

THESIS

NAVIGATING CONCIIOUSNESS TOWARD LIBERATION:
INVESTIGATING A CONTEMPORAY RADICAL FAERIE MANIFESTATION THROUGH
A DECOLONIAL LENS

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ABSTRACT

NAVIGATING CONCIOUSNESS TOWARD LIBERATION: INVESTIGATING A CONTEMPORAY RADICAL FAERIE MANIFESTATION THROUGH A DECOLONIAL LENS

This thesis argues for the necessity of decolonial consciousness within queer thought and activism. The historical acts of cultural appropriation enacted by the LGBTQ subculture radical faeries of indigenous peoples are intended for healing. However by investigating contemporary radical faerie culture in Thailand, it is found that colonial culture fundamentally defeats queer liberatory movements from within. Primary data was collected through cyber-ethnographic methods and consists of a photo archive and several online blogs and associated websites. Analyzes emerged through Visual Grounded Theory methodology. This study provides evidence of globalizing colonial discourse and the resulting ineptitude of radical faerie activism.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the possibility that one day all people can live with dignity.

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INTRODUCTION

Getting Uncomfortable and Finding Focus

This thesis was born out of my experience as a participant in a community discussion of a hate-crime that occurred in my home town. On November 8th 2010, I attended the showing of Two-Spirits (Nibley, 2010) at Colorado State University. This event was organized by the Native American Cultural Center (NACC) office, and facilitated by Professor Roe Bubar.

The room was filled to capacity with both students and Fort Collins community members. While there were many people of color in attendance the majority of the audience was white. The event began with a brief introduction to the film Two-Spirits, followed by the viewing and culminating in a discussion. The dynamics of that discussion foreshadowed how I would begin to deconstruct white LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer) appropriation of indigenous culture.

Two-Spirits is one of few films on queer Native issues. The identity, Two-Spirits, refers to the historical existence of 156 known tribes to have gender systems beyond the binary male-female structure and is returned to in the following chapter (Roscoe, 1998). Two-Spirits is a documentary of the life and murder of Fred Martinez in 2001. A resident of Cortez, Colorado Martinez (known as FC) was a part of the Navajo Nation, and was also targeted for being queer and breaking out of the gender binary. The police did not fully investigate FC's death.¹ Shawn Murphy, later convicted of FC's murder, was caught because he bragged in the nearby town of Farmington, New Mexico that he had, "beat up a fag" (Emmett, 2002). In the film this story is told by many people, but primarily by FC's mother, Pauline Martinez, whose words inspire great empathy and compassion for the wrongful death of her child.

¹ National LGBTQ organizations took interest and provided pressure for action to be quickly taken.

During the film I found myself contemplating my own childhood experience growing up in Cortez, Colorado. Recalling the tragedy and prejudice of FC's murder was a difficult and emotional experience. I was personally affected by this crime, as I knew entering high school in 2001 that the homophobia of Cortez was a reality and I felt my own life threatened if I were to come out. I simply knew it was not safe to be queer in Cortez. Later during the facilitated dialogue that followed the viewing of the film, I saw others from Cortez reacting emotionally as well. A Native woman shared her experience of violence by white people in Cortez. Remembering instances of harassment and fear, she tearfully addressed the room about the racism that surrounded the murder of FC.

The dialogue in the room shifted when white LGBTQ voices began speaking about the Two-Spirit identity as a source of empowerment. Conviction narratives and supportive responses circled the room. Several white LGBTQ people contributed to the inertia of collective appropriation as this act was clearly rooted in a hopeful emotion that undid years of oppression. I sat in the discomfort, patiently raising my hand and carefully thinking about what to say and how to say it. The last person to speak before me was at the time the Fort Collins Lambda director, who responded to Professor Bubar's direct prompt, "Would you please respond to what people have said concerning the Two-Spirit identity?" To which he replied, "Yes, I think that it is a good thing to engage with... if it helps people... it makes sense to me." This encouragement of appropriation reinforced white conviction and the fact that this collective activity was rooted in a place of suffering.

As a queer white man in ethnic studies, I was conscious of the racial dynamics present in the room. It was clear to me that white audience members were not actively listening to seek an understanding of communities of color, but instead sought to appropriate an identity that

appealed to them. Comments and responses resonated a white reminiscence of the Two-Spirit identity through white voices providing, “I always have felt this way” and “This is what I have been looking for to explain myself”. This event, which was intended to provide a space for voicing queer Native issues, was being co-opted by white LGBTQ interests of empowerment via appropriation. The white position showcased admiration of the Two-Spirit identity and demonstrated privilege as settlers to appropriate from those who have been colonized. Rather than pursuing this opportunity to learn about diverging realities, the Two-Spirit identity was being made into an object for consumption.

Feeling frustrated I spoke against the direction of the appropriating conversation and carefully began saying, “I understand that this identity is meaningful in different ways to everyone. I think it is important to remember that being Two-Spirit is a Native identity and is not available to white people. There are developments within white thought concerning gender and sexual variance like the Kinsley scale. It is concepts like these that I would encourage people to engage for their own personal development because Two-Spirit is not available to you.” By explaining the unavailability of the Two-Spirit identity and suggesting that fellow queer white people could benefit from investigating psychological models of gender and sexuality spectrums to assist their identity development, I attempted to provide an alternative while making a boundary to halt what I saw as clear appropriation. This effort was met with further comments for appropriation but now with heightened emotional conviction. One man, in particular, began dominating the space by speaking about his Two-Spirit identity, stating, “I am Two-Spirit and have been for a long time.” This was met immediately by an indigenous queer man who identifies as Two-Spirit sitting next to him, asking, “What tribe are you from?” That was answered with, “Oh no, I am not a part of any tribe. I am Two-Spirit. I have both feminine

and masculine spirit. I am more spiritual than others.” Having established that this white dominating voice in fact did not have a tribal affiliation, indigenous voices began sounding. The Two-Spirit man explained, “to be Two-Spirit you need to be Native. There are specific roles and responsibilities to the Tribe that need to be fulfilled. What you are doing is taking something else from Native people, you are colonizing.” Back and forth the conversation fell out of dialogue. As the interaction continued it was clear that no common ground was possible on the issue.

After this experience, I was intrigued by the ferocity and determination the white voices expressed in their desire for claiming the Two-Spirit identity. While white LGBTQ voices were communicating a desire to understand queer indigenous issues, they simultaneously embodied and performed the issue of identity appropriation. I pursued my research from this point on seeking to understand the complexities of white gay men engaged in appropriation of indigenous culture, namely the Two-Spirit identity.

Narrative and Standpoint

I am a queer, white, lower-class, male, graduate-student, citizen with cisgender privilege who is able-bodied. As an ethnic studies student I have learned a particular way of critically perceiving the world, and have increasingly become conscious of the tension between the Two-Spirit community and the mainstream queer community. My personal struggles with discrimination and constructing various strategies for survival and healing motivate me to contextualize the oppression and resistance occurring around the Two-Spirit/LGBTQ identity.

Because I identify as a queer white male, I was able to relate to key participants who provided the data for this research. I have been out since the fall of 2007. Growing up in Cortez, Colorado forced me to learn strategies of passing for my safety. I was personally affected by the murder of Fred Martinez in 2001 as this event caused me to fear the potential of being similarly

targeted. During my childhood I kept a facade of heterosexuality, and even achieved in heterosexist organizations. I earned and maintain my Eagle rank in the Boy Scouts of America. This organization was my first introduction to appropriating Native identity; as I was involved in performing rituals, drum circles, and outfit making. In college, at Colorado State University, I joined the fraternity Pi Kappa Phi enabling me to build self-confidence and acknowledge my desires for same-sex partners. Unfortunately, the same place that was responsible for beginning my personal liberation from heterosexism was also the source of the first hate crime I experienced. In the spring of 2009, I was assaulted verbally as well as physically and received a death threat to coerce me into silence. This experience caused me to draw my confidence from myself rather than relying on other people to bestow value upon me. Certainly, my personal experience provides an insider perspective of the oppression of heterosexism, and my participation in the tradition of appropriating Native identity as a white man.

Beyond queer oppression my life has been tailored by colonization in that Native people are exposed to numerous environmental hazards due to their marginalized status. Cortez, Colorado is a border town to the Ute and Navajo Nations. This part of the Southwest is polluted by uranium mining and is further polluted by the deposits of radiated dust from Shot Hood and Shot Deablo set off in the Nevada deserts in 1957 (Bird, 2005, p. xv). In 2003 my father, Walter Henry Pape III, died of a brain tumor and I believe it was due to living on this polluted land. I have made sense of this event through my studies and locate colonial logics of domination as the source of my father's death. Thus, I pursue decolonization to find liberation for queer peoples but also engage seriously in the liberation of all people.

Executive Summary

The history of Two-Spirit is significant as Two-Spirit is the site of this thesis. This site is populated by queer white men who self-identify as radical faeries. Thus, in chapter one Native history is contextualized to demonstrate the significance of colonization and the resulting formation of the Two-Spirit identity. Following, a contextualization of the radical faerie identity is provided with evidence of their engagement with colonial discourse through cultural appropriation. While there is a significant focus on appropriation, this topic is secondary to the fundamental argument of this project that colonization frames queer liberation efforts and the impact of colonization must be broached to achieve alternate strategies. The efforts of queer white activists are fundamentally flawed by avoiding their implication within colonization and are the topic of chapter two. White queer thought and movements is distinguished as fundamentally working toward civil rights and moreover is presently in a process of possible watershed to develop a decolonial consciousness. Throughout the project I am engaging the work of Andrea Smith who has revolutionized queer theory and Native studies.

The third chapter continues my focus on colonization through the radical faeries expansion across cyberspace and the world. In this chapter I turn to Thailand providing a Marxist contextualization that demonstrates Thailand as an incorporated yet marginalized nation state in the global market. The reality of economic disposition fundamentally tailors the formation of gay identity in Thailand and in contrast informs the privilege of settler gay tourists. The imbalance of power in this chapter is examined through the history of cosmopolitanity informing a settler heritage and which produces a unique type of agency in contemporary queer nationalism. By articulating the settler heritage of cosmopolitanity I am investigating colonial frameworks informed by economic privilege.

In the fourth chapter I lay out the methods of this project. The methods utilized include cyber-ethnographic data collection and Visual Grounded Theory data analysis. Grounded theory is demonstrated through the practice of theoretical sampling. This process centered the data as the primary guiding tool to direct research and the organic development of analyses. The decision to focus upon Thailand is made clear in this chapter as contemporary radical faerie culture has manifested globally. In the fifth chapter data is synthesized through the resulting grounded theory. I provide visual content and supplemental online content to substantiate claims. Finally in the sixth chapter the findings are brought into conversation with previously introduced theory and radical feminism to complicate hybridity as directed by Andrea Smith. Through radical feminism colonization is pinpointed as a historical and present manifestation in the radical faerie movement. The effects of colonization are seen to debilitate historical liberatory aspects of the radical faerie culture. Therefore this project ultimately argues the importance for decolonial consciousness as a necessity for future queer liberation strategies.

CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

Colonization and Reclamation

Two-Spirit people are engaged in the continuation of traditional culture for the resistance of colonization. While this identity is tied to Native cultures prior to colonization, the Two-Spirit identity is positioned upon a rejection of colonial labels. Before the Two-Spirit identity can be understood, the effect of colonization must first be identified.

From the beginning of colonization, Western thought was imposed upon Native communities. Williams establishes that the strategy to assimilate Native people through Christianity began in the thirteenth century (Williams, 1990, p. 6). Also at the onset of the colonial project, education was selected to facilitate Native assimilation. Advocating for the assimilation of Native people in 1609, Robert Gray asserted that, “it is not the nature of men, but the education of men, which makes them barbarous and uncivil, and therefore change the education of men, and you shall see that their nature will be greatly rectified and corrected” (Wright, 2002, p. 123). This discourse was used to position First Nation societies as inferior.

Gray’s views, like those of Richard Pratt, are representative of the colonial perspective. The famous quote, “kill the Indian, save the man,” by Richard Pratt is emblematic of the colonial state’s perspective (Belgarde, 2002, pp. 5-6). Pratt’s philosophical stance suggested that, by removing the Indianness from the colonized, the savage Native could become civilized. Furthermore, in Pratt’s colonial discourse, civility is synonymous with humanity. To approach the *Indian problem*, the inferiority of the Native was to be remedied through the development of colonial institutions. In particular, educational policies and institutions were created to Christianize, acculturate, and assimilate Native people (Belgarde, 2002, p. 4). The binary construction of the Christian-colonizer-as-human/Native-colonized-as-unhuman is thus

established to provide the motivation and rationale that resulted in the institutionalization of colonial schooling/cultural genocide of Native people.

The Christian character of colonial schooling influenced a change in how gender identity was viewed within Native communities leading to a process of urban migration. Beatrice, in “Changing Native American Sex Roles” identifies the shift within Native communities from acceptance to rejection of alternative gender identities beyond the male female binary, as being a result of religious repression (Medicine, 1997, p.152). By intruding upon the spiritual practice of Native people in general, the spiritual aspect of alternative gender status, in Native societies, lost a public role (Medicine, 1997, p.152). Religious repression and colonial schooling caused the learning of new cultural and sexual mores which gave rise to homophobia in Native communities (Medicine, 1997, p.152), eventually resulting in the rejection of alternative gender identities by Native communities approximately in the late nineteenth century.

Beyond the colonial assault on Native spirituality, the very language used to reference people with alternative gender by settler subjects further degraded and solidified the inferiority of these traditional identities. Prior to the formation of the Two-Spirit identity, the term *berdache* was appropriated by colonial soldiers and explorers, and later taken up by anthropologists and ethnographers, to refer to gender and sexual identities of Native peoples that fell outside of the male-female binary and heteronormativity. The term *berdache* developed from Europe and the Middle-East outside of all Native languages (Williams, 1986, p. 9). Williams (1986) details that Claude Courouve suggests the derivation of *berdache* to be from the Persian term *bardaj*, and subsequently transferred into Europe during the sixteenth century through Italy as *bardasso* (Williams, 1986, p. 9). The word then spread to Spain as *bardaxa* or *bardaje* and finally entered the French lexicon as *bardache* in the seventeenth century (Williams,

1986, p. 9). Prior to its application to Native peoples, *berdache* was defined in French dictionaries as, “a young man who is shamefully abused (Caesar was the bardache of Nicomedes)” (Williams, 1986, p. 9). Clearly, the term *berdache* is a pejorative term in that its application to Native people with alternative gender contextualized their identity to essentially mean lowly people kept for rape.

The field of anthropology has produced an extensive body of literature centered upon the *berdache* label. According to Goulet (1996), multiple definitions of *berdache* have been developed over the years (Goulet, 1996, p. 684). In a review of the literature, Goulet (1996) identified three distinct definitions of *berdache* as, (1) males who possess a place in Native social statuses other than that of man or woman; (2) a male or female who behaves and dresses like members of the opposite sex; and (3) a male or female who identify with a third or fourth gender that is established in Native societies (Goulet, 1996, p. 684). Similarly, Jacobs and Thomas (1999) contend that anthropologists have used *berdache* as, “a catch-all phrase for homosexuality, hermaphroditism, transvestitism, and transgenderism as well as for notions of gender diversity” (Jacobs & Thomas, 1999, pp. 92-93). *Berdache* clearly has been broadly utilized in constructing knowledge in Western thought about Native American societies.

The definitions of *berdache* are based upon Western epistemology and do not capture the various identities that are found in traditional tribal culture (Roscoe, 1991, p. 5). Native ontological understandings of gender and sexuality diverge from Western conceptions. Sexuality in Western conception pertains only to genital pleasure or genital relations (Herdt, 1997, p. 278). Native ontological conception of sexuality involves the whole person, including the physical dimension and the spiritual dimensions (Herdt, 1997, p. 278; Williams, 1992, p. 261). Williams (1992) explains that Western conceptions of sexuality fixate upon the physical because the

physical is perceived in a binary conception to spirituality (Williams, 1992, p. 261). The epistemological fissure between Native and Western peoples helps to explain the incapability of colonial intellectuals to accurately produce a working definition of *berdache*. In light of colonial history, the use of *berdache* was never meant for accurate representation, but rather was employed by the colonial state to foreclose the possibility of Native humanity. Herdt (1997) asserts that the use of *berdache* reduces the whole person to something smaller, to a type of human or subtype (Herdt, 1997, p. 279). Foucault (1990) argues in The History of Sexuality (1978) that sexuality is something that is discursively constructed. Knowledge, and labels like *berdache*, are produced to control an individual's erotic practices. Taken together, the views of Herdt and Foucault allow us to read the label *berdache* as a tool of colonialism focusing upon the impulse to create binary distinctions, colonial scholars fundamentally missed the holistic nature of alternate tribal identities: the human being who encompasses both erotic and spiritual essence.

The performance of alternative gender identities were largely rejected from tribal communities as homophobia circulated following colonization. It is in the wake of this oppression that the Two-Spirit identity emerged as a pan-Native urban identity. Two-Spirit is available to LGBTQ Natives and to Natives who identify with words and concepts from their particular tribal tradition (Driskill, 2010, p. 72). Like *berdache*, the term Two-Spirit has the potential to erase differences between traditions. However, the inclusive quality of Two-Spirit brings Native peoples together regardless of tribal affiliation as a group that continues tradition. Thus, the development of Two-Spirit is framed by superseding the colonial label *berdache*. Native activists worked to overcome the oppressive label *berdache*, and colonial violence, by re-asserting Native traditional identities.

It is important not to succumb to essentializing thinking, and the Two-Spirit expression of identity is not monolithic. The identity of Two-Spirit is available for Native self-definition and thus is not, like its predecessor *berdache*, left to outsiders to define and apply to Native people. Accounting for the emergence of Two-Spirit, Anguksuar explains that “we (Native Americans) are remembering again who we are and that our identities can no longer be used as a weapon against us. It is once again a source of our healing” (Anguksuar, 1997, p. 222). The Native creation of the Two-Spirit identity clearly marks an assertion of power by the colonized to determine their identity. Two-Spirit opens new opportunities for Native people to assert self-definition. Driskill explains, “[s]ome Native [LG]BTQ folks have rejected the term Two-Spirit, while others have rejected terms such as gay, lesbian, bi, trans, and queer in favor of Two-Spirit or tribally specific terms” (Driskill, 2010, p. 72). Two-spirit is seen here as a form of self-definition that can override other colonial terms like LGBTQ that seek to define sexuality or gender from a Western epistemology. Further, Driskill adds that some Natives move between traditional identity, mainstream labels and Two-Spirit, depending on rhetorical context (Driskill, 2010, p. 70). Therefore, the Two-Spirit identity provides new levels of agency for Native people in determining self-definition.

The Two-Spirit identity functions within three distinct levels of self-definition (Herdt, 1997). First, Two-Spirit is seen to influence friendship circles, the small network of intimate face-to-face relations of knowing others and being known. Second, the particular geographic urban community is (for some practitioners of Two-Spirit) a space that allows connections to be formed and identity expression to emerge in the present. Third, some people who identify as Two-Spirit find this self-definition within a specific tribal culture. Clearly, the function and meaning of the term Two-Spirit is variable according to whoever uses it.

It is apparent that the Two-Spirit identity opened up new potential avenues for Natives to respecify the meanings offered by colonial discourse. The Two-Spirit identity does not constrain possible forms of identity for Native people, rather, it increases the available subject positions for Native people, and in doing so, offers further possibilities for strategic resistance.

As gender and sexually variant Natives began to migrate to urban centers, San Francisco emerged as a major hub for Natives and in July of 1975 the organization Gay American Indians (GAI) formed there. GAI emerged to meet the needs of displaced Natives by facilitating group interactions, solidarity and support networks (Roscoe, 1998, p. 108). It also made possible the first gay and lesbian collection of Native writing in the 1988 volume *Living the Spirit: A Gay American Indian Anthology* edited by Will Roscoe. This monumental collection presents poetry, short stories, essays, interviews, historical photography, artwork, and traditional legends. *Living the Spirit* presented stories of origin that are specific to the Two-Spirit identity from eight nations: Mohave, Tipai, Bella Coola, Navajo, Acoma-Laguna, Lakota, Okanagon, and Hopi. The collection establishes the existence of the Two-Spirit identity in traditional knowledge and cultural practices of Two-Spirit people prior to colonization. This collection was significant in its aim to resist notions of homophobia through resistance to colonization by reasserting traditional knowledge.

Inspired by this project, American Indian Gays and Lesbians (AIGL) pursued the recovery of spiritual traditions as their primary goal (Roscoe, 1998, p. 108). In 1988 at the Minneapolis American Indian Center, AIGL hosted, “[t]he Basket and the Bow: A Gathering of Lesbian and Gay Native Americans,” which is now called the International Two-Spirit Gathering (Roscoe, 1998, p. 109). At the 1990 third annual spiritual gathering in Winnipeg, Canada participants, “embraced the term two-spirit (sometimes rendered as two-spirited) as an

alternative to both *berdache* and gay” (Roscoe, 1998, p. 109). The term Two-Spirit originated in the Northern Algonquin dialect as *nizh manitoag*, which indicates the presence of both a feminine and masculine spirit in a person (Anguksuar, 1997, p. 221). *Nizh manitoag* was translated into English as Two-Spirit in 1990 at the AIGL gathering. In recognition of the varying and different cultural positions held by Native peoples, the term Two-Spirit emerged as an umbrella pan-Native term.

