transsexuals (pre-, post-, and nonoperative), intersexuels, she-males, boy-chicks, transgenderists, gender-benders, those who engage in genderfuck, and others who now identify themselves as “transgendered,” neither male nor female (or sometimes both). In Vested Interests (1992) Marjorie Garber asserts that such practices only constitute “a space of possibility” and are “not an instantiated ‘blurred’ sex as signified by a term like ‘androgyne’ or ‘hermaphrodite’” (11), yet for her and other queer theorists such as Judith Butler and Foucault, the gender and sex crossings and combings we now identify with “transgender” have a privileged status, as androgyny once did. For some they move beyond an androgyny that imagined only two genders, as Kate Bornstein implies in Gender Outlaw (1994) when she calls for what she believes transgender implies, “the ability to freely and knowingly become one or many of a limitless number of genders for any length of time, at any rate of change” (52). For others, however, among them lesbian feminist critic Biddy Martin, they are only manifestations of a new, queer androgyny, a refusal of sexual difference through the defensive disavowal of femininity and the limitations of having a sexed body. Such androgyny is impossible because it abolishes identity along with gender, according to Francette Pacteau, in “a narcissistic ‘caress’ in which the subject annihilates itself” (82).

Carole-Anne Tyler

Bibliography


See also Altman, Dennis; Berdache; Bisexuality; Effeminacy; Essentialist-Constructionist Debate; Feminism; Foucault, Michel; Freud, Sigmund; Gay Liberation; Gender; Hermaphroditism; Hijras of India; Hirschfeld, Magnus; Homophile Movement; Homosexuality; Intersexuality/Intersexuality; Inversion; Jung, Carl; Masculinity; Music and Musicians 2 (Popular Music); Oppression; Plato; Postmodernism; Psychological and Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Homosexuality; Queer Theory; Sexology; Sexual Orientation; Third Sex; Transgender; Transvestism; Uranianism

**Anger, Kenneth (1930–)**

An American filmmaker and writer, Anger is one of the first important underground filmmakers of the post–World War II era. His first major film, *Fireworks* (1947), portrays a young man’s homoerotic dreams, including cruising public rest rooms, being brutalized by sailors, and connecting with another sailor. The film is dreamy and deeply interiorized and has clear influences in European and American modernist art film. After a nearly a decade living in Europe, Anger came back to the States and produced the work that he is most known for, particularly *Scorpio Rising* (1963).

*Scorpio Rising* is considered by many to be the most representative film of the 1960s underground. The film focuses on motorcycles and motorcycle culture in thirteen sections, depicting men fixing and polishing their bikes, getting dressed in leather and other bike gear, attending a party, driving recklessly, and crashing. Each section’s soundtrack is a pop song from the early 1960s, and this film is the first to use this technique. The film is also littered with pop imagery: movie star stills, comic book images, and kitsch items that help place the film in a more postmodern bricolage tradition. The homoeroticism in the film is intense, created by cut shots from man’s face to man’s face, or from face to crotch. One section includes a party with drag queens, men kissing, and the stripping of one man and squirting him with mustard. The film also explores the uncomfortable relationship among masculinity, homosexuality, and fascism through a sequence of “Scorpio” speaking in front of a Nazi flag, ambivalently and humorously splicing it with footage of a film of Jesus.

Anger finished ten films and also wrote the widely popular *Hollywood Babylon* books.

*Douglas Eisner*

**Bibliography**


See also Film; Smith, Jack; Tearooms

**Animal Sexual Behavior**

It is probably incorrect to speak of homosexual animals or animal homosexuality, because virtually nothing is known about the cognitive aspects of sexuality in nonhuman species (hereafter, animals). In contrast, male homosexual behavior involving courtship, pair bonding, mounting, and other forms...