

Transatlantic Dialogues and Identity Politics: Theorizing Bilateral Silences in the Genesis and Future of Queer Studies¹

Maite Escudero Alías
University of Zaragoza, Spain.

Abstract:

Since its appearance in the early 1990s, queer theory has been first and foremost characterized by the problematization of stable normative identity categories, stressing that the concepts of gender, sex and sexuality do not have to be necessarily related. While most scholars working on queer theory often focus on its potential to redefine heteronormative paradigms of gender identity as well as on a pervading fascination with ‘gender performativity’ (Butler 1990, 1993), only a few have explicitly noticed the transatlantic component in the genesis of queer theory. Besides acknowledging such interdisciplinary coalition, the present contribution explores other discourses that have been queerly silenced in an attempt to de-center the rapid globalization and Westernization of queer studies.

Key words: queer, identity politics, representation, feminism, globalization.

Queer theory is not easily categorized within a specific academic field and this fact has led to its classification as a cross-disciplinary tool transforming the study of gender and sexuality in the fields of culture, history, literature, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, cinema, science, etc. This interdisciplinary component has also signaled the transatlantic theoretical dialogues that have taken place in the last two decades, and which, in turn, have forged what we know today as queer theory. Although queer theory emerged and has been further developed mainly in the United States of America, it has

been highly influenced by European academic criticism, such as post-structuralism, French feminism, and British cultural studies. For most readers, stressing this interdisciplinary and transatlantic coalition in the genesis of queer theory may be axiomatic.

However, as will be argued in this contribution, most works and theorizations on queer discourses paradoxically ignore its very origins as well as the fact that queer theory has developed differently in the two sides of the Atlantic, particularly in the USA and the UK. The present study is therefore double-edged: on the one hand, it explicitly addresses the transatlantic component of queer theory but, on the other hand, it does so mainly to denounce the pervading global amnesia of queer studies when it comes to acknowledging the relevant role that the works of non-white and lesbian feminists played in the configuration of queer theory. More specifically, my paper traces *the* canonical genealogy of queer studies in an attempt to bring to the fore some voices that have been queerly silenced and which should be recaptured if only because they laid the foundations of queer studies. Furthermore, these banished voices should be also recovered because in the task of theorizing sexual identity, an act of revising the growing US hegemony of queerness is needed. Hopefully, by highlighting not only the transatlantic dialogues, but also by interrogating its silences, queer theory will be able to find other paradigms of identity categories that have been marginalized by academic praxis.

Considering these ideas, in order to contextualize queer theory and consider its linguistic and cultural evolution, one should briefly refer to its genealogy and etymological roots. Since its appearance in the English language in the sixteenth century, the term 'queer' has generally meant 'strange' or 'unusual'. Despite these

meanings, the trespassing character of queer is evident from its very origins. As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has noted:

Queer is a continuing moment, movement, motive – recurrent, eddying, troublant. The word ‘queer’ itself means *across* – it comes from the Indo-European root *twerkw*, which also yields the German *quer* (transverse), Latin *torquere* (to twist), English *athwart* ... *queer* ... is multiply transitive. The immemorial current that *queer* represents is antiseparatist and it is antiassimilationist. Keenly, it is relational, and strange. (1993: xii)

Besides acknowledging that the etymological roots of queer are relational and strange, the usage of ‘queer’ to define sexual deviance, specially that of male homosexuals, was first recorded in the late nineteenth century. Overall, then, from the mid-nineteenth and up to the mid-twentieth century, labels such as homosexual and queer pointed out an inborn and pathological quality which gained its identity through submission to medicine.² Moreover, a sense of social and cultural aberration was inherently linked to these terms in all institutionalized discourses, ranging from sexology, medicine and biology up to psychology and psychiatry. Thus, the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines ‘queer as something unexpected, unnatural, or strange [...]; in very informal, old-fashioned English, a queer is a homosexual man; an offensive use’ (Simpson 1993: 1489). In its pejorative sense, queer goes hand in hand with sexually perverted and abnormal behavior; it is used to define homosexual practices, considered ‘morally, medically and socially problematic’ (Dyer 2002: 1). Queer speaks out a language of monstrosity, often attached to ‘moral weakness, mental sickness or personal inadequacy’ (Dyer 2002: 2). It is this pathologizing discourse that makes the term ‘queer’ overlap with that of ‘homosexual’. Foucault describes the invention of the modern homosexual in the following terms:

the nineteenth-century homosexual became a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form, and a morphology, with an indiscreet anatomy and

possibly a mysterious physiology. Nothing that went into his total composition was unaffected by his sexuality. It was everywhere present in him: at the root of all his actions because it was their insidious and indefinitely active principle; written immodestly on his face and body because it was a secret that always gave itself away. It was consubstantial with him, less as a habitual sin than as a singular nature [...]. The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species” (1990: 43).

