AUTHENTICITY, CITIZENSHIP AND ACCOMMODATION:

LGBT RIGHTS IN A RED STATE

_____

A Dissertation

Submitted to

the Temple University Graduate Board

_____

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSPHY

_____

by

Kendall L. Roark

May 2012

Dissertation Examining Committee:
Jayasinhji Jhala, Associate Professor, Anthropology
Patricia Melzer, Assistant Professor, French, German, Italian, and Slavic Languages
Rickie Sanders, Professor, Geography and Urban Studies
Sydney White, Associate Professor, Anthropology

ABSTRACT

"Authenticity, Citizenship and Accommodation: LGBT Rights in a Red State" examines

the discourse around volunteerism, exceptionalism, and queer citizenship that emerged

within the context of a statewide (anti-gay) ballot initiative campaign in the American

Southwest. I argue that the ways in which local volunteers and activists define themselves

and their attempts to defeat the ballot initiative are tied to the struggle over the authority

to represent local LGBT organizational culture and an emergent New West identity. In

such a way, local debates over authentic western lifestyles that divide regional

communities intertwine with intergenerational debates over gay liberation and rights

frameworks, and the polarized discourse on *blue* and *red* states that have dominated the

U.S. political climate of the past decade. While statewide campaign leaders with a base in

Phoenix (the state capital) focused on polling data and messaging in order to stop the

passage of the amendment, many Tucson activists and organizational leaders tied to the

LGBT community center sought to strategize a long-term *grassroots* approach to change

*hearts and minds*. Within this debate over campaign strategy and internal decision-

making, both groups drew attention to the differences between the metropolitan areas.

This regional example speaks to the ways in which established theoretical frameworks

anthropologists utilize to understand social movements may prove insufficient for

understanding the diversity that exists within the everyday processes of collective action.

The internal messaging war that spilled outside of the confines of the campaign steering

committee meetings into the pages of the statewide gossip and newspaper editorial

sections also speaks to the ways in which official declarations of ideological stance should not be taken as the actual intent of those seeking change. One may shape one's personal story to be *on message*, choose to defy those constraints, or use the rhetorical strategy of the message without actually committing to the underlying premise. The broader national concerns are localized symbolically in the notion of *blue* and *red* counties, but also take on a regional flavor in the satirical call to statehood for Southern Arizona. Here issues of authenticity emerge not only within the context of the campaign disputes around messaging, and by extension, who has the right to speak for and about the LGBT organizational community, but also in the realm of derisive banter that travels back and forth between the two major metropolitan areas over what it means to live an authentic western lifestyle. Within the southern metropolis, this discourse is framed by the notion that the western desert is a different sort of place, with a different sort of people and way of life that is threatened by snowbirds, retirees, Midwestern lifestyles and corporate interests. Often Phoenix to the north is seen as a representation of all these negative influences. In addition, Center-based activists and volunteers, describe their southern city in idealistic terms as an oasis for LGBT community, artists, activists, migrants, refugees, and all manner of progressive politics. Memory enacted through the telling of one's story at a Coming Out Day testimonial, political rallies and in dialogue with an anthropologist are shaped by these notions of difference. These notions of difference also emerge as a pattern in the narrative construction of space, violence and memory within activist life histories. These life histories in turn reveal a fragment of local LGBT organizational culture, in which the process of professionalization transforms

the meaning of community, and the act of representation transforms the role of activist into that of the citizen volunteer. The community center in this sense is a memorialization of community and movement culture, and by idealizing what came before it masks material conditions at the same time that it offers up the potential of a more radical present/future. While the community center, Tucson and Pima County are coded as oases of safety, this image is continually disrupted by counter narratives, including the state-wide campaign to stop the marriage amendment; local support for the Protect Marriage and anti-immigrant amendments; and evidence of on-going violence directed against racial, ethnic and religious minorities and those who transgress hetero and gender normative expectations. These disruptions however appear to be cyclical in that they allow both professionals and concerned community members (*citizen volunteer*s) to rally together in a show of strength and solidarity and in so doing represent the authentic, legitimate community. However, these disruptions may also allow for counter narratives to enter into public discourse, thereby offering up a more radical envisioning of community beyond the limits of LGBT organizational culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor and dissertation committee for their support and encouragement; my family, friends and neighbors for making the final stages of writing possible; and last but not least my fieldwork participants for letting me into their lives and allowing me to write about the experience.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 2

DISPUTING NATION AND COMMUNITY: IMAGINATIVE

CHAPTER 3

OASIS EXCEPTIONALISM: INCOMMENSURATE AND INTERLOCKING

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

ACLU            American Civil Liberties Union

AVP             Anti-Violence Project

HRF             Human Rights Fund

LGBTQ           Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer

PFLAG           Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays

PMA             Protect Marriage Amendment

# LIST OF FIGURES

# LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

In 2006, Arizona voters defeated a citizen-sponsored statewide ballot initiative that

sought to amend the Arizona state constitution to define marriage as between one man

and one woman and to make illegal the recognition of any contract similar to marriage.

Thus far, this is the only successful campaign to stop a Protect Marriage Amendment at

the state level. I conducted ethnographic fieldwork at a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and

Transgender Community Center in Tucson, AZ from January 2006 until January 2007.

My doctoral fieldwork focused on volunteerism and activism within the local LGBT

organizational community. I followed Center volunteers into the statewide and the

Tucson/Pima county grassroots campaigns to stop the Protect Marriage Amendment.

This dissertation utilizes structured open-ended interviews, participant-

observation and archival research. Initially, my research objectives were centered upon

understanding activist identity and community formation, as well as the role of local and

statewide grassroots activism and volunteerism in national political debates over Lesbian,

Gay, Bisexual and Transgender rights claims and the development of a transnational gay

rights discourse. As a participant-observer I often took on the role of Center volunteer,

student intern or novice community activist. It was within this capacity that I followed

the volunteers and staff into their work outside the official capacities of . I was

considered official volunteer, observer and quasi-staff at  due to my role as a volunteer

researcher with health programming and month-long temporary paid research/crisis-line staff for the Anti-Violence Program to offer needed coverage and report writing during June, one of the sleepiest and hottest months of summer. This gave me access and insight into both Center staff and volunteers' responsibilities and perceptions of their work as arose within the context of their own respective social and official capacities. I attended a handful of The Campaign and the Tucson branch of the statewide Human Rights Fund steering committee meetings, and weekly Center staff meetings, while also working alongside other Center volunteers who began putting in extra hours for the statewide and local No on PMA campaigns. This involved attending community meetings, banking the phones, making signs, knocking on doors and distributing literature for the campaigns, and helping out my favorite all around senior citizen volunteer with a never ending demand for homemade No on PMA buttons. I approached my research with a free spirit and with a hope that the volunteers would allow me to follow their lead. This openness and willingness to wait for something to happen and to partake in many of the necessary but mundane responsibilities of a Center volunteer afforded the opportunity to become a part of a community and to translate my attempts to engage with ongoing anthropological debates concerning New Social Movement Theory, local knowledges, and emergent forms of activism into what I hope is a language that is meaningful and productive within this particular research setting. It was my willingness to take out the trash, listen to complaints, accept a decidedly non-politically correct banter and show up as a warm body at programming events, that made me part of a community of volunteers, not any preconceived idea of my sexual orientation, scholarly identification, or ability to demonstrate through language, appearance or risky action that I was a queer activist. This

2

acceptance of particular types of difference only added to some ambiguities about my status at , such as whether I was a staff member or volunteer, middle-or-lower class, queer or straight, gender conforming or gender transgressive. At the same time my white skin privilege, gave me access to spaces and conversations that would not have taken place in the company of those perceived to be people of color, while my quasi outsider status and willingness to listen allowed for some candid conversations with those who had critical insight into the status of people of color within what was perceived as a white / Anglo dominated organization. I believe this type of openness or access was indirectly facilitated through my willingness to attend organizational and community meetings that concerned the other divisive ballot initiative measures that were placed on the ballot the same year, namely those which were characterized as anti-immigrant. The Executive Director and Director of Programming of the LGBT Community Center supported a joint statement with a local immigrant rights group to voice opposition to all discriminatory ballot initiatives during the campaign cycle. This support became a point of debate within some of the program-sponsored list-serves and within informal conversations between volunteers.

<div align="center">The Anthropology of Disputes and 'High Stakes Politics'</div>

Eskridge (2005: 1293-1294) argues that "high-stakes politics" are an ongoing part of the American social landscape, comparing the classic high-stakes religious-based politics present at the founding of the nation to the current paradigm of high-stakes politics of abortion and same sex marriage debates. He argues that it is important to find a way to lower the stakes of current debates, much in the way that the Religious Clauses of the

First Amendment sought to lower the stakes of religious-based politics. The key concern

here is with the impact of such high-stakes debates on political participation and sense of

belonging when these debates challenge group identity or cohesion. I would extend

Eskridge's claims to place the debates over abortion and same-sex marriage in clear

relationship to a third component of current high-stakes politics, epitomized by the term

*illegal immigration*. The first two issues are most clearly tied to religious, moral and

economic debates over what constitutes a family. However, as Hill-Collins (2001) has

argued, the nation itself is often viewed as a family. In this light immigration is also very

much a part of the family paradigm of current high-stakes politics. While current high-

stakes politics have a strong religious component, the debates are much broader than a

religious context, and more clearly reflect economic and political sovereignty anxieties

that make up the current flexible paradigm of high-stakes debates, reflected in ongoing

academic discussions over neoliberalism, corporate power and other emergent forms of

social control.

Debates over same-sex marriage and immigration have entered a new level of high-

stakes politics that has played out within a renewed interest in the populist ballot

initiative. Discriminatory ballot questions are divisive on multiple levels. On the surface

they are often framed and perceived by those on the Left as anti-gay and anti-immigrant

initiatives, and framed as protective of tradition or national sovereignty on the Right. The

culmination of thirty-some-years of divisive ballot initiatives at the state level, the

introduction of the Patriot Act after the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center in New

York City, and other erosions of Civil Liberties justified by the continuing *War on Terror*

merged with the newly available and ubiquitous image of the Red State / Blue State maps

4

to create a sense of isolation and denigration for many Americans on the Left and for those groups who came under heightened scrutiny as part of the paradigm of high-stakes politics. The stakes are one of belonging and political power for the Left and for those who are the targets or scapegoats in these high-stakes debates. For those on the Right the stakes involve the ability to defend the power and privilege that is felt to be a birthright. This involves the ability to define what it means to be an American, who and what should be upheld as the norm of American culture. Those privileges are often perceived to be at risk within a multicultural society that is increasingly subject to the whims and transformations of transnational culture and citizens, and the world economic system.

High-Stakes Politics Gets a New Map

In the fall of 2004, I noticed a marked change in the air, a real excitement for the upcoming United States presidential election that would take place in November. For the first time the suddenly ubiquitous phrase "Red and Blue States"[1] began to register in my consciousness. Part of this recognition involved questioning why *red* and *blue*, had to do in part with my location. My adopted home since 1999, Philadelphia along with her sister city Pittsburgh to the west, are often declared as decidedly *blue* cities in what is perceived as a largely *red* state. While the Democratic party website strongly declares Pennsylvania a "blue state" since 1993, the state is most often represented in the media by the oft misquoted James Carville quote that compares Central Pennsylvania to "Alabama", or *Pennsyltuky* in common Philadelphia parlance.

---

[1] Seyle, Conor D. and Matthew L. Newman. 2006. A House Divided? The Psychology of Red and Blue America, in American Psychologist, v. 61, n. 6, pg. 571-580. Jost, John T. 2006. The End of Ideology, in American Psychologist, v. 61, n. 7, 651-670.

5

The excitement I felt was reflected in what I saw around me on the faces of young teenagers registering passengers on the Market Frankford / Blue Line and amongst my friends and neighbors who were door knocking, fundraising and otherwise cautiously envisioning a post Bush America. This followed through to election night, which I spent sitting on the floor of a Gayborhood dance club turned poll watching site. As the night wore on, the people around me, my friends and newfound acquaintances, began making jokes about moving to Canada if our default candidate, Democratic Senator John Kerry failed to win the election. While it turned out that some of us were more serious about these plans than others, the sense was that the election was a last straw, which would necessitate decisive action.

The next day the city was in mourning. It felt like one of those hangover days after a home game loss for the Eagles. The carnivalesque atmosphere of the night before, aided by the camaraderie of living within an overwhelmingly (95%) Democratic municipality left an inevitable washed-out feeling. People called in to work. My neighborhood was silent. During the afternoon I started receiving e-mails and text messages and calls on my cell phone telling me about a candle light vigil at Love Park. People just felt at a loss and wanted to be somewhere together. So I went and heard friends also speak about the other bad news from the election. Eleven states had passed versions of the Protect Marriage Amendment via ballot initiatives throughout the country. These measures preemptively amend the state constitution to read that marriage equals one man and one woman, some go further to deny any other contracts similar to marriage (i.e. domestic partnership, civil unions, and a myriad of other potential contracts).

While my friends and I sat on the floor of the dance club on that particular election

6

night, feeling a bit adrift in a sea of Red states, were the traditionalists such as those involved in the Family Values coalitions of certain Christian denominations also feeling the strain? If not surrounded, were they perhaps feeling the undue influence of the creeping Blue Coasts that magically represented the future generations in their own safe Red quarters? For according to the opponents of the Protect Marriage Amendments, they seem to focus not only on the *activist* judicial branch, but also on the uncertain allegiance of future generations. The assumption being that hidden only slightly below the surface of the discourse surrounding the need to *save* traditional one-man-one-woman marriage is distrust of the younger generation who according to polls overwhelmingly do not share the views of their elders.

So, it seemed that in 2004, the *Culture Wars* had a new and improved map, a new logo. I am not sure what Benedict Anderson would say about the role of the map in creating this sort of imagined community, but in my own world this clearly represented an outgrowth of an existing phenomenon. Now I question this position, and wonder (as do many others) to what extent these images influenced my understanding of past events. What I do know is that these images did impact the way I approached choosing my dissertation field-site Tucson as another *blue* city in what is perceived as a predominantly *red* state, on the list as a potential target for a Protect Marriage Amendment. This means that I paid attention to the assumptions about meaning that went along with this particular imagined community, a divided United States in the midst of a so-called *culture war*. It was not until I began analyzing the fieldwork data that I noticed the reversal in political color symbolism that had taken place. How could I not have noticed the move from red

7

and its association with the Left, and communism during my Eighties Cold War upbringing? Here Red comes to represent conservatism and the Republican Party in general. Blue comes to represent economic and social liberalism and the Democratic Party in general. As Seyle (2006) and Jost (2006) point out, it was during the 2004 election cycle that news media began representing states won by Democrats as Blue and those won by Republicans as Red (the colors of the Kerry and Bush campaigns that year). Because the U.S. operates under a long trend of two party, winner–take-all elections, it is fairly easy to represent a state or county as *red* or *blue* even if close to half that county or state aligned themselves with the other candidate/party.

Direct Democracy: The Rise of the Ballot Initiative Process

The Ballot Initiative and Referendum process combined are a form of direct democracy available to United States citizens, although the regulations vary state by state. While this is laudable within a political climate that advocates participatory democracy in the face of a perceived distrust and apathy among the voting public (Putnam 1996; 2005)[2] when the direct will of the people is linked to discriminatory or rights limiting ballot questions it can also lead to distrust amongst neighbors or create a sense that by association one is unwelcome within the public life of a culture. For instance, I found this to be the case while conducting preliminary fieldwork in Allentown, PA (2005) after a successful attempt to stop a local discriminatory referendum that sought to revoke the inclusion of sexual orientation and gender identity form the city's anti-discrimination ordinance.

---

[2] See also "Controversy: Unsolved Mysteries: The Tocqueville Files," *American Prospect*, No. 25 March–April 1996: 17–28.

While local activists were able to prevent the repeal of municipal protections, there was a toll that came with knocking door to door and in the process marking themselves as part of the LGBT community to individual citizens. For some of those involved in the campaign the repeal of protections were felt on a personal level, as rejection by neighbors.

Ballot initiatives and referendums are only two among many avenues for citizens to influence policy and formal norms. And as the legislative and judicial branches have clearly demonstrated over the past couple hundred years, the ballot initiative process is not the only avenue in which to officially sanction bigotry and discrimination. In the United States we have a representative and judicial system that allows for influence and oversight. Here I am interested in the shift toward settling disputed norms and claims to rights within the ballot initiative process. Why have these debates shifted out of the courts and state and federal legislatures? How are these shifts manifested in local disputes between legal rights and the "hearts and minds" approach of *grassroots* activism? In what ways does the renewed interest in the ballot initiative and other forms of direct democracy align with the shift to so-called "neoliberal governance" and the rise of what I call the "anti" movements: libertarian, anti-abortion, anti-authoritarian, anti-globalization and other social movements? Can the dispute act as a distraction from other more pressing matters?

In some ways the popularity of the term "judicial activism" within the post Civil Rights and Roe vs. Wade America, frames a shift toward direct democracy approaches on the part of neoconservative movements within the United States (see Eskridge 2009).

Here I delve into the historical literature on social movements, ballot initiatives and legal and human rights/justice frameworks. Alternately, the literature arising out of the anthropology of disputes can contextualize the use and abuse of adjudication within rights claims. In addition, legal and political anthropology can help to contextualize and illuminate what is at stake within these large-scale and divisive debates: the disenfranchisement of various minority interests; the polysemous meaning of the word *activist*, which expands to include those involved in paid and volunteer normative community building activities while at the same time necessitating a new discourse that calls activists advocates and educators; and the professionalization of *grassroots* campaigns. This has implications for the anthropological study of relations between the state and established assimilationist social movements. Specifically within identity based social movements it speaks to the cooptation by the neoliberal state of the very grassroots networks and infrastructure developed in part as a response to state sponsored violence and neglect, and in times of economic crisis the subsequent disinvestment or disenfranchisement of these once necessary outposts of the state.

History of the Proposition

The No on PMA statewide campaign employed a strategy, which went against, the so-called "loose to win" strategy advocated by such organizations as Evan Wolfson's Freedom to Marry campaign. The Campaign framed the amendment as taking away rights of citizens that had already been offered. For example, The Campaign distributed yard signs that read, "PMA takes away health care". This was in part true, since domestic

partnership benefits for state employees and residents of certain municipalities (including Tucson) included same-sex health insurance options. Another strategy of the official No on PMA campaign was to deemphasize the impact on queer citizens and rather focused on straight couples that benefit from the domestic partner registries. In many ways this harkened back to the strategies employed by early gay rights activists in the late 1970s / early 1980s campaigns to stop ballot initiatives which would limit other civil rights of queer people in the United States, such as initiatives to ban gay and lesbian teachers from public schools supported by the likes of Anita Bryant's Save Our Children Campaign. The similarities of the campaign strategies rests in the fact that The Campaign chose to erase all public mention of gay marriage and queer people from their No on PMA campaign. Instead they focused on Al and Maxine, a straight cohabitating retired couple registered as domestic partners. This particular public face of the campaign, Al and Maxine, would not publicly support gay marriage or queer people, and instead focused their comments around how the ballot initiative would take away their current right to recognize their relationship while avoiding pension and social security penalties (see Appendix A). However, one Campaign Co-chair (here after referred to as The Co-Chair) also played a representative role in the media, as an elected representative to the state legislature and native Tucsonan, she publicly acknowledged a queer or bisexual identity.[3]

While the state-wide Human Rights Fund (HRF) and the Southern Arizona LGBT Community Center played a large role in organizing The Campaign, and were involved in the organizations Steering Committee, it was The Campaign, The Co-Chair and "Al and Maxine" that received the most media coverage and public acknowledgement for their

---

[3] Although she did not emphasize this within the campaign.

efforts to stop the ballot initiative. In many ways  was unable and unwilling to participate

extensively in the campaign, as it is a tax-exempt organization, which can only spend up

to ten percent of its annual budget on political activities. Both HRF and  attempted to stay

focused on their respective missions: HRF to continue building relationships with the

state legislative branch and local municipal governments and continue pushing for

affirmative change toward queer rights in these domains; The Center to continue serving

as a community center for the queer community in Southern Arizona. Both HRF and  The

Center leaders were aware of their role within the infrastructure of the queer community

within Arizona. Leaders also consulted with mirror organizations in other states about the

impact of PMA initiative campaigns on community infrastructure, and therefore tried to

ward off the more intrusive and destructive aspects of the campaign.[4] They in a sense,

played defense and were thus limited in their ability and desire to officially wield power

within The Campaign. In many ways my research is less about the campaign to stop the

Protect Marriage Amendment, and more about the relationship between two strategies to

preserve community and promote queer participation within American society. Therefore

the bulk of the dissertation is situated within my Tucson field-site and focuses on

volunteers and staff at the community center who shared their time and resources with

two No on PMA campaigns, a state-wide and a Tucson-based splinter group. I look at

how notions of difference and power circulate within social movements, organizations,

and social/political networks and between individuals in their interaction with agents of

the state.

---

[4] Kendall Roark's interviews with Executive Director and Program Director 2006.

The LGBT Community Center

The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender community center for Southern Arizona (The Center), located in Tucson. As a §501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, it is one of two queer community centers in the state, the second being located in Prescott in Northern Arizona, AZ. The Prescott Pride Center represents the northern arm of the state. It is interesting to note that they share a peculiar similarity in their spatial proximity to relatively nearby cities with a larger metropolitan area and possibly more political and financial influential than their own home municipalities. The locals that I encountered in the field often defined Tucson itself in relation to the Phoenix metropolitan area to the direct north. That their smaller, less affluent neighbor to the south has been able to maintain such a space, may speak to a certain western logic of tolerance at the margins, or something else altogether. The physical and imagined marginality of the Tucson community is a theme that continually arose throughout the community narratives, life histories, organizational meetings, inter-city dialogue, public rallies, reaction to voting patterns, and the framing or "messaging" around the campaign.

The conception of Tucson, as the Old Pueblo, is the story of a town that time forgot in many ways. Its history is varied, from former Spanish and then Mexican outpost to a territorial capital, which lost its influence to the newcomer Phoenix. Tucson's location within an hour's drive to the U.S./Mexico border also facilitates a sense of marginality and difference, which enters participants' description of place. It has a college town or small-town feel in many ways, and a sense of community that is both reflected and perhaps assisted by both the infrastructural and spatial organization of the city. For instance, unlike the current capital Phoenix, Tucson has a central old city

13

amongst the urban sprawl of broad roadways, golf courses and strip malls. In addition, local government appears to rely on a level of cooperation that is also reflective and assistive to a particular sense of Tucson community. I discuss this cultivation of difference in-depth within Chapter 4.

In this dissertation, I attempt to stay true to my research experience and relationships that were developed with research participants, by indulging in the privilege to both critique and staunchly defend the same narrative. Often this amounts to providing lengthy direct quotes from speech events and life history narratives obtained while in the field, in order to illustrate both the depth of insight and feeling on the part of the speaker, as well as the glaring contradictions at play within these very moments. That is to say that I am both awestruck and distressed by their words, actions and presence. I see before me a group of very present, good-natured folks, infinitely helpful, concerned and committed to their vision of a fair, just or at least happy world. I am grateful that they allowed me to learn from their experience.

I was very comfortable in the role of student and peer. It was often those moments when participants recognized my own experience or knowledge as an activist or academic that I encountered the most difficulty in terms of demands upon my resources (which mainly amounted to time, equipment and expertise) that distracted from both my goal of completely fieldwork and escaping any negative feeling or impact upon the individuals or organizations encountered within the field. If anything, these difficulties only reinforced the spurious nature of the participant observer role within this particular political economic moment. This was often reflected in the expectation that I volunteer, get involved, tell my story and otherwise actively engage as a queer citizen.

I arrived in Tucson on the first week of January in 2006 and was greeted by the Gender Alliance Coordinator, whom I had met previously in New York and Washington, D.C. and had been communicating with via e-mail for the last six months. On an early morning in January, I took the five-minute walk from my new 9th Street apartment to The Center. In 2006 The Center was located just off the eclectic 4th Avenue corridor, a short walk or ride to downtown Tucson. On this particular day, The Center was already busying with activity at mid-morning.

I checked in with The Center's Front Desk volunteers, who called the Gender Alliance Coordinator's line. When he arrived downstairs, the GA Coordinator began by giving me a brief tour of the first floor, before proceeding to the second floor staff area. The Front Desk area, where I checked in with the volunteer staff stood on the right hand side of the front glass doors. Behind the Front desk was the entrance and viewing window into the community Cyber Center (free computer and internet access). To the left of the entrance was the library and lounge area. As we walked toward the stairs in the back of the building on the right was a hallway to two single stall restrooms and a large conference room. On the left were two smaller community-meeting rooms. On our way up the stairs the GA Coordinator told me that most of the staff was queer identified, although many of the volunteers were straight allies.
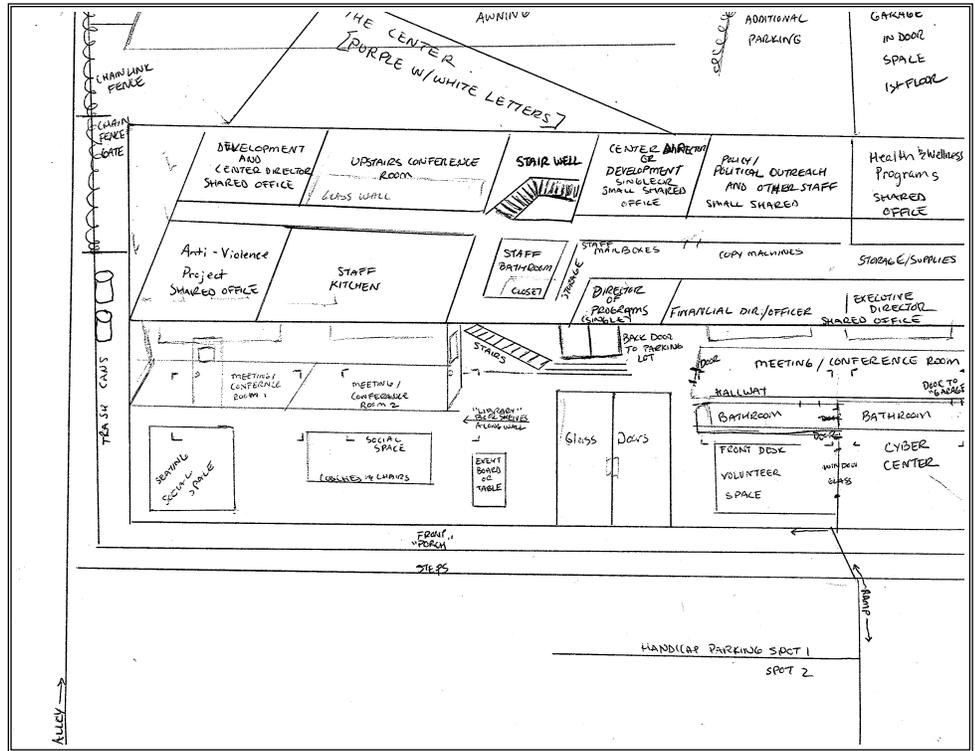
Figure 1 – Sketch of The Center, 2006


As we walked up the stairs we looked out the back glass doors to the private

parking lot and proceeded up the stairs to staff offices and kitchen. To the right (from the

back of the building) was located a staff conference room, and two offices (the larger of

which housed the Anti-Violence Program Staff). The kitchen and staff bathroom

entrances were directly in front of the stairs. To the left of the stairs (from the back of the

building) we found one small and one large staff office (shared by the GA Coordinator,

his other Health Programs co-workers and supervisor). To the right of the Health

Programs office was a walkthrough section that included copiers, supplies and staff

mailboxes near the entrance to a long narrow office shared by the Executive Director and

Financial Officer. Between this office and the staff kitchen was another front-facing office housing the Director of Programs.

On this first day, the Front Desk volunteer on duty had me sign in on the visitor's log and I was given a visitors pass, which while accompanied by the GA Coordinator allowed me to travel up the stairs onto the second floor (coded as a restricted staff area). Another legitimate way for a *community member* (non-staff) to enter this restricted space was through the process of becoming a Front Desk Volunteer. Eventually I gained this form of access after a month of volunteering and it was manifested symbolically in a ceremony at the annual Volunteer picnic where I received a Front Desk Volunteer badge (with my name on it). This also gave me legitimate access to the Front Desk area (and The Center phones) and the responsibility of locking up and setting the alarm on the night shift. For the most part however, Front Desk volunteers were expected to stay at the Front Desk and stay on the first floor. An exception to this rule was one long-term and trusted (partner of former staff) volunteer who was involved with training the Front Desk volunteers.

This access was manifested symbolically in a ceremony at the Volunteer picnic where I received a Front Desk Volunteer badge (with my name on it) and access to the Front Desk area and the responsibility of locking up on night shift. Alternately when I became staff over the summer, I was required to check-in and out on the downstairs Front Desk Schedule board as a staff/intern, and no longer was required to get a visitor ID and staff permission to walk into the second floor of the building.

There were around twenty full and part-time staff members in 2006, some of which were housed in a downtown location at The Center's Youth Lounge. Hundreds of

active volunteers contributed to the daily life of The Center. Front Desk volunteers were the most visible and held the most regular schedules, while each program (Seniors, Anti-Violence, Gender Alliance, Development, Health and Wellness, Puertas Abiertas) utilized volunteer labor and developed other volunteer engagement activities. In addition to official volunteers, many 4th Avenue corridor residents utilized the Cyber Center to check e-mail, social networking cites like Facebook and MySpace, watch videos or print out resumes. Donate what you will coffee and tea were also available in the library / lounge area which provided a comfortable, air-conditioned space to socialize, read a book, or relax. As long as you were not sleeping or bothering anyone, you could stay in the First Floor of the Center for the whole day. The two downstairs bathrooms were also available to the public. This was the only free public restroom in this section of the 4th area corridor, as all other restrooms were located in businesses (cafes, the health food cooperative, etc.). This attracted a regular cohort of homeless men and women who spent their days on 4th Avenue. Youth would also hang out at The Center until three o'clock in the afternoon, when the Youth Lounge would open a short walk away in downtown Tucson.

Staff would conduct regular meetings in the downstairs conference rooms with other staff and community members, hold community forums in the library / lounge or large downstairs conference room. The Community Center Director spent time with Front Desk volunteers and the public on the first floor, but also had an office on the second floor with the rest of the staff. Staff tried to keep on good terms with the Front Desk Volunteers and their own program volunteers by remembering their names and

acknowledging the Front Desk volunteers presence by checking in on the Staff Board and introducing themselves to new faces.

It was through becoming a Front Desk volunteer, a program volunteer and attending weekly staff meetings as an "unofficial intern" for the Gender Alliance that I began to know The Center staff, volunteers and community members who utilized the building and resources. In all I formally interviewed sixty-one individuals that I met either at The Center or by following Center staff and volunteers (or community members) in their daily activities and outreach to other organizations, social events and political meetings and rallies.

Table 1 provides a breakdown of the key informant roles and demographics. Staff, volunteers and consumers are from both The Center and several other key LGBT organizations that worked in partnership or coalition with The Center during 2006. The consumers are those who utilize the services or attend events without being directly involved in the planning of those events or serving an official role within the planning organization.

| Table 1. Key Informant Roles and Demographics | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Volunteer* | *Staff* | *Consumer* | *N=* |
| *All* | 36 | 22 | 3 | 61 |
| *LGBT* | 31 | 20 | 3 | 54 |
| *Ally* | 5 | 2 | 0 | 7 |
| *Man (Transgender)* | 12 (3) | 10 (4) | 2 (0) | 24 (7) |
| *Woman (Transgender)* | 24 (10) | 12 (0) | 1 (1) | 37 (11) |
| *Unemployed* | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| *Retired* | 9 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| *Professional Pt/Ft Work* | 19 | 22 | 2 | 43 |
| *Non-Prof Pt/Ft Work* | 6 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| *Asian (non H)* | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| *black (non H)* | 2 | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| *white (non H)* | 29 | 14 | 1 | 44 |
| *Hispanic* | 3 | 4 | 2 | 9 |
| *Multiple/Other* | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| *18-29* | 4 | 6 | 1 | 11 |
| *30-44* | 15 | 12 | 1 | 28 |
| *45-59* | 9 | 4 | 1 | 14 |
| *60-79* | 8 | 0 | 0 | 8 |

Research Questions and Objectives

This project is informed by an awareness that anthropological terms of analysis are often shared by political activists; that subjects of knowledge can offer valuable critical perspectives on social science representations of their lives; and that the ways in which research subjects constitute and interpret their own experiences should be incorporated into the research framework (Giddens 1984; Wolf 1992; Abu-Lughod 1997; Cunningham 2000; Hyatt 2001a). However, it is also important not to merely evaluate a discourse based upon the terms in which it was posed, but to offer a research framework grounded in the in what Holston (1989: 9) calls the tension between "the normative ethnographic task of recording the natives' intentions in their own terms and the aim of evaluating those intentions in terms of their results." With the aim of creating a critical ethnography, this project is concerned and informed by anthropological social movement literature which focuses on the importance of identity and ideology as a basis for collective action in movements of the last century (Calhoun 1994; Clemens 1996; Newman 1987; Scott 1990), with an emphasis on those critical New Social Movement theories that incorporate an understanding of the connections between "identity and grievance" (Johnston, Laraña, and Gusfield 1994), so that grievances that are based on perceived identity and expression can be analyzed as "controlling processes" which contribute to the creation of social policy (Nader 1997; Broad 1997, 2002).

Also at issue is how global rhetoric, logic and techniques are incorporated into activist and academic frameworks. This work will add to recent insights (Holston 1989; Povinelli 2002; Patton's 1996; Mayer 2000, et al.) into the ways in which

21

incommensurate views can exist within the same political space (such as the radical in the dominantly neoliberal), as well as the literature focusing on processes of scale. On the one hand, scale reflects the extent to which we universalize analytic categories (Tsing 2000), and on the other the way in which stigma circulates (Rubin 1999; Goffman 1963; Douglas 1966). In that vein, this research will also contribute to investigations of a political economy of sexuality in order to reveal how stigmatization affects everyone (Lancaster 1999; Newman 1987, Murray 1995), and how communities of practice and social networks cope and elaborate upon such stigma (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992; Singer 1999). This project will pay special attention to the role that the body plays in this production and evaluation of knowledge from both theoretical (Grosz 1998; Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987; Martin 1992; Cartwright, 1995; Fausto-Sterling, 2000; Laqueur, 1990; Lock, 1993; Morris 1995) and experiential perspectives (Bordo 1993; Martin 1987, 1994; Wilchins 1997; Califa 1997; Bornstein 1994; Feinberg 1992; Cameron, 1996; Chase 1998; Namaste 2000; Green 2000).

This project expands upon the anthropological concept of gender variability in the ethnographic context (Valentine 2000; Cromwell 1999; Atkins 1998; Besnier 2002, 2003; Blackwood and Wierinea 1999; Hall 1995; Herdt 1993; Bolin 1993, 1988; Nanda 1990; Roscoe 1988, 1991; Mead 1935) and the growing literature on the interconnections between gender and sexuality in daily life (Lang 1997, 1998; Roscoe 1988; Williams 1992/1986; Newton 1972; Weston 1996; Herdt 1993; Rubin 1992 & 1999; Cromwell 1997; Jacobs & Cromwell 1992; Valentine 2002; Valentine & Wilchins 1997; Lancaster 1997).

22

This project is informed by legal rights theory from political science (Currah and Minter 2000; Rimmerman, Wilcox and Wolpert 2000) cross-cultural approaches to rights discourse (Sychin 1998; D'Emilio1983, 1984; Phelan 2001), legal and political anthropology (Donovan 1994, 1997; Star and Collier, et al 1989; Vincent 1990), and critical medical anthropology (Heggenhougen 1995; Farmer Kleinman. 1989; Scheper-Hughes 1992).

Research Design

This project was divided into two six-month phases. I spent the first six months as a volunteer and intern at The Center. During this time, I attended staff meetings as an intern for the Gender Alliance program; volunteered as both a  front desk and AVP crisis-line volunteer. I also attended a myriad of community and organizational meetings and events held at The Center; Tucson City Council Meetings; local migrant rights group sponsored May Day planning sessions; Human Rights Fund Southern AZ Caucus meetings; Puertas Abiertas program outreach events; Gender Alliance meetings, support groups and informal group social events;  Health & Wellness committee meetings; Pride planning sessions; The Campaign trainings and events; an aids foundation's peer educator training; community forums; policy and advocacy workshops and community and arts events. During this time I also conducted semi-structured open-ended interviews about political involvement with over sixty paid and volunteer queer rights advocates, activist and politicians living and working in Southern Arizona. In addition I conducted a series of longitudinal semi-structured interviews with key actors involved in the No On PMA campaigns. I incorporated spatial (Cromley 1999) and network analysis (Trotter

1999) techniques into my methodological framework, which informed not only the questions posed during interviews, but also the type of data I collected as a participant observer.  I employed the use of both audio and video recording devices throughout the project when informed consent was specifically given to do so. These recordings contribute to the construction of a planned public video-document, which will aid in the dissemination of research findings to both the academic and field community. I also got to know the city by extensively exploring its trails and roadways on foot, bike and car, as well as utilizing the public transportation (bus) system. I also ventured throughout the state driving to the farthest western and eastern tips of the state to the central Phoenix and the mountains of the north. I became loosely involved with the arts and culture scene by visiting museums and galleries, coffee shops and bookstores, university and community film screenings, dance and music performances, drag king and queen events and social and political gatherings at the local bars.

During Phase II (6 months) of the project I focused my volunteer and participant observation efforts more directly on the local campaigns to stop the so-called Protect Marriage Amendment (PMA). This included volunteering to work the phones, door knock, and attend button-making sessions at  The Center and later The Campaign office. Many of The Campaign's volunteers were already familiar faces through my stint as a front desk volunteer, or as regular attendees of the weekly Tuesday Campaign nights organized by the local Campaign coordinator, which were hosted at The Center during the Spring months. Board members and staff were also involved in The Campaign as Steering Committee members for most of the spring, and had been intimately involved in the creation of The Campaign. During the months of June through December I was able

to get involved with the formation of a local/splinter group opposing the Protect Marriage Amendment (No on PMA) and began to interview former steering committee members who were either forced or chose to leave The Campaign in favor of the new "grassroots" group that emerged. During this time The Campaign stepped up and I spent many nights attending organizing meetings, public forums and speaking informally with Campaign staff, volunteers and leadership within the two organizations. At the same time I remained a volunteer and intern at The Center, taking on a month-long paid position as an Anti-violence Project (AVP) morning crisis-line worker and research assistant for a report on hate crimes against queer Arizonans. I also became more familiar with allies (straight/heterosexual) Campaign volunteers, especially within Tucson's progressive religious communities. After the election, I conducted follow-up interviews with many key actors and attended post-election community forums and celebrations.

My Relationship to the Participants and Preliminary Fieldwork Preparation

I performed preliminary archival research about gay and trans liberation movements and civil rights activism in the state of Pennsylvania at the Temple University Urban Archives and the Barbara Giddings LGBT Archives which includes local mainstream gay and transgender press accounts of anti-discrimination policy, and transcripts of city council public hearings on the ordinances. In addition, I received assistance formulating my initial research questions and proposal during two, month-long sessions at the University of Amsterdam's Summer Institute on Culture, Society and Sexuality. During this time I compiled national activist manuals and policy recommendations and identified key actors at the national, state and local level as identified by local media, city council

25

transcripts, and initial conversations with expert witnesses involved in queer rights and social justice organizing.

In addition, I attended public meetings and events sponsored by statewide organizations, such as the Pennsylvania Gay and Lesbian Alliance (PA-GALA) and state-wide Human Rights Fund (HRF). I also attended national conferences such as the GENDERPAC Gender Rights Conference and Capitol Hill Lobbying Day in Washington, D.C. and the CUNY/CLAGS conference on trans activism and research in New York City. I attended these events in order to gain a better understanding of national legislative and other forms of activism, as well as to interact with queer and trans rights activist from around the country.  This provided a valuable example of the different ways in which trans and queer rights and academic discourse enter into community dialogue. The CLAGS conference also provided the opportunity to connect with other researchers working on Gender and Sexual Minority Rights, and to observe internal debates about movement direction, especially concerns over the type of issues and coalitions that should be of concern, as well as to hear critical feedback about research being done within transgender communities by transgender identified researchers.

While attending the National Lobby Day in DC (2004) and the trans-activism research conference in New York (2005), I became acquainted with trans-activists and policy makers from Tucson. I kept up my correspondence with individuals from the Gender Alliance, and was invited to participate as a research intern with their program. I conducted archival research on the Tucson LBGT community, with a special focus on the activism surrounding the passage and implementation of the Tucson anti-discrimination policy prior to interning the field. I was drawn to the Tucson continents at both events

due to my long-time interest in Arizona politics. I spent formative years in Flagstaff, AZ as an undergraduate at Northern Arizona University in the 1990s, and Arizona feels as much home as anywhere I have lived before or since.

Relevance of the Study

This research adds to a growing body of literature concerning the Foucauldian analysis of modernity and its relationship to such crucial elements as gender and sexual politics in emergent social movements.  It offers an in-the-field look at these emergent social movements, testing anthropological theories of social movement formation while it is happening (Gusterson 1996; Fantasia 1988). This work adds to the theoretical discussions of the ways in which gender and sexuality are "intimately connected with power and force are themselves sexualized, that is, they are inscribed with gender difference and with gender hierarchy" (Moore 1994: 63).  The intersections between liberation and civil rights strategies within social movements and those which recognize the ways in which multiple oppressions impact daily life (an important factor in organizing and building coalitions) is also addressed. This project offers a critical interpretation of how social science terms affect popular and emergent discourses (Harrison 1991; Povinelli 2000), and offers up a reflexive look at the role of anthropological knowledge and its often subversive (and often failed) intent to de-familiarize the familiar and familiarize the unfamiliar in the methodological and theoretical output of this project (Holston 1989, Povinelli 2000).  It adds to the growing ethnographic literature on lesbian, bisexual, gay and transgender communities (Weston 1991, Lewin 1993, 1998; Cromwell 1999, Newton 1972, 1993; Valentine 2000, Rubin 2000) in the United States, which examines the

relationships between gender, sex, class, sexuality, race and ethnicity. In addition, it

expands the methodological and theoretical implications of the anthropology of visual

communication, into relatively new fields of study in the United States.  I incorporate

both a phenomenological / "sensuous scholarship" (Stoller 1997, Taussig 1987, 1993,

Jackson 1998, Body 1997) approach to fieldwork and analysis of data, which contributes

specifically in the arena of the New Social Movement literature. This project also adds to

the growing theoretical work on the intersections of place and politics (Higgs 1999;

Kenney 2001; Davis 1994; Bell and Valentine 1994). The theoretical framework also

considers the concept of intention in relation to social policy, by drawing on the work of

the anthropology of visual communication. Intention is here seen as "verified by

conventions of social accountability, conventions of legitimacy, and rules, genres and

style of articulation and performance" (Worth and Gross 1981: 147). It also adds to

theoretical debates over ethnography as representation in terms of the ethics of

ethnographic display and the importance of historicizing the polysemous reception of

ethnographic representations (Martinez 1992; Abu-Lughod 1997; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett

1991; Ruby 1981; Ginsburg 1998; Jhala 1994; Minh-Ha 1994; Jay 1994; Ruoff 1998;

Mitchell 1994; Fabian 1996).

