intersections

women's and gender studies
in review across disciplines

Performing Gender

The University of Texas at Austin
Issue 7, Fall 2009

Intersections: Women's and Gender Studies in Review Across Disciplines is a graduate student publication committed to promoting the interdisciplinary research of women and gender. Published by graduate students at the University of Texas at Austin, *Intersections* seeks to create a feminist-centered space in which members of all academic disciplines can explore the depth and breadth of the study of women and gender. Intersections is building a community of voices across disciplines by: (1) Creating a space in which graduate students can participate in the process of academic publication; (2) Encouraging an environment in which academics and advocates can explore the intersections of their work, drawing connections between and among the multiple communities associated with women's and gender studies; (3) Facilitating a conversation of powerful voices joined in dialogue about women's and gender studies.

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Advisory Editor's Note

Greetings from the Advisory Editor's office!

I am very excited to introduce the seventh issue of *Intersections: Women's and Gender Studies in Review Across Disciplines*. This is my second year on the staff of *Intersections* and this year's issue certainly reflects the journal's continued growth. I am very proud of each article and piece of art in this issue. They reflect *Intersections*' commitment to the highest level of graduate student feminist scholarship.

As *Intersections* develops into an established journal, we strive to emphasize its interdisciplinary nature. The staff members of Issue 7 come from many different departments at the University of Texas at Austin (UT), including Mexican-American Studies, sociology, Germanic studies, social work, psychology, comparative literature, and Spanish & Portuguese. This is the most diverse staff *Intersections* has had with regard to disciplinary affiliation, and we are committed to continuing this trend. In addition to the interdisciplinary make-up of our staff, the submissions to this issue also spanned a broad array of subject areas, perspectives, and topics. Once again we received national and international submissions that outnumbered the previous issue's submissions, reflecting the growing reputation of Intersections. I believe the number and scope of submissions will continue to increase with each issue

This issue's theme is "Performing Gender," a theme that yielded many interesting and unique submissions. This theme was selected to mirror the UT Center for Women's and Gender Studies' (CWGS) theme for the 2009 – 2010 academic year. The staff decided to align our theme with the CWGS, *Intersections*' home department, in order to strengthen our relationship with the Center and pave the way for co-sponsored events and activities. We would like to thank them, and especially their director Dr. Sue Heinzelman, for their continued support of *Intersections*. We would also like to thank several other University of Texas sponsors, including the University Co-op, Student Government, Graduate Student Assembly, and Center for Gender and Sexuality, for their assistance.

I enjoyed holding the "advisory" position for this issue as it allowed me to oversee the development of a promising new staff dedicated to furthering the feminist scholarship that *Intersections* is known for, and I look forward to holding this position again for Issue 8. I would like to sincerely thank everyone who worked

on Issue 7 for their hard work and dedication. *Intersections* is fortunate to have two current staff members, Monica Faulkner and Julie Beicken, stay on the staff for Issue 8 as the editorial director and managing editorial director, respectively. They were both excellent members of this year's staff, and I am thrilled that they will be able to stay on for the coming year. I am confident that they and their staff will continue to improve *Intersections*, and I truly look forward to observing this progress as we work on Issue 8.

Megan Reid
Advisory Editor
Intersections: Women's and Gender Studies in Review Across Disciplines

Editors' Note

We are excited to present "Performing Gender," the seventh issue of *Intersections: Women's and Gender Studies in Review Across Disciplines*. The theme for this issue focuses on the representation of femininity, masculinity and their intersectionality with other social constructs. Gender is performed and reified internally in identifying one's self, in relationship between individuals and groups, and in institutions such as the home, corporations and the state. Usually, a culturally-sanctioned script is drawn and performed according to norms permitted in modern societies that are contextualized by gender. In such societies, men and women are assigned different roles, and heterosexuals and queers are assigned different stage positions; while race, ethnicity and class cause further marginalization and silencing.

In "Performing Gender," we sought works that contribute to our understanding of gender performance beyond the male-female binary by including a consideration of gender-queer and/or transgender individuals. We invited submissions from graduate students whose works embody creatively and broadly how gender is performed in a multitude of ways and arenas. The contributions appearing in the following pages serve to remind how gender intersects with other identities such as race, class, nationality, religion, and others to create unique identities and performances.

Some of the gender performances presented in this issue carry the voices of marginalized segments of society. Through performing gender in the most creative forms, individuals break through the silencing that society imposes on them. Dong Li Isbister explores gendered citizenship performance in "Self As Diasporic Body: Hung Liu's Self-Portrait *Resident Alien*." This article examines the self-portrait in relation to diasporic representations of cultural and historical meanings through the Chinese female body. Using "diasporic consciousness," it analyzes how the self-portrait represents assimilation and the uniqueness of belonging to a diaspora.

Along these same lines, Michelle Pauken applies bell hooks' fuck theory in combination with social history in "White Power, White Desire: Racialized Consumption in Nineteenth-Century Spanish Orientalist Painting" to explore how the misogynistic and racist trope of the harem is represented differently, particularly in Spain. She argues that Spanish artists ignore black eroticism and deliberately avoid the representation of black women as sexually charged in their emphasis of their Spanish national identity and as a reflection of Spain's own preference for the white European. Contrasting her findings to traditional Orientalist art, Pauken

argues that the Black or Middle Eastern woman is treated as one more accoutrement of the exotic East. This depiction, Pauken suggests, naturally leads to theories of white supremacist colonization and masculine domination.

Moving on to a more personal performance of gender is the piece "Queering Passing: An Exploration of Passing among GLBQ Individuals," by Rachel Verni. She examines passing as an agentic tool that is used by individuals who are marked as deviant in society, particularly in terms of sexuality. Verni explores the spectrum of passing experiences (ranging from active to passive) among gay-, lesbian-, bisexual-, and queer-identified (GLBQ) individuals. Her findings reveal that complex relational dynamics coupled with social representations of GLBQ identities are often embedded within the practices of passing.

Kimberly Marshall also examines boundary-crossing in university marching bands in "Brass Chicks and Drummer Girls: Performing Gender within the University Marching Band." She contends that marching bands value the illusion of uniformity, while downplaying the gendered differences of its members. Marshall argues that men still predominate in brass and percussion sections despite women's presence in university marching bands since the early 1970s. To her, "gender-appropriate" roles have become contested in recent years with women picking up trumpets and snare drums and claiming a place among men.

In "The Politics of Space: Sexual Subjectivity and the College Dorm," Kevin Duong argues that life in the college dorm influences sexual and gender norms, habits, and customs. He discusses sexual identity formation and the "politics of space" that encourage or censure certain modes of sexual practice. He argues that "special attention must be paid to determine whether these dorm arrangements exclude particular practices and identities by specifying relations of power that constitute the dormitory's space as a complicit element in the marginalization of these very identities."

Stepping out to the world of media, Joanna McIntyre explores the lives of male-to-female transgender characters whose various modes of transgendering refute the integrity of a binary gender system in two Australian Films: Stephan Elliott's drama-comedy *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* (1994) and Ana Kokkinos's gritty drama *Head On* (1998). In her article, McIntyre explores the fraught relationship between queer and normative male genderings in these films through an examination of the cultural, social and psychological forces that can incite such violence.

Professor Christine Williams is this issue's faculty contributor. She posits that in performing gender, women are expected to enact deference while men are expected to perform dominance. As if they act according to a written script,

Professor Williams suggests that men and women behave like actors following specific rules of masculinity and femininity in their self presentation. She sees in this issue an opportunity to step outside the hegemonic, heteronormative and patriarchal script and she hopes that one day, the drama of life might "be scripted without gender."

We share Professor Williams' hope and invite you to explore the instances in which some of these articles attempted to challenge the hegemonic gender performance script. We would like to thank all of our contributors, reviewers, copy editors, and everyone who helped make this issue a success. We encourage all of you whose academic research and commitment to feminism consider submitting your work for the eighth Issue of *Intersections*.

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Intersections: Women's and Gender Studies in Review Across Disciplines

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Introduction to *Performing Gender*

Christine Williams
University of Texas at Austin

Shakespeare noted that the world is a stage. Feminist scholars noted that on this stage, everyone seems to be performing gender (Butler 1990; Goffman 1977; West and Zimmerman 1987). In daily interactions, men and women behave like actors following different scripts that specify rules for presentation of self and manners for engaging others. Notions of masculinity and femininity are produced through these rule-bound encounters, although their constant repetition makes it seem that gender is hard-wired. Individuals have some discretion in deciding how to perform gender—a certain degree of improvisation is tolerated in every performance—but everyone is held accountable for the rules. Those who willfully violate the rules, or stretch them too far, must be prepared to defend themselves, to explain their deviance, or else others will try to rationalize away the nonconformity, or to stigmatize and punish it.

This theory first rose to prominence in the 1980s with the cresting of second wave feminism. Feminists were drawn to the idea that gender is a performance because it challenged essentialist beliefs that "anatomy is destiny," or worse, that gender-differentiated roles are necessary for the smooth functioning of society. Instead of an essence or a necessity, feminists argued that gender is a social construction; it is not a cause, but a consequence of the patriarchal organization of social life. Also in keeping with its second wave origins, the theory offers hope that feminist social change can be achieved by raising consciousness about the restrictive rules, and by encouraging individuals to flout the rules. If you're a woman, it may make you want to burn your bra; if you're a man, it might inspire you to put one on.

In my discipline of sociology, this theory of performing gender (or "doing gender" as we call it) has become the dominant theoretical perspective, and with good reason (Deutsch 2007). It is extremely useful for explaining how gender differences persist despite laws that mandate formal equality between men and women. For instance, in my research on men and women who work in gender atypical occupations (e.g., women in the military, men in nursing), I found that gender differences are maintained in part through on-the-job interactions (Williams 1989, 1995). Women are supposed to enact deference in their encounters with others, while men are expected to perform dominance. Those who conform to these gendered expectations are rewarded (especially men), while those who refuse to follow these unwritten rules encounter sexist and homophobic treatment, limited opportunities, and even outright dismissal.

The essays gathered here attest to the continued relevance of the theory, but they also push the theory forward by addressing some of its limitations. For instance, in its original formulation, the theory portrayed "gender" as a unitary and coherent set of rituals. The framers of this theory assumed that gender rituals impact everyone equally, regardless of social location, race/ethnicity, or class. In contrast, the authors in this collection identify how marginalized women confront obstacles to performing gender, which often results in their silencing, but sometimes inspires creative efforts at self-representation.

Another limitation of the theory of gender as performance is its deeply paradoxical understanding of social change. On the one hand, the theory endows individuals with the power to change society through willful deviance. On the other hand, the rules themselves are conceptualized as emanating from discourse, or socialization, or history—forces well beyond the control of any individual. Currently sociologists and philosophers are grappling with the question of whether or not it is even possible to "undo gender" (Butler 2004; Deutsch 2007; Risman 2009). The gender binary is so powerful and ubiquitous that virtually any behavior can be interpreted through its frame. Yet social change can and does occur. One possible way out of this morass is to investigate how collective action occasionally generates successful challenges to hegemonic practices, a direction pursued by some of the authors in this collection. These occasions offer hope that the drama of life might one day be scripted without gender.

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Self As Diasporic Body: Hung Liu's Self-Portrait *Resident Alien*

Dong Li Isbister
Ohio State University

Self-portraits are visual narratives of the body that convey social, historical, and cultural meanings. They are also defined as "autobiography of the body" (Romero-Cesareo, 1994, p. 913). Although the origin of self-portraits is "always explained through male examples" (Borzello, 2002, p. 21), women artists in the world have a long history using self-portraits as a vehicle for identity constructions and represent themselves through their own bodies. For them, the female body is a site to mediate cultural meanings and "measure female subjectivity" (Chadwick, 2002, p.14). Studies by feminist art historians (Nochlin 1971; Meskimmon 1996; Borzello 1998; Chadwick 1998; Cheney *et al*. 2000; Rideal 2002) indicate that, for centuries, self-portraits provide women artists with "an opportunity to explore a complex and unstable visual territory in which their subjectivity and lived experiences as women intersect with the visual language which has historically constructed 'woman' as object and other" (Chadwick 2002, p. 21). Nevertheless, they had remained collectively invisible in the world of art until after they were excavated approximately three decades ago.

In the meantime, Asian American women artists, like many other women of color artists, have been "doubly disadvantaged by gender and ethnicity" (Cheney *et al*, 2000, p. 188). While actively engaged in producing self-portraits, they have been underrepresented in scholarly research. In 1991, Margo Machida, a New York-based Asian American artist, organized a symposium "(Re)ORIENTING: Self Representations of Asian American Women through the Visual Arts." Among the participating artists were Tomie Arai (Japanese American artist), Hung Liu (Chinese American artist), and Yong Soon Min (Korean American artist). They, together with their counterparts, "discussed the clichéd images of Asian women in American popular culture, as opposed to their lived realities, and investigated the positions that gender, race, and ethnicity occupy in Asian American women's self-definitions" (Farris, 1999, p. xvi). The symposium is among one of the earliest post-1968 efforts to make women artists of color and their self-portraits more visible. It also directed public attention to the role Asian American women artists played in using self-representations to construct individual and collective identities.

This paper has its origins in a desire to explore meanings of self as diasporic body in *Resident Alien*, a self-portrait by Hung Liu (1948-). It attempts to interpret the self-portrait in relation to diasporic representations of cultural and historical meanings through the Chinese female body. It specifically uses the

concept of "diasporic consciousness" to analyze how the self-portrait illustrates the artist's interrogation of assimilation while recognizing "positive virtues" (Braziel, 2008, p. 25) of being a diaspora.

Previous interpretations of *Resident Alien* focus, for instance, on Liu's representations of immigration as a process of "minorization," and "exclusion and stereotyping" (Shih, 2007, p. 77) or "cultural collisions" represented in the portrait (Arieff, 1996, p.35). Sinophone studies scholar Shu-mei Shih's comments regarding "minorization," or "exclusion and stereotyping" imply that Liu's self-portrait reinforces cultural marginalization. Shih does not explore what messages Liu intended her Chinese and American audience to get from its style, theme, and content. Arieff, a magazine editor and columnist, briefly discusses Liu's *Resident Alien* without elucidating how the portrait demonstrates cultural collisions. Instead, she only highlights Liu's use of the fortune cookie, maintaining that the fortune cookie not only carries sexual connotation but also shows "Western manipulations of Chinese culture" (Arieff, 1996, p. 36). She, however, does not provide an in-depth analysis of the relationship between the fortune cookie and Chinese female immigrant history, which is represented in Liu's *Resident Alien*. She also fails to distinguish the differences between Chinese American culture and Chinese culture in her interpretation of the portrait. We may ask, for instance, to what extent is the fortune cookie sexually connotative? What Chinese culture does Arieff refer to in her interpretation of the portrait? Arieff seems to essentialize Chinese culture without explaining how cross-cultural experiences complicate Liu's representations of Chinese culture.

While my interpretation is inevitably informed by aforementioned interpretations of *Resident Alien*, I intend to move beyond Shih's interpretation that Liu's representation is passive and only depicts minorization and exclusion. I also intend to move beyond Arieff's use of cultural collisions, as it creates a binary that separates the different cultures embedded in Chinese immigrants' experiences. I argue that "diasporic consciousness," used in recent diaspora studies, provides a useful frame for interpreting Liu's *Resident Alien* as it helps viewers to better understand the relationship between the homeland and the new home.

"Diasporic consciousness," proposed by Braziel in *Diaspora: An Introduction* (2008), is of particular value in interpreting Liu's first self-portrait *Resident Alien*. Braziel argues, "diasporic consciousness" is "predicated on a strong tie to the past or a block to assimilation in the present and future." It "involves recognition of the positive virtues of retaining a diasporic identity, as well as a tension between an ethnic, a national and a transnational identity" (Braziel, 2008, p. 25). Liu's diasporic consciousness has found expressions in many of her recent works of art. She writes in her statement published by Bernice Steinbaum Gallery, "I am exploring the questions of personal and national identity as they drift across the concepts and experiences of 'homeland' and 'new home.[1]'" Although she did not make a clear statement like this when she exhibited *Resident Alien* in 1988, the self-portrait shows her initial efforts to navigate identity issues on the basis

of "diasporic consciousness." It is a turning point in her career and life experiences.

Resident Alien, originally an off-site installation of the Capp Street Project in San Francisco, is Hung Liu's first self-portrait. Later on, it was exhibited in a few museums and included in a few books. The portrait is a visual illustration of the ambiguity Hung Liu felt shortly after she emigrated from the People's Republic of China. The piece reveals her emotions and confusions of standing between two cultures and provides a visual critique of prescribed racial and gender identity of her immigration status under the rubric of American immigration law. Designated as a "resident alien," as is the case with many new Chinese immigrant women in the 1980s and onward, Hung Liu is legally defined as "resident" and, simultaneously, as Other. In this portrait, she invites her audience to examine how her body is positioned and portrayed in relation to legal, racial, and gender issues based on immigration. Nevertheless, she not only represents racism and sexism in the portrait, but also represents the "tension between an ethnic, a national and a transnational identity" (Braziel, 2008, p. 25). Moreover, she shows resistance to being assimilated into the stereotypes imposed upon her by inserting her own voice.

The subject matter and form Liu selects and uses reflect her affiliation with one ethnic group -- Chinese Americans. The subject matter in the portrait includes Hung Liu's dated green card, a new name ("Fortune Cookie"), new date of birth, her resident alien number, one fingerprint, the American eagle, and the artist's signature in two Chinese characters. As far as form (compositional decisions an artist makes to organize formal elements or space) is concerned, the symbol of the American eagle is at the center of the portrait while the artist's photo is pushed to the lower left corner of the portrait. Immigration status -- Resident Alien -- is in bold and capitalized letters on the very top of the portrait, followed by the department that designates immigration status (U.S. Department of Justice- Immigration and Naturalization Bureau).

The compositional decisions Hung Liu makes to organize the formal elements and space in *Resident Alien* shows how she is defined, as an immigrant, in legal, gender, and racial contexts. *Resident Alien*'s format reflects multiple layers of alienation in the context of race and immigration. As a new immigrant, the artist is subject to the U.S. legal control. Four things are emphasized in the portrait: the status of resident alien, the new name, the American eagle, and the artist's fingerprint. These elements demonstrate how new immigrants like Hung Liu are renamed according to their ethnic affiliations and are under strict state control of immigration status.

In the portrait, Liu's body is first framed within the category of resident alien, which is on the center top of her green card. It determines how she is defined within the U.S. context. Hung Liu receives her new name, "Fortune Cookie,"

[1]http://www.bernicesteinbaumgallery.com/artists/liu/statement_liu.html (retrieved on April 25, 2009).

symbolically linking her to the other Chinese American women who are usually represented as sexualized objects in American cultures. The American eagle is the official stamp on her new birthday, 020784 (February 7, 1984), the date the artist was admitted into the United States. The seal makes the new birthday official and legal, leaving Liu little room to negotiate for correction. The change of her birthday symbolizes the U.S.'s legalized erasure of her past. At the same time, the seal almost covers part of Hung Liu's face. While it usually appears right in the middle of a regular green card, it looks bigger than Hung Liu's head in the portrait and is stationed very close to her body. An American eagle lies between Liu's fingerprint and her headshot. As a result, the fingerprint seems even more disembodied, exposed to another form of control as it is during a background or security check.

Hung Liu also relates her body to various cultural and historical contexts and meanings in the portrait. For instance, her birth date, 1948, is replaced by 1984, the year she entered the United States. This replacement lends to two possible interpretations. First, it indicates an erasure of her past, making her thirty-six years of life in China meaningless and unimportant to her adopted country. As a resident alien, she is defined in reference to who she is in the United States (present) instead of who she used to be (past). Second, the replacement is also ambiguous as the viewer could interpret that Liu deliberately erases a traumatic recent past under totalitarian control in China that she wants to forget after she started her life anew in her host country.

Liu also positions her body in relation to the U.S. consumer economy that associates ethnic groups with certain products, which in turn assume derogatory or discriminatory meanings. Her new name, "Fortune Cookie," is a good example. Although "the Chinese fortune cookie, for all intents and purposes, has become a natural part of eating a Chinese meal in America" (Mao, 2006, p.147), few Americans are aware of the racist and sexist undertones embedded in the fortune cookie.

The fortune cookie symbolizes a stereotype that mainstream Americans use to categorize Chinese Americans though, ironically, the fortune cookie is not a Chinese invention. Like General Tsao's Chicken or Chop Suey prepared popularly in most Chinese restaurants in the U.S., it was an American invention by Chinese immigrants in the 1920s and was nowhere to be seen in China until the early 1990s. Although "it doesn't really contain fortunes and it isn't even really Chinese," it has become a cultural icon encompassing Chinese Americans and consumed as part of Chinese culture as well (Kim, 1996, p.593).

Hung Liu names herself Fortune Cookie in *Resident Alien* because it describes her ethnic and cultural affiliations in the adopted country. Liu is no longer defined as who she deems herself to be; she is instead defined by a broad affiliation with an ethnic group. With the new name, she loses her original identity and part of her personal history. In the new context of immigration, she has to re-examine herself in the context of Chinese immigration history, with which she had no

historical connections before 1984. In a word, Liu contains the meanings of the fortune cookie and is also contained in it.