At the 1993 Wenner-Gren Foundation Conference, the term *berdache* was debated during the American Anthropological Association session (Anguksuar, 1997, p. 221; Roscoe, 1998, p. 110). *Berdache* was challenged by both Native and non-Native participants for its derogatory connotations and its failure to appropriately reflect gender roles, identities and sexualities lived by Native Americans (Roscoe, 1998, p. 110). This conference was followed up by Sue-Ellen Jacobs and Wesley Thomas in the 1994 anthropology newsletter *Native American two-spirits* which eventually became the 1999 article “‘...And we are still here’: from Berdache to Two-Spirit people” that argued the use of *berdache* perpetuates colonial discourse (Roscoe, 1998, p. 110). Decolonial efforts is seen within the academy as other projects center queer Native people as in the anthology *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (1997). Currently queer Native issues have continued to be centered in such works as *Queer Indigenous Studies* (2011).

Radical Faeries the Counterculture

Radical faeries are engaged in cultural production for the resistance of homophobia through the active embrace of the feminine. The radical faeries are described by Bell as, “a rural, separatist gay men’s movement in the United States, outflowing from the Gay Liberation Front, and particularly from some men’s dissatisfaction with the urban-based gay political and social

scene” (Bell, 2000, p. 554). Before the exploration of cultural concepts can be engaged, the hegemonic gay culture rejected by the radical faeries must first be discussed.

The radical faeries are a product of the 1970’s sexual revolution. After the Stonewall riots of 1969 and preceding the AIDS epidemic, urban white gay men built communities around sexual exploration (Levine, 1998, p. 2). One of the identities brought into academic focus by Martin Levine (1998) is referred to as *the clone*. Gathering in urban spaces, clones made a community of, “men under the age of forty-five, dressed in a uniform and a carefully calculated style and dedicated to a hedonistic and high consumption life style” (Altman, 1982, p. 311 cited in Levine, 1998, p. 7). Based on hegemonic masculinity, clones pursued self-fulfillment in anonymous sex, recreational drugs, and hard partying (Levine, 1998, p. 7); “[g]lorified in the gay media, promoted in gay advertising, clones defied gay chic, and the clone life style became culturally dominant. Until AIDS” (Levine, 1998, p. 8). Levine conducted fieldwork in the West Village, “New York’s largest gay enclave,” from 1977 to 1984, and his work speaks directly to the time prior to and after the 1979 emergence of the radical faeries (Levine, 1998, p. 7). The clone’s embrace of masculinity through erotically objectifying the body of self and other had a direct influence in shaping the radical faeries counterculture. Radical faeries rejected the objectifying hegemonic gay masculine in totality, and are understood as a counterculture which frames the formation of the radical faerie identity. An “us” is created in opposition to a “them”, however, in this process of identity formation, the problematic of what can be seen as authentic eventually forms. The problem of authenticity is that essentialized notions are projected onto “them” and reflected onto “us” in order to build self-definition. Thus any argument can be raised against the authenticity of a member of “us” by identifying any attribute of their ‘themness’. To

apply this concept it can be understood that any similarity of a person to a clone could be used to exclude them as a radical faerie.

Foucault's and Herdt's analysis helps us understand how the clone as "them" informs the radical faerie "us". To understand the radical faeries it is important to focus on the goods of their cultural production. Harry Hay, a founding member of the faeries, developed the concept of subject-subject consciousness. As a moral guide, Hay suggests that people should always treat others as subjects rather than objects. A popular quote used in the literature is Hay's maxim: "Humanity must expand its experience of thinking of another not as object – to be used, to be manipulated, to be mastered, to be CONSUMED- but as subject-as another like him/her self, another self to be respected, to be appreciated, to be cherished" (Hay, 1996, p. 208; in Hennen, 2008, p. 77 & Timmons, 1990, p. 255). The subject-subject consciousness framework has visible associations to the popular clone through rejection providing the radical faeries as a reaction to the clone. For instance, while the clones made their bodies into desirable objects of sexual consumption, the faeries pursued the emotional and psychological fulfillment of gay relationships. Further, as the clones amassed in urban locations, faeries relied on rural spaces for their community. Lastly, the clones centering on objectification as a cultural characteristic informed the radical faeries' cultural production of subjectification.² Alternately, like the clones the work of the radical faeries and its leaders can be seen as an appeal to essentialize the experience of gay men. This essentialism is argued to be the, "glue needed to sustain a movement" (Sandownick, 2008, p. 24).

During the 1970s, short-term gatherings and sustainable collectives became evident, in part, due to white, urban, countercultural, gay men traveling out of the city seeking country self-

² The Radical Faerie counter-culture can also be read as a rejection of the capitalistic system at large.

sufficiency (Morgensen, 2005, p. 256). Mark Thompson (1987) identifies separatist communes in Golden, Oregon in 1970; Elwha, Washington in 1973; Wolf Creek, Oregon in 1975 and areas in North Carolina and Tennessee in the later 1970s (Thompson, 1987, p. 262). These sites of faerie space, led to developments like RFD, a magazine focused upon gay country living and radical faerie politics (Thompson, 1987, p. 263). RFD describes itself as, “a reader-written journal for gay people which focuses on country living and encourages alternative lifestyles. We foster community building and networking, explore the diverse expressions of our sexuality, care for the environment, radical faerie consciousness, nature centered spirituality and sharing the experiences of our lives” (facebook.com). Gay men thus began connecting and developing ideas through RFD beginning in 1974 (Thompson, 1987, p. 263). This community-focused grassroots forum was pivotal in launching the radical faerie movement. The 20th issue of the 1979 RFD publication featured, *A Call to Gay Brothers: A Spiritual Conference for Radical Faeries* by Harry Hay and Don Kilhefer (Hennen, 2008, p. 68). The summer of 1979 marked the emergence of the radical faeries as 220 men gathered in Benson, Arizona (Thompson, 1987, p. 267; Hennen, 2008, p. 59). Over the following six years, hundreds of radical faerie gatherings commenced throughout the North American Continent (Thompson, 1987, p. 267). Gatherings then developed and continue to operate in Europe and Australia (Thompson, 1987, p. 268). Thus, the radical faerie identity is currently being experienced by thousands of people engaged in an international network of primarily gay, white, middle-class men.

As a separatist movement, the transformative project underway is focused upon member’s internal liberation. By asserting space for gay men to seek refuge from homophobic culture, radical faerie communities intended to pursue their healing (Morgensen, 2005, p. 256). The rural spaces the faeries established themselves in are referred to as *sanctuaries* (Hennen,

2008, p. 70). Committed to consensus-based decision-making and dependent upon volunteer labor, among other examples, the faerie culture attempts to eradicate exploitive power relationships (Hennen, 2008, p. 80). This cultural stance against power is seen to be the result of *heart circles* that are group discussions important to the framework of faerie culture (Hennen, 2008, pp. 83-84). The network of radical faerie sanctuaries is an escape from not only the heteronormative state but also from other hegemonic power structures like capitalism. While clearly having the best intentions, the radical faeries' response to oppression is in itself oppressive to Native people, thus constricting their liberatory project by undertones of oppression. While other analyses could be launched; this project focuses upon race.

Colonial Acts of Cultural Appropriation by the Radical Faeries

The radical faeries have a long history of appropriating Native culture. For example Harry Hay makes reference to the Ghost Dance movement of 1890 in his autobiography *Radically Gay: in the Words of Its Founders* (1996), explaining the Ghost Dance to be a movement of Native people giving up, making themselves available to slaughter through denying the existence of white people (Hay, 1996, pp. 29-31). Hay writes,

They would wear these Ghost Dance shirts and they would believe in the visions and the white man would disappear. It's a beautiful example of the kind of religion of the oppressed that a people who are about ready to go under may use as their last resort. (Hay, 1996, p. 29)

In actuality the Ghost Dance is part of a, "long-standing religious response to colonization, a response rooted in preexisting cultural practices and shaped by the emergence of ethnic and racial identity," and continues to be practiced (Smoak, 2006, p. 3). Native scholar Smoak (2006) provides that, "the ultimate message of the Ghost Dance religion was one of Indian unity and identity" (Smoak, 2006, p. 205). Emerging in the 1870s during the reservation era, "a time of economic, political, and cultural devastation for nearly all American Indian people," the Ghost

Dance functioned to create a shared Native identity (Smoak, 2006, p. 198). While complex and invoking aspects seemingly similar to Christian dogma the emergence of the Ghost Dance is concurrent to, “other groups outside the dominant evangelical Protestant American identity in the nineteenth century, [using] common experiences and the common discourse of prophecy to declare and enact their survival as a people” (Smoak, 2006, p. 205). The second period of the Ghost Dance in 1890 is argued by David Albert (1959) to be redemptive, seeking to find grace in spirit, mind and body, and transformative, purporting to bring a renewal to the earth and uniting all people (Smoak, 2006, p. 165). The Ghost Dance movement is productively read in this project as resistant cultural production, from which the radical faeries can take inspiration. Native people were invoking the colonizer’s religion, a process of cultural appropriation, through spiritual practices. This movement quickly spread among Nations as David Thomas reports, “by 1890 the Ghost Dance ceremonies were practiced by the Sioux, the Cheyenne, the Comanche, the Shoshone, the Arapaho, the Assiniboin, and other tribes of the Trans-Mississippi West” (Hittman & Lynch, 1997, p. ix). The Ghost Dance movement caused anxiety in the colonial state, resulting in the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre of the Sioux people. Clearly, Hays account of the Ghost Dance movement is inaccurate. Going even further than misrepresenting Native history, Hay identifies himself with the Ghost Dance movement.

Wovoka, also known as Jack Wilson, is well documented as the spiritual originator of the Ghost Dance movement (Smoak, 2006). Hay claims to have been blessed by Wovoka in 1925 (Hay, 1996, p. 31). After the blessing, Wovoka apparently said to Hay, “Someday you’ll be a friend,” on which Hay reflects,

You sort of wonder. You think of a story like that and then it’s happening to you. You hear about it and you think it’s odd. But you think about it. And I think, you know, as a matter of fact I was a friend all my life- how did he know?... How did he know? (Hay, 1996, p. 31)

Not only does Hay misrepresent the Ghost Dance movement but invokes it to draw attention to himself. It is productive to focus upon the function of claiming to be blessed by Wovoka and also the assertion of being friends. Hay is establishing legitimacy for himself through invoking a narrative of being recognized by Native people. However, this recognition does not give Hay the authority to commandeer Native identity as a means of building legitimacy for his ideas, politics, philosophy, spirituality or community. Beyond Hay, cultural appropriation is documented throughout the radical faerie community. Elaborating upon the happenings of rituals during gatherings Morgensen observed, “[p]articipants sharing rare emotional truths while passing a talking stick, which they were told grounded their speech in an ancient indigenous American practice” (Morgensen, 2005, p. 257). This type of foregrounding of collective activities invokes the vanishing Indian narrative to frame white American neo-pagans as the inheritors of Native lifeways (Morgensen, 2005, p. 257). This supposed inheritance of indigeneity is framed as an act of alliance or kinship to Native people, thus denying the act of appropriation (Morgensen, 2005, p. 257).

The radical faeries have been and continue to work on finding a gay identity through connecting to an indigenous past. Mitch Walker, a founder of the radical faeries, published *Visionary Love: A Spirit Book of Gay Mythology* in 1980. This text and another compilation of works in *Gay Spirit: Myth and Meaning* (1987) edited by Mark Thomas, work to aid gay men in identity development through an appeal to spirituality. Scott Herring (2007) identifies these texts as making, “suspect analogies between gay male faeries and the Native American berdache” (Herring, 2007, footnote 4). The appeal to Native identity and tradition is powerful as Deloria asserts that playing Indian, not only makes meanings but also makes them real (Deloria 1998, p. 184).

Will Roscoe, a participant of the first radical faerie gathering in 1979, intended *Queer Spirits* (1995) to help people make sense of their gay identity. Roscoe presents a plethora of global myths, including a selection from Native culture. While by far the most respectful of the writings to come forward out of this movement, Roscoe still appropriates Native identity as he asserts, “[i]t is fitting that contemporary lesbians and gay men throughout the world should be the inheritors of all these traditions” (Roscoe, 1995, p. 19). This is simultaneously essentializing, colonizing and naïve in its intention.

Previous analyses of radical faeries’ cultural appropriation have been pursued. Morgensen asserts that, “nonnative gay men in the radical faeries have adapted indigenous histories in order to reconcile to a racial or national inheritance of settler society” (Morgensen, 2009, p. 72). This analysis was taken back to the radical faeries by Morgensen, who reports, “I was listened to carefully, and many agreed, often by recalling their own long-standing discussion of this topic” (Morgensen, 2009, p. 72). Broadly in agreement with this analysis and with Deloria’s work, Morgensen further argues that the radical faeries are appropriating Native identity to find legitimacy as citizens (Morgensen, 2011a, p. 18). Whether the radical faeries seek to reconcile benefiting from whiteness or colonization, as Morgensen suggests, or find a new Americanness that includes queer settler subjects, Native people must be implicated in the radical faerie perception.

The appropriation at hand is of a *symbolic Indian* that exists purely in the colonial imagination. Because the radical faeries are appropriating the *symbolic Indian* for their identity work, the current relationship between Natives and the radical faeries is oppressive. As the faeries gather in their rural sanctuaries, a group practice of enacting this oppressive relationship is reinforcing individuals’ understanding of themselves and the world. This consensus of

viewing, understanding and valuing Native people as the *symbolic Indian* forms a colonial consciousness. Native author Andrea Smith identifies the lack of attention to indigenous issues by such groups as the radical faeries as a, “willful ignorance” (Smith, 2005, p. 121). In this Smith analyzes cultural appropriation in materialistic terms. For Smith, non-Natives are willfully ignorant of Native people due to an, “economic interest to do so” (Smith, 2005, p. 121). The radical faeries take indigenous culture for their own interest which requires a willful ignorance to enact time and time again. Thus by engaging the colonial imagination the supposed activism pursued is folly.

The radical faeries have been argued as capable of manifesting new activism because their culture of reflective supportiveness and commitment to consensus decision-making can usurp power structures (Hennen 2008, 2004; Morgensen 2009, 2005). Because the radical faeries, “reject the authoritarian logic of hegemonic masculinity,” Hennen claims that this community, “foster[s] an alternative notion of consensual power” (Hennen, 2008, pp. 189-190). While there is value within the radical faerie culture, their approach to the heteronormativity of the colonial state must, to be effective, widen to include Native identity. This inclusion would cease the appropriation of Native identity and direct efforts and attention toward Native issues with the same seriousness as the approach to heteronormativity.

It is important to understand what is possible for LGBTQ engagement with Native issues. An example of Native issues available to collaboration with non-natives is provided by Andrea Smith who attended the World Social Forum (WSF) in 2009 reporting, “that indigenous liberation depends on global liberation from the nation-state form of governance” (Smith, 2010, p. 62). From this stance indigenous activists, “explicitly linked the colonial nation-state system with patriarchy and Western epistemology, calling on indigenous and nonindigenous people to

break with their internalization of social domination logics to imagine a world based on radical participatory democracy” (Smith, 2010, p. 62). Smith’s statement of indigenous stance against colonial power globally is directed toward the LGBTQ community providing an opportunity to stand in solidarity with indigenous peoples against colonial power.

By accepting the reality of constricted citizenship, LGBTQ groups like the radical faeries can find solidarity with indigenous peoples through liberation efforts like those articulated at the 2009 WSF. Moreover, similar to the liberatory strategy proposed by indigenous peoples at the WSF, the radical faeries have historically stood against capitalism and critiqued consumption, authority and patriarchy. Sanctuaries are an example of sites that function for radical faeries as a refuge from mainstream hegemony and capitalism (Hennen, 2008). Heart circles are an example of the cultural formation of reflexivity and consensus based power within the radical faeries (Hennen, 2008). Clearly there are liberatory features within the radical faeries of which could be utilized as common ground with indigenous global activists.

Before common ground can be developed decolonial consciousness must form within queer activism providing new strategies for liberation. The radical faeries’ engagement with the colonial imagination is ironic because their pursuit for healing is reinforcing the nation state that denies queer citizenship. Clearly, new strategies need to emerge in line with decolonization. Andrea Smith expands upon the decolonial prospect of transforming one’s relationship to land by arguing that, “[o]nce land is not seen as property, then nationhood does not have to be based on exclusive control over territory. If sovereignty is more about being responsible for land, then nationhood can engage all those who fulfill responsibilities for land” (Smith, 2010, p. 62). This radical reconceptualization of decolonized citizenship requires a fundamental relationship to the land. Native identity and activism is articulated as a process connected to the earth and thus,

must be understood to conceptualize the notion of collaboration Smith articulates and the potential for decolonial consciousness within queer activism.

To form queer decolonial consciousness and collaboration it is important to consider how Natives understand themselves. Native identity is articulated by Momaday (1973) to be fundamentally created through relations with the earth and is referred to as “reciprocal appropriation” (Momaday, 1973, p. 80). Referring to his previous work, *An American Land Ethic* (1971) Momaday defines reciprocal appropriation as, “appropriations in which man invests himself in the landscape, and at the same time incorporates the landscape into his own most fundamental experience,” of which he acknowledges as a paradox³ (Momaday, 1973, p. 80). This statement is a paradox in that it seems contradictory and opposed to colonial common sense, where man is opposed to nature, while maintaining the actuality of truth in explaining the fundamental experience of Native people. Clearly, collaboration between queer activists and natives requires alternate understandings that reach beyond the colonial imagination.

The imagination is identified as central to reciprocal appropriation. Momaday reaches out to the reader in that, “we all are, I suppose, at the most fundamental level what we imagine ourselves to be” (Momaday, 1973, p. 80). Acknowledging the colonial imagination he hopes that Natives are not defined by stereotypes as the *symbolic Indian* like, “that befeathered spectacle who is always chasing John Wayne across the silver screen” (Momaday, 1973, p. 80). Complicating the Native identity, Momaday provides the Native as, “someone who thinks of himself in a particular way and his idea comprehends his relationship to the physical world, among other things” (Momaday, 1973, p. 80). Further, this imagination is identified to be a, “racial memory” (Momaday, 1973, p. 80). As an inheritance of Native people reciprocity is

³ A paradox is defined by Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary as, “a statement that is seemingly contradictory or opposed to common sense and yet is perhaps true”.

fundamentally divergent from Western epistemological structures that lead to a, “rational and decisive experience,” of the earth (Momaday, 1973, p. 80). It is evident that from the Native standpoint Momaday articulates a fundamental divergence of experiencing relations to the earth between Natives and non-Natives. Understanding the complexity of Native identity and perspective begins the process of decolonial consciousness formation and is required for collaboration between queer activists and indigenous activists to manifest.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORY

The Development of Gay White Consciousness

The complexity of identity, both queer and radicalized, needs to be historized. The social and political shifts that have permitted the appropriation of Two-Spirit have their origin in the birth of gay liberation and in particular, in the life and work of Harry Hay, founder of two groups that would revolutionize white male queer identity and led to multiple appropriations.

Harry Hay, who earlier was identified as the founder of the radical faeries, was fundamental in the development of a white gay movement. Hay first came to America in the late 1940's. Therefore, it is important to consider how queer studies scholars articulate the importance of this time period, as this literature sets the context for the development of consciousness and the possibilities of the future.

Post World War II was a significant event for many reasons, including the formation of the gay and lesbian movement in the United States. D'Emilo (1983) argues that the extreme imposition of the war unto the everyday life of the American people caused a break from heteronormative patterns. For D'Emilo, men were regulated to military spaces while white women were moved into the labor forces thus providing for the possibility of same-sex attracted people to meet, and explore their desires (D'Emilo, 1983). In this sense the terms of patriarchy is diminished in the disruption of the private and domestic spheres, however this is not true. Rather the public sphere was extended to a global perspective in which the new public was war and vis-à-vis the borders of the domestic were extended to the borders of the nation. This is why no women were shipped to the shores of Europe but rather, were merely allowed to exit the house and move into labor positions as a reformation of the home. This movement of women is specifically a historical account of white women as women of color were in these labor sectors

from the onset of the American nation. Thus, the argument set forth by the seminal author D'Emilo (1983) is prominent in the field of queer studies and is also an embodiment of the white character of gay thought at the time and decades following.