What was new about such terms is that they allowed the crystallization of male and female disturbing sexualities. In this manner, the ‘homosexual’, the ‘queer’, were defined as the ‘Other’ of heterosexuality, and the creation of a binary acted as a catalyst to pigeonhole sexuality either as heterosexual or homosexual. Like the binary of gender and sex (i.e. male vs. female), the heterosexual/homosexual one outlined the superiority and hegemony of the former, therefore relegating the latter to ‘notions of pity, cure and toleration, as well as resignation and defiance’ (Dyer 2002: 3). Although in relation to heterosexuality, homosexuality was considered a stigmatized category that worked as a marker of individual differences from the norms that defined health and sexuality, the appearance of a whole series of discourses on the species of homosexuality in the nineteenth century made possible the formation of a reverse discourse. As Foucault pointed out, ‘homosexuality began to speak in its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or “naturalness” be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified’ (1990: 101).

On the other hand, while the concept of ‘queer’ remained subject to pathologization, there was a slow but growing acceptance of the term ‘gay’ as a substitute for ‘homosexual’. The first visible and collective reaction for the neutralization of homosexuality’s stigmatized meaning took place in 1969, when many homosexuals grouped together to fight the repressive measures exerted by the police at the Stonewall bar in New York. The Stonewall events constituted the germ of a new era

for homosexual people, one which vindicated and celebrated the term 'gay' as a definitional pattern for their homosexual identities.³ This is not to say, however, that the recognition and legitimization of homosexual identities have been unproblematic. What seems clear, though, is that a majority of gays and lesbians preferred the word 'gay' over that of 'homosexual' to define themselves.⁴ Since then, the Anglicism 'gay' has become a globally recognized sign of identity that endows gayness with an aura of cultural, social and medical normalization.

In spite of the fact that 'queer' signalled degradation and an aberrant sexuality, the term also became subject to positive resignification and claimed its space as a legitimate word to name non-heterosexual identities some decades later. Thus, in 1990, the New York pride parade witnessed how a group of queers distributed a leaflet entitled 'Queer Read This' with the purpose of contesting the widespread pejorative connotations of the term 'queer'. The queering of the LGBT community brought about a widespread awareness of queer as a tool of political mobilization which 'can also be a sly and ironic weapon that we can steal from the homophobe's hand and use it against him' (VV.AA. 1990). The term 'queer', then, gained momentum in gay and lesbian communities and claimed its space as a legitimate word to name other identity categories, such as non-white and/or working-class homosexuals, HIV-infected, bisexual, transsexual, transgender or intersex persons who had been historically and linguistically excluded from the terms that define 'the human, of what counts as the human, and the related question of whose lives count as lives' (Butler 2004: 18). While the linguistic and social upheaval of queerness in the USA was more oriented towards militant activism,⁵ in the UK there was a proliferation of queer cultural (re)presentations in different literary genres and visual domains, such as films, videotapes and photography. These representations challenged the negative stereotypes of homosexual

people and focused on their differences in terms of race, class and non-Britishness. Therefore, the work of Isaac Julien, the director of *Looking for Langston* (1988), Sankofa's filmic works or Pratibha Parmar's documentaries signaled, in the late 1980s Britain, both a new ethics and aesthetics in the portrayal of non-white and hybrid homosexual identities. Similarly, the work of activist photographer Del LaGrace Volcano – formerly known as Della Grace – has contributed to rendering queer white bodies visible in different cultural and academic settings.⁶ This is not to say, however, that in the USA there were no works dealing with the intersections of gender, race, sexuality and non-Americaness,⁷ but to point out how the theorization and questioning of queer identities in both sides of the Atlantic have stemmed from different contexts. As will be seen in what follows, the advent and further consolidation of queer theory was not channeled into the USA through British Cultural Studies – which sought to integrate sexuality with other sources of oppression such as race or class, thus emphasizing the role of the community – but rather through ‘the creation of a star system’ (Medhurst and Munt 1997: xvi), idolizing authors like Judith Butler.

