

“Let’s Not Homosexualize the Library Stacks”: Liberating Gays in the Library Catalog, 1970-1988¹

I went to texts on abnormal psychology, to encyclopedias, to medical books, to every book dealing with sex, as well as to whatever I could find under card catalog headings like ‘sexual perversion.’ I was so anxious to get to the materials on homosexuality, I didn’t even mind looking in categories like ‘perversion’ and ‘abnormal.’ And I half believed them anyway.²

Many queer scholars recall the moment of finding themselves in a library book as a personal and academic milestone—an awakening to a new self-knowledge that left them forever changed. For the more seasoned among us, the discovery was likely fraught with pathologizing language that reflected the prevailing attitudes of the time. The books were cataloged with the subject heading “Sexual perversion” and shelved alongside books on sex crimes, incest, and pedophilia. Those who located fictional works about gays and lesbians found themselves identifying with deeply tragic and flawed characters, whose narratives usually ended in their demise. Many of these readings took place in the stacks, often in stolen, secret moments. For some this first experience occurred as the result of directed searches of card catalogs, as Barbara Gittings describes above, and for other readers, like Lillian Faderman, it was purely by accident that they met their book:

So I’m in the stacks of the English Reading Room about to be seduced. I’m looking for a novel by E. M. Forster, and it’s not there...But in the spot where the book is supposed to be sitting is another book, not by Forster, but by Foster. Jeannette Foster. With the title Sex Variant Women in Literature... Is “Sex Variant Women” really a euphemism for what I think it is? It is! And that spectacular revelation knocks the breath out of me...

Standing there in the stacks, I devour the opening section, even forgetting to look over my shoulder to see if I'm being observed. I read for twenty minutes or half an hour, and no one comes by to frighten me away. But I mustn't press my luck. I place the book back in its slot, vowing to visit again as soon as I can, praying I'll have no rival for my devoted attention to it.³

Anecdotes like those of Gittings and Faderman abound, testifying to the importance of books and libraries in coming of age for LGBTQ people. Thankfully, the present generation has access to a wealth of fiction and nonfiction waiting to be stumbled upon, inviting scholars and the wider public, and offering joy and complexity in contrast to the former revulsion derived from discovering oneself in a book. Much of this pleasure is owed to activist librarians of the 1970s, primarily in the U.S., who launched the movement to promote and increase access to gay and lesbian library materials. These librarians, as part of the wider gay liberation movement, took to the streets, the courts, and the stage. They were out and proud and not only demanded rights and recognition, but they challenged the very structures that regulated and enforced heteronormative knowledges.

In addition to her influence on the American Psychiatric Association's decision to remove homosexuality from its list of disorders, Barbara Gittings is revered for her role as the leader of the Task Force on Gay Liberation of the American Library Association (A.L.A.), the first gay and lesbian professional organization in the United States.⁴ Inspired by her own experiences of looking for books on lesbian subjects, Gittings devoted herself to the project of increasing the accessibility of gay-positive reading materials. Her work with the American Library Association was instrumental in raising awareness of gay issues in librarianship, as well as drawing attention to the increasing body of literature on LGBTQ topics, thereby enabling the

fortuitous occasion of encountering queer books in the library for many. Gittings recognized the significance and potential of libraries to improve the lives of gays and lesbians, and although she was not a librarian herself, she was coordinator of the Task Force on Gay Liberation from 1972 until 1986.

Rather than focusing on Gittings, though, this paper presents the activism of key players in the movement to liberate gay literature in libraries while she was the Coordinator of the Task Force—particularly catalogers who effectively persuaded the Library of Congress (LC) to change its terms and taxonomies for subjects regarding homosexuality. In the following pages I will discuss the impact of the Task Force on Gay Liberation in effecting change in the naming and organization of gay subjects in libraries of all types around the world. These librarians were deeply aware of the pathologizing force of the institutionalized vocabularies for homosexuality before queer theory introduced conversations about the slipperiness and institutionalization of categories for gender and sexuality. They challenged the dominant structures and ideologies at play in the very institutions that organize and situate knowledges of all types. As Jennifer Terry writes, “political activism by openly homosexual men and women during this period altered the terms of knowledge production about homosexuality.”⁵ Gay and lesbian library activists wielded tremendous influence on contemporary discourses by eliciting change in the very terms and categories by which we organize and study sexuality. This paper will unearth the debates among librarians surrounding the connotations and denotations of terms and taxonomies, actions taken by Task Force, the cooperation of women’s studies scholars, and the nature of the politics of naming in libraries and the role of libraries in the formation of sexuality studies. By looking to the 1970s and 80s, the formative years of Women’s Studies and Gay and Lesbian Studies, I will show that activist librarians were instrumental in the emergence of these disciplines.

Among other efforts to enhance access to gay library materials, the Task Force directed energy and resources toward petitioning the Library of Congress to change classes and headings in the Library of Congress Classification System (LCC) and the Library of Congress Subject Headings (LCSH). As the U.S.’s oldest federal cultural institution and the largest library in the world, the Library of Congress holds a great deal of authority and impact in the regulation of knowledge about sexuality. By creating and standardizing the rules by which libraries analyze and organize knowledge, the Library of Congress not only produces knowledge, but ensures that knowledge is reproduced and normalized across disciplines throughout the entire network of libraries, including the local main street public library in small towns, digital libraries in cyberspace, academic libraries of varying types and sizes, and libraries of all varieties around the globe.

Considering the ubiquity of libraries, they have garnered relatively little attention from historians of sexuality. And while brilliant scholars are actively queering Library and Information Studies, their research is generally confined to that discipline.⁶ The participation of libraries in the interdisciplinary conversation about the history of sexuality is long overdue, particularly considering the fact that libraries play a significant part in discipline formation and maintenance. As I will demonstrate below, libraries and their classifications are critical components of a network of agencies and apparatuses that produce and regulate discourses about sexuality. Indeed, the Library of Congress is precisely the type of institution to which Foucault refers when he calls for us to “account for the fact that [sex] is spoken about, to discover who does the speaking, the positions and viewpoints from which they speak, the institutions which prompt people to speak about it and which store and distribute the things that are said.”⁷ LC is a key player in a knowledge-power system, as it stores, catalogs, and standardizes the organization

of information about sexuality. Libraries have been integral to the political, intellectual, and social histories of sexuality, particularly with regard to categories for queer subjects and the creation and regulation of knowledge about sexuality and gender.

Simply put, “Subject access in the context of libraries is the ability to search a library catalogue, index, or other database by topic.”⁸ There are two principal ways to retrieve materials by subject: classification, and subject headings. Classifications determine where a book will be placed on library shelves, and subject headings provide a way for seekers of texts to use the catalog to find books by searching for a subject. Subject headings belong to controlled vocabularies, which are designed to ensure uniformity and universality within and across library catalogs or other information retrieval systems so that locating information is predictable and precise. They are strings of words created and maintained by a group of authorities, such as the Library of Congress.

Librarians joined the social movements of the 1960s by organizing the American Library Association’s (A.L.A.) Round Table on Social Responsibilities of Libraries (SRRT), which provided a space and opportunity for progressive librarians to collectively advance social justice issues related to librarianship. Unanimously approved by the A.L.A. Council on January 30, 1969, SRRT stood in opposition to the long-standing ideal of library neutrality. The organization both asserted that neutrality is impossible and advocated for political and cultural action.⁹ Within a year SRRT authorized members to create problem-based task forces, and among the first of these were progressive groups for library education, publishing, black librarians, and gay and lesbian librarians.

Fifty librarians attended the first meeting of Task Force on Gay Liberation, held on the Tuesday of the 90th annual A.L.A. conference in Detroit in 1970.¹⁰ The Task Force’s major

concerns were “opportunities for, and security of, employment regardless of their sexual orientation.”¹¹ Throughout the conference, the group held meetings and socials, and the Thursday meeting included social and consciousness-raising with presentations from members of the Detroit Gay Liberation Front. By the end of the conference, the Task Force had set an agenda with a variety of goals that included creating bibliographies, making plans for future conferences, reviewing and revising of library classifications and subject headings, collection building, and ending job discrimination in librarianship. By the following year, the Task Force had gained a visible presence and raised awareness of gay and lesbian issues in librarianship within the A.L.A.

The Task Force made an impression at the 1971 A.L.A. conference in Dallas, Texas. It announced the first winner of its Gay Book Award, hosted its nearly famous Hug-a-Homosexual booth, and conducted its first formal program: “Sex and the Single Cataloger: New Thoughts on Some Unthinkable Subjects,” featuring librarian panelists Joan Marshall and Steve Wolf.¹² Marshall and Wolf’s panel was one of the earliest public criticisms of the Library of Congress’s treatment of gay and lesbian subjects in the catalog.¹³ Both Wolf and Marshall would continue to be key players in agitating for change—Wolf corresponded directly with LC and reported his efforts to the Task Force in the following years, and Marshall devised a fair and comprehensive subject scheme entitled *On Equal Terms: A Thesaurus for Nonexist Indexing and Cataloging*, published in 1977.

After hearing J. Michael McConnell describe the legal battle surrounding his employment at the University of Minnesota library, Task Force members insisted that A.L.A. Council, A.L.A. members, and the A.L.A. Intellectual Freedom Committee respond to this instance of job discrimination at the 1971 meeting.¹⁴ McConnell and his partner, Jack Baker, were the first gay

couple to apply for a marriage license in Minnesota in 1970.¹⁵ At the same time, McConnell had just been nearly hired by the University of Minnesota, with only the approval of the Board of Regents required to make the hire official. However, in the aftermath of the publicity of the marriage, the University of Minnesota Board of Regents determined that “his conduct was not in the best interest of the university” and chose not to hire him.¹⁶

At that 1971 meeting the Task Force drafted a pro-gay resolution, which was passed by the elected policy-making body of A.L.A. and the general membership:

The American Library Association recognizes that there exist minorities which are not ethnic in nature but which suffer oppression. The association recommends that libraries and members strenuously combat discrimination in services to, and employment of, individuals from all minority groups, whether distinguishing characteristics of the minority be ethnic, sexual, religious, or any other kind.¹⁷

Nevertheless, McConnell’s case went before the A.L.A.’s Intellectual Freedom Committee, the A.L.A.’s Executive Director, and the Staff Committee on Mediation, Arbitration and Inquiry. Each report recommended “No action,” because the university had not violated any existing A.L.A. policy. As late as 1975, the A.L.A. still declined to defend McConnell.¹⁸ McConnell would go on to work at Hennepin County Public Library with Sanford Berman, where they would lead efforts to influence the Library of Congress.