D'Emilo contributes by arguing that in 1948, Alfred Kinsey identified an 18 percent rate of deviation from heterosexuality in his publication *Sexual Behavior of the Human Male* and later in 1953 *Sexual Behavior of the Human Female* (Engels, 2002, p. 380). Kinsey's work comprised of a 10,000 person survey in which he produced a seven point scale of sexual orientation that denoted fluidity beyond the heterosexual/homosexual binary. Together, war time shifts and Kinsey's findings formed an opening in the United States political discourse for a homosexual movement. Kinsey's findings however were used to pathologize homosexuals and led to the 1950's targeting of homosexuals in governmental positions under Executive Order 10450 in April of 1953 (Engels, 2002, p. 381). It is this historical context that Harry Hay entered America and began working toward the first white gay liberation movement.

After the war in 1948 Harry Hay made his first call to action by releasing a manifesto to establish the gay men's political organization Bachelors Anonymous or the International Fraternal Order of Bachelors (Faderman & Timmons, 2006, p. 110). Since the 1930s, Hay was involved in the Communist Party, "in rebellion against his affluent family" and applied Marxist ideology to forge a political movement centered upon the gay identity (Faderman & Timmons, 2006, p. 110). Prior to this, Hay was married to a woman in an attempt to please the Stalinist Communist Party but divorced after 10 years of continuing gay desires (Faderman & Timmons, 2006, p. 110). In his manifesto, Hay compared the murder of homosexuals in Nazi Germany to the purging of homosexuals at the State Department in line with McCarthyism. By 1950 Hay formed a group of white men in Los Angeles under these ideals, creating the new organization

called Mattachine. The name of the organization, “referred to medieval folk jesters who always wore masks when they performed in public” (Faderman & Timmons, 2006, p. 111).⁴ The foundational premise of the group included masked identity. The metaphor of the mask speaks directly to the climate of the 1940s and 1950s as there was a shift of public mobility and growing prejudice of the homosexual identity from Kinsey’s studies. While people were engaging in homosexual opportunities, the masking of these engagements were central.

Marxist theory was fundamental to the formation of Mattachine as it provided understandings of class that were critical articulation, of the “homosexual” as an oppressed minority group (Engel, 2002, p. 382). Like the proletariat, homosexuals were believed to be in a state of deviancy that worked against the bourgeoisie notions of normality (Katz, 1995). Thus, for Mattachine gay liberation was tied to class consciousness.

Consciousness was centered as the Mattachine organization operated in secrecy for several years. Small group discussions began in the basement of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles (Faderman & Timmons, 2006). The issue of internalized oppression was central to early meetings as those who joined harbored self-hatred (Faderman & Timmons, 2006).

Overtime a cell structure took shape within the group to avoid public exposure of members and as such operated in secrecy: no master list of members was ever made. The group extended discrete invitations to only a selective group of men. Jamie Green, a member of Mattachine, explained that

To be invited to Mattachine you had to be wearing a Brooks Brothers three pieced suit. Those who were unusual dressers or had unusual hairstyles were not invited. If you made the mistake of bringing someone who was too flamboyant, you could be asked to leave. (Faderman & Timmons, 2006, pp. 113-114)

⁴ After presenting this material April 13, 2013 at the National Association for Ethnic Studies 41st annual conference I received a comment from Dr. Ashley Lucas that among pueblo tribes there is a particular dance about colonization involving a jester referred to as Mattachine. This comment has directed me to investigate the possibility that Hay’s first organization was the result of cultural appropriation.

Thus, the group ironically reinforced class and heteronormative hegemonic structures while utilizing Marxist ideology and further, reinforced patriarchy in upholding masculine superiority. However, the liberatory pursuit of Mattachine centered on members' political consciousness of homosexuality and grappling with internalized oppression.

Eventually the project of consciousness within Mattachine led to political projects. In 1952, Dale Jennings, a core member of Mattachine, admitted to being gay and was arrested for being gay (Faderman & Timmons, 2006, p. 112). Jennings was arrested for, “‘lewd and dissolute’ conduct by a vice officer whom Jennings had ignored and who insisted on following him home and who pushed his way into Jennings’ house” (Bullough, 2002, p. 79). The arrest was made on grounds of soliciting sex from the officer. Jennings argued that he was, “‘entrapped by a member of the Los Angeles Vice Squad’”, who lied in the accusation of Jennings’, “‘lewd conduct’” (Faderman & Timmons, 2006, p. 112). Mobilizing in support of Jennings, Mattachine secured Jennings an attorney and held fundraisers to cover the legal expenses. The success of Jennings’ acquittal created a surge in gay male interest in Mattachine as homosexual civil rights mirrored that of ethnic minorities and a dozen chapters immediately formed throughout southern California (Bullough, 2002, p. 79; Engels, 202, p. 382; Faderman & Timmons, 2006, p. 113).

In 1953, the founding members (Harry Hay, Rudi Gernreich, Dale Jennings, John Gruber, and Chuck Rowland) resigned from Mattachine due to fears of new members concerning communism and frustrations of secrecy that plagued the organization (Engels, 202, p. 382; Faderman & Timmons, 2006, p. 113). The new leadership asserted an assimilationist ideology and can be identified throughout as what D’Emillo (1983) terms a “‘retreat to respectability’” (Engel. 2002, p. 382). By 1955 Mattachine formed chapters across the nation reaching as far

east as New York. The Mattachine Society of New York (MSNY) is historically significant as it created a form of queer consciousness and politics (Engel, 2002).

In Greenwich Village, New York June 27, 1969 the Stonewall Inn became a watershed for queer politics. The patrons of this gay bar are identified by Toby Marotta (1981) to consist “unconventional homosexuals,” also known as, “street hustlers and drag queens” (Engel, 2002, p. 386). The New York police department had historically targeted this establishment for its patrons’ “moral failings”. While some people were arrested on a Friday night on the 27th of June, about two thousand people stood their ground against an estimated four hundred police, and even more rioted in the streets of New York. The next day, Saturday the 28th of June 1969, people wrote upon the boarded windows of the Stonewall Inn, reading, “THEY INVADED OUR RIGHTS... LEGALIZE GAY BARS, SUPPORT GAY POWER” (Duberman, 1993, p. 202 from Engel, 2002, p. 386). By including “GAY POWER” members of the queer community were rhetorically connecting to the momentum for the Black Panthers: justice modeled by the Black Power movement. Thus this became an instance of radical gay liberation.

After the Stonewall Riots members of the MSNY reorganized to form the new organization Gay Liberation Front (GLF) in July of 1969 (Engle, 2002, p. 387). While concerned with sexual oppression the GLF broadly opposed all oppression and sought revolutionary social change (Engle, 2002, p. 387). Once again working upon consciousness the GLF put forth the term gay in opposition to homophile and its reference to homosexual as pathologizing of same sex relations from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (Engel, 2002, p. 388). Thus, gay as a notion of self-identification worked against dominating logics of heteronormativity. By taking up feminist thought of the personal being political, (Hanisch, 1970) the GLF redefined coming out as a tactic for gay mobilization. In

publicly claiming and displaying sexual deviance the homosexual became gay for this political act invited discrimination and simultaneously reinforced a collective sense of pride. This move into the public eye is noted by Engles (2002) to achieve what previous movements could not: a mass mobilization. This development of the gay identity entering the mainstream led to the early 1970s clone identity defining gay in masculinity and its counter in the late 1970s radical faerie identity defining gay in femininity. Clearly, activism and the conceptualization of the gay identity are historically tied.

The broad activist agenda of the GLF caused a paralysis within the organization, though activists drew new tactics from the politics of visibility leading to the formation of the Gay Activist Alliance (GAA) in December of 1969. This group pursued strategies of working within the state system to gain civil rights and civil liberties. The first pursuit of the GAA was a gay rights bill prohibiting employment discrimination (Engels, 2002, p. 388). From the politics of visibility, civil rights and civil liberties were taken up within the nation state throughout the 1970s resulting in the formation of a radical Christian opposition in the later part of the decade (Fetner, 2008). Thus by the early 1980s gay civil rights was, “actively debated at all levels of government” (Engle, 2002, p. 390). Academics debated the meaning of gayness throughout the 1980s. For some, to be gay was a matter of fact existence (D’Emilo, 1983) while for others gayness was a modern result of social constructs (Weeks, 1985). Two political strategies were pursued at this time. One being an appeal to the protection of minority rights as a part of liberalism (Epstein, 1987) and the second being a utilization of otherness to pursue overarching liberation of sexuality and gender in society (Altman, 1971; D’Emilio, 1983; Weeks, 1985; Thomas, 1987).

Amid the tensions that formed out of the 1970s, activists then organized in response to Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) that caused the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) epidemic of the 1980s. The lack of visibility in neither mainstream media nor state attention from the Bush or Regan administration was mobilized against in the formation of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) in March of 1987 (Engle, 2002, p. 392). ACT UP reasserted the politics of visibility in their work, “to promote media attention for the AIDS crisis in hopes of raising universal awareness and acquiring political leverage” (Engle, 2002, p. 392). AIDS is identified by Butler (1990) to be strategically constructed in the mainstream media as a form of pollution specific to homosexuality, “by virtue of the boundary-trespass that is homosexuality and the disease as a specific modality of homosexual pollution” (Butler, 1990, p. 179-180). Thus, same-sex relations were implicated as necessitating the pollution of AIDS and justified the death of gay men in the public discourse. Continuing the politics of visibility but altering this tactic to force the public eye through vulgarity, ACT UP strategically organized die-ins which Butler (1993) contextualizes as, “tactical interruptions of public forums by lesbian and gay activists in favor of drawing attention and outrage to the failure of governmental funding of AIDS research and outreach” (Butler, 1993, p. 233). Thus, the AIDS epidemic caused gay mobilization to work towards civil rights for the survival of people in the gay community.

In 1990 gay activism regrouped to form the new organization Queer Nation. While certainly AIDS activism was important, the fundamental issues of civil exclusion for the gay community were set aside to fight for survival. Queer Nation worked to combat institutional homophobia and achieve civil equality for the gay identity (Engle, 2002). As a strategy of identity politics members recreated the once derogatory word *queer* into an empowered means of self-definition and political statement of pride. Informed by the politics of vulgarity established

by ACT UP, Queer Nation moved in public spheres enacting protests of visibility like kiss-ins. While pursuing queer civil rights, Queer Nation failed to address racial and gender divisions in an effort to maintain cohesion around white male middle-class concerns of civil equality (Engles, 2002, p. 395). By excluding other forms of oppression, common among nationalist movements, Queer Nation disintegrated by 1992. While short lived this group stands as the most recent mainstream manifestation of nationalist movements for the queer community.

Queerness emerged as a result of political pressure and the intersection of poststructuralism and feminism. In the 1990s theories and politics of, “antiessentialist, postidentitarian, strategically fluid ‘queerness’” took form (Stryker, 2004, p. 213 from Gray, 2009, p. 215). Queer critique began to disrupt the fixed binary of gay/straight conception, as these conceptions were argued to normalize particular sexualities and regulate sexual practices (Butler, 1990, 1993; Creet, 1991; Foucault, 1978; Sedgwick 1990). Thus gay and gayness were contextualized as implicating gay and lesbians in their own oppression as well as the oppression of others. Queer theorists sought to spur liberation from disrupting cultural norms through sexual and gender avenues (Butler, 1990, 1993; Berlant & Freeman, 1993). While tactically engaged the formation of the queer identity is paradoxical as queering encourages fluid identity construction and deconstruction while functioning in a political system that requires identity for political power (Gamson, 1995; Duggan, 1992). Thus the 1980s identity formation of gay and gayness provided a definable community that could mobilize for political ends. Queerness, while associated too, is distinct from gay and lesbian identity and thus is loosely defined with unclear boundaries (Phelan, 1997; Rand, 2004).

By the late 1990s and into the turn of the century, queer of color critique began to emerge among queer studies literature. Previous bodies of knowledge from feminist of color literature

like Audre Lorde, Gloria Anzaldua, Cherri Moraga, and many other lesbians of color began queer of color frameworks in the 1980s and continued into the 1990s. Some of the most notable pieces produced by these canon scholars are: This Bridge Called My Back (1981); Sister Outsider (1984); Making Face, Making Soul Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives of Color (1990); This Bridge We Call Home: Radical Visions for Transformation (2002). Queer studies worked itself into flights of theoretical fancy (Buttler, 1999) and was then provided new critical perspectives of color (Munoz, 2002) who pulled from pre-existing bodies of literature. Moreover, at the turn of the century there was the development of globalization and the rise of the internet: increasing interconnectivity and opening global perspectives in queer theory. While global analysis began at the start of the 21st century in queer studies, U.S. Third World Feminists had already been working for several decades on global liberation projects. Thus, the reinvention of queer studies has been possible due to voices of color particularly feminists of color.

Contemporary developments of queer thought have been possible through centering indigeneity and colonization for analysis. The fore runners of this work have been Native authors Andrea Smith, Qwo-Li Dirskill and queer white male authors Brian Joseph Gilley and Scott Lauria Morgensen. From their standpoints these authors work to combine Native studies and queer studies in responsible analysis. This collaboration is the movement of privileged white voices working to check their privilege and listen to Native voices. By learning to listen queer thought has been seen in recent works, to follow in the next section, to benefit from critical frameworks to critique the nation state. From the history above citizenship and the lack of national inclusion has been central to queer movements from the beginning of resistance. While the push from 1952 with Dale Jennings to the protests of Queer Nation in 1990, tactics have

pursued visibility as a means of reacting to the violations of civil rights. As the nation does include shameful debate about whether queer people should or should not be equal, it is possible to rethink queer strategies. By engaging Native studies, it will be shown that the nation state is still vulnerable to the people of the margins. To engage this power however, there is a required focus upon colonization and a realization of queer implication in colonial efforts. By understanding and owning the ways in which queer liberation efforts have contributed to the oppression of indigenous people new possibilities become visible for future activism. Thus, this thesis works to contribute to the contemporary developments of emerging analysis between queer studies and Native studies. By contributing to the emerging dialogue this work will carry on the inertia of developing queer thought with hopes of assisting future activism.

Contemporary Developments of Queer Theory

Andrea Smith identifies the fissures between Native studies and queer theory for the continued work of academics and activists. Smith particularly argues that the hybrid subject standpoint analysis present in queer theory is invested in the colonial project of genocide for Native subjects (Smith, 2010, pp. 53; 57).⁵ If a person is able to escape all dualities then the

⁵ Smith is critical of queer of color critique because it is argued to be informed by the colonial logic of the vanishing Indian.

In queer of color critique in particular, *mestizaje* and queerness often intersect to disappear indigeneity through the figure of the diasporic or hybrid queer subject. The consequence is that queer of color critique, while making critical interventions into both critical race and queer studies, generally lacks an analysis of settler colonialism and genocide. Within queer of color critique, many scholars engage subjectless critique while fully interrogating its limits... a critical limit often not explored by queer of color critique is the limits of settler colonialism. As such, indigeneity frequently disappears within these projects... queer of color critique's version of subjectless critique can... veil the queer of color subject's investment in settler colonialism. (Smith 2010, 52-53)

Smith continues this critical investigation by examining the work of Gayatri Gopinath who celebrates the appropriation of Native culture. Smith, asserts that, "this appropriation tends to depend on a very essentialized notion of Native identity that becomes the raw material for the building of a complex postmodern identity" or a hybrid identity (Smith 2010, 53). Turning to Ryana Green, Smith explains the "logic of genocidal appropriation" as a logic that holds "indigenous peoples must disappear. In fact, they must always be disappearing, to allow nonindigenous people's rightful claim over this land (Smith 2010, 53)." Thus the colonial logic which informs queer of color critique is a logic of genocide that assumes the disappearance of Native people.

identity of the colonizing settler and colonized Native are escapable truths. In this logic, the settler can become the Native and inherit the rightful claim to this land, Native culture, spirituality, and history.⁶ Thus, “while queer theorists such as Munoz tend to be critical of binaries,” Smith suggests, “it is important not to have a binary analysis of binaries” (Smith, 2010, p. 57). This is a novel move as Smith is utilizing queer theory to work upon itself. To explain this we need to step back and consider what Smith is critiquing.

Queer of color author Munoz (1999) identifies three reactions marginalized people have available to them as identification, counter-identification and disidentification.⁷ Disidentification moves beyond the binary framework of the oppressor/oppressed. The colonial binary framework has produced politics of assimilation/identification and counter-identification of which

It is also important to note that in the later 2011 republication of this piece in *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature* edited by Qwo-Li Dirskill, Chris Finley, Brian Joseph Gilley, and Scott L. Morgensen, Smith adds material to this critique. For more information see Smith 2011: 47-56.

⁶ The settler becomes the Native through appropriation of Native culture.

⁷ It is well known among Feminists of Color that Munoz developed disidentification through the work of Gloria Anzaldúa specifically pulling from the river analogy presented in *Borderlands/La Frontera*(1987). In Anzaldúa’s words disidentification was first articulated as she wrote:

But it is not enough to stand on the opposite river bank, shouting questions, challenging patriarchal, white conventions. A counterstance locks one into a duel of oppressors and oppressed; locked in mortal combat, like the cop and the criminal, both are reduced to a common denominator of violence. The counterstance refutes the dominant culture’s views and beliefs, and, for this, it is proudly defiant. All reaction is limited by, and dependent on, what it is reacting against. Because the counterstance stems from a problem with authority – outer as well as inner – it’s a step towards liberation from cultural domination. But it is not a way of life. At some point, on our way to a new consciousness, we will have to leave the opposite bank, the split between the two mortal combatants somehow healed so that we are on both shores at once and, at once see through serpent and eagle eyes. Or perhaps we will decide to disengage from the dominant culture, write it off altogether as a lost cause, and cross the border into a wholly new and separate territory. Or we might go another route. The possibilities are numerous once we decide to act and not react. (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 100)

Munoz has never properly given the deserved respect to Gloria Anzaldúa and thus is shamed for silencing the voice and contribution of Queer Chicana Feminism.

disidentification critiques and escapes. Utilizing the work of Pecheux, Munoz explains that, “[d]isidentification is the third mode of dealing with dominant ideology, one that neither opts to assimilate within such a structure nor strictly opposes it; rather, disidentification is a strategy that works on and against dominant ideology” (Munoz 1999, p, 11). This conceptual base is transformative in that it seeks to utilize the existing discourse and simultaneously oppose it. Smith’s engagement with disidentification is a move upon the exclusive framework that erases colonization from queer theory and thus is disidentifying disidentification. Moving beyond this fundamental challenge, Smith asserts that queer theory and Native studies can open new perspectives. Disidentification is recognized as having potential in developing new strategic maneuverings possible for Native studies. queer theory has the potential to benefit from Native studies through critiques of heteronormativity based in understandings of nation. The fissures between Native studies and queer theory are highlighted in this piece as theoretical points of interest and living tensions between sub-cultural communities: specifically the Two-Spirit and radical faerie communities.

Tensions rise when the radical faeries culturally appropriate Native identity to gain symbolic citizenship. To this day in some contexts, rights and liberties of citizens are limited based upon identities like race, class, gender, ability and sexual orientation. While limits upon citizenship seem to contradict notions of the nation state, Charles Mills’ conception of the *racial contract* argues that all people are created equal under the law; rather, the issue is what constitutes a person (Mills, 1997, p. 11).⁸ The notion of the failed queer citizen as passive or

⁸ To account for racism in society, Mills complicates the social contract with the *racial contract*. The social contract is the agreement of all people in society to establish a government. This common agreement also involves a form of consent. People of a society consent to the laws of society and in return receive civil rights and civil liberties. For people to be denied civil rights and civil liberties because of racism (sexism, heretosexism, ableism, ageism, ect...) appears to be a contradiction to the social contract, but Mills argues otherwise. In conjunction to the social contract is the simultaneous subtext of the *racial contract*. The racial contract orders society in terms of humanity where white is equivalent to human and non-white to sub-human. Thus, the

hypersexualized is alive in contemporary Western society as seen in the Cold War era where McCarthyists portrayed the homosexual as a “security risk” (Corber, 1997 in Hennen, 2005, p. 47). Later, queer people and the spaces they inhabited were targets of the state culminating in the Stonewall Riots of 1969 (Miller, 2006, p. 335). Moreover, current rhetoric against same-sex marriage includes a narrative that homosexuality is unnatural, thus sexual orientation denies the right of queer citizens to form their life in American society equivalent to heterosexual citizens (McShee, 2008, p. 27). To resist state constraints, groups throughout American history, like the radical faeries, have appealed to Native identity as a symbol of otherness (Deloria, 1998, p. 159). According to Deloria, the indigenous symbol functions to 1) form a counterculture against authority (p. 159), 2) lay claim to the cultural power of Indianness in the white imagination (p.168), and 3) provide the opportunity to forge identity (p. 175). The employment of *playing Indian* fixates the otherness of Native people, and ultimately encourages the completion of genocide by the colonial state so all that is Native is available for taking (Deloria, 1998, p. 176; Smith, 2010, pp. 53-54).