<u>Chapter Overview</u>

Chapter 2, "Disputing Nation and Community: Imaginative Geographies and the

Marginal Locations of Queer," situates my research within the broader context of

anthropological debates (gender and sexuality, new social movements and representation)

as well as local and national political context. I begin by looking at the ballot initiative

campaigns within the context of the anthropology of disputes. I begin with a public debate between supporters and opponents of PMA Proposition held at the University Law School in Tucson. Here I draw on themes further explored in Chapter 2, to look at the ways in which social justice, gay rights and anthropological discourses on the meaning of "family" circulated throughout the prepared speech events and spontaneous back-and-forth that occurred during the debate. Here a social justice and "valuing all families" discourse was utilized to defend a hegemonic definition of marriage on the part of one of the Pro-Marriage Amendment panelists, while an Anti-Marriage Amendment proponent drew on a pseudo religious moral discourse to make a homonormative claim for marriage rights. I seek to place these events within the context of the anthropology of disputes in order to examine how they lend themselves to disruptive "high-stakes politics" and at the same time sustain a sense of difference which natives of Tucson and progressive transplants claim as part of their own personal and social identities, and mask the similarities between the different scales of (vertical) power relations within both organizations (and the LGBT Community Center).

In Chapter 3, "Oasis Exceptionalism: Incommensurate and Interlocking Visions", I examine notions of perspective, space and community through a particular metaphoric complex, the oasis/mirage, and its continuing impact on the ways in which Tucson is experienced as uniquely *western*, *tolerant* or *safe space*. I look at the regional peculiarities of this notion of safe or bounded space in relation to the U.S./Mexico border; the transnational shifts of people and ideas, and the more recent geopolitical mapping in the form of the Blue State/Red State divide within the United States. I draw on local newspaper archives, life history interviews and ethnographic data to illuminate the ways

29

in which a discourse of *difference* is reproduced over time, and suggest how this framing of Tucson impacts communication between LGBT/Queer organizations based in Phoenix and Tucson. I also address the organizational history of the LGBT Community Center and the notion of its "enfolding wings" as safe space, and its dual role as model community organization within a neoliberal period of NGO and state relations. As I demonstrate in Chapter 2 this has relevance to conflicts that arose during the No on PMA campaigns, and may have had a subsequent impact on the failure to stop the more narrowly focused Protect Marriage Amendment, which passed in 2008.

In Chapter 4, "Citizen Volunteer, Citizen Artmaker," I draw on secondary sources and participant interviews in order to sketch out the role of volunteerism in the development of a "gay rights" discourse as employed by LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer) claims to state inclusion. I examine gay rights discourse as a transnational phenomenon given meaning through everyday practice within local context. I also look at volunteerism and gay rights discourse as they have evolved within the context of liberation and neoliberal contexts. Volunteerism both takes on elements of liberation rhetoric as it is transformed from social movement/counterculture action into a form of homonormative civic engagement. The bridge that provides the semantic context for this transformation is both discourse and embodied practice. Specifically, here I aim to trace out the contribution of marginal sites and marginal queers to both the creation and transformation of the gay rights discourse and the experience and meaning of community. In what ways have *citizen volunteers* transformed the meaning of gay or LGBT community? Do *citizen volunteers* create different types of communities than social movement/counterculture activists? In what ways do *citizen volunteers* appropriate

the discourse of social movement activism and make the discourse palatable for agents/agencies of the neoliberal state? How do these appropriations and accommodations operate strategically to redistribute power within the context of the American Southwest?

"Citizen" is a loaded term, especially within the context of border communities. I here examine the ways in which gay marriage lies within a complex set of contradictory claims. For instance, it is both linked to homonormative claims that deny the existence of those who are deemed unworthy of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, while at the same time carrying the potential for acknowledgement of some of those who are denied these rights, including queer foreign nationals. My ethnographic research illuminates some of the ways in which  The Center and The Coalition staff and volunteers utilize this discourse. I argue that the ways in which local activists, volunteers and artists define themselves and their approach to political and social issues has just as much to do with the political economy of the New West, borderland politics and a local "grassroots" social justice ethos as it does with the national debates over gay marriage. As Ginsburg (1989) has demonstrated, these social dramas are linked to larger societal debates, but are also framed by day-to-day interaction with neighbors. Volunteers are adept at shifting between a gay rights discourse, which utilizes the rhetoric of the *citizen volunteer*, and an attempt to engage in strategic community cultural and infrastructure building via face-to-face interaction, which rely on forming lasting friendships and networks of support. That said, does the emphasis upon the *citizen volunteer*'s contribution to the social body relegate gay, LGBT or queer community building to the background? What do LGBT/Queer ally stories tell us about the role of gay community building today?

31

In Chapter 5, "Performing Coalition: Allies and Citizen Artmakers," I examine the inclusion of allies within LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) community and political organizing. I seek to understand the role of allies within Tucson and Phoenix LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) organizations and community and political organizing. For instance, within the No on PMA campaigns that emerged in response to the Protect Marriage Amendment in 2006, straight identified couples became a central part of both campaign messaging and grassroots organizing. Once The Campaign came to be publicly controlled by Phoenix activists, the face of the campaign became Al and Maxine; an elderly retired couple that had taken advantage of domestic partnership registry and benefits. In Tucson, straight couples, identified as "allies" were an integral part of the day-to-day grassroots efforts that took place at the LGBT Community Center and then moved to The Campaign office. Straight allies were also involved in a community performance concerning No on PMA, in which local choreographers were asked to "reconfigure" duets for same-gender dancers, and queer community members participated in the creation of the performance as dancers and storytellers, "citizen artmakers". I argue that the ways in which allies are incorporated can have a transformative impact not only on the ally, but also provide a potentially radical reevaluation of the role and value of gay/queer community building and potentially push homonormative gay rights leaders to value and advocate for social transformation themselves.

In the concluding Chapter 6, "In Memoriam: Violence, Memory and Place," I examine narratives of loss, violence and the body in relation to place. I discuss the creation of two memorials dedicated to two young gay men who were victims of hate

crimes in Tucson, in relation to the Homomonument in Amsterdam and the traveling

AIDS Quilt. I look at how two separate Tucson hate crime memorials came to be built in

the same year, and how each reveal something about the spatial and temporal components

of mourning. One memorial was the outcome of a small community ritual, held over the

process of twenty-eight years. I look at this yearly ceremony in relation to other national

days of silence or yearly ceremonies such as the National Transgender Day of

Remembrance. I draw on participant life history interviews, archival documents, and

ethnographic research in both Amsterdam and Tucson to frame my understanding of the

queer memorial phenomenon. I compare the two Tucson memorials to an online

memorial site and a documentary film which both acted to memorialize a young

genderqueer man who was murdered the year after the memorials were revealed. These

new media representations are inline with another popular memorialization of queer

bodies lost to violence during the Holocaust, AIDS epidemic and hate crimes. I examine

the ways in which hate crime victim stories are incorporated into both local anti-violence

programs and national organizations claim to state inclusion via inclusive hate crime

legislation. I examine how the process of memorialization can compress time in

interlocking yet incommensurate ways for different cohorts of Tucson residents,

rendering the city hostile for some and safe-space for others. I am again attempt to move

beyond my initial critique of homonormative strategies, in order to trace out the

*productive* power relations embedded in these strategies.

I conclude with a discussion of subsequent changes that have occurred within

Tucson, including The Center's loss of a permanent structure/building and the passage in

2008 of a more narrowly worded Protect Marriage Amendment. I discuss the ways in

33

which these events are both linked to problems discussed in this dissertation, but also perhaps completely dependent upon larger structural changes that have occurred within the United States and the world economy between 2007 and 2011.

I here examine other marginal voices that are increasingly vocalizing their dissent against the national queer organizational focus on Hate Crimes bills and marriage equality, to a more inclusive social justice focus that seeks to combat poverty, the prison industrial complex, discriminatory immigration and public welfare policy and state sponsored violence by the border patrol, police, and military. I offer both a celebration and critique of these voices and pose a series of provocations that might lead to fruitful debate. Sometimes as an ethnographer I found myself wanting to connect the words of participants across time and space, cheat the divide by having them argue with each other instead of lamenting to me. But perhaps my wish that they speak to each other is more about my need for harmonious resolution that about any realistic understanding of how change happens and how social movements work. So, instead of constructing an ideal dialogue out of my data, I have included a series of literal jumping off points, incommensurate standpoints and perspectives that are more likely to elicit a slammed door than an open dialogue. Perhaps this is where the most interesting and productive work happens, beyond the niceties of polite conversation. In the end, I am left wondering if the proverbial slamming of the door is productive, and reaffirmation of a cultural system of meaning rooted in the *friction* of *opposites*. Perhaps the *red* and *blue* are just the latest installment in an ongoing series of high stakes debates, which help to define and redefine American national identity.

CHAPTER 2

DISPUTING NATION AND COMMUNITY:

IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHIES AND THE MARGINAL LOCATIONS OF QUEER

> Although the Framers of the Constitution did not anticipate our modern
> pluralism, they appreciated the fragility of democracy when the "stakes"
> of politics get too high. Stakes get high when the system becomes
> embroiled in bitter disputes that drive salient, productive groups away
> from engagement in pluralist politics.
> Eskridge (2005: 1293)

In this chapter I seek to contextualize a high stakes dispute between two marriage movements, the traditionalist movement, which seeks to prohibit the legal recognition of same sex marriages, and the gay rights movement, which seeks recognition for same sex marriages or partnerships. This high stake "culture war" debate provides some of the context for a formal debate between proponents and opponents of the 2006 Arizona Protect Marriage Amendment. I seek to place this debate within the broader context of both the anthropological literature and the local and national geopolitical imagination.

## Contextualizing Disputes

How do we discuss open-wound disputes, ones that linger and simmer over a generation, replicating themselves in new forms? What can the disputes that arose within local LGBT organizations tell us about both the so-called American *culture wars* and the shifts in power dynamics brought about by professionalization of the gay rights movement? What

is the best way to seek understanding across divides within organizations and movements and within coalitional politics? What "controlling processes" are at work within these local examples (Nader 1997)? Are these controlling processes discernable within activist and volunteer life histories? What does this work tell us about post-neoliberal politics? How do we analyze New Social Movements that have morphed away from identity toward action and practice or other embodied politics? How do objects (rocks, memorial plaques, the letter A on the side of a mountain, buildings and other architectural features, protest signs, political buttons and other ephemera) live through our embodied sense of memory? How do we experience places over time and at a distance? What implications does this have for the long, drawn-out process of academic fieldwork? In what way do expectations of expert knowledge (on the part of the anthropologist) cloud the learning process in the field?

In this chapter I look at an illustration of a high stakes dispute as it played out within the context of a state ballot initiative campaign. I begin with a public debate between supporters and opponents of the Protect Marriage Amendment (the initiative), held at the University of Arizona Law School in Tucson. I seek to place these events within the context of the anthropology of disputes in order to examine how they lend themselves to disruptive high-stakes politics and at the same time sustain a sense of difference which natives of Tucson and progressive transplants claim as part of their own personal and social identities.

During the fall of 2006 I attended a debate held at the University of Arizona Law School between supporters and opponents of the PMA Proposition. The supporters were represented by the president of a marriage law group based in Utah, and the vice president of conservative public interest law firm in Scottsdale, AZ. The opponents were Dan*, a *native Tucsonan* with a local family law practice and Beth* a transplant account manager for a Tucson public relations and marketing firm, and the public face of the Tucson No on PMA splinter group.

The PMA supporter from Utah focused his argument around the notion that same-sex marriage was really "genderless" marriage, and therefore harmful to the society and the institution of marriage. He argued that when same-sex marriage becomes legal, marriage shifts from a union between man and woman, husband and wife, to a union between two persons. He repeatedly highlighted this argument, and during a chat after the debate he offered a copy of his white paper on *genderless marriage*. During this informal conversation with the gentleman from Utah, he claimed that his organization's intent was not discriminatory but focused on a larger mission to preserve a particular type of social institution. The Utah-based PMA supporter felt that his position was more straightforward than that of the Scottsdale-based PMA supporter's position. For instance, the gentleman from Scottsdale argued that same sex marriage was itself discriminatory and chided gay rights activists for not supporting a "valuing all families" (domestic partnership, etc.) approach as opposed to just privileging married people. The gentleman from Utah indicated that this claim was disingenuous, as the Scottsdale-based group was known for seeking the second component of the PMA, which sought to deny the state the

37

ability to recognize any other contract similar to marriage. The gentleman from Utah argued that his intent was not to discriminate or stir up hate, but to preserve a way of life that he felt was harmed by *genderless marriage*, as he indicated in this excerpt from the formal panel discussion.

> *It has been called cleverly, but aptly, the "war of the ring". On one side are those, of course, who want to preserve the legal and social meaning of marriage as the union of a man and a woman, man-woman marriage. On the other side are those who want the legal definition to be the union of any two persons, but the law thereby making the gender of the two parties irrelevant, hence a genderless marriage. That's how it lines up.*

> *In the war of the ring, marriage amendments, state marriage amendments have become a vital part of the entire discussion. Twenty passed so far, eight on the ballot including Arizona's.*

> *Marriage Amendments… Two kinds, there is the one kind of amendment and it says that basically "No Massachusetts". If you choose to elaborate it, here's Prop 22 from California. "Only a marriage between a man and a woman is valid and recognized in California."*

> *The two-part amendment… "No Massachusetts". "No Vermont or New Jersey." Civil Unions, Domestic Partnerships. It goes too far, it will hurt all married people and you'll have a parade of horrible consequences.*

*That's not unlike what you are hearing here in Arizona. That's what was*

*put forth during the California campaign in the year 2000 in the language*

*of Prop 22. In other words, the very same things you're hearing here in*

*Arizona, is what everybody heard in California in respect to a one-part*

*amendment. And what you see there summarized of course, is the very*

*same message being spoken, was spoken, now spoken in every jurisdiction*

*where there has been a state marriage amendment on the ballot. And [the*

*gentleman from Scottsdale] will address that.*

*My purpose is to talk about the first part of the equation, and that is*

*should we have a man-woman marriage, should we have genderless*

*marriage. One or the other? Here is actually the common ground, where*

*all informed people's start. Marriage is a vital social institution, and it's*

*actually where the plurality of opinion in the Massachusetts … decision.*

*No dispute on that point.*

At the time I was skeptical of the Utah PMA supporter's claims about *genderless*

*marriage* and the supposed difference between his own stance and that of the gentleman

from Scottsdale. However, when seen in light of other changes brought on by the gains of

the women's movement, no-fault divorce and economic shifts that necessitate partial or

full employment for most women, same-sex marriage is but one step toward what he calls

*genderless marriage* which has already begun to occur amongst heterosexual couples.

For instance, Nancy Polikoff (2008) argues that the evangelical and gay marriage

movements are both part of a larger shift back to or transformation of the value of the

nuclear family. The a-priori assumption that the nuclear family is the most valued type of family sets the terms of the debate. It becomes a debate over who deserves the right to the social and symbolic resources at stake as opposed to the debate over what family form is best or whether we should value all families. The shared value of monogamy and the nuclear family form within both the *man/woman* and *same-sex marriage* (or *genderless marriage* from the gentleman from Utah's perspective) is illustrated in this exchange between the panelists. For instance, the Scottsdale-based PMA supporter begins a nuanced comparison of the legal status of same-sex marriage and polygamous marriage in the state of Arizona.

> *We have right now a pantheon of people living together, etc. Same-sex couples, at least I perceive, tend to have a higher level of commitment in their relationships, but heterosexual couples view it as trial marriage. They're not… If they really want to be serious about their marriage, then they get married. And then we also have cases like Lorence v. Texas that say one-night stands with sexual activity with a stranger is constitutionally protected. So, if you keep putting those things out, and saying those are all equivalent, who are we to judge? You end up, I think, over time devaluing marriage. And basically saying it's not significant. A provision defining marriage as one-man-one-woman is no more discriminatory, than the provision of the Arizona constitution, which outlaws polygamy, is really bigotry against Mormons, or Muslims, or Native Americans.*

The panel moderator selected an audience member question on a similar theme. The question was addressed to the PMA opponents during the question and answer segment of the debate.

> *The question for the opponents of the Proposition. It doesn't seem directly related to the proposition, but if you defend same-sex marriage, as a social good, can you distinguish on rational grounds still prohibiting polygamy if you define polygamy between…as a relationship between consenting adults. That's the question.*

Beth, one of the opponents of the PMA, responded that it was almost an injustice to answer the question, but continued to address the issue.

> *So. I choose, and I think you choose with me, to say one thing. First of all, [the] Proposition… is not about same-sex marriage. It's already illegal here and so is polygamy. Number two, [pause] how horribly offensive to equate gays and lesbians and bisexual and transgender people with polygamists. That's it.*
> *[audience applause]*

Addressing Beth, the gentleman from Utah responds. Loud murmurs and whispered conversations erupt from the crowd as he speaks.

> *Every one of my great-grandparents were polygamists. Every one of them.*

*You went out of your way to insult Len Munsel and then that organization*

*CAP. Now my great-grandparents. Why do people make ad homonym*

*attacks folks? Let's stick to the substantive content.*


The gentleman from Scottsdale chimes in a response to Beth.

*You know. I'm going to say this too. We had an emotional [type], you know "I*

*think it's offensive" and all that. But there is a case pending now before the U.S.*

*Supreme Court trying to extend the legal arguments made for same-sex marriage*

*to polygamists. As an attorney, you have to have a logical argument as to why*

*there's a constitutional right to same-sex marriage and not to polygamy. If the*

*right is rooted in "I get to pick the partner of my choice." I don't know why*

*"partners of my choice" is obviously a legitimate exercise in the police power,*

*but not defining marriage as one man and one woman. This is really a definition*

*of marriage versus everything goes, because you can't ideologically distinguish*

*between those. And just to say its offensive, doesn't answer the legal questions.*


I think we see here the limits of multiculturalism in both marriage movements. The

difference is that the traditionalists are protecting the status quo and lump same sex

marriage in as yet another type of devalued and illegal variation. It is Beth that is framed

as the hypocrite, because she wants what they view as a radical change in norms and

values in the form of same sex marriage recognition, without extending this to other

forms. Beth meanwhile can logically separate her own relationship from polygamists,

because it is rooted in the values of monogamy. The acceptance of traditional values

associated with monogamy with the ultimate goal of legal and social recognition via marriage is seen at odds with alternate family forms, including the common worldwide practice of polygamous marriage (both polyandry and polygyny). Polygamous marriages are viewed as outside the bounds of accepted forms of love match marriages, while partnership based in those values and norms. The difference for Beth here is in the gender of the marriage/love match. The Utah and Scottsdale-based PMA supporters exploit Beth's intolerance to their own advantage, implying that polygamous marriages differ only in the number of people involved as opposed to potentially different goals and meanings associated with such marriages.

## Anthropology and the Valuing All Families Discourse

The Pro PMA arguments voiced at the Debate may be characterized as a degree more flexible than the mainstream marriage movement claims, which tend to emphasize the universality of man-woman marriage tradition. For instance the gentleman from Scottsdale utilizes a *valuing all families* discourse and the gentleman from Utah utilizes a social constructionist view of the gendered division of labor within marriage that must be reproduced in order to survive. Both of these discourses, informed by social science literature and the ethnographic record, as well as feminist theory and gay rights movements, are plied in such a way as to support limiting the extension of marriage rights (and social legitimacy) to gay and lesbian monogamous couples. Anthropology has contributed to these debates, influencing social movements by providing the framework by which to challenge conservative claims for a universal definition of family and marriage. That this discourse feeds back into the conservative claim, and thereby

43

transforms the discourse has important ethical and theoretical implications for anthropology and more specifically those concerned with the anthropology of gender and sexuality. In this sense, we are seeing discourse in its widest meaning, as a process of ongoing everyday conversation.

The Families We Choose to Celebrate: Variation and Valuing All Families

At the time of the debate I was fascinated with the concept *genderless marriage*. How did it come to pass that a Mormon lawyer and conservative activist from Utah would use the terminology that emerged out of the social science and feminist philosophical inquiries in such a way? Where did this phrase *genderless marriage* come from, and what role had anthropological studies of the family played in its construction? In order to address these questions, I must first return to the concept of gender within the history of the anthropological inquiry.

The anthropology of gender is said to have emerged out of feminist anthropology and the anthropology of women of the 1970s. Although the anthropology *of gender* did not exist as a sub genre of anthropology at that time, *anthropologists used gender and sex role* as analytic categories going back to at least the 1920s and 1930s (Mead 1935, Wedgwood 1930, Kaberry 1939, Malinowski 1927/1955). The Pro PMA supporter from Utah may also be drawing on the expansive literature on the existence and function of a gendered division of labor. Whatever the particular contributions to his work, what is important to note is that he is making a social constructionist claim. He does not argue that men and women are essentially/biologically different and that is why we see role divisions within the man/woman marriage forms, but that a change in those forms will

44

result in the disintegration of those roles and life-ways. He makes a mistake in thinking that gender would cease to exist, rather than transform, but this is also a logical misstep that many feminists have made, going back to the use and abuse of Margaret Mead's *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (see her subsequent introductions to later editions during the Second Wave). None-the-less, The gentleman from Utah is making a social constructionist claim, and like Popenoe (1993) utilizing this tool to argue against and place a negative value on the changes we see happening within American society in regards to identity, the status of women, and changing family structures.

I frame my use of the term gender within the context of the anthropology of gender, and the developments within that particular theoretical lineage surrounding the meaning of gender which came out of the anthropology *of women*, which arose during the 1960s/1970s and was concerned with "correcting male bias in anthropology" (di Leonardo 1991:1). The Second Wave feminist movement influenced anthropologists in North American and Britain, with its focus on women's consciousness raising, personal narratives and finding a unique women's history (including the search for societies of the past or present that did not appear to oppress women as a group). The 1960s sexual revolution that opened up possibilities and representations of extra-marital heterosexual behavior, and the Civil Rights Movement (and various power movements based on race or ethnicity) also began to have a unique impact on anthropology (diLeonardo 1997: 1). These debates led to a deconstruction of the universal category of woman, and an interest in the politics of ethnographic representation of "the Other" (de Beauvoir 1953; Lutz and Collins 1993).

Another component of the debate related to the social constructionist critique of biological essentialism, which contributed to the analytic separation of sex, sexuality and gender. Gayle Rubin (1975: 159) in her essay "Traffic in Women" discussed what she called the sex/gender system as "a set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity and in which these transformed needs are satisfied." Vance (1984: 9) writes that the "articulation between specific features of each system, namely how the configurations of the sexual system bear on the experience of being female and, conversely, how the definitions of gender resonate with and are reflected in sexuality". In this context, sex and sexuality are seen as separate analytic categories from gender, though intimately related depending upon the cultural context (for example in the United States public discourses on sexuality). It is here where I see an alignment between the Pro PMA claims offered by the gentleman from Utah, namely in regard to his claim that the institution of man-woman marriage is inextricably tied to gender, and that gay marriage equals genderless marriage. However, it is a disingenuous claim, in that it merely uses a social constructionist frame without engaging in the actual debate. In other words the term *genderless marriage* borrows from the mainstream of social science and social movement language, to legitimate an unsupported argument and value system, without ever having to attend to the larger body of work or contribute to the ongoing scholarly debate.

For instance, the gentleman from Utah does not have to attend to the anti-essentialist critique, he can just skip the biological essentialist frame and move on to an essentialism based in moral authority and tradition, as in differences between men and women are necessary and good. He can ignore for instance Rubin's (1984: 267)

46

deconstruction of sex/gender systems (in the plurality) into two distinct domains. Vance (1999: 41) argues that "most prior feminist analyses considered sexuality a totally derivative category whose organization was determine by the structure of gender inequality," whereas Rubin sees them as "distinct yet interrelated in specific historical circumstances." These claims are based in an acknowledgement of cultural variability. This debate has had an important impact on not only the academy, but also on social movements. This can be seen by those in the gay and lesbian movement who separate themselves from any gendered reading of their sexual identities, challenging stereotypes of gay men as feminine and lesbian women as masculine. This emphasis on gender conformity, can be seen in the minor disruptions of the march on Washington for gay rights in the 1999 where queer, transgendered, poor, people of color, sex radicals and drag queens and kings boycotted the march for its perceived over focus on presenting a gender and homonormative image of the gay rights movement. Meanwhile, mainstream and conservative media continue to represent gay men and women as gender nonconforming, not only in terms of partner choice.

The impact of this schism is still felt in the controversies over inclusion of gender identity and expression into the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA), which would make it a federal crime to discriminate against someone in employment, based on their actual or perceived sexual orientation. Activists and theorists such as Jamison Green (2000) and Ricki Anne Wilchins (2002), as well as organizations such as GENDERPAC and NGLTF have lobbied Congress and more mainstream gay rights organizations such as the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) to recognize oppression faced by transgender or gender variant people, and to recognize that often gays and lesbians

experience discrimination based on their own perceived gender variant appearances or behaviors. Even within the Tucson community where I conducted the bulk of my fieldwork, where LBGT politics are very integrated, there is often the assumption put forward that anything to do with "gender identity and expression" references only transgendered or transsexual identified persons. This speaks to the ways in which both academic terms and theories migrate out into the wider world, and the ways in which the cultural socio-economic political climate affects social science research as well.

These discussions have influenced and are influenced by a related key debate within the anthropology of women and the later configuration of the anthropology of gender regarding biological essentialism and determinism. Vance (1999: 40) argues that this debate led to an "increased sensitivity to the ideological aspects of science," which called for a reinterpretation of the history of science and medicine, and countered sociobiology and claims to essential gender differences. Just as with a move from women's studies to gender studies began to occur in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the anthropology of gender arose out of its predecessor, the anthropology of women. One major difference between the two concerned a move to focus on both genders in "their culturally temporally varying relations" (di Leonardo 1991: 1). The anthropology of gender draws on an interdisciplinary framework in order to gain a deeper insight into the contours of gender variability and the illusive connection to sexuality. Still anthropologists are continually challenged to look for expressions of variability, as opposed to looking for variance from an a priori norm. The gentleman from Utah need not engage in this critique unless he utilizes the critique as a frame to criticize his opponents (who should know better).

48

The difficulty of discussing gender variability outside of a lens which normalizes western traditions and stigmatizes the exotic can be seen in the reception of works such as Mead's (1935) work *Sex and Temperament: In Three Primitive Societies*, and other work looking at rank, status and role within societies, such as the literature on *female husbands* and early work on *berdache* traditions (Lang 1997 and 1998, Roscoe 1988, Williams 1992/1986, Katz 1976); and within so-called Native American "salvage ethnography" at the turn of the last century (Callender and Kochems 1983 overview of the literature at that time; also see the response by Sue-Ellen Jacobs 1983; and Jason Cromwell 1997).

The anthropology of gender has its roots in a renewed interest in these studies, with a focus on social construction theories, influenced by Rubin's (and other's) separation of sex and gender as analytic categories, and the influence of social theorists and historians such as Foucault and subsequent historians and social theorists influenced by him such as Weeks, Fausto-Sterling and Laqueur and medical anthropologists who began to question the applicability of western medico-scientific terms such as homosexuality and heterosexuality and transsexual across time and cultural context. This perspective continues to challenge cultural influence models in anthropology, which recognize "variation in the occurrence of sexual behaviour and in cultural attitudes which encourage or restrict behaviour, but not in the meaning of the behaviour itself" (Vance 1999: 44-45). In other words, anthropologists working within this framework accept universal categories like heterosexual and homosexual, transsexual and transvestite, and may promote the concept of innate male and female differences in the forms and meaning of sexual expression cross-culturally and trans-historically. However, more recent work

49

(see Jacobs & Cromwell 1992) examines varying perceptions of gender, sex and sexuality, by looking at the continuing influence of Cartesian dualism on western gender perceptions, as well as the role that labels play in the acquisition of gender identity.

Here again, the insightful critique of social science and social movements and their tendency toward universal categories, can be utilized as a frame for conservative claims. For example, if we find examples of a variety of same gender sexual practices and identities in the past, but no universal category equivalent to modern LGBT identity, then traditionalist can argue that these are newly emerging identities that can and should be stigmatized, or at least not legitimated. This can be done in part by ignoring the accompanying literature on the changing nature of identity, the meaning of family and marriage in general. By using frames in such as way, LGBT identities and claims to state inclusion can be stripped of their social context, while at the same time chastising activists for doing the very same thing (they should know better). For this reason, I feel that it is important to continually reaffirm and place LGBT claims and identities within the broader social context. For instance, the move to the anthropology *of gender*, with a focus on gender and sexual variance (cultural influence) models is rooted in the ethnographic encounter.

The influence of performance theory on the anthropology of gender has sparked new configurations of old debates. Morris (1995: 567) writes, "the theory of performativity defines gender as the effect of discourse, and sex as the effect of gender." While Vance (1999) might read this stance as radical social constructionism, Morris views anthropological performance theory as firmly anchored in the two anthropological traditions: feminist anti-essentialism (discussed earlier) and practice theory. Viewing sex

50

as the effect of gender is not necessarily a new concept. Kessler's (1978) use of the term "cultural genitals" speaks to this dilemma and in some realms a debate within the anthropology of gender.

The influence of the medico-scientific representation of the body (Foucault 1973, 1977; Laqueur 1990; Fausto-Sterling 2000), and its relation to folk concepts (Lock 1993; Martin 1987, 1994; Cartwright 1995; Bolin 1988; Cromwell 1999) is often discussed in this literature. Laqueur's (1990) history of the "two-sex" model and Fausto-Sterling's (2000) work on biological essentialist approaches in sex research (particularly pertaining to intersex patients) has added to the overall history of sexuality and gender, and has attempted to bridge the gap between biological essentialist/social constructionist perspectives. This work has also influenced my own research framework by situating representations of sexed, gendered and sexualized bodies within the dominant paradigms of the last two centuries. The ways in which folk and scientific representations of the body coalesce in modern identities and expression is also a main concern, where scientific discourse is but one among many intersecting bodily narratives.

For instance, the *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986) debate which represented a turn towards poststructuralist and postmodern ethnographic writing, and a reevaluation of overlooked work by early women anthropologists from the early Twentieth Century, brought about by the response to Clifford and Marcus in the *Women Writing Culture* anthology (Behar and Gordon 1995). While the *Writing Culture* volume encouraged *new* forms of writing ethnography, and reacted against structuralist forms (including structuralist semiotic interpretations) and a positivist search for "the truth", it was also a move to multi-vocality, and leaned beyond reflexivity toward the value of

subjective experience. The *Women Writing Culture* collection drew attention to a long history of women's contributions to anthropological writing, the influence of feminist methodologies and theories of ethnographic representation. Di Leonardo (1991: 24) argues that one of the reasons the *Writing Culture* authors had such difficulty with feminist ethnography, is that both gender and feminism engage with the "problematics of the logic of poststructuralism itself." On the other hand, while feminism and poststructuralism share a concern with defining their interaction with the "real" and "text-based" worlds, women anthropologists outside of both frames of reference have been engaging in the creative use of text and genre blurring since at least the early part of the Twentieth Century (i.e. Zora Neale Hurston and Ella Cara Deloria).

In reaction against the social science and feminist tendency to delineate between gender, sex and sexuality, a growing queer politics and identification in the late 1980s and 1990s destabilized many popular notions about concrete categorization into homosexual or heterosexual identities, as well as reintroduced the notion that in the United States at least, gender expression and sexuality are intimately connected through the lens of desire and political struggle. So *to be* queer often meant to reject single identification say as a lesbian, a woman or gay man for instance. This caused a great deal of confusion and debate especially within lesbian feminist circles (see Jeffrey's critique of queer politics), where individuals were realigning their identities and allegiances along queer expression. Emergent work on the expression or identification with "genderqueer" (Nestle, Howell, and Wilchins 2002) as something both connected and distanced from a transgender identity, has added yet another mode of reconfiguring the relationships between gender, sex and sexuality.

52

Queer theory (both within and outside of anthropology) has been soundly criticized for ignoring the material conditions of those that identify or are viewed as gender variant (from some preconceived norm). Although transgendered and transgenderist were terms used within communities and social science going back to at least the 1970s, it was not until the early 1990s that transgender became widely used within LGBT organizational culture and academic circles as an umbrella term to refer to any individual living outside of normative sex/gender relations. This shift in categorization does not necessarily imply the widespread adoption of this label by those who are externally categorized as such. Namaste (2000: 1) notes that transgender denotes "individuals whose gendered self-presentation (evidenced through dress, mannerisms, and even physiology) does not correspond to the behaviors habitually associated with the members of their biological sex"; whereas transsexual (sub-category of transgender) is "applied to individuals who take hormones and who may undergo surgery to align their biological sexes with their genders." These labels have historical and cross-cultural correspondence, but not necessarily as historical communities nor as political identities per se (see the work of Foucault 1977, Weekes 1985; Blackwood and Wierinea 1999).

Not only queer theory, but also the ethnographic study of gay, lesbian, queer and transgendered communities, and the less identity-based concepts such as gender and sexual variability has greatly influenced the anthropology of sexuality and gender. Studies of lesbian and gay history, both within and outside of anthropology, went through a similar period as the anthropology of women. This involved looking for historical and cross-cultural roots, to find identities and practices in the past and cross-culturally that varied from the Western heterosexual norm. Much of this work looked for historical

(Katz 1976, Faderman 1981; Weeks 1985) and ethnographic confirmation of variability (Newton 1972, Roscoe 1988, 1991, Williams 1992/1986, Lang 1997, Blackwood and Wierinea 1999), or more accurately during this time period, variance (as in from some preconceived norm). This work was important to opening the understanding of masculinity and femininity without a direct correspondence to male and female bodies. For instance the concept of a masculine female or male-bodied person, male-bodied man, male bodied woman (Halberstam 1998, Cromwell 1999).

A shift in focus and theoretical sophistication occurred when historians such as Weeks (1977) looked at the difference between what is deemed homo/heterosexual behavior versus identity (historically and culturally specific). This led to the debate over whether homosexuality has existed throughout time and cross-culturally as an identity (by other names of course). Weston (1993: 156-158) argues that "contemporary feminist debates about whether 'woman' constitutes a valid analytic category find their parallel in critiques of the alleged universality of concepts such as homosexual and heterosexual, lesbian and gay, feminine and masculine, and even sexuality itself." This adds to the ongoing debate between the universal and particular in the realm of anthropological studies of gender and sexuality (Weston 1993: 159). Lancaster's (1988, 1992) work provides an ethnographic context for these debates, as he looks at the ways in which performativity and sexual behavior in Nicaragua transcends the socio-medical constructs of homosexuality and gender variance (as opposed to variability), as well as the ways in which local (particular) knowledges should be incorporated in the analysis. These local categories do not exist in a vacuum devoid of contact with other knowledges.

Later scholars influenced by Foucault, Weeks began looking at the state as a regulator of sexuality (social bodies) (such as Mayer 2000 and Horn 1990). This literature is influenced by the history of science in that scholars (and activists) began to reevaluate the ways in which presumed homosexual bodies became medicalized and pathologized. The removal of homosexuality from the DSM IV (Diagnostic Statistical Manual used by psychology) in the 1970s opened up the field to some extent, moving away from deviance (if not "variance" as opposed to variability) models of sexual behavior in anthropology and other social sciences.

While the influence of social constructionism and the historical study of male homosexuality in Europe and America (Katz 1976, 1983; Weeks 1977, 1981; Foucaut 1978, McIntosh 1968) had a significant impact upon anthropology, another area of importance to the work of the anthropology of sexuality (and gender) with links to feminist anthropological concerns, has dealt with reproduction cross-culturally, but perhaps most fruitfully within the context of Western medicine, the critique of science traditions, medical anthropology, and the anthropology of policy and the body. For instance, Ginsburg and Rapp (1995: 1) focus on inequalities upon which "reproductive practices, policies, and politics increasingly depend." Increasingly LGBT rights have been framed within a discussion of access to reproductive technology for LGBT-identified individuals and families come into being, in addition to children from earlier heterosexual relationships, adoption and the fictive kinship systems discussed in work such as Weston's (1991/1997) *Families We Choose*.

The anthropology of the body and the anthropology of sexuality have further influenced each other, as can be seen in Emily Martin's (1987) work *The Woman in the*

55

*Body*, which provides an early bridge between the two via her ethnographically informed analysis of women's reproductive strategies and childbirth in light of the medicalization of their bodies. In addition, the rise of the AIDS crisis has had a dramatic impact upon the academy and the anthropology of sexuality. This has led to many fruitful and contested debates and funding concerns, including the rise of applied anthropology in the field of public health, new medical and specifically anthropology of the body approaches to popular and medical/scientific understandings of the immune system (Martin 1987/1994) and the critique of the concept of "risk", and the renewal of old pathologizing models of sexual behavior (Patton 1996).

The so-called "sex wars" amongst feminists within/and outside of the academy in the 1980s and 1990s, has also had an impact on the anthropology of sexuality, with many anthropologists (such as Vance, Rubin, Newton among others) theorizing about the political climate for *sex radical* communities. Often these anthropologists reflexively included their lives in the debates within lesbian feminist and anti-porn feminist politics, celebrating and documenting sexual and gender variability and expression. Vance (1984: 1) in her edited volume *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, writes that while sexuality is both a domain of restriction/repression as well as a domain of leisure / agency, so that to "focus only on pleasure and gratification ignores the patriarchal structure in which women act, yet to speak only of sexual violence and oppression ignores women's experience with sexual agency and choice and unwittingly increases the sexual terror and despair in which women live." This work is speaking directly to feminist debates of the 1970s and 1980s, including the academic concerns about

56

"universal male dominance". It also signals a new willingness to be open and frank about the study of sexuality within anthropological fields.

Esther Newton (2000/1988: 229) writes in her essay "Of yams, Grinders, and Gays: The Anthropology of Homosexuality," that "Anthropologists, with a few lonely exceptions, contributed very little to our understanding of sexuality before the 1970s," due to its taboo nature in American culture. Newton (2000/1988: 229) further notes that although anthropologists are steeped in participant observation, "*sexual* contact was a no-no; we knew only by the rare confession or by professional gossip that it sometimes happens, regardless." These "rumors" caused further debate with the publication of Malinowski's (1989) personal diaries of his time with the Trobriand Islanders, and has resurfaced in an interesting coalescence with AIDS prevention/public health models in 1990s. This was especially the case over the debate concerning "informed consent" and the work of Ralph Bolton, who used his own sexual encounters as data to delineate the difference between knowing about safe sex practices and using safe sex practices within specific social settings and encounters (Bolton 1999). It is interesting to note that his work has influenced the use of health worker informants in applied research on HIV/AIDS education.

Vance (1999: 39) offers a similar view as Newton's (2000/1988), in that she criticizes the reality of anthropology's seeming ability to be adventurous about sexuality in non-moralist terms. She argues "the discipline often appears to share the prevailing cultural view that sexuality is not an entirely legitimate area of study, and that such study necessarily casts doubt not only on the research but on the motives and character of the researcher." One "debate" that sits at the heart of sexuality studies (including studies of

57

homosexuality, sexual and gender variability) is the lack of academic support within anthropology departments for such studies; this includes the perceived lack of tenure track positions open to those with a specialization in the anthropology of sexuality (unless one is coming from an applied medical anthropology or public health framework centering on HIV/AIDS work). With this climate in mind, Vance (1999: 40) writes that "it is perhaps not surprising that the recent development of a more cultural and non-essentialist discourse about sexuality has sprung not from the centre of anthropology but from its periphery, from other disciplines (especially history), and from theorizing done by marginal groups."

I consider this a call for future work and a caution about the legitimization of sexuality studies within anthropology. I do agree with Vance's argument that perhaps the most interesting research does come from the margins and interdisciplinary work, and rather than reify or ghettoize the anthropology of sexuality, perhaps it is better for this work to permeate throughout the discipline offering insight and theoretical challenges within the four sub-fields of general anthropology.

My framework for fieldwork is informed by new movements in the reinvestigation of variability and fluidity within and between the realms of the anthropologies of gender and sexuality (Broad 2002, Jacobs and Cromwell 1992; De Cecco and Elia 1993; Shapiro 1991). It adds to the growing ethnographic literature on lesbian, bisexual, gay and transgender communities (Broad 2002; Weston 1991, Lewin 1993, 1998; Cromwell 1999, Newton 1972, 1993; Valentine 2000, Rubin 2000) in the United States, which questions the relationship between gender, sex, class and ethnicity. I incorporate both a phenomenological / "sensuous scholarship" (Stoller 1997, Taussig

1987, 1993, Jackson 1998, Body 1997) approach to fieldwork and analysis of data, which

contributes specifically in the arena of the New Social Movement literature. This project

also adds to the growing theoretical work on the intersections of sexuality, place and

politics (Higgs 1999; Kenney 2001; Davis 1994; Bell and Valentine 1994; Rubin 2000),

and pays special attention to the role that the (anthropology of) body plays in this

production and evaluation of knowledge from both a theoretical (Scheper-Hughes and

Lock 1987; Martin 1987/1992, 1992; Lock, 1993). A critical public health framework

supported by medical anthropological theorists are incorporated into my research

framework in order to examine the social context of "hidden human rights abuses"

(Heggenhougen 1995; Farmer and Kleinman. 1989; Scheper-Hughes 1992) involved with

state sponsored discrimination against sexual and gender minorities in the United States.


Freedom of Religion Frame: A missed opportunity/alliance?

Randall Balmer, in his 2006 (13-14) book entitled *Thy Kingdom Come: How the*

*Religious Right Distorts the Faith and Threatens America, An Evangelical's Lament*

argues that it was not same sex marriage or even abortion that galvanized American

evangelicals as a political force in America. Rather it was the IRS's decision to revoke

the tax-exempt status of Bob Jones University, which was part of the federal

government's attempt to enforce the anti-segregationist provisions of the Civil Rights Act

of 1964." The university's policy prohibiting interracial dating was viewed as a violation

of these provisions (see Green v. Connally). Similar religious freedom arguments and

fears have been deployed with regard to the inclusion of gender identity and sexual

orientation in anti-discrimination legislation and policy at the federal, state and local

level. However, these claims solidified within a social movement that increasingly moved away from a gay liberation to a liberal, rights based framework, at a time that neoliberal forms of governance were also coming into full force (1980s and 1990s). The role of religious or faith-based initiatives blurred the line between religious and charitable institution on the one hand and that of public institution. Balmer's re-framing is important, not only because it shifts the popular understanding of the historical trajectory of public discourse about gay marriage, but also for the framing of the established LGBT Rights movement activities over the last forty years. In order to comprehend the intensity of activity concerning marriage, on the part of both religious institutions and gay rights organizations, it is necessary to look at the ways in which these movements are intricately tied not only to each other but also to central concerns over modernity and the role of the nation-state. On one level, the current focus on same sex marriage rights should be viewed within a larger struggle that seeks to address discrimination in employment, housing and public accommodation. If we look at the history of evangelical politicization toward the end of the last century, it would seem that these measures seemingly pose a more immediate legal threat to religious organizations than gay marriage. But set within historical context, it becomes clear that the political and legal arms of the Religious Right have found that the courts are less willing to intervene with discrimination couched in morally based arguments, such as the turmoil over the gay marriage debate (see Eskridge 2005). For instance, the ballot initiatives and legislative movement in the 1970s and 1980s to either to preemptively or correctively overturn anti-discrimination measures that benefited people of LGBT status at the state level may have ventured too close to excluding a specific minority group from full participation within the political process.

60

With the exception of the Boy Scouts of America v. Dale decision and the Hurley[5] v.

