homosexual orientation; (4) given sufficient aggregates of people, homosexual subcultures appear in all societies; (5) homosexuals in different societies tend to resemble one another; (6) all societies produce similar continua, from overtly masculine to overtly feminine homosexuals. These findings are elaborated in Whitam and Robin M. Mathy, Male Homosexuality in Four Societies: Brazil, Guatemala, the Philippines, and the United States (New York: Praeger, 1986; 240 pp.). For criticism, see Joseph M. Cerrierg, "Childhood Cross-gender Behavior and Adult Homosexuality," Archives of Sexual Behavior, 15 (1986), 87-91.

R. LABELING

The sociological concept of labeling, which posits that behavioral patterns of individual deviants are shaped by the epithets and classifications that society attaches to them, remains controversial, though it seems clear that it has some explanatory power. The term stigma emphasizes the negative consequences of labeling.


Analysis of data obtained by questionnaire from 281 respondents (17-75 years old) showed that the variable most strongly related to stigmatization of ex-homosexuals was degree of "dangerousness" attributed to them.


Because of the pervasiveness of the stigma, those who would engage in homosexual acts, yet avoid self-labeling must engage in intricate psychological footwork.


In comparisons with control groups, men were perceived as being less masculine and less preferred as a fellow participant when they were labeled homosexual.


While not directly pertinent, this article has been influential, and is in fact regarded as a locus classicus of labeling theory.

3181. POLLACK, STEPHEN et al. "The Dimensions of

Reports two studies designed to test the assumptions that stigmatizing labels not only lead observers to perceive more deviance but also lead the labeled individual to behave more deviantly.


Introduction to the concept of labeling with some references to homosexuality, by an influential, humanistically oriented sociologist.


Examines the ways in which societal definitions of behavior deemed problematic have a negative impact on women, including lesbians. A well referenced work, affording many vistas.

S. MINORITY CONCEPT

Originally a political term, referring to nongoverning groups in a parliamentary organization, the term minority came to be widely applied to ethnic groups constituting permanent minorities in a parliamentary multi-national state such as Austria-Hungary or Switzerland in the aftermath of the discussion of President Wilson's Fourteen Points at the close of World War I. With the increasing attention to ethnic and racial minorities in recent decades, especially in the United States, the concept began to appeal to homosexual researchers and political figures. To be sure, prejudice and discrimination (see XII.C) directed toward gay men and lesbians are not unlike those employed against racial and religious minority members. Yet homosexuality has failed to gain acceptance in the field of minority studies, and many homosexuals feel little affinity for the idea.


Posits commonalities in the stereotypes of Jews, blacks, and homosexuals. The argument of this article was pursued in greater detail in his: *The Survival of Domination: Inferiorization and Everyday Life* (New York: Elsevier, 1978; 180 pp.).

3185. ALLEN, FREDERICK H. "Homosexuality in Relation to the Problem of Human Differences," *American Journal*
of Orthopsychiatry, 10 (1940), 129-35. Contends that there is a parallel between nationalism and homosexuality, both phenomena springing from a feeling of insecurity.


3187. BUSH, LARRY. "The Challenge of Community," Advocate, no. 370 (June 23, 1983), 42-45, 80. Problems connected with the national groups that claim to speak for gays and lesbians.

3188. CORY, DONALD WEBSTER (pseud. of Edward Sagarin). The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach. New York: Greenberg, 1951. 326 pp. In its time probably the most widely read work on the subject, this book is organized around the minority concept, which is deployed not only as a means of understanding the folkways of (mainly) male homosexuals, but also as a political argument for greater tolerance. Sagarin offers useful ethnographic observations for the period, including bars, cruising, and couples. Some psychoanalytic concepts are uncritically relayed. A second edition, with some additional material but also with omissions, was published in 1960 (New York: Castle; 334 pp.); the 1975 edition (New York: Arno Press) combines the material from both editions. See also: Edward Sagarin, Odd Man In: Societies of Deviants in America (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1969; 287 pp.).

3189. HACKER, HELEN M. "Homosexuals: Deviant or Minority Group," in: Edward Sagarin (ed.), The Other Minorities. Waltham, MA: Ginn and Co., 1971, pp. 000. Contends that homosexuals meet the requisite for classification as a minority group, and that this concept should be preferred to that of deviance. Yet they differ from other minority groups in that their status is acquired and not merely ascribed, and that their minority status is contested. Twenty years earlier Hacker wrote a prescient article on "Women as a Minority." Social Forces, 30 (1951), 60-69.


3191. ITALIAANDER, ROLF. "Die Homophilen," in: Bernhard Doerdemann (ed.), Minderheiten in der Bundesrepub-
HOMOSEXUALITY

3192. MARTIN, A. DAMIEN. "The Minority Question," Etc., 39 (1982), 22-42. The evaluation of whether "any hated group deserves minority... status" does not depend upon its numbers or upon the existence of negative social attitudes. The proof rests upon the adequacy of the rationale for the fear and hatred. If the negative attitude--however rationalized--can be shown to be erroneous and based on overgeneralization, then the prejudice is a manifestation of bigotry.


3195. POPERT, KEN. "Dangers of the Minority Game," Body Politic, no. 63 (May 1980), 3-7. If we view ourselves simply as a minority group we risk dead-ending ourselves into a political strategy which neglects the large number of so-called heterosexuals who have a stake in gay liberation. Ethnic minorities are accidents of history; gay people are part of the working out of history.


3197. ULLERSTAM, LARS. The Erotic Minorities. New York: Grove, 1966. 172 pp. Popular discussion, treating homosexuality alongside the paraphilias (fetishism, s/m, etc.).

T. PROSTITUTION, MALE