American identity is proven by Philip Deloria (1998) to be fundamentally constructed by colonists through *playing Indian*. From the inception of America, performing Indian drag and claiming Native identity has shaped the colonizing process of Americanization. Deloria asserts that these actions of appropriating Native culture and identity were a dialogue not about Natives, but about the settler practitioners and their beliefs (Deloria, 1998, p. 26). This dialogue of settler subjects, historically and presently is directed toward colonial and imperial authority. The function of claiming Native identity and culture by the radical faeries is, 1) a response to the heteronormative colonial state excluding queer settler subjects from full citizenship and 2) an

egalitarian order of society established in the social contract is not interrupted by oppressive treatment of non-white subjects who are identified and defined by the *racial contract*.

appeal to have citizenship bestowed upon them. This is fundamentally problematic because as Mills (1997) argues, the American nation-state functions through the *racial contract*. For instance, the doctrine of discovery, a legal foundation of Federal Indian Law, is identified by Mills as a manifestation of the *racial contract* (Mills, 1997, pp. 23-24). The doctrine of discovery establishes the domination of Native people not by conquest but by right of discovery granting a mere right of occupancy to Native people resulting in the fundamental imposition upon the rights of sovereignty being that of property and self-rule (Getches, Wilkinson & Williams, 2005, p. 42).

In the thirteenth century, during the Crusades, lawyer-Pope Innocent IV, “justified the extension of papal sovereignty over infidels on the basis of their divergence from Christian European norms of ‘natural law’” (Getches, Wilkinson & Williams, 2005, p. 43).). It is important to note the use of heteronormativity in Innocents IV work *Commentaria Doctissima in Quinque Libros Decretalium* in *The Expansions of Europe: The First Phase 1977* edited by James Muldoon of which provides, “that if a gentile... does something contrary to the law of nature, the pope can lawfully punish him, as for example in Genesis 19 where we see that the inhabitants of Sodom who sinned against the law of nature were punished by God” (Getches, Wilkinson & Williams, 2005, p. 43). The historical onset of the doctrine of discovery thus is seen to utilize sexual oppression. This is a significant point of commonality in shared oppression between queer studies and Native studies. After the Crusades the legal justification of the holy wars against so called heathen and infidel peoples continued to develop and later in the fifteenth century was utilized to create the ideology of discovery for the acquisition of territories by Christian Europeans (Getches, Wilkinson & Williams, 2005, p. 44).

In 1492 the Italian explorer Christopher Columbus was commissioned by Spain to search for a short cut to the Indies. Upon Columbus's "discovery" the Pope Alexander VI issued a series of bulls (decrees) confirming the discovery on behalf of Spain (Getches, Wilkinson & Williams, 2005, p. 46). For instance, the Bull *inter caetera Divine* provides that colonizers, "have decided to subdue the said mainlands and islands, and their natives and inhabitants, with God's grace, and to bring them to the Catholic faith..."(Getches, Wilkinson & Williams, 2005, p, 46) establishing discovery with the provision, "that these mainlands and islands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered... be not actually possessed by some other Christian king or prince" (Getches, Wilkinson & Williams, 2005, p, 46). This document established within the ideology of discovery that land ownership is tied to Christian affiliation.

Later, in 1823 the Supreme Court solidified the doctrine of discovery within the American system in the ruling of *Johnson v. McIntosh*. Ultimately, it was determined that as occupants tribes do not have the right to sell their lands. The ruling directly utilized the doctrine of discovery as can be seen in Chief Justice John Marshall's statement that "discovery gave an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy... and gave also a right to such a degree of sovereignty, as the circumstance of the people would allow them to exercise" (Getches, Wilkinson & Williams, 2005, p. 65). That is the United States has the right to extinguish Native land title (property rights) and sovereignty (capacity for self-rule).

Native author and Federal Indian Lawyer, Steven Newcomb (2008) identifies the utilization of the doctrine of discovery in *Nevada v. Hicks* 2001 case. Newcomb reports that, "[t]he Court did not explicitly mention the doctrine of discovery, but its reasoning about the status of Indian nations ("tribes") in relation to the United States followed patterns of reasoning in keeping with the *Johnson* ruling" (Newcomb, 2008, p. 127). Therefore, the concepts of

domination created over seven hundred years ago continue to shape the United States today. While lawyers did trace the doctrine of discovery back to the Crusades, Newcomb reports that the supreme court still ruled in favor of continuing this long established practice of domination (Newcomb, 2008, p. 127).

Native people are clearly dehumanized in the American system, through logics established in the thirteenth century. Queer political activists should be deeply concerned about the continuation of the doctrine of discovery. Because this legal doctrine was originally justified utilizing sexual oppression its utilization establishes the lack of progress the American system has achieved for liberation. As the *racial contract* is concerned with who is considered to be human, there is a great deal of work identified in this single instance for the inclusion of Native people. The dilemma is that even if queer people gained full citizenship in the American system the logics of sexual and gender oppression are embedded within the system. Further, the active logics of domination under the *racial contract* would still be excluding members of the LGBTQ community for other categories of identity deemed inhuman like race, class, and ability.

Ultimately it is important to recognize that under the *racial contract* the focus must be upon the conception of humanity. Thus, the appropriation of Native identity by the radical faeries is by no means a random act, and is argued here as signifying fundamental work by queer settler subjects upon their American identity.

While the actions of the radical faeries have been oppressive, there is an important difference between oppressive appropriation and the fact of being inspired by Native people and history, which cannot be said to be an act of oppression. I argue that the radical faeries exhibit the former characteristics. Speaking on the importance of tradition for Native communities, Andrea Smith asserts:

Native traditions can allow Native communities to remember their nations as not necessarily structured through hierarchy, oppression, or patriarchy. These remembrances should be critically interrogated and not romanticized... While these visions may be critiqued for being utopian or romanticizing, their importance today is not so much that they were true of all Native communities or that Native communities were perfect. Rather, the fact that any memories of alternative social organization exist at all helps denormalize our current social structure. If we lived differently before, we can live differently in the future. (Smith, 2010, p. 50)

While settler subjects, like the radical faeries, are not entitled to claim Native tradition the denormalization of social structures in the contemporary is significant to all people - Native and non-Native. Settler subjects do not have the lived experience of being Native which includes access to cultural socialization and the lived experience of colonization. From this distance, settlers are incapable of understanding the meaning and purpose of tradition specific to each nation. Knowing that oppressive structures of the world are not ahistorical or untouchable is universally inspiring. However, *playing Indian* as a strategy of resistance in countercultures, like the radical faeries, is reinforcing oppression and violence. I argue that the issue of citizenship can be strategically pursued by the radical faeries in solidarity with indigenous peoples, but that their colonial tactic of appropriation needs to be altered.

CHAPTER THREE: GLOBALIZING ECONOMIES AND IDENTITIES

Radical Faeries and Thailand

The radical faeries matter increasingly as they expand cyberspace and their presence from the US to the Third World. Part of this expansion required a growth in identity making and highlights the importance of economics to the understanding of identity. The global economic system is important to understand the power relations in the ever growing connections of the globalized world. From positions of economic destitution and privilege, the ability to make identity is tailored. For the dispossessed limited choice moves people into positions of relations to the economically privileged in markets like sex work. For the economically privileged the heritage of settler privilege will be shown to be embodied in the characteristics of the cosmopolitan identity, operating on a global scale.

The radical faerie identity has grown as global gatherings have taken route in Third World countries like Thailand. The main website for this gathering is www.asianfaeries.com, and is utilized as a platform to market and organize a 10 day gathering at the Heaven Resort on the island of Koh Yao Tai in Thailand. Potential participants are asked to pay a \$365 fee (11,447.02 baht) for the entire event or a pro-rated fee of \$36.50 (1044.70 baht) per day. This fee is requested in cash upon arrival. The fee covers accommodations of a shared bungalow and three prepared meals per day. A small portion of the fees are identified to, “subsidize the cost for faeries from less developed nations like Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia and Bangladesh who otherwise could not attend,” this subsidy money is also described as, “scholarships”. People from “a developing country, such as the ASEAN countries,” are asked to pay as much as they can afford, as they are explained to earn, “10 percent of the average American”. This year a sliding scale was introduced requiring at least 200 baht (\$6.99) per day or 2,000 baht (\$69.88)

for the entire gathering. However, if this is still too much people are encouraged to let the organizers know and they will try to help those in Thailand and neighboring countries to join the gathering. Clearly there is a striking difference in the asking entrance fee for those coming from Western countries versus those in Thailand or nearby countries.

Participants are identified to be, “30-50 gays from the USA, France, Greece, Holland, Germany, Belarus, Estonia, Australia, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, China, Taiwan, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, and who knows where else”. As a, “sex-positive,” culture the website states that some people do have sex though it, “is not a sex party”. The opportunity of the gathering is to, “meet men from very different cultures, and experience them fist-hand (so to speak),” this being, “...a cross-cultural romance or two”. To facilitate these sexual experiences a tent is available as a “love palace”(facebook) for those who want some privacy. Clearly, there is significant sexual engagement with Thai gay culture in the contemporary radical faerie manifestation in Thailand.

Gay culture in Thailand is tied to globalization and the impact of the global market upon the Thai economy. Peter A. Jackson (2003) articulates an emergence of Thai gay culture in the early 1980s and the continuing tailoring of the Thai gay identity by economics. By interviewing the editor of the first Thai gay magazine, Jackson reports the formation of urban Thai gay culture to form in 1983 independently of the West, “only subsequently being linked in international gay publishing and communication networks” (Jackson, 2003, p. 158). Thus, while Thailand is embedded in the global gay network, it maintains a particular character unique to its culture.

In Thailand the gay lifestyle represents autonomy that is fundamentally tied to capital. Jackson provides that, “given the conservative constraints that the Thai state imposes on those who work within the bureaucracy, the market place and work in the private sector are often the

only possible sites of autonomy for people who transgress dominant gender and sexual norms” (Jackson, 2003, p. 157). While not explicitly stating the prominent sex work industry in this article, Jackson’s argument certainly includes such labor. The fact of limited economic choices for sex workers is argued by Thai feminists who critique paternalistic notions of Western activists (Jeffery, 2002, p. 122). For Jackson it is important to acknowledge the pivotal role of capitalism within gay identity. For instance gay capital is powerful as it represents a particular niche market that reaches globally. However, the commodified character of the gay identity produces economic boundaries. In one interview Jackson met a man in 1983 who stated, “I am too poor to be gay” (Jackson, 2003, p. 161). This expression captures the fact that financial means is required in Thailand to be gay and live a life of autonomy: excluding the poor. Thus, economics is identified as a significant point of which to understand gay identity functioning in Thailand.

It is imperative that social and political concerns are contextualized with economic realities. The contemporary global market is fundamentally built upon capitalism. Capitalism is an economic system that upholds property rights of capital goods and means of production that function to create goods and services in exchange for capital (Goldstein, 2008). Profit is created through surplus value being the capital that exceeds the cost of resources needed for production and the labor of production. The owners of the means of production, the bourgeoisie, are the benefactors of surplus value in their pursuit to accumulate wealth. This trend for increasing wealth is not simply a means rooted in greed, as Goldstein (2008) identifies the framework of competition as the leading factor motivating capitalists. The struggle to increase profit is rooted in competition as each capitalist entity struggles, “to keep from being vanquished by its rivals

and to expand its own corporate or financial domain” (Goldstein, 2008, p. xi). Thus, fundamental to capitalism is a motivating drive to ever expand profits for survival.

Due to the inability to sustain existence in the capitalist system several measures are enacted to secure profits. To begin, production can be increased. If a company is able to produce more than it is able to sell more and gain higher profits. However, during capitalist expansion, “the powers of production increase ever more rapidly while the powers of consumption of a society expand gradually” (Goldstein, 2008, p. xi). This fundamental function of the capitalist structure is due to the fact that labor in production also affects profit margins. Wages are part of the cost of production and impact the resulting profit. This fact leads the competitive system to devalue wages as much as possible to increase surplus value. This situation means that workers who sell their labor for capital, are not always able to increase their buying capacity, leading to the over production of goods. In an over production, profit is negatively impacted by the lack of consumption which leads to a financial crisis. While production has not gone over and above the needs of humanity the ever growing gap of wealth distribution among people is causing system failures. Goldstein provides that “distribution under capitalism does not take place on the basis of human need.... [but rather] on the basis of selling for a profit” (Goldstein, 2008, p. xii). Thus, the current economic system does not value human life nor care about human suffering. Further, this system has produced the unique historical moment of, “growing poverty and want,” in conjunction to growing unsold inventories of all goods, “from food to housing” (Goldstein, 2008, p. xii). Therefore the search for profit to secure capitalists’ interest of mere survival is fundamentally resulting in the increase of human suffering. Clearly the capitalist system is flawed.

The flaws of capitalism are facilitated through political institutions. Currently the world market is built upon ideals of neoliberalism. According to D. Harvey (2006), neoliberalism can be defined as:

a theory of political economic practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. (Harvey, 2006, p. 22)

Thus, in the framework of neoliberal policies it is for the sake of humanity that countries should take up policies of private property, individual liberty, unencumbered markets and free trade. It is ironic that while there is evidence for the suffering caused by capitalism those who promote its existence do so under the guise of improving the human condition. It is significant to see that the state is not only expected to uphold ideals of the market being unencumbered markets and free trade but further to incorporate ideals of what a citizen's rights are being property rights and individual liberty. Thus, the idea of capitalism is tied to the concept of citizenship and is promoted as significant to freedom itself in neoliberal frameworks (Taylor, 1996). Further the imposition unto states in the requirement of unencumbered markets and free trade, leads to imbalances of power in the development of globalization.

In the fight for survival, capitalism necessitates constant expansion. Currently the force of capitalist expansion has resulted in the international integration of national economies resulting in globalization and the world market. This contemporary development has been facilitated by developments of transportation and communication namely the internet (Goldstein, 2008). As states become integrated in the world market those who achieved industrialization first, like the US, have the ability to maintain power over developing countries (Taylor, 1996). The network of industrialized countries is referred to as the *core* and the incorporated developing

countries are identified as the *periphery* or *client states* (Grioux, 2005). The imbalance of power between industrialized and developing countries is identified by Grioux (2005) who implicates the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund as agents of capitalist power. These organizations function to promote neoliberal policies of free trade for Western financial expansion and commercial interests, “in order to manage and transfer resources and wealth from the poor and less developed nations to the richest and most powerful nation-states and to the wealthy cooperate defenders of capitalism” (Grioux, 2005, p. 6). Thus the incorporation of developing countries into the global market is for the benefit of Western nation states who gain more resources and wealth. It appears that countries no longer need to physically take over others in imperial pursuits but rather can gain control by incorporating developing countries into the global market: forming neo-imperialism.

Thailand has never been formally colonized, however has been incorporated in the global market. Historically, Thailand pursued industrialization through low-wage labor. From the end of World War II to 1975 wage growth was limited and further wage growth was slower than labor productivity growth from 1975 to 1990 (Sungsidh and Kanchada 1996). Thus, foreign investment was highly profitable as surplus value was not impeded upon by labor costs. By pursuing a path of developing low social capital economics Thailand grew its economic base upon the abundance of land and natural resources resulting in decades of export growth primarily being rice (Glassman, 2001, p. 136). This situation has caused the contemporary case of Thailand as a *periphery* country utilizing its natural resources for industrialized countries while leaving its citizens in economic destitution participating in low wage labor markets. Clearly Thailand is colonized in the contemporary neo-imperial system of globalization as the agency of its citizens is significantly less than that of citizens of the *core* Western powers.

The power difference between the *core* and the *periphery* is understood as a hegemonic structure. Peter J. Taylor (1996) provides world hegemony is, “a property of the whole system and not just of the hegemon itself” (Taylor, 1996, p. 25). From a historical view, hegemonic rule has emerged in the last 500 years in a 3 phases cycle: 1) the hegemon dominates production even in the *periphery* 2) this economic domination results in commercial supremacy by hegemonic merchants, and 3) the wealth accruing from this activity results in the hegemon housing the world’s bankers (Taylor, 1996, p. 31-32). While earlier forms of hegemony required land based colonization the current Americanization of hegemonic world power is based upon financial means, tying world order to consumption (Taylor, 1996). Taylor identifies that “consumer society represents much more than the contemporary face of capitalism; rather it is the culmination of a tradition of modernity intimately linked to world hegemony” (Taylor, 1996, p. 192). The tradition of modernity that Taylor identifies is the contemporary drive of consumption for comfort where living in comfort is equated to being modern. Thus, the hegemonic structure of world order is one of consumption based ability to access comfort.

As modernity is based in consumption so too is the gay lifestyle, previously identified. The absolute importance of the world economic order thus not only tailors the identity making for gay culture but also the formation of modernity in the current world system. Thus, it is clear that economics is fundamental to the formation of identity.

For the radical faeries and the modern gay identity it is important to consider the difference of power positions as it tailors the formation of gay scenes and interactions globally. As the world order currently positions the West in particular power, it is important to understand the processes of identity making available for the failed queer citizen. While the failed queer citizen is rejected by countries like America, he still maintains economic privilege. By

possessing economic privilege, the agency of failed queer citizens is facilitated globally, enacting characteristics of the cosmopolitan identity and upholding a settler heritage.

Settler Heritage and the Queer Cosmopolitan

The word cosmopolitan derives from the Greek word, "*Kosmopolites*", defined as, "citizen of the world, and is generally first attributed to Diogenes the Cynic (c. 412-323) who said 'I am a citizen of the world'" (Delanty, 2009, p. 20). At this time Greek society was firmly established upon the ideal of civic devotion to the political community. The polis, establishing the identity of citizenship, has been identified namely by Foucault as establishing an insider status dependent upon the existence of an outsider status. Therefore, nationalism is only possible through the active exclusion of others. While Delanty argues that the initial formation of cosmopolitanism functioned to merely reject the conventions of Greek society, Cynicism not only set the foundation for the cosmopolitan as a critical sensibility but precluded fundamental characteristics identified in the contemporary cosmopolitan. It is important to understand the ancient Cynic consciousness as it will be shown to influence the contemporary settler consciousness.

Cynics are particularly taken up by Foucault, Burchell, and Arnold (2011) who utilizes ancient texts to derive overarching themes and characteristics. Their analysis of the Cynic is limited for while pulling from various ancient sources, "the portrait of the Cynic outlined by Epictetus [a main contributor] is in no way an exact historical representation," but rather a mixture of the Cynic and the Stoic (Foucault, Burchell, & Arnold, 2011, p. 316). Thus, it is important to consider the following section as an outline of the consciousness provided by both Stoicism and Cynicism.

The Cynic lives unconcealed, independent and capable of distinguishing between what is good and what is bad (Foucault et. al., 2011, p. 298). Functionally, the Cynic “unravels the division between good and evil” (Foucault et. al., 2011, p, 298). The Cynic’s task is to take care of all of humanity by engaging all people in the deliberations of, “[h]appiness and unhappiness, good and ill fortune, slavery and freedom,” this being the, “true political activity” (Foucault et. al., 2011, p. 302). All this is undertaken for the betterment of humanity itself, as the Cynic is described as a, “universal night-watchman,” who possesses a bond with all that comprise humankind (Foucault et. al., 2011, p. 301).

Immanuel Kant is a foundational canon of cosmopolitanism. Kant is poignant about cosmopolitanism in the works: *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* (1784) and *Perpetual Peace* (1795). Kant argues that the world will eventually give up nationalism in the development of a world republic. Simply, the boundaries of the nation-state which produce the insider status as opposed to the outsider status would broaden to include all people. World peace would thus manifest in the emergence of a world government and further a world citizenship. From this standpoint republicanism is synonymous with cosmopolitanism (Delanty, 2009). Kant’s proposition of the evolution of governmental structure and identity that finds relation to all human beings is a form of universalism: the belief in an overarching similarity among all humans that bounds humanity. Further this bond is formed in cosmopolitanism as it is constructed upon the notion of a dialectical relationship between the global/cosmos and the local/polis. One form of this relation is the local appropriating the global potentially resulting in hybridization, the production of identity, and creolization, the production of culture (Delanty, 2009).

Universalism is the common theoretical reference to constructions of the cosmopolitan (Calcutt, Woodward, & Skrbis, 2009). However, universalistic constructions of cosmopolitanism is argued against by Lamont and Aksartova (2002a) who rather utilize particular universalisms (Lamont, Morning, & Mooney, 2002b) to analyze working class racial relations in the United States and France. The analysis derived from particular universalisms of cosmopolitanism is that, “the cultural repertoires of universalism... are differentially available to individuals across race and national context” (Lamont & Aksartova, 2002a, p. 2). Simply, race and class are active agents of privilege/oppression that tailor individuals’ access to universalistic notions. Concurring with Lamont et al. (2002a; 2002b), this chapter argues that the queer cosmopolitan is accessing universalistic notions of which are tailored by sexual oppression and settler heritage.