While the Task Force was undoubtedly a crucial player in the movement to revise classifications and subject headings, the success and momentum of this agenda depended on the tireless efforts of Berman, catalog librarian at Hennepin County Library, who advised the Task Force and pushed for revisions of gay subject headings. Berman printed a regular bulletin announcing local changes to the Hennepin Library subject headings and recommendations for

the Library of Congress, along with extensive supporting documentation, and offered the bulletin for subscription. Much of this bulletin was devoted to citing reasons for changing headings regarding sex and sexuality and featured excerpts from other publications, letters, and commentary from members of the field. He also heavily petitioned LC with heading proposals, and corresponded with a network of librarians and activists.

Berman's subject heading work began after working in a library in Zambia and realizing the Western racism and colonization in the term "Kaffir." With the publication of what Eric Moon called "an earthquake of a book," Prejudices and Antipathies, he enlightened the library world to the power of language to propel attitudes and prejudices and showed that language may "function to underpin often malicious stereotypes, to de-humanize the subjects, transforming them into unsavory or at least worthless *objects*."¹⁹ Also known for his "Sex Index," which he created to draw attention to range of subjects missing from retrieval tools and catalogs, Berman is particularly interested in access to materials about sex. He argues that the LC, and by extension most other libraries across the U.S., inhibit access to sexual subjects through undercataloging or "bibliocide" and the lack of subject terminologies.²⁰

It was Berman's protests that the principal subject cataloger at the Library of Congress cited when referencing the change from in the subject heading from "Sexual perversion" to "Sexual deviation" and the elimination of cross references to "Homosexuality," as well as revisions to the hierarchical arrangement in the Library of Congress Classification.²¹ Berman wrote a defense of the need for serious modifications:

With the advent of the Wolfenden Report, the liberalization in many lands of laws regarding homosexual relations, and recent birth of an outspoken, self-confident 'Gay Liberation Movement,' the stigma traditionally attached to Homosexuality has markedly

lessened, and—among the more enlightened—vanished. Increasingly, Homosexuality has come to be regarded as only one among many varieties of sexual or social liaison, not intrinsically better nor worse than the others. ‘Perversion,’ however, unmistakably brands it ‘worse,’ a form of ‘corruption’ or ‘maladjustment.’ The referent thus smears and blemishes a large and already much-harrassed [sic] body of men and women, whose habit may be different, but not therefore more dangerous, disagreeable, or censurable, than those of the heterosexual majority.

Remedy: Delete ‘Sexual perversion’ as an ‘xx’ under both heads, and similarly eliminate ‘Homosexuality’ and ‘Lesbianism’ as sa’s under the prime head, SEXUAL PERVERSION.”²²

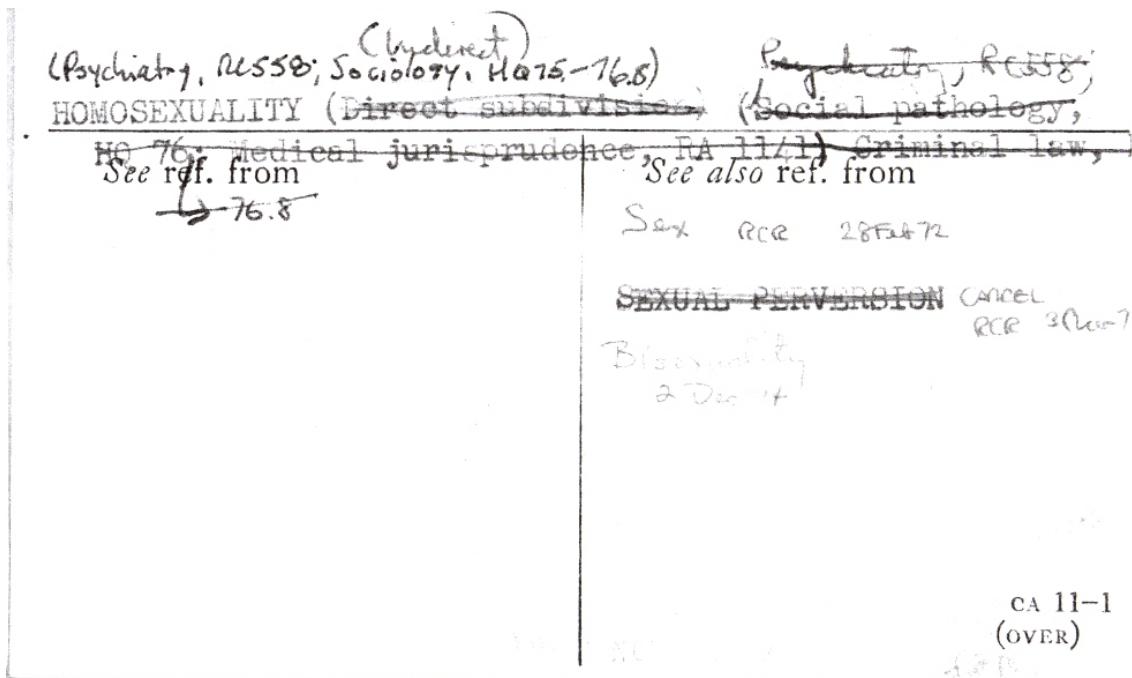
The Library of Congress staff members’ edits to the hierarchy, as recommended by Berman, appear with all the strikethroughs and modifications in Figure 1, and the changes to the subject heading authority card are illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 1. Sexual deviation, Library of Congress Subject Heading Weekly List

xx Naga languages
Sen, Priyanath, 1854-1916--Influence--Tagore ✓✓✓
Sexual deviation (Direct)
sa Bestiality L SUPER 1968 See
Cannibalism DPL
Exhibitionism
Fetishism PPL - SV(11) 1968
Masochism
Nymphomania
Pedophilia
Sadism
Sex crimes
Transvestism
x Perversion, Sexual Deviation, sexual
Sex perversion x sexual perversion
xx Sex crimes
xx Sexual disorders
*Sexual deviation See Sexual perversion Cancel
*Sexual perversion Cancel
*Sex
 sa Homosexuality
 Lesbianism
 Sexual behavior See Sex; Sex customs; Sexual ethics
 Sexual deviation in literature ✓
 xx Literature
 Sex in literature
 *Sexual perversion in literature Cancel ✓
 *Sex in literature
 sa Homosexuality in literature
 Sexual behavior in literature

Source: Frosio, Eugene T. to Edith P. Spencer, June 30, 1972. 31/48/5. ALA Resources and Technical Services Division. Subject Analysis Committee, Attachment. University of Illinois, Urbana /Champaign.

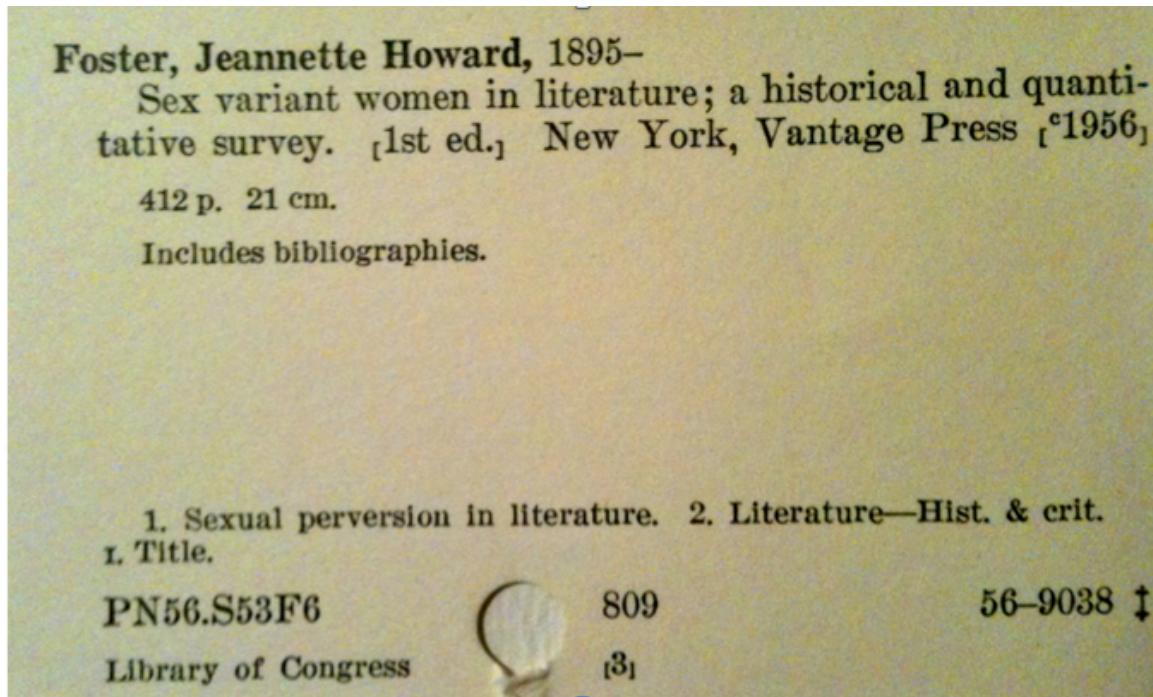
Figure 2. Photocopy of the subject authority card, taken by author at the Library of Congress, Policy and Standards Division.