Undoubtedly, the works of Judith Butler have become a major breakthrough for the study of gender, sex and sexuality. Similarly, the entrance of the term queer into the academia has meant a radical shift for the study of identity politics. Until the creation of queer studies in the early 1990s, most studies on homosexuality were carried out within European intellectual circles, ranging from the first well-known work by sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886), Havelock Ellis's essay ‘Sexual Inversion’ (1896) or Sigmund Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), up to more recent and groundbreaking works that have been the watershed of queer theory; namely, Foucault's *The History of Sexuality* (1977), Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus* (1972), Derrida's *Writing and Difference* (1978), and French feminists

like Monique Wittig or Hélène Cixous. On the other hand, up to the 1990s, studies on the concept of gender were framed within the scope of identity politics. The notion of 'identity politics' emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s and revolves around the recognition of one's identity as a member of a specifically oppressed group. As such, although it is commonly linked to US and European social movements, such as the women's and black liberation movements, the gay and lesbian community has also been defined under traditional identity politics tenets; namely, 'in terms of an absolute, undivided commitment to, and identification with, [...] a group which presents a united front through the exclusion of the others' (Procter 2004: 118). Such a pursuit can be defined as essentialist and separatist, mainly because there is the belief that only the people directly involved have the authority to speak for that community. However, the influence of certain postmodern and poststructuralist thinkers played an important role in the deconstruction and redefinition of both the notion of a stable subject and of the sex/gender binary. In this sense, Roland Barthes's well-known proclamation of 'the death of the author' (Barthes 1977), as well as the different works by Foucault (1977) and Derrida (1978), provided a new foundation for understanding the notion of 'sex', inasmuch as texts were no longer considered the reflection of the author's emotions and intentions, i.e. based on the sex of the author, but as always dialogic and polyphonic in the sense that the self cannot exist as a fixed and totalitarian entity, but undergoes a constant process of transformation (Bakhtin 1981).

Indeed, the project of poststructuralist and postmodern European thinkers has had a great impact upon US queer theorists, such as Judith Butler (1990, 1993, 2004), Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1990) or Teresa de Lauretis (1991), all of them with transatlantic roots (Butler and Sedgwick are half Jewish, and De Lauretis is half-Italian). These authors, informed by deconstruction, suggest that universalizing notions such as

‘woman’, ‘lesbian’, ‘masculinity’, ‘femininity’ and so on, are not fixed entities which have necessarily to comply with the correlative ‘sex/gender system’. Rather, these notions form part of an ongoing process by which traditional identity categories can be contested and revisited, ‘with the consequence that *man* and *masculine* might just as easily signify a female body as a male one, and *woman* and *feminine* a male body as easily as a female one’ (Butler 1990: 5). Moreover, the influence of French feminist Monique Wittig’s thought in general and her concept of ‘the heterosexual contract’ (1981: 47-54) in particular set the grounds for Butler’s subsequent discussion of ‘the heterosexual matrix’ (1993), stressing the idea that sex and sexuality are not the cause, but the effect of a cultural construction. Thus, the theoretical impetus of queer studies first focused on the analysis and problematization of heterosexuality on the one hand, and on the visibility and inclusion within homosexual identities of non-white, working-class, and ‘unhealthy’ (i.e. HIV-infected) LGBT people on the other. Afterwards, queer theory has paved its way as a site of struggle and contestation for the articulation of those non-normative identities that disrupt the binary space of heterosexuality and homosexuality, while also questioning the functional scope of categories such as gender, sex, sexuality, race or class. In this manner, queer studies has called into question the idea that identity categories are monolithic and stable; it has become an umbrella term for encompassing unstable homosexual identities and/or socially rejected sexual practices, thus bringing together a variety of practices, cultural representations and gender transgressions conceived as the source of political engagement. Some examples of these representations can be found in the embodiment of non-normative genders or sexualities such as those inhabited by transsexual, transgender or intersex persons, drag kings’ performances of masculinity, or the performances of different sexual practices, like sadomasochism or pornography.