Ulrich Beck (1999, 2001, 2006) contends that universal concerns of global economic failure, environmental decimation and the contemporary probability of infectious diseases spreading internationally are the motivating risk factors prompting cosmopolitan identity formation. While Beck’s (1999) utilization of risk analysis is disputed (Campbell & Currie, 2006) the idea that macro afflictions upon society are motivating individual psychological changes is significant. Macro afflictions of homophobic-nationalism and essentialist notions of the gay man have motivated the emergence and growth of the radical faerie identity. Previously identified, the radical faeries engage the *symbolic Indian* to approach their exclusion from citizenship. This colonial act of appropriation is congruent with cosmopolitans as Beck provides, “[t]he decision to enter a political realm larger than the local one may be voluntary, but it often results from the force of circumstances” (Beck, 2008, p. 27). Like other cosmopolitans,

queer cosmopolitans are engaged with the world beyond their local due to risk factors: specifically in this case being sexual oppression.

The cosmopolitan can be thought of as a person that is engaged in continuous identity making. Delanty (2009) suggests that the cosmopolitan is conceptually, “the desire to go beyond ethnocentricity and particularity,” and further argues that, “cosmopolitanism is an open process by which the social world is made intelligible; it should be seen as the expression of new ideas, the opening of spaces of discourse, identifying possibilities for translation and the construction of the social world” (Delanty, 2009, p. 78). In this sense the cosmopolitan is an active being that is engaging the world and creating the world simultaneously. By engaging other conceptualizations the cosmopolitan can be understood as exhibiting the characteristics of mobility, hybridity, irony, and critical consciousness.

To begin, cosmopolitanism involves mobility in that, valuing cultural differences draws cosmopolitans to urban spaces or to be world travelers to tour cultural spaces (Beck, 2008). It is by virtue of economic privilege that the cosmopolitan is able to access facilities of mobilization. Through transnational movements of people and culture arises the characteristic of hybridity (Nederveen Pieterse, 2004). Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2004) argues hybridity as an alternative to essentialism and the actuality of difference. In the value of diversity and worldliness, hybridity functions to open cosmopolitans to others. However, Siapera (2011) argues that, “hybridity is not the dialectic of alterity and identity, but rather the domination of the former by, and through pollinating it with, the latter” (Siapera, 2011, p. 142). In other words, oppression is replicated through hybridity rather than challenged: difference is unacknowledged for a claim to sameness. The hybridization articulated in cosmopolitan literature thus is the same as hybridity in queer

theory that is critiqued by Andrea Smith (2010). This point of convergence is important as the character of global queer actors is able to be further identified through cosmopolitan identity.

The cosmopolitan is further characterized as being ironic in having distance from a history and culture. The irony of the cosmopolitan is self-evident as the cosmopolitan actively re/creates the social reality of the world while simultaneously being removed or isolated from the world. Turner (2001, 2002) identifies this irony as Socratic in that achieving distance from one's own culture allows for skepticism to emerge. The process of skepticism is understood in this project as the formation of critical consciousness, the second characteristic, and is understood to be both internal and external. Internal critical consciousness provides a sense that all perspectives are culturally socialized and contingent, while external critical consciousness provides a sense of questioning of social norms and narratives. For Turner (2001), this process guides the development of cosmopolitan morals to an obligation to protect so-called primitive cultures. However, William Smith (2007) critiques this notion providing that, "[a]n ironic disposition can inform the way we think about our commitments, but it will not necessarily make us more likely to act on our commitments" (Smith, 2007, p. 41). The radical faeries have clearly sought refuge in the idea of the *symbolic Indian*, allowing for a distance from Western culture and thus the heteronormative state. From this distance the sexual oppression that clearly marks their lives was made available to be critiqued and its internalization made available to be approached in Socratic irony. However it appears that the actions of the radical faeries are concurrent with Smith (2007), in that the radical faerie's ironic cosmopolitan characteristic has failed to form actions for the benefit of indigenous peoples.

This chapter began by acknowledging the global expanse of the radical faerie identity. One of these expanses is Thailand: a country economically different from America, the birth

place of the radical faeries. By articulating the frameworks of global economic systems this chapter linked identity making to globalization and in particular provided the importance of commodification to the gay identity. Further, economic privilege is identified to facilitate the cosmopolitan identity in characteristics of mobility, hybridity, irony and critical consciousness. By means of settler heritage the radical faeries are economically positioned to access resources for travel, providing for engagement with colonized others practiced through hybridity. The result of hybridization is a reformation of the gay white male identity providing the capacity to undo internalized homophobia and a stance to critique the heteronormativity of the nation-state. Also through heritage, the radical faeries take up the cosmopolitan identity as it fundamentally works upon citizenship. The ancient Stoic and Cynic routes of cosmopolitanism fundamentally link this identity to challenging the conception of nationhood. The radical faeries engagement of the cosmopolitan identity marks their settler privilege. The cosmopolitan is available to those who have economic privilege and further is enacted in colonial forms through the radical faerie engagement of the *symbolic Indian*. Clearly, the tradition of white LGBTQ activism for civil rights in Chapter two lives on in the new queer cosmopolitan manifestation of the global radical faerie identity.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Introduction and Overview

This qualitative study explores the virtual presentation of the radical faerie culture in Thailand. Data was collected through cyber-ethnographic methods that identified the sample areas of specific websites, internet blogs, message boards and one picture archive. Data was analyzed through Visual Grounded Theory (VGT) over a period of six months. Previous research and the findings of this project show the radical fairies to be queer white men of privilege who are engaging indigenous identities in their liberatory efforts. Through VGT this study identifies and interrogates the engagement of colonial discourses by the radical faeries. The goal of this study is to develop a decolonizing critical consciousness within the Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer (LGBTQ) movement, and to potentially explore a bridging of the LGBTQ movement with other social justice movements.

There are specific research questions which guide this study. These were developed through a critical race, queer, colonial and cognitive theoretical lens as previously discussed in Chapter one and Chapter two. The research questions furthered an understanding of theory and praxis and began the method that allowed for developing a guide for the researcher to create memos regarding observations, original thinking, and development of codes, categories, themes and analysis. The initial research questions that focus and guide this study include:

- RQ1 How and in what ways do the Radical Faeries enact cultural appropriation?
- RQ2 Are there affects that result from cultural appropriation?
- RQ3 How and in what ways are alternatives seen within the Radical Faerie culture to cultural appropriation?

This chapter begins with identifying the rationale for approaching this research topic using qualitative methods as a research strategy. Since the use of cyber-ethnography and visual grounded theory are relatively new methods of collection and analysis coverage of these emerging research methods is explored in detail to ensure the legitimacy of this methodology in an academic setting. Next cyber-ethnographies and visual grounded theory are discussed in providing the method of collection (sampling and recruitment) and data analysis. Then a discussion of trustworthiness will be provided. Finally, this chapter will conclude with a discussion of the ethical considerations taken by the researcher throughout the study, the limitations of the study both of which include recommendations for future researchers.

Rational

The topic of this thesis concerns people: their expressions, actions and relations to others. The Social Sciences have employed qualitative methods to study this content area since the early 1900s. Qualitative questions move researchers from documenting events in questions of who, what, where and when to the more difficult realm of how and why specific behavior is seen. This thesis is focused upon the radical faerie (who) actions (what) in Thailand (where) during the contemporary (when) and seeks to answer why there is this expression and how it functions and impacts the radical faeries and indigenous others. As the subject of inquiry is an issue of understanding social perceptions and social relations qualitative methods were selected.

By engaging qualitative methods, the notion of queer liberation and its engagement with colonial discourses became an issue of studying agency and the active engagement with and against hegemonic structures. Ethnographic research is the study of people, “as they are and as they experience and react to life” (Masequesmay, 2008, p. 227). To pursue the initial research questions ethnographic methods were chosen to identify and elaborate upon the radical faerie

perspective and behavior to the reality of queer oppression and colonial discourses. Forbes (2008) provides that ethnographic research, “is really no different from any other time-depth research, in that it is necessary that each significant assertion of fact or description be relatable to a particular source, or sources, in order that validation may occur” (Forbes, 2008, p. 74). In congruency with Forbes’ notion of ethnographic research, the assertions made from this project are legitimized through ethnographic data that have particular sources.

Ethnographic research has developed in the contemporary to incorporate the development of the World Wide Web. Field notes, memos, recordings and photographs have a long history as records of events that allow ethnographers to review data and to reconsider and refine their observations (Hine, p. 22). These research practices also have an important function in allowing ethnographers to show, “an apparently unmediated portrayal of the field,” paired with researcher understandings and delivered to audiences (Hine, 2000, p. 22). Computer-mediated communication is upheld in surpassing ethnographic research in that issues of data recording are fundamentally overcome in the data source (Hine, 2000). Data collections can be limited in the information captured by specific devices like tape recorders or video cameras. Further, the participants of studies can be influenced by the fact of being studied, causing unforeseen alterations in the data (Mann & Stuart, 2000, p. 89). By engaging online data researchers allow participants to be the producers of data that is then saved in the online archive of the Internet itself. All the data produced by participants is complete in the expression intended as other participants viewing the data see the same expressions as the researcher. In this way the interactions of the participants are completely recorded overcoming the limitations of recording devices of the past. Further, the expressions recorded online are completely inhibited by the act of being involved in a research project. The expressions of participants were made at a specific

time with assumedly no consideration of ever being involved in an ethnographic study. This point of genuine creation is ethically concerning and will be discussed later however the value and quality of the data is substantial and led to selecting cyber/virtual ethnographic methods for data collection.

Ethnic Studies researchers are part of the Social Sciences but are unique unto themselves. In conducting ethnographic work, scholars of Ethnic Studies are charged by leaders of the field like Masesquesmay (2008) to advance political emancipation which empowers the dispossessed and disrupts the status quo of oppression. This idea is identified by Masesquesmay (2008) to be derived by the previous work of Alain Touraine and Gilbert Elbaz (1992) who identified critical ethnographic research as research that requires implications for liberation: going beyond mere description. This thesis achieves this requirement by focusing upon the actions of queer white men who seek liberation but reinforce colonial hegemonic structures. By centering upon critical intervention of LGBTQ political consciousness the implications of this work are hoped to assist the development of decolonial consciousness. Thus, the methodology being employed is cyber ethnographic in the data collection and critical ethnographic in the discussion of data and future action taken beyond this document.

Qualitative research was significantly developed in 1968 by Glaser and Strauss in their book *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Charmaz, 2006, p. 5). Prior to this seminal piece positivism reigned in the qualitative realm of research. The positivist assumptions that directed scholarship fundamentally divided theory and research. Through the work of Glaser and Strauss qualitative inquiry has grown to include epistemological ventures gained through interpreting meaning and intuitive realizations. The Grounded Theory method of engaging data centers upon the importance of process in the human ability to construct meaning. While structures certainly

have emerged throughout the global society, these outcomes are the result of social meanings that rely on, “language and emerge through action” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 7). Process is thus taken up to be studied through the examination of many different events. Each event, having an identifiable beginning and ending, is a piece of the overall meaning of a process that can be identified through taking many events in conjunction to one another. Thus, meaning of processes emerges through Grounded Theory methods of constructing meaning between and among wide varieties of data centered upon a singular process.

The process centered in this thesis is the emergent meaning of queer consciousness interacting with colonial discourse. This process is identified and elaborated upon through examining the events of pictures taken by radical faerie community members and contextualized through blogs and other associated websites.

Grounded Theory was selected for this project as current theories concerning the queer colonial consciousness are in their infancy and have yet achieved a fully elaborated structure to explain queer colonial actions. Further, as this thesis is directed by the previously established theoretical lens of critical race, feminists of color and queer theory, Grounded Theory was selected to achieve alignment of the overall project. Visual Grounded Theory (VGT) (Konecki, 2011) was selected in conjunction with Grounded Theory to pursue this method of analysis. Visual Grounded Theory was fundamental to selection of this method as it provided a basis for approaching images and texts to formulate analysis. Konecki, posits that, “[t]he visualization processes are social processes and should be analyzed as basic social processes” (Konecki, 2011, p. 147). Thus, the primary data of this inquiry being of visual content centered the method of data analysis upon VGT. The limitations to VGT writings led the researcher to consult its

derivative Grounded Theory throughout the study. Thus the selection of VGT is central and utilized in conjunction with Grounded Theory.

Sampling

Economic limitations tailored this project by guiding the researcher to cyber, or virtual, ethnographic methods of data collection. The continual evolution of virtual ethnographic methodology is argued by Robinson and Schulz (2009) to identify the increasing importance of mediated communication in the social world. Certainly as the internet and technology give shape new methodologies where social scientists explore the world and knowledge must change and develop as well.

The study at hand was conducted over a 7 month period beginning in June of 2012 and ending in January of 2013. Similar to other virtual ethnographic research (Whitehead, 2010), this study began with an informal exploration of the online presence of the radical faeries. Specifically the Google search engine was utilized in searching terms identified with radical faerie culture by seminal authors (Bell, 2000; Hennen, 2004, 2008; Morgensen, 2005, 2009). Terms included: “Radical Faerie”, “Radical Fairy”, “Fae”, “Rad-Fae”, and “Fae Spirit”. In a pilot study, several virtual hubs (www.radfae.org; www.fairieunderground.org) for radical faerie organizing were uncovered. One site, www.asianfaeries.com, surfaced as a central source of data in that it provides an archive of pictures from the community’s yearly gathering beginning in 2004 and continuing to the present day. As advised by Visual Grounded Theory (Konecki, 2011) this data was saved as digital files from 9-13-2012 to 9-16-2012. Other sites were identified in connection to this data and utilized in the later part of the data analysis, discussed in the following section, to provide contextual information. Thus sampling to this study was purposive and involved cyber ethnographic methods of seeking and selection.

The method of sampling through cyber ethnographic practices in this study is purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is seeking a specific group of a population where access can be difficult (Creswell, 2013). Purposeful (or purposive) sampling is based in the assumption that the researcher wants to understand and explore to gain insight (Chein, 1981). It follows that the selection of the sample to be studied is therefore pinnacle and chosen with forethought: providing for a purposed sample selection (Chein, 1981). The value of purposeful sampling is tied to selection of information being rich sites, to conduct an in-depth study (Patton, 2002). Rich sites are in fact selected and studied, as this produces learning about the issue under study and further sheds light on the central purpose of the inquiry. Selection criteria are created to ensure the sample selection is indeed a rich site. The selection criteria developed for this study includes:

- 1) Indications or expressions of radical faerie culture
- 2) Interactions with indigenous queer men
- 3) Indications of appropriation or responsible engagement
- 4) On-line public information

Guided by the criteria the sample was narrowed to the radical faerie expression in Asian countries and sought data of this specific sub-community in the larger radical faerie global community. As this is a nonprobability sampling technique as it is a qualitative study, the results of this study may not be transferable to the larger radical faerie population. However, this is not to suggest that the ideas of the larger radical faerie culture temporally and spatially are not connected to this specific radical faerie expression. The historical development of radical faerie consciousness laid out earlier clearly led to this specific radical faerie expression and is thus significant to the larger culture of radical faeries globally. Further, Charmaz provides that

Strauss and Glaser originally established the principles of Grounded Theory including, “[s]ampling aimed toward theory construction, not for population representativeness” (Strauss & Glaser, 2006, p. 6). While within academia nonprobability sampling is seen as less rigorous, grounded theorists argue otherwise. Charmaz provides that, “[g]rounded theorists select the scenes they observe and direct their gaze within them” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 23). It is from this tradition of Grounded Theory that this study developed and areas of research sites identified and pursued.

Once rich sites were selected theoretical sampling guided the researcher in moving through the depth of data. Grounded Theory incorporates an ongoing sample selection process – theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2006; Merriam, 2009). The sample is not decided in advance but a process whereby theory is generated such that the researcher collects and codes data that then informs decisions of what data is then gathered to be analyzed. Moreover, theoretical sampling is defined by Charmaz as a process of, “seeking and collecting pertinent data to elaborate and refine categories in... emerging theory” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 96). The Grounded Theory method also necessitates the use of “constant comparative method,” involving continuous analysis and selection of data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 178). It is the constant comparative method that is the essence of theoretical sampling as it fundamentally achieves the connection between theory and research in Grounded Theory and will be further developed in following sections.

In sum, rich sites were decided upon at the onset of this project through purposive sampling. The rich sites involved a breadth of data that was strategically navigated by following the guidance of Grounded Theory in performing theoretical sampling.

Recruitment

The data utilized in this thesis was derived completely from the World Wide Web in the public domain. As such those involved in the study were not notified of their content being engaged. The path that led to the asainfaerie.com website was an engagement of many virtual spaces that include:

<http://gaysifamily.com/2011/09/16/how-i-became-a-faerie/>

<http://eniak.yak.net/shaggy/faerieinf.html>

<http://eniak.yak.net/shaggy/clans.html>

<http://yoloakili.com/2011/08/radical-faeries-radical-male-feminism-radical-love-an-interview-with-poet-franklin-abott/>

<http://people.tribe.net/carlos-ity/photos/dec5b224-e37c-41ba-a4c2-394178ea3116>

<http://people.tribe.net/carlos-ity/photos/4ce324c3-fa3d-42f8-9efc-371de758e09a>

www.brasschecktv.com/page/812.html

<http://cascadiafaerie.tribe.net/thread/150bfb27-d214-44c8-86a3-a2c9a8e6c772#6e705615-6ad9-4b2b-bd81-7504eef67db1>

<https://fairieunderground.info/>

unsettlingamerica.wordpress.com/20...362

<http://www.suite101.com/aboriginalrights>

<http://www.johntrudellarchives.com/>

<http://www.kumtux.blogspot.com/>

<http://www.webring.org/hub/tribal>

<http://www.radfae.org/>

<http://www.radfae.org/gatherings->

<http://www.asianfaeries.com/>

Data Analysis and Synthesis

The data converted into digital files consisted of thousands of pictures from 2004 to 2012. Needing to scope the data down it was decided to only utilize data from 2009-2012, comprising a total of 866 pictures. These years were then printed out as wallet size pictures (2.5” by 3.5”) by reducing and cropping to size through the Microsoft Photo Printing Wizard program. Pictures were then cut out and pasted to 3x5 index cards that were color coded by year. By having the pictures physically available, comparison between pictures was effectively facilitated.

Visual Grounded Theory guides researchers to consider visual content on various levels of analysis, referred to as multislicing. First the “act of creation” is the context of the situation in which the image is being produced (Konecki, 2011, p.141). This slice of data is salient to this project in that these pictures were created at radical faerie gatherings in Thailand. The motive in creation of pictures is self-representation of radical faerie identity and community. Second, “[p]articipation in demonstrating/communicating visual images,” focuses upon the “emergent structure of social communications as a process” (Konecki, 2011, p. 141). This slice of data seeks to interrogate the action or preparation of taking the picture. In the analysis this slice became important in identifying intentional posing and those unknowingly photographed. Third, the “visual product and its content,” begins by producing transcriptions of photographs to identify “structural aspects” (Konecki, 2011, p. 142). Several transcriptions were produced, as suggested by VGT, to achieve this end and then coding of visual images was enacted directly without transcription to produce categories. Finally, forth the, “[r]eception of the visual objects and images by others and their creator” are identified as, “[p]ictures, visual physical artifacts and body gestures are created, intentionally or not, for audiences” (Konecki, 2011, p. 142). All of

these pictures are found within the archive of the Asian radical faerie archive and thus are analyzed as a communication of the community. This is separate from the former levels of analysis in that it concerns the message of the recipient audience. While the pictures were analyzed as being part of the Radical Faerie self-expression to viewers of the World Wide Web, other sources (like facebook) provided additional document data with deeper contextual information in the utilization of communicating images through internet blogs. Through VGT this study was engaged in complex analysis.

The second level of scoping was engaged in a process of selection assisted by senior researchers. As professionals with experience conducting visual analysis, senior researchers provided criteria of relevance to select pictures from the 2009-2012 set. The criterion utilized was *importance of salient signifiers* that placed the photos in the event of the Radical Faerie gathering in Thailand. This meant that pictures which could be read out of context of the photo archive as not being in the space of a radical faerie gathering in Thailand were set aside, and returned to later. Then the salient pictures were engaged in a comparative process to find indications of meaning and association. As associations began forming the pictures that were set aside were re-engaged and placed into emerging categories. Salient categories formed in the relevance and repetition among the 2009-2012 years. This means that the categories that formed but only from pictures of a single year were dissolved and placed into other associations that spanned several years of the data set. Thus validity and saliency was derived from the topics emerging across several years.

While categories formed in direct engagement of the visual content, initial coding was also engaged through the Grounded Theory practice of coding with gerunds as seen in word-by-word and line-by-line coding. Gerunds are verbs that function as a noun by applying “ing” to a

noun. For instance write becomes writing, leader becomes leading and so on. A sense of action and sequence is gained from utilizing gerunds as, “[t]he nouns turn these actions into topics” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 49). This is the first process in developing themes to theory as codes become topics, topics become categories and categories become themes. Glaser (1978) demonstrates the vitality of gerunds in assisting the detection of processes and staying with the data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 49). Charmaz (2006) identifies that “[a]dopting gerunds fosters theoretical sensitivity because these words nudge us out of static topics and into enacted processes” (p. 138). Thus this strategy of coding with gerunds specifically engaged the data in a processual analysis focused upon the actions captured by the pictures which inform the radical faerie expression in Thailand. Ultimately, this approach to the data assisted the development of theory as defining and conceptualizing relationships between experiences and events centered the analysis (Charmaz, 2006, p. 138).

