

exactly the cultural milieu connectedness. From within have been able to produce / in American cities.

... have seen that the gay world in San Francisco exploded not in spite of, but because of, this individualistic orientation. Coming out, the central political strategy of the gay movement, is an act made meaningful by the valorization of individual expression and personal authenticity. Agreement about the centrality of freedom of expression, individual rights, and diversity generated an astonishing array of organizations and provided the glue that prevented the movement from fragmenting. The organizational generativity of individualism in this case suggests that the effects of individualism on American civic life may be more complex and contradictory than Putnam has suggested.¹⁶

The heightened preoccupation with the self that was particularly intense in the 1970s may have chilled some forms of connectedness while energizing others. Baby boomers may desire different results from their civic participation than earlier cohorts. An increased expectation of authentic self-expression within organizational involvement may have lowered satisfaction with organizational experiences experienced as inauthentic—perhaps leading to a decline in satisfaction with participation in the kind of civic associations Putnam valorizes. Participants in gay communities may be unusual in the extent to which they have found forms of commitment and participation that meet the needs of contemporary selves. Others seeking similar experiences of recognition and self-expression in organizational participation may not be finding them. The way the gay movement balances individual needs with the pursuit of collective interest could perhaps provide insights into the kinds of organizational experiences that could resuscitate civic engagement more broadly.

Thus, the ascendance of the gay movement in the post-1960s United States provides insight into general changes in the fabric of American cultural, political, and organizational life. By telling the story of the crystallization of the gay movement in the early 1970s, I have also told a story of the development of a sensibility that has shaped post-1960s life in the United States. Preoccupation with issues of identity transformed social movements, challenged the ability of social movement scholarship to account for them, and quite possibly contributed to a transformation of our civic landscape.

Answering
Forging Gay Identities

APPENDIX

Constructing a Database of San Francisco's Lesbian/Gay Organizations

A database of San Francisco's lesbian/gay organizations formed the evidentiary base for this book. I constructed this database by coding resource guides and directories. These provided a great source of data because they conveyed a rich picture of how actors within the field defined participation in the collective project. Institutional theorists have pointed out that guides are an indicator of field institutionalization because the very existence of guides suggests "the development of a mutual awareness among participants in a set of organizations that they are involved in a common enterprise."¹ John Mohr, in his work on poverty relief organizations in Progressive Era New York, argued that the New York City Charity's Directories revealed which organizations were "considered to fall within the bounds of the organizational field" which helped him discover "the meaning of poverty relief as an institutional activity."²

The quality of the database and the analysis based on it rests on the quality of the decisions made while identifying, locating, and coding the research guides. These decisions were necessary to translate the guides into a form amenable to systematic description and analysis.³ However, this process of mediation introduces the possibility of misrepresentation. Would participants in this project have agreed that all the guides I used were indeed guides to their community? Would they have marveled at my omission of some crucial guide? Did the decisions I made violate the cognitive categories of actors in crucial ways? In this appendix, I discuss some of the crucial decisions made, highlighting those that I found to be particularly problematic so that the reader can assess the quality of the database.⁴

Locating and Selecting Lesbian/Gay Resource Guides

Acquiring resource guides and directories required identifying the full range of guides produced and locating physical copies of each guide. For contemporary resource guides, both steps were straightforward. Resource guides were sold in the gay sections of bookstores and published in every issue of a local gay newspaper. Locating guides of yesteryear was more difficult. Simply learning of the existence of some of the guides required scouring archives and periodical collections. Researching the archives of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society of Northern California, with the assistance of archivist Bill Walker, led me to ob-

scure guides from the 1960s and 1970s. Finding back issues of well-established contemporary guides was also surprisingly difficult. For the users of these guides and therefore for the producers of these guides, old guides are useless. Thus, they tend to be jettisoned once new, more accurate guides are published. I found back issues in libraries, archives, and, in a couple of instances, through contacting the publishers and printers of the guides.

After collecting guides, the next decision was which to code. Coding all guides collected would have created uneven coverage. Often scholars just code every issue of one hegemonic guide.³ This was not an option, as no authoritative guide to lesbian/gay organizations in San Francisco existed. The inchoate state of resource guides is characteristic of a newly forming organizational field.