Irish-American Gay, Lesbian & Bisexual Group of Boston[6], where the Supreme Court

invalidated the application of city and state anti-discrimination ordinances as

"inconsistent with the First Amendment's protection of free association and speech"

(Eskridge 2005: 1291), it would seem as though this might lead us toward a more

straightforward fight along the trajectory posed by the Bob Jones University case, with

such examples as the use of federal or state funds for organizations which discriminate

based on hiring practices (the Salvation Army NYACLU suit) or in terms of membership

(the ongoing battle around Boy Scouts and their use of public property or voluntary city

employee donations, etc.). While these issues and cases continue, the national media and

organizations focus on marriage, adoption and healthcare benefits. To understand this

shift, it is necessary to place the marriage movements and the valuing all families

movement within the context of changes to the national economic and political structure

during the 1980s.


The Social Body

The marriage movements are part of the larger context of the dispute that involves the

form of social engineering taking place in the United States since at least the 1980s,

perhaps further if you include the Lyndon B. Johnson's support for immigration reform in

the mid-1960s which while it limited geographic and racial restrictions and preferences of

the past, at the same time instituted preferential treatment for certain types of familial

---

[5] 530 U.S. 640 (2000)
[6] 515 U.S.557 (1995)

relationships within the context of immigration, residency and paths to citizenship. The state does not only react to and incorporate elements of social movement ideology it is also actively involved in creating an increasingly strident message of personal responsibility and the glorification of the "traditional" heterosexual nuclear family. Presidents Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush are perhaps the easiest targets for the wrath of valuing all families advocates, but the rise of the Moral Majority and the neoconservative Congressional and presidential actions of the William Jefferson Clinton administrations may have done the most to lay the groundwork for these changes by restructuring Social Welfare programs, passing the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) and by introducing the Don't Ask Don't Tell policy for lesbian and gay military personnel which was only lifted by President Obama in the Fall of 2011.

The dismantling of the welfare state and the rise of neoliberalism, led to an increased reliance of community and faith-based organizations to provide social service functions of the state. Often organizations compete for state or federal grants to continue their social service work. LGBT grassroots community organizations had developed independently of the state, and at times in direct opposition to the state began taking over direct care and social service needs in the time of the early AIDS crisis. The LGBT Community Center at the heart of my fieldwork itself was begun by a group of LGBT identified adults who wanted to meet the needs of LGBT teens who had no affirming or friendly place to meet in the city. This was a grassroots effort that developed into a larger volunteer run LGBT Community Center in the 1990s. Once the organization was established, the volunteer Board could write for public and private sector grants to expand their work. Eventually this involved hiring a professional staff to supervise the

youth program and lounge, and the influx of state research grants to study the effectiveness of the lounge support groups on STD and drug use prevention. So that one arm of the state, the Arizona Department of Education, adopts policy which forbids staff from discussing homosexuality in a positive light, while another arm of the state, the Arizona Department of Health funds research into the impact of culturally competent LGBT/questioning youth lounge programs to improve self esteem and reduce health risk. In so doing, the state accepts "homosexuals" or LGBT/questioning youth as possessing a legitimate identity. An identity, which can on one hand, be stigmatized by schools and on the other, supported in the form of grant money and technical support. How did the state come to recognize LGBT or homosexual youth as a target population? How did  and Youth Lounge come to be seen as a legitimate agent or receptacle for state funds and target for risk intervention? In the same vein of thought, how did the LGBT organizational community become a political/policy target for evangelical and far right organizations? In order to understand the rise of opposition and the targeting of LGBT organizational community as both experts (authentic representatives of an LGBT "community") and legitimate entry points into LGBT social networks and communities, it is first necessary to address the relationship between LGBT organizations with the Gay Rights and Gay Liberation movements. Theorists have soundly placed gay liberation and rights movements within the New Social Movement framework, due to the supposed focus on identity among other key characteristics these movements share in common with other New Social Movements like the environmental and women's movements.

New Social Movements

The term New Social Movements (NSMs) denotes an approach to analyzing social movements in the post 1960s. The NSM approach is both in reaction to a perceived "newness" of the actual social movements of this time and thereafter, as well as a perceived need for "new" ways to analyze collective action. Within "old" movements, collective action was based on some sort of class or labor solidarity, whereas in the "new" movements solidarity is "identity" based. Johnston, Larana and Gusfield (1994: 12 & 18) argue that there are at least three dimensions to this "identity": individual (self assessment), collective (group assessment) and public (involves influences of the external public on the way the movement sees itself).

Many theorists see the majority of NSMs as based on issues of individual and group identity such as environmental movements, second wave feminism, gay/lesbian movements, in opposition to more traditional forms of social movements that are concerned with class-based issues like organized labor, first wave feminism, and peasant movements. I here offer a critique of a small collection of NSM writers, in order to explore the concept of NSMs and how they relate to the rise and legitimacy of both LGBT organizations and the new evangelical political organizations and their use of representational politics in power relations with the state. I also provide examples of how NSM literature may display both a connection and demonstrated uneasiness with current notions of globalization theory, with its emphasis on flexible systems and a possible post-NSM paradigm that centers around coalition politics and participatory models of democracy. The implications of these debates on the practice of ethnography are explored throughout.

As previously stated, NSM theorists are those who see a need to move away from older frameworks used to analyze class based movements in order to understand the new order of things. They propagate the notion that new frameworks are needed in order to analyze "new" movements. Some other characteristics of NSMs that arise from the literature are: expressions of profound alienation; use of personal, collective and national symbols; cultures of resistance based on nationalist ideals; extreme and conflicting emotion and its tie to historical experiences; a focus on the visibility of collective action (and networks), and the underlying societal codes or structures NSMs seek to reveal.

Johnston, Laraña and Gusfield's (1994: 3) begin their introduction to the edited volume, *New Social Movements: from Ideology to Identity,* by stating that "new forms" of collective action since the 1960s have stimulated a "reconceptualization of the meaning of social movements" due in part to the "inability of these movements to be clearly understood within the European or American traditions of analysis" that existed up to that point in time. Johnston, et. al. (1994: 3) argue that much of the last century was "dominated first by theories of ideology and later by theories of organization and rationality," with the "problem of the analyst" being "understanding the economic or class base of the movement or at least some set of discrete interests and sentiments, such as social status, that characterize a group in the social structure." The impetus for mobilization of a movement was seen as an ideological response to a shared sense of injustice, and the way for an analyst to understand movement formation was to analyze the social structure that was said to have given rise to the ideology (Johnston et. al. 1994: 4). The authors argue that "ideal-typical images" of a social movement were the nineteenth-century labor movements and new political parties. They further argue that

65

what was ignored in Marxist-oriented and other capital, labor and social structure focused work "was the importance of organization and the consequences of organizing into group associations," because it was "assumed that the existence of potential conflicts and strains would automatically generate associations of people to correct them" (Johnston et. al. 1994: 4). Those theorists who began an investigation of organizational aspects of movements were able to tap into the work of Max Weber and others that brought to light notions of "charisma" and "routinization and Weber's work on bureaucratic organization (Johnston et. al. 1994: 4).

More recently, those theorists interested in collective action, have focused on the ability of organizations to mobilize resources based on planned, rational action (Johnston et. al. 1994: 5). While resource mobilization theories where more prominent in the United States, Edelman (2001: 288) calls NSMs a paradigm that came into prominence in Europe in the 1970s, during a time when Americans were facing similar struggles coming to terms with their own "newness". Both approaches were seen to fill a void left by older social movement theories.

Edelman (2001) explains the rationale behind these "new" paradigms in reference to earlier forms. He describes the 'old' labor movement as upholding class as "the primary social cleavage, category of analysis, organizational principle, and political issue," while the NSMs are said to have emerged "out of the crisis of modernity and focus on struggles over symbolic, informational, and cultural resources and rights to specificity and difference" (Edelman 2001: 289). NSMs are about more than just structural change; they are about "everyday movement practices [which] embody in embryonic form the changes the movements seek" (Edelman 2001: 289). This means that

NSMs live with a central contradiction, in that leaders and members seek a changed

future, but one that is based upon the example they are attempting to live in their own

lives at present. Johnston et. al. (1994: 6-8) provide a loose set of "fundamental

characteristics of NSMs":

> 1)      "NSMS do not bear a clear relation to structural roles of the
> participants," 2) "the ideological characteristics of NSMs stand in sharp
> contrast to the working-class movement and to the Marxist conception of
> ideology as a unifying and totalizing element for collective action," 3)
> "NSMs often involve the emergence of new or formerly weak dimensions
> of identity," 4) "the relation between the individual and the collective is
> blurred," 5) "NSMs often involve personal and intimate aspects of human
> life," 6) "the use of radical mobilization tactics of disruption and
> resistance that differ from those practiced by the working-class
> movement," 7) "the organization and proliferation of new social
> movement groups are related to the credibility crisis of the conventional
> channels for participation in Western democracies," and 8) "in contrast to
> cadre-led and centralized bureaucracies of traditional mass parties, new
> social movement organizations tend to be segmented, diffuse, and
> decentralized."

Edelman (2001: 289) states that European NSMs theorists had the tendency to explain

collective action "as a response to 'claims,' grievances, or postindustrial society," while

Americans critiqued this focus by pointing out one could not presume "the mere

existence of discontent" to "explain how movements arose in particular times and

places."  However, we can see a synthesis of these ideas in Johnston et al (1994: 23), and

thus caution such a generalized statement, due to the fact that these theorists see

grievance in everyday life as linked to individual and group identity, not as the only

motivator for action.

While European theorists were focusing on identity in the form of NSMs,

theorists in the United States were pulling together a theory of resource mobilization

67

(RM), which tended to regard "collective action mainly as interest group politics played out by socially connected groups rather than by the most disaffected," with a focus on movement "entrepreneurs" who took on "the task of mobilizing resources and channeling discontent into organizational forms" (Edelman 2001: 289). Edelman (2001: 290) offers an important critique of the RM focus as disregarding movements made up of those with few resources or opportunities for success in the realm of "policy objectives," that may have been focusing more on a movement toward cultural transformation (liberation, etc.).

Another NSM theorist Albert Melucci (1994: 105), writes in his essay "A Strange Kind of Newness: What's 'new' in New Social Movements?" that "newness" can be defined as "a relative, concept, which here has the temporary function of signaling a number of comparative differences between the historical forms of class conflict and today's emergent forms of collective action." Melucci (1994: 105) goes on to argue that both critics and proponents of NSMs commit the same mistake, by considering "contemporary phenomena to constitute a unitary empirical object, and on this basis either seek to define their newness or deny or dispute it." When I first encountered NSMs, I made the mistake of generalizing NSM approaches into a unitary theory that made a clean break between the 'old' and 'new' movements. This generalization is faulty in two respects. In the first, NSM is not a unified theory, but a rallying point for similar theories. Secondly, the clean-break position becomes difficult to maintain in light of current class-based divisions in "identity-based" movements or as Edelman (2001: 286-287) notes, the historical documentation of the "identity-based dimensions of old working-class movements."

68

As stated, many NSM theorists also appear to have "amnesia" about earlier

radical struggles. Adams (1995; quoted in Edelman 2001: 297) links this "amnesia" to: 1)

a re-evaluation of Marxism that allowed Left scholars to explore previously overlooked

("new") non-class-based struggles, and 2) the destruction of progressive movements in

parts of Europe under totalitarian repression, and in the United States under the "red

scare". However, Edelman (2001: 297) notes that these theorists most likely overlooked

for whatever reason, the abundant evidence "of activist continuities from one era to

another and across movements."

I find the concept of identity based New Social Movements useful, but not in the

sense of one unifying identity (for example race/ethnicity, class and sexuality based

fissures within the second wave feminism). A unified identity is a difficult claim to make

in light of evident historical documentation of multiple identity positions and struggles

within "identity-based" movements such as second wave feminism (hooks 1984, Smith

1998, Lugones and Spellman 1983, Lorde 1984, Moraga and Anzuldua 1983/1981).

However, there are examples of NSM theorists who do not make a claim to unified

identity. For example, Edelman (2001: 301) cites Aretxaga's (1997) work on the "Dirty

War" and gender politics in Northern Ireland, and Arditti's (1999) study of grandmothers

of the disappeared in Argentina as "successful efforts" to theorize how multiple identities

influence each other during the process of collective action.

**Visibility and the Role of Ethnography**

NSMs are seen to deal with "new" socio-economic, cultural and political conditions that

make visibility a key issue that must be dealt with (and analyzed) by novel approaches.

Melucci (quoted in Edelman 2001: 289) illustrates this point by "theorizing on how the state and market rationalize the private sphere, which is seen to generate new social groupings and collective action that makes visible 'the silent and arbitrary elements of the dominant codes' and 'publicizes new alternatives' (1989: 63)." Edelman (2001: 309) argues that "NSMs theorists could benefit from a greater sensitivity to the historical and cultural processes through which some of their main analytical categories (frames, submerged networks, movement culture) are constructed," and by "developing dynamic analyses of either the larger political contexts in which mobilizations occur or the preexisting militant traditions and the organizing processes that constitute movements' proximate and remote roots."

Begoña Aretxaga (1995) and Katherine Newman (1987) are two theorists of NSMs that illuminate this theme of visibility in ethnographic representations of their fieldwork. Aretxaga's (1995) essay entitled "Dirty Protest: Symbolic Overdetermination and Gender in Northern Ireland Ethnic Violence" emphasizes the ways in which conflicts, crisis, and contradictory and inexpressible emotions are crystallized via personal and collective symbols and action. Newman's (1987) essay entitled "PATCO Lives! Stigma, heroism, and Symbolic Transformation" uses the air traffic controller's strike to examine the role of cultural contradictions, and their use during struggles over collective action.

Newman (1987) illustrates how the United States PATCO air traffic controllers drew retrospectively on historical/national symbols of heroism and tragedy, while at the same time the non-PATCO public and then president Reagan were able to draw on contrary national symbols with the aim to criticize the workers. This multivalent use of

70

symbols becomes evident in crisis situations, which are seen to make visible the contradictions. These visible crisis events are then seen to crystallize polarities/ dichotomies between individual and collective interest, as well as act as an outlet for otherwise inexpressible or contradictory emotions through symbolic and physical action.

Aretxaga's (1995: 133) work on "The Dirty War", which involved IRA political prisoners in Northern Ireland, raises two important issues related to visibility. The first deals with her realization that recognition can only come from an "other", that the collective and individual actions taken by the prisoners needed to be recognized by the authorities and the outside world in order to be successful. This is an important point for those studying even radical NSMs, which are to some degree disinterested in legitimization by the mainstream, but still offer a call for recognition of identity, even if it has been gained through unofficial channels.

The second issue raised by Aretxaga, is a call to explore the ways in which the symbolic becomes "social symptom". For example, Aretxaga (1995: 133) writes of the tactic of smearing feces on prison walls as a way of making "visible the hidden history of prison violence" (which is connected historically/symbolically to colonial violence). She also looks at the issue of visibility through the notion of "erasure", where political prisoner status/identity appears to have given legitimacy and visibility to the prisoners and their actions that might have otherwise been meaningless or invisible to the outside world (via the process of erasure). This process of 'erasure' may inform why the prisoners chose to enact the Dirty War as a precursor before the hunger strike (which was much more risky due to the possible and real conclusion of "erasure" through death). However, Aretxaga (1995: 137) notes that initially, guards and the public responded to

71

the Dirty War with denial. The women participants broke this silence, and by so doing Aretxaga (1995: 140) argues that they "made nationalist women's personal and political experience" visible. In other words, their actions had social effect.

In another vein, Sallie Westwood (1991) uses her ethnographic fieldwork with the "Red Star Over Leicester" community project to demonstrate that much more than just a unitary "identity" is implicated in her NSM analysis. Westwood (1991: 149) writes in her essay "Red Star over Leicester: Racism, the politics of identity, and black youth in Britain," that she sought "to provide an account which – while it recognises interests and individuals – theorises these as power relations contexted by the state, racism, class relations, and gender relations." She organizes her ethnographic description of Red Star members' understanding of themselves as political actors and strategists in such a way as to develop a complex analysis which focuses on two fields; "the first is related to the development of political identities, both individual and collective, without which there can be no political action, and the second, to the issues surrounding state, nation and citizenship"(1991: 155).

In addition, Westwood (1991: 155) offers a solution to the earlier "grievance" debate between European NSMs and American RM theory, when she writes that "'experience' does not by some automatic reaction politicise – it must first be reconstructed through the discourse that are brought to bear upon it." She further speaks to one of my major concerns for my own ethnographic work, which is the role of experience in how activist identities and practices are forged. Westwood (1991: 157) argues that Red Star members forge a sense of political identity that begins "with their immediate life experiences." Whereas, Aretxaga (1995: 144) attempts to combine a

"Foucaudian notion of power as force relations", with "an interpretive anthropology" concerned with subjectivity. She argues that symbols can function like speech acts, with "performative character." The emphasis on experience and the "performative character" of symbols is in line with my own analysis.

New Social Movements and Professionalization

Edelman and Melucci, have written about the institutionalization and professionalization of social movement elements, Melucci going so far as to see informal social networks as a testing ground for mainstream politics and policy. However, also at issue is how global rhetoric, logic and techniques are incorporated into activist and academic frameworks. Tsing (2000: 352) argues that we can learn to "investigate new developments without assuming either their universal extension or their fantastic ability to draw all world-making activities into their grasp." It is in this sense that she uses the term "scale" to represent the extent to which we universalize and the ways in which analytic categories create artificial dichotomies. Tsing (2000: 353) argues that we need to extend this examination to the very heterogeneous globalizing projects themselves. Tsing (2000: 330) has examined the ways in which activists and academics both willingly and unconsciously incorporate global flexible capitalist rhetoric into their theories and practices, and argues that globalization "draws our enthusiasm because it helps us imagine interconnection, travel, and sudden transformation. Yet it also draws us inside its rhetoric until we take its claims for true descriptions." However, the influence of "flexible" accumulation and accommodation takes on many forms. Cunningham's (2000: 583) work proves useful for this discussion, as it focuses on globalization as 'a process in

which social actors appropriate distinctive kinds of global imagery and rhetoric to create new forms of activism."

Edelman (2001: 299) notes that some "identity-based social movements have found expanding mainstream conceptions of normality a source of internal contention. This is dramatically illustrated in the course of gay and lesbian politics. Early homophile movements in the United States sought a certain level of respectability within the dominant codes of civil action similar to those displayed by the early Civil Rights Movement (see Stein 2004 for discussion of Philadelphia homophile and gay liberation movements). Early gay liberation movements, influenced by the Black Power, Anti-War and emergent Second Wave Women's movement practiced consciousness raising, exalted long-repressed sexualities, contested the dominant sex/gender system, openly occupied public space, and struggled for nondiscrimination and the depathologization of homosexuality. The 'assimilationist' advocacy groups that emerged out of more radical and inclusive gay liberation movements of the early 1970s, returned in tone, if not practice to early homophile movement techniques by engaging in a denial of difference. This may have been intended to gain access to mainstream social institutions and in positing an artificially homogeneous 'gay essence' intended to build political unity (Cohen 2008).

Ungar (2001: 235) notes that most LBGT international "victories in the struggle for equal political, legal, and social rights have come through the courts, intensive campaigns on a particular issue, or short-term cooperation with local or opposition parties. These advances are then often overcome by state repression and societal

74

intolerance." Ungar (2001: 235) asks why these alliances have been "unable to advance like those of other social sectors."

Bystydzienski and Schact (2001: 2) write that their volume of case studies "shows that both resource mobilization theories and identity politics frameworks [including NSMs] are largely inadequate for conceptualizing how coalitions have been and can be created across boundaries of gender, race/ethnicity, class, nationality, ideology, sexual orientation and age." They argue for a theoretical approach that "suggests that for successful radical alliances to occur they must be conceptualized as fluid sites of collective behavior where the blending of multiple personal identities with political activism interacts with structural conditions to influence the development of commitments, strategies, and specific actions." Bystydzienski and Schact (2001: 3) write, "while resource mobilization theory emphasizes structure, strategies, institutions, and opportunities, the new social movement approach, in contrast, stresses the internal dynamics of social movements and focuses on how the development of shared identities and attitudes provides the basis of many contemporary social movements." While I agree with Bystydzienkski and Schat on the importance of looking at coalitions, I would argue that their introduction to the collection is guilty of what Edelman (2001: 286) calls "the disproportionate attention social scientists devote to movements they like, and their infrequent efforts to theorize right-wing movements." Their statements belly more their disenchantment with identity politics than with an NSM approach, and may be more informed by current social movement and systems theory rhetoric than an in depth analysis of what is actually happening in ethnographic context.

Lastly, on an ethnographic note, Edelman argues that it is important to recognize the rich detail and insight that can be gleaned from studying social movements that have in a sense "failed", or whose aims are not to our (researcher's) liking (especially right-wing or conservative movements).  This sort of investigation requires that the researcher not focus on the outcome as much as the process itself.


Ethnographic Objects and Display

"One man's life is another man's spectacle." John MacAloon

(quoted in Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett 1991: 407)


What is the role of the cultural practice of formalized public display in group-subject-formation for sexual "minority" movements in the United States? Here I am specifically interested in works created by and for the LBGT (lesbian bisexual gay and transgender) communities.  Central to this inquiry of public display is the question: if a body is seen as a 'place', what can we learn about the 'space' between the 'places' that make up a community. In order to discuss the ethics of display in anthropology, it is helpful to understand the history of display within anthropology.  Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett's (1991: 387) work focuses on the display of ethnographic objects (or fragments), which are those created by ethnographers; they "become ethnographic by virtue of being defined, segmented, detached, and carried away by ethnographers." So that it is the "manner in which they have been detached" that make these objects ethnographic. In such a way still and moving images created by anthropological subjects become ethnographic, while those created by an anthropologist are seen as ethnographic documentation. Kirsehnblatt-

Gimblett (1991: 394) further makes a distinction about ethnographic documents, were "typically, we have inscribed what we cannot carry away, in field notes, recordings, photographs, films and drawings;" these also become artifacts of ethnography. Although the object was preferred at one time over the document in museum display, Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett (1991: 394) outlines a reversal mid-nineteenth century, when the label (exhibitor's caption/frame) and the copy (castes, photos and other representations) became a museum standard. Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett (1991: 395) points out that textual framing of objects and images had a connection to "the illustrated lecture's history and requirements," museum labels became a replacement for the lecturer. This framing device has also influenced the documentary and ethnographic film genres respectively, with their tendency toward a framing (at times "voice of god") narrator or other overt framing device (such as inter-titles or sub-titles).

Most of interest for my own project is Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett's (1991: 397) discussion of the exhibition of humans, who are seen to also be "detachable, fragmentable, and replicable in a variety of materials." Live appearances or exhibits with live people brought an increased sense of performativity to display, where the lines between death and life, spectacle/entertainment and scientific interest/ morbid curiosity blurred. Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett (1991: 398) situates ethnographic displays within a larger history of human display: such as medical exhibition, public torture, world's fairs and "races of man" exhibitions.

Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett (1991: 406) discusses both the positive and negative outcomes of such live ethnographic display in the nineteenth century: "the notion that native life was inherently dramatic allowed it to be staged and billed as theater," while

"the ability of native to perform, and particularly to mime [i.e. represent], was taken by some viewers as evidence of their humanity." These concerns are still very present within medicalized communities in the United States, especially concerning the medical and scientific display of non-conforming bodies, such as those considered disabled, as well as intersex and transsexual bodies.

Framing and the Museum Effect

One shared history, is the concept of the frame. Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett (1991:409) discusses the "reciprocity of "The Museum Effect", which "can be triggered by a simple 'turn of the head,' which bifurcates the viewer's gaze between the exotic display and his own everyday world." This concept is similar to the theories of perception and ocurlarcentrism promoted by Martin Jay (1994). Here, the Museum Effect occurs "once the seal of the quotidian is pierced, life is experienced as if represented," it is "like the picturesque, in which paintings set the standard for experience, museum exhibitions transform how people look at their own immediate environs." In other words, the banal become spectacular on display and thus transform the ways in which spectators see the world outside the museum as well. Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett (1991: 411) offers evidence of this "effect" in the ways in which recently arrived immigrants to America and England in the 1890s became the ethnographic "other", and the "trope of the city as dark continent and the journalist and social reformer as adventurer/ethnographer" in mainstream accounts.

Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett (1991: 413) draws on distinctions between the concepts of the "panoptic" (in situ) versus the panoramic (in context) approaches to display. The

panoptic gaze allows one to "see without begin seen, to penetrate interior recesses, to violate intimacy, the panoptic mode can have the quality of peep show and surveillance." Even if display (museum, photograph, film or otherwise) is collaborative or subject generated, Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett (1991: 416) still argues that people "experience a representation even when the representers are, if you will, the people themselves," so that "self-representation is representation nonetheless." And once this representation enters the ethnographic realm of display (as an ethnographic object), "the ethnographic fragment returns with all the problems of capturing, inferring, constituting, and presenting the whole through parts."

Another shared history between the self-display of art and action, the media and medico-scientific images and ethnographic display can be found in Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett's (1991:400) discussion of the "general preoccupation with 'types' and the notion of physiognomy as a key to moral character" in the mid-nineteenth century. Physiognomic types linked the appearance of the body (down to the minutiae of detail) with pathologized and racialized behavioral implications. These "types" were presented not only in "galleries of nations and in the later 'types of mankind" exhibitions, but also in crowd scenes and group portraits of life in contemporary European and American cities, as well as in the literature of the period." Lutz and Collins' (1993) *Reading National Geographic*, speaks to the legacy of such forms of display in the realm of photographic and pseudo-educational entertainment in the act of Westerners viewing photographs of "Others". Finkelstein's (1991: 52-58) work provides a more in-depth history of physiognomy and its influence in the late twentieth century discusses the influence of social standing and stigma as a mechanism of regulation in its relation to the

79

body by examining the role of physically anomalous humans in the past and present. Here the focus is on external control, not individual or group experience of that control.

I find Finkelstein's (1991: 65) discussion of the social anxiety created by bodies that do not fit the norm most aligned with my own research interests.  She argues that the atmosphere created by an authenticating narrative, "an ethic of bodily awareness," based on distinctions between individuals can cause "a rampant self-consciousness and anxiety over physical appearance." In such a way, the practice of changing or "refining" physical appearance is seen as an exercise in shaping character in American society. Finkelstein (1991: 67) cites Foucault's work as an addendum to this narrative, where control exhibited by scientific institutions is seen as a signature of modernity. Power is located in "the professional echelons" of the modern state, which allows examples of physical difference to be redefined as "illness, criminality, physical monstrosity and so on." Finkelstein's (1991: 67) argues "the physiognomic principle of the detection of character from outward physical signs remains an axiom of sociality in modern times." However, of interest here is "that the idea still holds sway, even though techniques for fashioning the body abound." Finklestein (1991: 69-70) cites Bunker's work on modern medicine as one explanation to this "puzzle", to argue that the "employment of medicine as an arbiter in defining instances of human anomaly is itself a strategy by which certain individuals are socially marginalized." In other words, medicine both influences and is influenced by the larger social milieu, though largely self-generating (i.e. it creates it's own market). In addition, Finkelstein (1991: 75) offers the enlightening caution that contemporary medical strategies to create bodies that are not stigmatized should not be seen as a larger cultural desire to eradicate social intolerance or stigma.

80

Representing Bodies: Filmed Performance as Public Art

W. J. T. Mitchell (1994: 4) moves from a study of signs to a study of representation itself. He begins by defining a picture, as "the concrete, representational objects in which images appear," which implies a "deliberate act of representation ('to *image* or imagine')." In his conclusion to the collection, "Some Pictures of Representation", Mitchell (1994: 418) discusses his hope for a "new disciplinary formation that might emerge from efforts to theorize pictures and picture theory….in Blake's and Adorno's sense of working through contradiction interminably."

Rather than the anthropologist constructing (or creating visual documents of) these meta-images, I argue that at times it is more useful and ethical to acknowledge the ways in which communities and individuals construct their own framing and display. Josephides (1997: 32) argues that "our ethnographic strategies are also shaped by the subjects' situations, they're global as well as local perceptions, and their demands and expectations of us" (quoted in Pink 2001: 4). Pink (2001: 4) argues that the same should apply with visual images and technologies used in fieldwork, they should be generated in the field in relation to each particular project. She examines the debates between "scientific-realist" and "reflexive" approaches to the visual in ethnography. The "scientific-realist" frameworks often incorporate visual areas into an already existing framework (Collier and Collier 1986), while a "reflexive" practice (Loizos 1993) seeks to "develop alternative objectives and methodologies (MacDougall 1997: 293, quoted in Pink 2001: 4).

MacDougall (1997: 292-293) advocates that visual anthropology should employ alternate methodologies, unique to the visual (i.e. incorporating "image-and-sequence-based" as opposed to "word-and-sentence-based" frameworks) in order to benefit anthropology as a whole. Pink (2001: 10) cites Gold's argument that "the split within sociology between those who study the visual and those who create visual images may be solved by bringing theory and method together through the established 'grounded theory' approach." Others have called on the use of surrealist techniques (Ruoff 1998; Clifford 1988; DeBouzek 1989) or an incorporation of postmodern or poststructuralist (Clifford 1986) and feminist film theory and methodology (Trinh T. Minh-ha. 1994) and some anthropologists such as Jean Rouch (and in a similar film tradition Maya Deren) have actually employed them in their filmic work.

I believe that Mitchell's (1994: 418) focus on "the power of the metapicture is to make visible the impossibility of separating theory from practice," could prove invaluable to constructing visual ethnographic representations. To literalize his statements on theory, his focus on the ways in which one can "give theory a body and visible shape that it often wants to deny, to reveal theory as representation," compliments some recent notions about the "sensuous scholarship" suggested by Paul Stoller (1997). Mitchell (1994: 418) invokes the "power of the imagetext is to reveal the inescapable heterogeneity of representation, to show that the body we give to theory is an assemblage of prostheses and artificial supplements, not a natural or organic form." Mitchell (1994: 419) argues for a model of looking at representation as "not a homogeneous field or grid of relationships governed by a single principle, but as a multidimensional and heterogeneous terrain, a collage or patchwork quilt assembled over time out of fragments." As discussed above,

anthropologists are essentially working with *fragments*, a theory of visual representation that recognizes this and incorporates the concept into practice, is already much closer to visual ethnography than most attempts to date. Mitchell (1994: 419) argues that the "theory of representation appropriate to such a model…would understand itself as an act of representation…but also…as an intervention, an experiment, an interpretation of the world that amounts to a change in the world." Mitchell (1994: 420) argues for looking at "representation…as a process in which the thing is a participant…like a coin in a system of exchange." This would call for representation to be "understood, then, as relationship, as process, as the relay mechanism in exchanges of power, value, and publicity" (Mitchell 1994: 420). The focus on intention discussed by Sol Worth and Larry Gross (1981: 147) is of importance here, where "intention is verified by conventions of social accountability, conventions of legitimacy, and rules, genres, and styles of articulation and performance." An aim in my own attempt at the ethnography of the visual is to construct a methodological framework that incorporates theoretical intention into the ethnographic document.

Ruby (2000: 142) writes that "it is generally accepted that images are polysemous—that is, photographs and films have a variety of potential socially generated meanings that become enhanced through the context in which they appear (Ruby 1976)." This statement offers a challenge to both the study of the visual and the creation of visual ethnography, and opens an opportunity to draw upon feminist film methodology (see the films of Trinh T. Minh-ha, Chick Strand among others) with its concern about multi-vocality and intersubjectivty. Worth and Gross's (1981) notion of a hierarchy of competence allows one to look at the level or layers of meaning in relation to a given

symbol in textual analysis, and in the same respect debates concerning ethnographic narrative (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Behar and Gordon 1995) have drawn attention to voice and multi-vocality.

An Ethnography of the Visual: Historicizing Visuality and Visibility

The incorporation of the principles of reception into the construction of visual documents is one avenue I employ in constructing my own ethnography of the visual. George Custen (1987) and Janet Staiger (1992), both focus on the reception of fiction films, however their emphasis on political context and social relations highlight key areas for the study of reception. I make use of Custen's argument, that viewers use their own life experience to make sense of a film. Staiger's (1992: 146) work on the "transformation of the reception" of The Birth of a Nation over a century, traces out how some themes carried directly over from initial to later reception periods, where "revisions are indications of how historical change and political perspectives influence argumentation about films." Staiger (1992: 152) argues that the "historicizing the reception of The Birth of a Nation transforms the texts' polysemy, for the political foundation underlying some of the historical debates becomes more apparent." This is a loose framework for the construction of ethnography of the visual fits into local and national debates concerning authenticity, legitimacy and representation of LGBT citizens.

It has been argued that the body can enter discourse. Due to the fact that we do have written and visual records of the past, this allows scholars to identify shifts and changes in meanings associated overtime with given political, economic and ideological

movements and their relation to the body. A focus on sexual meaning[7] acts to provide an

avenue to discuss how material objects or situations can be said to reference sexuality.

Sexual politics concerns any system in which sexual relations are linked to power-based

relationships or institutions. Space and place have much to do with this elemental view,

and are of great importance to anthropologists who are concerned with the body. Viviane

Namaste (2000: 147) notes that,

> the division of public and private spaces, which relies upon and reinforces
> a binary gender system, has profound implication for people who live
> outside normative sex/gender relations. Transgendered people are in
> jeopardy in both 'ordinary' public spaces and in those designated as
> lesbian /gay."

She argues that while "one must address the workings of gender in these sites, an

investigation of violence against TS/TG people would also account for the emergence of

TS/TG public space. This highlights the importance of visibility and public space within

LGBT politics. This is both an internal dialogue within LGBT organizational culture and

artistic circles. For instance, transgender activist, Max Valerio states "In Anglo-America,

access to the public sphere for transsexuals is facilitated to the extent that we express

ourselves in the language of Anglo-American lesbian and gay theory and politics"

(Namaste 2001). Loren Cameron speaks to this problem with his documentary portraits

of transsexual men. Cameron (1996: book jacket) writes that

> "For the longest time, transsexuals and especially transsexual men
> (female-to males) have been virtually invisible to the dominant culture.
> Marginalized even within the gay and lesbian subculture, transsexuals
> have occupied no real space of our own. In the last decade or so, more and

---

[7] My understanding of how sexual meaning and sexual politics relate to space and place
is informed in part by Robert and Barbara Voss' edited volume Archaeologies of
Sexuality. Schmidt. Robert and Barbara Voss eds. New York, NY: Routledge.

more transsexual people have been speaking out about our experiences. We are beginning to represent ourselves for the first time and to develop our own voice."

Connell (1994: 60) argues that we "need to assert the activity, literally the agency, of bodies in social processes," and argues "for a stronger theoretical position, where bodies are seen as sharing in social agency, in generating and shaping courses of social conduct." Connell (1994: 61) writes that the "socialness of the physical performance is not a matter of social framing around a physiological event. It is a more intimate connection that operates especially in the dimension of fantasy…" I would argue that "Body Alchemy" offers to a wide audience what Connell (1994: 61) calls "the pleasure of sociability through shared bodily performance." This "sociability" also calls for a more phenomenological informed approach (Andrew 1985). As well, Michael Taussig's (1993) use of the concept of mimesis, and Baudrillard's (1994/1981) work on *Simulacra and Simulation*, speak to possible future reconfigurations of the concept of representation and its influence on both the ethnography of the visual and visual ethnography. The theoretical framework also considers the concept of intention in relation to social policy, by drawing on the work of the anthropology of visual communication. Intention is here seen as "verified by conventions of social accountability, conventions of legitimacy, and rules, genres and style of articulation and performance" (Worth and Gross 1981: 147). It also adds to theoretical debates over ethnography as representation (Martinez 1992; Abu-Lughod 1997; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991; Ruby 1981; Ginsburg 1998; Jhala 1994; Minh-Ha 1994; Jay 1994; Ruoff 1998; Mitchell 1994; Fabian 1996).

In the following chapters I explore how LGBT organizations strategically utilize visibility and experience to garner legitimacy in their interactions with state and funding sources. At the same time I explore the rising discourse of the *citizen volunteer* within these organizations and the counter narratives that disrupt official organizational representations of LGBT experience. To this aim, I draw on life history narratives from key fieldwork informants from multiple positions within and outside of the LGBT Community Center and the local and statewide campaigns to stop the 2006 Protect Marriage Amendment.

CHAPTER 3

OASIS EXCEPTIONALISM: INCOMMENSURATE AND INTERLOCKING

VISIONS

> Modernity, then, is a struggle that takes place in specific locations and a
> process that knits together local/global configurations. Here, the 'local'
> becomes not simply a site but an angle of vision. Lisa Rofel (1999: 18)

Tucson activists and volunteers utilize temporal and spatial elements to convey their own understanding of Tucson exceptionalism, for instance coding Pima County as a *blue county* surrounded by a *red state*. The temporal and spatial elements are combined through the use of imaginative landscapes that extend into the distant past and across the U.S. / Mexico border, outside of the current federal reach and control. The latter is illustrated in the perceived dispute and hostility shown toward the presence of the U.S. Border Patrol in Tucson, as the symbol of an unwished for imagining of the nation-state. For some of those I interviewed, Tucson is linked both to the timeless Sonoran desert and a mythic projection of environmentally based egalitarianism onto local indigenous people whose ancestors preceded European and American encroachment, and whose descendants occupy land now straddling the U.S. / Mexico border. Tucson is also linked through the presence of cultural and linguistic ties to Mexico and the history of U.S. conquest. In this sense both the border between Mexico and the United States, and the border between the past and the present are fluid, with temporal and spatial metaphors

used interchangeably and often conflated. Indigenous people and those with Spanish and

Mexican roots are removed to the romantic past, but the presence of Indigenous

Americans in Pima County and the influx of migrants over the Mexican/U.S. border

today becomes part of a high-stakes dispute. This fluidity is reflected in the development

of the *Native Tucsonan* identity among the descendants of non-indigenous settler

populations. It is as if by living in such a place one can pick up a trace or impression of

its essence, which can then be legitimately incorporated into a sense of personal identity.

On the one hand, this form of appropriation allows for the masking of power relations

and naturalizes the cultural evolution of past, present and future imaginings of space and

place. Alternately, this identity is much more than the process of hybridity, and may

actually reflect the process of place making and identity formation available to *Native*

*Tucsonans*. It is in essence part of the myth making of the place that helps to shape a

sense of shared worldview, here manifest in the discourse of difference.

One geopolitical byproduct of these debates and orientation to democracy has

manifested within the ballot initiative and referendum process. During the 2004

presidential election, which saw Republican George W. Bush win his second term in

office, eleven states passed Protect Marriage Amendments, ballot initiative propositions

which amend state constitutions with language defining marriage as equal to one man and

one woman, and at times denying state recognition to any contract similar to marriage.

Soon after the 2004 election, LGBT organizations and leaders became aware of the plans

of  for Arizona Policy (CAP) to seek a similar ballot initiative in Arizona during the mid-

election cycle of 2006. Soon Tucson's LGBT Community Center became a hub for early

LGBT organizing within the state. The Center leadership, along with the statewide

Human Rights Foundation and other prominent LGBT leaders sought to form a separate

political action committee, The Campaign. According to interviews with several residents

of Tucson involved the initial response, internal divisions began to arise between Phoenix

and Tucson organizers during the early stages of planning. As I have outlined above,

these divisions have just as much to do with regional notions of difference and

ideological divisions over the meaning of the New West, as they do with debates over

priorities for the gay rights organizations. I do not here wish to challenge my informants

investment in seeing their city and its residents as different or progressive, rather I seek to

examine a series of oppositions as they play out within a regional and local context.


## The Oasis and Safe Space

What is haunting but just another trace of a life lived and half-forgotten? We humans

imprint traces of our passing wherever we go. It is what we do. I have a special concern

with how that experience is mediated through perceptual metaphors. In what ways do

bodies, both present and absent, unwanted and imagined, inform our sense of home,

safety, belonging, community and a myriad of other concepts that are thought by many

anthropologists to be historically and culturally dependent? Here I examine one particular

metaphoric complex, the oasis/mirage, and its continuing impact on the ways in which

Tucson is framed as uniquely "western" and "tolerant". My envisioning is drawn from

fieldwork, but also from my experience as a youth living in the American Southwest.

The mirage is a phenomenon I have been fascinated with since I was a child. I

became more familiar with the concept of the oasis the farther I moved west, into the

Sonoran desert, which can be envisioned as part of the "Southwest" or the Northern

desert depending upon which way you happen to be looking or moving across the border

between the United States and Mexico.[8] Here I am specifically interested in the oasis

mirage, which is something that is only partly illusory. While a "Tucson as oasis"

discourse is firmly rooted in official municipal histories, here I extend the metaphor to

incorporate the terms "gay friendly", "tolerant", "progressive" and "safe space" in order

to connect these official narratives with other local visions, desires and bodies

encountered in the field.

The mirage is an optical illusion created when warm air bends or reflects rays of

light, creating the appearance of water or at times a mirror image of an object in the

distance. Under these conditions the eye can perceive an oasis mirage, which I use here

as a metaphor for incommensurate perceptions of reality. It goes beyond other optical

metaphors that allude to the partiality of vision (such as the birdcage or prism, which

imply that one's position in society influences ones perception of oppression or barriers).

For instance, to say that the oasis mirage is an illusion, in no way denies the fact that an

oasis may exist in the material world. No more than the observable fact of an oasis denies

the existence of the oasis mirage. The metaphor can also be extended beyond the physical

world to examine mythical loss, as in the lost oasis legends, such as the Zezura in the

---

[8] See Jiménez (2003) for a fuller discussion of the impact of these place labels on
perceptions of place.

Sahara. Ultimately, the mirage is a temporal phenomenon that links the material world to the "eye of the beholder", and thus escapes any notion of fixed perspective or identity.

In the following pages, I analyze two narratives that speak to the need for an intersectional approach to understanding the power of places. The first deals with the story of Tucson itself, and its history as a "different sort of place". The second narrative concerns the creation of The Center and the bounding of safe space. I take full responsibility for the partial and altered form in which these stories appear, and none of the credit for the participants' insights, words, and lived experiences. Overall, this chapter speaks to the necessity of storytelling, and how it is used to cope with loss and carve out a place for oneself in the world.

Oasis and Desert City

Within the context of local environmental and city planning discourse, Tucson, Arizona is framed as both a desert city and an oasis in the desert, narratives which entwine with myths of progress and Westward expansion that are re-produced and transformed in daily practice in the *American Southwest*.[9] This particular vision also speaks to the connections between the experience of the body and the experience of place. For instance, the Tucson as oasis narrative draws on mythic origins of the city, a naturalized discourse about desert spaces and the human inhabitants who have shaped this particular river valley ecosystem.

---

[9] See Jiménez, Alfredo. 2003. "Space, Time, Peoples: Continuities in the Great Spanish North from Its Beginnings to the Present," in the Provencias Internas: Continuing Frontiers Proceedings of the Symposium Held at Phoenix College, Pete Dimas, ed., Tucson, AZ: The Arizona Historical Society, p. 1-24.

Solnit (1994)[10] has written extensively on the ways in which dominant shifts in perception have had an impact upon the physical landscape, which has further influenced the framing of what is natural, wilderness, desert, forest, etc. The landscape in the *American Southwest* is perceived through a cultural lens, which continually transforms the environment, rendering ecosystems into material culture. The term *landscape* (Solnit 1994)[11] itself is linked to a particular painterly or framed *imaginative geography* influenced by western European traditions of painting and more recent architectural preference for the picture window. *Ecosystem* is more than a scientific *imagining* of nature it is also a strategy for incorporating culture and cultural beings.