The fortune cookie is also paradoxical in meaning. While it is said to bring good luck to those who open it, life for Chinese immigrants has not been easy. Many early Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States in the mid-19th century as forty-niners to mine gold or as kuli (laborers) to build transcontinental railroads. Irrespective of all the hardships and discriminations they endured or uncertainties their future held, Chinese immigrants were full of hope for a better life for themselves and their families. Hung Liu, a contemporary Chinese immigrant, followed the footsteps of her immigrant ancestors to search for her fortune and became one of the twentieth-century Chinese American gold miners.

The fortune cookie is also a hybrid as it is fabricated by Chinese Americans in the 1920s and was nowhere to be seen in China until the early 1990s. In his study of the Chinese fortune cookie, Mao considers the fortune cookie a hybrid. He argues that it is "born of two very different traditions" and "is in fact infused with conflicts, contestations, and ambiguities" (Mao, 2006, p. 3). The interpretation of the fortune cookie in *Resident Alien* along the line of hybridity helps reinforce the idea that race and ethnicity are implicated in food.

In *Resident Alien*, Hung Liu questions sexism embedded in the name of "Fortune Cookie" as it is historically "a slang term for a Chinese woman" (Cheney et al., 2000, p.194). On September 27, 2001 *The Daily Targum* (official student newspaper of Rutgers University in New Brunswick) makes a similar observation in an introduction to Hung Liu's *Resident Alien*, saying that "Liu includes humor in this piece, as the name Fortune Cookie -- a sexual slang for Chinese women -- is placed above her portrait instead of her name." While it is questionable for the newspaper to suggest humor in the phrase, the writer of the essay on Hung Liu acknowledges the sexist tone of the phrase. Therefore, as the fortune cookie shows, Hung Liu's identity is also colonized under the new rubric of racism intertwined with sexism. Therefore, race and gender together further complicate her identity as a Chinese American woman artist.

Chinese American women have been historically and culturally perceived as exotic and sexually desirable. In the 1830s some American merchants, who were amazed at Chinese women's bound feet, brought a Chinese woman Afong Moy to the United States and exhibited her in a museum in New York (Ling, 1998; Mazumdar, 1998). She was seen to talk and count "in Chinese" and eat "with chopsticks to entertain the thousands who lined up to see her" (Mazumdar, 1998, p. 46). Barnum's Chinese Museum followed suit by bringing over "Miss Pwan-ye-koo and her aidservant with great fanfare. The small, bound feet of both women were a prime attraction" (Mazumdar, 1998, p. 47). These are two examples of exotification and objectification of Chinese women in the nineteenth-century America. Mazumdar further argues, the portrayal of Afong Moy and Miss Pwan-ye-ko "is one dimension of American popular culture that has endured until the contemporary period (1998, p.47). Judy Yung also discusses

how stereotypes of Chinese women in the United States were historically created. After Afong Moy, according to Yung, a few other Chinese women were exhibited in American Museums. Yung asserts that "Novelty was the attraction, and everything these women did was perceived as unusual, peculiar or exotic" and the shows "gave rise to the earliest stereotype of Chinese women as exotic curios" (Yung, 1986, p.14).

In the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese women were further sexualized. They were viewed as being sexually accessible and available to provide sexual services. Kim asserts that "most of the nineteenth-century Chinese women in America ... had been lured, sold, or kidnapped into prostitution to meet the demand for sexual services in the predominantly male West Coast culture" (Kim, 1996, p.576). Historian Iris Chang provides more historical contexts of Chinese women's sexual services in *The Chinese America*. She states that "women were scarce in San Francisco. Most prospectors were single, or chose not to bring their wives and children to this raw frontier.... With these demographics, brothels inevitably flourished. Some enterprising women in San Francisco charged more than a hundred dollars a night" (Chang, 2003, p.35). For Kim and Chang, early Chinese immigrant women in San Francisco became sexual objects to serve Chinese bachelors or married men whose wives were not around. Chang also points out that many Chinese prostitutes were imported to America against their will and some were attracted by stories "of the incredible wealth and leisure to be enjoyed in the United States" (Chang, 2003, p.82). On arrival, they were forced to serve Chinese men and also became targets of "white miners, who called them 'Chiney ladies,' 'moon-eyed pinch foots,' and 'she-heathens'" terms with racist and sexist undertones (Chang, 2003, p. 84).

Films in the early twentieth century also depicted Chinese women as sexual objects. For instance, Arthur Sarsfield Ward introduced Fu Manchu, an evil-like Chinese male character, in "a series of pulp fiction thrillers." He also portrayed Chinese women "either as victims, fragile China dolls, compliant and sexually available to white men, or villainesses, dragon ladies, cunning and dangerous seductresses," and Anna May Wong became the first Chinese American woman actress to perform these characters (Chang, 2003, pp. 207-208). Like many other sexual slang terms for (ethnic) women in America (White-meat, Chocolate-drop, hot-chocolate, frog-legs), the fortune cookie has assumed sexist meanings particularly designated to Chinese American women. In many informal conversations, it is not surprising to hear men say, "Look at that little fortune cookie." With her own immigration, Hung Liu managed to escape gender neutrality imposed by the totalitarian state control, but was subsumed by American sexual politics that is complicated by race and gender. She, like her Chinese American female ancestors, was also objectified, as represented in the name the Fortune Cookie.

While Liu's identity is defined in the context of Chinese immigrant history and controlled by U.S. immigration laws, as represented in *Resident Alien*, she tries to insert her own voice and create new cultural meanings of being an

immigrant. She uses the subject matter of her signature written in two Chinese characters 劉虹 (meaning rainbow) to achieve this goal. In so doing, she not only demonstrates her resistance to being assimilated into a sexualized and racialized Chinese immigrant woman, but also addresses the tension between different identities. The signature in Chinese characters can be interpreted as the artist's attempt to claim her Chineseness and reclaim her past in her own way, thus creating a tension between an individual identity, on to which she wants to hold, and an ethnic and sexualized identity she rejects. If the fingerprint in the portrait symbolizes a unique signature only recognized through government-monitored machines and subjected to censorship, Liu's signature grants her agency and power to define herself -- how she likes to be addressed, defined, and identified. This demonstrates her rejection to reconcile with renaming, a common practice among many Chinese immigrants. In *East-West Montage: Reflections on Asian Bodies in Diaspora* (2008), diaspora studies scholar Ma argues that many Asian immigrants "have nominally abandoned their names/selves in favor of the Anglicized renditions/shadows" in order to "claim America" (Ma, 2007, p.189). Hung Liu, however, resists this act of "linguistically and culturally self-disowning" (Ma, 2007, p.189). She announced in her letter to an unspecified group of university students that she would express her Chineseness clearly whenever possible. She writes, "As a classically trained Chinese artist in the United States, my responsibility is not to assimilate, but to express my Chineseness as clearly as I can" (as cited in Robinson, 2001, p.430). Nonetheless, Chineseness for Hung Liu is not an essentialist notion of one collective identity. Examined within the frame of disaporic consciousness, the Chineseness in her works of art comes from her efforts to explore meanings of being a woman artist of color through representations of the Chinese female body in different historical and cultural contexts.

Hung Liu not only inserts her signature written in Chinese characters, but also substitutes the ID photo with another image in the portrait. The fabricated snapshot of her face shows Liu looking straight ahead, unyielding, strong, and angry. The projected look creates a discourse of staring back at the U.S. legal and racial construction of her identity and shows unspoken anger withheld in her body.

Hung Liu also projects her entire body to the viewer in another version of *Resident Alien* (a photograph taken of her sitting in front of the installation of *Resident Alien* in 1988). This version of the self-portrait is included as plate 65 in Ella Shohat's *Talking Vision* (1998). It is closely examined by art historian Thalia Gouma-Peterson elsewhere. She describes how the photo shows the artist in tennis shoes:

> with hands firmly clasped over her crossed legs.... The grey jumpsuit she wears, which resembles army fatigues, alludes to the militarism of the Cultural Revolution that so profoundly affected her life as a young adult. In this suit, which she calls her 'working clothes,' she feels both comfortable and empowered. 'It

has a military, proletarian, and working class feeling and is even rather macho' (Gouma-Peterson, 1998, p.9).

Gouma-Peterson's interpretation tries to pinpoint historical experiences represented through Liu's clothing (including shoes) and body language. However, it is a questionable stretch of the relationship between the artist's clothing and "the militarism of the Cultural Revolution." In this version of *Resident Alien* the clothing the artist has on her body look like jeans, a fashion that was not even popular in the 1980s in China. Blue jeans (a Western import) started to become a part of Chinese fashion industry two or three years after the Cultural Revolution ended in 1976, and were accepted by Chinese consumers in the mid- or late- 1980s (Finnane, 2008). Finnane suggests that the dominant dress many Chinese people wore during the Cultural Revolution was the army uniform and cap (Finnane, 2008). This shows that the army uniform (not Liu's working clothes in the portrait) was normalized as a sign of militarism and revolution. In the meantime, tennis shoes, like blue jeans, were also a Western import in post-Mao China. Therefore, blue jeans or tennis shoes could not allude to Liu's experiences of the Cultural Revolution. Diasporic consciousness theorists would likely interpret Liu's working clothes as creating certain ambiguity. The clothing in the portrait shows the hybrid nature of Liu's immigrant identity. It further complicates her past and present, and her position as a cross-cultural artist.

Hair is equally important as Liu's clothing in this version of *Resident Alien*. Her braided hair represents her experiences during the Cultural Revolution. Many Chinese girls at the time tied their hair with rubber bands into two brush-like pigtails and called them "revolutionary brushes" (*gemingxiaoshuazi*), as they resembled the brushes people used to write critical big-character posters (*da zi bao*). The revolutionary brushes are signs of determination of revolution.

The working clothes and the braided hair make it hard to label Liu, whose identity is defined by a mixture of American and Chinese revolutionary garb at the same time. In this version of *Resident Alien*, Hung Liu looks assertive and confident. Positioned in the complexity of history (American immigration history and contemporary Chinese history), she deliberately subverts the subject/West and object/East gaze by returning the gaze to the U.S. and Western audience.

Jacquelyn Serwer suggests that "no matter how painful [it is], [Liu] wants to "turn the negative into something positive...to put it out there, to share with other people" (Serwer, 1996, p.16). It is true that the past Liu possessed when she was in China and the past she inherited from her Chinese immigrant ancestors are replete with mixed and complicated memories, but the reality she is faced with as an immigrant herself in contemporary America is anything but more promising. In *Resident Alien* she not only shows her reflections on racism and sexism but also demonstrates her efforts to construct her identity through her ties to history and culture in a critical and reflective way. By just being herself, she juxtaposes her Chinese past and her American present and demonstrates

"diasporic consciousness" in representing a Chinese female body in diaspora.

Hung Liu creates and explores meanings of gender, race, and ethnicity in the form of self-portraits. She not only finds a place in the history of women's self-portraits but also adds a contemporary touch of difference and hybridity to it (her unique subject matter, medium, form, and theme). Immigration provides her with mobility and also complicates her identity in a way that she cannot be defined in reference to only one category -- Chinese or American. *Resident Alien* demonstrates what it means to be contained by two cultures and how contemporary Chinese immigrants questions racism and sexism. Even if Liu is disadvantaged by her immigrant status (resident alien), she makes an effort to present herself as a Chinese immigrant woman artist who is defined by Chinese immigration history and contemporary Chinese history as well. This is a position unique enough to energize her because she is able to examine her new identity from multiple points of view.

The focus on diasporic experiences represented in Liu's first self-portrait *Resident Alien* recuperates interpretations of contemporary Chinese female immigration in a new light. It responds, in a timely manner, more recent conversations regarding Chinese American diaspora artists and their works of art. Given the fact that Chinese American women artists and their works have not received much scholarly or public attention, it is necessary to use Hung Liu's self-portraits as a springboard to engage in a conversation about Chinese American women artists and their significance in diaspora studies.

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Brass Chicks and Drummer Girls: Performing Gender within the University Marching Band

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The ethos of the university marching band values the illusion of uniformity, aiming to downplay the gendered differences of its members. And yet, even though women have been present in university marching bands since the early 1970s (when Title IX forced the last of the all-male bands to admit women) males still overwhelmingly predominate in the higher-prestige brass and percussion sections. However, these "gender-appropriate" roles have become increasingly contested in recent years. More and more female "boundary-crossers" are picking up trumpets and snare drums and claiming a place among the men.

In this article I aim to address concerns raised by Patricia Sawin in her article "Performance at the Nexus of Gender, Power and Desire" (2002), which made the claim that "performance theory and feminist epistemology are incongruent" (p. 29). In doing so, I analyze the performance of gender through the narratives of four boundary-crossing women in university marching bands. These narratives vividly paint the lived reality of coping with what one participant described as a "testosterone-based attitude" in these bands.

My analysis focuses specifically on one of the challenges posed by Sawin: I take Richard Bauman's emergent theory of performance and apply it also to the identity of the performers. I suggest a parallel between the common desire to be heard expressed in the narratives and Bauman's definition of a performer. I also argue that the standard gendered archetypes deployed by these boundary-crossers/performers can be seen both as "communicative resources" and as the "citation" of gendered norms. Finally, I illustrate how the boundary-crossers use the authority granted to them as capable performers to transgress standard gendered norms.

This paper is taken from a chapter in my master's thesis, Marching Band as Culture: Aesthetics, Identity and Representation. It is the result of extensive fieldwork and interviewing over sixteen months with two university marching bands: one in the Midwest and one in the Pacific Northwest. I also bring to this research my own personal experience: as a former sousaphone player for the Northwestern University Marching Band, I have long been engaged in thinking about what it means to perform gender while ostensibly performing only music.

The Case Study

University marching bands are generally the largest musical ensemble on any college campus and cater to non-music majors. They have their roots in military organizations, but today are used primarily to enhance school pride and animate football fans. Like high school marching bands they are courses offered for credit, rehearse six to twelve hours a week, are led by a paid director and comprise wind and percussion instruments. Unlike high school marching bands, however, their only major performance context is the university football game: college bands do not formally compete against one another.

Marching bands fit many of the characteristics described by Turino of "participatory ensembles" (2008). Because of their inclusive nature, repetitious content, and the heightened awareness engendered in members of not only the aural but also the visual presence of those around them, marching bands carry a component of the "heightened social interaction" (Turino, 2008, p. 28) characteristic of participatory ensembles. They are also a widespread national institution, and thus provide a compelling case-study for American gendered norms.

With these factors in mind, I examine the narratives of four women participating in two different and geographically distinct college marching bands at the time of their interviews in 2003. Each of these women participated in instrumental sections that were (and, my data suggest, generally are) heavily weighted toward male performers, such as the trumpet, trombone, sousaphone (marching tuba) and drumline sections. The reasons for the gender imbalances within sections are largely cultural and historical, but are also related to perceptions of physicality and temperament, discussed below. Because of the gender imbalances in these sections, I refer to female participants as "boundary-crossers." In referring to the lines between standard gendered roles as "boundaries," I hope to suggest that, while they may seem fixed, they are in fact socially constructed and therefore have a history, are not universal, and are permeable (Gerson & Peiss, 1984, p. 319).

By way of background, the following are sketches of the four women at the time of their interviews:

Rita Schoor is a trumpet player and junior in a Midwest college marching band. She is a communications major and has played trumpet since the fifth grade.

Emily Tannert is a snare drummer for a Midwest college marching band. She is a senior in a pre-med program and has experience both as a high-school percussion instructor and marching in summer drum and bugle corps. Originally a singer, she switched to percussion in high school in competition with another girl. "I thought, 'If she can do it, so can I'" (E. Tannert, interview, September 30, 2003).

Sarah Nelson is a sousaphone player for a college marching band in the Northwest. She is a sophomore and undeclared major, and has one summer of experience with a drum and bugle corps. She switched to sousaphone from flute in high school out of frustration with another female sousaphone player. "Everyone made a big deal over her" (S. Nelson, interview, April 28, 2004).

Alexis Everington is a trombone player and senior in the engineering school at a Midwest university. She has played trombone since the sixth grade. Given that the trombone has no valves or keys, she thought, "Let's see how this works" (A. Everington, interview).

Boundary-Crossers as Performers

One of the major themes I found when analyzing the narratives of boundary-crossing women was a desire to *be heard* both as musicians and as individuals. This led me to think about the narratives from the perspective of performance. These women were musical performers, but the gender ratios and behavioral norms of their peer group also raised their own awareness of themselves as "performing" their gender in conscious ways. In examining the parallels and points of connection between these two notions of performance, I argue that insights gained from Bauman's *emergent* theory of performance can usefully inform some of the problems and paradoxes of Butler's *performativity*.

In her 2002 article, Sawin recognized that Bauman radically changed the folklore discipline by re-formulating folkloristics as the study not of old texts ("residual culture"), but as the study of the performance of those texts. Bauman argued that folkloric performance is dynamic, containing an "*emergent*" quality. He emphasized that the interaction between the audience and the performer plays a large role in determining the shape, length and content of the performance. Bauman states, "The emergent quality of performance resides in the interplay between communicative resources, individual competence, and the goals of the participants" (1984, p. 38).

However, Sawin argues that while Bauman's writing changed the topic of folkloristics from text to performance, Bauman at that point talked about identity (including gendered identity) as the enactment of fixed roles. Bauman's perspective on identity was taken from the then-current theoretical position heavily influenced by Goffman's *Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (1959), whereby women simply "enact" female scripts presented by society (Sawin, 2002, p. 45-46). Sawin points out that performance theory since Bauman has, generally, adopted a "theatrical" model of identity: presumed a 'doer behind the deed.' More current post-structuralist notions of subjectivity (particularly the idea of *performativity* advanced by Judith Butler) question this presumption.

The notion of a *performative* identity draws from the speech act theory of J.L. Austin: *performativity* is "*that aspect of discourse that has the capacity to produce what it names*" (Butler, 1994, p. 112), such as 'I christen this ship the *Queen Elizabeth*' where the speaking is also the doing. In her 1990 *Gender Trouble* and 1993 *Bodies That Matter*, Butler took this notion of the *performative* utterance and argued that, through the power of regulatory norms in discourse, subjects are also *performatively* constituted.

Butler applied this argument particularly to the constitution of gender. She challenged us to see gender not as a fixed internal identity which is enacted but as a "*stylized repetition of acts*" which, seen together, constitutes the illusion of wholeness (Butler, 1990, p. 140). These acts are *citational*, in that they 'cite' the norms of sex (Butler, 1993, p. 13), and the repetition of those acts in many small ways over a long period of time (drawing here from Derrida's *iterability*) becomes regularized into what appear as gender norms, scripts, and material bodies (Butler, 1993 p. 10).

However, Butler takes pains (particularly in *Bodies that Matter*) to ensure that we don't simply see gender as an "act" or some kind of "theatre" where scripts can be freely chosen (Butler, 1993, p. 13). Of femininity, for example, she argues that it is "not the product of a choice, but the forcible citation of a norm, one whose complex historicity is indissociable from relations of discipline, regulation, punishment" (Butler, 1993, p. 232).

These differing views of the "construction of the gendered subject" is one of the ways in which Sawin sees incongruence between performance and feminist theory (2002, p. 29), but also the untapped potential she sees in Bauman's theory of *emergent* performance. In order to have a more dynamic and accurate understanding of the enactment of gender in everyday life, Sawin argues, we need to apply Bauman's insights about the *emergent* quality of aesthetic performance to the performance of the self, particularly to the performance of gender identity (2002, p. 46).

The first of these moments of overlap between Butler and Bauman occur when exploring what it means to these boundary-crossing women *to be heard*.

Being Heard

The narratives I collected of boundary-crossing women emphasized a desire *to be heard*. For example, Rita said, "I'm very proud that I chose to play an instrument that frequently plays the melody. Regardless of how many trumpets are on the field, you'll always hear a trumpet playing" (interview, September 29, 2003). And Emily commented, "A girl is a lot less likely to get chosen as [drum line] captain, and she has to be twice as authoritative to get the guys to do what she says" (interview, September 30, 2003).

The most interesting aspect of these expressed desires is that they cross between the musical (aesthetic) and the social (identity). Bauman already has

in place a formal definition of the aesthetic performer in *emergent* situations as one who "calls attention to oneself, displays performative competence and accountability, and puts oneself up for evaluation" (Bauman, 1984, p. 11). But this definition can also help us to clarify Butler's *performative* gendered identity, particularly at the moment of citation and reiteration of gendered norms. While most of the iterations of gendered norms may be perpetuated without reflection, I argue that there are certain situations, such as drag, where awareness of the iterations becomes heightened. At these moments gendered *performativity* also depends on a subject who can call attention to herself, display competence as a gendered being, and put herself up for evaluation. The following examples from the boundary-crossing narratives show that university marching bands are another of those instances of heightened awareness.

The move of more women to brass and percussion sections can be directly related to their desire to be heard as musicians. Brass and percussion sections are the higher-prestige sections of the band, precisely *because* they can be heard across a football field and their sound can be heard best (and even felt) in the stands of a football arena. A drumline on a practice field can set off the alarms of cars parked too close; a feat no flute section will ever achieve.