Guides found were of four general types—national guides, local guides, women's guides, and bar guides. National guides listed both nonprofit and commercial organizations for every major city in the United States. Local guides listed only San Francisco organizations. In addition to providing information on many of the same organizations listed in the national guides, local guides listed smaller, more obscure organizations. Women's guides included lesbian organizations that were sometimes missed by national and local guides. Bar guides listed only commercial establishments, thus offering relatively little information on nonprofit organizations. In addition to using the guides as sources for organizational information, I also coded every mention of a homosexual organization in the central publication of San Francisco's homosexual community, the *Vector*, from December 1964 through June 1974, to compensate for the lack of guides before 1972.

To the extent possible, I coded an example of each kind of guide for each year of the time period, relying on guides published annually whenever possible. Table A.1 lists the 104.5 guides of all types that were coded.

Coverage by national guides was consistent from 1972 through 1995. For virtually all years, I coded the *Gayellow Pages*, an annual listing of nonprofit and commercial organizations in the United States. In 1972 I coded the *Gay Insider*, a precursor to the *Gayellow Pages*. Gaps in the coding of national guides coincide with gaps in publication of the *Gayellow Pages*. Two national guides were coded in each of 1991 and 1995 to compensate for the missing 1990 *Gayellow Pages* and to ensure accurate coding of the existence of organizations at the end of the time frame.

Before 1979, the publication of local resource guides was spotty. Listings for early years were cobbled together through scouring archives for organizational lists. *Gaybook*, a local guide published since 1979, covered the rest of the time frame. Uncertainty about its quality, particularly fear that it underrepresented organizations existing after 1988, led me to code the *Bay Times*, another local resource guide, for the years 1989 through 1994.

Figure A.1 shows the number of guides coded each year in a three-year moving average that portrays the consistency of coverage because organizations remained in the data set even if they fell out of the listings for one year. On average, more resource guides were coded per year in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This was done

Table A.1 Resource Guides Coded by Type, 1963–94

	National ¹	Local	Women's	Bar	Vector ²	Total
1963				1		1
1964						
1965				2	1	3
1966				2		3
1967				1		2
1968				1		2
1969		1 ³		1		3
1970		1 ⁴		1		3
1971		2 ⁵		1	0.5	3.5
1972	1 ⁶			1		2
1973	1 ⁶	2 ⁷		2		5
1974	1 ⁸		1			3
1975	1			1		2
1976	1 ⁸	1 ⁹		1		4
1977	1			1		3
1978	1	1 ¹⁰		1		3
1979	1	1 ¹¹		1		3
1980	1	1		1		2
1981	1	1	1	1		4
1982	1	1		1		3
1983	1	1	1	1		3
1984	1	1		1		3
1985	1	1	2	1		4
1986	1	1		1		3
1987	1	1	1	1		4
1988	1	1		1		3
1989	1	2 ¹²	1	1		5
1990		2		1		3
1991	2 ¹³	2	1	1		6
1992	1	2		1		4
1993	1	2	1	1		5
1994	1	2		1		4
1995	2 ¹⁴	1		1		3
Total	22	31	11	34	6.5	104.5

¹ *Gayellow Pages* was coded for each of the years for which a number appears here.

² For 1965–70, all twelve issues were coded and are counted in this table as one guide. Only six months were coded in 1971, and that is listed here as half a guide.

³ Three versions of organization lists appeared in the *San Francisco Free Press* this year; they are counted here as one guide.

⁴ Four versions of organization lists appeared in the *San Francisco Free Press* this year; they are counted here as one guide.

⁵ *Bay Area Reporter* and *Carl Driver*.

⁶ Three versions of *Gayellow Pages* appeared this year; they are counted here as one guide.

⁷ The *Enmaus House* listings and the guide in the freedom day parade program.

⁸ Two versions of *Gayellow Pages* appeared in each of these years; they are counted here as one guide for each year.

⁹ *Bay Area Gay Social Services Guide*.

¹⁰ *New Directions*.

¹¹ *Gaybook* is listed as a local guide for 1979 and thereafter.

¹² *Bay Times* is listed as a local guide for 1989 and thereafter.

¹³ *Gayellow Pages* and *The Big Gay Book* were both coded to compensate for the missing 1990 *Gayellow Pages*.