Following Grounded Theory procedure, initial coding moved quickly as codes were created simply and precisely, preserving actions and comparing data to data. Analysis however did not emerge quickly but rather was slow and spanned over several months of iterative engagement with the data. Slowly the analysis was built step-by-step (Charmaz, 2006, p. 51). While from time to time the researcher jumped into theoretical flights of analysis senior researchers were vigilant in drawing the investigator’s attention back to the data and having him set down theoretical texts. This regulation was important as the researcher was able to build the analysis from the ground up and remained true to what the data was saying rather than fitting the data into preconceived conceptions. In this way the researcher was able to engage the data in a grounded method of “discovering ideas” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 51) on which to build upon.

The researcher began asking questions about the data and specifically what processes were in the data. Specifically he returned to the entire data set of pictures several times to pull out different community events like ritual, drag, and tourist playing. From these initial codes a process of theoretical sampling was engaged. Theoretical sampling is described by Charmaz as, “strategic, specific and systematic” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 103). This method was taken up strategically to develop the initial categories into refined properties, and entailed specific inquiry in that empirical data was re-examined to follow emerging leads. This part of the analysis was systematic as it involved an iterative process between interpretation and data. As the researcher continually went through pictures and found different associations he was able to identify specific processes that were then verified through the data. From each identified process the interrogation engaged was concerned with nuances like gestures, body positions, noting bodies of color vs. white bodies, and noting bodies of youth vs. bodies of aged. It was this interrogation of the data that particular structures were derived as salient and repetitive. The result of theoretical sampling assisted the discovery of variations within constructed categories, developing the initial categories into specific interpretations.

Once the pictures were organized into various themes, each possessing several categories, an advanced memoing period was engaged to flesh out the properties of the categories. In this memoing phase the categories were elaborated to identify “processes, assumptions, and actions” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 82). The four aspects of multislicing, discussed earlier, were significant in explorations of categories. The picture sets were gathered and digital compilations were created. From these digital tools free-writing memos were created from each picture set, focusing upon the interpretation identified in each category. This method allowed each category to be broken down into components and further prompted each category to be compared with all others

providing various levels of function, structure and process to be identified. Identification derived through locating “patterns” within and across the data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 82). Identifying patterns means that no single picture could make a distinct point or could be taken as a whole. Rather, fragments⁹, being specific signifiers and/or signified meanings, from multiple pictures spanning across several years derived significant patterns that were then elaborated upon. During this process cluster diagrams were created to visually record the ideas of memos and assisted in the development of theory. Charmaz provides that diagrams, “show positions and process... plot the relative strength or weakness of relationships... [and] create sophisticated situational analysis” (Charmaz, 2006, p.118). The diagrams created in this phase of analysis were crucial in the development of analysis and later the writing of the findings and discussion chapters to follow.

As directed by Grounded Theory the literature review was delayed until fundamental developments were achieved with the data. Various theories were mulled over prior to and during the course of this project but the final product resulted in conjunction to the data not separate from the data.

Issues of Trustworthiness

The sites that derived data were considered to be trustworthy accounts. Previous scholarship (Kendall, 2002; Markham, 1998) has established the link between online and offline identity performance. In these studies documents of participants’ identity performance online were verified through follow up offline face-to-face interviews. Cyber ethnographers have relied on these findings to argue the validity of online presentation of identity and community (Robinson & Schulz, 2009). Further, the interaction of participants is recorded virtually verbatim and includes responses between members and historical logs (Hine, 2000). It is from

⁹ Charmaz (2006) identifies the utility of fragments in the data on page 94 in footnote 2.

these developments of the cyber ethnographic field that the data set for this study is argued to be trustworthy and accurate to the radical faerie community.

The researcher insured credibility of data interpretation by following the guidance of Grounded Theory in practicing theoretical sampling. Themes began to emerge spanning across the data and were built from the ground up. Each previously stated phase of the data analysis was enacted several times as the major tenant of theoretical sampling in Grounded Theory is the iterative process guiding the researcher to return to the data in a constant comparative method. After forming interpretations to develop emerging ideas Grounded Theory led the researcher back to the data set to build interpretations that informed the development of unanswered questions in the inquiry that then led back to the data, again and again. This process continued until substantial theory was constructed. This massaging of the data and interpretation is fundamentally significant as interpretations become codes, from codes to categories, categories to themes and from themes emerge theory. This back and forth between data and interpretation is the bridge Grounded Theory constructs to connect theory to research. This bridge between theory and research is present in this project by utilizing theoretical sampling that informed repetitive returns to the data upon identifying significant interpretations. Thus the theory that resulted was constructed by staying close to the data. Further, senior researchers were consulted in the formation of codes, categories, themes and theory. This was done to increase legitimacy and quality of analysis. Several workshop sessions and meetings to report analysis ensued throughout this study.

Credibility was additionally ensured by the researcher in triangulating various sources of information. Through VGT's method of multislicing contextualizing pictures through various sources was performed in several ways. Cyber ethnographic methods of data collection provided

not only the photo archive, but other associated sites that were used to contextualize data. Moreover, as cyber ethnographic researchers pursue online communities, the field site is thus found in the virtual world. Memoing of cyber data consisted of both observation and interpretation by the researcher and assisted the contextualization of the data. This method thus triangulates the data through the picture archive, online blogs, message boards and memos of researcher observation and interpretation to identify and elaborate process and structure in the Radical Faerie virtual self-expression. From this rigor, this study achieves a level of saturation, in which no new properties of the identified process and structure emerged from interpretation (Charmaz, 2006, p. 113).

Ethical Considerations

During the course of this study many different ethical questions emerged. While the internet sources used in the study are provided in the public domain the researcher reflected upon the feeling of violation he would feel if someone engage his personal life in this way. Many people have pictures on sites like facebook and if this material were analyzed to the degree conducted in this study a resulting feeling of violation understandably could ensue. Regulations and methods of protecting the emotional well-being of the producers of internet expressions need to be developed in this emergent methodological practice.

Conducting this study brought up many emotions for the researcher as a queer white man. During the course of the study the researcher experienced levels of ethical challenges, as the project interrogated a liberatory effort of queer white men and finding how it reinforces colonial discourses. The ethical distress is understood to emanate from the empathetic possibility of understanding the healing aspect of the liberatory yet in the end colonial actions. Thus the impact of this critique could potentially cause suffering for those engaged in the radical faerie

community as their path to healing is being identified as harmful. This process is understood metaphorically as opening a bandaged wound that has become infected. The resulting distress, however, is temporary and could result in a deeper healing. Thus, the content of this study is knowingly controversial but is intended to help foster more developed liberatory efforts.

Limitations

No member of the radical faerie community was engaged directly during the course of this study. This barrier of distance was intentional and maintained as the methods of this project were specific to cyber-ethnographies. While the requirement of qualitative data being taken back to the researched group was not achieved, verification happened with committee members who assisted, challenged and approved the concluding interpretations. The transfer of photographs from digital format to print resulted in the cropping of images. This resulted in the decrease of data in many pictures as some context was lost. Researchers using this method of data collection should be weary of this type of data manipulation when transferring data across mediums. Finally, it is important to note that the data collected was at a specific time in September of 2012, while more pictures for 2012 were added after the data collection period these pictures were left out of this analysis.

Chapter Summary

The methodology for this thesis has been identified as a qualitative study. Particularly, cyber ethnographic methods of data collection were utilized to identify virtual field sites for purposive sampling that were then engaged in the Grounded Theory practice of theoretical sampling. Visual Grounded Theory and Grounded Theory are utilized in the method of data analysis: utilizing coding, memoing, and cluster diagrams to produce theory. The findings resulted from virtual data of radical faerie self-representation.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the virtual self-expression of the radical faerie expression in Thailand. The researcher analyzed data from multiple sites related to the Asian radical faerie gathering in Thailand. Data was provided by participants as several webpages are utilized in organizing participants and distributing information.

A framework emerged in the analysis, Globalizing Colonial Discourse, with four themes including: Spiritual colonialism; Colonial Gaze upon the Indigenous Other; Colonial Erotica; and Colonial Reciprocity: making space, making identity. All of these themes emerged from several years of photo sets and various webpages through cross-data analysis. The chapter begins with a description of the main webpage (asainfaeries.com) to situate the data in the event of the gathering. The framework, Globalizing Colonial Discourse, follows and each theme is explained with examples of photos, quotes and descriptions.

Asainfaeries.com

The radical faerie identity has manifested on a global scale reaching beyond national borders and transgressing global economic boundaries. Beginning in the First World country of America, radical faerie culture has expanded by manifesting in Third World countries like Thailand. The main website for this gathering is www.asianfaeries.com, which is promoted on major networking sites like www.radfae.org. Asainfaeries.com is utilized as a marketing and organizing tool for the 10 day gathering at the Heaven Resort on the island of Koh Yao Tai in Thailand. The event organizers called “Queens” (facebook) are identified to be people living in Thailand, Estonia and the U.S.. The event is explained to be a “non-profit”, meaning that any left over money from the gathering will be used for the next gathering.

Potential participants are asked to pay a \$365 fee (11, 447.02 baht) for the entire event or a pro-rated fee of \$36.50 (1044.70 baht) per day. This fee is requested in cash upon arrival. The fee covers accommodations of a shared bungalow and three prepared meals per day. A small portion of the fees are identified to “subsidize the cost for faeries from less developed nations like Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia and Bangladesh who otherwise could not attend” this subsidy money is also described as “scholarships”. People from “a developing country, such as the ASEAN countries” are asked to pay as much as they can afford, as they are explained to earn “10 percent of the average American”. This year a sliding scale was introduced requiring at least 200 baht (\$6.99) per day or 2,000 baht (\$69.88) for the entire gathering. However, if this is still too much people are encouraged to let the organizers know and they will try to help those in Thailand and neighboring countries to join the gathering.

Having extra cash on hand is encouraged. Additional fees are associated with activities like a boat trip (1,000 baht about \$30) truck trips to remote beaches (200 baht) renting a private motorcycle (140-200 baht) renting a private bungalow (500 baht per day) as well as local shops for snacks and clothing. Alcohol is not available on the island due to Muslim culture, however organizers provide beer for sale and participants can bring “cocktail supplies” if desired. Being discrete in public is advised but the resort hosts are said to be comfortable with alcohol.

Participants are identified to be “30-50 gays from the USA, France, Greece, Holland, Germany, Belarus, Estonia, Australia, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, China, Taiwan, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, and who knows where else”. Most of these men are gay however the faerie culture is “open to all who want to join”. As a “sex-positive” culture the website states that some people do have sex though it, “is not a sex party”. The opportunity of the gathering is to, “meet men from very different cultures, and experience them fist-hand (so to

speak)” this being “...a cross-cultural romance or two”. To facilitate these sexual experiences a tent is available as a “love palace” (facebook) for those who want some privacy.

A gallery of past gatherings starting in 2004 to 2012 is available on the site. Visitors to the webpage are encouraged to look through these photos to see the, “fabulous adventure of fun and self discovery”. The gallery provides several hundred pictures for each year. The pictures range from amateur to professional in quality and artistic style. Various photos decorate the background and are seen throughout the website. Thus, these photos have a particular use as marketing tools and are created in self-expression of community identity.

Globalizing Colonial Discourse Framework

The framework Globalizing Colonial Discourse captures the ways in which colonization as a framework is incited in the process of visualizing the self-expression of the radical faerie community and the capturing of the relationships between First-World and Third-World participants. The manifestation of colonial structures is poignant as this supposed activist organization reinforces global hegemonic structures. Specifically in connecting to the literature covered in chapter one, two and three, the radical faeries are manifesting historically significant colonial features. To begin, as Christianity was fundamental to the repression of Native epistemology the radical faeries are seen here to take an analogous role as spiritual leaders and facilitators of ritual activities. Second, Native people are understood to be fundamentally different in a process of othering that historically produced the *symbolic Indian*. The radical faeries replicate this colonial function by documenting the otherness of the Thai indigenous community culturally, economically, and socially. Thirdly, colonization was justified partly through logics of homophobia. While there is clearly not a homophobic culture at the gathering there is a fundamental regulation upon sexuality in that sexual desire of white radical faeries is

seen to always tailor the events of sexual relations. Lastly, Native epistemology necessitates a relationship to the earth that is fundamentally perpendicular to colonial frameworks. The radical faeries are seen to be in an intimate relationship with colonization of which informs an abusive relationship to the earth and thus replicating colonial discourses and shaping their relations with indigenous people.

It is the replication of these colonial discourses that the radical faerie expression in Thailand embodies. Replicating colonization is further necessitated by this community's economic privilege. The participation in this particular gathering requires Western peoples to not only pay for a plane ticket but admission fees, of which are possibly exempt for Indigenous participants. Thus, the Western faerie able to access this gathering is economically privileged. Moreover there is a primacy in the way crossing borders nationally, culturally and sexually is being performed in this study that is reminiscent of cosmopolitan identity. Cosmopolitanism was taken up in Chapter three and routed in Kant, a German philosopher who believed the world would and should be entirely colonized for the advent of world peace. It is from this colonial tradition that the radical faeries access and perform their settler privilege in the global arena.

Spiritual Colonialism Theme

Religious repression is a significant aspect to colonization. While the faerie culture rejects Christianity, the ways in which faeries engage people of the Third World is colonial. Throughout the gallery there is a particular engagement of bodies of color with ritually significant practices and objects that signify the colonial spiritual character of the radical faerie culture in Thailand. Particularly the colonial discourse that is present is White leadership and appropriation of indigenous culture. Specific to the radical faerie culture is the ways in which indigenous identity functions as a legitimizing aspect and informs the incorporation of bodies of

color in this gathering. For instance, in this (2009) picture a white older man is seen holding a younger Thai male in a baptism position.



Figure 1

This practice is notable throughout the archive as, it seems, long standing members initiate new comers into the group. While this event is notable there is an absence of Thai males as the acting spiritual practitioners of the ritual. Further, in this (2009) picture the identification of White spiritual leadership is depicted.



Figure 2

It appears that 2 male bodies of color are being held by 2 older white male bodies. A 3rd older white male places his middle finger upon the forehead, presumably the third-eye, and has his eyes closed in prayer. As the 3rd male has his eyes closed and positioned above and behind the bodies of color, a sense of spiritual guidance is created. The relation between these bodies is contextually spiritual, relating to baptism and prayer. The white bodies are in positions of leadership and the bodies of color are positioned as subordinates.

In these (2009) pictures there is significance in placing a body of color in the place of the ritual radical faerie spiritual signifiers.



Figure 3

The ritual signifiers present are a Celtic labyrinth and 2 sand decorations that surround a stone phallic monument. Beside these sights are 2 congas with indigenous signifiers of stretched animal skin and circular decorative patterns. It is significant to have the body of color presented with the radical faerie ritual signifiers. As these sights are constructed as a community and utilized as a community, presenting the sight with the body of color thus becomes a legitimizing act that replicates the colonial logics of *playing Indian* and further reinforces legitimacy by incorporating a living person of color. It is significant to see the body of color in a seated position, with the camera eye in a downward angle placing the colonial gaze in a position of power and thus reinforcing whiteness of settler privilege and spiritual leadership.

In this (2009) picture there is an interaction of a white body and a body of color with the ritual signifier of the conga drums.



Figure 4

The drums are clearly central to this interaction as one foregrounds the shot and the other is being held by the white body. The 2 bodies are sharing a blanket and have a common gaze on a piece of paper. In this interaction it is clear that the body of color is leading the interaction as he is holding many papers and is leading the white body in instruction concerning the conga.

These 2011 pictures show the same conga being taken up by white bodies in community activities.



Figure 5

The history of a white body taking up cultural knowledge is seen from the 2009 photo and carried into these 2011 photos. While people of color may have cultural knowledge this knowledge is passed to white bodies who then take it up as their own. Thus white colonial relations are further supported and the incorporation of cultural knowledge normalized as ritual.

In this (2011) picture there are 2 bodies: one older white body behind a younger body of color.



Figure 6

Both faces are covered with mud, a significant practice that is related to radical faerie culture in the appropriation of the MudHead Kolhina ritual emanating from the Southwest United States – in proximity to Harry Hay at the time of the radical faerie emergence. By having the older white body present in this shot there is a sense of the passing of appropriating practices that is legitimized by the body of color engaging in the practice. Thus the lines of spiritual knowledge is moving in both directions between the white bodies and bodies of color, however the leadership of spirituality remains to be white.

In this (2012) picture there is a single body of color that is engaged in what appears to be a candle dance.

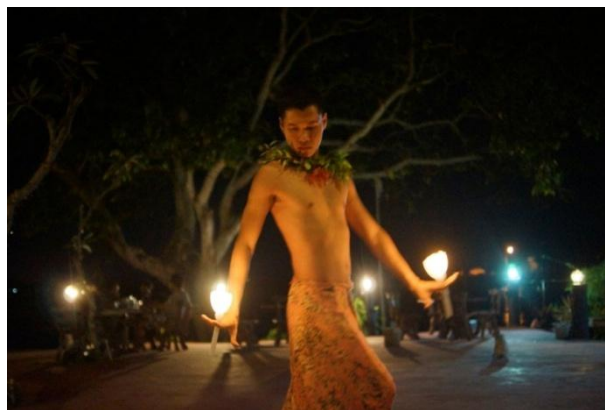


Figure 7

This traditional dance is usually done by Thai women. Culturally competent reviewers of this data provided that dances change from province to province however this particular type of

dance was considered to be regulated to women in Thailand. In light of the radical faerie gender bending culture it thus appears that the cultural influence of the radical faeries is informing the body of color to perform a traditional dance of the female gender while attending the radical faerie gathering. This practice thus brings together the appropriation of Thai culture with the appropriation of indigenous cultures historically marked by the radical faeries. It is significant that the body of color is the one performing this as it is a level of legitimacy for the radical faerie gathering itself: having bodies of color engaged in appropriating their own cultural expressions. This act is thus informed by the colonial white spiritual leadership.

In this (2010) picture there is a ritual monument with 2 white bodies and a body of color all nude.



Figure 8

The ritual sight is a stone circle with a phallic stone monument. The bodies are standing around the ritual sight in an open posture. The involvement of the body of color is again significant as the ritual sight is inclusive (cosmopolitan), while simultaneously legitimized by the inclusion of the body of color.

What is found in this feature is an engagement of bodies of color with ritually significant practices and objects that signify the colonial spiritual character of the radical faerie culture in

Thailand. It is these relations repeated among several years that draws a significant saturation to this feature and sheds light unto the ways in which bodies of color are incorporated in the culture. Further the assumption of indigenous identity in these bodies of color is paramount as the ritual and spiritual aspects are thus legitimized for the white settlers.

Colonial Gaze upon the Indigenous Other Theme

A significant pattern throughout the gallery is the capturing of assumed indigenous peoples and objects. The ways in which these people, objects and places are incorporated are particular and inform the colonial framework that is functioning in this particular faerie consciousness. Specifically the radical faerie depiction of the indigenous other identifies aspects of cultural difference, economic subordination and the indigenous being childlike/innocent.

Clothing is seen to be significant documented events of indigenous peoples. For instance in this 2009 photo the faeries capture culturally significant apparel.



Figure 9

This type of inclusion is informing the viewer of the culture and thus cultural difference of the Indigenous other. From the main website the place of the gathering is upon a “Muslim island” and is substantiated in these photos. Cultural difference is reinforced in photographs that capture indigenous culture.

These 2009 and 2011 photos mark the interest of radical faeries in indigenous culture.



Figure 10

Each photo has significant cultural objects depicted. Starting from the right an indigenous body is seen to be playing a wooden flute. Next an indigenous man is seen to be hanging bottles from a tree, a custom that is related to this idea of spirits being captured. Next a man is seen to be performing a poi dance – a cultural expression that exists among several island cultures. Finally an indigenous man is seen with many spherical paper lamp shades. This pattern identifies the colonial gaze contextualizing cultural markers of indigenous people.

Cultural difference is identified in economic terms by the radical faeries. On the website it is expressed that, “The average Thai person earns about 10% of what the average American earns”. There is a clear comparison of the First-world economics to the Third-world, a comparison that mirrors the colonial and colonized duality. This mention of economic disposition is significant as the depictions of the indigenous other are contextualized in terms of poverty.

In these (2009, 2010, 2011) photos the indigenous other is seen to be engaged in fishing.



Figure 11

The activity is significant as traditional Thai boats are included in the shots and hand crafted fishing pools are seen as well. The radical faerie colonial gaze defines the economic difference of the indigenous other by engaging cultural signifiers with indigenous bodies. Moreover, this economic difference places the touring faeries from the First-world in positions of privilege and the indigenous in positions of potential exploitation. Economics of the indigenous other is further focused upon in the documentation of buildings. From the website tourists are encouraged to “think simple” as the island is “largely undeveloped”. In this 2009 shot several people are seen to be napping on the floor.