Borders and Frames: Oasis Exceptionalism

Tucson has at different historical moments been categorized as an oasis, in the geological sense of the word, a fertile area in an otherwise arid region. This framing is often linked to presence or absence of a *flowing* river which during the Monsoons can offer a glimpse into the past, supporting a brief verdant belt of green and flowering plants along the river's edge. The county aquifer provides much of Tucson's household water supply and itself is framed within a threatened oasis discourse, at *risk* from overuse and contamination. The aquifer, via equitable city management, allows for a high quality of household drinking water that without technological and political intervention would not

---

[10] Solnit, Rebecca. 1994. Savage dreams: a journey into the landscape wars of the American West, San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books.

[11] Ibid.

93

otherwise be available in this arid region. It is this sense viewed as something exceptional in comparison to its surrounds.

It is no accident that Tucson residents employ the term oasis when discussing their perceptions of the city, nor is it surprising that the use of oasis blurs the lines between explicitly geological and cultural meaning. These visions of oasis are at times based on cohort specific memories. For instance, the meaning of oasis and its relation to the *cityscape* has changed with the economic, political and cultural shifts that have occurred in the *American Southwest*. McPherson and Haip's (1989)[12] research into city planning and tourism in desert cities like Tucson supports the argument that oasis is a cohort specific *imagined geography*. They argue that such towns often underwent planned transformation from *desert city* to *garden oasis* from 1870s–1950s, a time of intensive horticultural and arboricultural planning that relied on extensive use of the natural aquifer to create *greenscapes*. This resulted in a *cityscape* that was filled with trees, green lawns and exotic flowers. This began to shift in the 1950s– 1970s as *zeroscapes* became dominant throughout Southwestern cities with the availability of evaporative "swamp" coolers (eliminating the need for shade trees), the rising cost of water, and the growing public acceptance of environmental and water conservation. The desired landscape was transformed from *garden oasis* to a new form of planned desert

---

[12] McPherson, E. Gregory and Renee A. Haip 1989. "Emerging Desert Landscape in Tucson," in Geographical Review, Vol. 79, No. 4. (Oct., 1989), p. 435-449.

city, the *zeroscape*[13], devoid of shade trees, with rock or gravel yards often accompanied by a cactus and other native plants.

In addition, the trope of lost oasis is present within conservation literature and the life history narratives of certain cohorts of Tucson residents, namely those who came of age during the 1960s and 1970s. The naturalization of what McPherson and Haip call the "Garden Oasis" period relies on a form of collective amnesia of the horticultural manipulation of the *cityscape* which was in turn supported by tourism marketing. The presence and absence of water offers yet another related lost oasis frame. For instance, one native Tucsonan I encountered in the field, a woman in her early fifties, refers to her youth as a "time when The River ran." The River, which divides the city into east and central quadrants, is now a dry wash throughout most of the year. Here the memory of water is linked to cultural change and loss in the life histories of a certain cohort of native Tucsonan.

It is in this sense of lost oasis that myth comes most clearly into play, creating a ghostly apparition over the present landscape, one that is reinforced by a physical reminder. Residents and city planners in Tucson are unable to ignore these histories, and are in fact forced to deal with these phantom waterways every Monsoon season. During these late summer months, The Santa Cruz River (north/south) and The Rillito (east/west)

---

[13] Zeroscapes are different than xeriscapes, which promote native and drought tolerant plants, efficient drip irrigation and mulching to conserve water, reduce the heat island effect and create a cooler environment. See Strader, Linda. 2011. "What is the difference between Xeroscape, Zeroscape and Xeriscape? Plenty," in Tucson Citizen, Landscaping Section, February 27, 2011 online edition. http://tucsoncitizen.com/dry-heat-gardener/2011/02/27/what-is-the-difference-between-xeroscape-zeroscape-and-xeriscape-plenty/, accessed August 19, 2011.

washes become rapidly flowing rivers that are prone to skipping over their boundaries and flooding neighboring communities. In this sense, something like the remembrance of water offers an alternate, local reconfiguration of cohort or generation, as in those who say they remember The *River* and those who do not. Of course these memories need not align with historical facts,[14] as became apparent while comparing life history narratives collected in the field during 2006 with the historical water table. According to the Water Resource Research Center at the University of Arizona, it was during the 1940s that the Tucson portion of The River finally ceased to flow (apart from seasonal flooding) due to years of ground water pumping near the river.

### *The Old Pueblo*: a Different Kind of *Border Town*

The framing of Tucson as *the Old Pueblo* is the story of a town out of step with its surrounding state (either behind or ahead in the times or on another planet depending upon the perspective of the speaker). The telling of the history of *the Old Pueblo* is varied and ranges from an emphasis on the status of Tucson as the former Spanish and then Mexican outpost, to its status as a territorial capital that lost its influence to the "newcomer" Phoenix with the coming of statehood. The ways in which borders have crossed and transformed the city still frames the discussion of Tucson as a *border town*. Tucson's location within an hour's drive to the U.S./Mexico border also facilitates a sense of marginality and difference, which enters participants' description of place. *The Old Pueblo* is a nostalgic vision that gets continually reworked in other narratives of loss

---

[14] For instance, the official water table for the 1950s and 1960s does not support the informant's claim that The River "ran" during her childhood.

and as the base for some interesting utopian futures. For instance, during my year of fieldwork several informants forwarded links to articles of websites that called for the secession of southern part of the state. While I took this for satirical commentary at the time, in 2010 a group began a more serious call for secession of Old Pima County in response to what they felt where draconian anti-immigration laws enacted by the state legislature and the newly elected Republican governor.

In other contexts *the Old Pueblo* discourse informs other *imagined geographies* of the future by imagining a more progressive Arizona (and United States) as the Mexican American population grows to projected majorities and influence in the region. Only one of my informants clearly incorporated a nostalgic view of American Indian history in the region within her lost oasis framing of the Old Pueblo. However, she was someone who originally migrated from the East Coast to the Flagstaff/Sedona area in Northern Arizona where there may be more of an emphasis on New Age and American Indian cultural tourism.

## Tucson, Oasis and the *Gay Friendly* City

Citizenship status, class, race, ethnicity and gender further complicate cohort differences, which add to the politics of incommensurability and scale central to imaginative geographies. The concept of *imaginative geographies* places an emphasis on the "performative" and the material ramifications of these processes. For Puar (2007: 39), "imaginative geographies involve the process whereby 'certain desired truths become lived as truths, as if they were truths, thus producing material traces and evidences of

these truths, despite what counterevidence may exist'." Sexuality is yet another lens through which to analyze incommensurate perceptions of place. I am specifically interested here in Puar's (2007: 39) notion that it is through the "imaginative geographies produced by homonationalisms, for example, that the contradictions inherent in the idealization of the United States as a properly multicultural heteronomative but nevertheless gay-friendly, tolerant, and sexually liberated society can remain in tension."

Recent work by Hanhart (2008) and others have dealt with some of these tensions on a smaller scale, for instance, within the realm of the "Safe Streets" and "Anti-violence" movements in the United States. Hanhardt (2008) examines the Safe Streets and anti-violence projects within the gayborhoods or "gay ghettos" and links the notion of gay safe space with the process of gentrification and simultaneous marginalization of queer youth of color within neighborhoods such as Chelsea in New York City and the Castro in San Francisco. I am particularly interested in the construction of cities and regions (like the East or West Coast) as "gay friendly" or queered spaces. For instance, Tucson is coded as a gay friendly city, not because it has a gay ghetto, but because it has an institutional presence in the form of the LGBT Community Center, the LGBT Commission, antidiscrimination ordinance and openly queer publicly elected officials at the Municipal, State and Federal level. There is no "gay area" of town, although 4th Avenue may come closest, though it is no gay ghetto. Gay owned and targeted businesses like bars, coffee shops and bookstores are spread out over the Tucson sprawl of residential developments, main thoroughfares and the ubiquitous strip mall. There are

important sites in the collective memory and official histories of local queer

communities, but they do not align with a central location within the city.


Lost Oasis: Imagining the Past

For some cohorts the lost way of life is *the Garden Oasis* of the 1950s and 1960s, for

others it is the lost oasis of the territory (either pre-statehood U.S. or Mexican territory)

or the lost oasis of pre-contact indigenous communities. For others it is an imagined lost

oasis (balanced ecosystem) devoid of human influence. Frameworks of analysis that

acknowledge the importance of this loss help to situate yet another way in which different

cohorts of Arizonans engage in what Rofel (1999:19) calls "politically induced

generational difference" by strategically framing risk within nostalgic discourses of the

lost oasis.

Does the experience of loss make us different, a stranger? Will involvement

within an identity based social movement allow for the reconciliation of loss, making the

strange more familiar? In what ways do we imagine ourselves as similar to or different

from those who have experienced loss? In what ways does loss get mapped into the

configuration of social space and the material aspects of place? These questions are

prompted by my sense that something is missing from current discussions on queer

geographies, namely inhabitants and the traces they leave behind in their absence. I am

specifically interested in silences around the impact of AIDS/HIV, another literal and

metaphoric loss within queer communities, on the configuration of homonationalisms and

99

gay safe space within the United States. The massive loss of lives to AIDS[15] and its

impact on queer communities should not be underestimated. This loss is linked to

structural violence against queer and other marginalized groups on the part of the United

States government, and highlights the impact of AIDS and AIDS activism on notions of

safety and risk within queer communities and national discourse (Crimp 2002; Farmer

1992; Patton 1991, 1996, 2002). What is the impact of this loss on *other spaces*, outside

the coastal Meccas of queer culture?

In my own work, I find that this sense of loss is linked to nostalgia, especially for

those cohorts who came of age or came out during the late 1960s into the late 1970s, and

were able to reap the benefits of gay liberation and association before the conservative

media backlash of Anita Bryant, the politicization of evangelical Christians and the

trauma of the AIDS epidemic. Missing bodies of friends, lovers and relatives are linked

to a lost way of life. Frameworks of analysis that acknowledge the importance of this loss

help to situate yet another way in which different cohorts of queer Arizonans engage in

what Rofel (1999:19) calls "politically induced generational difference" by framing risk

and safety in relation to other missing bodies, those who have fallen either at the hands of

hate motivated or state sponsored violence. In turn the ways in which these losses have

been strategically used by various interests and within pro and anti-gay discourse, is

intimately tied both to infrastructure building within queer communities and the

circulation of stigma.

---

[15] The CDC estimates that as of 2007 there were 557,902 deaths of persons with AIDS
within U.S. territory. http://www.cdc.gov/hiv/topics/surveillance/basic.htm#ddaids
accessed April 24, 2009.

I am here interested in the ways in which loss continues to be imagined, shaping our relationship to identity and place. Many scholars within cultural geography and anthropology (Nast 1998; Grosz 1992; Bordo 1998; Body 1997) have addressed the ways in which place is experienced "through the body". I here argue that the body through which a place is experienced is not always our own. This claim is similar to that made by Appadurai (1996), that the transnational circulation of images impacts both our perception of our own lived experience and our relationship to others. If I take from Appadurai the notion that imagination is itself a social force, then the implications of the concept "imaginative geographies" can take us beyond the focus of New Social Movement Theory on identity, while never leaving identity behind. For instance, Appadurai (1996: 33) extends Benedict Anderson notion of *imagined communities*, which speaks to the historical shifts that link the rise of the modern nation-state to new forms of identity, to *imagined worlds*, or "the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe." I am here specifically interested in Appadurai's (1996: 36-37) *mediascapes* which deal with images, scripts and metaphors which structure the way we come to imagine our own and others lives, and *ideoscapes*, which are concerned with ideologies (states) and counter ideologies (movements) of democracy. Whereas Appadurai deals with seemingly incommensurate spheres and communicative genres in a global context, Puar's conception of "imaginative geographies" brings these notions back to terra firma. Puar's work, and that of other queer theorists who seek to engage with emergent forms of

nationalism, allows for a narrower and thus more comprehensible engagement with the politics of incommensurability.

I here draw lines of connection between the insight offered by Elizabeth Povinelli's work on "incommensurable worldviews" and Anna Tsing's conception of the importance of scale, in order to understand the hermeneutic experience of safety and risk. I draw on site appropriate/d metaphors to set the stage for local disputes that both reflect and influence a broader discourse around queer rights today. This focus on a particular metaphor of vision is informed by Donna Haraway's (1988) call for a reinterpretation of "vision" as a metaphorical construct for feminist ways of knowing, here sought within the analytic and material construct of "situated" or "local" knowledges (Haraway 1988; Abu-Lughod 1997). Perhaps one of the strongest arguments I can think of for employing the oasis mirage metaphor, is that it not only looks at imaginative possibilities, but also provides a framework for discussing loss and disappointment, whether that be the ghostly apparition of a long closed gay bar in Yuma, a memorial for a hate crime victim at the Pima County Court house, or other apparitions like the Old Pueblo that haunts Tucson's politically powerful in their dealings with Phoenix. In order to examine how these concepts play out in very specific lives and everyday locations, I have coded the concepts which emerged within daily participation and interviews with a group of fifty or so individuals (artists, activists, politicians and volunteers) I came in contact with during my year of research within Tucson.

Drawing on themes that emerged during fieldwork, I have coded the concepts of "safe space", "gay friendly" and "tolerant" or "progressive" place as falling within the

102

oasis frame as they all rely at least in part on a spatial metaphor of contrasts, much like that of the oasis. An oasis is given meaning only in contrast to the surrounding desert, much as the notions of "safe space", "gay friendly" and "tolerant" or "progressive" (accepting) place rely on a negative comparative trope of "hostile", "unfriendly" or "intolerant", conservative place. As has become all too clear for activists involved with identity-based social movements of the last half-century, these notions of safe or sustaining space are often given meaning through various *standpoints*. Feminist standpoint theory informs my analysis, but here I am interested in investigating what Jane Flax (1997: 174) calls "both the social and philosophical barriers to our comprehension." Flax addresses the theme of partiality and difference of "vision", experience and knowledge, key themes that run throughout major feminist debates of the last half-century. For example, Harding (1986) relates "vision" to a possible feminist standpoint. This notion is challenged via a questioning of what type of justificatory strategies are used to validate certain types of "feminist" knowledge (which are linked to established Western/Enlightenment systems of scientific value).[16] I am here interested in the way in which Donna Haraway (1988) reworks "vision" as a metaphorical construct for feminist ways of knowing within the analytic and material construct of "situated knowledges".[17]

I believe that the oasis mirage metaphor speaks to both Haraway's "situated knowledges" and Flax's (1997: 171) conviction that one might "understand" knowledge without resorting to the "linear, teleological, hierarchical, holistic, or binary ways of thinking and being" so that we may situate "multiplicity" and "ambiguity" within

---

[16] See Patricia Hill Collins (1991) and Chandra Mohanty (1991).
[17] See Lila Abu Lughod's (1997) discussion of situated knowledges.

everyday experience. This opens feminist epistemology to a wider world of uses and critique that are not based in formerly privileged standpoints. This does not erase questions of power rather it provides another avenue into examining power within everyday social relations. This is akin to focus on the politics of incommensurability, which argues against privileging the experiences of any particular vision. It acknowledges multivocality while examining the counter hegemonic potential that resides within all social relations. In so doing, we can ask the following. What is at stake in maintaining the notion of bounded safe space? How does this notion both produce and erase *difference*? Additionally, how might the politics of *scale* help us understand incommensurate, yet interlocking visions of space and place? Discussions of scale become increasingly important when examining the circulation of stigma and power in relation to class, race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. For instance, scale provides a framework for understanding the ways in which classism, racism, trans-phobia and sexism continue to exist within queer organizations. In other words, questions of scale can help frame the seemingly infinite and paradoxical ways in which oppression and resistance are reproduced. In order to address these two themes, incommensurability and scale, I will turn first to an examination of the ways in which *difference* circulates within both the ecological and social discourse of Tucson.

<u>Traveling Metaphors:</u>
<u>Legitimate Migrations, Native Tucsonan and the Tucson as Oasis Frame</u>

Archaeological, geological, historical and oral records tell us that Tucson has long

provided refuge for many plant and animal species. The people of Tucson, like the people

of many desert cities around the world, are concerned with water, arable land, and the

impact of expanding human and livestock populations. This anxiety comes to a head

during the summer monsoon months, when the dry riverbeds that once fed the town

overflow into new developments; segments of the large homeless population are

displaced; tourists are warned (too often unheeded) to be aware of flash floods in the

canyons; native traditions and ecological design are sought; and people are reminded to

catch the rain and conserve at the tap. These campaigns are framed within a larger

conservation discourse, which seeks to keep a state of balance between the pace of

modern lifestyles and development on the one hand, and the limits of what the

environment can sustain on the other.

A central concern that underlies much of these discussions and conservation

campaigns is the ability of the desert to support a certain population density. Much of the

official conservation discourse since the 1950s has focused on living *authentic* desert

lifestyles, water collection and conservation; utilizing *native* vegetation and ground cover

(instead of grass); and cutting energy consumption. Tucson is seen as a unique place, the

people and lifestyle are often framed as being threatened by interlopers from California,

the Midwest and other locations. Engaging in such dialogue is not necessarily based on

having grown up in Tucson, as many of my informants were born and raised outside of

the region as Tucson's population continues to expand. By 2006, half a million people resided within city limits and the larger metropolitan area had reached one million. It is increasingly becoming a city of people born in other places. In addition, many Tucson natives leave this place and head for the coasts, either the Pacific or Atlantic, following an migration pattern of frequent trips back for holidays or returning in the later part of their life for semi-retirement. They return, more intimately embedded within networks that tie this place to a transnational movement of people, ideas, and money.

No matter the geographic biography, all of my informants had something to say about the social transformation of space and place. These discussions of transformation often dealt with perceived detrimental elements of modernity, while at the same time celebrating the rise of the queer community which itself is alternately linked to modernity and primordial cultural variability. The linking of queerness to modernity seems to take on two predominant forms in Arizona. On the one hand, tolerance is a beneficent sign of modernity by progressives, and on the other it is seen as yet another detrimental element of modernity within statewide conservative and evangelical discourses. This contradiction is a local manifestation of what Tamar Mayer (2000: 2) calls the "gender ironies of nationalism" which she highlights in her own work in order to "expose the fact that sexuality plays a key role in nation-building and in sustaining national identity." I am here interested in highlighting contradiction, not merely as critique, but in order to reveal the processes at work within claims to legitimacy. Legitimacy is a form of power, one that is intimately tied with identity, self-worth and the perceptions of others. It is also something that must be maintained (Goffman 1963; Yoshino 2007), and is dependent

106

upon social context, and therefore answerable to a multiplicity of possible publics. That these possible publics have a spatial and temporal element is evident within the life history narratives I collected in the field.

Constructing the Native Tucsonan: Internalizing the Stranger's Eye

Transnational culture has transformed our relationship with place in a complex way, allowing many to maintain a nomadic lifestyle, always going and returning, sometimes looking back, sometimes looking forward. One such traveler is Gil*, who was born in Tucson, but left the area for the East Coast in order to pursue educational and political opportunities. He is a longtime activist and lawyer, having lived and worked in the power centers of the East Coast for most of his adult life. Gil worked on groundbreaking cases involving equal protection issues and contributed to public health frameworks around HIV within heterosexual populations. Since moving back to Tucson, Gil practices law part-time in order to devote more time to his activism and community work. In many ways, my conversation with Gil brings to light some problems with talking about the "local" as something separate from the national or global. How do you theorize the connections between national and local organizations, when many of the actors that shape the national agenda can be found in your local café influencing the local framing of events?

> *So, I had been raised here, in Tucson. And I'd always wanted to live in the East, and know the East. Because, that's really where the power center is, you know, much of the power center. So, Washington and New York. And*

107

*then I obviously was very politically interested, and see the role, the important role of politics and social policy.*

*Well, I knew this town very well, because I had… been here. And Tucson is a… is a city that's… How do I describe it? Very socially conscious. And intolerant of intolerance. And it has a historical basis for that I believe. In that… When I was in the East, people would say, "Oh, you're from Arizona it's really conservative." And I would go, "Yeah. Phoenix. But it's more of a libertarian conservativism."*

*But I said, "You don't understand, there's this thing called Tucson. And then I'd explain to them that, this is a place that was, was part of Spain, part of Mexico, and then became part of the United States. Always had very diverse people here that have had to live together, coexist. And so… And that's even before the earlier days of Indians around here, native people that were around "A" Mountain, and so forth. But, it's always had huge Hispanic community that's interacted, intermingled, and intermarried with Caucasian or Anglo people. Then it had the railroads that went in and really put Tucson on the map. And they brought in lots of Asian people. So, we have a fair number of Asian, Asian people. And for some reason we've always had a very large Jewish community, a very active Jewish community.*

*So, it's not surprising that Tucson created an ordinance shortly after San*

*Francisco, a non-discrimination ordinance.*[18]

Gil, a gay man in his early sixties, is a Tucson native[19], and claims not only knowledge

of Tucson within his own lifetime, but draws on an historical knowledge of the place.

This historical knowledge is employed as a frame to discuss Tucson's unique form of

western "tolerance," a tolerance born of *borderlands.* While it is a selective history (as

are all histories) that contains silences that support a progressive Anglo view of the

history of Tucson, it also contains something of the contradictions of this place. For

instance, Gil does not mention the types of state-sponsored segregation and other forms

of discrimination that racial and ethnic minorities continue to experience within Tucson.

There has always been ethnic and racial diversity in Tucson, but as Fong (1980) notes,

often the Anglo establishment took the course "of political noninclusion and cultural

indifference" (see also Yancy 1933). Tolerance is not exactly celebration and inclusion,

but neither is it an outright display of power. For instance, Fong (1980) posits "Although

in the 1880s there were Anti-Chinese Leagues in every major town in the Territory,

Arizonans actually felt no threat from the "yellow peril." That in fact, a Tucson petition

to "quarter" the Chinese was introduced in 1893, even though it was eventually judged

unconstitutional and dismissed. So that to some degree the level of "intolerance for

intolerance" may have something to do with a demographic distribution that requires

---

[18]Gil, Interview with Kendall Roark, February 17, 2006, *Gil is a pseudonym

[19] Or as some participants said "Native Tucson". This is not to be confused with someone of Native American descent. I do not believe I have heard a person of Native American descent use that term in Tucson.

complementary mechanisms of maintaining *harmony.* In this respect, Gil's positive and affirming outlook on Arizona's history follows through into his expectations and understanding of the tolerance of LGBT people within the city. Here LGBT people may be viewed as either another cultural community (ethnic model) or as inheritors of a progressive, tolerant community (Tucson).

In Gil's narrative, Tucson is seen as a different sort of place, in comparison to its surrounds (and Phoenix), but also to a known outsider's understanding of that place. The western stereotype, the Red State stereotype; these shape Gil's sense of Tucson as a different sort of place, as in different than what someone from the "East Coast" might expect. Here difference manifests as "intolerant of intolerance" and "Very socially conscious." Gil's statement that there is "this thing called Tucson" is in opposition to the supposed conservatism of a state *like* Arizona.

Internal Migrations: I moved to Tucson in…

Dan*, a trans-man (FTM) in his forties, frames Tucson as *different* in a way that may be representative of many of those who have migrated to the Tucson area from other parts of the United States, in that he does not discuss preconceived ideas of Red State conservativism. Within the frame of these migrant visions, Tucson is set as different from the conservative natal home region (here the Midwest).

> *I moved to Tucson in April of 2000...2001. Sorry. Because I*
>
> *transitioned in Indianapolis and because I'd always wanted to live*
>
> *somewhere*

110

*else, and I'd lived there all my life. And I was looking for someplace*

*different than Indianapolis. I mean. But I also wanted to go someplace*

*that had a really strong community. Because that's just part of who I am*

*and I wanted to be able to be out and comfortable. I wanted to feel safe*

*and be protected by anti-discrimination laws and things like that. And I'd*

*always loved Arizona. So, Tucson was just kind of a natural fit. And I*

*came here to visit, and came to , and that's when I found [the Gender*

*Alliance] and...*

~~~

*But Tucson is just really appealing, because it's kind of a small town, but*

*it's a big city, and it's... I mean it's similar to Indianapolis in that it's a*

*big city, but it's not a big city like Phoenix is a big city. You know?*

~~~

*But it's not really rural either like, small town. Plus the fact that it's so...*

*There's so much political activity and there's definitely the college town*

*kind of feel, as far as being really liberal and, and stuff like that. So, that's*

*why I landed here.*

~~~

*But I think it's mostly... Tucson having the right people, the right energy,*

*at the right time, all with the same idea. You know. And that's why the*

*community here has come together so well. Plus they've had The Center to*

*have meetings at and have that financial support.*

Dan's take on Tucson is similar to Gil's, in that they both put a positive spin on the sense

of community and the realities of life in the city, although Dan draws on the influence of

the more recent developments of the LGBT community center and the anti-discrimination

ordinance, whereas Gil draws on a longer historical tradition which links Tucson to

Mexico and the multiethnic borderland regions that make up the American Southwest.

However, both draw attention to Tucson as a place that is different from, and possibly

isolated from its larger environment, whether that be the state of AZ, other regions

(Midwest, East Coast) or the nation.

Buyer Beware: Authenticity and Lost Oasis

Kai*is a gender queer woman and recent transplant to Tucson from the East Coast, offers

a vision that skews away from Gil and Dan's perception of Tucson. She is in her fifties

and brings a different set of assumptions about what the West is based on her experience

of both the "East Coast" and Tucson. She initially saw the desert as a place of calm and

retreat. The framing of Tucson as a "progressive" and "friendly" place was part of what

had prompted Kai to relocate. However, once Kai began living and working within the

community, this framing began to shift in response to the challenges she faced in

everyday experience.

> *Being that there is only three-to-five percent population of African*
>
> *Americans in Tucson, you know. If you've got a drop of black blood that's*
>
> *all you are. It doesn't make any difference how I self identify. You actually*
>
> *become invisible. People don't actually seem to see you.*

112

~~~

*And the people that are here are not necessarily people that were born and raised in Tucson. But you've got these, sort of middle-class, upper-middle-class people moving here from California. Selling their expensive house, purchasing property, building you know, huge monstrosities.*

*And they bring a lot of their elitist, racist, bigoted attitudes with them. I mean, Arizona's Barry Goldwater country. Arizona is a very Republican state, despite the fact that we have a Democratic governor. Many people who live here would agree that it is a 'good old boys' town. And in essence, it's [pause] white men and others.*