In spite of the fact that some dissident voices emerged – i.e. feminists Catharine MacKinnon (1987) and Andrea Dworkin (1981) claimed that pornography and s/m relationships portray sexuality as a site of coercion and oppression for women rather than of pleasure –, the consolidation of queer theory in the USA has been stronger than in the UK. As a result, most research on the categories of gender and sexuality has been carried out under the lenses of queer theory, to the point of overshadowing the interventions of gay and lesbian studies. The rumor that ‘Lesbian and Gay Studies is dead’ (Medhurst and Munt 1997: xiii) has nowadays expanded within the publishing market, which seems to be more oriented towards the publication of literature related to gender and sexuality under the rubric of ‘queer’. By contrast, as mentioned earlier, in the UK most studies on sex and sexuality are interwoven with class and race, possibly because of the influence of British cultural studies⁸.

The development of cultural studies from the mid-80s onwards served as a theoretical frame to develop alternative cultural discourses with which to de-pathologize black homosexual subjects and communities. Authors like Paul Gilroy (1986), Kobena Mercer (1993), Stuart Hall (1997a, 1997b), and Richard Dyer (1997, 2002) have questioned and displaced the ‘burden of representation’ in the portrayal of black and homosexual British subjects. At the same time, they have remarked the interdisciplinary component between cultural studies and lesbian and gay studies because ‘cultural studies engages in ideological analysis of cultural texts; lesbian and gay studies concentrates on the ideological analyses of sex, sexuality and sexual identity, concepts that can also be understood as texts or discourses’ (Medhurst and Munt 1997: xiv). Thus, in the UK (non-white) gay and lesbian studies found a safe space within the scope of cultural studies, since their identity politics has focused on the vindication of difference (i.e. racial and class differences) within unity (i.e. their common sexuality).

In this light, non-white gay and lesbian cultural critics and filmmakers have created empowering counter-discourses to refute stereotypes, such as the collective work edited and developed by Martha Gever, John Greyson and Pratibha Parmar (1993), which unsettle dominant representations of subjects who are neither white nor heterosexual. For example, their work attempts to display representations of black and/or Asian gays and lesbians that deliberately contest the dominant gendered and sexual definitions of racial difference.⁹ The critique of an essentialist identity politics was reinforced not only through the display of non-normative aesthetics but also by the ethical commitment of asserting ‘the diversity of cultural and racial identities within the umbrella category of gay and lesbian’ (Gever *et al* 1993: 9). The task of redefining both the category of ‘gays and lesbians’ and ‘community’ provided an important space for diverse and heterogeneous realities, thus constructing hybrid cultural representations of gender, race and sexuality.

In the USA, however, the works of feminist thinkers such as Judy Grahn, Pat Parker, Audre Lorde, or Gloria Anzaldúa have been overlooked by the authoritative voices of a queer generation – i.e. Judith Butler, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Teresa de Lauretis – whose main arguments are fathered and pervaded by patriarchal theoretical references (i.e. Foucault, Derrida, Lacan, Freud, Althusser or Derrida). As long as queer theory today continues embracing ‘this male-centered canonicity’ (Garber 2001: 189), or just citing the work of people of color as a segregationist practice, then, the act of theorizing sexual identity will remain trapped within the same hegemonic discourses that resonate in Western culture.¹⁰ In this line of thinking, Linda Garber has denounced the reiteratively amnesic tendency of queer theory when it comes to acknowledging the role of 1970s lesbian feminism in the foundations of queer theory. Or, when it is addressed at all, it is only to ghetthoize it as ‘essentialist’ (2001: 17). The Manichean