¹⁴ *Gayellow Pages* and *The Gay and Lesbian Address Book* were both coded to ensure accurate coding of the existence of organizations at the end of the time frame.

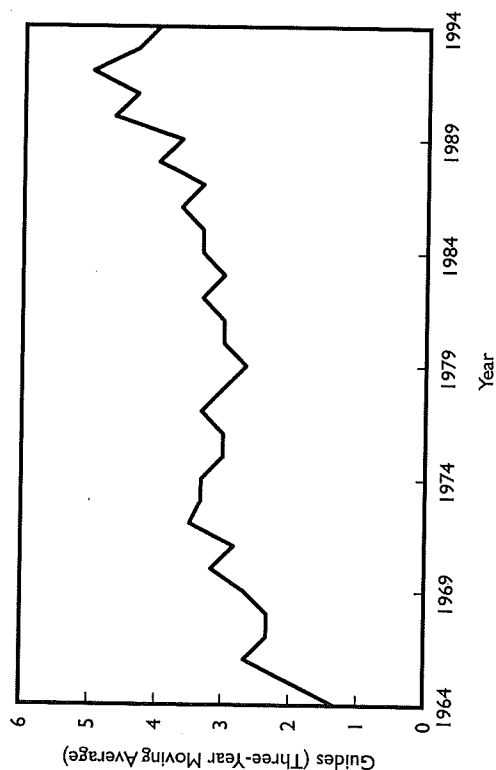


Figure A.1 Resource Guides Coded per Year

in order to see if a puzzling decline in organizational numbers in the late 1980s was simply an artifact of flawed data sources.

Inclusion and Exclusion of Organizations

After choosing which guides to code, I decided which organizations listed in the guides to include in the data set. Institutional theory suggested including all listed organizations in order to best reveal how actors understood the boundaries of the collective project. If I had followed this approach, my data set would have been quite unwieldy. I began in this fashion, but the database rapidly grew to twenty-five hundred organizations, with indications that it would grow substantially larger. Guides listed organizations and services that were clearly not gay (e.g., the city bus service), organizations located outside of San Francisco, and both commercial and nonprofit organizations.

Screening organizations before including them in the data set, while unfortunately imposing my own categories on the data, was necessary. I constructed inclusion rules with the intent of doing as little violence as possible to the construction of the world emerging through the guides.

To be included in the data set, the organization had to meet the following criteria:

- define in its name or mission statement that the organization was for or composed of sexual or gender minority individuals (including, but not limited to, those who defined themselves as homosexual, homophile, lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, transvestite, transsexual, transgender, leather, BDSM, or sex workers)

- be nonprofit
- be in existence at some point from January 1, 1964, through December 31, 1994
- be located in the city of San Francisco
- have a name, be more formal than a friendship network, be publicly accessible, and have the intention of being permanent
- be clearly distinct from other organizations in the data set
- have a minimum amount of information available including, but not limited to, a name and some information on the purposes of the organization.

The decision to exclude commercial organizations was highly problematic as it was quite clear that actors saw both commercial and nonprofit organizations as full participants in their project. That actors made no distinction between commercial and nonprofit organizations became clear as I attempted to identify commercial organizations with the intention of excluding them. Many for-profit organizations, such as newspapers, magazines, and bookstores, engaged in gay identity building activities in ways indistinguishable with nonprofit organizations. Dennis Altman points out that many gay merchants see their businesses in terms of community building. He observes:

What is striking is the profusion of services and institutions, many of which straddle both movement and commercial activities. . . . Starting a business is often a way of integrating one's working and one's social life, and to start a gay hotel or a women's restaurant can be a way of expressing commitment to the gay community.⁶

In spite of these compelling reasons to include commercial organizations in the core data set, I felt that I had to separate the for-profit and not-for-profit organizations. With commercial organizations moved to a related dataset, it was possible to make sense out of what looked like pure organizational chaos. The identity political logic was more purely in evidence in the nonprofit organizations, which were not simultaneously shaped by the logic of profit seeking. I incorporated the second data set into the analysis at crucial moments in the book.