*So that if you're a white male, your chances of succeeding, like any other place in the country, are higher, but everybody else is Other. So, whether it's women, whether it's people of color, it doesn't make any difference, everybody else is Other. So, it makes it very difficult, to find, you know, a sense of peace here. You know, I mean I'm going into my third year [living in Tucson].*

~~~

*And I live in an area where people ride by in their pickup trucks, with Confederate flags that say "Red Neck". I've had a couple instances of being awakened in the middle of the night, "Nigger get out of here!"*

*You know. Young kids. I mean, I know who they are. They live across the street. They were all partying. But these are all things that I hadn't experienced back East.*

*~~~*

*… and I had heard of these things, but I had not directly experienced them. So, coming here, I ended up feeling kind of naïve. And then that kind of went into anger and rage. Because I felt like spending what I thought was going to be the second part of my life in peace and solitude, actually fighting for my right to be here.*

*So, these have all been, the messages. But coming from a place where I spent a lot of time in the street protesting, or in the press trying to advocate or whatever.*

*I'll have to say the first two-and-a-half years of my time here has been a hellhole. And you know, it's… Luckily I was off [from work] for about five months. And I needed that time to recover emotionally, mentally, spiritually.*

*All those kind of things. Just because I believe I should be able to live and have a livelihood anywhere in this country. You know. Unimpeded. And you've got to work harder here.*

*But, you know, the first summer I came here, there were a couple of things*

*that happened and I was like, "Where the hell did I move?"*


*There was…there was a death of a young gay man on Fourth Ave.*


*There was the suicide of the transgendered man, Goodrum? I think Dan\**

*might of talked to you about it. He started a group that I actually want to be*

*a part of…*

*~~*

*That had happened. And then there was some anti-Semitic behavior. And it*

*was all in the summer of 2003, when I got here. And I'm like, "Well…you*

*know…what [is] this about?" Because I had this idealistic view.[20]*


It is interesting to note that Kai does not associate negative experiences solely with the

place, but lays a large share of the blame on people from other parts of the country who

move to the area. Their whiteness and elitism is coded as inauthentic. For Gil the

authenticity of a multiethnic border region minimizes the inauthenticity of Anglo culture

via hybridization or selective acculturation. Kai juxtaposes escaping the East Coast city

life that includes crowded houses for the solitude of the desert. This form of isolation was

not the type she had expected. What was being offered by the image from afar dissolved

once she began living in the desert.

---

[20] Kai, Interview with Kendall Roark, March 23, 2006. \*Kai is a pseudonym

Kai finds that in many ways she has lost her "safe space" of a group of like-minded activists who could rally together in times of trouble or tribulation, act as a power block to force change within social institutions like the police department or have their voices heard via media activism. These social networks are not readily available to her in her new location, and local activist strategies are either unfamiliar or may seem regressive within what she calls her "East Coast"[21] frame of reference. Kai identifies the change within shifting demographics, and identifies with a growing Hispanic population, which seems to imply that a Hispanic majority, or conversely a white/Anglo minority, would allow the opening for change. Hispanic in this case seems to equal people of color, possibly an alliance of all non-white groups within the city or state. Kai's narrative poses an interesting alignment with Gil's in that both articulate a belief that a Hispanic cultural base (Rodriguez 2000) can have the impact of shifting the city to a more progressive or tolerant place.

Kai's "idealistic view" was that the later part of her life would be spent in "peace and solitude" in an adopted desert home. That imagined peaceful existence is now disrupted by both the experience of invisibility, discrimination and harassment. The perception that desert life near the U.S. / Mexico border would be peaceful, and the idea that an increase in the proportion of the Hispanic population will lead to progressive change are based on selective readings of the history of and continued circumstances of life in the American Southwest. The contradictions inherent within this belief are made clear within the story of  as a community center and safe space.  The Center as an

---

[21] I discuss this further in Ch. 5. This sort of organizing may not be as visible and accepted within Tucson.

organization strategically frames itself as an ally to the "Hispanic community", and actively attempts to reach out to LGBTQ Latino communities in Tucson through its Puertas Abiertas (Open Doors) program. This theme is also intimately tied to issues of cohort, gender and class and frames my understanding of The Center's official organizational history.

### The LGBT Center and the Anti-discrimination Ordinance as Markers of Safe Space

The [Center] represents the enfolding of wings around us, cradling us in
our struggle for survival. It expresses our desire for freedom; the freedom
symbolized by a bird in flight. And it represents the spreading of our own
wings, as each of us reach beyond our limits. – Center document

*As a result of working here, it's a safe space, and I'm really beginning to*
*regain a lot of what I lost.* ~Kai, Youth Lounge/Center worker

According to its mission statement, The Center seeks to represent the LGBTQ community in Tucson and Southern Arizona. I conducted twelve months of fieldwork at The Center, the first six being the most intense with near daily involvement on some level either at The Center or at functions sponsored by one of its many programming committees. During the last six months of fieldwork I worked more intensely with volunteers for The Campaign and the No on PMA campaign, which sought to stop an upcoming ballot measure to amend the AZ constitution to state that marriage equals one

117

man and one woman, and that the state would recognize no contracts similar to marriage (i.e. domestic partnership, civil unions).

Early on a group of volunteers for the state-wide No on PMA Campaign, many of whom were also Center volunteers, would meet at the facility at least once per week for sign making, phone calling, fundraising and button making parties. Most of The Campaign speaker's bureau trainings and local steering committee meetings (via conference call) took place at there as well. In a real sense, The Center is an important hub in Tucson activist and community social networks. And it is for this reason that I chose to begin my fieldwork in this space. This choice also had much to do with my own involvement in a national social network of queer activists and researchers, which shaped my entry and my participant role within Tucson. Tucson had also posed an interesting field site as it has one of the earliest municipalities to include both sexual orientation and gender identity protections. Here I examine the ways in which the presence of  The Center and the ordinance mark Tucson as a "gay friendly" and "progressive" place. I begin by drawing on interviews with several Center employees and volunteers and then move on to from outside of the organization.

Araceli* is a woman in her late twenties and a staff member at The Center. She grew up in small city not far from Tucson. I got to know Araceli by participating in the Puertas Abiertas program. This mainly involved attending a monthly Sunday "Latin night" at the local lesbian bar, and a few other organized events outside of official "gay" spaces. During my stay in Tucson I had several opportunities to hear Araceli tell what appeared to be a very painful story of doing outreach in her hometown. As  calls itself the

118

LGBT Center for the southern part of the state, doing outreach to the smaller cities and

rural towns surrounding Tucson has been incorporated into its mission and grant

requirements. Increasingly, Araceli is asked to venture outside of The Center and other

"gay friendly" social service sectors in Tucson. One of these trips involved a visit to her

hometown. This was a painful experience for Araceli, partly due to a conflict with her

mother who was not supportive of her outreach activities, and partly due to the response

she received from her fellow coworkers after the event. Araceli described this experience

during a weekly staff meeting that I attended not long after her hometown outreach. I

then asked her to repeat the story within the context of an interview with Araceli and her

coworker Felix*.

> *Sunday night. I didn't want to have to do that. So, I did it over there, but*
>
> *the vast… The majority of people didn't know what  The Center was. And I*
>
> *was… when they would ask me, man Kendall it was hard. Because I'm*
>
> *around my, I mean the community, this Catholic Christian community*
>
> *that's seen. Women and men that knew me since I was a baby. You know?*

> *And so they asked me what The Center was. And I did. I did go all around*
>
> *mentioning the LGBT community center. I said community center in*
>
> *Tucson. But it made me feel, I was hiding who I was and what I do. To*
>
> *these people that I respect to these people that my mom has known since*
>
> *many, many years.*

119

*And these kids were carrying around you know, the yoyos that say [The Center] on them. I mean they didn't know anything. They didn't know. You know. But some people knew. Some people knew. And they would look at me, like... I don't know if they were asking the people what I told them. Because that's like what I felt, like all eyes were on me. Like I was lying or not saying who we really were.*

*Dana\* told me. Just telling me, "Just tell them who they are." And my mom over here on the phone, "You better not be doing that Araceli"*

*It was terrible. So, I can laugh now, but then. I still get teary, but it was awful. Because I needed to do my job, and it was the perfect opportunity to do outreach in this small hometown where there's a lot of closeted people that are scared to come out. So, I felt like I needed to represent to help them. But at the same time, these people that have known me "Aracelita" you know from a long time. And then Dana, my partner like, "Go for it babe. Just do it." And my mom, over here cussing at me, being upset. You know. She was upset. Demanding me to go home. You know. It was terrible.*

*Let me see. I cried. And I cried when I was saying it, when I told everyone here because I was still processing it. God, it was terrible.*

*I felt very. I hated [The Center]. Hell yeah. Feeling that inside of me. Like, why do I have to be gay? Like why am I working for an LGBT community center? Why am I here in my hometown trying to do outreach in my hometown about gay people, that they are totally against. You know. So many questions were in my, going in my head and my partner saying, "Are you shameful? Are you shameful of who we are?"*

*So, I don't' know. It was very difficult, I will not do it by myself again. Yeah.*

*....*

*Yeah, every time we go down to Douglas. Mom gives us a warning. You know. Like, "Don't hold hands. Don't get too close."*

*And that's what I'm trying to get across to my mom. She says she loves me and she'll support me. And I say, "Mom you're not supporting me! You're hiding me. How are you supporting me? If you're hiding me?"*

*So, and she doesn't understand. ....*

*I am still going through it. I don't know, the homophobia of course. The homophobic remarks....So, I'm still going through that with my family.... It's difficult. And that's why I say, it's tiring because I'm not only trying to fight or be ... visible here, but my home town, my family. All my family is*

*in my hometown. I try to go as often as I can, but sometimes I just don't*

*go. I choose not to go.*

Araceli's experience complicates the notion of "safe space" and its equation with "gay friendly". As she often described on our Sunday night outreach time, The Center may be "gay friendly", but is often not perceived as a "safe space" for queer people of color. She found this to be a central aspect of her outreach work to Hispanic LGBTQ people. In turn, as Araceli demonstrates in her description of the health fair incident in her hometown, home is not necessarily a place where queerness or rather visible queerness is unproblematic. The central conflict in Araceli's work in 2006 dealt with how best to convince queer people of color that The Center is a safe space even while some of her own experience speak to the very same type of alienation and othering that many of her friends and potential clients fear. She expressed that she felt this alienation was heightened in both her work and in with her family in her hometown by her status as a Hispanic woman and the expectations that went along with this status.

Felix however, had a different view on safe space, in that he encouraged Araceli not to accept what he called the propaganda of her hometown and The Center, or anything that made her out to be inferior, whether due to her sexual orientation, gender, body size or education and language skills. He also was looking forward to conducting outreach in his hometown of Ajo with funding from a new grant for rural outreach.

*My job is changing a lot. And the vast majority of it is going to be outreach to rural areas....there are partner that we have under the grants already....*

*So, basically there's ten of them. And there will be ten locations....The relationship is already established in that we are already under the same grant. And we've already worked with in some way and we have contact people. So, we have a foot in the door.*

*But like Ajo is my hometown, and we are partnered with them through…is the health department? No, it's like Help Family Services. But um, I will be giving a presentation there….Yeah. I'm looking forward to it. I can't wait to go back there. But I'm lucky, like my family… Well, my mom has been really great. She came to the fiesta, and she's apprehensive about it. And in the end, she gets nervous. But she's made efforts. I think we really forced her to change a lot….And I think you're [Araceli] the only person that's come out in your family….Whereas, I have my uncle, and then I had myself, and my sister and my cousin…..So, it was kind of like "Okay!"….*

*Because in Hispanic families, when that stuff happens we really don't talk about it. Like if somebody is cheating on somebody and you know it. You don't talk about it…..You know, because it's about keeping that….keeping*

*face. And yeah, in my family I always bring… If I'm dating somebody for a*

*significant amount of time, they always come to our family functions and*

*what not. And force myself to be accepted by them.*

I discuss these issues to highlight some of the concerns and contradictions that volunteers and staff have to deal with in their everyday experience. This is part of the social context in which their work as activists and advocates takes place. It is part of an ongoing discussion within The Center, and within the activist and social service communities for some time (Newton 1993). It may also speak to some of the mechanisms at play within attempts at coalition politics in "LGBT" movements. Namely, the orientation and location of movement activity as centered within or without of gay "sites of consumption", whether that be consumption of goods or services (Castelles 1989). I return to these dilemmas in the chapter on the politics of "allies" and coalition building within the "LGBT" rights movements within the United States. I examine how the construction "ally" is transformed within "LGBT" organizing to produce new types of welcomed subjects, while at the same time producing new "strangers" which must be jettisoned from or marginalized within an emerging homonormative vision of community. This is shown clearly through the strategies employed within The Campaign Speaker's Bureau.

<u>Cohorts</u>

As highlighted above, selective imaginings of safe space and oasis can be read through the lens of cohort experience. For instance, as one leaves youth behind, queer people are less likely to experience the degree of harassment and violence directed at queer youth. A person's age, class, gender and race/ethnicity amplify these experiences of risk of violence. The Youth Lounge provides services to "LGBTQQ" (QQ stands for queer and questioning) youth who according to lounge staff are more likely than Center participants to come from low-income families, communities of color, and are at a higher risk for homelessness. Youth Lounge participants are likely to experience personal and institutional violence as a very real threat in their daily lives. I became increasingly aware of this threat through my work with the Anti-Violence Program. A majority of the violent incident reports came from youth and youth workers at various agencies throughout Tucson, including the Youth Lounge. As is the trend nationwide, perpetrators were often youth themselves, of similar racial and class backgrounds as the youth they attacked or harassed. These trends of violence are similar to those reported throughout the United States. In this environment, the Youth Lounge can and does often become a form of "safe space" for youth who seek a momentary reprieve from street and institutional (school system, foster care, familial) violence.

In the last chapter I discuss the ways in which the 1976 murder of a young gay man (a "youth") has been linked to the emergence of safe spaces of civic engagement for queer citizens in Tucson. It is here important to analyze the response to violence perpetrated against local queer youth in order to examine the similarities in the ways in

125

which these incidents are framed by mainstream "LGBT" organizations across the United States. This framing often ignores cite specificity (the local context) and masks the full spectrum of violence that queer youth may experience. In the next chapter, I focus on the role of the volunteer within local and statewide LGBT organizations, and what this might tell us about Tucson exceptionalism/difference. It is here useful to think of not only multiple publics and counter publics, but also the productions of normative discourses and counter discourses.

CHAPTER 4

THE CITIZEN VOLUNTEER AND LGBT ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE


What is so powerful about professional cultures is their built-in
protection against participating professionals examining the
underlying assumptions of their trade. ~Laura Nader (1995: 61)


However you live and participate is what you're going to
get back from the community. ~Claire*, HRF Volunteer


In this chapter, I draw on historical sources and participant interviews in order to sketch

out a discourse of volunteerism within LGBT organizational claims for state inclusion. I

argue that the discourse is employed by organizations in their claims to legitimately

represent community and therefore secure resources, protection and state inclusion. By

tapping into and therefore transforming existing political structures to the benefit of the

organizations and thereby benefiting the communities which they seek to represent by

transforming the symbolic circuits of stigma. In a sense, by studying these organizations,

one can gain insight into the power structures and relations of U.S. society. I assert that a

neoliberal discourse of volunteerism arose historically within the gay and lesbian

organizational culture along with a shift from gay liberation to gay rights politics in the

late 1970s and early 1980s. The timing of this shift places the discourse of volunteerism

within LGBT organizational contexts arose simultaneously with the shift to early urban

experiments in neoliberal forms of governance within the U.S. As such it is a

phenomenon given meaning through everyday practice within local and regional context. Here I seek to trace out local attempts to not only co-opt LGBT organizations and community infrastructure by corporate and state interests, including public and private sector funders, but also highlight the ways in which this cooptation benefits the LGBT organizations. While LGBT organizations and infrastructure arose out of gay social networks and community life, it also arose out of social movement response to state oppression, discrimination and willful neglect. I argue that LGBT organizational and movement culture plays a similar role as what Hyatt (2001b: 213) calls "pre-existing survival networks among poor women," where the local and national LGBT organizational infrastructure was expanded in order to provide essential necessities during a time of willful neglect during the beginning of the AIDS crisis in the U.S. I argue that not only has this LGBT organizational infrastructure and community building provided the groundwork for early forms of neoliberal interventions, but that LGBT organizational response to the HIV/AIDS crisis continues to be used as a model for latter day models of neoliberal citizenship.

Specifically, here I aim to trace out the contribution of marginal sites and to both the creation and transformation of this discourse. My ethnographic research illuminates some of the ways in which a *citizen volunteer* discourse is utilized by the staff and volunteers at the LGBT Center within the context of a series of partnerships involving volunteer labor: 1) research projects funded by /Youth Lounge, state Health Department and the local state university, 2) the merger of the Gender Alliance with , 3) The Campaign and splinter campaigns, 4) the Neighbors You Know television ad

128

campaign created in partnership with an advertising agency, 5) and the Re:Configurations

dance performance organized by two local dance companies influenced by Center LGBT

101 trainings.

It was the Re:Configurations directors who clearly defined the role of

community participants as *citizen artmakers.* It was only after speaking with The

Directors, that I began to view Center volunteers as *citizen volunteers.* In a sense they

highlighted and directed my search for anthropological theory on the rise of the

*neoliberal citizen,* and made me see the clear connections between volunteerism as one

appropriate role for the citizen within the context of neoliberalism. In addition to recent

work which highlights the homonormative aspects of LGBT rights claims (Phelan 2001;

Puar 2007), I also draw on the work of Gledhill 2000 (Giddens 1985, Asad 1992), who

examines the proliferation of the category of *citizen* in Western Europe to the emergence

of two distinctions: between the *public* and *private sphere*, and *the state* and *civil society*.

Gledhill argues (2000:19) that this has led to a condition where "all groups in society

become compelled to pursue their interests 'within the domain organized by the state',

through political struggles focused on legal categories." Gledhill (2000:21) goes on to

argue that anthropology can play an important role in bringing dimensions of modern

political life back into view, such as actions which contest existing power relations by

parodying "the institutions and symbols of the regime." As Asad (1992: 17 quoted in

Gledhill 2001:19) argues, all social issues become *politicized* in this way, whether that be

the demand for legal recognition of indigenous groups or gender and sexual politics, what

is important is "that people now attempt to secure rights in this way even in profoundly

authoritarian circumstances." Asad argues that even repressive regimes share the

"pretensions" of modern states in their attempts to

> …intervene profoundly in the social practices of everyday life but have not succeeded in developing the power infrastructures needed to effect the kind of 'penetration' of social life achieved in the North. They are essentially *weak* states, resorting to physical coercion because they cannot secure their ends through the more subtle and manipulative practices of power associated with Northern 'surveillance' societies. (Asad 1992: 17)

What are the power infrastructures of these Northern surveillance societies? How might

LGBT organizations parody institutions and symbols of the regime? Does the

surveillance on the part of the regime require a parodying of the institutions and symbols

of the counter cultures and grassroots social movements? Within such a context, is it

surprising that hierarchical organizations can simultaneously parody the grassroots and

the regime? I argue that this dual or flexible parodying helps to situate the discourse of

volunteerism within the neoliberal context. For example, Hyatt (2001b: 203) argues that

beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, volunteerism and community services began

to be promoted by government as alternatives to state action. She links volunteerism and

community service to larger cultural changes that encourage all citizens to incorporate the

values of the market place and to see state action which seeks to redistribute wealth or

take other material action as illegitimate. In this sense, the *citizen volunteer* is a category

of citizen that embodies these cultural processes. I do argue, following Nader (1997), that

these are *controlling processes* of power. For instance I find parallels between Hyatt's

(2001b) work and my own field observations, which highlight a shift in meaning and

practice of volunteerism. Hyatt observes a series of transformations from public housing

tenant activism to "tenant management" of public housing projects. This signals a shift

from grassroots activism to a low investment (from the state) form of social control.

I argue that this is parallel to shifting identities, meaning and practice of

volunteerism within the context of the LGBT community center and the campaigns to

stop the Protect Marriage Amendment in 2006. For instance, Hyatt highlights the ways in

which the discourses of empowerment and *citizen volunteerism* institute initiatives that

seek to:

> …exploit pre-existing survival networks among poor women by incorporating them into local-level bureaucracies, as part of an undertaking aimed at illustrating the rewards of withdrawing public sector resources from poor communities. What is of note is how the assumptions underlying the execution of many of these programs actually violate these norms of reciprocity and mutuality that predate these policies and that have long sustained poor communities. (Hyatt 2001b: 213)

Within this quote I detect a sense of outrage and an alignment with the goals and

strategies of the early reciprocal survival networks. However, while these norms have

been violated it is through a transformation of existing power relations, do some of the

former tenant activists gain access to a different form of power by parodying the

professionalism and expertise of the state, while simultaneously legitimating their power

symbolically in the grassroots? That it is fairly easy for the regime to absorb, destabilize

and undercut this newfound access, does not deny that a point of access has become

available (if only partial or fleeting) to some of the tenants, while becoming closed to

others. Below I have outlined an example of a similar circumstance, which arose during

fieldwork in 2006.

131

Research Collaboration: The Health Department and University

The state Health Department sought to study and utilize The Center's infrastructure and social networks in what appeared to be an attempt in a low investment form of preventative health policy. Two specific projects were under way as I entered the field in 2006. The first was an ongoing partnership that structured daily operations at The Center's Youth Lounge, where a majority of program funding was underwritten by a drug and STI/STD prevention grant. The grant was focused around a participatory research project that sought to evaluate the effectiveness of a series of youth interventions on rates of drug use/abuse and sexual health. Some of this funding came out of tobacco money grants and appeared to be similar to programs I have witnessed at an independent LGBTQ youth center in Philadelphia. I interviewed staff at the Youth Lounge and one of the university based researchers involved in the project. All involved lamented the fact that the grant restricted the ability of the staff and more importantly the youth to make decisions concerning youth programming needs.

The second research collaboration involved a short-term grant opportunity to create a LGBT health needs assessment (again with a heavy emphasis on tobacco usage and risk factors). In this collaboration, volunteer researches from the University of Arizona, who were also a part of The Center's pre-existing social network of support, undertook the research project to assess the health needs of the LGBT community in Arizona. After the findings of the survey and stakeholder interviews were compiled and analyzed, the Health Department approached leadership with the intention of creating a

132

Phoenix based LGBT community center modeled after on the Tucson Center. Apparently they had been pleased with the role that The Center played in Southern Arizona and sought to create a similar organization and outreach arm in Phoenix. The Center's Executive Director did not feel that this sort of relationship or endeavor aligned with the goals and values of the organization, based on the grassroots model that allowed for The Center to become a success as defined by the Health Department. The Executive Director felt that the role of The Center should not become a social service agency, but rather that its strength remain a community center. Center staff continually reaffirmed the importance of volunteers to run the organization (even as the paid staff increased and despite ongoing tensions between the staff and volunteers). And the Health Department praised The Center's level of involvement, while at the same time the Board allocated much of the decision making process to the Executive Director and his staff. One example offered by the Executive Director, is the role of the Front Desk volunteer. The E.D. stated that while it would be more efficient and cost effective to hire a front desk receptionist, the function of the Front Desk volunteer was to represent a wide range of faces from the community. In such a way visitors where made to feel welcomed. While this participatory model may be praised for raising the social capital of the volunteer and community by extension, it also necessarily masks the power relations at the heart of the decision-making power and the actual function of volunteers.

These power relations were made visible with the incorporation of the Gender Alliance group, as they tested out the limits of the ideal model within the context of everyday encounters with the actual hierarchical power structure of the institution. The

E.D. was concerned in both instances that the influence and goals of both the newly incorporated Gender Alliance volunteers and the officials Health Department involved in the LGBT Needs Assessment project would shift The Center toward a social service provider model, as opposed to a community center model. While Gender Alliance volunteers helped to lend legitimacy to The Center's efforts to represent transgender community members, their active role in programming decision-making and interest in potentially providing what the Executive Director defined as social services were often at odds with the Executive Director's vision for The Center. Likewise, the E.D. saw the Health Department officials as actively lobbying for The Center to take on social service function not only in Tucson but also by pressuring  to commit resources toward the creation of a second LGBT Center in Phoenix. In this case, volunteers also walked the line between two different sets of expectations rooted in both the grassroots model of community participation, and the hierarchical organizational structure of both The Center and the Health Department. The *citizen volunteers* in this case were the University based researchers contracted by The Center and the Health Department to conduct an LGBT Community Health Needs Assessment. The researchers were all active participants within Tucson LGBT political and community organizations, and the three all commented when interviewed that they participated in order to lend both their research expertise and university affiliation to the needs assessment project, but also saw their role as minimizing the negative impact of such an undertaking. This resulted in creating a research design that they themselves would not have chosen outside of the constraints of the Health Department.

Much like the Youth Lounge staff whose programming was funded by tobacco money or drug and STI prevention grants, the needs assessment researchers found themselves designing a research project that did not necessarily meet their own standards which would have made the study more relevant to The Center and the mainstream academic communities within their respective disciplines. In both cases, these are important grants and projects that can lend prestige and legitimacy to the organizations involved, but may also require a transformation of the very programs and organizational priorities that they seek to uphold in the first place. Here the role of the volunteer shifts to a quantifiable validation of participatory action and community legitimacy, not necessarily taking on the role of active stake-holder who contributes to the decision-making process. Volunteers are further ranked according to their professional skills and status as experts (for example the community researchers affiliated with the University), Board members, front desk and event volunteers, etc. This would appear to mark a major, and recent, transformation within The Center from an all-volunteer run organization to one that had become professionalized with paid positions, but may continue a tradition of professionalization of volunteer work within the larger LGBT organizational community. In essence this is a move from what appeared to be a horizontal organizational structure to a vertical structure, validated via the presence of the board and a large number of Center volunteers who carefully tracked and quantified their hours and forms of participation to be reported to grant-making agencies and outside consultants who assisted the organization with long-term strategic planning and development. There may have been differences in rank and prestige in the all-volunteer organization, where

professionals such as lawyers and business people were able to influence the decision

making process to a greater extent, however these relations have been transformed by the

professionalization of the organization. This can be seen clearly in the changing status

and influence of the Board once an Executive Director was hired. While it is true that the

Board hires and can dismiss the Executive Director, while in that position, the ED has the

power to make major decisions for the organization. This may leave Board members who

are used to holding more sway over everyday decision making at The Center without the

ability to influence these everyday decisions. That the potential impact of such a change

in organizational structure is not clearly highlighted in either Center official histories or

in the Gender Alliance merger documents may highlight an important *subtle practice of*

*power* discussed earlier in this chapter. That it is not discussed freely does not imply that

this is an intentional manipulation, but rather a tacit element of U.S. political and

organizational culture. Those on the inside, such as the ED and his staff, may become

frustrated with Board members or Front Desk volunteers who do not know their

appropriate function or place within the new organizational structure. At the same time, it

may prove undesirable to highlight these new power relations as they may be counter to

the stated goals and legitimate authority of the organization to represent LGBT

community interests. That many volunteers do not accept this role may be due to naiveté

or a lack of agreement with how their official role may be defined by the professional

staff. In fact, the staff were often seen as working for the community members /

volunteers themselves, and in that sense are employees who are responsible to the

community / volunteers. This perception can create a rift between staff and the larger

LGBT social community, with several staff members stating that they felt like they always had to be "on" whether they were being approached about their work at the local health food store while shopping or going out to a bar or ball game. Many of the staff chose to socialize with friends at small house parties and potlucks, often with others employed at  or local LGBT organizations, or with friends outside of the LGBT organizational community.

<center>Gender Alliance Merger</center>

As mentioned above, this organizational structure, and the implicit assumptions that surround how a grassroots organization should work were made much more explicit with the incorporation of the Gender Alliance in 2005/2006. The Gender Alliance became incorporated (or merged, depending upon the perspective) or enfolded under the wings (to use Center symbolic language). At the time that I began fieldwork in Tucson in January of 2006, a Gender Alliance Advisory Committee had been set up to help facilitate the transition from independent organization to new program within organizational structure. Some of the Gender Alliance leaders had been asked to join Board, and one individual Dan had been hired as the Gender Program Director, a quarter time (10 hour/week) position that reported to the Director of Health and Wellness. Mary*, the Director of Health and Wellness appeared to have a contentious relationship with the leaders of the Gender Alliance who continually challenged her authority to make programming and budgeting decisions on behalf of the Alliance.

<center>137</center>

The Gender Alliance Advisory Committee utilized the language of "merger" due to the fact that this language was used in the contract and due to the fact that the Gender Alliance had in the past merged with an employer education and advocacy organization started by a local transman. When this individual committed suicide, the Gender Alliance both took on his work educating employers about assisting individuals going through a social gender transition (male to female, female to male) in the workplace, but also influenced the establishment of a mental health hotline and advocacy program. As conceived prior to the merger with The Center, the employer and mental health programs sought to educate employers and the mental health establishment on the human, social and legal aspects of transgender identity, culturally competency and discrimination. Both programs were all-volunteer run, with several professionals (physicians, social workers, grant writers, etc.) volunteering their time and resources.

Support for the two programs became contentious within the new organizational structure imposed by The Center. The workplace and community trainings (Speakers Bureau) offered by the Alliance were expected to become more standardized and meet the standards of LGBT 101 trainings. Members of the Gender Alliance were expected to follow the decision-making hierarchy of The Center, including adherence to multiple grant guidelines. The mental health program came under increasing scrutiny for components of the program that might be perceived as fulfilling a social service roll. Finally, an attempt was made to professionalize the peer support groups via the marginal supervision of Mary and two social work interns. Prior to the merger, the support groups were peer led and only relied on The Center for meeting space without the oversight of

Center staff or professional volunteers. Where many Gender Alliance members had felt early on that the merger with the Center would provide an opening of opportunities and base to increase support for their projects, by the time that arrived in Tucson, some were unsure whether they had lost control and potentially lost their voice in the decision-making process. There was discussion as to whether the Gender Alliance could endeavor to break this union and become independent. The GA's position within The Center may have opened access for some GA members, such as seats on the Board and a part-time paid position as the GA program director, but these positions also fell under the supervision and rank of the E.D. and other staff members. At the same time, GA volunteers lost access to independent direct decision-making via consensus and the type of face-to-face and mediated (online listserv) discussions that had occurred in the past, to a limited range of decisions that had to follow institutional guidelines for allocating resources for continuing and new projects.

As mentioned previously, some of the misunderstandings surrounding Gender Alliance members' role dealt with both the inclusion of GA members on the Board, the creation of the paid staff position, the creation of the Advisory Committee and the differing meaning and role allotted to volunteers. Gender Alliance members had different notions of what role and influence would be afforded through all three avenues. For instance, The Center's reliance on a large volunteer base to staff its front desk and support its programming was at times overstated in order to legitimate as an authentic, grassroots organization with the ability to represent a large segment of the imagined LGBT community in Southern Arizona. The Board also appeared to have little influence

over everyday decision-making. Whereas within the Gender Alliance, an all-volunteer run organization, power was granted to those who actually showed up and devoted time and energy to the cause, project, grant application, support groups, and various other activities and trainings. Expertise was acknowledged at multiple levels (what people are best at) with an emphasis on personal experience. Professional expertise did not seem to play as much a role as opinion regarding who could claim an authentic transgender experience.

For example, Russell*, a long-time member of the Gender Alliance and member of the GA Speaker's Bureau, disrupted  professional staff's view of *cultural competency*. In contrast to the two doctors who led trainings at the local medical school were supported in their efforts and viewed as culturally competent, and therefore authentic voices of the transgender community (as defined by LGBT organizational culture of The Center). Russell often shared his personal story at GA and Center/Campaign/PFLAG panels. Russell's life story presentation included a narrative that confused some of his fellow GA members. Because they knew him to be a (transsexual) man, they misread his statements referring to himself as a heterosexual, biological male (ally of the LGBT community) as a claim to intersex status.

In fact, Russell, though participating in panels, did not feel comfortable "outing" himself as a transsexual man. He felt strongly that he should be able to participate in the panels as an ally to the LGBT community and not have to "out" himself as transsexual. This confused and disturbed some fellow members of the GA, in that their own narratives where much more rooted in a culturally competent social science narrative in which sex

and gender are seen as analytically distinct, and their transition was one of a shift in either personal or public perception of their social identity. They felt Russell's narrative sought to justify his transition as rooted in biology. In fact, Russell challenged the very liberation model of "coming out" by taking on the ally position. I am not sure how the audience read his performance, and I in fact also misinterpreted Russell's position while attending a number of panels. It was only during a subsequent interview that Russell discussed his involvement with PFLAG, The Campaign and the Gender Alliance that his intended reading of the display was made known. Russell also discussed the role that his wife played in positioning himself as an ally. His wife had placed a limit on his involvement in these organizations and public forms of activism and advocacy, for in outing himself he would also be outing her.

When taken within the context of Russell's life history narrative, the threat of violence is linked to issues of visibility. For instance, Russell expressed a fear that his wife's family would find out about his transsexual history. For instance, while visiting his wife's community, he takes pains to protect both his privacy and his body from their inspection in a very close-knit rural community. In order to explain this fear, that comes from having lived in this community with his wife for close to a year, Russell also drew upon the film Boys Don't Cry, based on a true story, in which a young transman living in a rural area is raped and murdered by a friends of his girlfriend. Russell referred to his wife's hometown as "like Boys Don't Cry". Russell chooses not to share these experiences within the context of the panels, and covers his transsexual history by identifying himself as a heterosexual biologically male ally, a member of PFLAG

(Parents Friends of Lesbians and Gays). He also chooses not to explain himself to the majority of the Gender Alliance, PFLAG and The Campaign panel members. This rendered his performance unintelligible to some of his fellow Gender Alliance members. However, it does highlight a range of limited options available to those who would like to participate within the panel structure. Russell takes on the role of PFLAG ally, in part because he is uncomfortable with the coming-out-panel script available to him as a man with a transsexual biography. I come back to these limitations and negotiations with another panel member Syd in Chapter 5.

This theme of authenticity, legitimacy and the use of the symbols of grassroots movement culture played out in the context of another type of conflict between The Center leadership and the organization that was created in order to officially oppose the 2006 Protect Marriage Amendment (The Campaign). The discourse of volunteerism was also at the heart of a split between The Campaign (state-wide Phoenix based organization) and a local No on PMA group that came together during the last months before the election. While both sides claimed that the split was due to fundamental differences between a Tucson, grassroots and Phoenix, political campaign approach to organizing, the split actually highlighted many of the similarities in organizational structure, message and tactics between The Center and The Campaign (and later between The Campaign and the No on PMA splinter group). The major differences appear to be not in the decision making process (hierarchical with strong leadership at the top) or the core message, but come down to issues of representation and the symbolic *covering* (Goffman 1963; Yoshino 1997) or embracing of LGBT culture. In a sense, the

differences come down to visibility and subtlety. For instance there was a discussion about whether to use the phrase *gay marriage* or portray LGBT individuals within a positive light (as deemed within a homonormative system of meaning), or whether to remain silent about the PMA impact on LGBT people. Considering that visibility was a key symbol and goal of the Gay Liberation movement, and the *hearts and minds* approach of the E.D., this difference is of particular salience.

### The Tucson Twelve: No on PMA Splits emerges from The Campaign

During the summer months of 2006, twelve members of the Tucson steering committee and a few other Tucson based volunteers received a cease-and-desist letter signed by the co-chairs of The Campaign. This letter represented an ongoing dispute between some Tucson and Phoenix activists, and in this case eventually led to the creation of a Tucson-based "grassroots" organization, No On PMA in the Fall of 2006. I seek to place these events within the context of the anthropology of disputes in order to examine how they lend themselves to disruptive "high-stakes politics" and at the same time sustain a sense of difference which native Tucsonans and progressive transplants claim as part of their own personal and social identities, and mask the similarities between the different scales of (vertical) power relations within both organizations (and the LGBT Community Center).

In other regards the No on PMA representatives reproduced similar themes or messages that were espoused by The Campaign. Some of these included "this is not about marriage", "same-sex marriage is already illegal in Arizona". Also the leaders of this

143

organization tended to focus on the second part of the amendment, much as The Co-Chair advocated in The Campaign literature and in the Debate described in Chapter 2. In the Debate, the panelists used many of the same rhetorical strategies as The Campaign, although positioned themselves as part of the LGBT community. The public nature of these identities (especially for Beth) may have contributed to the skirmish discussed in Chapter 2. The affront is personal, not simply legal, and so while PMA Proposition is "not about marriage" the panelists still feel the need to defend the value of their relationships and identities, within the frame of monogamous relationships.

This focus on and rejection of *identity* can be framed within the tension between New Social Movement and resource mobilization theorists. It also speaks to both the role and limits of organizations like  to act as *abeyance* structures during lulls in political activities (Taylor 1989; Grey & Sawer 2008). This perhaps is seen most clearly in the long-standing dispute over a grassroots (community building/ "loose to win") strategy versus a political (campaign focused/"win the battle") approach to campaigns. Although professionals ran both campaigns, the Center executive director and a group of long-time volunteers who served in their capacity as culturally competent and legitimate authorities within the gay organizational community influenced the grassroots campaign. They were in effect high-level volunteers (current and former Board Members) and executive level staff of The Center, who enjoyed the privilege of their middle-class professional class, with occupations ranging from physician, the Executive Director of The Center, to various business, educational and research professions.

During the summer of 2006 the tension between the *grassroots* (Tucson based) side of The Campaign and the *campaign* focused (Phoenix based) co-chairs (two politicians) came to a head over a dispute involving proper language on official Campaign electronic communication. As a result, twelve active Campaign volunteers (mostly members of the Steering Committee) received a cease and desist letter from the official campaign (signed by the co-chairs). This was in response to a Tucson-based fundraising effort for The Campaign that was distributed via e-mail (including all of the twelve's e-mail addresses) and neglected to include financial reporting information. For many of the Tucson Twelve (a name they adopted for themselves) this represented an ongoing schism between Tucson and Phoenix. This break led to the formation of a new organization (the local No on PMA), funded in part by many members of the Steering Committee and led by Beth, a local PR executive and newly appointed member of the Tucson LGBT Commission. Beth had become the main face of the local campaign (engaging in televised and other public debates with supporters of the PMA). However, prominent local straight allies played a role in the campaign as well, recording radio spots in English and Spanish. These prominent opponents to the PMA included the Mayor of Tucson and his wife, the president of the University of Arizona, the popular, bilingual Democratic congressional representative from Pima County, in addition to an unaired segment by an openly gay U.S. Congressman (this was pulled due to an unrelated political scandal). The message was essentially the same as The Campaign, but the straight allies and Beth acknowledged that gay people existed and might also be affected negatively (among the straight majority of domestic partner registrants) by the ballot

145

initiative. All of the allies were also vocal supports of gay rights, local LGBT politicians and the LGBT Center. All in all gay rights was not the major focus of the No On PMA *grassroots* campaign. Since the campaigns were not substantively different, the dispute may have been more about existing notions of Tucson exceptionalism and the ways in which power relations required a balance of denying the mechanism of power relations, while at the same time accommodating certain types of consensus grassroots organizing within the hierarchical structure of local LGBT organizational, business and political power structures. This form of accommodation allowed the Tucson community to maintain a sense of harmony and equilibrium, while still allowing community leaders to retain an aura of legitimacy *as* a grassroots organization (as an organization that was at its inception grassroots). This was facilitated by the fact that for instance, and Executive Director was both hired by the Board, while at the same time operating under a fair degree of autonomy in his actions due to the power of his position.

Within this context, and considering the fact that many of the Tucson branch of The Campaign Steering Committee had been involved with the Board, it appears on the surface obvious why the Co-Chair may have been perceived as an illegitimate leader by many of Steering Committee members based in Tucson. The Co-Chair utilized an *overt* top-down strategy and followed a strict code of *personal accountability.* She was seen by some of the Tucson steering committee as wielding illegitimate power. The Co-Chair appears to have misread or disregarded the careful balance with which the Tucson volunteers and activists legitimated and masked power relations. The Co-Chair was either unaware or dismissive of these local power relations, and characterized many of the

146

Tucson Steering Committee members as unprofessional and operating within a naïve frame of reference. During our interview The Co-Chair justified her disdain for the Tucson style of grassroots organizing by describing her own gradual disillusionment with grassroots activist strategies. Her understanding of grassroots organizing came out of her involvement with the anti-globalization movement, including participation with the famed Seattle WTO protests of 1998, and her initial foray into formal politics in her run as an Green party and then an independent candidate for State legislature. That she ultimately won be reframing her platform within the Democratic Party platform, appears to have influenced how she characterized the Tucson style of grassroots activism.

Ultimately, the Co-Chair also saw the Tucson Twelve incident as reflecting existing tensions that had developed over the course of the campaign, but which had their roots in a longer history of difference between the two cities. What is interesting to note is that the Co-Chair's description of the role of the Steering Committee and the role of the Advisory Committee to the Gender Alliance. This dispute ties back to the way in which Executive Director sought to balance the role of as an authentic community-based organization, with an increasing pressure on the part of local social service agencies and the Pima County Department of Health to take over some social service functions of the state. As noted earlier, many of the active members of the Transgender Alliance Advisory Committee wanted to see an expansion of their program's (formerly an independent volunteer run organization) capacity to fulfill a social service role expand. On the other hand, there also seemed to be a tension between the Gender Alliance on one side and the Health Program Director and Executive Director on the other in their vision for the role

147

of volunteers (including Steering Committees and Center Board volunteers). 's

organizational model had moved from a volunteer led, board driven organization to a

Executive Director led, staff and volunteer dependent model that often seemed to relegate

Board involvement to minor commitments other than ongoing *development* (fundraising)

efforts. This transition which involved the ongoing professionalization of The Center,

which included the addition of personnel and the move to a new, larger facility (half of

which was used for staff offices and conference rooms) provided part of the backdrop

from which emerged the dispute between the Gender Alliance Advisory Committee and

the professional Center staff, as well as the dispute that arose between The Campaign

Phoenix-based co-chairs and the Tucson-based steering committee members. That the

first and only Steering Committee meeting I attended took place in The Center's upstairs

staff conference room may have brought these patterns into sharper focus. However, after

speaking with both The Center's Executive Director and The Campaign Co-Chair, I

could not but help see a similarity in both the power structure of both organizations, as

well as a mirroring in the relationship between The Campaign (dominant) and the

Steering Committee, and of that between  professional staff and the Transgender Alliance

Advisory Committee. In a sense  staff and high-level volunteers had been incorporated

into The Campaign because  itself could not spend more than ten percent of its annual

budget on political engagement due to its non-profit filing status. Nor did the executive

staff wish to see the organization become a Political Action Committee. They wished to

preserve the organization as a community center. This created a loss of control over

message and style of the campaign. In a similar vein, yet in many ways the converse of

The Campaign example, the Transgender Alliance gave up much of its power to control the meaning and style of its decidedly activist and social service agenda in order to be incorporated and receive the support and stability of a program within the folds of The Center's wings. Unlike the Tucson-based The Campaign Steering Committee, the Gender Alliance Advisory Committee had no alternate organizational structure to fall back on. And during the year that I attended the Advisory Committee meetings, it was often debated whether the Gender Alliance had the ability to backtrack and break from The Center if it found that this was necessary. This was especially an issue for the Mental Health Project and for those interested in participating in direct action to confront the medical establishment in their abuse of transgender patients. However, more than a disagreement concerning the ability of the Gender Alliance and The Center itself to fulfill both a social service and political advocacy role, much of the tension during 2006 came about in regard to organizational structure and the role of volunteers.

In a sense, there were at least two different interpretations of grassroots organizing and the meaning of a community organization. Also at issue was the legitimacy of the Gender Alliance members, who because of overt discrimination and a variety of occupational and family class backgrounds challenged what The Center staff may have perceived as professional, high-level volunteers (i.e. those worthy of Center Board status). For instance, the lone physician of the group (other than a lesbian, *cisgendered* ally who specialized in transgender medicine) received an Award at the annual Center dinner spoke to some of these tensions. Of course there was no questions that the physician deserved the award. He was a well-liked and had made a long-term

149

commitment to the Gender Alliance since the founding of the organization. That the

physician selected for the award was a transgender FTM (female-to-male) and could

easily *cover* his status as a transgender man if he so chose, spoke to another tension that

sometimes arose within the Transgender Alliance itself between older FTM and MTF

who generally had different experiences of discrimination in both efforts to maintain their

occupational status after they began transitioning from one gendered social status to

another, as well as acceptance within the LGBT organizational community as well. For

instance, many of the Advisory Committee MTF members identified as lesbians, and

many of the FTM Advisory Committee members also dated non-transgender women.

This also presented a unique response from staff and volunteers. Some of the Gender

Alliance Steering Committee members seemed unaware of the structure of power

relationships within The Center, and were surprised at their expected subordinate role.

This also speaks to the ways in which The Center is organized and the form of

accommodation offered to the Board and volunteers tends to mask these very

relationships. While the illusion of their ability to maintain a strong and unchallenged

hold on the direction of transgender programming, and a level of autonomy for the

Advisory Committee was quickly challenged, I was left with the feeling that some of the

Advisory Committee took this as just another form of discrimination based on their

transgender status. While this appears to be the case on some level (see discussion

above), it may also reflect a naïve understanding of the actual role of  Board and Center

volunteers in the actual day-to-day and long-term strategic planning of The Center.

However, as two Advisory Committee members began to settle into their dual role as

Center Board members I believe that organizational power dynamics became a bit clearer and at least one Advisory Committee member began to reformulate her approach to negotiating with Center Staff and the Executive Director. In Chapter 5 I discuss one of the ways this particular Board/Advisory Member utilized the rhetoric of grassroots and community ownership of to have an HIV prevention poster placed within The Center building. It was not until after the November elections and the defeat of PMA Proposition that my understanding of similarities between The Campaign and The Center were confirmed. This happened quite inadvertently when I interviewed both The Center Executive Director and The Campaign co-chair.

Campaign Style: Polling as a Tactical Strategy

In the late Fall of 2006, after the PMA had been narrowly defeated in the polls one of The Campaign Co-chairs and a member of the state legislature sat down with me at a coffee shop in Phoenix to discuss the campaign. We began by discussing the media coverage of the campaign's *win*, and some of the internal disputes that played out during the course of the campaign. The Co-Chair's response to my questions concerning the role of polling on the ultimate campaign messaging strategy, and the campaign's decision to go with Al and Maxine (the heterosexual senior couple with a domestic partnership) as the main face of the campaign. I found it interesting that her framing of the campaign message acknowledged the "stranger" status of queer people within the state of AZ. The strategy to focus on Al and Maxine, acknowledged this pariah status while at the same time moving the strategy of homonormativity to its underlying basis, heteronormativity. The

151

strategy most likely contributed in part to the success of the 2006 No on PMA campaign, but ultimately was deemed a failure on the part of the Tucson activists due to the 2008 passage of the revised PMA, which contained a straight forward "man equals one man, one woman" language. I argue that this failure is much more than that outlined by the "lose to win" strategy advocated by the Freedom to Marry / Evan Wolfson crowd, and has more to do with the critique of homonormative or homonationalist strategies (Puar 2007; Phelan 2001) which rest on the base of both *covering* (Goffman 1963; Yoshino 1997) assimilation and identity based politics.

Neighbors You Know: Community Building and Visibility as Strategy

During the campaign season,  The Center collaborated on a series of public service announcements endorsed with  The Center logo on local television stations. I had the opportunity to interview two of the five Tucson "neighbors" who starred in the PSA spots. One of the neighbors was the leader of the UofA LGBT organization. The other neighbor was a local family physician who was also a member of The Campaign Tucson Steering Committee. The premise of the PSA ads involved highlighting responsible citizen neighbors who contribute to their communities, and then revealing that the neighbors are LGBT, with The Center logo appearing on the lower right hand corner of the screen. The other spots included a single older man who was a volunteer at the local Humane Society; a young retired veteran; a local city council member, her partner and their young daughter; and a transgender/transsexual ex-fighter pilot and defense industry executive.

While the idea for the PSA's came from two Center Volunteers, the Executive

Director in collaboration supported these two individuals in their efforts with a local PR

firms. The Center supported the fundraising efforts and endorsed the spots with The

Center logo. That the campaign occurred during the time of the Protect Marriage

Amendment ballot initiative caused some tension between Center staff and the official

Campaign, which was also airing campaign-ads across the state at that time (though not

in the Tucson market). The Campaign television ads did not mention same sex or gay

marriage, or families within a positive light. As mentioned earlier, The Campaign

message was neutral regarding LGBT individuals, organizations and rights. The

Campaign message focused on the ways in which a PMA would take away rights that

Arizona citizens were already enjoying, such as domestic partner benefits. Al and

Maxine, the straight senior citizen couple, were the face of this campaign when needed.

The Executive Director and many of the Tucson Campaign steering committee members

felt that it was important to build up support for the LGBT community and remind local

people of the important role that LGBT people already filled within the community. This

fit within their mission as a community center without focusing on the campaign, which

many did not feel would be won at the state level. As The Center's Executive Director

and Program Director confirmed in interviews, they did not want a focus on a PMA

campaign to undermine the purpose of The Center. For this reason, and the non-profit

status of the organization, The Center only participated in the campaign to a limited

extent in its official capacity. However, some within the Tucson No on PMA group

attributed the Neighbors You Know campaign to the 2006 defeat of the PMA in Arizona,

or at least the local opposition to the ballot initiative in Pima County. Whereas the Co-chair of The Campaign, felt that the campaign was successful despite attempts by The Center and the Tucson No on PMA group to bring LGBT voices to the forefront. After the defeat of Proposition PMA, The Center and its partner ad agency began another series of television and web PSAs called Families You Know that essentially used the same message to reach out to Pima County residents.

<div align="center">Volunteer Cohorts: Coming out in the Bars and the Streets</div>

For the purpose of this study I have identified four cohorts, those who came out in the post-Stonewall era bar scene and the beginnings of the Homophile Movement (1940s-1950s); those who came out during the counterculture / bar scene in the Stonewall and post-Stonewall era (1960s-1970s); those who came out in the era of AIDS activism and the influence of identity politics; and those who came out during the post-queer influence of the Equality movement (1990s-2006). These are not age specific cohorts, but rather periods that I have identified as major shifts within LBGT community building and activism. Generational differences impact the experience of these time periods, and research informants interpret their initial involvement through the lens of their respective generation and experience. In many ways the experience of those who come out in the bar scene without being involved politically may be very similar across cohorts, whereas those involved in other forms of community building and activism may have experienced more variation in the meaning of their involvement. At the same time, due to the nature of the political climate that does not necessarily progress toward more acceptance, there

<div align="center">154</div>

are a variety of ways in which an individual may step in and out of the closet during

different periods of societal, familial or personal acceptance as well as their roles as

volunteers and activists. I highlight two such experiences drawn from life history

interviews with a Center front desk volunteer and a volunteer steering committee member

for the local Human Rights Fund.


Loves Lost and Found: Bea (Center volunteer)

Bea*, a seventy-three year old woman with a penchant for the color purple, was the one

of the first Center volunteers I met. She was a regular front desk volunteer who would

often pick up open shifts if  the Center Manager had trouble filling the spot. She also was

one of the first volunteers to invite me to The Campaign Tuesday night volunteer nights.

She quickly became one of my key informants and a friend. Bea is a retired nurse with a

penchant for purple cars, bumper sticker activism and button making parties who spent

most of her days in 2006 volunteering for the local LGBT community center, The

Campaign and No on PMA campaigns, the Stonewall Democrats and the Democratic

party. In addition to these activities she was active in her Spiritualist church and

community and volunteered for the Neighborhood watch in her remote mobile home

retirement community on the outskirts of Tucson. In 2006 she was a frequent forwarder

of e-mail, and an active participant in Democratic and LGBT political listservs and a

frequent poster to online forums (community comments sections) for the Tucson Citizen

and Arizona Daily Sun. During 2006 she also kept an ongoing speaking schedule as a

panelist for the PFLAG/ and the Campaign Speakers Bureau. These panels often

overlapped as far as panelists and organizers and I was not always sure who sponsored

the events. I am sure that Bea was not particularly concerned with these distinctions. The

panels were arranged for mostly college classrooms at the University of Arizona or Pima

Community College system. I was asked by Bea to host one of the panels in my own

Anthropology of Gender course that I was teaching at Pima during the Fall of 2006.

When interviewed, Bea framed her volunteerism and activism as something she

had always seen as part of her identity, going back to her youth in Los Angeles where as

a young white meter maid she experienced her first awareness of how gender and race

relations collide when she was harassed for accepting a ride offered by her mechanic, a

black man. While she described this incident as an important step in her self awareness as

an activist, in light of my questions about previous (prior to PMA) involvement in activist

activities, I do not recall hearing the incident mentioned in any of her public statements as

a panelists. Bea's Spiritualist beliefs and her experience of losing her true love to

alcoholism framed her narrative, which she shared in personal conversations, formal

interviews and as a panelist for the LGBT 101 sessions at UofA and Pima that I attended.

This story remained essentially the same in form and content.


Looking For Stones

During the last of a series of interviews that took place over the course of 2006, Bea

handed me a purple rock, the kind you might find near the check out counter of a New

Age book or gift shop. As she placed it in my hand, I noticed that it was smooth, polished

and had a nice flatness that would serve well as a skipping rock. Bea gave me the rock as

156

both token of friendship and a reminder of the story she shared with me. It was obvious why she chose the color, as Bea has a love of purple, from her bumber-stickered PT Cruiser down to her baseball hat, T-shirt and socks. So, when I see the rock, I am automatically reminded of Bea's typical gear, but she also wanted me to remember something else about her. Bea is a spiritualist, who was told by a medium to search Oak Creek Canyon (Northern Arizona) for stones left by her long lost lover. She spent time in Sedona searching for stones her long-lost love. A medium within Bea's Spiritualist tradition told her that her former lover had left the stones in Oak Creek Canyon. Bea turned a tragic story of loss into a completed circle of life, which helped her create and maintain a relationship with her lover's extended kin (now taken as her own) and connected her to the queer community through the repetition of (at least part of) her story in coming out panels and other public storytelling venues during the No on PMA campaign. The story helped to mark her as an elder who had survived a certain type of loss experienced by many individuals who came out into the queer bar culture of the last century; losing someone to their addiction.

From Activist to Bar Owner to Volunteer: Claire (HRF Tucson Steering Committee)
Claire* moved to Tucson from Chicago in the early 1970s. She was twenty-one and followed some of her activist friends to the area. As a high-school student in Chicago she became involved with the Black Panthers and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and had attended the 1968 Chicago Democratic convention as a protester. She recalls that as a seven year old she began knocking door-to-door in her suburban Chicago

neighborhood collecting for the March of Dimes, which led to further championing of social justice and feminist causes in her all-girls Catholic high school, which led the administration of her school to bar her from graduating with her class. Claire grew up in what she describes as a white and very generic Irish Catholic neighborhood. A place where "they made fun of gays, and probably still do." In comparison, Claire saw Tucson in the 1970s as more liberal politically and accepting of diverse people.

Many of her friends in the political underground began moving west in the early 1970s. Claire followed her friends in order to be where "things were happening" and in order to distance herself from her parents so that she could develop a different or way of thinking, "an unexpected life." She became immediately involved in social issues, supporting the Arts, volunteering for the Humane Society, and once she discovered her sexuality, she became very active in the LGBT community.

> *I felt like I was given a gift. I wasn't comfortable, but knew that I had to*
>
> *do it and at any cost to be visible, to help other people who are still afraid.*

Claire attributes much of her community engagement to belonging to her generation and place of upbringing, coming of age during the 1960s in Chicago. She credits growing up in the city, and being surrounded by universities to her early exposure to political movements surrounding racial and women's issues and injustices of the time.

> *I don't know how you could grow up at that time and not be you know, just*
>
> *enraged and you know, motivated.*

Her first formal LGBT activist involvement (beyond her ongoing fundraising support) came about in the late 1980s, when she became involved the creation of the organization Fairness (later HRF) that according to Claire was formed in order to impeach Governor Mecum. It was through these efforts and meeting to figure out how to change politics in Arizona in general that the statewide Human Rights Fund (HRF) came about. However, her fundraising activities began as early as the death of Richard Heakin (a young hate-crime victim in 1976) and continued throughout the 1980s around AIDS/HIV and as a bar owner and president of the Arizona Bar Association. As a bar owner, Claire's bar helped to bridge a gap between the men and women's community at a time when the bars were a center of community life. I heard stories about Claire's bar from several different sources and all confirmed that Claire and the space she created served this bridging function for the community. One of these sources was Allen*, a local archivist that I met through the Richard Heakin Memorial group. Claire helped to found The Center in order to support LGBTQ youth in Tucson. In addition to sitting on the Center Board, she also maintains her relationship with the Human Rights Fund by sitting on the Tucson committee. She continues to act as a mentor to youth and had begun to focus her activism and outreach to religious institutions.

## Conclusion

In the end, The Center Executive Director may have envisioned a particular role for volunteers, and utilized their involvement to bolster the authenticity and therefore legitimacy of The Center. At the same time however, Center staff such as the Director of

Programs were heavily invested in empowering volunteers and other community

members to create change and potentially transform the very power structure of the

organization despite the difficulties of the vertical/hierarchal structure. The staff also

appeared committed to invoking if not a grassroots ethos, then clearly a social justice

frame for their work in the hopes of opening up space for volunteers and the larger

community to connect multiple forms of injustice by entering into coalitions with

immigrant rights groups and the faith communities around issues like discriminatory

ballot initiatives and state law, bias and hate crimes. That my key informants (volunteers)

saw their involvement as central to the running of the organizations and the winning of

the campaign to stop the PMA does not just show a form of naïveté on their part. I argue

that the organizational leaders, pollsters and politicians' belief that their form of

strategizing and top down decision-making is what accomplishes goals may also be a

partial truth. In other words, when the goals are changing the hearts and minds of your

neighbors we cannot assume a generalized public but must be aware of multiple publics

and counter publics. In the same respect, movements are not clear-cut or neatly

categorized entities or singular narratives. Even the notion of the *citizen volunteer*, gay

liberation or gay rights discourse implies an ongoing process of exchange, reproduction

and cultural transformation. Such is LGBT organizational culture, ripe with counter

discourses that escape the easy labels of grassroots, campaign, volunteer, activist,

professional, local, national, and global. Bea did not seem to have time to worry about

whether she is volunteering for The Campaign, the Tucson No on PMA splinter group,

or PFLAG. She was unconcerned if the Co-chair of The Campaign approved of her

160

purchasing a button making machine to create No on PMA buttons based on a design from the leader of the No on PMA splinter group. She brought the buttons to The Campaign office, No on PMA meetings and to  front desk and conference rooms for a variety of ready made volunteer opportunities. She handed the buttons out to anyone and everyone. She also told her story of love and loss at every panel, no matter what organization she was representing or who the audience happened to be.

Claire as well added to a counter discourse in unexpected ways. She did not demonstrate any difficulty or contradiction in the ways she moved back and forth in and out of the closet; between radical politics and her involvement with the business community; inside and outside of mainstream LGBT organizational culture; and role as youth mentor. If anything, it seemed as though it is the field of action that transforms across generations and as one ages through the life course. So as Claire enters midlife she is drawn again toward using her personal identity and experience to challenge to religious institutions to transform from within.

The Executive Director of  The Center draws on the model of a former employer's organizational structure to his work with The Center, while steering The Center in a different direction in terms of social services and activism than the model. The Director of Programs hopes to empower community members, volunteers and staff to transform the institution and the wider culture by eroding power structures from within. Meanwhile, the Co-Chair of The Campaign embraces radical ideologies developed as a young anti-globalization activist, by reframing them within a mainstream Democratic Party package and disdains attempts to mask power relationships within

progressive communities. This approach may again be seen as naïve in that it does not recognize the role that authenticity and the appearance of grassroots legitimacy play with vertical organizations like The Center. On the other hand, it may signal an unwillingness to mask power relations by framing the statewide campaign with the trappings of the grassroots. The Co-chair framed her dismissal of grassroots approaches for discriminatory ballot initiatives within her experience as both an activist within the anti-globalization movement and as a politician. She had experience with grassroots organizations and outreach in both contexts, but felt that this strategy would not work when attempting to stop a discriminatory ballot campaign. That some of the Tucson Twelve (former Campaign steering committee members) felt the state-wide campaign was dishonest due to the erasure of LGBT experiences, images and voices speaks to both the role of visibility within modern LGBT organizational culture that embraces homonormativity in being out/visible, as well as the more radical (transformative) role of visibility within gay/queer liberation politics. In the next chapter, I address a similar theme of the development of a normative dominant discourse and radical counter discourse in regard to coalition politics.

CHAPTER 5

PERFORMING COALITION: ALLIES AND CITIZEN ARTMAKERS


*BEA: And, I mean, I think we're going to beat them. I really do. We have a lot of people. We have a lot of straight allies, you know, who are really great. And I have to tell you something funny. John\* and his wife Carla\*, you know over in our panel.*

*He said to me one day, "Well, you know, Hillary Clinton's a dyke."*

*And I said, "What?"*

*"Yeah," he said, "Didn't you know that?"*

*I said, "Oh, really?" I said, "Well, she didn't turn me on at all."*

*And he said, "What? You as a lesbian aren't turned on by Hillary Clinton?"*

*I just thought, "Oh, brother."*

163

*But anyway, it was so funny. I was telling Jan about it.*

*I said, "Can you believe this?"*

*I mean this guy, still has some, you know, issues. He doesn't understand, you know. I mean, as if I should be hopping in the sack with every woman that comes down the block.*

*So, anyway, isn't that funny though? "You, a lesbian, not turned on by Hillary Clinton?"*

*I said, "No, I don't even like her."*

*You know. I don't. People get the damndest ideas.*

*KR: So, what do you think about that? Like the amount of straight allies that are involved?*

*BEA: I think it's fantastic. I really do. There are a lot of people. Jay and Katie, I mean, they're fabulous. In fact, I've been teasing Katie.*
*I said, "Jesus, you getting that butch haircut. You're looking more like a dyke everyday."*

*And she just laughed. I mean, you know.*

*"Yeah. Oh    yeah," she says, "Yeah."*

*Anyway, we joke around about that all the time. I mean it's amazing what some people think, the myths that they have. Now if you were to turn those myths around and say that about them, they would be absolutely irate. You know what I mean?*

*KR: Yes.*

*BEA:   You know. So, anyway…*

The Epistemological Implications of Coalition: Allies and LGBT Organizing

"knowledge and power are deeply linked, and achieving social justice

requires attending to both." Patricia Hill Collins (2004: 3)

In this chapter I examine the inclusion of allies within LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) community and political organizing. I seek to understand the role of allies within Tucson and Phoenix LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) organizations

165

and community and political organizing. For instance, within the No on PMA campaigns that emerged in response to the Protect Marriage Amendment in 2006, straight identified couples became a central part of both campaign messaging and grassroots organizing. The face of The Campaign became Al and Maxine, an elderly retired couple who had utilized the domestic partner registry as opposed to civil marriage, so that their relationship would be recognized within medical settings without having to give up their separate pensions/social security income. As is highlighted in my conversation with Bea, in Tucson, straight couples identified as "allies" were an integral part of the day-to-day grassroots efforts that took place at the LGBT Community Center and then moved to The Campaign office.

While Al and Maxine's public statements appeared to be somewhat ambivalent about the issue of Gay Rights, the volunteers at The Center and the Southern Arizona campaign office were already embedded within the organizational and social culture of through their existing relationships with queer family, friends, or colleagues, or had sought out the community Center and The Campaign due to a conviction that, as Katie stated, "Gay Rights is the new Civil Rights" movement. I here address two important questions regarding straight identified persons who become active within the "Gay Rights" or "LGBT" movements. The first has to do with the strategic use of straight people as allies, outside of the *ally discourse*. The second has to do with the day-to-day involvement of straight identified, or ally identified, members of a community and/or movement. Both of these scenarios have broader epistemological implications for how

166

anthropologists study emergent social movements, and for how feminist theory addresses issues of difference.

I would like to begin with a brief overview of the epistemological implications of difference and what Stein (2001) calls the *politics of empathy*[22] and how the notion of allies fits within a feminist frame of analysis. I will then move on to deal with the issue of emergent social movements, and how the concept of identity can sometimes erase or silence the everyday workings of identity formation in relation to action. Examples from the field are not meant to offer a basis for generalization for entire social movements, but engage with what Haraway (1988) calls "situated knowledge". I hope to construct a limited and grounded theory of coalition and difference that will help situate what on the surface appear to be incommensurate visions for the future (whether that be movement or community). Here I am concerned with a series of questions that link the local to a larger movement. For instance, what does the process of initialization, and specifically the move to include allies (LGBTA) can tell us about how individuals experience a sense of community or solidarity, and to what extent that community and solidarity are based on experiential knowledge? Does the inclusion speak to a form of de-centering, where straight allies are doing the work of naming privilege and working within an LGBT

---

[22] Stein (2001: 138) writes of another campaign in Oregon run by a group of heterosexual women to stop another ballot initiative. She writes that here, "Identity politics, which provided the model for most lesbian/gay organizing during the past few decades, suggests that politics should emerge directly from one's own identity." "In the absence of a gay community, Timbertown's progressive activists were forced to depart from the identity politics model. Their *politics of empathy* called on heterosexuals to include lesbians and gay men in their imagination without necessarily feeling totally comfortable with them, suggesting they could support gay rights without being gay them- (139) selves. The campaign to defend lesbian and gay rights would be organized, for all intents and purposes, by heterosexual women." [emphasis added]

framework to create change? Or on the other hand, are there ways in which this conception of community and coalitional umbrella politics embraces a binary logic that may reify as opposed to critically evaluate existing sexual politics. In this essay I hope to lay out a framework of analysis that is both informed by feminist epistemology and engages with the critique of the limits of identity politics.

First I would like to engage with three central concepts to my argument that the inclusion of allies within the LGBT conception of community has important implications for feminist epistemology. First is the notion of *gender relations,* which are a form of social relations that links experiential and analytical knowledge. For instance, Jane Flax (1997: 171) argues that the "study of gender relations includes but is not limited to what are considered distinctly feminist issues: the situation of women and the analysis of male domination." However, gender relations need not be viewed as disconnected from other aspects of social relations. For instance, in *Black Sexual Politics: African Americas, Gender and the New Racism*, Patricia Hill Collins addresses gender relations from an intersectional approach that "treats race, class, gender, and sexuality as intersecting versus competing frameworks" (2004: 10). I am especially interested in Hill Collins' (2004: 6) use of the concept *sexual politics,* which she defines "as a set of ideas and social practices shaped by gender, race, and sexuality that frame all men and women's treatment of one another, as well as how individual men and women are perceived and treated by others." In this chapter, it is necessary to engage with an intersectional approach, which introduces sexuality into the reading of some feminist theorists who may have only addressed gender, race and class.

168

For instance, I draw on Chandra Talpade Mohanty's (2003) reconceptualization of Bernice Johnson Reagon's notion of *coalition*, to evaluate the implications of straight allies within LGBT community organizing. Mohanty, speaking to debates in feminism over international sisterhood versus international coalitions based on shared goals, views coalition as a political identification based in experience of opposition and struggle as opposed to an assumed identification based on universal categories. She draws on Johnson Reagons' notion that work does not necessitate that those in the room necessarily identify as women or feminist, or that those in the room even necessarily like each other. What this form of coalition does call for Mohanty (2003: 122) argues, is "the recognition that experience of the self, which is often discontinuous and fragmented, must be historicized before it can be generalized into a collective vision."

I was first drawn to the idea that I could engage Mohanty within the context of LGBT and global sexual and gender minority movements, or difference that plays out within the context of the United States (class, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality intersections). However, the unique position of allies within mainstream LGBT organizing offers a window into how the notion of LGBT informs an understanding of community and the possibility of creating coalitions. So, here I take a step further out on the limb, away from Mohanty's original intention and look at straight allies and the ways in which they may be asked to historicize their own experience of self in order to contribute to a collective vision in local community organizing. While this framework seems firmly in place within a mainstream LGBT rights movement in regards to the inclusion of straight allies, it may only loosely be applied to coalitions with other

169

marginalized sexual and minority groups who may not be represented by LGBT. I argue that this experience is akin to a momentary and/or fragmentary othering that has both spatial and temporal dimensions. This framework may then be used as a lens to reflect back on social justice issues related to class and race within LGBT mainstream organizations. The process of self-othering, and in so doing highlighting everyday privilege, is similar to the process that anti-racist white activists subject themselves. However, within the confines of the LGBT 101 workshops I will examine, an intersectional approach to privilege was not addressed, rather participants/allies were asked to think of their privilege solely in the realm of sexual orientation.

## Coming Out and Changing Hearts and Minds

I first encountered allies in this specific local network of LGBT community activists as I followed a group of volunteers at the LGBT community center into their involvement in a campaign to stop a Protect Marriage Amendment. The experiences and presence of these particular allies at the community center and involvement with The Campaign, has lead me to unpack the process of initialization and naming and its role within community building and political action. I am specifically interested in how straight allies, through the process of LGBT 101 workshops and other forms of in-group socialization, are asked to frame their experience through a LGBT lens, or one that assumes a stigmatized stand point in relation to normative social relations (here framed within the norm of the LGBT community).

For instance, allies who participated in an LGBT 101 session were asked when they first knew they were straight/felt an attraction for the opposite gender. In a specific Trans 101 workshop, allies (which included LGB identified people) with gender normative presentation (i.e. *cisgendered*, or someone who's primary gender assigned at birth matches their current identification) were asked to use the "wrong bathroom" or go by differently gendered name or opposite gender pronouns for the afternoon. These exercises acted as a catalyst for a more thorough analysis of hetero or gender normative privilege. Participants were also introduced to the category of *ally*, as a marker of identity, within the LGBT 101 workshop.

The act of naming/identifying is part of the process of in-group socialization that took place for community center volunteers. In this respect, *ally* has a dual role, it gives the individual a place within the larger community, which can allow one to read their behavior (place within gendered power relations), but it can also mark the person as privileged Other. Within such differently normed spaces, this sort of deconstruction in practice may hold the potential of permanently fragmenting the ally's subjectivity, or at least hold the potential of making the person more aware of the hetero-normative privilege they experience in their everyday life. Most of the ally volunteers I met at The Center appeared to be white Anglos, middle-class couples or single white women from a variety of economic and age cohorts. It is important to note that the community center and campaign volunteers most likely do not reflect the make up of a majority of those who call themselves LGBT allies, which I would hedge to guess are overwhelmingly represented by youth involved in GSA (Gay Straight Alliances) on high-school and

171

college campuses and PFLAG (Parents Friends and Family of Lesbians and Gays) throughout the United States.

LGBT movements are only the most recent of identity-based movements to create a linguistic and physical space for allies. I argue however, that due to the particular historicized stigma that is attached to queer people, this inclusion necessitates a unique relationship with allies. It lies in the tension expressed in the sometimes-used initial Q (LGBTQ), for queer or questioning. Namely, there is the ever-present possibility that an ally could surely become an in-group member through *transition* (in regards to gender identity and/or sexual orientation) based on self-actualization or a *conversion* (claiming an identity in relation to a desire for the emotional and sexual companionship of someone of the same gender status). As illustrated in the except from my interview with Bea, this tension is acknowledged often in a joking way amongst the volunteers at the community center and to a lesser degree as many of these volunteers switched the location of their volunteer hours to The Campaign office a few minutes drive away. These are essentially tensions over visibility and erasure summed up in the trope of "The Closet". However, there is also the risk that a straight ally in an LGBT space may be just as likely to be targeted for abuse or discrimination based on this affiliation, or the assumption of an LGBT identity or experience. Someone out looking to "bash" in queer spaces may be unfamiliar with the concept of the "straight ally". In addition, an employer may not wish to discuss their reasoning to a "straight ally" when they are fired for being spotted in a gay pride parade, which can still happen within a right to work state like Arizona, even

within municipalities like Tucson which have an enforceable anti-discrimination ordinance.

The shift in perspective or behavior that is sought by LGBT101 workshops and ally naming, may additionally allow for what Flax (1997: 174) articulates as a focus on "gender relations", which is a specific sort of framing of experience and its relation to power *and* knowledge. Patricia Hill Collins (2004: 3) argues that "knowledge and power are deeply linked, and achieving social justice requires attending to both." But the type of work at hand for allies within LGBT, and perhaps all movements of marginalized people, is the difficulty of how one might "understand" knowledge without resorting to the "linear, teleological, hierarchical, holistic, or binary ways of thinking and being" (Flax 1997: 171).

Narratives: Coming Out Stories for Allies

I see one possibility arising in the framework of the "coming out story", which also plays a part for allies' socialization to in-group norms. Here I look at both the empowering and violent aspects of narrative. Narratives have the potential to uncover and make real gendered relations. As I mentioned above, one of the techniques employed at the community center LGBT101 workshops is to ask that an ally submit themselves to the types of interrogating questions that a LGBT person might experience such as "when did you know…?", and "how do you know this isn't just a phase?" This allows for one avenue into a tongue and cheek consciousness- raising effort, where allies are asked to construct their own coming out story. In a similar vein members of PFLAG, an

173

educational and support group, are taught to reframe their own coming out stories as parents, families and friends of lesbians and gays. The possibly also exists to take this a step further by openly declaring oneself an ally in other daily contexts, or telling their "story" of consciousness/awareness of the impact of heteronormativity to an audience via educational panels organized for schools and community organizations.

Within PFLAG groups often there are opportunities for allies to tell their own "coming out" story. The personal and political act of "coming out" is based on the premise that knowledge, in this case knowledge of a coworker, family member, or "neighbor" is the place in which a shift in society will occur. This is similar to the sociological contact theory in that it engages with the premise that knowing out LGBT people can have more impact than just watching media representations or reading social statistics concerning hate crimes and other forms of discrimination.

Knowledge Based Coalition Building and Communities of Resistance

In "Sisterhood, Coalition, and the Politics of Experience", Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2003) draws on the concept of communities of resistance and Benedict Anderson's related notion of "horizontal comradeship" in order to theorize a political coalition, comradeship or imagined community amongst formerly labeled "Third World" feminists. This is a political identification based in experience of opposition and struggle. She expands on this framework by interrogating the notion of "experience"(Mohanty 2003: 122). Drawing on Johnson Reagon's notion of coalition, Mohanty argues that historicized, or politicized experience, is necessary for building coalitions, where the

174

work is to read and dialogue with those with which feasible coalitions/communities can built based on political (historicized) experiential connections.

Mohanty's work can say much about coalition building amongst gender and sexual minorities based on the experience of oppression linked to gender and/or sexual nonconformity. For instance, LGBT community centers are both marginal and normative spaces. The notion that ally inclusion within the LGBT offers an internal or de-centered coalition brings up an interesting problem in relation to creating coalitions between different social justice focused movements. As Jagose (1996) points out in her examination of the history of *Queer Theory*, one thing that both gay liberation and gay rights frameworks hold in common is their focus on a stable subject, identity based politics. Mainstream LGBT organizations are based in this same sense of identity politics centered on marginalized or stigmatized identities. Connections to other marginalized groups are often discussed via a comparative ethnic group framework that often ignores the particular history and difference of LGBT experience. That is not to say that leaders at The Center were immune to the ways in which privilege operated within mainstream LGBT organizations. In fact there were multiple attempts to address some of the perceived imbalances by Center leadership, including official Coalition building activities with a local migrant rights group and other Tucson-based religious and cultural organizations. However, this openness to coalition and the types of issues discussed at national meetings such as NGLTF's annual Creating Change meeting (which most staff attended), did not always translate into volunteer and community education efforts. For instance, while the public meeting rooms within The Center were named after famous

175

queer persons of color, and much emphasis was placed on the Puertas Abiertas (open

doors) Latina/o programming, LGBT and Trans 101 workshops neglected to include a

sophisticated intersectional approach to understanding privilege (i.e. one that

incorporated race, ethnicity, class and gender differences beyond *cis* and transgendered

divisions). This frustrated some staff and volunteers in that those who were internally

marginalized were those who were left with the majority of the burden of creating change

within the organization. Center leaders communicated their solidarity with the migrant

rights group and with those who were the targets of the restrictive ballot measures

(Spanish speakers, migrants, etc.), but these messages rarely translated into education of

the volunteer base, nor in the mobilization of volunteers in large-scale support for such

events like the 2006 May Day Coalition meetings. Center volunteers were neither

uniformly educated, nor present for volunteer opportunities for the May Day Coalition,

although many other local progressive organizations sent representatives, despite the

prominent role of organizers of a local migrant rights group and the signing of a Coalition

statement by Center leadership. This may speak to the need for mainstream organizations

like The Center or other community centers to refocus some of their attention and bodies

(become physically present) within the social movements of differently

marginalized/stigmatized groups in order to extend community building. On the other

hand, it may also speak to the ways in which the Executive Director defined political

participation and the role of beyond symbolic support in the form of signatories or

writing joint statements for public release. Part of the difficulty with translating the

official coalition between the local migrant rights group and The Center into knowledge

176

that could be shared and experienced (via action) by Center volunteers, may have to do

with the problems with the concept of inter or intra coalition building itself. That is, this

sort of coalition is still based in the notion of stable identity. It takes for granted a unity of

the LGBT, and just addresses the inclusion of allies. The umbrella model of LGBT

identity politics and its focus on inclusion through initialization is at odds with a queer

approach to organizing and community building that questions the stability of identities.

In umbrella politics, allies are given a name and a place apart within the community. This

ignores the fact that someone can be both a migrant and LGBT, or a member of the local

migrant rights group and LGBT. It erases the sexuality of the members and staff of the

local migrant rights group and the ethnic and racial backgrounds of Center volunteers and

staff. In doing so, the local migrant rights group stands for Hispanic (which also erases

the ethnic/racial background of its members) and  (erasing straight) stands for LGBT.

Allies are significant here in both respects, in terms of The Center, although many would

argue that LGBT identity is fixed, allies themselves may shift in identity or practice, or

that someone who identifies as LGBT, may have in the past identified as an ally. Or that

someone could identify as a straight transman ally, or be both a lesbian and a

transwoman. In this respect, this practice of adding initials can disrupt the radical

potential of political queerness. Likewise, ethnic and racial personal and social identities

are not fixed for all individuals.

The inclusion of straight allies within the community, sometimes to the point of

gaining a letter on an expanding acronym (LGBTA), offers both limits and possibilities.

If viewed within the notion of queer and questioning, these limits and possibilities speak

to the problems with identity and experience as the basis of movement activity. On the

other hand, the presence of allies within LGBT community organizing disrupts the notion

that identity is the basis for political affiliation, while at the same time creates if not an

identity, an identifier based in political affiliation. Queer Theory sets up a critical

evaluation of identity; a focus on the politics of identity as opposed to identity politics.

The move to the LGBT framework can be viewed in relation to these recent shifts, which

include queer theory. On one level, the LGBT disrupts the notion of a unified identity, in

that it seeks to name and know difference that exists within a certain conception of the

*imagined community*. On the other hand, it seeks to name and label, to know and define

its population, even when that includes questioning queers or allies within its

representative fold (LGBTQQA). However, the LGBT umbrella offers a framework to

ask questions which help to reveal power relations, to know, "Who are you? And what

are you doing here?" LGBT is a fractured community identity that is united through a

seemingly ever-expanding specification. It is still limiting and normalizing, while holding

the possibility for expansion and inclusion.


Inclusion and Assimilation

The notions of expansion and inclusion may owe its base to the ethnic minority model

that has emerged under the latest incarnation of a liberal assimilationist movement.

However, the inclusion of allies is also disrupted by the limits of stability in the LGBT.

For example, there continues to be upheaval over who among the LGBT should be

included within the push for equal employment rights. The continual dismissal of the

178

inclusion of gender identity and expression within ENDA (the Employment Non Discrimination Act), speaks to the idea that each minority must earn its rights, that there is a time frame, with those deemed least likely to challenge current sexual politics or gender relations seen as worthy of inclusion. Transgender people, or people with a transgender experience are seen as new addition to the movement. Not only does this ignore history (i.e. Stonewall riots, etc.), it assumes an identity-based politics that refuses to acknowledge that many LGB people are discriminated against based on their gender expression, or as with the case of many the Gender Alliance members, that many of the trans women and men involved in the Gender Alliance were lesbian, gay or queer identified. As mentioned above, within LGBT movements however, allies are not always obvious, as were many white allies or other individuals who could be lumped into visible racial groups during the movement for African American Civil Rights. But even here, the American notion of visible racial groups is problematic, as it ignores a central component of the U.S. racial classification system not solely based on visually identifiable racial criteria (skin pigmentation, hair texture, etc.) but also on the racial status of parents and earlier generations. In this context, race and ethnicity may be a more explicit part of an individual's identity if it is reinforced through social identities based on perceived racial or ethnic markers (both visible and spoken markers). As Candelario (2007) and Gans (1979) and Waters (1990, 2000) have noted that both race and ethnicity are intricately bound within the United States as performative.

Though limited, problematic and partial, the linguistic and embodied groundwork that has been laid out by the inclusion of allies within LGBT community organizing has

179

important implications for feminist epistemology and praxis within global social justice movements. It speaks to an emerging notion of identity politics in which political affiliation or movement involvement itself may be seen as the base of identity. It presents the question, what kind of knowledge is generated from the standpoint of an ally? Is there such a thing as a fragmented as opposed to an intersectional standpoint? What is unique about this way of knowing? What does this sort of knowledge tell us about gender relations and sexual politics?

The ways in which new space has been carved out for allies within some mainstream LGBT organizations, may tell us something about the limitations of enacting change within current LGBT rights based movements in the West. For instance, on the one hand there is a certain amount of risk associated with becoming an ally of a stigmatized group. On the other, straight allies lend a certain normalizing legitimacy to the mainstream LGBT Rights movement. Audre Lorde has described the relationship between oppressed and oppressors in the following way:

> Whenever the need for some pretense of communication arises, those who profit from our oppression call upon us to share our knowledge with them. In other words, it is the responsibility of the oppressed to teach the oppressors their mistakes" (Lorde 1984: 114).

In the context of the community center and the speaker's panel, the extra work of *educating* allies may be seen worth the effort within certain contexts. It may be difficult for LGBT mainstream organizations that are engaged in identity politics based on white ethnic assimilation to understand the limits of this model. For instance, are there ways in which LGBT people are differentially harmed by the need to educate oppressors. Is there

180

a cultural toll that must be paid for inclusion of straight allies, such as creating a safe

space for straight allies in which they will only see normative LGBT people who accept

their presence? In such an environment it may make it difficult to comprehend

knowledge of self and other without resorting to the "linear, teleological, hierarchical,

holistic, or binary ways of thinking and being" (Flax 1997: 171). For example,

throughout the first half of my year of fieldwork at the community center, Anne*, one of

the organizers of GA (the transgender organization/program), who was also a member of

The Center's board and an employee of a local AIDS service organization repeatedly

tried to have a framed poster of the organization's latest AIDS prevention/awareness

poster hung in on The Center's first floor. I saw the same framed poster and smaller

versions and postcards throughout the downtown/4th Avenue district and in many queer

and straight owned businesses. The poster consists of a photo of a group of nude

community activists/workers, including Anne, tastefully positioned sitting or standing by

an outdoor picnic table in the full glory of the Arizona sun. No genitalia or breasts are

visible. The title reads "AIDS: The Naked Truth." However, leadership (Executive

Director) delayed with the decision to hang the poster while it was decided where the

poster should be hung. It ended up being placed in a short hallway nook that led to the

first floor bathrooms.


### "The New Civil Rights Movement"

In my fieldwork, LGBT communities are sometimes seen as separate from but similar to

African Americans or Latinos as a group, and the battles fought during the Civil Rights

movement were frequently compared to the Gay Rights movement.  This sets up LGBT

as white and Anglo, much in the same way that the category of "woman" has been coded

as white within Western feminism. It also places the LGBT Rights movement as the

inheritor of the Civil Rights flag, which may imply that African Americans for instance

have achieved equality, and now it's "our" turn. In addition, this model clearly ignores

class, the structured inequalities that crisscross all races, genders, and sexual orientations.

I see identity politics and the inability to see difference as just some of what Flax (1997:

174) calls "the social and philosophical barriers to our comprehension of gender

relations." In other words, carving out a designated space for allies within the LGBT

allows for allies to access certain knowledge and understanding of gender relations, while

at the same time may aid in the creation and justification of new barriers both within and

outside of the official rights movement.

Here I argue that such understandings of difference and coalition make it difficult

to open organizations like  to queer minorities, particularly in the case of Tucson

Mexican American and African American LGBT people. As described in the previous

chapter (Araceli's story), some of the informants I interviewed expressed frustration over

tokenism within what was perceived as a largely white and/or Anglo organization.


The Silent Stranger


Silence = Death

ACT UP

During my year of fieldwork, I had the opportunity to attend several "coming out" panels

that were organized by The Campaign/PFLAG Speaker's Bureau.[23] Center volunteers

also took part in the panels I witnessed. The panels where similar to other "Coming Out"

panels that I have witnessed on college classrooms and residence halls across the United

States since 1992 (my freshman year of college). Panel participants take turns telling their

"coming out" stories, or in the case of PFLAG members, the impact of a family

members' 'coming out' on their own lives. As a campaign to stop an anti-gay initiative

was underway, the stories also tied into the issue of gay marriage. This structure allows

panel participants to perfect their stories over time and they seemed to be consistent

retelling over several months or years. This "perfecting" did not seem to lesson the

emotional impact on the students or the panel participants, and may have in fact

heightened emotions, as the panelist/storyteller was able to narrow their focus on the

most salient and humanizing (and often the most gut wrenching and difficult) aspects of

their story. One volunteer/research participant, Syd*[24] chose an unusual pattern for her

story. As someone who identified as "queer", and who remained single throughout the

campaign, Syd chose to tell not her own "coming out" story, but the story of her friends,

a lesbian couple with a child.  In doing so, she chose to leave her visibly queerly

gendered body and story out of the narrative. Syd was often the most visibly queer person

on the panels, female bodied, with playfully androgynous gender markers, such as buzzed

---

[23] I was asked to schedule one of these panels within my own Anthropology of Gender
and Sexuality class at Pima West Community College.
[24] *Syd is a pseudonym.

haircut, unisex militaristic clothing and biking spandex often accompanied by a checkered kilt.

There are so many layers of silence. As many have noted elsewhere the process of coming out is continual. As the ACT-UP quote implies the silence about who we are is not only a matter of coming out, of speaking, but of acknowledgement as well. For instance, the Reagon administration ignoring AIDS, and by association the death of a generation of gay men, or is it the other way around? The silence around the disproportionate impact of the epidemic on those living in poverty, heterosexual and bisexuals, and the impact upon African American and other communities of color. These silences that occur when only certain stories make it into the mainstream media, a college panel, who becomes a hate crime martyr, or act as the voice of the campaign to win equal rights for the LGBTQ.

Citizen Artmakers: the Instrumental Value of the Arts as Strategy[25]

*To encourage literature and the arts is a duty which every good citizen owes his country.* George Washington, cited in the NEA report "The Arts and Civic Engagement: Involved in Arts, Involved in Life"

….

---

[25] Mein 2009: 350.
http://www.artsusa.org/animatingdemocracy/pdf/reading_room/CE_Arts_SternSeifert.pdf
last accessed October 2, 2011.

*Theory of change, for example, a participatory methodology developed to evaluate social change initiatives, requires clear articulation of social goals, near-term outcomes, and the underlying logic of the change process.(2009: 5)*

*NEA Arts & Civic Engagement Impact Initiative*

…

*NEWART invites local LGBT community members to "tell your story," dance, and/or perform in our upcoming performance "Re: Configurations"*

*Start by signing up for*
*"Moving Stories/Relationship Stories"*

*An 8-week, intergenerational workshop in words and movement for members of Tucson's lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) community and their allies.*

*Participants will draw upon personal stories about relationship and partnership to explore connections between dance, writing, and spoken word.*

*Workshop sessions will feed the creation of Re: Configurations and are geared toward community members interested in sharing their experiences with LGBT partnerships and relationships.*

*Performance opportunities! No previous dance experience necessary.[26]*

---

[26] NEWArticulations MySpace blog, 2006.
http://www.myspace.com/newarticulations/blog/143427691, last accessed, October 2, 2011.

The community dance performance entitled, Re:Configurations spoke directly to the

processes [28]at work within LGBT organizational attempts at making and performing ally

identities. A group of choreographers were asked to either to reconfigure "opposite"

gender duets to same gender duets, or create a new piece for the performance. At the

same time, a community workshop was being facilitated by representatives of two local

(Tucson) dance groups, conducted a series of weekly workshops with a group of queer

identified Tucsonans, those who had little or no dance experience, to turn their stories

into spoken word and dance movements on stage. In a post-performance interview, one

of the Directors stated that she and the other Director sought to provide a forum for

people to voice their stories. The two inspirations for the work combined into an

unofficial response to the Protect Marriage Amendment. The Directors refer to the eight

community dancers as "citizen artmakers" and discussed the inspiration for the work that

deals both with giving voice and making connection across these reconfigured spaces,

where professional dancers are asked to speak, community center volunteers are asked to

dance, and gender and sexual identity are dispersed across a spectrum of shared

performance space. For instance, two androgynous bodies dance together in flowing

skirts, paired in similarity, and demonstrating an emotional and physical connection

through symbolic form. The physical threat that is embedded within a relationship

between two male dancers that love and push against each other are expressions that

would be downplayed outside the context of the performance and its queer and queer

associated or allied audience. Can you imagine a No on PMA campaign that emphasized

the need for official recognition of queer relationships in order to combat domestic violence within queer relationships? The (limited) range of diversity that is performed by the LGBT 101 exercise is incorporated into the performance, whereby the whole ensemble move back or forward to LGBT 101 workshop questions, such as

> *If you have ever been ashamed of who you love. Step forward.*
>
> *If you are divorced. Step forward.*
>
> *If you have been unable to marry the one you love. Step forward.*
>
> *If you have ever been afraid to let someone know who you love.*
> *Step forward.*
>
> *If you have ever been denied a job or access to family because of*
> *who you love. Step forward.*

In a sense, to *step forward* is in reference to both the trope of the closet (personal and public), of coming out on multiple levels. Beyond identity the movement highlights experience, a story. It is a story or movement that calls for the spotlight, visibility. It is swinging out into the abyss without a net every time, not sure who will catch you. That this step is seen as necessary in order to change hearts and minds is bound up with the cost (the potential risk). It is a tightrope that is walked between encouragement to come out (it's okay) and be counted and the knowledge that this is an act of bravery because there is a risk of stigma or violence. The risk must also be kept visible in order to encourage people to make the step, but balanced with the reward in the example of freedom, prosperity, improved circumstances over the course of a lifetime. In the

concluding chapter I address the role of loss in relationship to visibility. Again the theme

of normative discourse and radical counter discourse are addressed in relation to the

creation of safe space.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

MEMORIAM: VIOLENCE, MEMORY AND PLACE


…memory is an intersubjective phenomenon, a practice not only of recollection *of* a past *by* a subject, but of recollection *for* another subject.
~W. J. T. Mitchel (1994: 193, n. 17)