feature attached to the essentialism/constructivism debate throughout more than three decades by both LGBT and queer studies is indeed preventing the field from recasting other issues, such as the situational politics of poor (non-white) lesbian women and transgender persons whose lives and works are being permanently silenced not only by heteronormativity but also by homonormativity. As a corrective measure, then, queer theory should model centripetal voices which, rather than dissipate within exclusionary visions and thoughts, converge at the core of sexual identity politics. In this respect, and as Garber points out, queer theory should recognize the work of ‘insurgent, activist feminisms – including lesbian feminism and the poetry that constitutes one of its key early political theory’ (2001: 177), whose voices confronted both the heterosexism of women’s studies and the essentialism and sexism of the gay liberation movement. Thus, names such as Judy Grahn (1971) and Pat Parker (1978, 1983) have been excluded from the source lists of queer theory’s compulsory readings, in spite of the fact that the so-called queer strategies of gender identity contestation – i.e. the performative character of any given identity and the force of language resignification to contest pathological accounts of homosexuality – were already latent in their works, not to mention the explicit challenge to heteronormativity found in their poetry and prose. On the other hand, names such as Audre Lorde and Gloria Anzaldúa are well-known and oft-quoted among queer theorists and analysts who are more interested in claiming a postmodern *mestizaje* that disrupts gender norms rather than in ‘exploring how queer theory is indebted to the work of black lesbian feminists’ (Garber 2001: 200). My contention in this respect is to point to the silences that are hidden in dominant theorizations of global queerness and to posit them overtly as epistemological sites of queer dialogue and thinking. By interrogating these silences a different genealogy of queer studies can be

traced, one which incorporates the political vindications of those voices excluded from the canonicity of queer studies.

Indeed, it is only very recently that, through (mostly) male postcolonial approaches to queer theory, a few studies, such as those by Esteban Muñoz (1999), Somerville (2000), Hawley (2001) and Stokes (2001), have claimed for a wider articulation of queerness; one which does not solely focus on sexuality but also on race and class differences. As Esteban Muñoz puts it: ‘most books of queer theory attempt to historicize queer discourse by narrating their debt to the homophile movement and lesbian feminism, but they, nevertheless, completely ignore queer theory’s debt to women and men of color’ (1999: 203). Moreover, the work of these theorists attempts to de-center the rapid Westernization of queer studies, as well as to denounce that queer theory may be reproducing a historical amnesia which has tended to erase non-Anglo-Saxon, non-white, local gender and sexual differences. The rapid de-racialization and Westernization of queer has turned this identity category into a trendy umbrella term that shows ‘an apparent internalization of a certain form of cultural identity, conceptualized in terms that are very much derived from recent American fashion and intellectual style: young, upwardly mobile, sexually adventurous, with an in-your-face attitude toward traditional restrictions and interest in both activism and fashion’ (Spurlin 2001: 20).

This view of queer theory as a globalizing US product has come to signify an increasingly global identity that ignores its roots, histories and cultural codes. Apart from global capitalist strategies of marketing-consumption, the role of the Internet and the appearance of queer cyberspaces have led to the construction of a global queer community, a new globalizing cultural net in which English is the language to define and represent queer identities. In this respect, it should be mentioned that queer theory

has also created its own linguistic ‘Anglicized’ project. Queer has succeeded in targeting the academic and/or personal needs of non-English speakers, thus establishing English as the overpowering language that names queerness. As I see it, the adoption of neologisms such as ‘queer’ to describe gender identities in non-Anglo-Saxon cultures also contributes to the effacement of the term’s initial political effects, mainly because both the trace of homophobic insult and the subversive positive redefinition of the word is lost in other languages. In other words, to be named ‘queer’ outside Anglo-Saxon contexts may banish, unproblematically, not only the political effectiveness of the term, but also the possibility of using other non-English terms to define non-Anglo-Saxon queer identities.¹¹ In Stuart Hall’s words: ‘the more social life becomes mediated by the global marketing of styles, places and images, by international travel, and by globally networked media images and communication systems, the more identities become detached – disembedded – from specific times, places, histories and traditions that appear “free-floating”’ (in Procter 2004: 107).

To conclude, at the threshold of the twenty-first century, as queer theory is increasingly becoming a globalizing and abstract site of identity vindication, there is a sense in which the specificities of gender, race, class or even (homo)sexuality are being somehow effaced. The gradual depolitization and globalization of queer theory is symptomatic not only of its own discursive temporal limits but also of the necessity to redefine *othered* local spaces of identity contestation. Significantly, the history of queer identities has been one of transatlantic alliances, dialogues and silences among different oppressed identity communities that seek to open new ways to conceptualize the relations between gender, sex, sexuality, class and race. Thus, current research and literature on transgender and intersex identities is of utmost importance to divulgate in first-person narratives the lives of other queer identities and render them visible.

