trade unblushing ples. To the extent that this tradition survives in modern Turkey, the brothels have preserved the arts cultivated to their peak in the Sultans' harems.

Yet even with their excesses—which were in fact exaggerated by hostile European commentators propagating the stereotype of the "cruel and lustful Turk"—the Ottomans were also capable of man–boy love, and European boys were all the more desirable because of their capacity for affection and erotic response which the more familiar Near Eastern boys were thought to lack. The boy used for sexual purposes could graduate from his master's bed to become the manager of an estate, the steward of a household, even a general, court official or governor if his protector were powerful enough. Since the homoerotic side of Turkish life was omnipresent and inevitable, those who could take advantage of the opportunity thrived and climbed the social ladder.

Modern Turkey has actually suffered from Europeanization in that the Christian attitudes became part of the political mentality of the Republic, with the familiar practice of raiding gay bars, arresting the patrons, and subjecting them to humiliation and even torture. Yet despite this, the Istanbul of today is thought to have nearly half a million homosexuals, who concentrate in the Beyoğlu (Pera) district, especially the Cihangir quarter. A majority must still conceal their homosexuality from their families and colleagues at work. Arslan Yüzgün's study of 223 homosexual men in Istanbul showed that 56.1 percent are both active and passive, 30.9 percent are passive only and 13 percent are active only. On the whole they are more educated than the average of the Turkish population. However, the traditional stigmatization of the passive as opposed to the active homosexual lingers. The active homosexual is esteemed and can even boast of his ways, the passive homosexual is despised and persecuted by the police even in the absence of laws against his behavior.

The Western gay rights movement has finally reached Turkey, and in April 1987 the terror tactics employed by the police in Istanbul sparked a resistance movement in which eighteen homosexuals sued the police as a group for the first time, submitted a petition to the Attorney General, and later staged a hunger strike in Taksim Square. Thus another segment of the international gay community has achieved the stage of political consciousness that enables it to organize and fight for its human rights.


Warren Johansson

TWILIGHT MEN

In Kenilworth Bruce's 1933 novel, Goldie, the hero joins a prototypical [and fictional] gay rights organization, The Twilight League. This reflects the title of André Tellier's popular homosexual novel, Twilight Men (1931). It is doubtful whether the term enjoyed much real currency, but images of shadows and of darkness were common in the fiction of the period—and, given the obligatory tragic ending, all too appropriate.

In the nineteenth century the adjective "crepuscular" enjoyed some vogue to designate a declining civilization, because of the allegory of civilization following a quasi-solar course of ascent, zenith, afternoon fullness, and then descent into twilight; hence crepuscular trenches with fin-de-siècle and decadent. Richard Wagner's 1874 opera, Die Got-
terdämmerung (The Twilight of the Gods), was very popular in this period.

Recently, the term "midnight cowboy," from James Leo Herlihy's 1965 book and the subsequent film, has had some currency. (For reasons not altogether clear, much homosexual social life begins only after ten or eleven in the evening.) Presumably real cowboys have to be up too early in the morning to be out until midnight.

TWIN STUDIES

The study of twins is a useful tool for determining if a given trait or condition has a genetic component. Inasmuch as the sophistication of these studies has increased markedly over the past few decades, their value is increasing. Scientists have learned that such studies should be carefully conducted, and they are normally a helpful, if somewhat unexciting, discipline.

Yet peace and quiet did not attend the first attempts to conduct twin studies in homosexual behavior. Early research (Kallmann) indicated a very high concordance for homosexuality, and these results provoked cries of "Nazi" and "fascist" from the opposite camp, which was convinced that homosexuality was caused by the environment, specifically child-rearing practices. Clearly, ideology was getting entangled with science during these early years (and not for the first time).

So these twin studies must be approached with some care, and one must not automatically expect careful and impartial research in what is still, for many, an essentially contested area. "Concordance" is the degree to which two people share the same trait. John and Peter, not related, may be concordant for blue eyes, if they both have blue eyes. It is easy to determine concordance for eye color. But homosexual behavior is a more complex phenomenon. It may have several distinct subtypes (the effeminate, the pederast, the loving comrade, and so on). People may also lie about the facts, for obvious reasons.

Despite these problems, it is difficult to read the twin literature on homosexuality without some surprise. "Fraternal" twins come from two sperm and two eggs, and are therefore no more closely related than any other siblings, while "identical" twins come from one sperm and one egg (the egg dividing after fertilization). Recent research has shown that these "identical" twins may not be complete twins in their gene complements (due to unknown factors in the egg-splitting process). One would expect no concordance at all for either fraternal or identical twins, if the strong environmental argument were to hold.

But that is not the case. There is no (or very little) concordance for fraternal twins. For identical twins, the concordance rate is approximately eighty or ninety percent, or even higher. This evidence would seem to suggest that people are simply born homosexual, just as they are born with green or blue eyes.

Yet the fact that these people seem to be born with a genetic predisposition to homosexuality carries no necessary implication that all homosexuality results from genetic factors. This may ultimately prove to be the case, but the twin studies do not prove it in and of themselves. In addition, a high concordance rate for homosexuality among identical twins does not mean that such twins are more (or less) likely to be homosexual than anyone else. Finally, there is no evidence at all in the twin studies which indicates that a particular subtype (for example, the effeminate homosexual) is genetically dominant at the expense of other homosexual subtypes.

The twin evidence presents some problems for future research. First, the acid test is the case of identical twins raised apart. There are not yet enough such twin-pairs in the literature. (It would also seem mandatory to obtain more longitudinal data on twin pairs.) Second, there is no