Musically, the women I interviewed reported many ways that they have to struggle to be heard musically. Sometimes they are simply denied access. Emily reported that once "I was flat out told by one of the techs that the cymbal guy didn't like chicks in his cymbal line" (interview, September 30, 2003). She attributed this to the physicality of playing the cymbals and the perception that women couldn't physically handle the task. Sarah also reported being moved to a less large (and less loud) instrument because the director was concerned she would injure herself. In general, marching with a brass or percussion instrument is more physically challenging than marching with a woodwind. Christa Sommer's research on marching band as a physical activity suggests that heart rates were significantly higher for members carrying heavier instruments, and she only measured instruments up to twenty-five pounds (2000). Snare drums weigh around thirty pounds and sousaphones around forty. Flutes and clarinets weigh between three and five pounds.

More commonly, because the law states that women are allowed to participate and that instances of direct discrimination in marching band are rare, women are limited in their participation as musicians who can be heard by less formal means. In her narrative, Sarah commented that all the women in the trumpet section that year were playing "third part," a tonally lower and therefore less well heard (and less prestigious) subset of the trumpet section's music. Not wanting to believe in explicit discrimination, Sarah mused, "I don't know, maybe they all just didn't have good auditions."

A related strategy for minimizing the musical volume of women in the marching band was reported by Emily for percussion. She commented that women are often assigned to play the more melodic percussive instruments like marimba

while men are more likely to be seen in the snare and bass drum parts. While she interpreted this as related to the stereotype that "guys do the butch stuff and girls do the pretty stuff," she also explained its relation to being heard.

> "Playing mallets might be harder from a difficulty standpoint, but a marimba isn't as loud as a snare drum. It's more authoritative to be playing loud drums; you have to be more precise or everybody knows you screwed up (E. Tannert, interview, September 30, 2003).

According to the women I interviewed, women in marching band settings are also restricted from being heard as individuals, even once they have claimed a place to be heard as a brass or percussion musician. Marching band is hierarchical in organization. Each section has section leaders, and all members are expected to defer to these leaders. Furthermore, newer members are expected to defer to members with more seniority. So it was a significant observation when Emily pointed out that women were less likely to be chosen as drumline captain (above), or when Sarah commented that "There's not many girls in leadership positions."

Of course, leadership changes from year to year and is above all based on seniority regardless of gender, so women are afforded leadership roles. But, as Emily points out above, having the title does not necessarily mean having the respect. Women can talk, but getting men to listen is another story.

The women I spoke with dealt with the issue of respect in a few different ways, particularly those related to talent and experience. When Emily was confronted by the observation that girls didn't usually make the cymbal line she reflected, "I was going to have to step up and really prove myself if I wanted to have a chance at a spot" (interview, September 30, 2003). And Sarah hoped that summer experience with a drum and bugle corp would enhance her authority.

Sometimes, however, women are limited from being heard by reasoning which crosses the boundary between social and musical. Emily reported that some bands "do not like girls in their bass [drum] lines because they feel it messes up the chemistry" (interview, September 30, 2003). *Messing up the chemistry* may be considered a social criticism, because this may be explained as changing the group dynamics of the section. But this is also a musical criticism because, as Emily pointed out, the bass drum line is a "split part." Like a bell choir, each member of the section is responsible for a different tone in the scale every time it appears in the music. So unlike, say, a saxophone section, Emily explained, "the players have to really click with one another to play what is essentially one part" (interview, September 30, 2003). Therefore, when a woman is perceived as "messing up the chemistry" it is not only the group dynamic that suffers, it is also the quality of the musical performance.

I have argued here that boundary-crossing women desire to be heard, but that there are structures and norms in place that limit the ability of women to be heard as musicians and as individuals. Applied to the performance of gender, this

means that *being heard* (that is, establishing herself as a performer) is central to a woman's construction of herself in a boundary-crossing situation.

Transgressive Performance

The other major point of connection between the theories of Butler and Bauman lies in their common interest in the transgressive nature of performance given its emergent quality. The degree to which Butler's theories provide the possibility for transgression of gendered norms has been a point of contention with her work from the beginning. As Jagger summarizes, this is the "thorny problem... of how agency could be possible without the existence of a humanist subject (an 'intentional doer behind the deed')" (2008, p. 37), and some have argued this limits the applicability of Butler's arguments for things like feminist political organizing. In the second half of this paper, I argue there is a great deal of similarity in the theories of Butler and Bauman when it comes to transgression: essentially that slippage between norm and act has the potential to happen at the moment of reiteration/performance. I further demonstrate this type of slippage as present in the narratives of boundary-crossing women.

According to Butler, *performative* gender norms are compulsory, but their compulsory character "does not always make them efficacious" (1993, p. 237). This is where situations such as drag can be subversive by "*working the weakness of the norm*" or "inhabiting the practices of its rearticulation" (Butler, 1993, p. 237).

However, Butler's example of drag has perhaps created as many problems as it has clarified. Even Butler herself points out in *Bodies that Matter* that drag has its own "melancholia" because, in many ways, it promotes fantasies that actually stabilize the gendered norms of the heterosexual hegemony (1993, p. 235). How, then, can viewing gendered identity as *performative* be helpful in informing or understanding feminist resistance? I argue that the root of the transgressive possibilities of Butler's theories lie in the performance-based nature of *performativity*, as articulated by Bauman.

Buaman has long recognized that the possibility for control of the performance by the performer lies in the reiterative (or *emergent*) nature of performance. For example, Bauman states:

> "Through his performance, the performer elicits the participative attention and energy of his audience, and to the extent that they value his performance, they will allow themselves to be caught up in it. When this happens, the performer gains a measure of prestige and control over the audience. ...When the performer gains control in this way, the potential for transformation of the social structure may become available to him as well" (Bauman, 1984, p. 44).

Bauman's formation, of course, was intended to highlight the control of a performer over the performance in an aesthetic setting. However, I argue (fol-

lowing Sawin) that his formation can apply to a performative understanding of identity as well, and without assuming a theatrical model or a "doer behind the deed." Butler tends to emphasize the punative formations which exist to enforce the heterosexual hegemony. But these punative formations presume an audience of some sort, and therefore *performative* gender iteration is also an act of getting the attention of the audience. This dynamic interaction between the gendered subject and the "audience" at the point of gendered iteration is well theorized by Bauman, and shows that the possibility for the transformation of gendered norms lies in the act of reiteration *in the same way* that they do for an aesthetic performer: through interaction with an audience.

In the following section I review one way in which boundary-crossing women manipulate the citation of gendered norms in interaction situations within the marching band. I argue that the "communicative resources" (Bauman) or "citation of gender norms" (Butler) that they deploy in these contexts reveal not only how they frame themselves in the performative moment as gendered beings, but also how they use the control of the audience granted in the moment of performance (or reiteration) to transgress the gendered norms that constrain them.

Enter Archetypes

When first evaluating the narratives of boundary-crossing women, I was struck by the frequency with which they characterized their interactions with their sections in terms of classic female archetypes: particularly as mothers or as desirable sexualized females. I became interested in investigating this usage of archetypes, not in the Jungian sense of fixed features in some 'collective unconscious' of a culture, but in the sense of character types embodying gendered norms projected in American cultural socialization. This usage follows foundational feminist re-reading of Jung's formulation in collections such as *Feminist Archetypal Theory* (Lauter & Rupprecht, 1985), and emphasizes what we may recognize as the same performative turn in gender theory: as scripts for deployment rather than descriptions of pre-existing reality (Rubison, 2000, p. 720).

The other advantage of discussing archetypes (rather than "stereotypes" or "gender roles") is that archetypes suggest not a fixed role but an "ideal actor" which the performer attempts to emulate (Prividera 2006, 31). Also, the deployment of archetypes is a type of "self-framing" behavior. Bolen comments, "women are acted on from without by stereotypes and from within by archetypes" (Lauter & Rupprecht,1985, p. 223). In either case, we can view the archetype as a communicative resource drawn upon by women boundary-crossers in their performative negotiation of their gendered identity.

Mother

The use of the "mother figure" as a coping strategy in boundary-crossing

situations was brought to my attention by Rita. In her narrative, she claims that "there's always one female in the section who tends to play a sort of 'mother' role." She goes on to describe some of the things a "mother figure" might do to reinforce this role, such as host a party or bring snacks or birthday cake for the section. These types of actions even earned one member of her section the nickname "Mama."

Alexis also framed herself in "mothering" terms when discussing her relationship with her section. She says, "I probably... fuss after my guys." She reports that they look to her to fix a lot of problems: "Like if they don't have gloves I give them mine, or if they forget something they'll ask me if I have an extra." Part of this would be expected for Alexis because of her leadership position and seniority, but Alexis saw these acts in gendered terms: "I think that has become part of how I act female in my section: me running after them for four years" (interview, 2003).

Maiden

Another archetypical coping strategy deployed by boundary-crossing women was the figure of the "desirable" or "sexualized" female (also known as the archetype of the maiden or the prostitute). To a certain extent, deployment of this archetype was limited by the physical demands of the task at hand. In order to re-enforce uniformity, in fact, most marching bands prohibit the wearing of jewelry or make-up for performances. Hair is concealed in a hat, and uniforms (identical for men and women) are designed to hide curves and de-emphasize female sexuality. During rehearsals, however, the dress code is less strict, and women will take advantage of non-marching days to deploy this sexualized archetypal role. As Emily said, "I make a point of putting on make-up and doing my hair, kind of to reassert my femininity" (interview, September 30, 2003).

Boundary-crossing women can also employ this archetype without visual cues, simply in their behavior. For example, Rita's narrative contains a long discussion of which section has the better-looking guys, with her conclusion, "I honestly have to say that the guys in my section are the best looking in the band" (interview, September 29, 2003). Emily also recognized the potential for flirtatious behavior, saying "A lot of guy drummers dig chick drummers on a romantic level" (interview, September 30, 2003).

So deployment of "hyperbolic" female gendered archetypes as communicative resources/citational practice were definitely used by boundary-crossing women. What I found surprising in their narratives, however, was that they also used what may be considered "masculine" archetypes in performing their identity, and that in this deployment we can begin to see the transgressive nature of their gendered performance. Having gained control of the performance frame and male audience, these women (not drag artists) were trying out male archetypes, and with some success.

Soldier

One of the main male archetypes transgressively adopted by boundary-crossing women in their interactions with their mostly-male sections is what we might classify as the "soldier" archetype. This is perhaps not surprising given the militaristic nature of marching bands. Granted, marching band members are not soldiers and are being trained to entertain not kill. But the military roots of marching band are still very evident in the costuming (uniforms), actions (marching), and highly valued traditions of marching bands. Marching bands are called to attention just like soldiers, and the set of the jaw is expected to be the same. Enloe argues convincingly that the connection between militarization and patriarchy is strong (2000, p. 33).

It should come as no great surprise, then, that the soldier archetype was readily adopted by boundary-crossing women in order to "gain an audience" (*be heard*) among their male peers. As Enloe points out for female soldiers, "militarization [of the self] has meant integration" (2000, p. 286). The soldier archetype used by boundary-crossers is described by Prividera as "independent, disciplined, strong, sexually potent, and above all masculine" (2006, p. 31).

Embodying strength (both physical and emotional) is a major theme in all the boundary-crosser's narratives. The women describe independence, strength of will, determination and perseverance as crucial personality traits for boundary-crossing women. Furthermore, Sarah discusses the tension between how she appears (a petite woman) and how she perceives herself (a strong woman). She says, "A lot of people take me with a grain of salt when they really, really shouldn't. Because, like, I am tough. I've got the muscles... I'm not a waif. I've gotten to the point where I'm really stubborn about doing things myself" (interview, April 28, 2004). She tells another story about being on an equipment crew and continually getting in disagreements with the head of the crew, who didn't want her to lift heavy equipment. "Finally I just said... 'Fuck you. I am a tuba player. I know what I'm doing'" (interview, April 28, 2004). Emily, too, deploys the strong soldier archetype. Of the high school band she helps instruct, she says that instead of coddling the girls, the entire line should be expected to "suck it up and make it happen" (interview, September 30, 2003).

Finally, several of the women reported adopting what they characterized as "masculine" behavior at play: crude joking or coarse language. Sarah commented that in her section, "They're always crudely joking around because they're guys, and they're tuba players and they're in college" (interview, April 28, 2004). Emily added, "You have to step up and not take any of the crap off the guys. You can't express any kind of disgust or offense and you have to laugh at their dirty jokes" (interview, September 30, 2003). But even further, Emily claimed, boundary-crossing women have to learn how to manipulate this behavior as well: "You have to be able to spit and fart and throw curse words out there" (interview, September 30, 2003).

And this is where gendered norm citation (particularly the deployment of archetypes) is most convincingly revealed as performance. Just like with aesthetic performances, sometimes the manipulation goes well and the gendered performer is rewarded by her male audience with camaraderie and acceptance. But, as Bauman and others have pointed out (Bauman, 1992a; Yankah, 1985), performance is always a risk, and sometimes the performance fails. As Sarah commented, she is generally amused by the verbal play of her male section, "But sometimes I'll try to be crude and they just say, 'Sarah, what are you doing?!'" (interview, April 28, 2004). In these instances, her performative alignment with male archetypal behavior slips, and her performance fails. She does not gain control over her male peers or this particular interaction.

Conclusion

Viewing gendered identity performance through the lens of Bauman's theory of *emergent performance* (following Sawin, 2002) has shown us how gendered identity can be seen as "emergent" and created in much the same way as an aesthetic performance. Even without presuming a theatrical model, we can see that individuals constitute their identity by citing gendered norms (utilizing "communicative resources") such as archetypes and that their success as properly gendered beings (performers) is evaluated by their "audience." In instances where their performances are successful, however, and their male peers are "caught up" in their performance (and they are *being heard*), in what ways are the performances of these boundary-crossing women transgressive? Do they use their performative power to reshape societal gendered norms? Are their acts as subversive as (if less dramatic than) drag?

I would argue that the transgressive nature of these identity performances lies in the way these boundary-crossers juxtapose archetypes. The narratives revealed that all of the women deployed both masculine and feminine archetypes in their interactions over time, and sometimes in the same instance. For example, most of these women self-identified with terms like "brass chick" or "drummer girl" or "[trom]bone-head babe." They derived both pride and pleasure from the juxtaposition. Emily states, "A drummer girl is by definition cool. She's strong and strong willed. She doesn't take anything from anyone. She can hang with the guys, but she's still a chick" (interview, September 30, 2003). And Rita comments that "it takes a strong, independent personality to be a brass chick and really mesh." By juxtaposing gendered archetypes in a multitude of successful identity performances, these boundary-crossers begin to destabilize the illusion of the "roles" into which their gender has been cast. This is the type of pursuit of "the moments of degrounding" that Butler herself has encouraged, where "resistance and recuperation happens" and the "breaking through to a new set of paradigms" (Butler, 1994, p. 122). Or, as Dianne Dugaw points out of the

"warrior woman" figure in balladry, "The Female Warrior is paradoxical.... Epitomizing both genders, she simultaneously destabilizes the system which divides them" (1989, p. 157). Applying Bauman's *emergent* theory of performance to the performance of gendered identity allows us to see how this destablization occurs.

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Footnotes

Marshall PAGE 12:

Thanks to Richard Bauman, Kimberly Williams, Christopher Bingham and Cheryl Marshall for their comments and suggestions.

In addition to inclusion in my 2004 masters thesis for the University of Oregon, a version of this paper was also presented at the 2005 meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology as "Negotiating a Gendered Identity within the University Marching Band".

The narratives here examined originally existed as interviews, which I transcribed and edited into continuous narratives. I then sent each participant her narrative for approval. Changes were made to the narrative as requested by each participant so that she still retained control of her own voice. The resulting product preserved the vibrancy of each woman's story for analysis, though I don't have the space here to present each narrative in full. Full narratives are available in my master's thesis. I also gave each participant the right to use her own name or choose her own pseudonym.

For instance, data taken from rosters of the subject bands between 1996 and 2003 shows that females predominate in the flute and colorguard sections and males predominate in the trumpet, trombone, sousaphone and drumline sections. A converse study of masculine negotiation in female-dominated sections would provide and interesting counterpoint to this study.

Some might argue that drawing parallels between Bauman's definition of "performer" and Butler's formation of the "citational" quality of performative identity still smacks too much of voluntarism. Butler herself has said, "Reiterative chains of discursive production are barely legible as reiterations, for the effects they have materialized are those without which no bearing in discourse can be taken" (Butler 1993, 187). However, I argue that certain situations *do* raise the awareness of gender *performativity* as discursively

produced. Drag is one of those: Butler says "*In imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself*" (Butler 1990, 137). I argue that the high-stakes negotiation of a gender identity in a boundary-crossing situation raises this awareness of gender as discursively produced, as well.

Bauman himself has increasingly suggested parallels between aesthetic performance and the social construction of the self (see Bauman 1992b).

Sawin originally viewed these characteristics as too "masculine" to define women's performance, but her more recent third-wave writing has focused more on the way emotion and desire form a part of performance.

Indeed, display of competence and evaluation by the "heterosexual hegemony" (with the consequence of ostracization or punishment) is central to Butler's conception of the way *performativity* works in the first place. "We regularly punish those who fail to do their gender right" (Butler, 1990, p. 140) she argues, but that presumes both a we (an audience) and a point (or points) of iteration: a *performance* in Bauman's formal sense.

Issues surrounding *being heard* create interesting parallels with longstanding feminist critiques of women as "objectified" by the male "gaze".

Although not covered in my study, an interesting corollary would be a study of the standards and criteria used to evaluate these performances. (Thanks to Richard Bauman for this insight).

Revealing and Revolting: Homosexual and Transgender Panic in Two Australian Films

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Stephan Elliott's drama-comedy The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert (1994) and Ana Kokkinos's gritty drama Head On (1998) explore the lives of male-to-female transgender characters whose various modes of transgendering refute the integrity of a binary gender system. Although camp and queer elements have long been visible within Australian literature, theatre and television (Coad, p. 129), mainstream Australian cinema only began to earnestly incorporate queer, including transgender, characters and themes during the 1990s (Jennings & Lomine, p. 146). Without post-2000 equivalents at the time of writing, Priscilla and Head On remain two of most significant examples of Australian cinema that present genderqueer characters. Each film contextualizes transgender very differently, yet both feature scenes wherein non-transgender males viciously assault a male-to-female transgender individual. This article explores the inter-masculine gender politics played out in these scenes and thus the fraught relationship between queer and normative male genderings through an examination of the cultural, social and psychological forces that can incite such violence. There is much more at stake within these confrontations than 'gay versus straight' for it can be seen that 'homosexual panic' and male homosocial desire – concepts delineated by eminent feminist and queer theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick – are critical factors. Furthermore, it is argued that 'transgender panic' also significantly affects the perpetrators' reactions and interactions within these narrative events. Consideration will also be given to the ways these scenes privilege the transgender characters' perspectives to explore how these filmic representations of revolting cruelty actually work to endorse the transgender characters' subject positions and to reveal the assailants' attacks as failed revolts against the threat they perceive homosexuality and transgendering poses to hegemonic configurations of sexuality and masculinity.

Screening Transgender

Between *Priscilla* and *Head On*, a diverse assortment of transgender characters is presented. *Priscilla* follows a trio of professional male-to-female drag performers as they travel from Sydney to Alice Springs. The three performers, gay men Tick/Mitzi (Hugo Weaving) and Adam/Felicia (Guy Pearce) and male-

to-female transsexual Ralph/Bernadette (Terence Stamp), traverse the Australian desert on a bus dubbed 'Priscilla', staging drag acts and stopping at outback locations en route. *Priscilla*'s protagonists receive varying responses during their expedition, but none is as negative as the violent reaction Felicia receives from a mob of rugged 'blokes' in the remote mining town of Coober Pedy. In contrast to the expansive, desolate landscapes and isolated settlements featured in *Priscilla*, *Head On* is set in metropolitan Melbourne. Based on Christos Tsiolkas's novel *Loaded* (1995), *Head On* captures an intense twenty-four hour period in the life of nineteen-year-old Greek-Australian Ari (Alex Dimitriades). Ari's Greek-Australian friend Johnny (Paul Capsis) plays a central role in Ari's life and in the film. During the course of the film Johnny reclaims the alias 'Toula', flaunts this feminine persona unapologetically and defies the condemnation her transvestism attracts, even in the face of a vicious police-beating. The attention given to Felicia's and Mitzi's drag and Bernadette's transsexualism in *Priscilla* and Toula's transvestism in *Head On* repeatedly reinforces that these characters do not adhere to dominant expectations of gender. Although each of these characters is differently gender-queer, the rubric of transgender encompasses all their forms of gender-crossing. Transgender is defined independently of sexual orientation and, in accordance with transgender theorist Susan Stryker (2008, p. 1), is applied here as an umbrella term that refers to all expressions of gender that fall outside or between the normative categories of feminine/masculine, male/female.