Acknowledging the options to produce and inhabit new identities needs the collaboration and exchange between all those positions interested in resisting monolithic and homogeneous accounts of identity politics. Likewise, the mapping out of comparative and contextualized representations of excluded queer identities can help to create and develop new narrative and visual discourses in which the cultural and linguistic visibility of queer identities can be overtly recognized in all their complexity and fluidity. As a cross-disciplinary field, queer theory should also attempt to move beyond its exclusionary approach to an abstract, theoretical, de-centered and rootless subject. Instead, it should pay attention to phenomenological accounts of identity formation as well as individual practices of self-identification, parameters which can become meaningful and relevant within the scope of queer politics.

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² The work by sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886), written for scientific and medical experts, discussed the process through which sexuality became medicalized. It also put forward the relevance of sexuality in the formation of identity and demonstrated 'both the ways in which sexology imposed identity on individuals and the ways in which those individuals made use of sexology for their own purposes' (Tobin 2000: 33).

³ It is interesting to note here that the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual and Transgender community (hereafter LGBT) started its own campaign of positive visibility out of the Stonewall events.

⁴ According to Sedgwick, 'there is no satisfactory rule for choosing between the usages of "homosexual" and "gay", outside of a post-Stonewall context where "gay" must be preferable since it is the explicit

choice of a larger number of people to whom it refers. Until recently it seemed that “homosexual”, though it severely risked anachronism in any application before the late nineteenth century, was still somehow less temporally circumscribed than “gay”, perhaps because it sounded more official, not to say diagnostic’ (1990: 16).

⁵ One of the predecessors of queer theory was AIDS activist group ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) – which was organized in 1987 by the gay community to demand, among other issues, greater visibility of HIV-infected gay men. What is interesting in the creation of ACT-UP was their adoption of subversive visual practices in an attempt to effect social and political change; that is to say, rather than portray HIV-infected homosexuals as victims, their activism was targeted at the gay community in particular with the aim of promoting a counter-visibility which directly subverted the politically-correct and homogeneous representations of the white and middle-class gay community. For further information, see the work by Bad Object-Choices (1991), a reading group formed in New York in the spring of 1987 to address questions of gay and lesbian theory. Among the group members who edited the proceedings of a conference entitled ‘How Do I Look?’ were Martha Gever, Bill Horrigan, Amber Hollibaugh, or Douglas Crimp.

⁶ Although Del LaGrace Volcano was born in the States, he has been living and working in England for the past twenty years. His photographs, which have been censored several times, address the importance of gathering and representing stigmatized bodies, such as FTM transgender and intersex on the one hand, and the necessity of building a transatlantic bridge that raises questions about belonging and location on the other. For further information, see his work *Sublime Mutations* (2000).

⁷ The most influential works on the intersections of gender, race and sexuality are Barbara Smith’s ‘Towards a Black Feminist Criticism’ (1985), bell hook’s *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (1984), Audre Lorde’s *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (1984), and Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa’s (eds.) *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1984).

⁸ The emphasis on the glorification of working-class culture and the concern with social class have typically been recurrent themes not only in British Cultural Studies but also in British literature and film.

⁹ Pratibha Parmar’s documentary film *Khush* (1991) explicitly challenges dominant Anglo-Saxon representations of lesbians. Accentuated by dream sequences, dance segments and a sensuous soundtrack, *Khush*, which means ‘ecstatic pleasure’ in Urdu, captures the complex and inspiring testimonies of being

queer and of color for Asian lesbians and gay men in Britain, the USA, and also in India, where homosexuality is still illegal.

¹⁰ In fact, one cannot escape this global trend within queer studies of citing the list of hegemonic authors to the detriment of other marginalized voices. This is mostly so when, as in the case of this paper, a brief ‘official’ account of the genesis of queer theory has been offered.

¹¹ Some of these terms, attempting to resist the global presence and naming of ‘queer’, can be the Thai *yingrakyong*, *tom* or *dii*, the West-Sumatra *mahu*, the Japanese *onabees*, all of which mean ‘women who love women following nonconformist ways’ (Enteen 2001: 99). The Spanish *bollera* or *tortillera* can also be illustrative in this sense.