Wolf, a librarian at the University of Massachusetts in Boston, credited the Task Force with precipitating the change in his 1972 revision of his 1971 talk: “After agitation by the cataloging sect of SRRT’s Task Force on Gay Liberation, LC pulled ‘Homosexuality’ from the shadow of ‘Sexual deviations’ into the clear descriptive light of ‘Sexual life.’”²³ Remarkably, this change was made ahead of the American Psychiatric Association’s decision to remove homosexuality as a disorder in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM).²⁴ That same year “Sexual Deviation” replaced “Sexual Perversion.”²⁵ It is likely that it was the combined efforts of Berman and the Task Force that persuaded the Library of Congress. And the effects of these changes become all the more striking when viewing catalog cards with the older hierarchies and terms in place. The record for Jeanette Foster Howard’s Sex Variant Women in Literature, displayed in Figure 3, was assigned “Sexual perversion” because it was

published ahead of the authorization of the headings “Lesbians” or “Lesbianism” or “Lesbians in literature.”

Figure 3. Catalog card for Jeannette Howard Foster’s *Sex Variant Women in Literature, 1956*



Source: Photograph of catalog card, now in author’s personal collection. Acquired from the University of Wisconsin-Madison Memorial Library, after the card catalogs were removed.

The addition of “Gay Liberation Movement” as a subject heading and class in 1972 marked another pivotal addition early in this movement, as it was the first non-clinical heading related to sexual variance created by the Library of Congress. In LCC it was added as an expanded class under Homosexuality—HQ 76.5. Wolf wrote to C. Sumner Spalding on January 10, 1972 recommending a new heading, “Gay Liberation Movement” or “Homophile Movement,” for Donn Teal’s The Gay Militants and Arthur Bell’s Dancing the Gay Lib Blues. These books on the Gay Liberation Movement did provide adequate literary warrant for new headings, but instead had been assigned “Homosexuality.”²⁶ After two years of publication of

books on the Gay Liberation Movement, the heading was created. In Spalding's response to Wolf, stamped Feb. 19, 1972 he wrote:

Since works on the gay liberation movement do not concern themselves with the origin and nature of homosexuality, but rather with the efforts of homosexuals to achieve justice, Homosexuality is far too broad a subject heading to assign such works. Therefore, we are establishing the more specific heading Gay Liberation Movement, corresponding to the heading Women's Liberation Movement which we established last year.²⁷

Queer scholars know all too well the joy of browsing and getting swept away in the HQ section of the library. Being the LC classification for Family, Marriage, and Women, and home to subjects related to LGBTQ studies, the HQs have been and continue to occupy a highly contested space. Spalding explained to Wolf that the caption for the LC class HQ71 had been changed from "Abnormal sex relations" to "Sexual deviations" in 1966, but added that this correspondence had led them to also change the indentation so that homosexuality aligned with but was not hierarchically under "Sexual deviations." Unfortunately, though, removing the hierarchical relationship from the classification system did not change the arrangement of books on the shelves, and changing indentation in the printed classification did not wipe away the legacy of the previous arrangement. Wolf also notes problematic cross-references embedded in the Library of Congress Classification. For instance RA1141, "Sexual offenses, diseases, etc." provides a "see also" note guiding users to look under HQ 71-471, which is designated for "Abnormal sexual relations." "Here, in its lovely, nonprejudicial way," wrote Wolf, "LC not only calls gayness a crime and a disease, it also, by its cf. note, lumps gayness together with those two 'related' subjects, Prostitution (RQ 101-440) and Pornography (HQ 450-471)."²⁸ Additionally, in the law section of the classification there was a class for "Unnatural sexual

intercourse,” which would have included homosexuality. The hierarchical chain for RC558, the medical section of the LC classification, was ‘Neurology and psychiatry. Neuropsychiatry. Psychiatry. Psychopathology./ Mental, psychoneurotic, and personality disorders. / Disorders of character, behavior, and intelligence. / Sexual deviation. / Homosexuality, with the cross-reference note directing users to also see “HQ 71-79, Sex crimes.” It should be noted that this hierarchy still exists as of 2013, with a minor change in the language indicating, “Class here works on the psychiatric issues associated with homosexuality.”²⁹ It goes without saying that no class exists for works on the psychiatric issues associated with heterosexuality.³⁰

Even in the social sciences, classes for sexual variation in the social sciences have historically been named based on the medical sciences’ names and classifications. The earliest caption for HQ71 reads “Abnormal sex relations. General works. Psychopathia sexualis, etc.”³¹ LCC infrequently includes an example of literature in the caption defining a class, so it is especially striking that one is included here. That the Psychopathia Sexualis is offered as an example is quite telling as it provides clear evidence that the classification was based on medical/sexological works. Today the caption for HQ71 reads “Sexual practices outside of social norms. Paraphilias,” still drawing from medical and psychiatric literature.

In his letter to Wolf, Spalding also wrote:

You apparently have a mistaken view of the nature of our cataloging function. We do not establish usage by means of our subject heading list or our classification schedules, and therefore these bibliographic tools can never be found in the vanguard of social change, however desirable that change may be.... It is our mission to identify properly by means of the appropriate subject headings and class numbers the subject contents of the new books we catalog. New headings and numbers are established at any time as required by

the material in hand...only those terms or phrases are selected which reflect current authoritative American usage in the relevant subject area.³²

Spalding's response is a valid one, insofar as it is true that LC does establish headings and classes based on the literary warrant. However, it is apparent that LC chose particular types of sources on which to base the new headings and classifications. LC relied heavily on psychiatric literature for literary warrant for subjects related to sexual variance, while ignoring other audiences and voices from other bodies of literature.

Wolf noted the flawed terminology in these systems, observing the need to replace “‘homosexual,’ a ‘nigger’ label adopted by heterosexists, with the preferred term ‘gay.’ The current library classification and subject heading systems do not reflect the changing social attitudes. Fifteen million gay men and women in this country refuse to be called sexual aberrations.”³³ He finally asked, “And why must the ‘Sexual deviations’ category remain at all?” suggesting that the Library of Congress should not be in the business of making moralist determinations of normal and abnormal.³⁴ Wolf further challenged Spalding's statement: “While we are continually flattering ourselves with claims that we are ‘educators,’ whom can we possibly enlighten when our own ‘intellectual tools’ are so hopelessly backward?”³⁵ He quoted Thomas S. Szasz, the “prophet of anti-psychiatry,” in defending the need for change:³⁶

We may safely conclude that psychiatric opinion about homosexuals is not a scientific proposition but a medical prejudice... It is clear that psychiatrists have a vested interest in diagnosing as mentally ill as many people as possible, just as inquisitors had in branding them as heretics.... We must realize that in situations of this kind we are confronted, not with scientific problems to be solved, but with social roles to be confirmed. Inquisitor and witch, psychiatrist and mental patient, create each other and authenticate each other's

roles.³⁷

The assertion that “homosexual” is a deeply flawed label is one with which the Library of Congress, and gay and lesbian activist librarians wrestled for years. Indeed, the authorization of “Homosexuality” as a subject in the catalog has a troubled history that precedes this discussion. Homosexuality was simultaneously closeted and pathologized in the library, subsumed under the heading “Sexual perversion,” along with a variety of uncataloged sexual practices and expressions. The Library of Congress authorized “Homosexuality” in 1946, when it was applied to an Italian book entitled Homosexualismo em medicina legal, by Antonio Bello da Motta, published in 1937.³⁸ The addition of “Homosexuality” to the LCSH lexicon does seem to reflect a change in discourses at large around this time—particularly postwar attention to homosexuality as a perversion to be controlled.³⁹ When the heading first appeared in LCSH, it was cross-listed with “Sexual perversion” and given a see also note to “Sodomy.” The call numbers assigned to it were those assigned to “Social pathology” and “Medical jurisprudence.”⁴⁰ And, as indicated above, in the classification scheme it was hierarchically under “Sexual deviations” (formerly “Abnormal sexual relations”), which explains why they are placed next to sections on pedophilia and sex crimes on the library shelves.

Like twenty-first century debates about the use of “queer,” conflict over the connotations and denotations of “homosexual,” derived from an awareness of the stigmatization that resulted from the psychiatric community’s pathologization of homosexuality, struck at the heart of the Gay Liberation Movement. Although “Homosexuality” was no longer a cross reference for “Sexual deviation” or “Sexual perversion,” Task Force members believed that the term “homosexual” carried negative connotations because of its medical origins.

Berman published some of the text of an early conflict around this question between Don

Slater of the Homosexual Information Center and J. Michael McConnell. Slater urged the abandonment of a “gay lifestyle/homophile lifestyle/same-sex lifestyle” cross-reference to “Homosexuality.”⁴¹ He stated, “Homosexuality is a general category of sexual activity, not a way of life; “homosexual” has no real useful significance” in terms of describing a group of people, there is not a distinct and definable group of homosexuals.” Slater was of the opinion that the gay liberation movement was a separatist movement that perpetuated out-moded ideas of homosexual difference. McConnell responded with an accusation of Slater as being the one with out-dated opinions: “the new generation of young Gay people wants the right to express their emotions openly, honestly and publicly.” He noted the increase in literature about relationships with sexual activity being a subset of personal relationships. He believed it made sense to use a non-judgmental reference like “relationship(s)” or “lifestyle” to represent the reality that gays and lesbians have complex relationships that include, but should not be solely defined by sexual activity.⁴²

McConnell, in his 1974 talk entitled “Let’s Not Homosexualize the Library Stacks,” argued for the change in the Library of Congress Subject Heading from “Homosexual” to “Gay.”⁴³ He asserted that the label “homosexual” prevented acquisition of and access to gay-themed materials in libraries:

Gay men and women will remain unspeakable so long as we remain bound by the label of “homosexual”...Unspeakable topics seldom find a warm welcome in public library collections. And when they do, you can be sure they’re medicalized, criminalized, or sociological entities. Positive, or even neutral subject headings will not refer you to the Gay materials. And, besides, you’ll probably find them locked away.⁴⁴

In his speech, which was attended by over 300 members of the A.L.A., McConnell credited the Library of Congress for “taking its first steps toward fair treatment by dumping obnoxious headings like ‘perversions,’” but argued that the Task Force on Gay Liberation has much more work to do on the subject headings front.