Figure 12

Two of the four people are identifiably people of color being the closest body in the forefront and the body under the table in the background. Further the room is simple with bare-necessities visible: a fan, several tables and a flat floor where people can rest in the shade. This document shows the level of poverty and the lifestyle of the islanders. Further, in this 2011 shot the facilities are captured.



Figure 13

The buildings are ruff structures constructed with tin roofing and connected with weathered platforms. This documentation shows the level of poverty the people live in and the experience of “ruffing it” tourists will encounter.

The radical faerie colonial gaze is drawn towards indigenous children. This inclusion in the gallery informs the colonial conception of indigenous people as innocent or child-like and of concern marks the inclusion of children in many aspects of the gathering. These 2009 shots capture the interest of the faerie photographer.

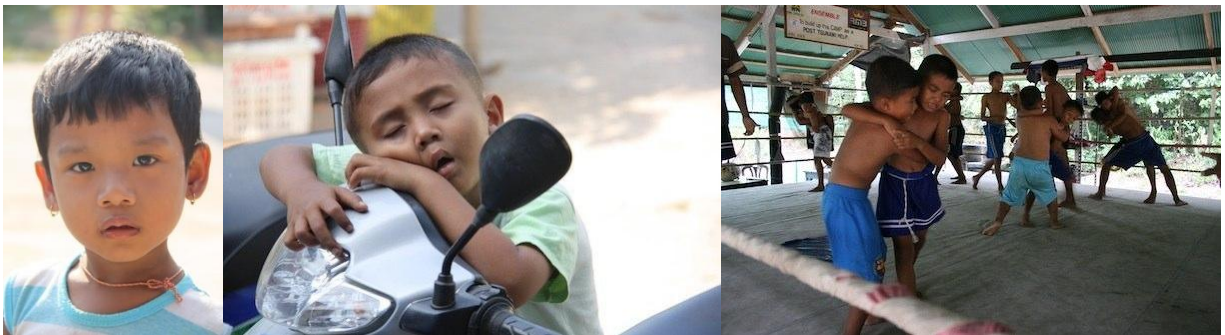


Figure 14

No adult is seen to be present in these shots raising concern for the safety of the children.

Moreover, the close contact of the children’s bodies in the boxing scene is poignant in that there is a directed gaze to child body contact. This inclusion of children in the gallery informs the indigenous identity of being innocent and childlike thus replicating colonial logics. The several shots of children who are not aware of their photo being taken is an act of voyeurism as the

onlooker is unknowingly engaged in seeing the subject: indigenous children. In each of these photos children are seen to be present during community events



Figure 15

Each photo captures the presence of children in the off center portion of the photo, meaning that this information is inadvertently present in the gallery. Further, these alternate shots are of children being included in community events of playing volleyball and socializing.

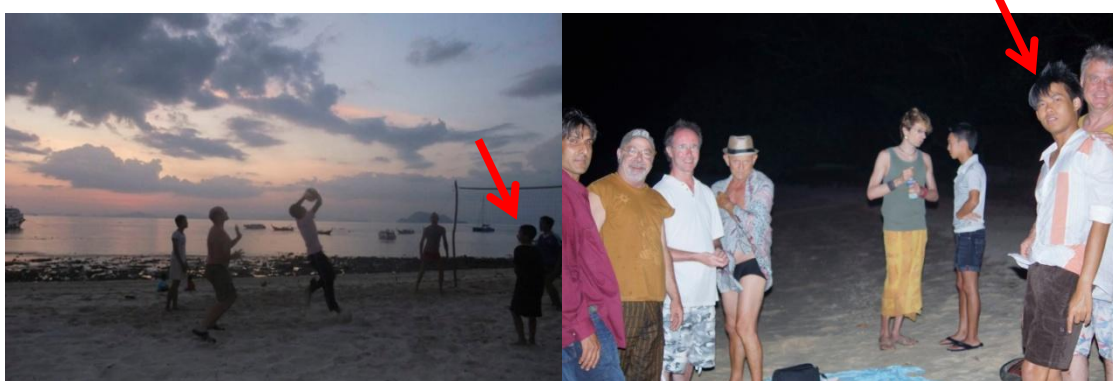


Figure 16

Thus not only are children around radical faerie community events but are also seen to be engaging in community events. The inclusion of indigenous child depictions informs the colonial gaze held by the radical faeries. The indigenous other is being defined as childlike and

thus innocent in these photographs. Further, it is concerning that children are involved at many community events and social gatherings during the event as this reality increases the potential danger of perpetration upon indigenous children. The availability of indigenous children to perpetration is a mirroring of the hegemonic dualistic structure of colonial and colonized structure and identity formation.

Colonial Erotica Theme

There is an identifiable pattern in which sexuality is performed by the Asian radical faerie community. By comparing the ways in which gestures of sexualized visual representations are performed, patterns of sexual power positions surface. Specifically this feature identifies several aspects in colonial erotica: White male sexual dominance and indigenous other catering to white sexual desire. These patterns of interaction assist in substantiating the Asian radical faerie engagement with sex tourism.

Among the group activities identified and discussed on various websites is the “puppy pile”(asainfaerie.org) or “puppy puddle”(facebook). This activity can be understood as a group cuddle-session. A group of participants will lie on one another and nap or enjoy each other’s touch and company. In these 2012 and 2010 shots the Faerie puppy piles are visualized.



Figure 17

Participants are engaged in a group activity of close physical contact. Repeated in all of these shots is the envelopment of a body of color. In all the shots several white bodies are in contact

with a single body of color. Further, the way in which the body of color is enveloped is in a controlled manner by having multiple bodies on top of them and/or having a limb engaged and controlled. These puppy puddles are sexualized as seen in the far left photo above white hands are on the body of color's pelvic area, in the center photo a white hand is placed on a white thigh and in the far right photo 2 white bodies are seen completely nude. This identifies a particular sexual activity among white bodies that is different from bodies of color. White bodies are active sexual agents and bodies of color are submitting to white advances. This photograph is found on the asainfaerie.com FAQ page.



Figure 18

Depicted is five bodies: 2 lying down; 2 sitting and 1 standing. Notice the body of color again has a limb controlled and multiple white bodies touching him. The pattern of submission for bodies of color vs white sexual agency is reiterated here and more over utilized as a defining marketing tool for the Asian Faerie website. Significantly this photo is beside the frequently asked question, “Will I fall in love?” which is answered:

Maybe. Some romances bloom at the gathering, and some people have sex. It is up to you to make these things happen if you want them. The faeries are sex-positive, but this is not a sex party. A gathering is what the participants make it. This is a wonderful opportunity to meet men from very different cultures, and experience them first-hand (so to speak).

Beginning the subject of love is taken up as “several romances bloom” and quickly dropped to focus upon the actuality of sex which is confirmed as “some people have sex”. Sexual activity is identified as something that requires agency in that, “[i]t is up to you to make these things happen...” and white sexual desire is identified as the answer continues, “...if you want them”. A second confirmation is given as, “[t]he faeries are sex positive” and then a disclaimer is given, “but this is not a sex party”. Continuing, the agency of participants is reinforced in, “[a] gathering is what the participants make it”. Finally identifying agency once again the answer concludes “[t]his is a wonderful *opportunity* to meet men”. The agency of sexual events occurring isn’t with just any men but, “men from *very different* cultures” or in other words Indigenous others. The indigenous other is available to white sexual desire so travelers can “experience them first-hand” a clearly sexual metaphor “(so to speak)”.

By experiencing the indigenous other first-hand queer white men thus are able to enact their settler privilege and fulfill their desire by receiving sexual validation of worth. It is clear that the other engaged at the gathering is for sexual activity and not emotional investment as the question concerned love and focused on sexual activity. While it might be said that these gatherings are not sex parties, multiple slices of data suggest otherwise.

The main webpage (asainfaerie.com) displays a links to several other sites. <http://www.dragoncastle.net/> is a “dating” and marketing webpage. On the home page seen below it states “Meet Mr Right, or just Mr Right Now! Hot Asian Men, Cool Western Men, Sexy Ladyboys!”.



Figure 19

As this site is no longer available the researcher provided a screen shot taken January 25, 2013, below to provide substantial evidence. This free site linked Asian men to Western tourists and promotes GLBTQ hotels and bars. This site is clearly for sex tourism and informs the interests of the Asian Radical Faerie community. Further, <http://www.cambodiaout.com/> is a site for GLBTQ organizing, events and tourist information. The site links to several information hubs for travelers and GLBTQ community members. By linking the main webpage for organizing the gathering the interests of participants is clearly linked to sex tourism.

The act of dominating the indigenous other is an inaction of settler privilege and visa-vi a reinforcement of white male privilege and simultaneous feminization of indigenous peoples. In

these 2010 and 2011 shots the feminization of bodies of color is captured in relation to the masculinization of white settler bodies.



Figure 20

The masculinization of the white bodies, places white sexual desire as paramount and thus the colonial position of the penetrator is taken up as well. Various people in various situations illuminate this pattern as seen in the following photos.



Figure 21

White desire is centered and bodies of color are submitting and/or actively engaged in fulfillment. Even in the common event of taking a group photo white dominance is visible. Notice in these group shots from 2009, 2010, and 2011 the continuation of submitting bodies of color to dominating white desire.



Figure 22

In each photo bodies of color are enveloped and engaged in particular intensity. Clearly, there are particular desires present at the gatherings that are central to relations among participants.

As the indigenous other is economically subordinate to the white settler faeries there is an active exhibitionism performed by bodies of color. The following shots capture the sexualizing actions of the indigenous participants.

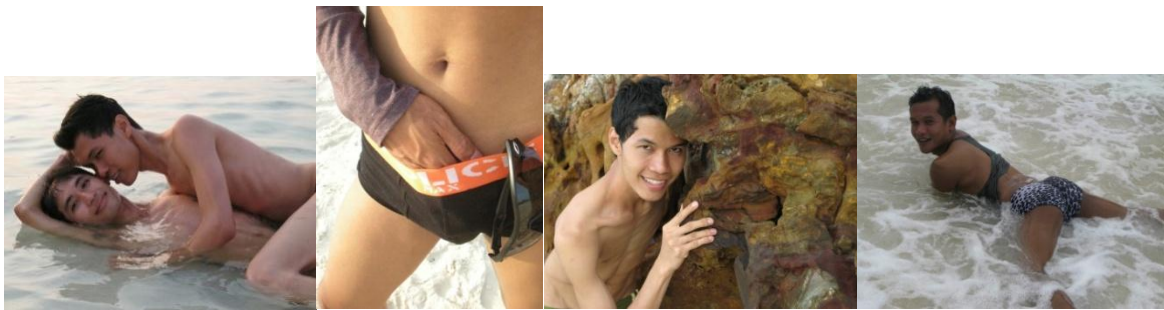


Figure 23

These actions implicate the bodies of color in their own domination by performing seductive gestures. Considering economic motivations of the colonized other this type of posing identifies further what is being expected sexually of indigenous participants. Thus, colonial erotica not only seeks to fulfill white desire but the active encouragement and engagement of the indigenous other through seductive performance is present. While there are examples of white sexual posing these images are fundamentally different from that of bodies of color posing.

While white bodies are seen to take similar positions as the bodies of color, there is a fundamental difference in that there is not the same engagement with posing. For instance considering the following photos there is a variety of positions taken by white bodies.



Figure 24

Here each shot is either in play or the subject is not being a seductive contributor to the shot.

Moreover the trend of capturing bodies of color posing happens at much higher frequency in the gallery and is done so largely with a downward angle. White bodies are captured to pose at less frequency and do not share the same downward angle. This difference in angle reinforces masculine white male dominance and feminine indigenous other submission.

Colonial Reciprocity: Making Space, Making IdentityTheme

Depictions of the landscape are poignant in the visualization of the Asian radical faerie culture and mark the process of identity formation being tied to space making. This feature is informed by Indigenous thought in the process of reciprocal appropriation or reciprocity. Land and nature are connected to identity in indigenous epistemology. Momaday (1976) defines reciprocal appropriation as, “appropriations in which man invests himself in the landscape, and at the same time incorporates the landscape into his own fundamental experience” (p. 80). For the radical faeries their investment in the land is a monetary investment as they are first tourists. One of the organizers or “Queens” of the gathering (Habibi Ding) has established a type of bed and breakfast in Bangkok. On January 17th 2013 Habibi Ding posted on facebook inviting

traveling faeries to a, “pre-gathering rooftop happy hour at my place, Sanctuary House”. This facility is specific to Gay travelers as Sanctuary House is advertised on websites like gayasaitraveler.com. This establishment has its own website (sanctuaryhousebkk.com) of which includes the youtube video entitled, “Video Tour of Sanctuary House Bangkok Studio Apartments”. Running a total of 3 minutes and 6 seconds the tour of the facilities is accompanied with a classical orchestra and advertises various aspects of Sanctuary House by providing short text descriptions throughout the video. The video appeals to travelers by marketing its “...contemporary style” including free wireless and washing machines, optional maid service and roof top garden. There is “easily accessible transport” being “only minutes to Silmon & Sukhumvit, the business & nightlife center”. With all these comforts tourists can “enjoy a village atmosphere in the heart of the city”. Clearly the Faerie culture of the Sanctuary space is being marketed to traveling gay tourists including the Radical Faeries attending this specific gathering. Touring and tourist culture is further seen in the visualization of the gathering.

Throughout the gallery signs of the gathering site are always present as seen in the following photograph.



Figure 25

This type of documenting is done in a tourist fashion providing a history of the gathering and the personal adventure pursued. In the following shots there is a particular focus on the available facilities present around the gathering.



Figure 26

The rows of umbrellas and beach chairs depict a resort like feel to the beach facilities. Further, in the following photos there is a visualization of the facilities and available boating is depicted in relation to the beauty of Thailand.

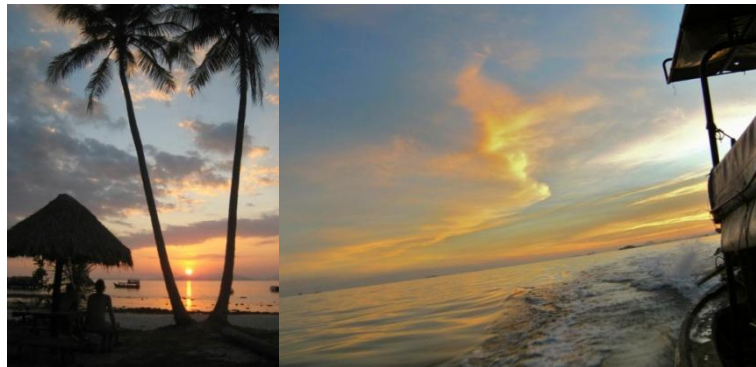


Figure 27

These shots could be in resort pamphlets and promote the gathering as marketing tools. Thus radical faerie interest in the land is the exotic beauty that they can transgress into as tourists. By crossing borders through monetary investment the landscape then informs the fundamental experience of the Radical Faerie gathering by framing the event in exotic beauty.

It is important to interrogate the intricacies of how the radical faeries are forming a relationship to the land. These shots are long range depictions of the beautiful shores of Thailand.



Figure 28

The color of the sky and waters are shown to be dynamic: changing from vibrant blues, radiant oranges and reds and sullen greys and browns. This landscape is unique unto itself and exotic in its beauty for the First-World traveler. Further this engagement with beauty can be seen replicated in close range shots of plants and animals.



Figure 29

This meticulous gaze shows an enjoyment of the exotic beauty in Thailand as an unbound existence of nature surrounding participants. The meticulous focus upon the beauty of Thailand is seen to be transported unto the Radical Faeries themselves, as they place their bodies in depictions of the land.

In this 2010 photo the focus captures the reflection of the photographer over the still water that covers the aquatic beauty.



Figure 30

This engagement to the beauty of the land speaks to the process of reciprocal appropriation in the colonial engagement to Thailand. Here the faeries is seen to capture himself within the beauty of the land itself. Quite literally the beauty of nature is reflecting the construction of identity.

Further this process can be seen in the placement of bodies within nature.

This 2009 picture is of a white body in an old tree.



Figure 31

The tree is particularly beautiful and is a marker of the land and beauty of the plants that grow in Thailand. By placing himself in the tree for this shot the white body is placing himself in the exotic, the other. This is a documentation of the exotic beauty and proof of the cosmopolitan

experience in entering it as a traveler. He not only saw this tree but touched it, experienced it and got in it. This is a testament to the crossing into the other and making identity there.

The meaning of the exotic beauty of the place of the gathering is seen to be a contextualizing tool for each previously mentioned feature. Here the ritual space is captured in context to the shore line and the moon.



Figure 32

The beauty of the land is thus transported unto the actuality of the ritual itself including white leadership and appropriation. In the following photos the indigenous fishermen are seen to be captured in context to the surrounding beauty.



Figure 33

The exotic beauty is informing the economic activity of subsistence fishing. The following photo is a beautiful use of foreground with the background in the capturing of a pier.



Figure 34

See how the pier is centered in the photograph this is an example of solid composition in a quality shot. This type of quality is proof of the professional shots being taken by the participants. Further the condition of the pier is contextualizing the economic position of the Thai people as it includes indigenous boats in the background. This informs the gaze of the viewer that things are beautiful and they too are vulnerable to the viewer's economic privilege. The following photo captures the beauty of the landscape and documents an irrigation system.



Figure 35

By making the irrigation trench central to the foreground the eye of the viewer is drawn into the picture of the foliage around the trench and the foothills in the background. There is a vast openness and a seemingly untouched quality to the land. The only piece of development notable

here is the trench. This type of documenting makes notable the lack of development of the land informing a colonial gaze of the economic disposition of Thailand and also reinforcing the stereotype of indigenous people as incompetent to developing natural resources. The following long range shot captures children playing in a voyeuristic gaze that is further contextualized by the beauty of the landscape.



Figure 36

Thus the voyeuristic gaze upon the indigenous child other is informed by the exotic beauty of the landscape. The following midrange shots capture modeling bodies of color and a white body in context to the surrounding beauty.



Figure 37

This contextualization thus transports the beauty of the environment and its meaning unto white male sexual dominance and indigenous other submission. The significance of documenting place is the contextualizing of the gathering in a framework of beauty and exotics. It is particular

that this is a repeated and feature of the archive as it functions to advertise and appropriate the meaning of the colonial gaze unto the Thai landscape to the gathering itself. This function thus is evidence of the colonial discourse being reinforced and utilized by the radical faeries for their own purposes. This type of documenting is reminiscent of colonial explores as though they were on a distant frontier free from the conceptions of the first world.

Reciprocity functions within Native epistemology to inform environmentalist actions. As the land is connected to identity, environmental concerns are informed by relationship to the land. The radical faeries appear to be in a colonial relationship to the land in utilizing the exotic beauty to contextualize their gathering. The main webpage (asianfaeries.com) has an environmentalist icon displayed on the main page. This certification is from the third party organization FatCow: an environmentalist virtual service provider that functions entirely on wind power. While the emblem is displayed on the homepage, the certification is for an alternate site (riverdream.org) which has no development as a site. It appears that the alternate site was created to receive the certification and the logo then placed on the main webpage. Thus this Faerie group wants to look environmentalist while not actually devoting to environmentalist efforts. Clearly the type of relationship radical faeries have to the land is contrary to Native relations. It is productive to understand this colonial relationship to build consciousness as will be developed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

Strategic Moving

Every aspect of the radical faerie culture that was to some degree liberatory has been commodified, manipulated, and diminished-reduced to a dismal resemblance of a former intent for liberation. The foundation of colonialism has resulted in the undoing of the radical faerie movement leaving a mere tourist stop in its wake. The Asian radical faerie manifestation as a tourist attraction is possible because lacking a decolonial consciousness affords access to the cosmopolitan identity. It is the “willful ignorance” (Smith, 2005, p. 121) of indigenous issues and people that allows the cosmopolitan to function. The inheritance of settler privilege results in economic wealth which affords cosmopolitan access to travel. Through the characteristics of the cosmopolitan, faeries have been seen to enact identity making for healing and strategic maneuvering against nationalism of which is promoted through online radical faerie websites. However the very same ignorance that affords the cosmopolitan tactic also is responsible for the utter ineptitude of the Asian faerie manifestation.

The process of transformation is useful to understand the position and struggle within the radical faeries. By centering this discussion on the works of radical feminists this analysis centers the historical effects of colonization by arguing for queer thought and activism that is only achievable through decolonial consciousness.

Rereading the Formation of Radical Faerie

Political exhaustion was a prominent motivating factor for the emergence of the radical faerie identity. Similar to the hippy movement, the radical faeries comprised originally of civil rights activists (Morgensen, 2009; Hennen, 2008). While not taking to the streets, the morals of activists still held strong. Yet by not listening to Native voices, the radical faeries have

historically, and are currently, engaged in outrageous creations that reinforce colonization via cultural appropriation and economic manipulation. This chapter pursues a re/construction of the radical faerie identity so that their shadow self, “the unwanted aspects of the self,” (Anzaldua, 2002, p. 545) may one day be confronted and the tension of colonization transformed into a source of consciousness-building.