As films that portray gendered characters who disrupt the boundaries between sex and gender, and invite audiences to adopt their perspectives, *Priscilla* and *Head On* closely align with a range of films that defy certain cinematic as well as cultural conventions to foreground transgender while treating the issue in a sincere and sympathetic manner, other examples of which include *The Crying Game* (1992), *Transamerica* (2005) and *Boys Don't Cry* (1999). Film theorist Judith Halberstam (2005, p. 76) designates such films 'transgender films', maintaining that in transgender films, transgender characters simultaneously present "a gender at odds with sex, a sense of self not derived from the body, and an identity that operates within the heterosexual matrix without confirming the inevitability of that system of difference." These films, Halberstam argues, can give mainstream audiences access to 'a transgender gaze' through "the successful solicitation of affect – whether it be revulsion, sympathy, or empathy" (2005, p. 77). Transgender films' narratives, settings, aesthetic techniques,
motivations and target audiences can differ significantly. Regardless of such distinctions, however, many feature scenes wherein a central transgender character is physically assaulted. Notably, the Oscar-winning *Boys Don't Cry* depicts horrifying and now well-known incidents of brutal homophobic/transphobic violence. The film is based on the true story of Brandon Teena (played by Hilary Swank), a female-to-male transgender teenager from a rural town who falls in love with a woman. Brandon is ultimately raped and murdered by local men because his gender identification and presentation does not align with his (female) sex. *Boys*

Don't Cry sparked lively and continuing academic debate regarding its thematic and aesthetic renderings of race, class, sexuality and, of course, trans/gender. Certainly any transgender film that appeals to mainstream audiences is unlikely to fulfill entirely the ideological objectives of feminist, queer and transgender theorists. Nevertheless, there is a general consensus among critics that *Boys Don't Cry* shows up some brutal realities of homophobia and transphobia while encouraging audiences to side with the victim.

Boys Don't Cry demonstrates transgender film's ability to contribute to discourses of gender politics, as it graphically deals with issues of homophobia and transphobia while allying audiences to the victim. Julianne Pidduck (2007, p. 269) asserts that via the filmic techniques deployed during the scenes of Brandon's rape, including a sustained shot of Brandon's face as the violation occurs, *Boys Don't Cry* asks the viewer "to experience the rape from the victim's point of view" and in doing so "invites political, emotional and corporeal allegiances linked to known and imagined risk, especially for female and/or queer viewers." Similarly, Melissa Rigney (2004, p. 24) argues that *Boys Don't Cry* conveys the message to queer audiences that "[p]ushing the envelope of gender and/or sexuality holds the possibility of violence." While *Boys Don't Cry*'s illustration and contextualization of homophobia and transphobia remain specific to Brandon's experiences and the film itself, Pidduck and Rigney each point to the broad scope of audience members (queer and/or female viewers generally) with whom these depictions of discrimination are likely to resonate, thus drawing attention to the ways in which transphobia feeds into the dynamics of gender oppression. Sadly, Brandon's victimization does not exist in isolation though neither does its filmic memorial. Representations of transphobic harassment and assault in other transgender films also play out tensions and anxieties surrounding non-normative genderings. Unlike *Boys Don't Cry*, many comparable transgender films – including the two Australian films at the center of this investigation – do not reformulate biographical events, yet their inclusions of transphobic violence echo the real-life discrimination and dangers transgender people face within the Western cultures the films portray (Bornstein, 1992, p. 73). Incidents of transphobic violence in transgender films, fictional or otherwise, are moments that speak to crises of gender politics, and the scenes of transphobic violence in *Priscilla* and *Head On* are no exception.

Following much of traditional twentieth century Australian cinema, which characteristically preferences the masculine (O'Regan, 1996), *Priscilla* and *Head On* both focus on men (or in the case of Bernadette in *Priscilla*, one who is no longer a man but retains masculine investments) and their interactions with one another. As such, the films explore inter-masculine gender politics with an emphasis on 'feminine masculinities', that is, feminine yet residually if not concurrently masculine genderings of the male-to-female transgender characters. In doing so, these films make important contributions to cultural discourse concerning certain minority masculinities. In her research into Australian masculini-

ties and sexual violence, Christine Boman (2003, p. 129) affirms that "[t]extual representations of masculinities function in a dialogue with cultural formations of gender by highlighting possibilities for, and limitations of, different ways of enacting masculinity." *Priscilla*'s and *Head On*'s representations of feminine masculinities reveal liberating possibilities of masculine genderings that integrate femininity. However, they also illustrate the ways in which such gendering can limit access to certain male privileges, especially acceptance and even tolerance from those who enact dominant forms of masculinity. At certain points prior to the assaults in each film, the transgender characters encounter hostility because of their transgendering. In *Priscilla* the transgendered trio meets with negative reactions from residents of the various rural communities they visit before reaching Coober Pedy, ranging from incredulous disapproval to disdain. In *Head On* Toula's father, enraged and disgusted upon seeing her made-up face, insults and demeans her in front of Ari. Nevertheless, in both films the oppositions between differing modes of masculinity becomes most pointedly apparent during the attack scenes. What becomes clear during these turbulent scenarios is the transgender characters' marginalization in the face of males bonded in mutual rejection of feminine masculinities/cross-gendered males. Although the perpetrators' savage assaults appear as almost inexplicably extreme, a close reading of the scenes in consideration of Sedgwick's theories of homosociality and 'homosexual panic', as well as what might be termed 'transgender panic', reveal the complexities of the social dynamics and internal fears and confusions that can rouse phobic violence. Such an analysis also reveals the ways in which these films, like many other transgender films, counter the potency of such influences through encouraging viewers to interpret homophobic and transphobic violence from the victims' perspectives.

Fear and Loathing: Homosexual Panic and Transgender Panic

In her early and still relevant work on the structures and processes of male homosociality – social relations and bonds between men – Sedgwick (1985, p. 1) argues that male homosociality in Western society can "be characterized by intense homophobia, fear or hatred of homosexuality." Sedgwick postulates that all male homosocial relations are underpinned by men's desire for other men, with desire in this context defined as "the affective or social force, the glue, even when its manifestation is hostility or hatred or something less emotively charged, that shapes an important relationship" (Sedgwick, 1985, p. 2). Sedgwick persuasively contends that the entire spectrum of male homosocial desire can be understood as an unbroken continuum between homosociality and homosexuality, but that in a 'brutally homophobic' society, the 'visibility' of continuity between male homosocial and homosexual relations 'is radically disrupted' (1985, p. 1-3). Ac-

cording to this model, then, male homosocial desire – men's emotional connections with one another – is at once compulsory and prohibited, and homophobia manifests as a rupturing that obscures the continuity between male homosociality and male homosexuality. Sedgwick emphasizes that the presence of homophobia has become a constitutive element of Western culture, as homophobia has come to function as an effective social "mechanism for regulating the behaviour of the many by the specific oppression of a few" (1985, p. 88).

Sedgwick (1985, p. 89) asserts that many Western men experience the social pressures arising from homophobia in the 'private, psychologized form' of 'homosexual panic'. Only self-accepting homosexual-identified men are exempt from homosexual panic while the rest are left to constantly and anxiously guard their masculine, heterosexual subjectivities against homosexual bonds. Sedgwick states that "the continuum of male homosocial bonds has been brutally structured by a secularized and psychologized homophobia," and has thus excluded particular "segments of the continuum from participating in the overarching male entitlement" (1990, p. 185). Yet the self-contradictory nature of homophobia means that it is not necessarily homosexuality that is the cause of homosexual panic, but the very same homophobia that oppresses homosexual-identified men; homophobia is always already waiting for nonhomosexual-identified men when unavoidable investments in male-male social bonds lead them into "the treacherous middle stretch of the modern homosocial continuum," terrain which perpetually threatens to turn this oppression against them (Sedgwick, 1985, p. 186-8). Sedgwick (1985, p. 186) argues that the double bind in which homosocial desire places its heterosexual constituents results in "acute *manipulability*, through fear of one's own 'homosexuality'," and "a reservoir of potential for violence caused by the self-ignorance that this regime constitutively enforces." For this reason, *Priscilla* and *Head On* provide a valuable point of reflection on homosocial relations, as they dramatize conflict between differing modes of male gendering and sexuality.

As discussed above, homosexual panic is the anxious response of nonhomosexual-identified men to the possibility of being or being seen to be homosexual. Correspondingly, transgender panic, a form of transphobia closely allied with homosexual panic, denotes the experience of a related response to male-to-female transgendering. In manifestations of this personal and internalized form of transphobia (only experienced by those who do not identify as transgendered), the fear or anxiety transgendering engenders is not just that one might be or become transgendered but that one might identify with or be perceived to identify with transgendering. These negative emotions arise from the threat that one's exclusive identification with a unified, singular gender might be questioned. In *Vested Interests: Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (1993), Marjorie Garber points to the possibility of an identifiable anxiety brought about by transvestism. In reference to Sedgwick's concept of homosexual panic, Garber speculates the 'correlative existence' of what she terms 'transvestite panic' (1993, p. 137). Garber applies

this term to the fear of some homosexual men and women that – because of the common, though erroneous, conflation of transvestism and homosexuality – they will be coded as cross-gender-identified. While Garber applies this conception usefully, it appears the presence of such fear extends outside gay and lesbian culture and that a more comprehensive understanding of its causes would encompass not just transvestism but transgender more generally. Surely people other than those who are homosexual are susceptible to a fear that their connection with a binary gender system might be susceptible to misinterpretation, and certainly modes of transgender other than transvestism (such as drag and transsexualism) are able to cause similar panic about cross-gender identification.

Like homosexual panic, male transgender panic is tied up with maintaining 'appropriate' homosocial bonds and preserving a hegemonically masculine subjectivity. However, where homosexuality can threaten to destabilize the boundaries of (hetero)sexuality and an imagined border between homosociality and homosexuality, transgender threatens the collapse of a gender binary, and it is at the intersection of sexuality and gender that homo*sexual* panic and trans*gender* panic arise as distinguishable. As masculinities theorist David Buchbinder (1994, p. 51) affirms, because not all men who cross-dress are homosexual, it is 'too simple' to reason that men's often contemptuous, anxious and sometimes angry responses to male-to-female cross-dressing can be attributed solely to homophobia. Buchbinder states that in the case of a transgender male whose transgendering is understood to be their "actual preference or habitual practice," other men may perceive that he has "abdicated from even the gestural signs of masculinity indicated by clothing, and thus to have betrayed masculinity itself" (1994, p. 51). It is in this circumstance that transgender panic can erupt into transphobic violence. Although violent responses to homosexual panic and transgender panic are analogous, they must be acknowledged as distinct. Transgender theorist Kate Bornstein (1994) recognizes 'gaybashing' as an act of gender violence, but also insists that much of the violence perpetrated against transgender people is unrelated to victims' sexual preferences. Bornstein argues that despite the prevalence of transphobia, transphobic violence is largely overlooked because the marginalization of transgender individuals in Western culture means there are few terms to describe them and thus even fewer to describe violence against them: "[T]here are no words for the terror and hatred of gender transgressors, and because no one has named it yet, it seems that there is no hatred... [but] so much violence is perpetrated in the name of that fear and that loathing" (1994, p. 74). Correspondingly, sociologist Viviane Namaste (2006, p. 591) draws attention to a distinction between '*genderbashing*' and 'gaybashing', contending that such a discursive separation of gender and sexuality is necessary for the specificity of transphobic violence to be properly comprehended. Hence, 'transgender panic' marks a nameable point at which the compulsion to oppress gender minorities is separated out from the compulsive oppression of sexual minorities, without discounting the entangled relationship of gender and sexuality. This fear and this panic are evident in *Priscilla* and *Head On*.

Against Felicia: Homosexual Panic and Transgender Panic in *Priscilla*

A humorous and well-received film about three drag queens, *Priscilla* marked an important moment in Australian cinematic and cultural history. As David Coad (2002, p. 132) approvingly observes, "[u]nlike previous Australian films, *Priscilla* foregrounds camp, celebrates transgenderism, and shows that in Australia the non-normative not only survives, but is the means of having a ball to boot." The scenes in which Felicia is assaulted are the darkest and most sobering of the generally lighthearted film. During an overnight stay in Coober Pedy, Felicia, the youngest and most capricious of the trio, ventures around the quiet town alone at night dressed as a woman. When she presents herself at an outdoor drinking party of burly men, she becomes conspicuous in this hypermasculine space. Felicia is soon approached by the rugged Frank (Ken Radley), who willingly responds her flirty attentions until he suddenly realizes Felicia is male. Enraged at this revelation, Frank rallies his surrounding mates and as a group they chase Felicia when she flees, then corner her before working together to assault her. As reprehensible as these actions may be, they are a vivid display of heterosexual men, particularly Frank, responding to homosexual panic and transgender panic, and collectively enacting homosocial desire.

When Frank first notices Felicia's muscled, hairy arm as she raises her glass to him, audiences watch from Felicia's viewpoint as a reverse angle close-up shows Frank's shocked and disgusted face. From this moment, audiences are encouraged to continue their existing narrative allegiance with the transgender protagonist and join Felicia in seeing Frank as a threatening figure. Once Frank properly comprehends that the person he was pursuing is male, he roughly knocks Felicia's hand away, refusing her gesture of amity and re-asserting his masculinity and heterosexuality in front of his comrades. Frank's vehement reaction to the realization he found a male sexually attractive is an outward manifestation of homosexual panic. Frank, apparently unwittingly, exchanged bonds with a man that tumbled toward the homosexual extreme of a continuum of male homosocial desire, and his own homophobia makes him panic that he may be, or may be perceived as, homosexual. Fearful of the personal threat to his masculine, heterosexual subjectivity, Frank's instigation of the group assault is an effort to redefine a chasmic distinction between (Felicia's potentially) homosexual bonds and (Frank and his friends') homosocial bonds. With nothing more than a call to 'get her', the mob abandon their party to pursue Felicia. Australian sociologist and criminologist Stephen Tomsen (2003, p. 96) maintains that '[i]n a culture that promotes strong links between violence and masculinity, "gay-bashing" serves a dual purpose of constructing a masculine and heterosexual identity for offenders, through both an involvement with violence and a clear identification of

homosexuals as an opposed group of social outsiders'. 'Bashing' Felicia, then, not only functions as an affirmation of the group members' 'masculine' aptitude for violence, it also works to polarize them – as heterosexual men – and their homosexual victim. As the attack unfolds, *Priscilla*'s audiences are continually invited to side with Felicia, and a chasm indeed opens up between (homosexual) Felicia and her (heterosexual) assailants. Felicia runs and the ominous drones of a grinding, industrial score build tension and alert audiences to imminent danger. The audience is aligned with Felicia's viewpoint as Frank strides towards her menacingly and the music emphasizes the jarring impact of Frank's blow to her face, highlighting the shocking brutality of his action. When Felicia is pinned to the ground, the camera drops to her level and the vulnerability and humiliation she experiences is thus emphasized as her legs are wrestled apart.

Easily manipulated into violence by Frank's urge to expunge his male-male relations of homosexual implication, the group behaves in a manner that exemplifies males bonded by homosexual panic as well as homosocial desire. Buchbinder (1998, p. 128) argues in reference to Sedgwick's formulations that "the presence of homophobia frequently precipitates a concentration of male homosocial desire: a group of men jeering at or otherwise persecuting a homosexual is a group bonded as much by homosocial desire as by homophobic behaviour." As such, male homosocial bonding is never far removed from homoerotic if not homosexual bonding (Buchbinder, 1998; Sedgwick, 1985). For Frank and his crew, the line between homophobic bonding and homoerotic bonding does indeed appear malleable, for their homophobic attack quickly becomes homoerotically charged. In a scenario distinctly and revoltingly reminiscent of a gang rape, Frank oversees his friends force Felicia to open her legs and as they harness the hegemonically masculine traits of physical dominance and aggression, they also mutually take pleasure in physically holding a male in a sexualized pose. Nevertheless, sprawled supine with legs forcibly splayed, the protagonist is vulnerable to rape from this position as 'Felicia', not Adam. Buchbinder asserts that the harmful effects of homophobia are comparable to those of misogyny, stating that "just as misogyny disparages women, [homophobia] belittles gay men and may even subject them to the same sorts of violence – beating, rape and murder – that many women have experienced" (1998, p. 126). In the case of the attempted 'rape' of Felicia, such a correspondence between misogyny and homophobia becomes apparent. While Felicia's cultural positioning and personal experiences are certainly not that of a biological woman, in this particular situation she is simultaneously feminized vulgarly and robbed of any feminine power. Felicia is punished in this way for being a homosexual male, though one who is already feminized in a manner of her own design. As such, the scene shows up the ambivalence of 'hetero' male sexual desire as well as the vulnerability of women, homosexual men and transgender individuals to masculine violence and power expressed through sexual assault. Such considerations also foreground that the analysis of the gender politics in these scenes cannot be limited to the conflict

between heterosexual and homosexual masculinities, as this would foreclose the potency and significance of Felicia's transgendering.

Frank's revulsion at and repulsion of Felicia can also be understood as a manifestation of transgender panic. Frank 'deals with' Felicia as a homosexual male though it is clear he also reacts aggressively to Felicia's transgendering. After all, Frank was initially outraged he was 'tricked', and Felecia's continued performance of femininity serves only to further aggravate him. Just before Frank punches her, Felicia pleads with him to 'not forget how to treat a lady', and he responds to her feminized plea with physical violence and the insult, 'You fucking freak'. His response reflects Bornstein's observations about the lack of labels (even derogatory ones) to describe transgender people, for Frank also refers to Felicia as a 'faggot' and a 'cocksucker' (offensive terms for homosexual males) but 'freak' is the closest he gets to finding a derogatory term for her gender-crossing. Moreover, Frank's actions reflect his confusion about the different 'panics' he experiences; once Frank has re-masculinized Felicia with a 'bloke-to-bloke' punch, he orchestrates her 'gang rape' in a violent attempt to re-feminize her in a manner *he* chooses.

Against Toula: Homosexual Panic and Transgender Panic in *Head On*

In depicting a phobic attack that occurs in a rural setting and is perpetrated by members of a rural community, *Priscilla* buys into a common belief that queer individuals are in more danger of discrimination in small-town environments (Halberstam, 2005). *Head On*, however, revisions this perception, situating a phobic assault in an urban environment at the hands of an authority ostensibly dedicated to protection. A low budget independent film that centers on issues of ethnic identity, queer sexuality and queer gendering, *Head On* is an important contribution to Australian queer cinema. So much so, Ros Jennings and Loykie Lomine (2004, p. 147) propose *Head On* 'marks a watershed in Australian queer representation' in that instead of offering "wholesome representations of lesbians and gays," it provides "uncompromising representations of sexuality." Throughout the film, Ari's various homosexual encounters are unabashedly and graphically depicted. *Head On* represents Ari as a uniquely queer character – apart from engaging in sex with men, Ari acts and looks 'straight', and most of his friends and family perceive him as such. Yet Ari is not biding time before 'coming out', nor does he behave or present himself in a manner that belies his true sense of self. With such an interesting and complex protagonist, existing commentary on *Head On* takes Ari as its focus, however, Toula is one of the most compelling transgender characters in Australian cinema. Diegetically Ari receives no social repercussions for his queerness, as there are few people close to him who know about his homosexual affairs. The concealed nature of Ari's queer sexuality is contrasted

against Toula's visible and flaunted queer gendering and the punishments she receives for disrupting the sex-gender system. Although both Ari and Toula sexually desire men, Ari's masculinity and Toula's femininity – their genderings as distinct from their (homo)sexuality – means it is Toula who is perceived to pose the greater threat to hegemonic masculinity. At no time in the film is this distinction more strikingly apparent than when the two friends are arrested on a minor charge. Confined in a cell and intimidated and tormented by the two arresting police officers, Ari and Toula are forced to undress. Toula eventually removes her skirt and blouse, but her refusal to remove her feminine undergarments leads to the young Greek-Australian officer, Chris (Fonda Goniadis), violently assaulting her. Chris's attack on Toula, like Frank's attack on Felicia, can be understood as a manifestation of homosocial desire, homosexual panic and transgender panic – a revolt against the threat he perceives homosexuality and transgendering pose to his heterosexuality and masculinity.

When Chris first enters the cell, Toula seductively pulls back her skirt to reveal a stockinged leg and says to him, 'You're Greek, aren't you?', establishing their shared ethnicity and implying she has a sexual interest in him. A senior, Anglo-Australian officer (Neil Pigot) joins them moments later and insinuates Chris has a personal connection with Toula because of their ethnic affiliation. His provocation gives rise to Chris's homosexual panic and transgender panic, as Chris fears he will be perceived as homosexual and to identify with a transgender individual. To avoid homophobia and transphobia being turned against him, he punches and shoves Toula, ripping her camisole. When Toula defiantly insults him back, he knocks her to the ground then repeatedly kicks her. Just before Chris strikes the first blow, a shot-reverse-shot between Chris and the senior officer exchanging meaningful looks underscores that the two men are bonded in and through the attack. Chris screams insults at Toula in English and Greek, but like Frank he has no words to properly express his hatred of transgender. Instead, he uses Greek insults to turn his and Toula's shared cultural heritage against her. He disavows any connection they might have to strengthen the homosocial bonds between him and his fellow officer, with whom he shares bonds not of ethnicity but masculinity.