The decision to exclude nongay organizations was also problematic. Given my contention throughout the book that the gay/nongay divide was central to the way actors defined their world, excluding these organizations potentially eliminated evidence contrary to my claim. But after analyzing the kinds of nongay organizations listed in the guides and how they were listed, I decided that excluding these organizations could be done with integrity. Usually the guides listed nongay organizations under separate headings such as "Emergency Numbers" or "Financial Assistance" as opposed to "Gay/Lesbian Publications and Media," clearly indicating that the makers of the guides did not think of these organizations as gay. The cognitive divide between gay and nongay that made construction of these guides relevant and possible was reproduced within the guides. Nongay organizations included in the guides tended to be of a certain type: crisis services, such as suicide

Table A.2 Organizational Information Collected

Organization name	
Address	
Phone	
Year of first mention	year organization first mentioned in a resource guide
Founding date	date (month and year) organization founded, if available
Year of last mention	year organization last mentioned in a resource guide
Disbanding date	date (month and year) organization disbanded, if available
Source	all issues of all resource guides that listed organization
Description	how organization described itself in resource guides or organization flyer
Function	organization goal or function, from information in resource guide or organization flyer
Gender	gender of participants (men, women, men and women, or transgender)

lines, available to all; city or state services available to all; organizations providing general information or services; inclusive community centers; organizations geared to other constituencies (such as youth, runaways, older people, Jewish people) that might include gay people; or inclusive mainstream churches. The inclusion of these organizations asserted that gays in San Francisco were entitled to the full range of public services available to heterosexuals. This revealed a view of gay San Francisco as embedded within and connected to the mainstream institutions of the city.

In addition to general service organizations, guides also listed two other groups of nongay organizations: AIDS and feminist organizations. That these organizations were seen to be of particular interest to lesbians and gay men was not surprising, given the numbers of gay men with AIDS and the connections between lesbianism and feminism. However, it was clear that many of these organizations did not define themselves as lesbian or gay organizations. I included organizations that identified as gay or lesbian while excluding those that indicated that they did not. For example, AIDS organizations that served all constituencies were excluded, while gay AIDS organizations were included.

Information Collected about Each Organization

Information collected from resource guides on each organization is described in table A.2.

Note that I collected both the actual founding and disbanding dates and the dates of listing in the resource guides. Ultimately, I was able to find actual founding and disbanding dates for only 150 of the 958 organizations in the core data set. For the sake of consistency, all analysis is done based on dates of listing rather than on actual founding and disbanding dates. In order to make sure the dates of listing in the guides map onto actual founding dates in a meaningful fashion, I compared dates of first mention in resource guides with actual founding dates. The 150 organizations for which I had an actual founding date were listed in the guides, on aver-

age, 2.8 years after they were founded. Some 71 percent (107/150) were listed in guides within two years of founding.

It would have been useful to collect systematic data on changes in organizational names and missions, organizational size and membership, organizational structure, and the fit between organizational presentation and reality (whether the actual composition of the membership matched the claims that the organization made about its membership). At the time these data were collected, this information could have been collected only through intensive archival investigation. Preliminary efforts suggested that it might have taken several hours to research each of the 958 organizations in the data set. Given the revolution in internet usage that has taken place in the intervening years, the barriers to obtaining much of this information have been substantially reduced. However, even now, some of this information, particularly the highly interesting information on membership rates, may simply not be available.

Data Cleaning

The three biggest problems with data quality were duplicate organizational listings (guides were often inconsistent in the exact wording of organizational names, producing multiple entries in the database), entry of organizations that did not meet the inclusion rules (this problem was exacerbated by the slow process of accumulating information about each organization), and insufficient information about organization goals and purposes. Looking for similarities in names and duplication of addresses and phone numbers gradually eliminated duplicate listings. I used temporary codes to identify organizations that failed to meet the criteria for inclusion, culling through the database again and again to check organizations along every dimension. I used a variety of sources to discover more information about elusive organizations, removing 75 organizations from the data set as a last recourse. This left a data set of 958 organizations.

Calculating Organizational Density

Figures in the text presented changes over time in the numbers of various kinds of organizations in existence over time. An organization was coded as being "alive" in a year if it was listed in a resource guide published in that year (or if it was listed in resource guides in either preceding or subsequent years). For example, 1986 organizations were those whose first listing in a guide ("founding date") was any year before 1987 and whose last listing ("disbanding date") was any year after 1985.