This consciousness-building requires a direct tackling of a global identity crisis. Gloria Anzaldua identifies that, “[w]e are experiencing a personal, global identity crisis in a disintegrating social order that possesses little heart and functions to oppress people by organizing them in hierarchies of commerce and power” (Anzaldua, 2002, p. 541). As discussed earlier a perfect example of this is the formation of the clone identity. The rise of the clone in 1974 was one such hierarchy of commerce and power. Significantly shaping mainstream perception of gay white men, the clone as a commodity can be seen today in GQ magazine and the 31 year old fashion line Clonezone. Based on hegemonic masculinity, clones pursued self-fulfillment in anonymous sex, recreational drugs, and hard partying (Levine, 1998, p. 7). As a pornographic icon Al Parker made a successful career being the symbol of the clone identity and illustrates the incorporation of the clone into the capitalistic mainstream (Edmonson, 2000). This powerful archetype informed the radical faerie identity through their active rejection of the clone.

Growing in popularity the clone became rigid in its inclusion of young attractive white masculine men and left those who did not fit this mold at odds with the mainstream and lost, without a dominant representation of their gay identity. Increasingly, outsiders who gave meaning to the clone essentialized all gay men as fulfilling this archetype: hence the need for self-definition provided by the radical faeries. Speaking to self-definition Anzaldua provides, “[n]aming is how [we] make [our] presence known, how [we] assert who and what [we are] and

want to be known as... [n]ameing [ourselves] is a survival tactic” (Anzaldua, 1998, p. 265).

Thus, the emergence of radical faerie can be understood as a survival tactic of gay men asserting their identity as something outside the archetype of the clone. As the clones amassed in urban locations, faeries relied on rural spaces for their separatist communities (Hennen, 2008; Levine, 1998). While the clones masculinely made their bodies into desirable objects of sexual consumption, the faeries effeminately pursued the emotional and psychological fulfillment of gay relationships (Morgensen, 2009; Hennen, 2008; Levine, 1998). Clearly, the function of the radical faerie identity originally was to assert the existence of gay men who were made invisible by the mainstreams incorporation and deployment of the clone.

The rise of the clone and resulting radical faerie identity can be read through five different texts by Gloria Anzaldua. From these five publications I am applying seven stages of transformation theorized by Gloria Anzaldua. The first stage of Anzaldua’s map of transformation is *el arretrato*: fragmentation. This is any event that rips a person from the familiar and plunges them into the unknown (Anzaldua, 2002, p. 547) and is applied to the clone identity that fragmented gay men who fell outside the dominant archetype. Stuart Timmons reports his experience of the first faerie gathering in 1979 providing the comments of one participant who stated: “I come to my fellow Faeries because I need the love that I get here. And so many times in the gay world, I do not get that. I get the same kind of alienation that I get in the world of he-men” Timmons, 1990, p. 249). This statement captures the alienation that the clone deployment in the gay world caused for those who were not within its rigid definition of young beautiful masculinity.

As fragmentation changed the person, no longer being who they were prior to the event, they entered the second station of transformation called *nepantla*. Anzaldua adds that,

“[n]epantla is the site of transformation, the place where different perspectives come into conflict,” (Anzaldua, 2002, p. 548) and where the basic ideas, tenets, and identities inherited to family, education, and different cultures are brought into question. Marginalized gay men pushed into the in-between space of *nepantla* gained perspective as their personal meanings of the gay male identity came into conflict with the mainstream clone identity. In *nepantla* a double vision is gained where a person sees through culture and for the radical faeries significantly applies to their ability of seeing beyond the script of the clone identity in mainstream culture.

The stage that follows is the Coatlicue state. The 5 year period between the rise of the clone and the birth of the faeries can be read as the time that gay men, in conflict with the clone, were in the Coatlicue state. In this third station, the Coatlicue state, a person sinks inward with, “despair, self-loathing and hopelessness” (Anzaldua, 2002, p. 545). In the Coatlicue state there are two movements (Lugones, 2005). The first is a stasis of repetitious activity to cope with negative feelings. While this action prevents awareness from happening, Anzaldua argues that “a repetitious act... helps one through a trying time; its repetition safeguards the passage, it becomes one’s talisman, one’s touchstone” (Anzaldua, 1987, p. 68). This seeking of a path out of the Coatlicue state led in 1974 RFD magazine and resulted community-focused grassroots forum comprised of varying tasks of repetition that ultimately were vital to the 1979 call to action. The second movement of the Coatlicue state is void of fear, as fear is consumed, and provides for a state of germination: “of feeling, sensing [of] the limits between the oppressive worlds, a coming to understand [ones] own possibilities not through acting, but through not acting” (Lugones, 2005, p. 95). Once these men stopped avoiding the reality of their oppression

from the clone and realized their personal agency, they entered the fourth stage: the *Nahual* world.

Breaking free from habitual coping strategies through gained perspective on individual agency moves the transforming to the fourth station, the *Nahual* world, which involves a call to action, causing people to confront uncomfortable realities and undergo a change (Anzaldua, 2002, 2000). The historical emergence of the radical faeries is traced to the 1979 RFD publication that featured, “A Call to Gay Brothers: A Spiritual Conference for Radical Faeries” by Harry Hay and Don Kilhefer (Hennen, 2008, p. 68). This article called upon gay men to gather and work upon the meaning of the gay identity. Clearly, gay white men on the margins of the clone shifted and began to act together.

The fifth stage of transformation was marked, as 220 men gathered in Benson, Arizona in 1979 confronting the uncomfortable reality of not being a clone and changing into a different kind of gay man (Thompson, 1987, p. 267; Hennen, 2008, p.59). In the fifth space the ability to create is realized and taken up as a responsibility. People are able to engage in a rewriting of the world, history and culture as the identity of hybridity (*mestizaje*) organically emerges. In this stage a person is putting themselves back together in a new way that affords new perception with new potentials. Gay men took up the responsibility of creation and put themselves back together in a new way, forming a new radical faerie perspective.

Following the emergence of the faerie was a taking of the identity out into the world, the radical faeries entered the sixth stage: testing this new perspective. The sixth stage is identified as, “a clash between realities” (Anzaldua, 2002, p. 563). In this clash, transformation can be blocked by the avoidance of emotions both in not communicating and in denying the existence of uncomfortable emotions (Anzaldua, 2002). The cultural foundations of the faeries are collective

practices of cultural appropriation that clashes with the reality of Native people. Previously mentioned the radical faeries engage the Two-Spirit identity for their own purposes. This appropriation marks the engagement with the colonial imagination as indigeneity signifies particular stereotypes and forms the *symbolic Indian*. It is this colonial meaning that the faeries are able to seek a rewritten spiritual practice that heals their plight of existing outside of the clone in a homophobic culture that exerts nationalist exclusion. Therefore, the radical faeries have constructed a particular view of reality to best suit their needs. By avoiding Native people, in a willful ignorance, the radical faeries built their culture of healing upon colonization and are seen to manifest globally in line with this heritage.

The ultimate goal of the faerie culture is transformation that has yet come to fruition. Transformation, the seventh station, can be understood as reaching a critical point. Finding “home” in the passage way, nepantle, the transformed person enters a state of continual identity formation, referred to as a state of becoming: walking the left-handed path, *el mundo Nuevo*, into the unknown all the while maintaining an ethical and compassionate attitude of loving the other making differences points of growth and sources of power. The radical faeries are identified in this analysis to originally manifest with a blockage to transformation by avoiding the reality of Native people through their engagement with oppressive actions of cultural appropriation. By not engaging with others in tensions of discomfort, identities become fixed positions of opposition and the seventh stage of finding home in Napatla is subverted. Thus, it appears that historically the radical faeries have subverted their transformation by not engaging in the discomfort of taking into consideration Native perspective and issues. By understanding this history the study at hand is contextualized as a result of radical faerie culture being routed in colonization.

Fundamental to the radical faerie emergence is the process of making space in the creation of their identity. Faerie space is named, “sanctuaries” (Morgensen, 2009, p. 83). Sanctuaries may seem to be naturalized backdrops for gatherings, but they, “differ from camps or retreats by being permanent repositories of a multigenerational gay community that residential collectives sustain year-round” (Morgensen, 2009, p. 83). Morgensen identifies sanctuaries as having a dual meaning, “promising gay men refuge from embattled lives in phobic society while making rural land a medium for renewing spirituality at its source” (Morgensen, 2009, p. 83). For the Asian radical faeries the manifestation of the sanctuary exists in the bed and breakfast “Sanctuary House”. This space is open to gay travelers as previously identified to be advertised on specific gay traveling websites. The Asian radical faeries space is related to the historical emergence of the radical faerie culture and simultaneously an expression of neoliberal structures in being a place of business. Thus, the capitalistic formation of the Asian radical faeries is a significant divergence from the historical faeries as seen in the formation of Sanctuary House.

Historically, the function of sanctuaries was particularly significant during the fragmentation caused by AIDS. The early U.S. AIDS epidemic involved a rapid destabilization of sexual minority institutions of: families, friendship networks, bars, baths and political groups (Morgensen, 2009). Anzaldua explains,

Every arrebato—a violent attack, rift with a loved one, illness, death in the family, betrayal, systematic racism and marginalization—rips you from your familiar *home*... You are no longer who you used to be... letting go of former positions, you feel like an orphan, abandoned by all that's familiar. Exposed, naked, disoriented, wounded, uncertain, confused, and conflicted, you're forced to live en la orilla—a razor-sharp edge that fragments you. (Anzaldua, 2002, pp. 546-547)

AIDS fragmented gay men in that it ripped them from their familiar and left them wounded and uncertain. Morgensen (2009) identifies that many narratives have emerged to describe the crises of belonging involved in the AIDS epidemic. Morgensen explains that “[c]onfronting death

forced gay men to reconsider separation from phobic familial or religious homes, or to undergo a rude awakening that they lacked national belonging,” (Morgenson, 2009, pp. 84-85) which now actively made gay men into disposable bodies as they were ignored and left to die. AIDS displaced gay men and sanctuaries were utilized as a response to this oppression. Morgensen provides that,

in the 1980s and afterward, the radical faeries increasingly located gatherings at sanctuaries acquired for this purpose, even as those lands became sites of permanent memorials to radical faeries who died from AIDS. Sanctuaries then became privileged sites where radical faeries could return to recommit to collective survival and sanctify the memory of lost friends, now imagined as part of the spiritual power of radical faerie lands. (Morgensen, 2009, pp. 83-84)

Gatherings functioned to form solidarity among gay men by recalling and sustaining gay cultures threatened by the AIDS epidemic (Morgensen, 2009). The Radical Faeries celebrated drag and social sex to work against the mainstream judgment of urban gay cultures being a danger to health (Morgensen, 2009; Hennen, 2008). These activities were promoted as, “routes to a healing gay nature that could mend shattered bonds with new community” (Morgensen, 2009, p. 85). Breaking isolation, fostering empowered identities and prompting emotional communication emerged from the radical faerie community: cultural production that eventually was incorporated into primary and secondary HIV prevention education (Morgensen, 2009, p. 85). For instance, one unique cultural production is the heart circle. Heart circles function to 1) invite gay men to share their feelings tied to illness, death, loss, or survival; 2) receive aid from peers who share their struggles; and 3) strengthen a common identity (Morgensen, 2009, p. 85). As a distinguishing characteristic, the radical faerie community was able to openly and directly face grief. In this way, heart circles acted as an emblem and tool of a natural, reliable and enduring solidarity promised by the radical faerie identity amid AIDS. It is this cultural aspect that identifies the transformative intent of the faerie existence.

The AIDS epidemic fragmented gay men thrusting them into the seven stages of transformation. Anzaldua identifies El Mundo Zurdo (the Left-handed World) as the path of transformation on the excluded, marginalized and exiled. The path of El Mundo Zurdo is a movement in two directions, “going deep into the self and an expanding out into the world” (Anzaldua, 1981, p. 208), a double-perspective. The radical faeries produced the heart circle within their gatherings to facilitate the inward direction for gay men and reaching out into the world from their sanctuaries. Thus, between moving inward and acting in the world with compassion and responsibility Anzaldua provides the goal of transformation. It is by identifying this congruency with the theory of transformation that it is possible to identify divergences.

The Asian radical faeries continue the tradition of the heart circle. On their website the question, “What is a Heart Circle?” is answered:

The Heart Circle is one of the most important elements of Faerie Gatherings. It's very simple and involves everyone sitting around in a circle. The circle has no head and no foot. There are no leaders, only participants. There is a talisman, a sacred object from the land or something someone brought, that is passed from person to person, from hand to hand. Each person who holds the talisman has the opportunity to speak to the circle from his heart. Whatever he is feeling in his heart, he can express to the circle. While he speaks the rest of the circle listens with an open heart. No one comments or interrupts. If you do not want to speak, just hold the talisman for a moment and pass it on, but feel the welcoming energy and love of the circle.

A Heart Circle can consist of 2 or 3 people or the entire gathering. It often starts with a small number, say 10, and grows as the energy blossoms. It can last 20 minutes or 4 hours, though most often we'll finish around lunchtime. The Heart Circle is where we have a rare opportunity see each other's souls and really learn about each other. (asianfaeries.com)

While this manifestation is not concerning the AIDS epidemic as its historical routes identify above, the function of the heart circle is perpetuated. Here there is a sense of community building and gaining knowledge of perspective in that this is, “a rare opportunity [to] see each other's souls and really learn about each other”. Thus, in respect to the cosmopolitan quality of

this group, nation-state borders are seen to be actively transcended as members seek to gain an understanding of the different perspectives present. It is in this way that the positive value of the radical faerie culture has been replicated in the Asian radical faeries and is reminiscent of *El Mundo Zurdo*, the path of transformation, by facilitating space for inward movement. The cultural foundation of the heart circle, while replicated is incorporated as it is incited on the website as a marketing tool. Thus, the original quality and endurance of the heart circle tradition has diminished to solicit gay travelers. Moreover, by providing a sense of time to the process “20 minutes or 4 hours” that usually is “finished up around lunchtime” drastically diverges from *El Mundo Zurdo*.¹⁰ The path of transformation is not a pit stop in a person’s day but a lived existence with meaningful implications for liberation. Clearly, the quality of fostering transformation from the original radical faerie culture has vacated in the Asian faerie gathering.

Asian Radical Faeries

The Asian radical faeries go beyond diminishing the historical actuality of the radical faerie culture as they are seen to replicate colonization globally. The results of this project contextualize the Asian faerie visualization of self-expression as a theme of Globalizing Colonial Discourses. The historic features of colonization that oppress indigenous peoples are replicated by this supposed activist organization. This major theme contextualizes four subthemes:

¹⁰ Anzaldú a guides those seeking transformation to, “realize it’s the process that’s valuable and not the end product”, because the development of this path guides people to a becoming existence (Anzaldú a, 2002, p. 562). Rather than finding home in a particular set of identity archetypes, the transformed actively create themselves and thus the world in the Napatle state, “the birth canal... ..where you feel like you’re reconfiguring your identity and don’t know where you are” (Anzaldú a, 2000, 225-226). Finding familiarity in the creation of self and world, a state of becoming is entered where, “[o]n the path ahead you see otro puente, a footbridge with missing planks, broken rails... walk[ing] toward it, step[ping] onto the threshold, and freez[ing], hav[ing] right hand clutching the past, [and] ...left hand stretching toward the unknown” (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 556). Transforming- finding home in Nepantla- walking El Mundo Zurdo, takes action as Anzaldúa explains, “the hand represents acting out and daily implementing an idea or vision, as opposed to merely theorizing about it” (Anzaldú a, 2002, p. 571). The left signifies being outside the mainstream, being queer to the world of which Anzaldú a provides, “because we do not fit we are a threat” (Anzaldú a, 1981, p. 209). Thus the power of the queered is identified as a disruptive power, but this knowledge must be intentionally pursued on a daily basis to be a productive force of liberation.

Colonial Spirituality, Colonial Gaze upon the Indigenous Other, Colonial Erotica and Colonial Reciprocity.

Colonial Spirituality was employed by colonizers historically in the Christian character of colonization. Native spirituality was actively repressed through institutions of boarding schools where white colonial spirituality took leadership. The Asian radical faeries are seen to take analogous positions of leadership in deploying faerie culture and utilizing bodies of color for their own legitimacy. While historically religious repression led to a rise in homophobia the similarity of white hegemonic spiritual influence is present.

Colonial Gaze upon the Indigenous Other is also rooted in colonial history. Historically colonization produced a binary conception of the colonized as being the other. In the colonial view, the Christian-colonizer-as-human was juxtaposed to the Native-colonized-as-unhuman which rationalized and motivated the institutionalization of colonial schooling/cultural genocide of Native people. Moreover, this othering produced the concept of the *symbolic Indian*. This process of othering is visually present in the Asian radical faerie website as cultural difference, economic disposition and depictions of indigenous people being childlike/innocent are thematically present.

Colonial Erotica begets its routes in the historical act of regulating sexuality from the onset of colonization. The colonizer being Christian set its sexuality as primary to the ways in which the lives of indigenous peoples were tailored. Similarly the Asian radical faeries are seen to tailor the sexual interactions between white bodies and bodies of color by centering the desires of white participants. Moreover sex tourism contextualizes the event as dragoncastle.net is featured on the Asian faerie homepage. This character of the Asian faerie gathering thus centers settler desire through economic privilege.

Lastly, Colonial Reciprocity marks the diverging relationship of Asian radical faeries to colonization that alternately Native people have with the earth. Native identity making has been noted as a process of reciprocal appropriation where, “man invests himself in the landscape, and at the same time incorporates the landscape into his own fundamental experience” (Momaday, 1976, p. 80). This investment is seen to occur for the Asian radical faeries through the monetary investment of traveling as cosmopolitans. The land is visualized as an exotic beauty and is taken by contextualizing the Asian radical faeries within this resource as a marketing tool. Every subtheme is visualized in conjunction to the beauty of Thailand and posted on the Asian faerie website as a marketing tool to gay travelers. This beauty not only entices people to the gathering but also legitimizes the actions and character of the Asian radical faeries. Clearly this engagement to the land is not a relationship to the earth but rather a relationship to colonization which facilitates and informs all actions of the Asian radical faeries.

The findings of this study show the development of contemporary radical faerie culture to manifest globally and continue a heritage of colonization. As the faeries historically emerged upon foundations of colonization via cultural appropriation the contemporary Asian radical faerie is an understandable manifestation. The faeries began their culture by willfully avoiding Native people and issues and thus are seen to continue this act of avoidance. As willful ignorance has continued the faerie culture is seen to be entirely diminished in every aspect of historical points of progress being the sanctuary and heart circle. Thus by virtue of colonial consciousness the radical faeries have undone themselves as a liberatory movement and are now seen to uphold the frameworks of colonization globally. By upholding colonization the faeries unconsciously reinforce logics of domination and the colonial state that is implicit in their very

oppression. In sum the faeries are seen to be working against themselves by reinforcing the colonial nation-state and are doing so by continuing to be willfully unconscious of colonization.

By understanding the implications of upholding colonization the radical faeries are contextualized to be working against their own interest. This finding necessitates the vitality of incorporating decolonial consciousness into queer thought and activism, less our efforts follow suit to the Asian radical faeries. Clearly, the theoretical work of Andrea Smith to disidentify disidentification is the path for productive scholarship and activism to unfold.

Conclusion

Radical Feminism is useful in connecting the history of the radical faeries to their present tension with Native people. The radical faeries have dealt with several instances of fragmentation as in the rise of the clone and the AIDS epidemic. From the process of transformation the radical faeries rewrote spirituality to find healing in their sexual desire. Presently the radical faerie identity is operating within colonial frameworks. By contributing to colonial logics and actions the faeries contribute to the very forces of the nation-state that originally produced the failed queer citizen. The clash of operating with colonial logics is neither wrong nor detrimental to the potential of transformation, in fact this clash is the point that could push the radical faeries into transformation. By pushing into the discomfort of contributing to colonization, the radical faeries could enter once again the birth canal, Nepantla. It is uncertain what could result from pursuing the differences between the radical faeries and Natives but these differences must be pursued with colonial settler heritage in mind while allowing for an undetermined future to unfold.

Beyond the radical faeries this study necessitates the importance of decolonial consciousness within queer thought and activism. Andrea Smith has contributed to the

development of queer thought and activism by providing new critique to pursue decolonial consciousness. This study shows that being unconscious of colonization leads queer activism to ineptitude and ultimately implicit in queer oppression and thus stands as a warning. Queer thought and activism must incorporate decolonial consciousness to be a productive force of liberation.

The limitations of this study should also direct future scholarship and activism. As a cyber-ethnographic study the distance between the researcher and participants was profound. This distance limited the researchers understanding of Thai gay identity and culture and must be recognized. Future research should make contact with the participants of color in order to fully understand their motivations for being a part of the Asian radical faerie gathering. Moreover, by interviewing the participants of color claims to indigenous identity can be substantiated or developed into alternate understandings.

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