Chris's impassioned reaction to the senior officer's goading exemplifies the '*manipulability*' and violence Sedgwick (2005, p. 186) argues is the potential result of homosexual panic. In this circumstance it can also be seen as a response to transgender panic. Although Toula's initially suggestive behaviour indicates that Chris reacts to her, at least in part, as a homosexual male, the opinion he most attempts to thwart is that he identifies with Toula and accepts her femininity as a 'woman' who shares his cultural heritage. Furthermore, although Ari is suspected of being 'queer' because of his association with Toula and is also subjected to torment, as he stands naked – his cropped hair and sturdy, muscular physique signifying his masculinity – the offending officers largely ignore him, while Toula – with styled hair, a made-up face and feminine underwear – quickly

becomes the object of the officers' negative attentions. The distinction between Ari's and Toula's treatment here emphasizes the key role (trans)gender plays in the attack. Like Frank, Chris's actions during the attack bespeak his confusion about experiencing both homosexual and transgender panic; Chris tears open Toula's remaining clothing then slaps her, dispensing a 'female' punishment for her gender transgression, but also delivers the 'male' punishments of body blows and brutal kicking. Nevertheless, *Head On* gives such violence a face, for as Toula writhes on the ground, intermittent close-ups of her face emphasize her normally beautiful features grotesquely contorted in fear and pain. As Pidduck (2007, p. 269) asserts of the camera's focus on Brandon during the rape scene in *Boys Don't Cry*, these shots encourage audiences to identify with Toula's experience of the horror of homophobic and transphobic violence, which is arguably more terrifying than the fear experienced by those overwrought with homosexual panic and transgender panic.

Priscilla's and *Head On*'s representations of subjugation prioritize the victims' perspectives through persuading audiences to identify with Felicia and Toula respectively, and positioning the assailants as formidable but misguided. Furthermore, the attackers in each film enter the narrative for only a short time and the transgender characters are thus given the opportunity overcome their discrimination. The perhaps unrealistically optimistic resolution of Felicia's attack is nevertheless satisfying for audiences in its deliverance of poetic justice; Frank's pending violation of Felicia's groin is interrupted when Bob and then Bernadette interrupt the assault, and the volatile situation is ultimately diffused when Bernadette brutally knees Frank in the crotch – appropriately punishing him for misdeeds executed in an effort to assert a virile masculinity. By the film's gratifying end, all *Priscilla*'s central characters are safe and happy. Toula, on the other hand, is denied support from her queer comrade, Ari. Bruised and bleeding but with renewed resolve, Toula tells Ari "to stand up against all the shit and all the hypocrisy." In her final line, Toula reaffirms her transgender identity and her dignity, asserting that 'Toula can look after herself'. *Priscilla* and *Head On* are very different films, but both reveal the harmful potential of homosexual panic and transgender panic. As fictional transgender films, they are also able to offer the hope that such revolting persecution can be overcome.

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Footnotes

This article addresses the transgender characters according to their dominant gender presentation rather than their original biological assignation and uses correlating personal pronouns.

For further discussion of *Boys Don't Cry*, see Halberstam (2005) and the selection of essays in 'Part V: The *Boys Don't Cry* debate' in *Queer Screen* (Jackie Stacey & Sarah Street (eds), 2007).

Transphobia is defined as the 'irrational fear and loathing of people who transgress conventional gender and sex rules in the binary system' (Darke & Cope, 2002, p.111).

For women in modern Western society, Sedgwick argues (1985), the opposition between homosocial and homosexual is much less dichotomous than it is for men, as women's homosocial relations are allowed a greater degree of fluidity between, for example, friendship and romantic partnership. As Sedgwick clarifies, 'there is an asymmetry in our present society between, on one hand, the relatively continuous relation of female homosocial and homosexual bonds, and, on the other hand, the radically discontinuous relation of male homosocial and homosexual bonds' (1985, pp.4-5).

Sedgwick (1990, p.19) points out that 'homosexual panic' is also a legal defense strategy used to reduce the accountability of males charged with violence against homosexual males. A recent modification of this legal strategy is the 'trans panic' defense 'under which a male murder defendant charged with murdering a male-to-female transgender individual claims that he panicked upon learning that his sexual partner was biologically male, not female' (Lee, 2008, p.7). Sedgwick is careful to call attention to the fact her intention is not to contribute to the credibility of homosexual panic as a legal defense (1990, p.21) and, likewise, in hypothesizing the viability of the concept of 'transgender panic', this article does not intend to contribute to the creditability of trans panic as a legal defense nor to the justification of any transphobic violence.

Just as Sedgwick marks a necessary distinction between male and female homosociality due to 'the enduring inequality of power between women and men' (1985, p.5), so too is there a distinction between transgender panic as it manifests for non-transgender men and non-transgender women, though there is not space here to give these specificities the attention they deserve.

White Power, White Desire: Racialized Consumption in Nineteenth-Century Spanish Orientalist Painting

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In *Black Looks*, bell hooks (1992) argues that *fucking* was a way to "confront the Other" (p. 23). Though hooks responds to a contemporary situation of ivy-league, white men seeking out "Others" through sexual conquest, this theory of possession through sexual domination can be aptly applied to the interpretation of nineteenth-century Orientalist painting. In traditional Orientalist art, the Black or Middle Eastern woman is commodified, treated as one more accouterment of the exotic East. Often nude, her body supercedes any possible insight into her individual characterization. Visually, she is displayed to be *fucked* by her European conquerors. This depiction naturally leads to theories of white supremacist colonization and masculine domination.

Rather than offering yet one more post-colonial and feminist analysis of Orientalist representations of the harem woman, which has already been successfully accomplished by Linda Nochlin, Marilyn Brown, and Mohja Kahf, this study seeks to apply hooks' *fuck theory* in combination with social history to explore how the misogynistic and racist trope of the harem is represented differently, particularly in Spain. What does it mean when a culture does not want to *fuck* the "Other," as was the case with Spain? What do images such as Mariano Fortuny y Marsal's *Odalisca* (fig. 1), reveal about Spain's own colonization efforts? In contrast to French artists' over-sexualization of the black female body in Orientalist painting, Spanish artists ignore any possibility that black eroticism could exist. The deliberate avoidance of representing the black woman as sexually charged not only points to Spain's own preference for the white European, but is telling about the larger issue of their formation of a national identity.

In order to create a framework for this study, a brief overview of the Orientalist movement and traditional representations of the black body will be included to clarify Spain's deviation from this trope. In general, there is a deliberate movement within Spanish art away from the erotic models used in other European countries. As will be developed, these differences emerged from a variety of factors including Spain's on-going war with North Africa, ethnographic representations of Spain as the Orientalist subject, and Spain's construction of itself as a colonial hierarchy. Looking at the images produced by Spanish Orientalists will illustrate how these factors informed their works, generating a deeper inquiry into the notion of Spain's identity within the European hegemony.

The label "Orientalism," created by nineteenth-century European scholars,

refers to the ideology about colonial cultures disseminated through the artistic and literary representations by dominating European countries including England, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Setting the framework for post-colonial theory, Edward Said's (1978) work, *Orientalism*, explored these misconceptions of a 'lesser' non-Western culture with a perceived need of European Enlightenment and colonial domination. These ensuing representations reflecting this idea emerged from larger socio-historical issues and geographic expansion.

During these colonization campaigns, artists initially accompanied political leaders to document these events to express national patrimony. These commissioned works were often large-scale historical paintings representing minor territorial victories and included military portraits of the key figures. In addition to these canvases, artists capitalized on their travels by creating smaller studies and paintings to depict the "exotic" East in order to submit them to national exhibitions and to sell to private collectors. The differences in costume, fabric, architecture, terrain, and peoples provided an endless supply of artistic inspiration. By over-emphasizing the exoticism of the East, the earliest Orientalists contributed to a codification of Other.

In the images that emerged, the Middle Eastern or Black woman's value was seen only in her body. She served three purposes: entertainer, slave, or sexual servant. In English, French, and even German Orientalism, the Black or Middle Eastern woman was most frequently depicted as an object to be traded in the slave market. Her body, often nude, was a labor instrument valued only for its physicality. In addition, the consistent depiction of her head being turned away from the viewer de-personalizes her individuality and further objectifies her. Her gaze never meets the viewer's. At the same time, however, her sensual display provokes a curiosity about her sexual prowess and thus, a kind of erotic tension between the image and the Western viewer). The continued proliferation of these images provided the artist with a legitimate opportunity to demonstrate his handling of the erotic nude, yet also allowed him to maintain a physical distance from the subject he is merely documenting further exempting him from culpability (Brown, 1986). For example, as Linda Nochlin (1989) has analyzed in detail, Gerôme's (1866) *Slave Market* illustrates a naked, powerless woman who is on display to a group of clothed powerful men. Gerôme's inclusion of a Middle Eastern woman rather than a more traditional White woman allows him to construct a male viewer who is "invited sexually to identify with, yet morally to distance himself from, his Oriental counterparts depicted within the objectively inviting yet racially distancing space of the painting" (Nochlin, 1989, p. 45).

White women were the key subjects in images of the harem. Often, the women are painted to avoid eye contact with the viewer, reclining passively on a richly textured divan, their bodies splayed for the viewer. To add to the sensuousness of the scene, she is surrounded by tactile tapestries, shimmering jewelry, and ornately carved furniture. She is completely nude with a shaved pubis, arms behind her head thus precluding any form of modesty. In order to preserve the

Oriental "mystique" of these underground sexual dens, male European artists also portrayed the black servants of the white harem women as equally objectified. In French works such as Eduoard Debat-Ponsan's *Massage* (1883) and Jean-Leon Gérôme's *Great Bath of Bursa* (1885) the Black servant's role extends beyond performing daily mundane tasks. In both images the servant's breast is exposed as she directly touches her mistress with direct skin-to-skin contact. Their representation communicates a different level of intimacy that allows the viewer to dart his erotic impulses back and forth between each nude woman conjuring up a lesbian narrative. Sexual taboos are fulfilled - the binary Black/White opposition in combination with the Woman/Woman pairing.

In alternate representations, the Black woman is the entertainer, a physical performer. Even though her body is equally highlighted for the spectator, her sexuality transforms into sensuality. For example, the images in Jean-Joseph Benjamin Constant's *The Scarf Dance* and Paul Leroy's *Arabian Dancers*, suggest the possibility of a beautiful black body. The gracefulness and fluid contortions of the figures are reinforced with the free-flowing fabric draping their bodies. The women skillfully seduce their painted and actual viewers subtly with their serpentine bodies and alluring gestures, thus eliciting a physical attraction. Though the end result will be that each black woman will be *fucked*, a drawn out form of foreplay occurs.

As the Orientalist movement became more widespread and its ideology increasingly disseminated, traveling to the East no longer became necessary. Composing Eastern objects and 'exotic' models within a studio became sufficient enough to convey the idea of the East without ever leaving Europe's borders. In fact, Turkish women were more inclined to wear Western clothes, perfumes, and coiffures by the 1850s (Brown, 1986, p. 66). Regardless of the authenticity of the images, artists consistently conveyed a clear separation between the "representor" and the "represented" and recreated these images in which the White figure was the colonizer and the Black figure was the colonized. Within the composition the Black woman simply became one more territory to conquer.

Bell hooks argues that there is an uplifting of the male ego when he captures the Other in sexual conquest. This domination not only satiates that curiosity, but also allows him to possess the Other through physical and visual rape. "There is a pleasure to be found in the acknowledgement and the enjoyment of racial difference. The commodification of Otherness has been so successful because it is offered as a new delight, more intense, more satisfying than the normal ways of doing and feeling" (hooks, 1992, p. 21). As colonizers, both the artist and viewer could clearly distance themselves from these women. Through territorial invasions, the White European could physically rape the women they encountered. To reaffirm their identities as White colonizers, their artists, the chosen "representors," could document this dominance and invite others to visually rape the Black subject.

Colonization draws clear hierarchical distinctions and is based in an ide-

ology of dominance, particularly the dominance of culture, race, and sex. By focusing on Spain, the categories of West/East and White/Black become much more problematic, consequently affecting male/female relationships. Within the Orientalist framework there is a distinct organization of these groups. At the very top is the representor or colonizer, who is most often the White European male. The lowest on the colonial hierarchy is most consistently the Black woman, whose positionality is defined by the fact that she is both racial Other and female. Though she falls to the bottom in all forms of Orientalist representation; there is a variance in the means that she is represented or not represented in Spanish works.

Most obvious in Spanish Orientalist imagery is the clear absence from the Black subject, in which there are no attempts at flirting with a sexual attraction to the Black woman. Certainly, the notion of distancing oneself from the eroticism of the Black woman is reaffirmed elsewhere in nineteenth-century thought and culture. As Sander Gilman (1985) writes, "by the eighteenth century the sexuality of the black, male, and female, becomes an icon for deviant sexuality" (p. 212). In particular, a sexual relationship between a White man and a Black woman was considered to be degenerate. A Black woman could not be beautiful and such an attraction was unnatural and "taboo." According to Nott, a pro-slavery anthropologist from the mid 1800s: "amalgamation of these two races is in itself a physical evil injurious to both – a practice which ought to be discouraged by public opinion, and avoided by all who consider it a duty, as parents to transmit their offspring the best conditions for sound health and physical well-being. Like other evils of the kind, however, this is beyond the legitimate reach of legislation" (as cite in Young, 1995, p. 148). Also, according to racialized studies of the time, mulatto children were said to have reproductive problems and could not produce offspring (Young, 1995).

Given that these attitudes were widespread throughout Europe and North America, Orientalism became an open challenge to them - a sexual exploitation of the forbidden. The Spanish artist, however, followed the rules of socially acceptable sexual behavior with a clear attraction for the White woman, not once taking the risk of creating anything that the viewer could perceive as deviant.

Because Orientalism emerged directly from colonialism it is necessary to understand Spain's colonization efforts in the acquisition of its territories. The ways in which Spain's colonial history informs Spanish artists' work sets it apart from the French models with which this Orientalist genre began. Unlike England and France, whose conquests were tied to cultural dominance and the increase of its territories, the constant dispute between Spain and North Africa carried a different significance and served in a way as an on-going "Holy War." The ensuing hostilities between these two territories was not merely about colonization, but was rooted in cultural and religious differences that began as early as Alfonso X in the 1280s. In fact, Spanish participation in modern Orientalism did not occur until the tensions between Spain and North Africa intensified during the middle

of the nineteenth century, decades after it began in the rest of Europe.

For Spain the highest level of conflict in the nineteenth century centered in the territories of Ceuta and Melilla located on the North African coast. The Africans refused to recognize this frontier, while the Spaniards denied the Sultan of Morocco's authority. In 1859, the North Africans accused the Spanish troops stationed at the Melilla military post of trespassing. In retaliation, they destroyed Spanish construction around Ceuta. Commander-in-chief of the Catalan army, Leopold O'Donnell, seized this opportunity to launch a crusade against Africa and made several demands, which their soldiers ignored. The Sultan of Morocco died in 1859, and though his successor was intent on delaying any possible engagement, O'Donnell declared war on October 22, 1859. The 40,000 Spanish troops quickly defeated the army commanded by Muley Abbas. The Africans refused to concede to O'Donnell's list of demands, which included relinquishing the territory between Ceuta and Tetuan as well as a signing a treaty of commerce; therefore, the fighting continued until February 1860. Though this war brought no new territory and resulted in the death of 7,000 soldiers (mainly due to cholera), Spain declared it a significant victory and a source of Spanish pride (Clark, 1969, pp. 269-273).

The war that arose between these two regions in 1859 was more of a propagandized attempt on the part of Spain to reaffirm its superiority over its neighbors. As will be discussed through the case study of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, one of Spain's first modern Orientalists, the images that emerged during this time reveal more than just a documentation of a particular event, but also clarify Spain's role as colonizer. The nineteenth century resulted in little expansion for Spain. Military engagements resulting in standstills also occurred in their territories in Mexico, Annam, Santo Domingo, Chile and Peru. Spain's position as colonizer was highly threatened as the country no longer held the same level of a superpower as it did during the "Golden Age."

In order to understand Spain's difference in how the country's artists depicted Orientalist women, the country was not only the "representor," but was also for centuries the "represented" as a type of "Occidental Other." As the conflicts between the two regions intensified, the urgency for Spain to sever all ties with North Africa increased. The geographic proximity and the conquering and re-conquering that occurred between North Africa and Spain resulted in a clear Islamic presence in Spain. In fact, Spain's connection to Medieval Islam in the larger European imagination is evident as late as 1900, when their exhibition hall for the Paris Universal Exposition was designed to resemble the Alhambra (*L'exposition de Paris*, 1900). Consequently, Orientalist artists who did not have the financial resources to travel to North Africa simply traveled to Spain and recreated "exotic" scenes using Islamic buildings as backdrops.

The Spanish Inquisition of the sixteenth century prompted legends of a wild, savage, and dark country. In travel literature, a notable fascination circulated around not only Spain's Islamic architecture, but also their history of bar-

barism practiced during the Inquisition. As the eighteenth-century Dutch travel writer C.A. Fischer writes: "a voyage to Spain was considered to be a journey to the end of the world." Considered the "passageway to the Orient," David Wilkie refers to Spain in 1828 as "an unexplored territory, the very Timbuctoo of art" (both cited in Naranjo, 1995, pp. 73-74).

Spain's traditions, customs, provincialism, and the dominance of Catholicism further exoticized the country as evident in representations by other European artists. As a result of the increase in railway travel, the country was a popular subject in nineteenth-century art, particularly for those artists seeking an Other aesthetic. In the media of photography and painting, French and English artists emphasized the typologies of gypsies, peasants, bandits, bullfighters, and dancers (Charnon-Deutsch, 2004). These attempted anthropological images show the Spanish dressed in elaborate and unnecessary costuming.

The visual arts became an increasingly important tool in Spain's quest to establish a clear non-African identity as early as the seventeenth century. The desire to racially separate themselves from the Muslims is apparent in imagery from Spain's "Golden Age," such as Francisco Ribalta's 1603 painting entitled *St. James at the Battle of Clavijo* (Figure 2). In this painting, the gleaming white saint topped with golden curls is surrounded by a mystical halo. He rides victorious atop his trusty white steed trampling the dark, savage Muslims. Clearly separate from their God-chose adversary, the Muslim figures are tattooed and mustached, lying underfoot in agony, their mouths agape. This image represents one of many in which Spain identified itself as dominant over its African contender.

As Orientalism became more commonplace in nineteenth-century European art, it is logical to assume that its Spanish manifestation would reinforce their identity as European rather than African. The Spanish people were a mixed culture, often with darker skin tonalities than the rest of modern Europe. Aside from the fallacious Western cultural beliefs about sexual relationships between Blacks and Whites, Spain also had to contend with the international perception of the miscegeny of its own culture. Spain could not deny the racial mixing that resulted from centuries of invasions: it's people were perceived as neither Black nor White.

The country was made-up of different terrains and regions, each with their own set of customs, beliefs, and even sometimes language. In addition, Spain's geographic proximity to North Africa required a vigilant campaign to culturally realign Spain's people with the northern borders. The Spanish artist (including Fortuny) was encouraged in the nineteenth century to delineate himself from the North African "Other" by assuming the identity of the White European male. This hierarchical positioning was most straightforwardly expressed in Spanish representations of dominance over Black women.

If Spain was to re-identify itself with the White European masculine culture of nineteenth-century Western Europe, erotic representations of desire for the White female was one of its most powerful tools. Once the subject of colonial-

ism, Spain began taking the role of the colonizer, which directly impacted its representations of the Black woman. Western artists depicted a nude Black female as slave or harem woman, and although the male viewer was invited to view her sexually, he was still distanced racially. While French artists, such as Gerôme objectified the Black body to the degree of commodification, Spanish artists exclude this representation completely. In images where the Black female would historically be placed, Spanish artists instead substitute a White female subject.

A case study of one of Spain's earliest and well-known Orientalists, Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, helps to illustrate this idea of substituting a White female subject in the place of a Black subject. Fortuny was the first Spaniard to exhibit a reclining Orientalist nude and consequently significantly impacted subsequent Spanish Orientalists. He begin his work within this genre after being commissioned to paint four full-scale historical depictions of the 1860 invasion of North Africa. In 1860, Fortuny received the Diputacion's proposition that he travel alongside the army in Africa. At Prim's camp Fortuny advanced with the soldiers into the treacherous battlefield, where his own life was frequently endangered. He was an artist who worked on the sidelines to document the events surrounding him. During his two-month stay in Morocco, he produced oils, sketches, drawings, and watercolors of the people and places that he encountered. These studies were publicly exhibited and admired in Barcelona (Davillier, 28-32). After Fortuny returned to his studio in Rome, the Barcelona Diputacion, pleased with his studies in North Africa, awarded him another pension in 1861 to travel to Europe's most significant art locales. This provided him with the opportunity to develop his studies into finished works and fulfill his commission. He then traveled to Paris where he became exposed to the French Orientalist works of Jean-Domingues Ingres and Horace Vernet, inspiring Fortuny to produce his *Odalisca* (Figure 1) in 1861. He painted this work in his studio using an Italian model, manipulating the tapestries, artifacts, and clothing that he collected from his visit to North Africa in order to recreate a harem interior (36).