Berman used such conversations as points of reference for creating and revising the Hennepin Public Library subject headings and determined that the problem was unresolvable without further input from the gay and lesbian community. He suggested that the Task Force implement a study to ascertain the names how the major homophile groups name themselves. And noting the absence of terms that represented homosexuals as people, as “homosexuality” indicates a condition or relationship, rather than an individual or group of people, he suggested the study also determine how the existing literature on homosexuality was cataloged by subject in the catalog. He observed that, unless consensus is reached, “subject cataloging remains ‘stuck’ with the inherited, admittedly ‘unsatisfactory’ catch-all term, ‘Homosexuality,’” and “Gay lifestyle” and “Homophile lifestyle” could be cross-references.⁴⁵ Upon investigation, it became clear that “gay” was the term preferred by the gay community and that “homosexual” carried negative connotations. Jack Baker cited the work of the Gay Activist Alliance, which published an annual list of gay organizations, in defending the proposal to replace the subject heading “Homosexuals” to “Gays” and stated that Slater was out of place for encouraging the use of “homosexuality”.⁴⁶

Why are librarians such semantic worry-worts [sic]? The terms ordinary people (Gay and nongay) use in everyday conversation should not control the way in which minorities will be represented to the public. Otherwise, we would have headings like ‘nigger,’ ‘kikes,’ ‘cunts’.... An analysis of the comprehensive list of Gay organizations compiled by Gay

Activist Alliance (GAA) of New York City shows that a mere 16 of the 652 (3.2%) known Gay organizations in this country have chosen to be publicly identified with the term ‘homosexual’.⁴⁷

Such observations reflected the beliefs and tenor of the Gay Liberation Front for whom a “gay identity was a revolutionary identity: what it sought was not social recognition but to overthrow the social institutions which marginalised and pathologised homosexuality.”⁴⁸ The most radical of gay liberationists envisioned an overthrow of the homosexual/heterosexual categories altogether. The denaturalizing of categories was at the heart of the movement, and so it is not at all surprising that libraries became a site of contestation. Allen Young, activist and author of a “Gay Manifesto,” wrote the following commentary on the difference between “gay” and “homosexual”:

Saying ‘I am gay’ has the important element of self-definition to it. It is not the negative definition of others (homo, lezzie, queer, pansy, fruit) but a positive term we can call our own. (Even if the term is not an ideal one—there have been objections to the trivializing aspects of the word ‘gay’ from within our community—still it is the one most generally favored by gay people.)…The term homosexual does not comply with the need of self-definition, because the term was given to us doctors and other ‘scientists’ who have not generally been our friends.⁴⁹

The questions of voice and authority and who should have the power to name is one that fuels much of the controversy around Library of Congress classifications and subject headings. The debate among gay librarians around how the Library of Congress should determine names informed the growing recognition that names for groups of people should be assigned according to what that group would call itself. At its July 11, 1974 business meeting at A.L.A., the SRRT

Task Force on Gay Liberation unanimously approved a resolution authored by McConnell that concluded:

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that it is the position of the American Library Association/Social Responsibilities Round Table Task Force on Gay Liberation that ‘homosexual’ and ‘homosexuality’ are inappropriate library subject headings for Gay people and same-gender lifestyles.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Task Force Coordinator is directed to appoint a committee to study subject heading lists and other pertinent library tools for terms applying to Gay people and make recommendations to A.L.A. at the 1975 San Francisco Conference.⁵⁰

The A.L.A. and the Library of Congress followed by endorsing a statement issued in 1975 stating:

The authentic name of ethnic, national, religious, social, or sexual groups should be established if such a name is determinable. If a group does not have an authentic name, the name preferred by the group should be established. The determination of the authentic or preferred name should be based upon the literature of the people themselves (not upon outside sources or experts), upon organizational self-identification, and/or upon group member experts.”⁵¹

There are structural barriers preventing as much improvement as one might hope for. Joan Marshall asserted, for instance, that the problem with LCSH resulted from principles guiding the creation of headings, which inhibited the practice of using names preferred by those being named. She believed that insensitivity toward minority groups is a result of a focus on “the reader,” which assumed that headings should serve a majority, while the non-preferred terms

serve as references for the needs of the minorities.⁵² Marshall points out that the ““majority reader”” is white, Christian, male, and straight, and suggests that the majority is equal to the norm. “To be outside the norm means, in the philosophy underlying the list, that everything you do is colored by your ‘normless’ place in society.”⁵³ So necessarily, headings implicitly account for a norm, and exceptions must be named, e.g., Women as librarians, Jews as scientists, etc.

Jack Baker seems to fully agree, as he stated, “Minorities have always had to use subject headings which the majority considered to be ‘proper’ descriptions of their life style. It can’t be too unthinkable to assume the converse should also be true.”⁵⁴

Although the 1974-1976 Supplement to the Library of Congress Subject Headings did add “Lesbians” and “Homosexuals” (recognizing people, rather than naming only a condition), with “Gays” as a non-preferred term, “Gays” would not become the authorized heading for another 12 years.⁵⁵ People searching for “Gays, male” would be directed to “Homosexuals, male,” and those searching for “Gays, female” would see “Lesbians.” Previously, these were only represented as conditions or types relationships, such as “Homosexuality” and “Lesbianism.” The supplement moved the “See also” cross-reference for “the criminal manifestation of homosexuality under Sodomy” to “Homosexuality--Law and legislation” instead of the general “Homosexuality.” J. McRee Elrod did recommend in 1975 that “the lumping of material on same-sex coitus with same-sex affectional patterns and lifestyle should be corrected” by adopting “Gay people” to indicate the latter.⁵⁶ He additionally called for better descriptive terms for anal intercourse to replace “Sodomy” as well as the addition of a heading for heterosexuality to complement homosexuality and bisexuality.

On March 1, 1977, Berman contacted some of his librarian friends, inviting them to form an informal network to exchange opinions and prepare reports and proposals to be submitted to

indexing agencies, including the Library of Congress.⁵⁷ On February 10, 1978 Task Force member John Cunningham wrote to Berman seeking advice on how to best approach LC to adopt changes.⁵⁸ The top priority was to replace “Homosexuals” with “Gays,” and new headings, such as “Gay rights,” “Gay teachers,” “Jewish gays,” “Homophobia,” and “Homophobia in education,” as well as “Heterosexuality” as a complement to “Bisexuality” and “Homosexuality,” were to be recommended. By this time Berman had already added “Heterosexuality” to the Hennepin County Public Library catalog basing literary warrant on a variety of sources, including E.M. Brecher’s 1969 Sex Researchers, which includes information on homosexuality, bisexuality, and heterosexuality.⁵⁹ Berman responded to Cunningham on February 13, agreeing that it was a good time to push LC. He included a sample letter, which was copied almost word for word by Cunningham, signed by Barbara Gittings, and sent to the Chief of the Subject Cataloging Division on April 4, 1978. It would still be ten years before LC would authorize the change. Because this was not the established standard, Gittings and Berman also sent a letter to community librarians, urging them to implement these changes, as well as the addition of headings such as “Gay rights,” “Gay teachers,” and “Homophobia” at the local level.

Sedgwick tells us that there can be no rule for deciding whether to use “homosexual” or “gay.” Citing the historical and cultural situatedness of each term, she states that we should probably prefer “gay,” if only because post-Stonewall movements have shown that that this preference of the majority of people to whom the word refers. What the debate around these terms illustrates is more than a contestation of terms, but the recognition that language has consequences. The debate centers on questions of knowledge production and organization and the institutionalization of homophobia and oppression through categories. “To alienate conclusively, definitionally, from anyone on any theoretical ground the authority to describe and

name their own sexual desire is a terribly consequential seizure. In this century, in which sexuality has been made expressive of the essence of both identity and knowledge, it may represent the most intimate violence possible.”⁶⁰ But as Emily Drabinski points out, “The problems of bias in library classification structures and subject language are, from a queer perspective, problems endemic to the knowledge organization project itself.”⁶¹ In the case of homosexuality in the catalog, there is simply no way to account for the multiplicity of identifications. It has to be a majority rule. As such, it is vital that we not only investigate the ways in which categories take hold, but we should also unmask those processes by which resistance has been made possible and how it has been enacted. Due to their very structure and function, LCSH and LCC require choices.⁶² It has to come down to authorized versions of names and one place on the shelf. The non-preferred terms are visible only as “See” references, directing users to the established term or class. So while the contestation of terms happens through protest and change, those varied expressions are effectively silenced in these systems. So deeply embedded in our libraries, the accumulation of knowledge on library shelves serves to reify categories, giving library patrons a sense of naturalness and logic of order. So what we see played out on the shelves and in the catalog are the limitations of gay liberation politics based on identity.