~~~~~~~~


Homomonument, Westermark Amsterdam, NL

Remembrance Day and Liberation Day, May 4th and 5th

Immediately following the end of the Second World War there were calls to establish a memorial to commemorate the gay men and women who lost their lives in the war. However, all efforts to establish a monument failed. It took until the 1980s, almost 40 years after the war, before the time was ripe. It wasn't until then that thorough research into the persecution of homosexuals in the Second World War was properly conducted. Homosexuals were persecuted and oppressed under the Hitler regime. Gay men and women simply did not fit into the concept of a strong Aryan nation and they consequently had to be eliminated. Gay men

who were arrested and deported to concentration camps were issued a 'branding mark' in the form of a pink triangle.

They were forced to wear this symbol on the upper left corner of their jackets and on their right trouser legs. These triangles were two to three centimeters larger than the triangles worn by the other prisoners so that everyone could see from a distance that the wearer was a homosexual man. Lesbian women were classified as political prisoners or as social deviants and were consequently made to wear either a red or a black triangle accordingly. The Homomonument makes a strong statement that history must not be repeated: "Never again". The monument calls for vigilance. The Homomonument does not, however, only commemorate the victims of the Second World War. It commemorates all homosexual men and women who have been, or are still being, persecuted and murdered by government regimes that denounce their very existence. The monument honours the brave gay men and women who have different sexual orientation than was and is considered normal."

From Homomonument Brochure, Pink Point, NL[27]

---

[27] http://www.homomonument.com or see Thijs Bartels, *Dancing on the Homomonument*, published by Schorer Boeken.

In Memoriam

Richard J. Heakin, Jr.

October 13, 1954 ~ June 6, 1976

Richard, a visitor from Lincoln, Nebraska, died in an attack outside a

Northside gay bar. His death galvanized Tucson's emerging gay, lesbian,

bisexual, and transgender community into action. Because of their efforts,

the Pima Commission on Human Relations expanded Tucson's anti-

discrimination ordinance to protect the civil rights of GLBT citizens. This

memorial is placed in gratitude to Richard and to all those who have

sacrificed in the struggle to make Tucson a place where all persons can

enjoy the freedom to be themselves, regardless of sexual orientation or

gender expression. We hereby commemorate a tragedy that transformed us

and our history into a triumph of community spirit.

--Excerpt from the Richard Heakin Memorial plaque,

Sunset Park, Tucson, AZ -- 2002

Richard Heakin, a visitor to Tucson was killed outside of the Stonewall, a gay bar in

Tucson, AZ on the night of June 6, 1976. His killers were caught shortly thereafter. The

young men, close to Heakin in age, received probation until their twenty-first birthdays.

In this chapter I will address one narrative retelling of the Heakin murder and its impact

on Tucson and its perception as a gay friendly city. The concept of *gay friendly* has been

coded as falling within the *oasis mirage* metaphors discussed in Chapter 3, and I argue that this perception is heavily influenced by one's status and identity such as cohort, class, gender, race and placement within or outside the LGBT spectrum. In the first part of the chapter, I turn to more recent hate crimes in Southern Arizona that disrupt this official narrative of progress.

Jacob*[28], a man in his late fifties, was present at the Stonewall bar the night Richard Heakin was killed. He was not aware that a murder had occurred, thinking that a patron fight must be going on. Jacob recalls that the Stonewall was a small gay bar, with a very open atmosphere, accepting of lesbians and the gender nonconforming. The Heakin murder came at a time when Stonewall patrons were "on alert" for "queer bashers", and Jacob tried to prepare himself for this on a nightly basis.

> *I don't know how many times I had seen or heard that something was going on in the back parking lot. We were kind of put on the alert to be ready to call the police. And we always kept a club behind the bar for our own defense. Because we knew there was a risk that somebody would come in, not to rob us, that wasn't our concern, but to do harm.*
>
> *And I always had…. I always had an escape route and a weapon planned, whether it was a beer bottle or a pool stick. And I saw occasionally there were assaults in the parking lot. And I participated in a couple situations where someone was there to hassle queers, and I was… I had always been ready and willing and able to fight. And I would just get*

---

[28] Jacob is a pseudonym.

*into it. And this particular night I had no idea anything was going on. If I had, I probably would have gone out there and, and done whatever had to be done.*[29]

*~~~*

*I think it was when the boys went before the judge and they all got off free, that's when the protests started. The outrage was very, expressed in many ways. And on campus I had a nursing instructor, who I think was a lesbian. I've always thought that, but we never talked about it. But when I knew what was going on at City Hall, and I wanted to participate and I talked to her about that, and she very strongly discouraged it. Saying that it could hurt me at school because of the morality aspect of nursing, "To be a moral person." Because I was gay, I couldn't be moral. And I believed it, I don't know if it [the policy] was true. And I just turned inward. But I believed it. And my justification was that I couldn't [get involved] because I wanted to go into nursing.*

*~~~*

*It was a few years later that I realized, after I had come back to Tucson, [] had begun to thrive. I was able to be open and out, for the most part*

---

[29] Jacob, Interview with Kendall Roark, July 21, 2006.

*without risk of discrimination. And I realized then, you know, the impact*

*of his death, and the outrage and the impact.*

*Mayor Murphy [Tucson mayor in 1976] was, he had some experience with*

*discrimination, you know, Irish American. That it was very, very wrong.*

*And the City Council, a pretty mixed bag of characters. Murphy was a*

*Republican and a fairly open minded fellow [and the majority were]*

*Democrats. And they made a unanimous change.*

*And I still didn't realize the importance of that until 1990, when Carl\**

*[Jacob's partner] and I met. He was in Nome, Alaska working in a fishery*

*saving to go to school. He went to a library there and looked for cities that*

*would be gay friendly. And Tucson was somehow identified as being gay*

*friendly. So, he picked Tucson and we met here at an AA meeting and the*

*rest is history.*

Jacob's was not the only Richard Heakin narrative I encountered in the field. Stories
about Richard Heakin's death, were a significant part of the official "LGBT" community
history in Tucson as presented in 2006. This was demonstrated within organizational
histories of The Center, especially through its Anti Violence Project (AVP) and Tucson
Pride. Although this cultural work of public storytelling was expanded during 2006 and
occurred through a wealth of locally based educational 'Coming Out' panels and

community performance projects organized as a response to the Protect Marriage Amendment (PMA) that was expected to be placed on the ballot for the November election.

While conducting archival and literature research, I also came across references to the Richard Heakin Butterfly Brigade that emerged in San Francisco in 1977,[30] a neighborhood watch of sorts that Hanhardt (2008) links to the emergence of the national safe streets and anti-violence movements. Hanhardt critiques the Safe Streets and anti-violence projects within the gayborhoods or "gay ghettos", college feminists' "Take Back the Night" marches and the larger anti-violence movement. She further links the notion of gay safe space with the process of gentrification of the "gay ghetto". This has included the marginalization of queer youth of color within gay neighborhoods/areas such as Chelsea in New York City and the Castro in San Francisco, where the Richard Heakin Butterfly Brigade emerged. I am unsure the extent to which gentrification has played a role in Tucson, or other mid-size cities in the Southwest. However, the influence of the Safe Streets and feminist Anti-violence movement continue to be felt within Tucson's Anti-Violence Project (housed at The Center), Neighborhood Associations and Gay community newspaper.

So, while Chelsea and The Castro are seen as gay sites of consumption, Tucson's gay population and sites of consumption are dispersed throughout the city.  The Center and the Youth Lounge are discussed as "safe space", but safety, friendliness and

---

[30] http://www.glbthistory.org/archives/catalogs/collections_list.lasso?&skip=520; Christina Hanhardt, "Butterflies, Whistles and Fists: Gay Safe Streets Patrols and the New Gay Ghetto, 1976—1981," in Radical History Review, Issue 100, Winter 2008, pg. 60-84.

tolerance are also viewed from a larger community perspective, as in the Tucson

community, as opposed to just the queer community. Gay bars and gay owned businesses

are spread throughout the city, not located in a "gay ghetto". This may have much to do

to regional differences, the size of the city (metro area hovering around 1 million), its

layout, etc. (adjacent to nearby several 4th Ave gay owned businesses) and the Youth

Lounge may act as a focal point for some community organizing/cohesion, but other than

this space, there seems to be no other central spatial manifestation of the "LGBT"

community.[31] As I mention above, 4th Avenue is not considered a queer space, but rather

an open space in which many counterculture segments of society come together with

tourists, high school and college students (including fraternity drinking parities),

homeless persons, and traveling street musicians. This basically means you can spend a

whole day on the Avenue, buying or watching people buy, a cup of coffee every two

blocks while you shop for tattoos, tourist trinkets and feminist books and round out the

visit with a visit to the food co-op for lunch, check your e-mail for free at The Center

cyber lounge, stop by the Moroccan tea house for dinner and dancing and drinks at one of

the local gay dance bar.

So, what is it that makes Tucson "gay friendly" if there is no gay area where you

can for instance, walk down the street holding your same gender partner's hand on any

day other than Pride or National Coming Out Day? As is demonstrated in the excerpt

---

[31] While the gay coffee house, one gay bar and the community center are all located on or
very near 4th Ave, it also crosses University Ave and university students, including a
large fraternity population also party on the Ave. 4th Ave is a point where counterculture
and mainstream consumption meet, and you can participate in both via what you buy. It
has more in common with South Street in Philadelphia or St. Mark's Place in New York
City than a distinctly "gay ghetto" or neighborhood.

from Heakin's memorial plaque above, Heakin's death was often discussed as a catalyst and rallying point for many progressive shifts within Tucson, such as the inclusion of sexual orientation in the city's anti-discrimination ordinance, the creation of the first gay newspaper in Arizona, and the impetus for forming a queer youth support group that eventually led to the creation of the LGBT Community Center. At the time of my interview with Jacob, the thirtieth anniversary of Heakin's death had just occurred and a small group, many of whom had been involved in creating the memorial in 2002, had received notice that Tucson Pride would be honoring Richard Heakin by including his sister as the grand marshal of the Pride Parade in October.[32] By far, Jacob's retelling of Heakin's murder was the most compelling, in that he connected to the event on an emotional level and offered the retelling of the story as a cathartic and freeing experience, which led to the action of creating the memorial and finding Heakin's family.

Paul Farmer (1996: 431-432) writes that if we are to understand "the dynamics and distribution of suffering," anthropologists must embed biography within "the larger matrix of culture, history, and political economy." This process also includes embedding "life experience" within the local, the ethnographic. In turn, these local representations are embedded further within "the larger-scale historical system of which the fieldwork site is a part." If one approaches the ethnographic practice as an experience of intersubjectivity, the interaction between anthropologist and participant becomes much more than just collector of stories and storyteller. But can also be viewed as a mimetic

---

[32] Some cities with extreme June heat in the Northern Hemisphere have shifted their Pride Festivities to National Coming Out Day or Month (October), due to the extreme heat that occurs in June, the 'traditional' Pride month in most U.S. cities commemorating the Stonewall Riots.

activity embedded in these same localized and large-scale systematic structures. So that concerns with the State, identity, social movement activity, productive force of violence, and the political act of remembering are all seen to traverse through the world of social relations.

This framing provides an important context for my own analysis of my research participants' words and experiences. It is difficult to move from the role of student and youth who seeks knowledge from one's elders, or friend/anthropologist who seeks to know another's experience and their perspective on issues that are salient to both researcher and participant. To analyze and contextualize a friend's words is in some sense to do violence to the trust that is established in conversation, if conversation is seen as the limit of the dialogue. That's not to say that you don't challenge your friends on their perspective, or gossip or retell compelling stories. However, there is an understanding between storytellers that words will be retold, that new frames will be added and that this will contribute to a community dialogue, reach unexpected ears, hopefully create change or validate the experience of lone survivors seeking similarity of experience. It is not my intent to challenge the "reality" of a safe space for Jacob, by comparing his narrative to those who do not perceive or experience Tucson as a safe space (see oasis versus mirage metaphors in Chapter 3). Nor is it my intention to compare Kai's experience to Jacob's as opposing views. I am attempting to locate myself in what Jackson (2002: 265) calls the "visiting imagination". So, what follows is a critique, it is a historicizing and contextualizing exercise. I hope that by conducting such an exercise I will not alienate my participant/readers. With these ethical concerns at hand, it is important to analyze

198

certain dichotomies, for instance subject/object, researcher/participant, student/elder. I am interested here, in one particular dichotomy that relates specifically to Jacob's Heakin narrative; that between past and present.

If we are to move beyond a teleological understanding of the present and the past, it may be necessary to understand Jacob's narrative as an act of creation, of constantly recreating the past. I draw on the work of Michael Taussig and Michael Jackson, and their insightful review of the literature on mimesis and its relation to time as we know it, in order to understand, from Oakeshott's[33] notion that "there are not two worlds—the world of the past happenings and the world of our present knowledge of those past events—there is only one world, and it is the world of present experience." Jackson (2005: 355) argues that the present often appropriates the past, where "past events are continually being transmuted into myth", and goes on to caution against an objectivist view of the past, and calls for a phenomenological approach which would move beyond seeing the past as having "a causal effect on the present simply because it is prior". Jackson argues that from a "phenomenological standpoint effects may precede causes and, to all intents and purposes, 'bring about the past'.