Fortuny's subject is of a reclining frontal nude, the Odalisca, and a eunuch, sitting cross-legged at her feet. This porcelain-skinned subject encompasses almost half of the pictorial space and is shown atop layers of plush oriental fabrics of red, turquoise, and gold. Fortuny takes advantage of his materials from his travels by incorporating them throughout the painting. The Odalisca is ornamented with large gold hoop earrings, a pearl necklace, an anklet, and gold bracelets on her arm and wrist. In her left hand she holds the end of a smoking opium pipe. Her eyes are affixed to the bearded eunuch at her feet, focused on the exotic wooden instrument that he is playing. He has been costumed with a white headdress, secured with a red band of fabric, and a sleeveless tunic painted brilliantly in gold and cadmium red. The eunuch's failure to meet the Odalisca's gaze negates the possibility of any sexual tension between the two. His dark presence poses a shadowed contrast to the gleaming white body of the Odalisca, which is clearly the focal point of the scene. The background includes two or-

nately carved wooden chests with an Islamic pattern of diamonds, triangles, and arcs. Atop one of the chests is a gold platter, another object of Fortuny's North African collection, documented in one of his own personal photographs. Because *Odalisca* was painted in Italy, utilized an Italian model, and incorporated objects found in Fortuny's personal collection, the scene was entirely reconstructed, and was not a reflection of what he actually witnessed.

The placement of the Odalisca, as well as the bedding beneath her, recalls Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (1538). Both figures are oriented with their heads on the left and their feet on the right. Both women rest atop a pile of white fluffy bedding and pillows with dark red fabric underneath. In both images, a green velvet curtain in the background breaks up the top left quarter of the frame. Both women are depicted as fully frontal nudes, clothed only in their jewelry. Their centrality in the frame makes the other figures in the two scenes secondary. While Fortuny's *Odalisca* looks away from the audience, Titian's *Venus* confronts it with direct eye contact, a gesture that might have impeded the *Odalisca*'s acceptance by a Spanish audience.

In February of 1862, the Barcelona Diputacion received from the artist seventeen drawings from nature, Fortuny's copy of Guido Cagnacci's *Rape of Lucretia*, as well as photographs of his history paintings in progress. In response, the Diputacion proposed that the artist visit Morocco once again to refresh his memory so that he could complete the desired history painting. His reply included the 1861 *Odalisca* along with this letter:

> Your Excellency:
> As a poor speciman of the works which I propose to paint of the war in Africa, I have the honor to offer you the accompanying picture of a domestic scene in a Moroccan dwelling. If my first work meets your Excellency's approval, I beg, in the first place, you will do me the favor of accepting it as one of the small sketches representing the episodes in this great context, and to place it in the Provincial Museum, as the first offering of a Catalan painter, I beg you afterwards to procure me funds for my journey to Africa, which will enable me to collect details, and materials, for the great picture I have already sketched out, and of which I had the pleasure of sending a photograph to the director of the Academy, M. Claudio Lorenzale, my very distinguished and worthy master (Davillier, 1885, pp. 37-38).

In response, the Diputacion wrote:

> The Town Council with great pride (for the fame of its protégé is reflected on his province) accepts the painting of the Odalisque presented to you to the Provincial Museum of State Painting, and received, in accordance with your expressed wish, as the first work offered by a Catalan painter. The Town Council is especially well pleased to testify to you how much it is gratified by the feeling you express in your letter February 14th, and your consenting again to refresh your memory for the painting of the Battle of Wad-Ras, of which it cannot too much admire the exactness and grand composition, shown in the photograph

> of the sketch you forwarded through M. Lorenzale. You can always feel sure of the support of this popular assembly, which you have made always your debtor by this remarkable union of color, drawing, and composition. The Town Council, whose interest in you makes it a paternal duty to advise your immediate departure to Africa, in order that you may gain the object for which you travel, before the evacuation of Tetuan by the Spanish troops. (Davillier, 1885, p. 39).

The correspondence between Fortuny and the Diputacion is central to the question of what Fortuny's submission of the *Odalisca* was meant to accomplish in regards to Spain's colonial identity. Its language offers one of the only insights into the baffling question of why the artist elected to include a female nude within this military commission and why the Diputacion welcomed a subject matter previously considered inappropriate to a public art space. Fortuny seems to minimize the controversial subject matter with humility; he refers to the *Odalisca* as a "poor specimen" and he calls this clearly finished painting a "small sketch." (37) What is particularly important is that Fortuny specifically requested that this painting be the first Catalan work to be exhibited at the Provincial Museum. The fact that he wanted this painting, rather than one of his history paintings or battle scenes, to be exhibited suggests another motive. By having the clearly erotic, secular nude publicly exhibited and sanctioned by the Barcelona government, he crossed boundaries that no other Spanish artist had. Fortuny was taking advantage of this significant governmental commission to achieve acceptance of other works which probably would not have been accepted, and certainly not exhibited, in a government building previously.

Not only was the work officially accepted to be hung for the exhibition, but the public and members of the Town Council responded positively to the work. Whether it was because they actually saw merit in Fortuny's work or were merely appeasing the artist so that he would complete his history painting is unclear. The Diputacion called this work a "remarkable union of color, drawing, and composition," and never mentioned its subject (38). Despite the fact that a reclining Odalisque with a eunuch at her feet was standard fare in European Orientalist painting, this was undoubtedly the first time that the members of the Barcelona Diputacion had seen it produced by a Spanish artist.

Four years after his submission, the Provincial Academy of the Barcelona Bellas Artes exhibited Fortuny's *Odalisca* to the public. Critics, such as Salvador Sanpere y Miguel, reported on his success: "the Odalisca found in the Museo de la Academia de Bellas Artes was enthusiastically received throughout Barcelona" (Sanpere Miguel, 1880, p. 36).

In his biography of the artist, Jose Yxart (1881), wrote elaborately on Fortuny's *Odalisca*:

> He sent this painting, then a work in progress, to the Diputacion to be by a Catalan artist to form the provincial museum. And truthfully, it was worthy of leading the choice gallery. More brilliant and stunning than in subsequent works, more unity and indefinable grace and gentleness in brushwork preside

> in that painting, and vigorous originality surges for the first time. It is united to the influence of the contemplation of great works. The Odalisca is a beautiful woman, of correct profile and dark complexion, who holds her delightful shape, reclining over a divan, indolent and in languid posture surrounded by sanctuary objects, that appear here for the first time. A eunuch watching over her is in the background. The figure stands out in the darkness, and the unusual brilliance of the accessories divert the attention toward the other point of the painting. It is concentrated upon her, in her charms, in the smooth and transparent complexion, of sharp and sympathetic intonation. This work was unanimously admired and received with warm praise when he submitted it, like a rich revelation of the exceptional qualities of the coloring by its author, and this, that in the last period of his youth, except without a doubt, the *Odalisca* known for its freshness and brilliant inspiration and executed with so much mastery and care (63).

Yxart's reflection upon this work is more specific in its description of both subject matter and technique, and even suggests that it is rooted in other models. Yxart's observation that the Odalisca is of dark complexion is striking. Clearly this woman with extremely pale skin and angular facial features is of European descent. Such a description gives us insight as to how this work was perceived by the public: that this was not a painting of an Italian model in the artist's studio in Rome, but was an actual representation of what one would encounter if he were to visit North Africa.

If Fortuny's *Odalisca* had included a Black rather than a White model, he would have implied a sexual attraction towards the Black woman. She would have been depicted as an object of desire rather than servant or entertainer. The painting would surely have been rejected and possibly even destroyed. Yet somehow, as Yxart demonstrates in his discussion of Fortuny's *Odalisca*, she was still viewed as a darker skinned woman. The artist successfully conveyed the idea of a North African woman without actually representing one.

Fortuny's alabaster-skinned North African Odalisca at once connected him with a more cosmopolitan European painting and distinguished his national school from any associations with racial impurity. Fortuny's adoption of a light-skinned Odalisca to serve the nationalist goal of distinguishing Spain from its North African neighbor, became the model to which subsequent Spanish painters returned. In response to Spain's unique situation as the Occidental Other, Fortuny refashioned the colonialist traditions of the "orientalized" subject in ways that deemphasized the country's racialized identity. Fortuny's *Odalisca* complemented the movement to preserve national customs, but at the same time incorporated Spain into the cosmopolitan Western world. His international and local reputation afforded him the freedom to achieve this.

Mariano Fortuny's *Odalisca* was not only the first nude outside of the canonical religious and mythological nudes to be publicly exhibited in Spain, but it also set the tone for future representations of the Oriental woman. This solely male construct, introduced in Spain through Fortuny's reclining nude, encour-

aged artistic invention with relative accuracy. It no longer became relevant if the artist had even traveled to Africa. His contemporaries, including Rafael Senet Perez (1856-1926), Antonio Fabres y Costa (1853-1938), José Jimenez Aranda (1837-1903), and Luis Ricardo Falero (1851-1896) perpetuated this mythology through misogynistic and racially charged imagery. All of these artists spent significant time within Fortuny's Italian studio and were deeply influenced by him.

Spain, as reflected in Orientalist imagery, adopted the identity of the White European male, the highest position on the colonial hierarchy. In this role, Spain defined itself in regards to dominance over women, as well as Blacks. The image of the "bleached" Orientalist nude, created by the nineteenth-century artists, served to illustrate Spain's vision of colonial hierarchy. Time and time again, the erotic Black woman is absent from Spanish painting. While in Western representations she is misrepresented as hyper-sexualized so that she can become this object to be *fucked*, in Spanish Orientalist imagery she lacks any sexuality or beauty. If she is nude, it only implies her backwardness. How can these two diverging forms be mediated? She is dominated because she is Eastern. She is dominated because she is black. She is dominated because she is a woman. It is not only an issue of racism, but also sexism and colonialism propagated by the white European male.

Spain, because of its own unique situation as the Occidental Other, reinterprets these 'isms' to re-identify itself. Spain wanted to maintain its own unique set of customs, yet at the same time wanted to be incorporated into the Western world. Geographically and culturally, Spain had been closely associated with North Africa, but sought to divorce itself from these connections because French and English colonization efforts had labeled those in the East as savage and in need of domination. By continuing with the newer, Western tradition of the erotic Black/ Middle Eastern female who was dominated through *fucking*, Spain would then reaffirm itself as a mixed culture rather than possess the beauty and dominance of the white man. Therefore, they created their own Orientalist representations by substituting the White woman in the traditional sexualized role of the Black woman. Through its own Orientalist images, Spain mirrors the colonial and cultural hierarchy set forth by the French and English. The White male artist is placed in the dominant position at the top and is physically distant from the Black woman. She has been pigeonholed into the bowels of the colonial hierarchy and is so far below that she does not exist.

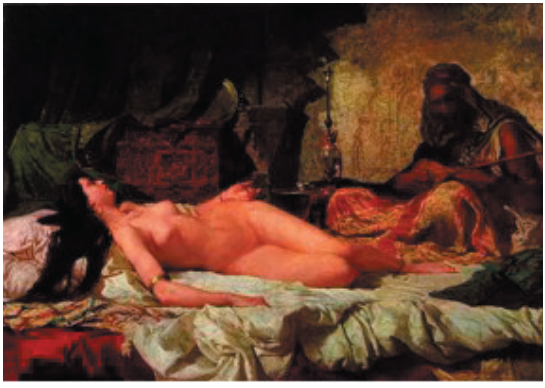

Figure 1. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, *La Odalisca*, 1861. Barcelona Museu d'Art Moderna

Figure 2: Francisco Ribalta. *St. James at the Battle of Clavijo*, 1603.
Church of St. James the Apostle, Algemesí

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Queering Passing: An Exploration of Passing among GLBQ Individuals

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I've found in looking back that for a lot of my life I've had to pretend that I was somebody I wasn't. I had to pass myself off. I've been able to cross between groups very easily, but never belong to them. (p. 204; Spence, 1995)

Introduction

Some members of socially marginalized groups include "passing" as one of their identity-enactment strategies, passing as an identity that they do not actively claim. Much of the theoretical and empirical literature points to shame as possible damage that can result from the practice of "passing." Missing from the discourse are the myriad ways passing may be used as an agentic tool by individuals who are marked as deviant in society, particularly in terms of sexuality. This project strives to widen the analytical lens through which passing is viewed to encompass alternative conceptions of its use as an identity-enactment strategy that may empower individuals and defy social markings of sexual identity. By exploring the spectrum of passing experiences, ranging from active to passive, among gay-, lesbian-, bisexual-, and queer-identified (GLBQ) individuals, the present research seeks to present passing as dependent on the intersection between interpersonal dynamics and specific social contexts. The present data were collected from four focus group conversations among GLBQ-identified individuals. These data were analyzed to illuminate the multiple interpretations of passing, revealing that complex relational dynamics coupled with social representations of GLBQ identities are often embedded within such practices.

Background

Among a spectrum of populations, passing is an identity enactment employed by marked individuals for the purpose of receiving particular benefits otherwise unavailable to them. The literature points to examples of both intentional and unintentional passing based on an array of identity markers, such as race, sexual identity, gender, physical ability, and academics (Barreto, Elmers

& Banal, 2006; Ginsberg, 1996; Land & Kitzinger, 2005; Miller, unpublished; Ong, 2005; Parks, Hughes, & Matthews, 2004; Phelan, 1993; Reid, 1993; Stewart & Dottolo, 2005; Torres, 2007). For example, more than 100 students anonymously reported passing in a number of contexts: sexual orientation (22%), a profession or study major that was considered to be devalued (12%), religious affiliations (16%), birth country or ethnic identity (14%), age (8%), and gender (6%) (Barreto et al., 2006).

The phenomenon of passing is an intriguing topic because of its inherent ability to challenge social boundaries around identity and group membership (Ginsberg, 1996; Phelan, 1993). By enabling individuals to assume supposedly essentialized and more "legitimate" identities not their own, passing undermines social categories, inciting cultural anxiety among protectors of social boundaries. Assuming the identity of a "privileged-other" necessarily confuses the visibility statuses of commonly stigmatized identity markers, blurring the lines between those who society chooses to see and those who are strategically ignored and devalued (Ginsberg, 1996; Ong, 2005; Phelan, 1993; Sherry, 2004; Torres, 2007). Indeed, passing illustrates the ways in which the borders of acceptability are constantly shifting and subject to manipulation (Torres, 2007).

Goffman's (1959) distinction between "front stage" and "back stage" performances speaks to the phenomenon of passing. Relying on metaphors of stage drama, Goffman asserts that context and audience play an influential role in shaping individual performances. Whereas "front stage" performances represent those that hinge on conventions held by the audience, "back stage" performances may depart from the former as they are considered less public and formal, granting a unique sense of freedom with respect to self-expression. Ultimately, the ways in which individuals preserve themselves differently across social situations, as described by Goffman, resonates with the concept of passing and informs the differential ways in which it may function across social contexts (Goffman, 1959).

Researchers have documented many reasons for passing, including its use as a way of avoiding discrimination and ensuring basic safety by concealing stigmatized identities (Barreto, et al., 2006; Ginsberg, 1996; Land & Kitzinger, 2005; Miller, unpublished; Ong, 2005; Parks, et al., 2004; Phelan, 1993; Reid, 1993; Stewart & Dottolo, 2005; Torres, 2007). Some researchers claim that passing involves deception because the act of self-presentation forces individuals to lie about who they are (Barreto, et al., 2006). Indeed, passing has been described as a form of self-presentation that effectively entails assuming a false identity in social interaction with others (Ong, 2005). Sometimes in circumventing perceived instances of prejudice, those who pass do so to gain benefits commonly afforded to dominant group members (Barreto et al., 2006; Ginsberg, 1996; Ong, 2005; Parks, et al., 2004). Barreto et al. (2006) explain that individuals often choose to pass specifically because it affords the chance to be more valued and accepted by others. Though these experiences of passing suggest conscious efforts to manipulate situations by enacting or silencing one's identity, passing is

also discussed as an unconscious act by which individuals stifle a piece of themselves. This mode of passing can manifest itself into crafting a personal reality that disowns personal histories, feelings, or physical attributes associated with stigma (Linton, 2006).

Passing evokes a mixture of consequences, such as emotional distress over feeling, or being accused of, assuming an inauthentic self (Hoyt, 1999; Miller, unpublished; Ong, 2005). Moreover, feelings of anxiety and self-doubt as well as a sense of disconnect from one's chosen community may surface as a result of passing, with the extreme being self-hatred (Linton, 2006). Passing can create tensions within marginalized groups, such as anger or resentment toward in-group members who do not present themselves in alignment with dominant group norms; electing not to pass can be seen as the inevitable perpetuation of negative group stereotypes (Hoyt, 1999).

This project posits an alternate interpretation of passing that conceptualizes identity as multidimensional, context-sensitive, and connected to particular social representations. By presupposing that most GLBQ people function with a multidimensional identity, passing can be understood as identity-shifting rather than the negation of any one dimension. The contextual dynamics that trigger passing may turn on specific social representations of GLBQ people, held by both the person who is passing as well as those who are implicated in that social interaction. In order to unearth neutral, and perhaps positive, notions of passing, it is useful to visit current theories around multiple identities and the role of social contexts in conjunction with social representations. These theoretical perspectives provide the backdrop for crafting novel interpretations of passing.

Multiple Identities, Context, & Social Representations

Researchers have traditionally assumed one-dimensional identities. Lived experiences, however, contest such models in that most people demonstrate multiple cultural and social identities (Meyer & Ouellette, 2007; Parks et al., 2004). This is especially true with respect to linear sexual identity models that have historically classified public disclosure ("outing") of sexual identity as indicative of psychological well-being (Parks et al., 2004). Only recently has research begun to promote the idea that sexual identity development is a fluid process linked to socio-historical contexts (Diamond, 2005; Parks, et al., 2004). The reality of these factors comes to life, as Parks et al., (2004) point out, when one considers the combined effects of racism and homophobia that seep into the lives of GLBQ people of color. Pockets of racism within gay, lesbian, and bisexual communities, in conjunction with homophobia trends within communities of color, compel gays of color to rank their various identities. Consequently, identities that are played down can lead to feelings of betrayal towards a group with which one affiliates. Moreover, these demands may lead others to interpret alliances with certain group identities as a sign of self-hatred (Meyer & Ouellette,

2007). Accordingly, it is imperative that passing be recognized as more complex than traditional models allow; it does not represent a stunted identity development, but a unique way of enacting one's identity.

Related to the role of multiple identities is the notion of environmental cues that frame the practice of passing. Moscovici's (1984) theory of social representations demonstrates that shared knowledge helps individuals give meaning to various phenomena and sculpts broader cultural beliefs and attitudes. In effect, social representations enable communication by providing a code for social exchange (and classification). As such, representations are co-constructed through daily talk and action between individuals. These are the materials with which individuals develop their identities, and consequently, identities are contingent on social interaction as well as shared representations in a particular historical context (Barreto, et al., 2006; Cohler & Hammack, 2006; Land & Kitzinger, 2005; Meyer & Ouellette, 2007; Parks, Hughes & Matthews, 2004). This has profound implications, considering that heteronormativity thrives in contemporary society and heterosexuality is frequently presupposed in social interactions (Land & Kitzinger, 2005; Sherry, 2004). Heterosexist social messages greatly influence the lives of all members of society, not only endorsing heterosexual privilege, but reinforcing the misperception that sexual identity is fixed (Miller, unpublished). A concentrated look at passing has the power to illuminate contemporary social representations around identity (Reid, 2007).

Additionally, in their interviews with black lesbians and gay men, Meyer and Ouellette (2007) show that personal struggles to integrate multiple identities did not necessarily point toward psychological identity problems. Rather, social restrictions around acceptable identities often triggered anxiety in self-expression. In another qualitative study, bisexual men and women explained that instances of passing emerged as the mistaken perception by the audience, rather than an intentional effort to be seen as heterosexual (Miller, unpublished). Because identity construction is a process shared through immediate interaction, as well as in response to larger cultural forces, an investigation of passing must leave room for the role of social factors (Meyer & Ouellette, 2007; Raggatt, 2007).

Call for Present Research

This project seeks to widen the lens through which passing is viewed by examining the lived experiences of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and queer individuals who have passed as straight (and/or other identities). This endeavor intends to fill the gap in the literature by incorporating the social representations and heteronormative structures that frame passing. The shift in focus strives to account for individual experiences, while simultaneously attending to the role of audience and the perceived social representations that frame the passing event. I present a new model of passing that connects multiple identities, context, and social

representations. The research aims of this endeavor are to identify how people with (concealable) identities negotiate their multiple selves when others impose ascribed labels/identities, as well as interrogate the ways personal perceptions of social context trigger instances of passing and shed light on the shared social representations that link the passer and perceiver. Most notably, this project challenges traditional understandings of passing that target GLBQ individuals as victims of self-directed negativity; rather, it paves the way for alternative explanations that veer toward broader social groups and representations, ideally serving to ease the burden imposed on GLBQ individuals.