The history of the term “homosexuality” has been expertly and extensively written elsewhere, so I will not review it here.⁶³ I will cite David Halperin’s account of the term to inform an understanding of why library workers were so concerned about the deployment of this particular word as a subject heading. It is worth noting that 1976—a key year in this library movement—was the year that Foucault wrote his seminal History of Sexuality, which described the birth of modern “homosexuality.”⁶⁴ Halperin suggests that “homosexuality” referred

singularly to the sexual drive toward members of the same sex, placing this drive as the central organizing principle of social difference. In contrast, “inversion” addressed a host of manifestations of gendered existence, i.e., the invert carried a range of behaviors and expressions of gender associated with the “opposite” sex—including, but not limited to the sexual drive. What “homosexuality” did, according to Halperin, was produce three new associations that had previously not been made with inversion: a) a psychiatric notion of perverted or pathological *orientation*, derived from Westphal’s depiction of the “contrary sexual instinct.” A homosexual could possess this contrary instinct without engaging in same-sex behavior; b) “a psychoanalytic notion of same-sex *sexual object choice* or desire, derived from Freud and his coworker, which is a category of erotic intentionality and does not necessarily imply a permanent sexual orientation, let alone a deviant or pathological one;” and c) “a sociological notion of sexually *deviant behavior*, derived from nineteenth- and twentieth-century forensic inquiries into ‘social problems,’ which focuses on nonstandard sexual practice and does not necessarily refer to erotic psychology or sexual orientation.”⁶⁵ “Homosexuality,” in other words, turned same-sex eroticism in its multiple forms and expressions, into a single, integrated entity, distinct from “heterosexuality.”⁶⁶ And the creation of these binary categories, served to manage and arrange individuals through the process of normalization.⁶⁷ Therefore, although libraries removed homosexuality from the broader category of “Abnormal sexual relations,” or “Sexual deviations” in the HQ section of the library, the term itself held on to these orthodox connotations, and for the librarian activists, the term “gay” served to remedy some of these connotations, but offering a word that describes a whole person, rather than reducing one to a sexual orientation.

The implications of these changes in subjects reach far beyond access to information and must be understood as being a part of a matrix of discourses. The “judges of normality are

present everywhere,” and libraries are just one site where judgment is obviously embedded in practice. It is in schools, medicine, and in the library where the “universal reign of the normative/ has taken hold and reproduces itself.”⁶⁸ One of Sedgwick’s stated goals of *Epistemology of the Closet* was to attend to the reader relations of texts and to identify texts as “sites of definitional creation, violence, and rupture in relation to particular readers, particular institutional circumstances.”⁶⁹ Subject headings and classifications can be read as texts themselves, but their intertextuality with those texts that they deploy places them in a critical position within a field of knowledge.

For Sedgwick, the hetero/homo binary has a deadening effect—a “pretended knowingness” that precludes us from asking appropriate questions and reduces homosexuality to a normalized, stable phenomenon that perpetuates and propels homophobic discourses.⁷⁰ What happens on the shelves is a bit of a crisis of interdisciplinarity, which gives the illusion of stable and natural, but the complexities of the topics demand a closer look.⁷¹ Should books on homosexuals in the military be located with other materials on the military or with gay books? Or books on parenting gay teenagers—should they be with other parenting books or again, with gay books? Shelving everything in HQ76 and HQ75. Figures 4 and 5 illustrate how far we’ve come in forming a discipline, with subdivisions for a range of topics related to lesbians and gay men. There’s even a class for bears and handkerchief codes. But there are still tremendous gaps, questionable classes, and oversimplifications. Why bears and not others? Why not a class for butch/femme, for instance? Drag shows, for instance, are classified as PN1969.D73, near cabaret, comedy acts, and minstrel shows, which all fall under the broader topic of “Drama—Vaudeville, Varieties.”

A less discussed, but arguably, no less significant question at this time surrounded the treatment of “gay” as an umbrella category that included and subsumed “lesbianism” and

“lesbian.” The view was that terms for male and female homosexuals should be equivalent, and as there was not widely adopted male equivalent for “lesbian,” “gay men” and “gay women” were preferred. Berman, in his documentary fashion, cited the HERSTORY Indexing Task Force’s statement on headings regarding lesbians and lesbianism, which said “that we have radically changed our policy on descriptors for homosexuality. ‘Lesbians’ is no longer being used, although of course there will be a see reference from that term to the new one GAY WOMEN. Similarly, articles on homosexual men will be indexed with the heading GAY MEN.”

Most lesbians, in agreement with such lesbian feminists as Adrienne Rich, believed that such an

Figure 4. HQ76.965: Gay and lesbian culture, Special topics, A-Z

HQ76.9	General works <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.95.A-Z	By region or country, A-Z <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.96-965	Gay and lesbian culture <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.96	General works <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.965.A-Z	Special topics, A-Z <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.965.B38	Bathhouses. Saunas. Steam baths
HQ76.965.B42	Bears <input type="checkbox"/>
	Dance parties see GV1749.5 <input type="checkbox"/>
	Drag shows see PN1969.D73 <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.965.G38	Gay pride parades <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.965.H35	Handkerchief codes <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.965.O54	Online chat groups <input type="checkbox"/>
	Pride parades see HQ76.965.G38 <input type="checkbox"/>
	Saunas see HQ76.965.B38 <input type="checkbox"/>
	Steam baths see HQ76.965.B38 <input type="checkbox"/>

Source: Library of Congress. *Classification Web* (subscription required)
<http://classificationweb.net>

Figure 5. HQ75-HQ76, Lesbians and Gay Men

The Family. Marriage. Woman — Human sexuality. Sex — Sexual minorities — Homosexuality. Lesbianism — Lesbians	
<hr/>	
HQ75.3-4	Biography <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ75.5	General works <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ75.51	Sex instruction <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ75.53	Lesbian mothers <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ75.55	Middle-aged lesbians. Older lesbians <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ75.6.A-Z	Gay adoption see HV875.715-72 <input type="checkbox"/>
	By region or country, A-Z <input type="checkbox"/>
	Subarrange each country by Table H73
HQ75.7-76.2	Gay men <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ75.7-8	Biography <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76	General works <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.1	Sex instruction <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.115	Sexual behavior <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.13	Bears see HQ76.965.B42 <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.14	Gay fathers <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.2.A-Z	Middle-aged gay men. Older gay men <input type="checkbox"/>
	By region or country, A-Z <input type="checkbox"/>
	Subarrange each country by Table H73
HQ76.25	General works <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.26	Juvenile works <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.27.A-Z	Special classes of gay people, A-Z <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.27.A37	African Americans <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.27.O44	Deaf see HV2394 <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.27.Y68	Older gays <input type="checkbox"/>
HQ76.3.A-Z	Students see LC2574-2576 <input type="checkbox"/>
	Youth <input type="checkbox"/>
	By region or country, A-Z <input type="checkbox"/>

Source: Library of Congress. *Classification Web* (subscription required)

inclusion was an erasure of lesbian existence.⁷² For these women, the term “lesbian” designated a specificity of women’s experience of same-sex love and relationships. In a letter to Berman, Gittings wrote, “Even if a thousand lesbians in Minnesota told you otherwise, I still insist that I am gay—also homosexual, and lesbian—and no one is going to take the word gay away from me and turn it over to the men! Thus, ‘Gays—Fiction’ and ‘Lesbians—Fiction’ is a conceptually false distinction and one that bothers me personally. She vehemently asserted that “gay” and “gays” should never be used to apply to men only, but rather, “gay men” should be applied to works that are only about men and “gays” should be applied to works about men and women. She also observes an absence of “gay women.” Gittings would later insist that the name change from “Gay Task Force” to the “Gay and Lesbian Task Force” was a mistake, as, according to

her, the term “gay” was inclusive and provided language for a unified front.⁷³

After 1978, the Hennepin County Public Library Cataloging Bulletin ceased to include the rich documentation of literary warrant and commentary that it had in earlier years. Nevertheless, headings for gay and lesbian subjects continued to be added and redefined. And Berman raised awareness of the issue by publishing commentaries and criticisms of LC and gaining the attention of gay publications. The change from “Homosexual” to “Gay” did not occur until 1988, when the Library of Congress announced in its Cataloging Service Bulletin that uses of “Homosexual” would be changed to “Gay.”⁷⁴ The new headings authorized in 1988 included “Gay couples,” “Gay parents,” “Lesbian mothers,” “Gay teenagers,” “Homosexuality—Law and Legislation,” “Gays—Travel,” “Lesbians—Travel,” “Gays—United States,” “Lesbians—United States,” and so on. “Gay” and “Gays” were to be chosen for books about both men and women, and books solely about gay women would be assigned the existing “Lesbians.” The Task Force published the following statement in its newsletter in response:

LC subject headings are used in the catalogs of thousands of libraries throughout the world, and library users looking for gay-oriented materials' have had difficulty locating them due to the unexpected--and sometimes pejorative--headings these materials are listed under. Various librarians have been lobbying LC for at least fifteen years to revise the subject headings used for gay and lesbian oriented materials. Suggestions have been mailed to LC's Subject Cataloging Division; included in articles appearing in library journals, and published in books examining LC's subject headings.⁷⁵

As soon as this change went into effect, Berman launched a new campaign, creating a petition to abandon “Gays” as an umbrella term for men and women, create a “see”-reference from “Gays” to “Gay Men” and “Lesbians,” and establish new headings, including “Heterosexuality,” “Gay

and Lesbian Rights,” “Gay authors,” “Gay baths,” “Gay literature,” “Lesbian battering,” “Lesbian feminism,” “Lesbian literature,” and “Homophobia.” Gender and Women’s Studies scholars Judith Butler and Joan Wallach Scott were among the signatories on the 1988 petition, which was also reprinted in *Gay and Lesbian Library Service*. Berman advised readers to make copies of the page, circulate it, and send it to Mary K. D. Pietris, Chief of the Subject Cataloging Division at the Library of Congress.