As is illustrated by the language of the Heakin Memorial above, these "events" sometimes act as "origin myths" within the community/movement. Feldman (1991:18) argues that the historical is often expressed and always legitimated by geographical metaphor. Heakin's murder is given much weight as an agent of change. His memorial

---

[33] Jackson (1995: 355) cites Oakeshott (1933: 108) "assertion that 'there are not two worlds—the world of the past happenings and the world of our present knowledge of those past events—there is only one world, and it is the world of present experience'.

refers to sacrifice for the good of the Tucson community. Heakin did not sacrifice his life

for the cause, nor can we assume his murderers chose to intentionally "send a message"

to the gay community.[34] Yet, his death is seen as sacrificial. Someone is sacrificed for the

good of the community. This only makes sense within a harmonizing narrative where

Heakin's death is seen as having the effect of galvanizing the Tucson community

(beyond just "LGBT", to include mayoral proclamation, creation of a gay newspaper, a

city LGBT commission, the anti-discrimination ordinance, etc.). A necessary sacrifice in

order to gain protections whether that be an anti-discrimination ordinance or the creation

of a more unified and politically powerful "LGBT" community through the creation of

The Center; to create a *safe* or *friendly* space.

Feldman (1991: 18) examines the ideological mechanism at the core of political

culture in Ireland, that is that the "mimesis of the origin in present events" is what gives

the "origin" its meaning: "Linearity and repetition, metaphorized as history, are deployed

in these tales to repress historicity—the anthropological capacity to generate dispersal,

difference, and alterity in time and space." I would argue Heakin's memorial and Jacob's

narrative offer a structurally similar use of an "origin myth". Feldman (1991)  addresses a

key issue, the notion of alterity, or rather the ways in which "metaphorized" history can

work to suppress "alterity in time and space." Linear narratives of time are maintained in

two clear-cut ways. First, the ways in which all deaths post-Heakin are compressed into

---

[34] Local press coverage and interviews confirmed that the teens accepted a plea bargain.
One of the life history participants mentions that he has a personal connection to one of
the killers, who is still living and working in Tucson. His partner actually had to work
with the man, the other employees had full knowledge of his participation in the crime.
The man chose not remain "in the closet" during his tenure on the job, living in fear of
the consequences of coming out on the job with a known killer of gay men.

an "origin" event. Second, a profoundly influential murder, Matthew Shepard, which took place a few years before the Heakin memorial, is left out of the narrative. I argue that Shepard's death, and the imagery used within the gay and popular press, haunts the understanding of Heakin's murder, or the AIDS epidemic haunts the representation of gay men and lesbians killed in Nazi concentration camps. We can look for other Matthew Shepard's, martyrs that may have been neglected if not forgotten in the recent past.[35] Heakin's death is viewed as a sacrifice that was made in the past, which galvanized a community and created positive change in Tucson. The same year that Heakin's memorial was to be built, another young, gay man was murdered during a gay bashing in Tucson (ECHO 2005; Bustamante 2004). Walsted's partner asked that his name be included in the Heakin memorial. The committee denied the request. Jacob said that it was difficult to deny the man's request, but that he felt it was important to focus on the impact of Heakin's death within the Tucson community, its lasting impact.[36] Beyond impact, and the influence of this particular act of violence on the community, to acknowledge that other murders/hate crimes have taken place since Heakin's death, the expansion of the ordinance, or the creation of the Commission or The Center, is in some ways to highlight some of the contradictions inherent in the myth of change and progress. In fact, Walsted's death is temporally suppressed into the line "and all those who have sacrificed".

---

[35] There seems to be an alternate route to memorializing in the form of the documentary and feature film representation in designating martyrs. For example,  "Life and Times of Harvey Milk" / "Milk"; "The Brandon Teena Story" / "Boys Don't Cry"; "Larame Inside Out" / "The Larame Project" which was also a play (Matthew Shepard)
[36] Jacob, Interview with Kendall Roark, July 21, 2006.

Is Tucson now seen as "a place where all person can enjoy the freedom…", or has the transformation seen within "us and our history" only? Who is "us" and what is "our history"? In what ways might Walsted's inclusion disrupt this narrative of progress? These questions speak to the reluctance of leaders within the Anti-Violence Project to vocally support the memorial. It is unclear if this narrative bellies continued support for their work.

While within Jacob's narrative, Heakin's murder is seen as a historical catalyst for this transformation, in Chapter 3 Gil reaches to other historical events in the more distant past in order to explain Tucson's unique "tolerance" and sense of "community." However, both can be coded as falling within the oasis metaphors, in which Tucson is an oasis of tolerance within a desert of intolerance. Both narratives speak to what Povinelli (2000: 328) calls the "temporalizing function of the horizon of successful self-correction," which is "an essential part of the means by which the practice of social violence is made to appear and to be experienced as the unfurling of the peaceful public use of reason." *Self-correction* is part of a liberal ideology of progress that it deployed at both the individual, institutional and societal level. Povinelli (2000: 238) argues that it is necessary to move beyond searching for the ways in which social worlds/visions commensurate within a liberal frame, and important to shift our vision so that we may "ask instead how the incommensurateness of liberal ideology and practice is made to appear commensurate."

## The Memorial and Scale

Benedict Anderson (1983) writes that the map along with the census and museum where fundamental elements of nation building, of creating the imagined community that came to be known as the nation-state. How might we read the *blue* and *red* mapping of Arizona counties, the resurgence in the interest to be counted after the 2000 census allowed for statistical maneuvering to recognize same-sex households, and the movement toward memorialization (linked to museum practice, in the sense of Kirshemblat-Zimblat's notion that museum practice and framing has moved outside of the confines of the museum to frame our perceptions of the world around us and our place within it) tell us about claims to citizenship by queer activists and movements? On a smaller scale, in what ways do these official forms of mourning, that ritualize citizenship and our place within the imagined community inform our own understanding of self and loss of love ones.

## The Stranger as Youth: The dead stranger: The traveling ghost

Above I read the denial of Phillip Walsted's inclusion into the Heakin memorial, and the AVP director's response, within the oasis frame, highlighting the ways in which such metaphors can compress and bound time and space, in order to create the illusion of "safe space". The memorial acts as a memory charm of sorts, both recalling the past and keeping it at bay. So, in this sense the Heakin memorial and the Homomonument share much more than the symbol of the pink granite.

203

In this chapter, I return to this exclusion and analyze it within a queer "stranger" frame, drawing on Hannah Arendt's discussion of the dual Jewish response to memory, history and calls for assimilation/normativity and dissonance. One subtly key difference between the two monuments lies in the Homomonument's acknowledgment of non-progress and regression that has occurred after WWII. There is a sense of time moving on. I will address a key difference that Jacob saw between Heakin and Walsted and what each death symbolized within his own local understanding of community.

Until 2006, Jacob was under the impression that Heakin came from an unsupportive family. By maintaining a yearly memorial service from 1976-2006, the Heakin memorial committee has been symbolic "family" for a young man many had never met. And by extension Tucson mayoral and city council response to the murder (anti-discrimination ordinance, police liaison, LGBT Commission, etc.) There is a real sense among the committee (most men of Jacob's cohort) that Heakin's death is linked to their own collective past, a time in which being an authentic human being, here framed as "coming out", involved losing one's natal family and one's status within the social world.

Walsted's inclusion would not only disrupt the mirage of safe space in the present, but also stands outside the frame of the queer stranger. For the queer stranger is a stranger that is a stranger within ones natal home and thus a stranger within the larger society. This is explicitly tied to the social body, as if one rejects this paradigm and accepts this can contaminate the whole family and therefore threaten the society at large. This produces "safe spaces" for families as well, who become queered, rendering the queering of society at large both an ever-present threat that needs to be contained. In this

way, an organization like PFLAG can be framed as both liberating and constraining. The very fact that Walsted's partner commissioned a memorial in another downtown park, speaks against the notion that Walsted could symbolize the type of community response/defense narrative employed by Jacob and the Heakin Committee.

While the immergence of Heakin's sister, and her role in the 2006 Tucson Pride parade complicated Jacob's reading of the Heakin murder, it did not disrupt the narrative of progress, but brought the event full-circle. Old wounds are healed with time and through action. Heakin's sister and the story she brought of a supportive family and an activist leaning younger brother helped heal the isolation of youth and estrangement from family, to know that Heakin had not suffered this as well.  Yet, the shift in Richard Heakin's story did not necessitate a shift in Jacob's framing of the murder, Tucson's response and the symbolic nature of the death.


Structural Violence and the Safe Space Myth: Traveling outside of safe zones
One of the things that made Jacob's partner, and many other participants perceive Tucson as "gay friendly" from afar, is the inclusive municipal anti-discrimination ordinance that has included sexual orientation since 1977, and gender identity since 1999. The immediate approach seems to have been to address structural violence in a particular way, with the idea that to have this addressed by representatives of the state helps to create an environment that does not tolerate hate speech or crimes. However, the inclusion of "sexual orientation" within the municipal anti-discrimination code (in addition to religion, race, ethnicity, sex and disability) only covers areas of discrimination

205

in employment, housing and public accommodation. It does not directly address the type

of violence involved in the murder of Heakin, it addresses other forms of structural

violence in the form of institutional discrimination. The formulation of an anti-

violence/hate crimes approach emerged after Heakin's death. The creation of the LGBT

Commission and the inclusive anti-discrimination ordinance are related to Heakin's

murder in that they have an impact on a larger climate of Tucson. How does one compare

discrimination against sexual and gender minorities, to the sorts of overtly structural

violence that one sees everyday within a border region? With these questions in mind, I

turn back to another memorial project that involves the 2005 murder of a young person in

another Southern Arizona city.

<u>Amancio Corrales Graveside Vigil, May 6, 2006</u>

Amancio Corrales Gallardo Jr.

November 10, 1981 ~ May 6, 2005

*I rode down to Yuma with Simon\* the political organizer from , for the*

*Amancio Corrales vigil. Simon was involved with the creation of the*

*Amancio Project while working in Phoenix with the <Development*

*Leadership Institute>. His extended family is from Yuma. Simon describes*

*the drive to Yuma as a series of marker points that must be crossed. You*

*see the hills in the distance and you know once you pass those there will*

*be another set of hills off in the distance. Once you pass these second set*

*of hills you'll be in Yuma. The road to Yuma is lined with Border Patrol*

*SUV's. …. There is also a checkpoint on the return trip that we are waived*

*through, which Simon feels is because we both look white. On the drive*

*back we also see someone pulled over, at which point Simon wonders*

*aloud if the people inside the car are people of color.[37]*

Amancio Corrales was a young gender bending, Latino gay man who performed as a woman in local nightclubs. He was murdered and thrown into the Colorado River in Yuma, AZ on May 6, 2005. Simon became involved with the Amancio Project[38] (as it came to be called shortly thereafter), to try to bring media attention and put pressure on the Yuma County Sheriff's Office to address the murder as a hate crime and to put more resources into finding the killer. At the time, Simon was living and working in Phoenix, but the nature of the murder and his ties to Yuma drew his attention.

As I write, I ask myself why Simon and others might focus on this murder, as opposed to the Walsted case mentioned above, or the variety of murders that have occurred in the Phoenix area that have been classified hate crimes, or would in states that recognized murders who target certain gender identity or expression as bias motivations? One potential answer to this question may lie in the notions of memoriam, safe space, and community response. While Yuma is technically in Southern Arizona and therefore falls under the mission of 's claim to be Southern Arizona's LGBT Community Center, it is at

---

[37] Kendall Roark, Field notes, May 6, 2006;*Simon is a pseudonym.
[38] http://www.theamancioproject.org/

the Western-most tip of the state and a three to four hour drive through the desert along the "Devil's Highway" from Tucson (Urrea 2004). It is outside the safety zone of the anti-discrimination ordinance, the local respect or power wielded by The Center amongst Tucson's political and business community, and possibly the influence of the queer press. It is not marked as "gay friendly".

There are also the facts of Amancio's life, that he was a "good boy", that he was beloved by his family. That he moved back from Phoenix to be near his mother. Despite the circumstances of his death, the media did not try to portray Amancio in a negative light. Most importantly, unlike some of the other recent hate crimes in Phoenix, Amancio did not appear to have been engaged in sex work, or into illegal drugs. He was a "good guy" and he why shouldn't he be safe at home, with his family, even if that home is located in Yuma. His mother is quoted in the press saying that she had worried about him living in Phoenix, the big city, on his own. She wanted him to come home. She repeated these statements when I and other vigil attendees were graciously invited back to the Corrales home after the graveside ceremony that marked the one-year anniversary of his death.

His mother took us to look at his room, everything still in place from the year past except for the addition of a memorial collage of Amancio pictures. She showed us his outfits he used to perform, his trophies, pictures of him as a child. She clearly loved her son and missed him. She had another family "spokesperson" present who answered any personal or case related questions. Mrs. Corrales understands and speaks English, but prefers to have a translator for these types of questions. The Corrales ranch style home

with open walkway/covered porch and tables and chairs, food and people filled brick terrace. Amancio's friends asked me what it was like living in Tucson, what it was like living on the East Coast. Some of them had lived in Phoenix, but some had their sites set on California or New York.

Loss and Gay Public Space

Yuma had not always been conceived as a city with a quiet gay community according to one long-time Yuma activist, Andrew*, who became involved as another "spokesman" for the Corrales family after the murder of their son in 2005. Andrew moved to Yuma in the early eighties to be close to his ailing and elderly parents. At the time, Andrew said that there was a pretty socially active gay community, with much of the community's social life centering around the local gay bar and through a local arts organization (both of which Andrew was involved in). Andrew said that the social infrastructure supported the first major crisis within the community, its response to the AIDS epidemic in the early 1980s. The local bar owner was very aware of the impact AIDS was having on the gay community throughout the country and decided to turn his bar into a community education center of sorts during the daytime, even covering the bar and inviting youth in during the day for safe sex workshops. After the bar owner passed away and the bar closed in the mid-1980s, Andrew said that there really wasn't any central location for the gay community to come together, other than house parties which also began to fade away or become more exclusive to small circles of friends. Andrew had been trying to get a gay rights meet-up going before the Corrales murder, but intensified his efforts after the

death and the subsequent delay in apprehending the killer and bringing the murderer to trial.

I was originally drawn to the Corrales case because of Simon's involvement, but also because the case fell within the "Southern Arizona" territory of The Center. The organization claims to be Southern Arizona's LGBT Community Center. During the year I was involved with The Center, the questions of whether Yuma should then be "enfolded" within the organization's service area came up on several occasions. Yuma is technically in Southern Arizona, though the three- hour drive makes this difficult on one level. Yuma and the Corrales case did not seem to play a significant role in The Center's organizing. On the surface this lack of continued involvement and overt advocacy could tell us about the limits of "safe space" and how the role it plays in defining who is considered part of the LGBT community. What type of "community response" is expected and implemented for those living outside the safety zone, whether that is physical or demographic location? Andrew's involvement as a spokesman for the case, both helped put pressure on the sheriff's department to find the killer, and helped galvanize a flailing gay right "meet-up group" in Yuma. In doing so, Corrales entered the mainstream gay media as one of those "sacrificed" to the cause of gay rights and became a symbol for the need for an LBGT inclusive state and federal hate crimes bill. To a certain extent, however the notion of family as safe space, as in the story of the Corrales family, is marginalized or de-centered in the process of mythmaking.

What I am trying to say here, is that for many of my research participants who grew up in the smaller cities and towns in Southern Arizona, and who do not have the

ability or the desire to move away from their families and natal communities, a key issue surrounding coming out had to do with concerns over loosing the protection and love of family, anxiety over whether they and by extension the gay "community" would be enveloped by this "safe space". This difference in understanding of family as "safe space" (which does not always align with the notion of "tolerance" but with love) seemed to be at the heart of many awkward and emotional disputes within the community center over notions of "inclusiveness" and "diversity". In part, this seemed to be grounded in fundamentally incommensurate conceptions of the roles that queers play within in families and natal communities. Some, like Araceli, are dealing with the contradictions between the status of daughter and partner/girlfriend to another queer woman, or job role as a "professional gay". It is telling that these exchanges often invoked displays of emotion including frustration, anger and pain on the part of staff members who were torn over what their place within The Center and the larger LGBT organizational community should be. Emotional display here signals a point of frustration with the inexplicable. For instance, Paul Farmer (1996: 431) writes of the importance of biography or case studies when attempting to explain violence. He argues that "structural violence all too often defeats those who would describe it." Part of the problem in describing structural violence has to with its hegemonic force, so that it may be hard to identify one's role in continuing such violence and seek out effective means to change the system from within or without. It may also be difficult to challenge others due to this same lack of awareness and do to the fact that to challenge will most likely reveal the speaker's own strangeness of otherness to a community of like-minded individuals.

That these debates are often tied to class and race/ethnicity issues, disrupts the notion of The Center as safe space and can recreate an intricately layered form of institutional violence with in the organizational structure. So that what may appear as necessary forms of community bonding and the expectation of certain nuclear family forms that are a part of the dominant middle-class Anglo culture, may in turn create a space that is experienced as decidedly unsafe for those who are othered by these particular sets of expectations. A related conception of LGBTQ community that draws on ethnic minority identity politics, may replicate similar forms of violence and silencing within such settings, namely the expectations surrounding symbolic ethnicity. Much incisive and thought provoking work continues to develop around the issue of symbolic ethnicity within white ethnic groups in the United States. I argue here that the minoritization of the LGBTQ follows a model based on white ethnic groups within the United States, and works to silence historically marginalized communities of color. That these privileges and coerced silences exist within queer organizing is no mere accidental replication of dominant norms, but is intricately linked to assimilationist demands that lie beneath a liberal rights based activism.

<u>Hearts and Minds</u>

The heart and the mind are mythical places. That love is said to come from the heart in the U.S. and that Westerners tend to fall back on Cartesian mind/body dualisms is well known. So, when informants spoke of the power to open hearts and minds through their visibility, I was immediately drawn into this metaphor. It made me think of another series

212

of openings and boundary crossings East Coast transplants/migrants experience as they drive toward the Western horizon. The West is not a new place, but a place to be new. It is place to reinvent oneself away from the bondage of familial responsibility, social class standing and even gender, sexuality and ethno-racial identifications that constrained the ability to be an authentic self. It is open in the sense that there is undeveloped land and marginal populations that can both benefit from and are subjected to the new natives. Where do Westerners go to open up? We go to the Coasts of course, San Francisco, Los Angles or New York, Washington D.C., Atlanta, GA. But some of us stay put. We stay home, or we wander and then eventually return.

Throughout my fieldwork year, informants spoke of being able to change hearts and minds through their visibility and storytelling. For white, middle-class transplants (internal migrants) these stories told of loss of place and family, and the newfound community within LGBT organizational culture in Tucson, aiding in the mythmaking process that calls Tucson an oasis, a safe-space. For middle-class and working-class transplants (internal migrants) with ethno-racial minority status (persons of color) this attempt at remaking was disrupted by local forms of stratification and discrimination. This in turn disrupted the mythmaking process. For *Native* (Anglo white and black) Tucsonans and those from the surrounding rural communities (Mexican and Native/Indian American identified) visibility was a more contentious and partial due to their ties with family that bind them to *this* place. And while Tucson offered rural transplants/migrants the opportunity to reinvent oneself, the proximity of home, and for Center staff, the pressures to be visible within natal communities called into question the

213

dominant trope of the closet, and the magical qualities of visibility to change hearts and minds. The mythmaking narratives of transplants and Anglo *Native* Tucsonans, remake Tucson into an Oasis. The Center allows the space in which incommensurate narratives of place collide. For some these collisions feel violent and alienating, for others galvanizing, and for many of the volunteers I worked with the narratives were inconsequential, easily borrowed from and easily discarded. They volunteered to create real connections with other human beings, or sought to continue the ongoing fight for a just society. I doubt they would believe the Campaign Chair or the Center's Executive Director's view on their *real* function. When Bea realized that anti-immigrant bills had passed while the PMA was stopped with the support of Hispanic voters, she immediately tried to contact local immigrant rights groups to volunteer. She did not waste time asking why she had not helped in the past, she stayed focused in the present. Felix, as a Center staff member, did not get bogged down in the structure of The Center, he used the structure to do the work he wanted and tried to encourage others to do the same. Gil and Claire were not pulled into the Tucson Twelve rift, nor outwardly chafed at their background roles in the Campaign and decision making with The Center, even though Gil was influential in constructing a national gay rights discourse and Claire was one of the founders of The Center.

The Center is both a memorial, in the sense that it memorializes a grassroots social movement and counterculture and in this act of memorialization legitimizes the power to represent the community it memorializes.[39] So, official Center history as an all-volunteer

---

[39] See Blair and Michel's (2007) and Marita Sturken's (1997) which places the process of

run grassroots organization is very present in the yearly dinner, website and volunteer

orientation materials. In such a way memorialization in the form of mythmaking

narratives is also a process of legitimization. This may not be a process unique to The

Center or nonprofit organizational culture in the United States. The same controlling

processes (to borrow Laura Nader's phrase) may be present in nation making (see

Benedict Anderson) and in the ongoing debates over what it means to be from

somewhere in the United States (here New West identity). So, in this sense the Southwest

is a mythical place as well. There is no real boundary, despite the attempts to build a solid

wall between two countries. Even the boundary between the earth and the sky is

disorienting. As I travel south and then westward, the sky opens up. The transition from

East to West is symbolized both by the opening of the horizon on the one hand, and a

decrease in visual stimulation (cars, billboards, electric signs, people, noise, buildings,

etc.) on the other. This sense of moving out of an enclosed space is accompanied by a

slight slowing down of the pace of life, a perceptual pause. As the horizon opens up and

you move across the portion of desert covered by concrete, visuality, the Western

ocularcentric norm, is tested[40]. In this sense, memorialization and visibility are but two

interrelated processes of legitimatization. Counter narratives speak to the power of

silence and *covering* (Goffman 1963; Yoshino 1997). Based on my preliminary findings

both paths are practiced within LGBT organizational culture. This may help speak to the

trauma and horror evoked by the violence and discrimination directed toward those who

memorialization within the context of popular culture by comparison to theVietnam
Veterans Memorial and the AIDS Memorial Quilt.
[40] See Martin Jay's discussion of ocularcentrism as a western norm, also Paul Stoller's
discussion of the privileging of other senses.

215

utilize visibility as a strategy outside the circle of LGBT organizational space, where

strategic silence and homonormative display are deemed necessary. That Center staff

such as Araceli and Felix are asked to utilize the strategy of visibility outside the circle of

LGBT organizational space and influence. This places them at the vanguard. They put

their bodies in the midst of high stakes disputes, Felix willingly so. The LGBT

organizational culture needs both continued community volunteer presence and the

vanguard. But do the community volunteers and the vanguard need the organizational

culture? I do not think this is the case. This is something that occurred to me when

comparing the Executive Director and the Campaign Co-chair interviews. I believe that

the Executive Director was very aware of this dependence upon the community

volunteers and the vanguard, and also careful not to make this relationship visible. The

Co-Chair on the other hand, was dismissive of these power relations precisely because

she did not see this dependence. She could easily dismiss the *grassroots* because she

could clearly see that The Center and The Campaign were not grassroots organizations,

but both hierarchical organizations. This tension between visibility and *covering*

(Goffman 1963; Yoshino 1997), narrative and silence evoke most clearly the metaphor of

mirage and place in context the ways in which informants reshaped institutional and life

histories within the present.

I continually return to the metaphor of the mirage throughout my retelling of

fieldwork experiences. It is an old metaphor that is sometimes forgotten in the new

American Southwest, where *borders* have become the hegemonic metaphor of daily life.

The experience of the mirage is something drawn from a childhood, the water-like

216

steaming substance that would appear on the pavement horizon just ahead. I always wanted to know how we could see something that "wasn't there". Why do we see something that "isn't there"? Is it atmospheric or internal? I do not remember when it happened, but one day I stopped questioning and just accepted that mirages exist somehow.

The mirage is apt metaphor for ethnographic representation itself, in that it is a trick of the consciousness, whereby we transform our perceptions into something apparently solid, all the time knowing this representation only resembles the realities of our informants. Just as Feldman (1991) argues happens within the telling of the life history, the act of writing is also an act of history making. For this reason, I am also interested in the importance of "the telling". I am a storyteller. Other storytellers have told me their own select recollections and I add these to my own observations. Memory is a tricky and powerful tool. Speaking is part of the memory, but many memories are not spoken to anyone, or if they are may be passed to trusted close or anonymous individuals in liminal times and spaces, such as the deathbed, or the ethnographic interview. Other stories repeated here have been crafted in public venues and at times reproduced in written form for larger audiences. I ask myself why these folks trusted me to the extent that they did? Why did they tell me things they have not spoken in other contexts, in other tellings, to other inquiries? At the time I felt the interviews slipped into talk therapy, a cathartic release to an outsider, especially during the times that I was told a story under the caveat that it was for my ears only. At other times, I could sit back and enjoy a finely crated performance from a seasoned storyteller.

This has been a journey within my own country and community to discover something about the world in which I inhabit. When I had originally endeavored to frame a set of research questions, I was specifically interested in how LGBT organizations incorporate gender identity and expression into existing rights-based frameworks. Further, I wanted to study local gender rights discourse in relation to national, official language used to frame these issues. I had found that this framing was put forth as of the utmost importance by national organizations, in reference to both the language within local ordinances and individual case law. Questions of who could authentically speak for the LGBT community seemed to play an important part of the ongoing discussion. Due to the emphasis on the part of legal experts within the national organizations to mold or shape local campaigns, whether they be focused on anti-discrimination ordinances, domestic partner benefits or gay marriage/civil union concerns, into a coherent movement oriented message, I believed that I might find the same kind of pressure or level of "training" within the local Tucson context. What I found was a much more complex social field in which these activities took place. For instance, I argue that the ways in which local activists define themselves and their approach to political and social issues may have just as much to do with the political economy of the New West and a local "grassroots" social justice ethos as with the national debates over a Gay liberation and rights frameworks, or the polarized discourse on *blue* and *red* states that solidified during the 2004 presidential election. As Ginsburg (1989) has demonstrated, these social dramas are part of larger societal debates/disputes, but are also imbedded within social relations amongst *neighbors*. The *grassroots* orientation of Tucson organizers proved to be at odds

with the campaign model adopted by the state politicians at the Phoenix, who eventually took official control of the statewide coalition organization. This again played out within individual and community based histories and identities. For example, the decision to reject or accept the official campaign message appeared to have had much to do with biography and experience embedded within local and broader social networks. This local example speaks to the ways in which some New Social Movement theory may provide an insufficient explanatory framework for understanding the diversity that exists within the everyday process of collective action. The messaging war that spilled outside of the confines private conversations into the pages of the statewide gossip and newspaper editorials, and the interviews with The Campaign staff and Co-chair, also speaks to the ways in which official declarations of ideological stance should not be taken as the actual intent of those seeking change. One may shape one's personal story to be "on message", choose to defy those constraints, or use the rhetorical strategy of the "message" without actually committing to the underlying premise.

The broader national concerns are localized symbolically in the notion of *blue* and *red* counties, but also take on a local flavor in the satirical call to statehood for the Southern portion of the state that borders Mexico. Here issues of "authenticity" emerge not only within the context of the campaign disputes around "messaging", who has the right to speak for and about the LGBT community, but also in the realm of derisive banter that travels back and forth between the two major metropolitan areas over what it means to live an authentic western life style. Within the southern metropolis, this discourse is framed by the notion that the western dessert is a *different* sort of place, with

a *different* sort of people and way of life that is being threatened by snowbirds, retirees, Midwestern lifestyles and corporate interests. Often Phoenix to the north is seen as a representation of all these negative influences. In addition, the LGBT activists and volunteers (many who are transplants themselves) describe their southern city in idealistic terms as an oasis for LGBT people as well as artists, activists, migrants, refugees, and progressives. That the city has been an important part of the Sanctuary movement of the 1980s and ongoing migrant rights activism speaks to this notion of oasis.

<u>Why Gender?</u>

My original intent was to study the sort of accommodation made within the lesbian and gay focused organizations for transgender rights, as well as how this translates to local communities in the form of city ordinances. What I found in the merger between The Center and the Gender Alliance, may have had more to do with different conceptions of the role of the volunteer within community or *grassroots* organization. Once I arrived in Tucson, I was also aware of an upcoming Protect Marriage Amendment that those within the transgender and larger LGBT community were gearing up to oppose. Due to discussion within the Gender Alliance and the ways in which those involved in the group framed the amendment, I began to focus on the issue in relation to the question of gender, sexuality and citizenship. Some segments of the conservative Right and the Gay Rights Movement both frame the issue of "same sex" marriage as an explicitly gendered concern. For example, one conservative text I evaluate in Chapter 2, is entitled

220

"Genderless Marriage" in reference to the type of marriage that is feared will proliferate if these sorts of amendments are not passed within the current generation. Some LGBT organizations such as GENDERPAC have argued that gay marriage as with many other hot button "gay" issues, has a lot to do with fear over the ability to maintain gender norms.

As I demonstrate in Chapter 2, which evaluates this text and the UofA debate on the proposition, there are similar debates that occur within the Right over messaging and internal contention over the intent of these campaigns. Though, as has been noted about Conservative coalitions within the Republican party there is an apparently effective mechanism in place that emphasizes cohesion of message within public debates. While I did not have the resources or motivation to cover the "opposite" side of this debate, partly due to location of fieldwork (Tucson as opposed to Phoenix), I provide a framework for further study.

Sexual Orientation as a Gendered Problem

I came out in the late 1990s, on the fringes of the bar, performance and activist LGBT communities in Philadelphia and New York. In this context I was never opening questioned about my identity or sense of belonging to that community. In contrast, I found that during my year of fieldwork in AZ that I was constantly misread as a straight ally, or at least it became a question that was frequently posed. Often this was based on issues of gendered appearance, that I did not look identifiably lesbian or queer, and that I appeared on the scene without a visible partner. This is understandable given the number

of straight identified allies that were a part of volunteer community and the campaign to stop the ballot initiative. Gender also became an issue within the context of the transgender group meetings. Many assumed that unlike most of the transgendered and gender queer group participants that I had never presented other than I did during this time period, and that I had never struggled with gendered or bodily issues. In essence, that I was naturally the way I appeared, and that was read as feminine (cisgendered) woman. This was not my experience in the East coast context. Here regional gender norms and expectations shaped my reception.

In a more general sense, for an individual to have a relationship, sex, love or want to marry someone that is considered of the same sex creates a gender problem in American society. One gender problem deals with the expected object of one's affection. In addition, this deviation from expected object choice leads many within the society to assume a whole host of correlated non-conforming gendered appearance and behaviors.

Social Networks, Symbolic Local Identity and Social Capital

In retrospect, my initial questions reified local and global to a certain extent. And again, fieldwork proved to complicate these assumptions. For instance, I found that I would come to know community members through their involvement within local community organizations, often becoming familiar with their lives (partners, occupation, role within organizations, larger Tucson community), only to be made aware during in-depth interviews that the individuals had been involved in LGBT politics at the national level or that at least three informants where transplants from the same northeastern city. While

222

interviewing a Human Rights Fund volunteer, I found that I was speaking with someone who had been intimately involved in early influential gay rights cases. By interviewing this individual I gained invaluable insight into the formation of gay rights discourse at the national level as seen in the interview excerpt below.

> *In the early days of the gay rights movement, there were really no*
> *protections for people. On the city, state and local level. And the first*
> *protections, really started by enacting a lot of city ordinances in*
> *progressive cities, like Washington and San Francisco and Tucson.*
> *Tucson as a matter of fact, was an early one too. And those provided*
> *protections, in employment, public accommodations, …. like Washington*
> *had educational protections too. It said, "You can't treat people*
> *differently." (interview with Gil, February, 17, 2006)*

So, here these local and global networks are intertwined in complex ways. Gil's insights also helped me comprehend some of my own influences. A priori assumptions that came from my own place, social network, within the LGBT community in Philadelphia, participation in national conferences and as a consumer of gay media sources. For instance, Gil views his work as a lawyer as part (linked, and an expression of) of his coming out process.

> *I was utilizing my lawyer skills and my advocacy skills, but at the same*
> *time I was also affirming myself. And it was an interesting part of the*

*coming out process in a sense too. (interview with Gil, February, 17,*

*2006)*

I too begin to realize that my project and questions are linked to this attempt to understand self in relation to the world around me. I began thinking I was studying my own community, only to realize that I had never been an insider within LBGT organizational culture. I was someone who consumed the services offered by these organizations, with social ties within my larger social network, but not an insider. It was only through the process of fieldwork that I became an insider (if only fleetingly). However, as I was drawn deeper into these networks I experienced many currents that threatened to either weigh me down with added work and responsibility or spit me back out on the shore again, a curious outsider looking in. I found I was not very good at thinking about the larger community and maintaining social ties. For instance, after I had completed all of my interviews and observations of public meetings in Phoenix, Yuma and Bisbee, I decided to sell the old purple Nissan I had bought for the trip. Bea chided me for selling to someone outside of our network of volunteers and community activists. I was worried about selling a clunker to informants, and unable to give it away, I avoided a potentially uncomfortable situation. During the middle of The Campaign, another informant strongly suggested that I apply for a campaign staff position that they were having difficulty filling. It was a low level position and would have given me a different perspective in regard to the Campaign professional staff, but I felt uncomfortable aligning myself with the organization after several of my informants had been forced off or quit the campaign steering committee. And perhaps most distressing to me and some involved

with the Gender Alliance, I was unable to create a final research report for my internship that satisfied all of the concerns and input of survey participants and Gender Alliance volunteers. In a sense, I was overwhelmed by my consideration of all the ways in which the findings of my work might negatively impact the community of study and unable to meet my own or the groups' high expectations. In the end I submitted an internal draft document that may or may not have helped the alliance define their programming goals, but in all likelihood the volunteer effort would not have had the expert cache of a document created by a grant funded, hired consultant.

Perhaps the emphasis on *difference* I found in the Tucson life-history narratives speak to a larger controlling process of identity formation, which manifested during the high-stakes politics of the U.S. 2006 election cycle. Preliminary evidence (for example the Law School debate highlighted in Ch. 2 and the pro-PMA media campaigns) suggests that some segments of the U.S. based family values coalition and the emerging Campaign focused Marriage Equality movements have actively sought to flexibly incorporate the discourse of difference and normative citizenship in their representations in order to shift the context and meaning of power relations within the U.S. The extent to which both sides of the debate seek to claim legitimacy have both direct and indirect consequences for Central and South American migrants and Spanish speaking peoples native to the American Southwest whichever side they personally or politically fall within the debate. In addition, the marriage movements (as Polikoff links them) continue to shift power relations within and between religious organizations, and in public debates concerning the role of religion within the U.S.

As economic decline and restructuring limit the type and amount of funding accessible to organizations like The Center, we may witness a de-professionalization of these institutions. This may be experienced as both a loss and an opportunity for an infusion of new blood (volunteers and organizers), which may help to promote the legitimacy of the organization as coming from a grassroots, community effort. As we saw in 2006, this infusion may have the potential to emit an aura of authenticity well beyond the actual involvement of volunteer decision makers. In this sense, abeyance structures that tie actors and institutions over multiple waves or cycles of activity (including political action), may also be sustained by much more than actual resources but buoyed by the glow of past activity which lends legitimacy to continued if diminished organizational culture.

In this dissertation, I have attempted to highlight how multi-vocality can imply multiple, dissonant (incommensurate) worldviews, while at the same time highlighting how these worldviews are produced in concert. This coalescence of opposing ideas operates at multiple sites and on multiple geopolitical and discursive scales. Ethnography can allow us to comprehend fragments of modern power relations by providing narratives of high-stakes disputes and the tensions that arise between visibility and experience. Ethnographic encounters invent and recreate these social worlds in the process of interlocution and in the act of representation. In this sense, the ethnographer is unable to escape the worlds of signification and is also caught between these potentialities: normative mask of visibility and the radical potential of experience.

But what if we were to step through that mirage, much like Alice through the looking glass. What would we see from this perspective, the shaky illusory position in a place that is no place, a space, which is no space, jointed, and shifting? If we look at social action from inside the mirage, then we might see organizations not as mere outcomes, inheritors, or abeyance structures in relation to the real action of the social movement. We might instead see the organization being fed by movement activity, in fact there might be periods in which the organization gorges itself on a feast of movement activity across many fields of action. This feast may leave an afterglow that sustains the organization or organizational community, rather than the organization or organizational community forming the abeyance structure which links waves of movements over time. Social movements are sexy, academics like them, and they draw the eye. Each generation devoting just enough energy to keep the organization afloat until the next recruit with abundant energy and creativity is ready to accept the yoke or wrests the reins free in the hopes of transforming the organization or at least directing it along a new path.

I do not think this is a simple matter of the horizontals versus verticals debate (grassroots versus political campaign). However, the existence of these competing forms, and the ways in which the aura of past movement activity and those who continue to be reconfigured as martyrs (put to death via the direct or indirect mechanisms of the state and civil society) are used to legitimate vertical structures and LGBT organizational power is important to American cultural life. These are at the heart of our American high-stakes debates that run throughout the history of American political culture. Once we begin to attune ourselves to these everyday dynamics of power, we can begin to

227

challenge these institutional structures and articulate the difference between intentional subjugation and subjugation by default. If we ask organizational leaders to reflect on form and intentionality it may well aide them in their wielding of such power, with the potential good for LGBT identified people and organizational culture. Alternatively (alongside), such critical reflection could arm those who wish to challenge these structures and the taken for granted value of such institutions in and of themselves. In the end, perhaps it is the organizational culture and its machinations, which are the mirage, and it is the social ties that we create within and outside these structures that animates. The next question may well be who benefits from visibility and display, and in what ways? What does it mean to have cultural competence in the anthropological sense (Wilce 2009), as opposed to organizational use of the word? What if we recognized that not all deaths are sacrifices? Some deaths are loss. For some people it gets better, but some people die. And many of those who die are not in the vanguard. They are not martyrs. They are brothers and sisters, sons and daughters. They are people with a place. The vanguard can die in ways that have nothing to do with visibility. The AIDS crisis shows us this. In these deaths we find not only lost brothers, sisters, sons and daughters, but lost possibilities; loss of the vanguard; loss of a movement for liberation. The ways in which  leadership choose to memorializes these losses in order to legitimize the power to represent such a community, also allows for the continuance of a counter discourse. The potential for organizational transformation lies within this balance and the potential for counter narratives (mythmaking). This potential creates a necessary tension within the

organization, and is made visible precisely at the point at which coalitional politics

becomes a necessity.

<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>

Abu-Lughod, Lila
  1997 The Interpretation of Culture(s) After Television, Representations. 59 (Summer):
      109-134.

Anderson, Benedict
  1983 Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.
      London: Verso.

Andrew, Dudley
  1985 The neglected Tradition of Phenomenology in Film Theory. *In* Movies and
      methods, Volume II. Bill Nichols, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.
      Pp. 625-332.

Anzaldua, Gloria
  1990 Bridge, Drawbridge, Sandbar or Island: Lesbians-of-Color Hacienda Alianzas. *In*
      Bridges of Power: Women's Multicultural Alliances, Lisa Albrechtand Rose M.
      Brewer, eds. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers. Pp. 216-233.
  1999 Borderland/La Frontera: The New Mestizo. 2nd edition. San Francisco: Aunt Lute
      Books.

APA
  1994 Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders, 4th Edition. Washington
      DC: American Psychiatric Association.

APHA
  2000 Resolution 9933. American Journal of Public Health. 90(3):482-484.

Appadurai, Arjun
  1996 Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization. Minneapolis:
     University of Minnesota Press.

Arditti, Rita
  1999 Searching for Life: The Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo and the Disappeared
     Children of Argentina. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Arendt, Hannah
  1969/1970 On Violence. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.

Aretxaga, Begoña
  1997 Dirty Protest: Symbolic Overdetermination and Gender in Northern Ireland
     Ethnic Violence. Ethnos. 23(2):123-148.

Asad, Talal
    1992 Conscripts of Western Civilization. *In* Civilization in Crisis: Anthropological
        Perspectives: Volume One. Dialectical Anthropology: Essays in Honour of
        Stanley Diamond. Christine Ward Gailey, ed. Pp. 333-351.Gainsville: University
        of Florida Press.

Atkins, Dawn, ed.
    1998 Looking Queer: Body Image and Identity. *In* Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay, and
        Transgender Communities. Binghamton, NY:Haworth Press.

Balmer, Randall
    2006 Thy Kingdom Come: How the Religious Right Distorts the Faith and Threatens
        America, An Evangelical's Lament. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Bartels, Thijs
    2003 Dancing on the Homomonument. Amsterdam: Schroer Books.

Barvosa-Carter, Edwina
    2001 Multiple Identity and Coalition Building: How Identity Differences within Us
        Enable Radical Alliances among Us. *In* Forging Radical Alliances across
        Difference: Coalition Politics for a New Millennium, Jill Bystsdzienski, Steven
        Schacht, eds. Lanham, MD:Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Baudrillard, Jean
    1994 (1981) Simulacra and Simulation. Sheila Faria Glazer, trans. Ann Arbor:
        University of Michigan Press.

Behar, Ruth and Deborah Gordon, eds.
    1995 Women Writing Culture. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bell, David and Gill Valentine
    1994 Mapping Desire: geographies of sexualities. London and New York: Routledge.

Bell, David, and Jon Binnie
    2004 Authenticating Queer Space: Citizenship, Urbanism and Governance. Urban
        Studies 41(9):1807-1820.

Beneria, Lourdes, ed.
    1982 Women and development: The sexual division of labor in rural societies. New
        York: Praeger.

Besnier, Niko
  2002 Transgenderism, Locality, and the Miss Galaxy Beauty Pageant in Tonga.
      American Ethnologist 29(3):534–566.
  2003 Crossing Genders, Mixing Languages: The Linguistic Construction of
      Transgenderism in Tonga. In Handbook of Language and Gender. Janet Holmes
      and Miriam Meyerhoff, eds. Pp. 279-301. Oxford: Blackwell.

Blackwood, Evelyn
  1984 Sexuality and Gender in Certain Native American Tribes: The Case of Cross-
      Gender Females. Signs10 (1):27-42.

Blackwood, Evelyn and Saskia Wierinea, eds.
  1999 Female Desires: Same-Sex Relations and Transgender Practices Across Cultures.
      New York: Columbia University Press.

Blair, Carole and Neil Michel
  2007 The AIDS Memorial Quilt and the Contemporary Culture of Commemoration.
      Rhetoric & Public Affairs 10(4):595–626.

Boddy, Janice
  1997 Womb as Oasis: The Symbolic Context of Pharaonic Circumcision in Rural
      Northern Sudan. In The Gender Sexuality Reader: culture, history, political
      economy. Roger Lancaster and Micaela di Leonardo, eds. Pp. 310-324. New
      York, NY: Routledge Press.

Bolin, Anne
  1988 In Search of Eve: Transsexual Rights of Passage. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and
      Garvey Publishers, Inc.
  1993 Transcending and Transgendering: Male-to-Female Transsexuals, Dichotomy and
      Diversity. In Third Sex Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in culture and
      History, Gilbert Herdt, ed. Pp. 447-485. New York, NY: Zone Books.

Bolton, Ralph
  1999 Mapping Terra Incognita: Sex Research for AIDS Prevention – an Urgent Agenda
      for the 1990s. In The Gender Sexuality Reader: culture, history and political
      economy. Roger Lancaster and Micaela di Leonardo, eds. Pp. 434-456. London
      and New York: Routledge.

Bordo, Susan
  1993 Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body. Berkely:
      University of California Press.
  1998 Bringing Body to Theory. In Body and Flesh: A Philosophical Reader. Donn
      Welton, ed. Pp. 84-98. Maldan, MA: Blackwell.