Method

Fourteen self-identified GLBQ adults participated in four focus groups of 3-4 people each. Participants were recruited through listserv announcements and snowball sampling. Two of the focus groups were female-only and two groups were mixed-gender. All participants were white, with the exception of one person of color, and ages ranged from 24 to 55.

After obtaining informed consent, the focus group facilitator began with a brief statement describing the definition of passing (including both intentional and unintentional passing) and the purpose of the project. Probe questions entered the dialogue as needed to foster communication around experiences of identity-shifting, especially in situations in which participants felt that others have imposed an ascribed identity label on them. Focus groups lasted between one to two hours in length and were audio-taped to ensure accuracy.

Results / Data Analysis

The focus group discussions were transcribed and subjected to several stages of analysis. Modeled after the work of Braun and Clarke (2006), the first stage involved closely reviewing transcripts for themes drawn from the literature as well as novel concepts that arose from the focus group discussions themselves. In the second stage of analysis, the researcher examined the data through a discursive analytic lens. Discursive analysis acknowledges the ways in which the immediate context of the focus group informs the comments that emerge and study this talk as action that is activated through conversation (Verkuyten and de Wolf, 2002). This level of analysis sought to elucidate the shared social representations around identity that may shape social contexts in which passing occurs. The transcripts were examined for instances in which the interaction within the focus group generated and relied on shared language and concepts (Verkuyten and de Wolf, 2002). For instance, if one participant introduced a key term or scenario that was later referenced and/or developed by a second participant, the researcher would extract this piece of the dialogue as an entry point into the shared social repre-

sentations that may be used by the group and/or external parties in passing situations. Accordingly, this process involved reading each transcript as an individual unit and identifying shared ideas that emerged within particular conversations. These shared concepts were then analyzed to see if they travelled across focus group discussions.

Negative Emotions

In line with much of the current theoretical and empirical literature around passing, participants referenced myriad negative emotions associated with passing. These emotions included feelings of annoyance, frustration, anger, alienation, and fear. For instance, Erin shared her experiences of actively passing as heterosexual at the workplace. She repeatedly referenced the ways in which concealing her identity as a lesbian left her feeling disconnected and isolated among her professional peers and supervisors. Indeed, she went so far as to label it an "intentional holding back of who [one] is" and "[she] think[s] overall, it's not a particularly healthy experience."

Oftentimes, negative feelings stemmed from being faced with others' heteronormative assumptions, obliging participants to explicitly assert their visibility as GLBQ or potentially compromise their own comfort level in favor of smooth social encounters. One participant, Amy, plainly said, "It just becomes really annoying and at times, it's like, do I pick that battle or not?" Participants explained that, in those deciding moments, the question of whether or not to assert a GLBQ identity rested on whether or not it felt like a worthwhile, valuable choice that would actually trigger insight from the audience member(s) involved.

Frustration regularly emerged around participants' feelings of invisibility when assumed to be heterosexual in a social context. This was especially pronounced in relation to bisexual identities, as participants noted the ways that bisexual individuals have struggled to secure a safe space within GLBQ circles. Thus, bisexual participants described their decisions to minimize their bisexual status within GLBQ communities so as to prevent social tension. Themes of resentment surfaced as participants described feeling exhausted at having to shoulder the responsibility of educating others by challenging their heteronormative assumptions.

Several participants shared feelings of anger around passing when it was dependent on significant others; in particular, when dating partners chose to pass, participants felt forced to stifle their sexual identity as well. These feelings were especially complicated in situations where other aspects of individual's identities were subject to invisibility. For instance, Catherine explained that, in her experience, "another way to pass is that my girlfriend's 20 years older than me, and I often assume people will think it's weird or something...", thus provoking her to play down certain details of her relationship. As well, Amy described her difficulty in feeling the need to enact her racial identity and suppress her sexual

identity, or vice versa, depending on particular social contexts:

> (In college) I remember initially feeling like you know, there were times where I almost had to downplay...the racial difference in order to...not come across or not quote-unquote look so different... (There were) a lot of other parts of my experience that I definitely felt had to be a little bit invisible at least for me to learn what this community was about and to kind of fit in.

Extending beyond sexual identity alone, participant narratives illuminated the emotional struggles around the various dimensions of their identities that were subject to passing decisions.

Positive Emotions

Participants also paralleled themes in recent literature with respect to issues of safety and privilege in being able to pass as heterosexual. Whether pointed out by social others or driven by their own level of awareness, participants recognized the comfort of relying on heterosexual assumptions. At times, these beliefs prompted passing as a means of preserving personal safety in the face of (anticipated) discrimination. David shared his experiences travelling abroad, in which he managed to shift back and forth between disclosing his gay identity to professionally advance:

> I was able to live up to the authenticity of my life but also to ride the wave of passing...for the comfort of it, and to really leverage the heterosexual...assumed identity as a fulcrum for greater professional advancement. I could really...use that straight identity to get further in my career in Japan and it worked...So, I mean, there are advantages to it, where I feel like you can almost throw it back in society's face, if you want to.

Participants lent insight into alternative feelings that reflected the ways in which they perceived passing as far from negative; rather, it was an alternative strategy for preserving one's autonomy or sense of identity.

One alternative conception of passing was a deliberate use of passing. Participants shared experiences in which they found it fun to confuse heterosexual others, rendering social encounters as entertaining rather than potentially awkward. When audience members are oblivious to participants' sexual identity and make comments based on an assumption of heterosexuality, participants have manipulated social situations to accommodate their own interests in playing with identity. Continuing to let heteronormative assumptions abound, participants found passing scenarios to be purely entertaining, as a means of testing other individuals to see beyond heterosexist norms.

Participants also spoke of passing as a source of power. Feelings of empow-

erment were situated in participants' ability to keep a secret from unsuspecting others. At times, this lack of disclosure was simply defined as an issue of others needing to mind their own business. Individuals who did not explicitly correct or come out as GLBQ when faced with heterosexual assumptions often felt that their romantic status was private, regardless of their sexual identity. In addition, several participants referenced passing as a tool in maintaining autonomy over their sexual identity. Jack, for instance, explicitly identified the ways in which passing could be used as a strategic tool in his role as a public school teacher; he claimed that it prevented others from accusing him of pushing a gay-oriented agenda in the classroom.

Social Context

Despite the aforementioned instances of intentional passing, participants explained that a majority of their experiences are spontaneous, rather than planned. Oftentimes, contextual factors ranging from broader geographical regions to particular social audiences in everyday interactions determined whether or not passing was engaged. As Erin described, her decision to pass at work was not necessarily conscious; rather, it was often determined on a person-by-person basis. This pattern of behavior highlights individuals' awareness of the larger social context in enacting personal identity across various spaces. In particular, spontaneously electing to pass reflects participants' awareness of expectations in the social atmosphere around the meaning of GLBQ identity.

Numerous references to the role of social others surfaced in regard to passing circumstances. Family members, in particular, often surfaced as a source of strain in that participants reported the need to pass as heterosexual to assuage familial anxiety around a GLBQ identity. As Sara explains, "I've actually had a couple of family members that I'm close to tell me that I shouldn't reveal my information to some of those (homophobic) family members just for my own personal safety." A more extreme example of family influence on passing practices came up when Lily describes her mother's stance on her sexual identity: "[My mom thinks] the possibility for me to pass as straight in life should be my goal, because like, that's normal and that's preferable and...she's having a really hard time understanding that like, being true to oneself is the goal." Several participants alluded to constraints imposed by family members, explicitly or implicitly, prompting them to pass as heterosexual rather than cause discomfort or feel obliged to educate family members who would likely not understand their GLBQ identity.

The workplace is another arena where the social context plays a pronounced role in individuals' decisions to pass. Participants described their professional settings as potential sites of exclusion in that they anticipated feeling ostracized if they disclosed their sexual identity. An older participant, Jack, who had been teaching in public schools for several decades, revealed that "when [he] started teaching, people were telling [him] to stay in. Those were all people who were

gay...and they were ones who, at least they were passing...and they felt that without passing, they would not get [administrative jobs]." Whether advised by professional peers to pass or electing to pass based on anticipated negativity from coworkers, participants frequently cited work as a social context that played a significant role in passing decisions.

GLBQ Exclusion – "Passing" as Gay

An overwhelming theme throughout the focus group discussions centered on participants' feelings of exclusion from the GLBQ community. In all four focus group conversations there lurked a perpetual theme of disconnection from spaces created by, and dominated by, other GLBQ-identified individuals. Whether or not individuals chose to pass, participants explained that even being perceived as having the ability to pass as heterosexual often hindered their ability to connect with other members of the GLBQ community, leaving them feeling isolated and alienated. Participants repeatedly referenced negativity from GLBQ others as stemming from rigid expectations around gender presentation. This tense engagement with the GLBQ community often centered on questions of authenticity. Participants reported that GLBQ others often questioned the authenticity of their gay identity when they had the ability to pass.

These experiences of rejection surfaced in focus group conversations, particularly in reference to specific GLBQ social spaces, such as bars and community centers. Lily explained:

> I'm very conscious of feeling like I look like the straightest person there and because of that, I'm getting like the least attention, like I'm shunned for passing... There's people who...blatantly ignored me [at certain parties] and it was like, definitely based on how I looked.

Participants often highlighted the social representations of sexual identity, specifically in terms of GLBQ identity. Mutually understood expectations around gender presentation and sexual roles that thrive within the broader community surfaced as participants grappled with their ability to pass, whether they engaged in passing behaviors or not. Catherine described her experiences attending college in Boston, where she felt everyone in the community had a shaved head and fit within specific parameters of a "gay" appearance; this left her perpetually feeling that she was not lesbian enough. Many participants discussed ideas around specific manifestations of authentic gay identities as manifested in clothing and haircuts. Failure to meet these rigid criteria frequently left participants feeling that their level of commitment to the community and a GLBQ identity was questioned by GLBQ others. As such, ways of relating and connecting to others in the community suffered based on the choices made in individual gender expression.

Social Representations

Participants contend with various representations within both heterosexual and homosexual communities. In addition to representations of bisexuality, another recurring representation associated with GLBQ identities revolved around hypersexual portrayals of GLBQ relationships. Catherine described the challenges she faced when coming out as a single lesbian: "It's harder I think, at that time when I was single and, cause then it seems like it's just about sex, you know, then you're like this predator and so, I think that also makes you sort of less scary, and more approachable if...I'm in that steady relationship." Participants referred to their relationship status as a motivating factor in disclosing their sexual identity or passing as straight. Oftentimes, being in a relationship compelled individuals to feel that heterosexual others would view their identities as linked to something more meaningful than sex alone.

The boundaries between heterosexual and GLBQ representations may be informed by aspects of popular culture, according to some participants. Encouraged by fellow focus group members, Jack pointed out that "straight folks are trained...by things like Kathy Griffin the comedienne's thing about the gays, and I have my gay...it's become very – I don't even want to say chic, but it's become almost de rigueur and...like the whole concept of metrosexual and the queer eye for the straight guy and...it's blurring boundaries but in a really twisted way." Thus, the conversations suggest that notions of GLBQ identities circulate within and across group boundaries, perhaps creating and re-creating social representations around sexual identity. These findings speak to the multiplicity of identities within particular categories. In other words, within categories of GLBQ identity, a plethora of identities exist, but are often challenged by existing representations perpetuated by members of the various communities. Thus, an intersectionality of identities is operating within individuals, but additionally, there is intersectionality functioning within larger groups as well.

Discussion

Although it was anticipated that contending with others' ascription of identities would stem from interactions with heterosexual audiences, participants primarily emphasized the salience of passing tensions arising within their own claimed communities. A critical distinction, then, between the existing literature and the present work lies in the demand to view passing as an interpersonal and social phenomenon, rather than an isolated process that occurs on an individual level. As such, participants' constructions of passing require that the scenes in which it transpires remain peopled with the social others that influence, and are influenced by, its occurrence.

The implications of these findings speak to issues of group cohesion in

terms of social identity. Notions of what signifies an authentic identity as a GLBQ person demonstrate the ways in which social representations of sexuality may be recognized and clarified through small discussions. In support of the ideas put forth by Moscovici (1984), social representations seemingly evolve and infuse social interactions through everyday conversations. More importantly, these representations have significant meaning in the lives of GLBQ individuals who grapple with others' (both heterosexual and not) contentions of appropriate sexual identity. Whereas passing incites tension within both heterosexual and GLBQ communities, the tension arises from notions of gender identity more so than sexual orientation. Lesbianism is acceptable for heterosexual others as long as a seemingly appropriate feminine gender expression is portrayed. Ironically, the same acceptance is granted by members of the GLBQ community as long as an appropriate feminine gender expression is *not* portrayed. In either situation, participants conveyed the tendency for others to seek two-dimensional identities that are easily labeled. Having the ability to label someone as gay is "digestible" whereas the ambiguity of passing or refusing to accept prescribed labels incites anxiety among social others. Furthermore, it is assumed and expected that these identity categories are fixed such that, once claimed, they are immutable over time. In contrast, GLBQ others marginalize GLBQ individuals who do not fulfill the codes of acceptable gender presentation demarcated by social representations established and reinforced within the GLBQ community.

Allen Omoto and Mark Snyder (2002) discuss the importance of a psychological sense of community and its implications for volunteerism and personal well-being. Moving beyond traditional notions of community, as bound by geography and physical location, the authors posit that a psychological sense of community is defined by several components, including: feelings of membership and inclusion within a group, mutual influence in establishing group norms, need fulfillment in that individuals feel validated and protected from shame by fellow community members, and enabling emotional connections based on common experiences. This model of community offers a useful lens through which to interpret the feelings that participants shared when entering GLBQ spaces. Although participants often sought to fulfill the aforementioned aspects of community through connecting with GLBQ others, their disappointment and feelings of marginalization seemingly stemmed from the inability to meet these features of a psychological sense of community.

Susan Opotow's (1995) work on moral exclusion also lends itself to themes within participant conversations, in her demonstration of the ways in which social others are excluded based on certain moral criteria. In this instance, whereas participants see themselves as insiders within the GLBQ community, GLBQ-identified others often dismiss them as outsiders, based on their ability to pass as heterosexual. Perhaps the denial of membership within GLBQ spaces, in this context, serves as a defensive strategy among GLBQ individuals to protect spaces that feel sacred and constantly under threat from heteronormative forces. Framing

the current strains in terms of morality is especially pertinent when examining the language that participants used to describe their experiences. As Maria explained, if individuals chose to pass, they may feel that they are disappointing the entire GLBQ community: "I would feel guilty because I'm not being a good representative, you know...I think on a constant basis, just feeling guilty that I'm not being a good gay." Similarly, other participants questioned what it means to "look queer," followed by questions of whether that representation is good or bad. Consequently, themes of authentic GLBQ identities correspond to profound questions around what is valued in terms of sexual identity.

The work of Erica Apfelbaum (1979) seems particularly useful in understanding themes of exclusion within the GLBQ community. She distinguishes between inter-group and intra-group relations, each entity a site for harboring group norms. Specifically, alongside inter-group divisions of power, Apfelbaum argues that intra-group norms are established as points of reference for articulating unified identities within the group. As such, the codes of gender presentation that participants repeatedly draw on signify shared notions of appropriate presentation embraced by GLBQ-identified individuals. Many participants who strayed from the scripted appearance standards, through modes of dress or hairstyle, suggested that these markings rendered them a marginalized group within GLBQ social circles. A critical dimension of Apfelbaum's argument is that these intra-group dynamics serve to maintain power differences between dominant and subordinate groups.

Based on the voices of these fourteen participants, the present findings suggest the power struggles that exist both within, and between, groups but also highlight the ways in which passing becomes entangled within those struggles. Altogether, this work offers a novel perspective on the phenomenon of passing and, furthermore, highlights its role as a key factor in shaping intra-group and inter-group relations based on sexual identity and gender expression. These findings have the potential to inform future research on sexual identity and social representations.

Appendix 1

Oral Script / Introduction

"This focus group is the first step of a research project in which I'm exploring the phenomenon of passing, especially in terms of one's sexual identity. I'm going to explore this topic focusing in on only one particular dimension of who you each are as a way of entering into this discussion, but it's probable that the ideas around passing will touch on many different aspects of your identity. I currently think that there is a spectrum of passing, which can range from "serendipitous" passing, in which someone may mistakenly

assume you are straight and you let them continue to think that, or it could be deliberate or intentional passing in which you enter a situation and make the choice in the moment or even beforehand to pass as straight. I'm hoping to use this focus group as a way of finding out more about your experiences around all types of passing, including these types and anything in between. Do you have any questions or concerns before we begin?"

Probe Questions

Keeping the identity maps in mind if it's helpful, and thinking of your casual, intimate, work and family interactions, can you recall a time in which you sensed that someone assumed you were straight, based on their verbal or behavioral cues, and you let them continue believing that assumption (by not asserting your queer identity)?

Are there other situations in which you have chosen to hide this identity? (e.g. without someone explicitly asking you?) Are there other identities or aspects of your self that you have chosen to conceal in particular situations? (Details of those identities and situations?)

Can you describe the context in which this took place? (With whom? What was the physical environment? Were there any other people that you know who were present?)

What are some of the emotions and/or thoughts you had in the moment?

What are some of the emotions and/or thoughts you had after the encounter?

Did this experience affect your ongoing relationship with this person or people? If so, how?

How has this identity revealing or concealing possibly affected your relationships? Your feelings about yourself?

Are there any long-term effects? Is this something you would engage in today?

Closing Comments

"Thank you very much for your participation in this group and for sharing your thoughts and experiences with me. I've chosen to withhold my opinions and experiences around passing to allow you to share your thoughts, but now that we're done, I'd like to give you a little bit of my perspective on the topic. I have struggled to embrace the term passing in this project, because I think it often carries a negative connotation, so my interest in pursuing this topic and talking with you is part of an effort to "queer" the term, or distort and play with it to see how it may actually refer to a variety of situations and experiences that go well beyond negative effects and motivations. Thank you for your help in this project. Does anyone have any final thoughts, responses, or questions?"

Appendix 1 outlines the introductory statement and discussion questions. All participants' names have been changed to ensure confidentiality. Lesbianism, as it is used here, is not meant in an essentializing way. It is intended to encompass a broad community, which includes a diverse array of characteristics, opinions, and personal expressions.

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The Politics of Space: Sexual Subjectivity and the College Dorm

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A common feature of the American collegiate experience, and to a lesser extent the higher education in the industrialized West and global Northern countries, is the exalted dormitory experience. The history of the dormitory tradition rests in the original private boarding schools and educational institutions imported from the British and continental educational norms and has been reconfigured into a privileged dimension of the University experience in the United States. Years spent living in a college dorm are often characterized as the influential formative years of sexual and gender norms, habits, and customs. It is this characterization of dorm life that I want to take as my point of departure in order to discuss a "politics of space" that sets the terms of debate about sexual identity formation as well as regulating the contours upon which that debate can unfold for college students. If we understand sexual identity formation to be created, recast and modified within the context of college dorms, then prudence demands that we inquire whether spatial signification of dormitory spaces either encourages or censures certain forms of sexual practice and values certain modes of sexual self-identification. I argue here that biopolitical imperatives sustained by university dorm policies conceal the heterosexist dimensions of dormitory space and the performative norms which it buttresses and that special attention must be paid to determine whether these dorm arrangements exclude particular practices and identities by specifying relations of power that constitute the dormitory's space as a complicit element in the marginalization of these very identities.

When discussing the "politics" of space, I admit to a few guiding presuppositions while hinting at one of the overarching themes of my theoretical methodology. By a "politics" of space, I suggest that the college dormitory space, its organizational structure, and its housing policies represent a site of contestation and negotiation between competing interests and power dynamics. College dormitories are not all alike, and the way that a university manages its residential organization differs across contexts. Thus, attending to the unique particularity of any spatial arrangement represents an important imperative, even while it prevents me from producing sweeping universal theoretical insights about *what* kinds of sexual subjectivities are consequently manufactured. My method, then, is to begin with my dorm as the context of analysis—the dorm bedroom and the sex-segregated bathroom—and methodically de-particularize my dorm by teasing

out theoretical insights into *how* space broadly affects sexual-identity development by constituting the functioning of power on multiple levels.

The theme is politics insofar that this analysis also seeks to situate this understanding of how space functions within the broader question of *who* gets to signify and organize space. Making clear that the theme of this kind of politics is space, rather than individuals *per se*, expands the scope of what is conventionally understood to be negotiated in politics—that is, the rights and interests of individuals. I want to make clear that I understand politics to be coextensive with life itself and that any analysis of society must invariably be an analysis of a form of politics, which (importantly) already has modes of resistance built into its operation. Thus, establishing space as the theme of this socio-political analysis sets the stage for drawing connections between spaces, the actors who negotiate their organization and signification, and the recursive relationship between the subject and that space which helps allocate a context for sexual intelligibility.