Ms. Pietris responded to Berman’s list of recommended headings with a terse “thank-you” letter for the list of “so-called ‘inclusive’ forms.”⁷⁶ She told him that she felt that his list of changes was not necessary to remedy any existing sexist or non-inclusive terms, but assured him that his recommended terms would be considered once they took firm hold in the English language. Stating that the Library did not have the time or staff to address each of the terms on the petitions, she directed him to the new instruction manual for submitting headings proposals. One can only surmise that the work of Berman and his associates compelled the Library of Congress to implement this more participatory policy. In fact, this moment signaled the birth of the now flourishing Subject Authority Cooperative Program (SACO), formally organized in 1992. The program currently includes over 800 institutional members and has contributed thousands of new headings and classifications since its inception.⁷⁷

The NWSA, which, at the time was the professional association for over 500 Women’s Studies programs and 4,000 educators, passed a resolution at their annual meeting in 1988: ”WHEREAS many women-related topics have appeared in both scholarly and popular literature but have not yet been recognized by Library of Congress descriptors, making such topics difficult to identify and retrieve... The National Women’s Studies Association urges the Library of Congress to....”

The NWSA listed a number of LCSH terms to be replaced by preferred, more inclusive terms, such as “Man/Human” and “Watchmen/Guards,” and they

Figure 6. Library of Congress Subject Heading, “Gays”

Heading (1XX)	<u>Gays.</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Buddhist gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Catholic gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Christian gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Church work with gays.</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Closeted gays.</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Ex-gays.</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Gay men.</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Gays with disabilities</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Indian gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Jewish gays.</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Lesbians</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Libraries and gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Mass media and gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Middle-aged gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Minority gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Mormon gays.</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Muslim gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Older gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Ordination of gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Parents of gays.</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Presbyterian gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Protestant gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Radio programs for gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Social work with gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Television and gays</u>
Search Also Under (5XX)	<u>Television programs for gays</u>

Source: Library of Congress. Authorities. Gays. <http://lccn.loc.gov/sh85061795>

advocated the creation of new terms, many of which overlapped with Berman's petition for gay and lesbian terms. The National Director of the NWSA captured the role of the Library of Congress in the production of knowledge in her letter to the Library:

As educators whose task it is to enlarge the mind's boundaries and make knowledge readily accessible, NWSA seeks the cooperation of the Library of Congress in that adventurous process. By making women or other groups invisible through language, we rob learners of crucial information and diminish the complex reality of our world. By describing more accurately the categories of information, the Library of Congress would be acknowledging the lush diversity of our culture and inviting researchers to explore uncharted territory.⁷⁸

Later, publications such as the Lambda Book Report and Women Librarian Workers Journal announced petitions initiated by Berman's Cataloging Consumers Network.⁷⁹ This cooperation from Women's Studies scholars affirms the notion that libraries and their cataloging procedures were vital to the emerging disciplines in gender and sexuality studies. As a result of these and other petitions for new subject headings, the Library of Congress would eventually adopt a new policy, providing a formal mechanism by which librarians can propose new and changed headings. Through such increasingly democratic approaches to subject cataloging, we have witnessed an almost overwhelming proliferation of terms for gay and lesbian subjects, as well as greater recognition of variations in gender and sexual expression. Additions to the lexicon include Gay man-heterosexual woman relationships in motion pictures, Gay online chat groups, Gay motorcycle clubs, lesbian clergy, lesbian composers, lesbian nuns, and so on (See Figure 6.)

Libraries and the Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Studies

Contrary to conventional wisdom, library classifications do not simply organize or mirror what is produced in scholarly and popular literature, but rather, they produce and reproduce disciplinary norms within the academy. Moreover, libraries are powerful institutions that choose to privilege some disciplines and voices over others. Historically, LC has chosen the medical and psychiatric disciplines as experts upon which to rely when deciding how to describe materials on sexual deviance. At the heart of this choice is the assumption that sexuality is a medical concern and certain sexual acts and identities are in fact medical or psychiatric problems. The normalizing effects of the discourses of these professions are at play in the LC collection and catalog, as these areas seem to have great influence on subject authorization and knowledge organization. The books on the shelves, organized according to standard classification systems like the Library of Congress Classification, model and reflect, but also shape the disciplinary arrangement of the academy.

According to Stephen Epstein, “it was labeling theory that first provided the means to challenge essentialist views of the ‘homosexual’ as a natural, transhistorical category”⁸⁰ Social interactionists laid the foundation for social constructionist approaches to the history of sexuality, and the Library of Congress, with its labels and naming techniques served as a key battle ground. Social theory provided the conditions for challenging categories and the institutions that enforce them, bringing theory and practice into conversation, informing one another and informing a library *praxis*. The labeling theory of deviance that grew out of the University of Chicago Sociology department prevailed in 1970s social theory, emphasizing the notion that names have stigmatizing effects. Applied to homosexuality by Erving Goffman, Evelyn Hooker, Howard Becker, and Mary McIntosh in the 1960s, the theory supported and

framed gay activism, particularly concerning terminologies used to describe homosexuality. The theory was also pivotal in the legitimization of social aspects of sexuality and ushered in a body of research on sexuality within the social sciences, and John Gagnon and William Simon, trained at the University of Chicago, and hired by the Kinsey Institute, “virtually reinvented sex research as social science,” reframing homosexuality as normal and ordinary and challenging heteronormative assumptions that lead to the pathologization of homosexuality.⁸¹ Librarians recognized the catalog and call numbers as labeling systems that reproduced and circulated elaborate heteronormative discourses. They witnessed and lived the effects in the everyday lives of patrons and themselves, as they saw the stigmatizing effects of “homosexuality” as a category and the omission of gay and lesbian life from the library catalog. So not only were libraries purchasing these works and providing them for patrons, librarians were using these texts to reshape the organization of information and activism.

The 1970s then witnessed a rise in the representation of sexual deviance in the humanities, as well as popular literature, as the disciplinary reach and coverage of the topic expanded out of the medical and social sciences.⁸² This served to legitimize a wider range of perspectives on sexual variance by bringing more voices to different areas of the academy and the public. It humanized sexual variance, offering diverse narratives of the internal and external lives of homosexuals. Vern Bullough stated that historians had been silent, and he argued, “A major obstacle to understanding our own sexuality is realizing we are prisoners of past societal attitudes toward sex... I have accepted the notion that no form of sexuality is against nature, and although I find some expressions of sexuality more distasteful than others, I have tried to avoid condemnation.”⁸³ Thus the field turned from a psychiatric/sexological emphasis to a more interdisciplinary one, thereby changing the form and substance of the bodies of literature upon

which the classifications and names were based. The result is the addition of the varied voices and expressions of homosexuality in the catalog, as shown above in Figures 4, 5, and 6.

The Task Force on Gay Liberation and Sanford Berman brought to light a human-centered approach to the organization of information about homosexuality. The new arrangements and terminologies corresponded with and assisted the establishment of academic disciplines emerging out of both the women's movement and the Gay Liberation movement. It cannot be doubted that the bibliographies and book awards, created by the Task Force on Gay Liberation, as well as the revision of the LC subject access systems had a hand in the creation of Gay and Lesbian Studies.⁸⁴ At the very least the lists would have supported the rising disciplines, but I would like to suggest that the lists actually propelled sexuality studies by bringing more visibility and access to resources, providing opportunities to search, browse, and locate materials on homosexuality. Encountering a book would depend less on chance than it did with Faderman, and the shelves would increasingly reflect those seeking books. Likewise, as research in these fields produced a body of literature on a wide range of subjects related to gender and sexuality, and that literature then provided warrant for new subject headings. In sort of a dance, the headings and classifications and shelves shifted and expanding to accommodate and the growing discipline, and the discipline brought readers to the library—readers who would become scholars, extending the conversation further, so that now we have entire HQ sections in which to find ourselves and lose ourselves in the stacks.

As the broad signatory base for the headings petitions demonstrate above, scholars, readers, and librarians would come to demand that subject headings be based on their terms, rather than those of medical professionals who had historically pathologized homosexuality. Indeed, the rise of interdisciplinary gay and lesbian studies has depended on the fusion between

the members of the groups and academics, meaning that these disciplines formed from direct experience. Librarians served as bridges between the academy and the public, helping to precipitate this fusion, and bringing visibility and resources to both the emerging academic programs and the students, faculty, and community readers.

The Gay Book Awards and bibliographies signaled and contributed to an emerging field in gay and lesbian studies. The first bibliography published by the Task Force in 1971 included 35 nonfiction gay-positive titles. Subsequent editions were published annually, and by 1977, 250 items appeared on the bibliography, of which 23,000 copies were distributed.⁸⁵ The first Gay Book award was given to Isabel Miller for her Patience and Sarah in 1971, and importantly, the 1974 book award went to Jeannette Howard Foster for Sex Variant Women in Literature, first published in 1956 by a vanity publisher and then reprinted the year after winning the award by Diana Press with an afterword by Barbara Grier.⁸⁶ A librarian at the Kinsey Institute, Foster indexed all subtle and overt references to same-sex love between women portrayed in literature.⁸⁷ The Gay Book Award is now known as the Stonewall Book Award and is an official award of the A.L.A.

The first Gay and Lesbian Studies department in higher education was launched at the City College of San Francisco in 1988. The Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies (CLAGS) at the City University of New York was founded in 1991 as the “first university-based research center in the United States dedicated to the study of historical, cultural, and political issues of vital concern to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals and communities.”⁸⁸ It was at the same time that “Queer Theory” was coined by Teresa de Lauretis in a special issue of differences, Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities.⁸⁹ While there’s hardly a causal relationship here, it is much more than a coincidence that the debate around “gay” and

“homosexual” was brought to a resolution, along with the influx of a range of headings for gay and lesbian communities and expressions, in the Library of Congress Subject Headings.

Ian Hacking suggests that classes of people come into being by a dialectical exchange between classifications and who is classified. Not only are people affected by categorical names assigned to them, but as they change, they also respond and have effects on the classifications. Categories open and close fields of possibility, according to Hacking, and librarians understood this as they challenged the institutionalized categories for homosexuality. They recognized the stigmatizing implications that labels carry for library patrons, as well as for broader public understandings of sexualities infused by knowledge structures. And it was this kind of dialectical exchange across scholarship, librarians, and the classifications and subject headings, that framed and created the emerging discipline of gay and lesbian studies.