232

Bornstein, Kate
  1994 Gender Outlaw: On Men, Women, and the Rest of Us. New York, NY:
      Routledge.

Bradford, Nicholas J.
  1983 Transgenderism and the Cult of Yellamma: Heat, Sex, and Sickness in South
      Indian Ritual. Journal of Anthropological Research 39 (3): 307–22.

Broad, Kendall L
  2002 Is it G,L,B and T? Gender/Sexuality Movements and Transgender Collective
      Identity (De)Constructions. International Journal of Sexuality and Gender Studies
      7(4):241-264.

Broad, Kendall L. and V. Jenness
  1997 Hate Crimes: New Social Movements and the Politics of Violence. New York,
      NY: Aldine de Gruyter, Inc.

Bustamante, Mary
  2004 Gays and Jews Top Targets of Hate Crimes in Tucson. The Weekly Observer.
      February 25: Pp. 1.

Butler, Judith
  1990 Gender Trouble, Feminist Theory, and Psychoanalytic Discourse. *In*
      Feminism/Postmodernism. Linda J. Nicholson, ed. Pp. 324-340. New York and
      London: Routledge.

Bystydzienski, Jill M. and Schacht, Steven P.
  2001 Forging radical alliances across difference: coalition politics for the new
      millennium. London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

CDC
  2009 http://www.cdc.gov/hiv/topics/surveillance/basic.htm#ddaids, accessed April 24,
      2009.

Calhoun, Craig
  1994 Social Theory and the Politics of Identity. *In* Social Theory and the Politics of
      Identity, C. Calhoun, ed. Pp. 9-36. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Califa, Pat
  1997 Sex Changes: The Politics of Transgenderism. San Francisco, CA: Cleis Press.

Callender and Kochems
  1983 North American Berdache. Current Anthropology 24 (4): 443-470.

Cameron, Loren
  1996 Body Alchemy: Transsexual Portraits. Pittsburgh, PA: Cleis Press.


Candelario, Ginetta.
  2007 Black behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty
      Shops. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Cartmill, M.
  1993 A View to a Death in the Morning: Hunting and Nature Through History.
      Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cartwright, Lisa
  1995 Screening the body: tracing medicine's visual culture. Minneapolis: University of
      Minnesota Press.

Castells, Manuel
  1989 The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring and
      the Urban-Regional Process. Oxford, UK; Malden, MA.

Chambers, David
  2000 Couples: Marriage, Civil Union, and Domestic Partnership. *In* Creating Change:
      Sexuality, Public Policy, and Civil Rights. John D'Emilio, William B. Turner, and
      Urvashi Vaid, eds. Pp. 281-304. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Chase, Cheryl
  1998 Hermaphrodites with Attitude: Mapping the Emergence of Intersex Political
      Activism. GLQ 4:189-211.

Chen, Nancy N. and Trinh T. Minh-ha
  1994 Speaking Nearby. In Visualizing Theory: Selected Essays from V.A.R. 1990-94.
      Lucien Taylor, ed. Pp. 433-451. New York and London: Routledge.

Chodorow, Nancy
  1974 Family Structure and Feminine Personality. In Women, Culture and Society.
      Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds. Pp. 43-66. Stanford: Stanford
      University Press.

Clare, Eli (Elizabeth)
  1999. Exile and Pride: Disability, Queerness, and Liberation. Boston, MA: South End
      Press.

Clemens, Elisabeth
  1996 Organization Form as Frame: Collective Identity and Political Strategy in the
      American Labor Movement, 1880-1920. *In* Comparative Perspectives on Social
      Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural
      Framings. D. McAdam, J. D. McCarthy, and M. N. Zald, eds. Pp. 205-226. New
      York: Cambridge University Press.

Clews Parsons, Elsie
  1916 The Zuni La' Mana. American Anthropologist 18: 521-521.

Clifford, James
  1986 On Ethnographic Surrealism. *In* The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century
      Ethnography, Literature, and Art. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, James and George E. Marcus, eds.
  1986 Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley: University of
      California Press.

Cohen, Stephan L
  2008 The Gay Liberation youth Movement in New York: "An Army of Lovers Cannot
      Fail. New York and London: Routledge.

Combahee River Collective
  1983 A Black Feminist Statement. *In* This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by
      Radical Women of Color. Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua, eds. Pp. 210-218.
      New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press.

Collier, Jr., John and Malcolm Collier, eds.
  1986 Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method, 2$^{nd}$ Edition.
      Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Connell, R.W.
  1994 Masculinities. Bekeley, L.A.: University of California Press.

Cooper, Davina
  1994 Sexing the City: Lesbian and Gay Politics within the Activist State. London:
      Rivers Oram Press.

Crapanzano, Vincent
  1980 Tuhami: Portrait of a Morocca. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Crimp, Douglas
  2002 Melancholia and Moralism: Essays on AIDS and Queer Politics. Cambridge and
      London: The MIT Press.

Cromley, Ellen K
   1999 Mapping Spatial Data. *In* Mapping Social Networks, Spatial Data and Hidden
        Populations. Jean Schensuul and Margaret LeCompte, eds. Pp. 51-124. Walnut
        Creek and London: AltaMira Press.

Cromwell, Jason
   1997 Traditions of Gender Diversity and Sexualities: A Female-to-Male Transgendered
        Perspective. *In* Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality,
        and Spirituality. Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas and Sabine Lang, eds. Pp.
        119-142. Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.
   1999 Transmen and FTMs: Identities, Bodies, Genders and Sexualities. Urbana and
        Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Cunningham, Hilary
   2000 The ethnography of transnational social activism: understanding the global as
        local practice. American Ethnologist, 26(3):583-604.

Currah, Paisley and Shannon Minter, eds.
   2000 Transgender Rights: A Handbook for Activists and Policy-Makers. New York:
        National Center for Lesbian Rights and the Policy Institute of the National Gay
        and Lesbian Task Force.

Custen, George
   1987 Fiction as Truth: Viewer Use of Fiction Films as Data about the "Real" World. *In*
        Visual Explorations of the World, Jay Ruby and Martin Taureg, eds. Pp. 28-46.
        Aachen: Editions Herodot, Rader Verlag.

D'Emilio, John
   1983 Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in
        the United States 1940-1970. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
   1984 Capitalism and Gay Identity. *In* Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality. Anne
        Snitow, Christine Stansel and Sharon Thompson, eds. Pp. 100-113. London:
        Virago.

Dahlberg, Frances, ed.
   1981 Woman the Gatherer. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Davis, Tim
   1995 The Diversity of Queer Politics and the Redefinition of Sexual Identity and
        Community in Urban Spaces. *In* Mapping Desire: geographies of sexualities*,*
        David Bell and Gill Valentine, eds. Pp. 284-303.London and New York:
        Routledge.

de Beauvoir, Simone
  1989 (1953) The Second Sex. New York: Vintage Books.

deBouzek, Jeanette
  1989 The "Ethnographic Surrealism" of Jean Rouch. Visual Anthropology 2[3-4]:301-
      316.

De Cecco, John and John Elia, eds.
  1993 A Critique and Synthesis of Biological Essentialism and Social Constructionist
      Views of Sexuality and Gender. *In* If You Seduce a Straight Person, Can You
      make them Gay? Issues in Biological Essentialism and Social Constructionism in
      Gay and Lesbian Identities, John De Cecco and John Elia, eds. Pp. 1-26.
      Binghamton, NY: The Haworth Press.

di Leonardo, Micaela
  1991 Introduction: Gender, culture and political economy: Feminist anthropology in
      historical perspective. *In* Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist
      Anthropology in the Postmodern Era. Micaela di Leonardo, ed. Pp.1-51.
      Berkeley: University of California Press.

Donovan, James
  1994 A Philosophical Ground for Gays' Rights: We Must Learn What is True in Order
      to Do What is Right. George Mason University Civil Rights Law Journal 4(1-
      2):1-40.
  1997 DOMA: An Unconstitutional Establishment of Fundamentalist Christianity.
      Michigan Journal of Gender & Law 4(2):335-373.

Douglas, Mary Tew
  1966 Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo. London
      and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Duberman, Martin
  1993 Stonewall. New York, NY: Plume/Penguin Books.

Eckert, P. and S. McConnell-Ginet
  1992 Communities of Practice: Where Language, Gender and Power all Live. *In*
      Locating Power: Papers from the Second Berkeley Women and Language
      Conference. K. Hall, M. Bucholz and B. Moonwoman, eds. Pp. 89-99. Berkeley,
      CA: Berkeley Women and Language Group.

Edgerton, Robert B.
  1964 "Pokot Intersexuality": An East African Example of Sexual Incongruity.
      American Anthropologist 66(6): 1288-1299.

Edelman, Marc
  2001 Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics. *In* Annual
      Review of Anthropology. 30: 285-317.

Eskridge, William N., Jr.
  2005 Pluralism and Distrust: How Courts Can Support Democracy by Lowering the
      Stakes of Politics. Yale Law Journal 114(6):1279–1328.

Fabian, Johannes
  1996 Remembering the Present: Painting and Popular History in Zaire. Berkeley, CA:
      University of California Press.

Faderman, Lillian
  1994 (1981*)* Surpassing the Love of Men, Triangle Classic Edition. New York: Quality
      Paperback Book Club.

Fantasia, Rick
  1988 Cultures of Solidarity: Consciousness, Action and Contemporary American
      Workers. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Farmer, Paul and Arthur Kleinman
  1989 AIDS as Human Suffering. Daedalus 118(2)2:135-160.

Farmer, Paul
  1992 AIDS and Accusation: Haiti and the Geography of Blame. Berkeley, CA:
      University of California Press.
  1996 On suffering and structural violence: a view from below. Daedalus 125(1):261-
      283.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne
  2000 Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality. New York:
      Perseus Books.

Feinberg, Leslie
  1992 Transgender Liberation: Beyond Pink and Blue. New York, NY: World View
      Forum.

Feldman, Allen
  1991 Formations of violence: the narrative of the body and political terror in Northern
      Ireland. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Finkelstein, Joanne
  1991 The Fashioned Self. Caimbridge, UK: Polity Press.

Flax, Jane
    1997 Postmodern and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory. *In* Feminisms, Sandra
        Kemp and Judith Squires, eds. Pp. 170-178. Oxford/New York: Oxford
        University Press.

Fischer, Michael M. J.
    1986 Ethnicity and the Post-Modern Arts of Memory. *In* Writing Cultures: The Poetics
        and Politics of Ethnography, James Clifford and George Marcus, eds. Pp. 194-
        233. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Fong, Lawrence M.
    1980 Sojourners and Settlers: The Chinese Experience in Arizona. The Journal of
        Arizona History, 21 (Autumn):1 - 30.

Foucault, Michel
    1973 (1963) The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception, New
        York, NY: Pantheon Books/Vintage Books
    1977 (1975) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Alan Sheridan translator,
        New York, NY: Random House.
    1978 (1976) History of Sexuality: Part I An Introduction. New York, NY: Pantheon
        Books/Vintage Books.

Fries, Kenny
    1997 Body, Remember: A memoir. New York: Dutton.

Fuentes, Annette and Barbara Ehrenreich
    1983 Women in the global factory. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Gans, Herbert J.
    1979 Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America. Ethnic
        and Racial Studies 2:1-20.
    2009 Reflections on symbolic ethnicity: A response to Y. Anagnostou. Ethnicities 9
        (March):123-130

Gay Lesbian & Straight Education Network, the ACLU Lesbian & Gay Rights Project
    2006 Adding Sexual Orientation & Gender Identity To Discrimination & Harassment
        Policies In School. http://www.glsen.org/pages/sections/news/alerts/glac.html
        (last accessed 2006).

Giddens, Anthony
    1984 The Constitution of Society, Cambridge. MA: Polity Press.
    1985 The Nation-State and Violence. Cambridge: Polity Press.
    1990 Modernity and Self-Identity. Standford: Standford University Press.

Ginsburg, Faye
  1984 The Body Politic: The Defense of Sexual Restriction by Anti-Abortion Activists. *In* Pleasure and Anger: Exploring Female Sexuality. Carole S. Vance, ed. Pp. 173-188. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
  1989 Contested lives: the abortion debate in an American community. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
  1998 Institutionalizing the Unruly: Charting a Future for Visual Anthropology. Ethnos 63(2):173-196.

Ginsburg, Faye D. and Rayna Rapp, eds.
  1995 Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction. Berkeley and London: University of California Press.

Gledhill, John
  2000 Power and Its Disguises: Anthropological Perspectives on Politics, 2nd Edition. London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press.

Goffman, Erving
  1963 Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Goode, Judith
  2001 Let's Get Our Act Together: How Racial Discourses Disrupt Local Activism. *In* The New Poverty Studies: The Ethnography of Power, Policy and Impoverished People in the United States. Judith Goode, Jeff Maskovsky, eds. Pp. 364-398. New York: New York University Press.
  2011 The Campaign for New Immigrants in Urban Regeneration: Imagining Possibilities and Confronting Realities. In Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants. Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Caglar, eds. Pp. 143-165. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Green, Jamison
  2000 Introduction. *In* Transgender Rights: A Handbook for Activists and Policy-Makers. Paisley Currah & Shannon Minter, eds. New York: National Center for Lesbian Rights and the Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

Grey, Sandra and Marian Sawer, eds.
  2008 Women's Movements: Flourishing or in Abeyance? New York, NY: Routledge.

Grosz, Elizabeth
  1998 bodies-cities. In Places through the Body. Heidi J. Nast and Steve Pile, eds. Pp. 42-51. London and New York, NY: Routledge Press.

Gusterson, Hugh
   1996 Nuclear Rites: A Weapons Laboratory at the End of the Cold War. Berkeley, Los
         Angeles and London: University of California Press.

Habermas, Jürgen
   1991 (1962) The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a
         Category of Bourgeoise Society. Thomas Burger, translator. Cambridge, MA:
         MIT Press.

Haider-Markel, Donald P.
   2001 Policy Diffusion as a Geographical Expansion of the Scope of Political Conflict:
         Same-Sex Marriage Bans in the 1990s. State Politics and Policy Quarterly 1:1-26.

Haider-Markel, Donald P. and Kenneth J. Meier
   1996 The Politics of Gay and Lesbian Rights: Expanding the Scope of Political
         Conflict. The Journal of Politics 58:332-49.

Halberstam, Judith
   1998 Female masculinity. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Hall, Kira
   1997 "Go Suck Your Husband's Sugarcane!": Hijras and the Use of Sexual Insult. *In*
         Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality. Anna Livia and Kira Hall,
         eds. Pp. 430-460. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hanhart, Christina
   2008 Butterflies, Whistles and Fists: Gay Safe Streets Patrols and the New Gay Ghetto,
         1976—1981. Radical History Review 100 (Winter):60-84.

Haraway, Donna
   1988 Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of
         Partial Perspectives. Feminist Studies 14(3):575–599.

Harding, Sandra
   1986 The Instability of Analytical Categories of Feminist Theories. In Feminist Theory
         in Practice and Process. M.R. Malson, J.F. O'Barr, S. Westphal-Wihl, and
         M. Wyer, eds. Pp.15-34. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Harrison, Faye V.
   1991 Anthropology as an Agent of Transformation: Introductory Comments and
         Queries. *In* Decolonizing Anthropology: Moving Further Toward an
         Anthropology for Liberation. Faye V. Harrison, ed. Washington, DC: Association
         of Black Anthropologists/American Anthropological Association.

Heggenhougen, Kristian H.
  1995 The Epidemiology of Functional Apartheid and Human Rights Abuses. *In* Social
      Science and Medicine. 10(3):281-284.

Herdt, Gilbert
  1984 Introduction to Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia. Berkeley, CA: University
      of California Press.
  1993 Mistaken Sex: Culture, Biology and the Third Sex in New Guinea. *In* Third Sex
      Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History, Gilbert Herdt,
      ed. Pp. 419-446. New York, NY: Zone Books.

Herdt, Gilbert and Robert Stoller, eds.
  1990 (1985) Intimate Communications: Erotics and the Study of Culture. New York:
      Columbia University Press.

Higgs, David
  1999 Queer Sites: gay urban histories since 1600. London and New York: Routledge.

Hill, W.
  1935 The status of the hermaphrodite and transvestism in Navaho culture. American
      Anthropology 37(2:1):273-279.
  1938 Note on the Pima Berdache. American Anthropologists 40(2):339-340.

Hill Collins, Patricia
  1997 Toward an Afrocentric Feminist Epistemology. *In* Feminisms. Sandra Kemp and
      Judith Squires, eds. Pp. 198-206. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
  2001 Like One of the Family: Race, Ethnicity, and the Paradox of US National Identity.
      Ethnic and Racial Studies 24 (1): 3-28.
  2004 Black Sexual Politics: African Americas, Gender and the New Racism. New
      York/London: Routledge.

Holston, James
  1989 The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília, Chicago, IL:
      University of Chicago Press.

hooks, bell
  1984 Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center. Pp. Boston, MA: Southend Press.

Horn, David
  1994 Social Bodies: Science, Reproduction, and Italian Modernity, Princeton:
      Princeton University Press.

Hurley v. Irish-American Gay, Lesbian & Bisexual Group of Boston 530 U.S. 640 (2000)
      515 U.S.557 (1995)

242

Hyatt, Susan Brin
  1995 Poverty and Difference: Ethnographic Representations of "Race" and the Crisis
       of the Social. *In* Gender and Race through Education and Political Activism: The
       Legacy of Sylvia Helen Forman. Dena Shenk, ed. Pp. 185-206. Washington:
       American Anthropological Association/Association for Feminist Anthropology.
  2001a Writing Against Globalization, Review Essay. Anthropological
       Quarterly,75(1):205-212.
  2001b. From Citizen to Volunteer: Neoliberal Governance and the Erasure of
       Poverty. *In* The New Poverty Studies: The Ethnography of Power, Policy and
       Impoverished People in the United States. Judith Goode, Jeff Maskovsky, eds. Pp.
       201-235.New York: New York University Press.

Jackson, Michael
  1998 Minima Ethnographica: Intersubjectivity and the Anthropological Project,
       Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jacobs, Sue-Ellen
  1997 Is the North American "Berdache" merely a phantom in the imagination of
       western social scientists? *In* Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity,
       Sexuality, and Spirituality. Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, Sabine Lang, eds.
       Pp. 21-44. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Jacobs, Sue-Ellen and Jason Cromwell
  1992 Visions and Revisions of Reality: Reflections on Sex, Sexuality, Gender, and
       Gender Variance. Journal of Homosexulaity 23(4):43-69.

Jacobs, Sue-Ellen, Wesley Thomas, Sabine Lang, eds.
  1997 Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and
       Spirituality.Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Jagose, Annamarie
  1996 Queer Theory: An Introduction. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Jay, Martin
  1994 The Disenchantment of the Eye: Surrealism and the Crisis of Ocularcentrism. *In*
       Visualizing Theory: Selected Essays from V.A.R. 1990-94. Lucien Taylor, ed. Pp.
       173-201. New York and London: Routledge.

Jeffreys, Susan
  2003 Unpacking Queer Politics: a lesbian feminist perspective. Malden, MA: Blackwell
       Publishers.

Jhala, Jayasinhji

1989 Videography as indigenous text and local commodity: the ethical dilemma in representing my People. Anthropologica Visualis. Montreal, Canada.

1993 Power and the Portrait :  the Influence of the Ruling Elite on the Visual text in Western India. Visual Anthropology 6: 71-188.

1994 The Unintended Audience. *In* The Construction of the Viewer: Media Ethnography and the Anthropology of Audiences, Crawford, P. and Hafsteinsson, eds.

1996 Avatar, Technicolor and the "Lucky" : Aesthetic Choice and Innovation in western India' in the Journal of Popular Culture 29(1):71-93.

1997a Shaping Gujarati Cinema: Recognizing the New in Traditional Cultures. Visual Anthropology 11: 373 -385.

1997b Some speculations on the Concept of Indic Frontality prompted by questions on Portraiture. Visual Anthropology 9(2).

1997c Guide to Visual Anthropology: Studying Ethnographic Films. Wadsworth Academic Press.

2000a Puja, Pujari and Prabhu: Religious worship in the Hindu Home. Visual Anthropology 13:103-128.

2000b Picture Postcards as Complex Texts: The View from Within an Indian Esthetic and Historical Tradition. Visual Anthropology 13: 257-277.

2004 In a time of Fear and Terror: Seeing, Assessing, Assisting, Understanding and Living the Reality and Consequences of Disaster. *In* Sarah Pink edited Applied Visual Anthropology Special Volume in Visual Anthropology Review 20(1):60-71.

2006 Journey with Ganesh: telling stories of objects acting in the world and as being acted upon in the world. South Asian Popular Culture Journal 4(1):35-49

2010 Representing Story: Shaping Memory in Western India. Journal South Asian History and Culture 1:106-125


Jiménez, Alfredo

2003 Space, Time, Peoples: Continuities in the Great Spanish North from Its Beginnings to the Present. *In* the Provencias Internas: Continuing Frontiers Proceedings of the Symposium Held at Phoenix College, Pete Dimas, ed. Pp. 1-24. Tucson, AZ: The Arizona Historical Society


Jost, John T.

2006 The End of Ideology, in American Psychologist 61(7):651-670.


Johnson Reagon, Bernice

1983. "Coalition Politics: Turning the Century," *In* Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology. Pp. 361-363. Barbara Smith, ed. Kitchen Table Women of Color Press.

Kaberry, Phyllis
  1939 Aboriginal Woman: Sacred and Profane, New York: Routledge.


Kaplan, Morris
  1997 Sexual Justice: Democratic Citizenship and the Politics of Desire.

Katz, Jonathan
  1976 Gay American history: lesbians and gay men in the USA. New York: Thomas Y.
     Crowell.

Kenney, Moira Rachel
  2001 Mapping Gay L.A.: The Intersection of Place and Politics. Philadelphia, PA:
     Temple University Press.

Kessler, Suzanne J.
  1990 The Medical Construction of Gender: Case Management of Intersexed Infants.
     Signs 16:3-26.

Kessler, Suzanne J., and Wendy McKenna
  1990 (1978) Gender: An Ethnomethodological Approach. Chicago and London:
     University of Chicago Press.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett
  1991 Objects of Ethnography. *In* Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of
     Museum Display*, Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds. Pp. 386-443.Washington,
     DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kleinman, Arthur and Joan Kleinman
  1996 The appeal of experience; the dismay of images: cultural appropriations of
     suffering in our times. Daedalus 125(1):1-23.

Kochems, Lee M. and Sue-Ellen Jacobs
  1997 Gender Statuses, Gender Features, and Gender/Sex Categories: New Perspectives
     on an Old Paradigm. *In* Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity,
     Sexuality, and Spirituality, Jacobs, Sue-Ellen, Wesley Thomas and Sabine Lang,
     eds. Pp. 255-264. Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Kranz, Rachel and Tim Cusick
  2000 Library in a Book: Gay Rights. New York, NY: Facts on File, Inc.

Kulick, Don
  1997 Transvesti: Sex, Gender and Culture among Brazilian Trangendered Prostitutes.
       Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
  1999 Transgender and language: a review of the literature and suggestions for the
       future. GLQ 5:4, 605-622.


Lamphere, Louise
  1977 Anthropology: review essay. Signs 2(3): 612-627.

Lancaster, Roger
  1988 Subject honour and object shame: the construction of male homosexuality and
       stigma in Nicaragua. Ethnology, 28(2):111-126.
  1992 Life Is Hard: Machismo, Danger, and the Intimacy of Power in Nicaragua.
       Berkeley: University of California Press.
  1997 Guto's Performance: Notes on the Transvestism of Everyday Life. *In* The Gender
       Sexuality Reader: culture, history and political economy. Roger Lancaster and
       Micaela di Leonardo, eds. Pp. 559-579. London and New York: Routledge.
  1998 "On Homosexualities in Latin America (and other places)." ... anthropology of
       homosexuality. American Ethnologist 24(1):193-203.
  1999 "That We Should All Turn Queer?": Homosexual Stigma in the Making of
       Manhood and the Breaking of a Revolution in Nicaragua. In Culture, Society and
       Sexuality: A Reader, Richard Parker and Peter Aggleton eds. Pp. 97-115.
       Philadelphia and London: University College London Press.

Lang, Sabine
  1997 Various Kinds of Two-Spirit People: Gender Variance and Homosexuality in
       Native American Communities. *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender
       Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality*. *In* Jacobs, Sue-Ellen, Wesley Thomas and
       Sabine Lang, eds. Pp. 100-118. Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois
       Press.
  1998 Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures.
       John L. Vantine, translator. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Laraña, Enrique, Hank Johnston and Joseph R. Gusfield, eds.
  1994 New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity. Philadelphia: Temple
       University Press.

Laqueur, Thomas
  1990 Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud. Cambridge, MA:
       Harvard University Press.

Lee, Man Yee Karen
  2010 Equality, dignity, and same-sex marriage: a rights disagreement in democratic societies. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill/Hotei Publishing.

Leeds, Anthony
  1973 Locality and Power in Relation to Supralocal Power Institutions. *In* Urban Anthropology: Cross-Cultural Studies of Urbanization. Aidan Southall, ed. Pp. 15-41. London: Oxford University Press.

Levy, Robert
  1971 The Community Function of Tahitian Male Transvestism: A Hypothesis. Anthropology Quarterly 44(1):12-21.

Lewin, Ellen
  1993 Lesbian mothers: accounts of gender in American culture. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
  1998 Recognizing ourselves: ceremonies of lesbian and gay commitment. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Lock, Margaret
  1993 Cultivating the Body: Anthropology and Epistemologies of Bodily Practice and Knowledge. Annual Review of Anthropology 22:133-135.

Loizos, Peter
  1993 Innovation in ethnographic film: from innocence to self-consciousness, 1955-1985. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Lorde, Audre
  1984 (1996) Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches. Freedom, CA: The Crossing Feminist Press.

Lugones, Maria and Elizabeth V. Spelman
  1983 Have we got a theory for you! Feminist theory, cultural imperialism and the demand for 'The. Woman's Voice! Women's Studies International Forum 6(2): 573-581.

Lutz, Catharine A. and Jane L. Collins
  1993 Reading National Geographic. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

MacDougall, David
  1997 Transcultural Cinema. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Malinowski, Bronislaw
  1927 (1955) Sex and Repression in Savage Society. Chicago: Meridian Books.
  1929 The Sexual Life of Savages in North-western Melanesia. New York: Brace and
      World.
  1989 A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term. Norbert Guterman, translator. Stanford:
      Stanford U. Press.

Martin, Emily
  1987 (1992)  The Woman in the Body: A Cultural Analysis of Reproduction. Boston,
      MA: Beacon Press.
  1992 The End of the Body. American Ethnologist 19(1):21-40.
  1994 Flexible Bodies: the role of immunity in American culture from  the days of Polio
      to the age of AIDS. Boston: Beacon Press.

Martinez, Wilton
  1992 Who Constructs Anthropological Knowledge? Toward a Theory of Ethnographic
      Film Spectatorship. In Film As Ethnography. Peter Crawford and David Turton,
      eds. Pp. 131-161. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Mascia-Lees, Frances E. and Patricia Sharpe
  1992 The Marked and the Un(re)marked: Tattoo and Gender in Theory and Narrative,
      *In* Tattoo, Torture, Mutilation, and Adornment: Denaturalization of the Body in
      Culture and Text. Albany. Frances E. Mascia-Less and Patricia Sharpe, eds. NY:
      State University of New York Press.

Maskovsky, Jeff
  2001 Sexual Minorities and the New Urban Poverty. *In* Cultural Diversity in the United
      States. Ida Susser and Thomas Patterson, eds. Pp. Malden, MA: Blackwell
      Publishers Ltd.

Mayer, Tamar, ed.
  2000 Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation. New York, NY: Routledge.

McPherson, E. Gregory and Renee A. Haip
  1989 Emerging Desert Landscape in Tucson. Geographical Review 79(4): 435-449.

McIntosh, Mary
  1968 The homosexual role. Social Problems 16:182-192.

Mead, Margaret
  1935 (1963) Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, New York, NY:
      Morrow Quill Paperbacks.

Mein, Erika
  2009 Literacy, Knowledge Production, and Grassroots Civil Society: Constructing
      Critical Responses to Neoliberal Dominance. Anthropology & Education
      Quarterly 40(4):350-368.

Melucci, Alberto
  1988 Social Movements and the Democratization of Everyday Life. *In* Civil Society
      and the State: New European perspectives, John Keane, ed. Pp. 245-260. London:
      Verso.
  1994 A Strange Kind of Newness: What's 'New' in New Social Movements? *In* New
      Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity. Laraña, Enrique, Hank Johnston,
      and Joseph R. Gusfiled, eds. Pp. 101-130. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Trinh T. Minh-ha and Nancy N. Chen
  1994 Speaking Nearby *In* Visualizing Theory: Selected Essays from V.A.R. 1990-94,
      Lucien Taylor, ed. Pp. 433-451. New York and London: Routledge.

Mitchell, W. J. T.
  1995 (1994). Picture Theory, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade
  2003 Sisterhood, Coalition, and the Politics of Experience. *In* Feminism without
      Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity.Chandra Talpade Mohanty,
      ed. Pp. 106-123. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Moore, Henrietta L.
  1994 A Passion for Difference, Bloominton and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Morris, Rosalind
  1995 All Made Up: Performance Theory and the New Anthropology of Sex and
      Gender. Annual Review of Anthropology 24:567-592.

Mosse, George L.
  1985 Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern
      Europe, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Murray, Steven, O.
  1995 Stigma transformation and relexification in the international diffusion of gay. *In*
      Beyond the Lavender Lexicon: Authenticity, Imagination and Appropriation in
      Lesbian and Gay Language. William Leap, ed. Pp. 215-240. New York: Gordon
      & Breach.

Myerhoff, Barbara
  1980 (1978) Number Our Days: A Triumph of Continuity and Culture Among Jewish
      Old People in an Urban Ghetto, New York, NY: Touchstone.

Nader, Laura
  1972 Up the Anthropologist—Perspectives Gained from Studying Up. *In* Reinventing
      Anthropology. Dell H. Hymes, ed. Pp. 284-311. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
  1995 Civilization and its negotiators. *In* Understanding disputes: the politics of law. Pat
      Kaplan, ed. Pp. 39-63. Providence, RI: Berg.
  1997 Controlling Processes: Tracing the Dynamic Components of Power. Current
      Anthropology. 38(5). Pp. 711-737.

Namaste, Viviane
  2000 Invisible Lives: The Erasure of Transsexual and Transgendered People. Chicago:
      University of Chicago Press.

Nanda, Serena
  1990 Neither Man nor Woman: the Hijras of India. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth
      Publishing Co.

Nash, June and Safa, Helen, eds.
  1986 Women and Change in Latin America: New Directions in Sex and Class*,* South
      Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.

Nast, Heidi J.
  1998 The body as a 'place': reflexivity and fieldwork in Kano, Nigeria. *In* Places
      through the Body, Heidi J. Nast and Steve Pile, eds., London and New York:
      Routledge.

Nestle, Joan, Clare Howell, and Riki Wilchins
  2002 GenderQueer: voices from beyond the sexual binary. Los Angeles and New York:
      Alyson Books.

Newman, Katherine S
  1987 "PATCO Lives!" Stigma, Heroism and Symbolic Transformations. Cultural
      Anthropology 2(3): 319-346.

Newton, Esther
  1972 Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
  1988 Of yams, Grinders, and Gays: The Anthropology of Homosexuality. Outlook
      l(l):28-37
  1993 Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America's First Gay and Lesbian Town,
      Boston: Beacon Press.

Ong, Aihwa

  1987 Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia, State University of New York Press.

  1996 Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States. Current Anthropology 37(5):737-762.

  1999 Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.


Patton, Cynthia

  1991 Inventing AIDS. New York and London: Routlege.

  1996 Fatal Advice: How Safe-Sex Education Went Wrong. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press.

  2002 Globalizing AIDS (Theory Out of Bounds). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.


Perrin, Constance

  1992 The Communicative Circle: Museums as Communities. *In* Museums and Communities. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, Steven Lavine, eds. Pp. 182-220. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.


Phelan, Shane

  2001 Sexual Strangers Gays, Lesbians, and Dilemmas of Citizenship. Philadelphia, PA:Temple University Press.


Pink, Sarah

  2001 Doing Visual Ethnography. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.


Polikoff, Nancy D.

  2008 Beyond (Straight and Gay) Marriage: Valuing All Families under the Law, Boston, MA: Beacon Press.


Popenoe, David

  1993. "American Family Decline, 1960-1990: A Review and Appraisal," in Journal of Marriage and Family, v. 55, n. 3, August 1993.


Povinelli, Elizabeth

  2000 Native sex: sex rites, land rights and the making of Aboriginal civic culture. *In* Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation. London and New York: Routledge.

  2002. The Cunning of Recognition. Durham: Duke University Press.

Puar, Jasbir K.
  2007 Terrorist Asemblages: homonationalism in queer times. Durham and London:
       Duke University Press.

Putnan, Robert D.
  1996 The Strange Disappearance of Civic America. American Prospect 24(Winter):
       34–48.
  2005. 1996: The Civic Enigma. American Prospect. 16(6) online edition.
       http://prospect.org/article/1996-civic-enigma, last accessed January 19, 2012.

Raymond, Janice
  1994 (1979) The transsexual empire: the making of the she-male. Boston, MA: Becon
       Press.

Rimmerman, Craig A., Kenneth D. Wald and Clyde Wilcox, eds.
  2000 The politics of Gay Rights. Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press.

Rodriguez, Clara
  2000 Changing Race: Latinos, the Census, and the History of Ethnicity in the United
       States. New York and London: New York University Press.

Rofel, Lisa
  1999 Other Modernities: Gendered yearnings in China after socialism. Berkeley and
       Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Roscoe, Will
  1988 Living the Spirit: A Gay American Indian Anthology. New York, NY: St.
       Martin's Press.
  1991 The Zuni Man-Woman. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Rubin, Gayle
  1975 The Traffic in Women: Notes on the Political Economy of Sex. *In* Toward an
       Anthropology of Women. Rayna R. Reiter, ed. Pp. 157-210. New York: Monthly
       Review Press.
  1984 Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality. *In* Pleasure
       and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality. Carole S. Vance, ed. Pp. 267-319.
       Routledge and Kegan Paul.
  1992 Of Catamites and Kings: Reflections on Butch, Gender, and Boundaries. *In* The
       Persistent Desire: A Femme-Butch Reader. Joan Nestle, ed. Pp. 466-482. Boston:
       Alyson Publications.
  2000 Sites, Settlements, and Urban Sex: Archaeology and the Study of Gay
       Leathermen in San Francisco, 1955-1995. *In* Archaeologies of Sexuality. Schmidt,
       Robert and Barbara Voss, eds. Pp. 62-88. New York, NY: Routledge.

Ruby, Jay

1981 Seeing Through Pictures: The Anthropology of Photography. Camera Lucida 3:20-33.

1982 Ethnography as Trompe L'Oeil: Film and Anthropology. *In* A Crack in the Mirror: Reflexive Perspectives in Anthropology. Jay Ruby, ed. Pp. 121-132. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

2000 Picturing Culture. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Ruoff, Jeffrey

1998 An Ethnographic Surrealist Film: Luis Bunuel's Land Without Bread. Visual Anthropology Review 14(1):1-13.

Rybka, Ted

2005 Mile high hate: Prescott's gay community center the target of vandals. Echo, May 19. Pp. 18.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy

1992 Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy and Margaret Lock

1987 The mindful body: A prolegomenon to future work in medical anthropology. Medical Anthropology Quarterly (n.s.)1:6-41.

Schmidt, Robert and Barbara Voss, eds.

2000 Archaeologies of Sexuality. New York, NY: Routledge.

Scott, Alan

1990 Ideology and the New Social Movement. London: Unwin & Hyman.

Seyle, Conor D. and Matthew L. Newman

2006 A House Divided? The Psychology of Red and Blue America. American Psychologist 61(6):571-580.

Shakespeare, Tom, Kath Gillespie-Sells and Davies, Dominic.

1997. The Sexual Politics of Disability: Untold Desires. Cassell Academic.

Shapiro, Judith

1991 Transsexulaism: Reflection on the Persistence of Gender and the Mutability of Sex. *In* Body Guards: the cultural politics of gender ambiguity. Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub, eds. Pp. 248-279. New York and London: Routledge.

Shelley, Martha
  2000(1970)  Gay is Good. *In* Library in a Book: Gay Rights, Rachel Kranz and Tim
        Cusick, eds. New York, NY: Facts on File, Inc.

Singer, Ben
  ND   From the Medical Gaze to 'Sublime Mutations': Re-viewing Images of Non-
        standard Bodies and their Ethical Implications. A presentation given at Temple
        University, April 15, 2004.

Singer, Merrill
  1999 Studying Hidden Populations. *In* Mapping Social Networks, Spatial Data and
        Hidden Populations, Jean Schensuul and Margaret LeCompte, eds. Walnut Creek
        and London: AltaMira Press.

Smith, Barbara
  1998 The Truth that Never Hurts: Writings on Race, Gender and Freedom. New Jersey:
        Rutgers University Press.

Solnit, Rebecca
  1994 Savage dreams: a journey into the landscape wars of the American West. San
        Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books.

Star, June and Jane F. Collier
  1989 History and Power in the Study of Law: New Directions in Legal Anthropology.
        Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Staiger, Janet
  1992 Interpreting Films: Studies in the Historical Reception of American Cinema.
        Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Stein, Arlene
  2001 The Stranger Next Door: The Story of a Small Community's Battle Over Sex,
        Faith, and Civil Rights. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Stein, Marc
  2004 (2000). City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia.1945-
        1972. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Stoller, Paul
  1997 Sensuous Scholarship. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Stone, Sandy
  1991 The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto. *In* Body Guards: the
        cultural politics of gender ambiguity. Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub, eds. New
        York and London: Routledge.

Stychin, Carl F.
  1998 A Nation by rights: National Cultures, Sexual Identity Politics, and the Discourse of Rights. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Sturken, Marita
  1997 Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Taussig, Michael T.
  1987 Shamanism, colonialism, and the wild man: a study in terror and healing. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
  1993 Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses, New York, NY: Routledge.

Taylor, Vera
  1989 Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance. American Sociological Review  54(5):761-775.

Tremain, Shelley, ed.
  1996. Pushing the Limits -- disabled dykes produce culture. Toronto: Women's Press.

Trotter, Robert T.
  1999 Friends, Relatives, and Relevant Oterhs: Conducting Ethnographic Network Studies. *In* Mapping Social Networks, Spatial Data and Hidden Populations, Jean Schensuul and Margaret LeCompte, eds. Walnut Creek and London: AltaMira Press.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt
  1993 In the Realm of the Diamond Queen: marginality in an out-of-the-way place, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
  2000 The Global Situation. Cultural Anthropology 15(3):  327-360.
  2005 Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ungar, Mark
  2001 Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered International Alliances: The Perils of Success. *In* Forging Radical Alliances across Difference: Coalition Politics for the New Millennium. Jill M. Bystydzienski and Steven P. Schact. Pp. 235-248. Lanham, MR: Rowman and Littlefield.

Valentine, David
  2000. "I Know What I am": the Category "Transgender" in the Construction of
      Contemporary US American Conceptions of Gender and Sexuality, unpublished
      dissertation, Department of Anthropology, New York University.
  2002 "We're Not About Gender": How an Emergent Transgender Movement
      Challenges Gay and Lesbian Theory to Put the "Gender" Back into "Sexuality."
      *In* Out in Theory: The Emergence of Lesbian and Gay Anthropology, Bill Leap
      and Ellen Lewin, eds. Pp. 225-245. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Valentine, David and Riki Anne Wilchins
  1997 One Percent on the Burn Chart: Gender, Genitals, and Hermaphrodites with
      Attitude. Social Text 52/53:215-222.

Vance, Carol S.
  1984 Pleasure and Danger: Toward a Politics of Sexuality. *In* Pleasure and Danger.
      Carol S. Vance, ed. Pp. 1-27. New York: Routledge Kegan Paul.
  1995 Social Construction Theory and Sexuality. *In* Constructing Masculinity. Berger,
      Maurice, Brian Wallis, and Simon Watson, eds. New York: Routledge.
  1999 Anthropology Rediscovers Sexuality: A Theoretical Comment. *In* Culture,
      Society and Sexuality: A Reader, Richard Parker and Peter Aggleton eds.
      Philadelphia and London: Univeristy College London Press.

Vincent, Joan
  1990 Anthropology and Politics: Visions, Traditions, and Trends. Tucson, AZ:
      University of Arizona Press.

Warner, Michael
  2002 Publics and Counterpublics. New York: Zone Books

Waters, Mary C.
  1990 Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America. Berkely, CA: University of
      California Press.
  2009 Social science and ethnic options. Ethnicities 9: 130-135.

Wedgwood, Camilla & Schapera, I.
  1930 String figures from Bechuanaland protectorate. Bantu Studies 4:251-268.

Weeks, Jeffrey

1977.  Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present, New York: Quartet.

1981 Sex, Politics and Society: The regulation of sexuality since 1800. London: Longman Group United Kingdom.

1985 Sexuality and Its Discontents: Meanings, Myths, and Modern Sexualities. London: Routledge.

1995 History, Desire, and Identities. *In* Conceiving Sexuality: Approaches to Sex Research in a Postmodern World. Richard G. Parker and John H. Gagnon, eds. Pp. 33-50. New York: Routledge.

Weston, Kath

1993 Lesbian/Gay Studies in the House of Anthropology. Annual Review of Anthropology 22:339-367.

1996 Render Me, Gender Me: Lesbians Talk Sex, Class, Color, Nation, Studmuffins…, New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

1997 (1991). Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

2005 Families in Queer States: The Rules of Law and the Politics of Recognition. Radical History Review 93:122-141.

Westwood, Sallie

1991 Red Star Over Leicester: Racism, the politics of identity and black youth in Britain. *In* Black and Ethnic Leaderships: The Cultural Dimensions of Political Action, P. Werbner and M. Anwar, eds. Pp. 146-169. London: Routledge.

White, Sydney D.

1997 Fame and Sacrifice: The Gendered Construction of Naxi Identities. Modern China 23(3):298-327.

Wilce, James

2009 Medical Discourse. Annual Review of Anthropology 38:199-215.

Wilchins, Riki Anne

1997 Read My Lips. Ithaca, NY: Firebrand.

2002 Gender Rights Are Human Rights. *In* GenderQueer: voices from beyond the sexual  binary, Joan Nestle, Clare Howell, and Riki Wilchins, eds. Los Angeles and New York: Alyson Books.

Williams, Walter L.

1992 (1986) The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Wolf, Eric
    1958 The Virgin of Guadelupe. *In* Pathways of Power: Building and Anthropology of
        the Modern World, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wolf, Margery
    1992 A Thrice Told Tale: Feminism, Postmodernism, and Ethnographic Responsibility,
        Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Wolfson, Evan
    2004 Why marriage matters: America, equality, and gay people's right to marry, New
        York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

Worth, Sol and Larry Gross
    1981a Symbolic Strategies. *In* Studying Visual Communication. Larry Gross, ed. Pp.
        36-73. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
    1981b The Development of a Semiotic of Film. In *Studying Visual Communication*.
        Larry Gross, ed. Pp. 74-84. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Yancy, James
    1993 The Negro of Tucson, Past and Present. Tucson: Unpublished Master's Thesis,
        The University of Arizona.

Yoshino, Kenji
    2007 Covering: The Hidden Assault on Our Civil Rights. New York, NY: Random
        House.

Young, Kate, Carol Wolkowitz, and Roslyn McCullagh
    1984 Of marriage and the market: Women's subordination internationally and its
        lessons, 2nd ed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.