The Sex-Segregated Dorm: Regimes of Discipline

Sexual identification represents a political terrain whose competing ideologies are epistemologies of the body. Fausto-Sterling's (2000) case studies of sex-change operations of newborn children shows the politics of biology at play while sociologists and queer theorists reveal to us the instability embedded in essentializing dichotomies of sexed bodies by way of personal narrative and empirical research (Martin, 1988 and Lucal, 1999). This conversation reveals that, while not universally discredited, the essentialist stance on sexual difference and epistemology remains highly contestable and rife with internal theoretical difficulties. I maintain that such a position is also unviable for a critical feminist project intent on shifting the terms of debate over the methods of emancipatory politics. Even the use of "strategic" essentialism remains too readily co-opted by repressive social movements that would exploit the provisionality of strategic essentialism by codifying it. This idea provides one point of departure. What, then, are the specific mechanisms by which we constitute a sexual subjectivity besides (or in addition to) essentialist politics, and are there other politics at work besides epistemology? And more specifically, how would a dormitory policy —like gender-segregated residential assignments—influence the formation of sexual practices, and how do these practices constitute a sexual "self" who is then excluded and/or devalued? In order to answer this question, I move forward here by offering a partial theoretical architecture for subject formation that will be explicitly Foucaultian; I construct this framework by way of theoretical and personal digression before moving on to interpolate between this framework and the bodily practices and habits of my dormitory to illuminate the specific mechanisms which permit a sexual subjectivity to emerge within a regime of intelligibility. The aim is to use this framework to show how the material and social organization of dormitories simultaneously buttress and conceal mainstream

heterosexist performativity norms, thus revealing the college dormitory to be a site for the formation of heterosexual subjects.

Foucault's now well-rehearsed story of a subject's social emergence is one that superimposes and overlaps a number of genealogical lines without injudiciously compressing them together. He argues that regimes of discipline and confession, of biopolitics, and of governmentality construct a discursive terrain upon which social norms govern what modes of being count as legitimate and which are considered deviant (Foucault, 1977, 1979, 1988). These constraints, what Judith Butler calls "regulatory grids of intelligibility," govern the functioning of the social mainstream, understood as a homogenizing terrain, as well as ensuring that regulative mechanisms silence and marginalize deviance from this mainstream terrain (Butler, 1999, p. 178). A subject emerges in the Foucaultian story through a complex array of having oneself disciplined even whilst one resists or transforms that disciplinary regime. Some theorists, like Butler, have built on this framework by arguing that such a theoretical architecture centralizes the importance of having identities *justified* before others (2005). Others reveal the importance *of protest* against a universalizing hegemonic discourse for identity formation within the Foucaultian framework (Brown, 1995), and still others reveal the constitutive refraction of juridical case limits, through the effort of leading a "liveable" life, as necessary for an intelligible subject to emerge (Agamben, 1998, and Butler, 1999). This Foucaultian framework that posits a particular story of subject formation is not abstract speculation; Ernesto Laclau, for example, has compelling shown the relationship between the dispersed heterogeneity of relations of power and its relationship to multicultural protest in contemporary nations (Laclau, 1995) and anthropologist Christine Helliwell has revealed the importance of governing regimes of intelligibility in dictating the "content" of categories of gender (Helliwell, 2000). While I foreground the depth of the Foucaultian subject-formation architecture, for the purposes of this analysis I will forego a detailed explication of this framework; I defer to the secondary literature that applies his framework to supplement this account (Brown, 1995 and Connolly, 2002).

In short, understanding how performative norms are sustained by sex-segregated college dorms requires us to understand that subjects are largely particularized by individual self-regulation, where an unverifiable spectator replaces the "sovereign" of antiquated models of power. The ability of an individual to be both a "watcher" and a "watched" establishes a delocalized model for the functioning of power and a highly intersubjective model for self-formation. Given that Foucault takes the panopticon as his model for disciplinary power, drawing parallels between this structure and a college dorm does not prove difficult.

The individual room represents one of these sites of discipline. In my dormitory, for example, a common scene could be described as follows: two or three guys are playing competitive video games in one of their rooms. They have been playing for a significant amount of time; thus, the atmosphere is charged and

competitive, and the tenor of their conversations aggressive. The scene, overall, depicts a kind of hyper-masculinity, encouraging highly competitive, aggressive, and forward behavior. Then, a female partner of the room resident knocks and enters. The status of the room dramatically shifts from a public space to a private space, and the room resident asks his male friends to leave. There is little contention in this request, and the friends obey promptly. In fact, there is an implicit masculine rapport evoked, in the name of heterosexual conquest. The resident of the room becomes a master, getting to decide who can enter and leave his space at any given time. He controls the border, he controls the traffic, and in order to successfully accomplish all of this, he enforces the norms of space while reinscribing a gendered discourse that relates the student's body to his space. Thus, the space itself must be gendered and sexualized, or at least signify and reinforce certain regimes of self-intelligibility.

When Foucault speaks of social norms that guide much of disciplinary power's operation, he describes them as free-floating norms functioning within the background noise of conscious thought. Social norms are internalized, and within individual interiority, they are negotiated, reinforced, or attenuated via social interaction. Thus, the birth of a particularized self emerges in this act of negotiation with social norms, where these norms are adhered to (or resisted) because of the unverifiable gaze of the spectator. However, the dorm room resident does not become master of his space by simply negotiating the norms provided to him. He becomes master by instantiating these norms in the very space he occupies—as part of forming the narrative of what kind of person he *is*. His room, originally scaffolded with the norms of public space and the norms of hyper-masculine bonding, reconfigures itself with the norms of private space and a heterosexual imperative. His heterosexual subjectivity emerges as socially salient at the precise moment of the private/public reconfigurement. That is, by obeying or disciplining himself to the shifting norms of space that are invoked in the described scene, the room resident rearticulates and reproduces a particular narrative about his own sexual subjectivity-as-heterosexuality, and the articulation of this narrative is by way of regulating his space in a particular manner.

The room resident, then, does not construct his sexual subjectivity merely by being disciplined into heterosexuality as a social norm. He *becomes* heterosexual partly by negotiating the norms of heterosexuality within his own space through organizing and actively constructing dynamics of power by ejecting his friends and inviting his partner into a private space. Iris Marion Young offers a similar argument about occupied space in *Throwing Like a Girl* (Young, 2004). Taking a phenomenology of space from Merleau-Ponty and applying it to feminine comportment, Young concludes that "women have a tendency to take up the motion of an object coming *towards* them as coming *at* them...That is, feminine bodily existence is self-referred in that the woman takes herself to be the object of the motion rather than its originator." Ultimately, "feminine bodily existence is self-referred to the extent that the feminine subject posits her motion as the motion

that is *looked at*" (Young, 2004, p. 150). In other words, the woman becomes the principle of her own subjection—she is disciplining her own body through an act of self-monitoring. The space that the feminine body occupies becomes thick and oppressive, for it is not *her* space, but *someone's* space, and she is coerced *by no one in particular* to restrict her spatial and lateral movements. In this account, too, the woman comes to know herself as a woman by way of negotiating the disciplinary regime governing her space. With Young and Foucault, we might re-imagine the dormitory space as imbued with relations of power that allow or sustain coercive norms. This is disciplinary power par excellence. The dorm room resident, his friends who leave, his partner who enters—their actions are governed by dominant regimes of sexual intelligibility, and by obeying the relevant norms, by being disciplined by the very space they constitute and signify, their sexual subjectivities emerge as intelligible.

The Sex-Segregated Dorm: Sites of Performance

We now have an account that shows that a dormitory space is not simply a space that subjects inhabit and that plays no role in self-formation but instead is one that complicitly perpetuates norms of sexual interaction that condition the emergence of sexual subjectivities. Moving past mere disciplinary regimes in Foucault's work, Butler teaches us that the relationship between space and bodies manifests itself through bodily performance that both constitutes and is shaped by the norms of the dormitory room. I argue, here, that these performances are regulated by the politics of space. Before nuancing the analysis of the individual dorm room explicated above, I want to turn to the dormitory sex-segregated restrooms as a site of performance that constitutes and reifies categories of sex and sexuality.

As with perhaps almost all American universities, restrooms are sex-segregated. For each hall, there is a men's restroom, and a women's restroom, and strict adherence to this segregation unifies and produces a hegemonic understanding of corporal bathrooms practices. That is, the radical delineation of bathrooms into two, and only two, kinds posits a false unity of how "men" and "women" perform basic bodily functions. For example, the men's restroom in my hall comes with three stalls. Two are marked with a "1" and one is marked with a "2," in order to specify which stall to use depending on whether men want to urinate standing up or expel fecund sitting down. There is no "1" or "2" for women's restrooms, and there does not need to be—women are to use the restroom while sitting down, regardless of needs. Although practical and "rational" reasons are promulgated to justify this arrangement, a foreigner—for example one from an Islamic community where both men and women sit down in restroom stalls, especially in a mosque—might question the presumptive naturalness of it all. Surely, both men and women can sit down on a toilet seat and perform their

bodily functions without difficulty. However, the sheer mass acceptance of sex-differentiated bathroom habits can be attributed to the norms of space, just as the dormitory room is governed by norms of space. Thus, disciplinary power is in operation in the bathroom space as well as the dormitory room, and this functioning of power helps constitute the sexual subjectivity of individuals. Men stand up urinating in the dorm restroom, regardless of the presence of others. He is, again, the principle of his own subjection. The functioning of disciplinary power here is readily apparent.

However, in his own self-monitoring, he conducts either an accommodating or resisting performance that constitutes his own self-identity as a man-who-stands-while-urinating. Butler describes this constitutive performativity thusly:

> In other words, acts, gestures, and desire produce the effect of an internal core or substance, but produce this *on the surface* of the body, through the play of signifying absences that suggest, but never reveal, the organizing principle of identity as a cause. Such acts, gestures, enactments, generally construed, are *performative* in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are *fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means. That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality...(Butler, 1999, p. 185).

Questioning the same biological essence that Lorber and Fausto-Sterling also critique, Butler disputes the traditional Cartesian dualism of mind/body, where the body is sheer materiality, and where the transcendental consciousness of Beauvoir and Sartre, which is radically *immaterial*, maps onto this material body and gives it its social meaning. Butler sees this dualism as perpetuating an epistemological flaw that prevents us from questioning the naturalness of sex. Performativity is dynamic, and by the very performance of the body, it inscribes onto itself its own intelligibility. With the "essential and repressive gesture" of history, a student performs a historically rooted ritual each time she or he goes to the restroom (Butler, 1999, p. 179). The man goes to the men's restroom; the woman goes to her respective restroom. The man stands while urinating, the woman sits. To each their performance, to each the signification of their very bodies as gendered and sexualized, and to each the reinscription of a particular historical narrative of what actions belong to men and women. Merely by going into different restrooms, students on my floor perform and simultaneously constitute their subjectivities as men and women.

But is this all? Do their performances constitute their subjectivities as simply men and women? Closer scrutiny reveals that these performances also constitute these individuals as *heterosexual* men and women, conscientiously or not. Bathrooms on my floor are segregated by sex for a number of reasons. One of these crucial reasons is "safety." The sexes must have separated bathrooms because if they were to share private spaces, there could be gender violence. Because

the existence of segregated bathrooms already presumes a hegemonic unity in the identities of men and women and their bathroom practices, the justification for keeping sex-segregated bathrooms can assume that the tension arising from these radically different sex identities has a violent quality, and that separation is prudent in order to suppress this violent tendency. *But this only holds true because everyone is assumed to be heterosexual*. The false unity assumed for the two sexes, which the binary bathroom arrangement reveals, already assumes that violence is done *from one sex to another*. The violent quality of bathroom tensions belongs to heterosexual violence; violence against homosexuals, or homosexual aggression itself, is utterly homosexual absence.

Students "performing" their identities as men and women in the bathroom space are submitting to heterosexist norms. Their performances are complicit in an invisible heterosexist history that gives birth to sex-segregated bathrooms, and thus, their performance at once sustains these heterosexist norms of space while constituting themselves, however invisibly or weakly, as heterosexuals.

These heterosexist performances in restrooms attain violent qualities in both physical as well as symbolic terms (Bourdieu, 1999). The role of history is vital to understanding this symbolic violence within the bathroom. Employing the ideas of regulatory discourses articulated by Foucault, Butler emphasizes how performances of identity cannot take any form. Rather, the scope and nature of the performance is constrained within the dominant regulatory regimes. Thus, the extents to which a person can deviate from the norms of performance are already predetermined by a particular history. So, queer students who do not belong to their "natural" sex and wish to use a restroom cannot do so without consequence. The regulating norms, which govern bathrooms as power-mediated spaces, censure them for doing anything but performing a heterosexual identity. Queer students, or any other students who do not conform to the hegemonic standards of bathroom usage, suffer from this violence each and every time they subject themselves to the norms of bathroom spaces.

Put slightly differently, the performance of the body as dictated by the norms of the bathroom space (men and women use separate restrooms and have differing bathroom habits) is a performance that iterates a heterosexual narrative of the body. The queer student experiences violence in these bathrooms because of the dissonance between her sexual identity and the norms of space that ignore the possibility of her own sexuality. Moreover, the violence of this deviant performance is not derived from the queer student complicitly disciplining her performance and thus not being true to a fictional "authentic" queer performance or identity. The violence of the deviant performance is related to how it *exposes* the fact that the norms of the space are heterosexist and makes vulnerable the givenness of heterosexist norms of space. Transgression by deviance renders these regulating norms visible. The queer student illuminates the heterosexist norms of space because his performance betrays the negotiation of a body attempting to cross itself in its own performance—the performing of a heterosexual body *in spite of*

self-identification as queer. This violent dimension becomes all too clear if, as is too common on college dorms, a queer student is physically abused or ridiculed in his or her respective bathroom by heterosexual peers. It is this transgression (the queer student's mere presence in the restroom) that threatens the invisible heterosexual norms of space by making them visible (and thus not given), and if this regime of intelligibility by which heterosexuals are allotted their identity is threatened as not-given, so too is the naturalness of their sexual identities that are allocated by that very regime of intelligibility.

This dissonance also surfaces in the individual dorm room, when we recast the original scenario with different actors. Instead of the original male resident of the room, who was presumed heterosexual, we have a queer man. His partner enters the room, interrupting the competitive videogame playing. From my experiences in my dorm, *there are no governing norms* of how the resident negotiates the situation. Does he invite his partner in? His partner is also male and could join in on the masculine bonding. Or has the room transformed into a private space? Will there be an awkward tension now that the space could either be public or private? There is confusion, because the norms of the individual dorm room are *also* heterosexual norms. While the original heterosexual resident could deftly obey the norms of the space and perform himself, thus constituting himself as a heterosexual, there is little recourse for the queer student.

A personal account makes this heteronormativity in dorm space clear. After making my case for gender-inclusive housing on my campus to a group of Resident Advisors during a planned meeting, a young man immediately raises his hand after I finish speaking. He asks, "But what happens if couples live in the same room, and they get into a fight or break-up? It would be a nightmare." I promptly respond, "There are already gay and lesbian couples living together—what about them?" His eyes visibly widen, and his lack of immediate response allows another woman to direct a question to me. The fact that there were gays and lesbians living together had not even registered in his social framework. "Couples" in his statement were heterosexual, and dorm spaces were for heterosexuals. I suggest here that his surprise betrays the important moment in which the norms of the dorm room had had become visible to him as heterosexist.

Synthesizing Perspectives: Looking at the Politics of Space

So the dorm space constitutes heterosexist power relations because it has been constructed within a history of heterosexism. The performative norms of the sex-segregated dormitory are heterosexual norms, and thus they buttress the formation of heterosexual subjects. Now, the question can be posed: *who* organizes the sex-segregated dormitories, and to what ends? What are the implicit assumptions and exclusionary norms which inform the organization of dorm

rooms, and, more broadly, how do these norms establish the material and social conditions which sustain heteronormativity by concealing it? Anne Fausto-Sterling already has revealed the politics of biology which create and maintain the two-sex system when discussing sex-change operations on newborn infants (Fausto-Sterling, 2000, p. 56-63). What are the specific politics at work when organizing dormitories?

As the answer to the question of "who" probably, at most American universities, falls to the university administration as a whole. A return to Foucault and his analysis of biopolitics will prove helpful. Continuing his genealogy of power, Foucault describes a new form of power dynamic arising out of the former model of sovereign power in the nineteenth century. This new form of power "might be called power's hold over life" (Foucault, 1997, p. 239). Explaining this new model of power, he writes:

> What I mean is the acquisition of power over man insofar as a man is living being, that the biological came under State control, that there was at least a certain tendency that leads to what might be termed State control of the biological... And I think that one of the greatest transformations of political right underwent in the nineteenth century was precisely that, I wouldn't say exactly that sovereignty's old right—to take life or let live—was replaced, but it came to be complemented by a new right which does not erase the old right but which does penetrate it, permeate it...it is the power to "make" live and "let die" (Foucault, 1997, p. 240-241).

Using different instruments and operating on a different level from disciplinary power, biopower maps onto and integrates itself into disciplinary power. Biopower is "applied not to man-as-body [like disciplinary power] but to the living man, to man-as-living-being; ultimately, if you like, to man-as-species," and it takes as its target processes such as the "ratio of births to deaths, the rate of reproduction, the fertility of a population, and so on..." (Foucault, 1997, p. 242-243). From this terse description, the workings of a university administration already appear to be a form of biopolitics. Sex segregation of dorm rooms, as the bathroom and individual residences reveal, highlights the safety of heterosexuals as an organizational priority. The issue of homosexual violence is not addressed, and this regularization is done on behalf of a generalized and abstract "population." The administration organizes the dormitory, as well as perpetuates and signifies spaces in heterosexist modes, in order to treat the heterosexual population as one that is vulnerable to disease, reproduction, and violence. As an organizational priority, sex-segregated dormitories are arranged in order to reduce violence *as a whole*. Foucault emphatically describes how disciplinary power and biopower integrate into one another in order to economize the body—exactly what university administrations do. In order to economize the body, the population is regularized in ways that ignore particularity in favor of the general. The goal is to use statistics and adjust and compensate for vulnerabilities in an entire population using specific

health and administrative policies. It is this biopolitics that becomes obviously heterosexist and exclusionary when the housing arrangements of dormitories are scrutinized. Because of heterosexist assumptions, and the pathologizing of homosexuality as a mere biological deviation, a blip on a statistical sheet, university biopolitics treats homosexuality like an illness—something to be compensated for by using broad administrative arrangements. That is, sex-segregated housing is maintained in order to reduce violence between heterosexuals, which are assumed to constitute a larger part of the population.

The ultimate goal of disciplinary power and biopower is the efficient deployment of power—the former ensures the automatic execution of power and normalization, while the latter ignores particularity in favor of the whole in order to regularize a population. Consequently, when we situate the development of sexual subjectivity within its political context, we see that the politics of space is a form of biopolitics. The politics of dormitory arrangements employs heterosexist norms of exclusion and marginalization as an expedient form of administration, situating the safety of the broader population—heterosexuals—as a priority while making invisible the heterosexist assumptions that inaugurated its genesis. Queer identities are treated as outliers and as such can be largely ignored.

What are the implications of this politics of space? First, as Butler suggests, the norms of the body often delineate the boundaries of a culture through its own dynamic process of destruction and inscription, arguing that "the body [is] the medium which must be destroyed and transfigured in order for 'culture' to emerge" (Butler, 1999, p. 177). The biopolitics of a university administration that arranges a dormitory as sex-segregated is one of many modern forces that lead to the signification of bodies as heterosexual men and women, and it is through this transfiguration of the student body that produces a collegiate culture that functions as a marginalizing historical narrative.

The politics of space—a particular kind of biopolitics—uses a bodily-security framework to displace and mask the heterosexist norms of space in the dormitory. Why have dorms organized by sex-segregation (whether bathroom, bedroom, or even building)? Because it reduces violence. What falls from this picture is that reducing violence requires heterosexual bodies, which demands the implementation of heterosexist performative norms that are regulated and enforced by the organization of space. In short, I am signaling here that the university buttresses heteronormativity by way of concealing the heterosexist performative norms in residence halls through biopolitical management. Heterosexism, politically, becomes "safety."

Thus, we finally arrive at the question of resistance. As I suggested in the introduction, culture itself is a dynamic narrative that already has built in modes of resistance. If the sex-segregated dormitory acts as a site of discipline and performance, then a radical politics on behalf of the students might possess the capacity for subverting the biopolitics governing university housing decisions. This heterosexism of the politics of space—articulated as a neutral biopolitics—

is a heterosexism that regulates the performance of the body and, thus, reinforces and sustains the givenness of heterosexual bodies. Subversion by performance is a strategy that can reveal the heteronormative imperatives of the politics of space and expose it for critique and transformation. This radical politics could take the form of gender-neutral housing, including the abolishment of *both* sex-specific rooms and bathrooms. Indeed, my dormitory had already enacted this gender-neutral concept in practice (and now in policy). Subverting this politics of space requires us to subvert our own performances that constitute our sexual subjectivity, as well as subverting the norms that govern our own space. In this very act of subversion, we embody a new kind of politics that opens up the possibility of greater gender and sexual equality and justice.

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