This account of the influence and limits of library activists ends just before queer theory sweeps through the academy, offering new language to further interrogate questions of categories. The work begun by the Task Force would take new flight, beginning with the 1990 *Gay and Lesbian Library Service*, an edited collection of essays on library services and workplace issues for gays and lesbians. Published when gay and lesbian courses and programs were beginning to emerge, its co-editor and the Task Force co-chair following Gittings, Ellen Greenblatt, wrote a landmark chapter that critiqued LCSH for gay and lesbian topics. She proposed two changes and seven new headings, and she observed in the follow-up edition that it took LC 20 years to address each of them.⁹⁰ It was also around this time that projects on developing indexing terms were developed, including Robert Ridinger and John Gregg’s thesaurus for indexing gay and lesbian publications, in order to support the emerging discipline in ways that schemes like LCSH were ill-equipped to do.⁹¹

It must not be assumed that the work of the Task Force is complete. In fact, they are now named the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Round Table (GLBTRT) of the A.L.A., and the subject heading and classification revision efforts take place in a more (but still far from perfect) participatory system that included hundreds of member libraries, some of which are home to members of the informal, affectionately named “gay cataloging mafia.” Today technologies like social tagging, online catalogs that don’t confine catalog records to printed cards in a cabinet, and electronic access to books in a huge variety of spaces, might seem to render some of these questions less relevant. In truth, though, the arrangement and names of categories that underlie any knowledge organization system, contribute to the formation and reproduction of norms. Our libraries can be taken as vast social documents from which we read the accumulated account of written knowledge, and the systems that organize all of that knowledge directly impact how it is received, read, and deployed in the world. Sexuality is but one subject whose terms are negotiated on the shelves, a project that began with Sanford Berman and the Task Force on Gay Liberation in 1970.

Notes

¹ Title from McConnell, J. Michael, "Text of remarks by J. Michael McConnell to the Task Force on Gay Liberation: Let's Not Homosexualize the Library Stacks," American Library Association, 9 July, 1974, Sanford Berman papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

² Barbara Gittings in Gay Crusaders, ed. Kay Tobin and Randy Wicker, (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 207.

³ Lillian Faderman, in the Foreword to Joanne Passett, Sex Variant Woman: The Life of Jeannette Howard Foster. (Philadelphia: De Capo Press, 2008), xii. The book to which Faderman refers is the first book-length bibliography on lesbians in literature, first published in 1956. Foster was a librarian at the Kinsey Institute for Sex Research when she wrote the book.

⁴ Gittings testified before the American Psychiatric Association, along with Frank Kameny, defending the position that homosexuality should be removed from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual*'s list of disorders. Kay Tobin and Randy Wicker, *The Gay Crusaders* (New York, NY: Arno Press, 1975).

⁵ Jennifer Terry, An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 375.

⁶ Grant Campbell, "Queer Theory and the Creation of Contextual Subject Access Tools for Gay and Lesbian Communities" Knowledge Organization 27, no. 3 (2000): 122-131; Emily Drabinski, "Queering the Catalog: Queer Theory and the Politics of Correction." The Library Quarterly 83, no. 2 (2013); Patrick Keilty, "Tabulating Queer: Space, Perversion, and Belonging" Knowledge Organization 36, no. 4 (2009): 240-248; K. R. Roberto, "Inflexible Bodies" Journal of Information Ethics 20, no. 2 (2011): 56-64; Paulette Rothbauer, "Focus on LGBTQ/Pleins feux sur les LGBTQ-At the Intersection of Sexual Diversity Studies and LIS:

Focus on LGBTQ, an Introduction" Canadian Journal of Information and Library Science 31, no. 2 (2007): 127; Edited volumes in the field include and tend to be practice oriented: James V. Carmichael, Jr., Daring to Find Our Names: The Search for Lesbigay Library History (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1998); Tracy Nectoux, Out Behind the Desk: Workplace Issues for LGBTQ Librarians (Sacramento, CA: Library Juice Press, 2011); Cal Gough and Ellen Greenblatt, Gay and Lesbian Library Service. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1990); Ellen Greenblatt, Serving LGBTIQ Library and Archives Users: Essays on Outreach, Service, Collections and Access (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010); More recently, Keilty and Dean published an interdisciplinary anthology: Patrick Keilty and Rebecca Dean, Feminist and Queer Information Studies Reader (Sacramento, CA: Litwin Books, 2013).

⁷ Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality, vol. 1 (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 11.

⁸ Hope A. Olson, The Power to Name: Locating the Limits of Subject Representation in Libraries (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic, 2002), 3.

⁹ Toni Samek, Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility in American Librarianship, 1967-1974 (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2001).

¹⁰ Task Force on Gay Liberation has undergone several name changes. It became the Gay Task Force in the early 1970s, then the Gay and Lesbian Task Force in 1988, and has now evolved to become the Gay Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Round Table (GLBT-RT) of the A.L.A. Most of the time I will refer to it as the "Task Force."

¹¹ Social Responsibilities Round Table. Newsletter, no. 8 (1 July, 1970). Israel Fishman had the idea to organize the caucus and became the first coordinator. Barbara Gittings became the second coordinator of the Gay Liberation Task Force in 1972 and remained in that post until 1986.

¹² The Hug-a-Homosexual booth brought extensive media coverage. *Life Magazine* took photographs but did not publish them in their 1971 feature article, “Homosexuals in Revolt.” Today the Gay Book Awards are called the Stonewall Book Awards.

¹³ Wolf’s piece was revised and included in the first Revolting Librarians, edited by lesbian librarians, Celeste West and Elizabeth Katz: Steve Wolf. “Sex and the Single Cataloger,” in Revolting Librarians, ed. Celeste West and Elizabeth Katz (San Francisco, Booklegger Press, 1972). Marshall’s talk was printed in the Intellectual Freedom Newsletter in November 1971. Wolf, “Sex and the Single Cataloger;” Joan K. Marshall, “Viewpoint: Prejudice through Library of Congress Subject Headings,” Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom (November 1971): 126.

¹⁴ Cal Gough, “The Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Task Force of the American Library Association: A Chronology of Activities, 1970-1995,” in Daring to Find Our Names, ed., James V. Carmichael, Jr., 121. Also see: Jack Baker and Michael McConnell, in Gay Crusaders, ed. Kay Tobin and Randy Wicker (New York: Arno Press, 1975); Barbara Gittings, “Gays in Library Land: The Gay and Lesbian Task Force of the American Library Association: The First Sixteen Years,” Daring to Find Our Names, ed., James V. Carmichael, Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998).

¹⁵ When the couple was turned away on the basis of the illegality of same-sex marriage, they appealed until the case reached the US Supreme Court, which refused to hear the case. McConnell legally adopted Baker, they changed Baker’s name to the gender neutral “Pat Lyn,” and went to a rural clerk of courts, who granted them a marriage license. Jack Baker, “The Right to Be Human and Gay” Manitoban (March 13, 1972), reprinted in Ken Bronson, A Quest for

Full Equality (2004), 69, accessed 30 November, 2013,

http://www.qlibrary.org/materials/QuestforFull_Equality.pdf

¹⁶ James F. Hogg, Secretary, Board of Regents, University of Minnesota (10 July 1970); letter to Michael McConnell, quoted in Ken Bronson, A Quest for Full Equality, 10.

¹⁷ Quoted in Gittings, “Gays in Library Land,” 92.

¹⁸ Bronson, A Quest for Full Equality, 42.

¹⁹ Sanford Berman, “Where have All the Moonies Gone?” in Worth Noting: Editorials, Letters, Essays, an Interview, and Bibliography (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1988), 5.

²⁰ Sanford Berman, “If There Was a Sex Index...” in The Joy of Cataloging (Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1981), 37-59.

²¹ Eugene T. Frosio to Edith P. Spencer (30 June, 1972), Subject Analysis Committee Subject File, 1955-1973. American Library Association Archives. University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

²² Berman, Sanford. Prejudices and Antipathies: A Tract on the LC Subject Heads Concerning People (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1971), 182. “sa” is an abbreviation for “see also,” and “xx” means “cross-reference.”

²³ Wolf, “Sex and the Single Cataloger,” 42.

²⁴ Homosexuality wasn’t completely removed from the DSM, but was in effect modified to be “Sexual orientation disorder,” which was to be diagnosed only when a person is disturbed or distressed by their own sexual orientation, i.e., homosexuality.

²⁵ The change was implemented in 1972, but the printed list of subject headings that included “Sexual Deviation” was the eighth edition, published in 1975.

²⁶ Subject headings are authorized by a process called literary warrant, defined as “The use of an actual collection of material or body of literature as the basis for developing an indexing or classification system.”. Lois Mai Chan, Library of Congress Subject Headings: Principles and Application, 4th ed. (Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited, 2005), 518.

²⁷ C. Sumner Spalding to Stephen H. Wolf. [19 February, 1972] American Library Association Gay Liberation Task Force Papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

²⁸ Wolf, “Sex and the Single Cataloger,” 40.

²⁹ Cite Class Web

³⁰ This parallels MeSH and the DSM. Cite article on DSM.

³¹ Library of Congress Classification, Social Sciences, 1921.

³² C. Sumner Spalding to Stephen H. Wolf. [19 February, 1972] American Library Association Gay Liberation Task Force Papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

³³ Wolf, “Sex and the Single Cataloger,” 39.

³⁴ Ibid., 39.

³⁵ Ibid., 44.

³⁶ Harry Oosterhuis, Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 7.

³⁷ Thomas Szasz, The Manufacture of Madness: A Comparative Study of the Inquisition and the Mental Health Movement (1970), quoted in Wolff, “Sex and the Single Cataloger,” 40-41.

³⁸ Paul Weiss, Catalog librarian, Library of Congress, personal email, 26 June, 2009.

³⁹ Margot Canaday, The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); John D’Emilio, “Capitalism and Gay Identity,”

in Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality, ed. Ann Barr Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983).

⁴⁰ Ellen Greenblatt, “Homosexuality: the Evolution of a Concept in the Library of Congress Subject Headings.” In Gay and Lesbian Library Service, ed. Cal Gough, and Ellen Greenblatt, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1990), 95. She updated her findings in a 2010 collection of essays, observing it took LC twenty years to address each of the two changes and seven proposals she’d made in 1990. Ellen Greenblatt Serving LGBTIQ Library and Archives Users: Essays on Outreach, Service, Collections and Access (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010).

⁴¹ Slater was a co-founder of ONE, Inc., an early homophile organization. The organization produced ONE Magazine, the first pro-gay magazine in the U.S., in 1953. ONE, Inc. split in 1965 due to differences, and Slater led a section that branched off and became the Homosexual Information Center. C. Todd White, “Don Slater,” OutHistory, 2008, accessed 30 March 30, 2012, http://outhistory.org/wiki/Don_Slater

⁴² J. Michael McConnell, in Hennepin County Library Bulletin, no.4 (21 November, 1973): 4.

⁴³ Barbara Gittings, "Gays in Library Land," 86; Gough, "The Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Task Force," 122.

⁴⁴ McConnell, “Let’s Not Homosexualize the Library Stacks,”

⁴⁵ Hennepin County Library Bulletin, no. 4 (21 November, 1973): 4.

⁴⁶ Jack Baker was an activist, but not a librarian. He was J. Michael McConnell’s (cited above and below) partner; This extended conversation informs James V. Carmichael, Jr.’s observation that there “seems to be no rationale for the new use of the term “Gays” in cataloging applications.” In fact there was great concern over the addition of this term to LCSH. James V. Carmichael, Jr., Effects of the Gay Publishing Boom on Classes of Titles Retrieved Under the

Subject Headings “Homosexuality,” “Gay Men,” and “Gays” in the OCLC WorldCat Database, *Journal of Homosexuality*, 42 (2002): 65-88.

⁴⁷ Jack Baker, in Hennepin County Library Bulletin, no. 5 (21 January, 1974): 4.

⁴⁸ Annamarie Jagose, Queer Theory: An Introduction, (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1997), 37.

⁴⁹ Allen Young, “On Human and Gay Identity: A Liberationist Dilemma,” Gay Sunshine, 31-32 (1973): 31, Quoted in Joseph J. Hayes, “Gayspeak,” Quarterly Journal of Speech, 62 (1976): 262.

⁵⁰ “SRRT Task Force launches offensive against ‘Homosexuality,’” *Hennepin County Library Bulletin*, no. 8/9/10 (1 September, 1974): 33-34.

⁵¹ *GLC Voice*, 21 March, 1983, 4.

⁵² Joan Marshall, “LC Labeling: An Indictment.” In Revolting Librarians, ed. West and Katz, 45.

⁵³ [JAH], Introduction to “Viewpoint: Prejudice through Library of Congress Subject Headings,” 126. More recently, Rose Schlegl and Hope Olson analyzed the efficacy of subject access standards in representing marginalized groups and topics. They found three general problems, affirming Marshall’s critiques: “first, pleasing the majority of library users sometimes results in biassed [sic] subject representation; second, attempts at objectivity can result in equal treatment when what is required is equitable treatment to accommodate differences; and third, that standards homogenize the results of cataloguing and, thus, impose a universal language in diverse contexts.” Olson, Power to Name, 9.

⁵⁴ Jack Baker, Hennepin County Library Bulletin, no. 5 (21 January, 1974), 4.

⁵⁵ Supplement to Library of Congress Subject Headings, 1974-1976 (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1976).

⁵⁶ McElrod, In Hennepin County Library Bulletin,

⁵⁷ Sanford Berman to Friends, 1 March, 1977, Sanford Berman papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

⁵⁸ John Cunningham to Sanford Berman, 10 February, 1978, Sanford Berman papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

⁵⁹ HCL Bulletin, no. 27 (1 April, 1977); LC authorized “Heterosexuality” in 1993. See LC Authorities. s.v. Heterosexuality, <http://authorities.loc.gov/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?AuthRecID=4855057&v1=1&HC=1&SEQ=20120423112310&PID=SH7D9g-T6R2yGBoeaKYlq2Jlilo2aLn>

⁶⁰ Eve K. Sedgwick, Epistemology of the Closet (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 26.

⁶¹ Drabinski, “Queering the Catalog,” 108.

⁶² Hope Olson observes systemic structural problems in LCSH, LCC, and Dewey, and argues that it is possible to represent marginalized voices within these systems. From a feminist perspective she suggests that the master’s house, with some “renovations,” can be made to provide spaces for redemptive technologies. “The Power to Name: Representation in Library Catalogs” *Signs* , Vol. 26, No. 3 (Spring, 2001), pp. 639-668

⁶³ To name a few: Jonathan Katz, The Invention of Heterosexuality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007; Chauncey, “From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: The Changing Conceptualization of Female ‘Deviance.’” In Passion and Power: Sexuality in History, ed. Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989); Siobhan Somerville, Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Anne Fausto-Sterling, Sexing the Body:

Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Martha Vicinus, Intimate Friends: Women who Loved Women, 1778-1928 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004)

⁶⁴ Foucault, History of Sexuality.

⁶⁵ David Halperin, "How to Do the History of Male Homosexuality," *GLQ* 6:1 (2000), 110.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁶⁸ Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1977), 305.

⁶⁹ Sedgwick, Epistemology of the Closet, 3.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁷¹ Susan E. Searing, "How Libraries Cope with Interdisciplinarity: The Case of Women's Studies," Issues in Integrative Studies 10 (1992): 7-25.

⁷² Adrienne C. Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Signs* 5, no. 4 (1980): 631-660.

⁷³ Ellen Greenblatt, Telephone conversation, 23 December, 2013.

⁷⁴ Cal Gough, GLTF Newsletter, 1 (Spring 1988).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ cite

⁷⁷ In practice, however, subject heading proposals are frequently declined by the Library of Congress because the subjects are determined to be represented by existing headings. The

authorization of new terms must weigh the benefits of adding the term against the cost of implementing the changes, including adjusting existing bibliographic records.

⁷⁸ Caryn McTighe Musil, National Director, September 22, 1988 Sanford Berman papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

⁷⁹ "Finding Sex in the Library: New Petition Seeks to Make it Easier," April 9, 1993, Press Release, in Women Librarian Workers Journal (Summer 1993).

⁸⁰ Stephen Epstein, "Gay Politics, Ethnic Identity: The Limits of Social Constructionism," Socialist Review 93/94 (1987): 15.

⁸¹ For an excellent review of scholarship during this time see Gayle Rubin, "Studying Sexual Subcultures: Excavating the Ethnography of Gay Communities in Urban North America." In Out in Theory: The Emergence of Lesbian and Gay Anthropology, eds., Ellen Lewin and William Leap. (University of Illinois Press, 2002), 17- 68.

⁸² James V. Carmichael, Jr. has observed dramatic improvements in the type and quantity of literature written about gay men, with a 400% increase in library holdings from 1981 through 1995. He notes increases in nonfiction, particularly in the social sciences and history, as well as fictional, poetical and dramatic works. In sum, he found that in 1995, 241 nonfiction gay monographs newly appeared in the WorldCat database, compared to an annual average of 31 new titles for the years 1970-1981, amounting to a growth rate of nearly 775 per cent. James V. Carmichael, Jr. (2002) Effects of the Gay Publishing Boom," 82-83.

⁸³ Vern L. Bullough, Sin, Sickness & Sanity: A History of Sexual Attitudes (New York: Garland, 1977), xi.

⁸² For works on the formation of Women's Studies and LGBT Studies see Mary Hawkesworth, Feminist Inquiry: From Political Conviction to Methodological Innovation (New Brunswick, NJ:

Rutgers University Press, 2006); Mary Romero, "Disciplining the Feminist Bodies of Knowledge: Are We Creating or Reproducing Academic Structure?" NWSA Journal 12, no. 2 (Summer 2000); Leora Auslander, "Do Women's + Feminist + Men's + Lesbian and Gay + Queer Studies = Gender Studies?" differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies 9 (1997); Judith Butler, "Against Proper Objects," differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies 6, no. 2,3 (1994); Grace Kyungwon Hong "'The Future of Our Worlds: Black Feminism and the Politics of Knowledge in the University Under Globalization,'" Meridians 8, no. 2 (2008).

⁸⁵ "A.L.A.'s Gay Task Force Celebrates Seven Years of Accomplishment," in SRRT Newsletter (3 July, 1977).

⁸⁶ Gittings, "Gays in Libraryland."

⁸⁷ For a thorough account of Foster's life and contribution to Gay and Lesbian studies, see Joanne Passett, Sex Variant Woman.

⁸⁸ CLAGS, The Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies. Accessed 2 September, 2012, <http://web.gc.cuny.edu/clags/index.html#>

⁸⁹ Teresa De Lauretis, "Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities: An Introduction", differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies 3, no. 2 (1991).

⁹⁰ Greenblatt, "The Treatment of LGBTIQ Concepts in the Library of Congress Subject Headings," 219.

⁹¹ John Gregg, and Robert B. Marks Ridinger International Thesaurus of Gay and Lesbian Index Terms (Chicago: Thesaurus Committee, Gay and Lesbian Task Force, American Library Association, 1988). For an account of the development of the thesaurus see Robert B. Marks Ridinger, "Playing in the Attic: Indexing and Preserving the Gay Press." In Liberating Minds: The Stories and Professional Lives of Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Librarians and Their

Advocates, ed. Norman G. Kester (1997): 92-97. Also, Dee Michel, Gay Studies Thesaurus (unpublished, 1985).