

The Unfinished Queer Agenda After Marriage Equality

Edited by

**Angela Jones,
Joseph Nicholas DeFilippis, and
Michael W. Yarbrough**



THE UNFINISHED QUEER AGENDA AFTER MARRIAGE EQUALITY

While legal recognition of marriage has met the needs of a segment of the LGBTQ population, many still face daily struggles with issues around housing, education, healthcare, policing and incarceration, and immigration. These are issues that were largely eclipsed in national arenas by the fight for marriage equality. In reaction to this, *The Unfinished Queer Agenda After Marriage Equality* examines the institutional failings and overlapping systems of injustice that continue to dehumanize queer and trans people and deprive them of basic human rights.

Building on a major conference held in 2016 entitled, “After Marriage: The Future of LGBTQ Politics and Scholarship,” the editors have collected academic papers, edited transcripts of selected conference sessions, and interviews with activists. Drawing from this source material, the book argues that any queer agenda should be informed by an understanding that issues facing queer and trans people come from the combined influence of neo-liberal capitalism, global white supremacy, and heterosexism. The authors argue that these modes of oppression continue to be especially damaging for poor people, undocumented people, people of color, non-binary, trans, and queer people.

By taking an in-depth look at the myriad social issues that continue to affect LGBTQ communities, and by exposing systemic prejudices and inequality as the root cause, this title is an important intervention for students and researchers engaged with queer and trans activism, beyond the fight for marriage equality.

Angela Jones is Associate Professor of Sociology at Farmingdale State College, SUNY, USA. Her research interests include African American political thought and protest, gender, and sexuality. Jones is the author of four books and numerous scholarly articles in peer-reviewed journals.

Joseph Nicholas DeFilippis is the founder and former Executive Director of Queers for Economic Justice and worked as an activist for over two decades. He is currently an Assistant Professor of Social Work at Seattle University, USA and has written about queer social movements, poverty, and marriage politics.

Michael W. Yarbrough is an interdisciplinary social scientist whose work explores the intersection of law, culture, and family. He is Assistant Professor of Law and Society in the Political Science Department of John Jay College of Criminal Justice (CUNY) USA and a Research Associate in the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa.

THE UNFINISHED QUEER AGENDA AFTER MARRIAGE EQUALITY

*Edited by Angela Jones, Joseph Nicholas DeFilippis,
and Michael W. Yarbrough*

First published 2018
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2018 selection and editorial matter, Angela Jones, Joseph Nicholas DeFilippis, and Michael W. Yarbrough; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Angela Jones, Joseph Nicholas DeFilippis, and Michael W. Yarbrough to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Jones, Angela, 1978– editor. | DeFilippis, Joseph Nicholas, 1967– editor. | Yarbrough, Michael W., editor.

Title: The unfinished queer agenda after marriage equality/edited by Angela Jones, Joseph Nicholas DeFilippis, and Michael W. Yarbrough.

Description: 1 Edition. | New York: Routledge, 2018. | Includes index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017049655 | ISBN 9781138557529

(hardback: alk. paper) | ISBN 9781138557536 (pbk.: alk. paper) |

ISBN 9781315151106 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Sexual minorities—Civil rights.

Classification: LCC HQ73.U54 2018 | DDC 306.76—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017049655>

ISBN: 978-1-138-55752-9 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-55753-6 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-15110-6 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo

by Sunrise Setting Ltd, Brixham, UK

DOI: 10.4324/9781315151106

CONTENTS

<i>List of contributors</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>xiv</i>
 Introduction <i>Angela Jones</i>	 1
 1 What is “the queer agenda?” <i>Paulina Helm-Hernandez, interviewed by Joseph Nicholas DeFilippis</i>	 10
 2 Anti-Blackness and “the queer agenda”: post-conference reflections with Hari Ziyad <i>Hari Ziyad, interviewed by Angela Jones</i>	 16
 3 Systemic violence: reflections on the Pulse nightclub massacre <i>Jennicet Gutiérrez, Steven Thrasher, Paulina Helm-Hernandez, Greggor Mattson, Salvador Vidal-Ortiz, Terry Roethlein and Angela Jones</i>	 20
 4 Queering the trade: intersections of the sex worker and LGBTQ movements <i>Kate D’Adamo</i>	 35
 5 The tacit targeting of trans immigrants as “criminal aliens”: old tactics and new <i>Pooja Gehi and Gabriel Arkles</i>	 53

vi Contents

6	Passing as experts in transgender medicine <i>stef shuster</i>	74
7	Who are the stewards of the AIDS archive? Sharing the political weight of the intimate <i>Alexandra Juhasz and Theodore (Ted) Kerr</i>	88
8	LGBTQ youth and education: rethinking children's rights in schools <i>Ryan Thoreson</i>	102
9	"I want to be happy in life": success, failure, and addressing LGBTQ youth homelessness <i>Brandon Andrew Robinson</i>	117
10	The Anti-Man Aesthetic: the state of LGBTQ political and social issues in Guyana post marriage equality in the United States <i>Renatta Fordyce</i>	130
11	Queer Latinx American bodies in transnational contexts: case studies from Brazil, Chile, and Perú <i>Christopher Rivera and Lily Sanchez Ruiz</i>	145
12	Deadly denial: queer poverty <i>Joseph Nicholas DeFilippis, Amber L. Hollibaugh, Cara Page and Paulina Helm-Hernandez</i>	162
	<i>Index</i>	173

CONTRIBUTORS

Gabriel Arkles is a Senior Staff Attorney at the ACLU LGBT & HIV Rights Project. Before joining the ACLU, he served as an Associate Teaching Professor at Northeastern School of Law. Gabriel volunteers with the Sylvia Rivera Law Project and Black and Pink, and contributes to Truth-Out. He has written numerous scholarly articles on gender, race, and disability, particularly in the context of prisons and the military. Gabriel writes in his personal capacity, and his views are his own.

Kate D'Adamo is a long-time sex worker rights advocate with a focus on economic justice, anti-policing and incarceration, and public health. Previously, she was the National Policy Advocate at the Sex Workers Project at the Urban Justice Center focusing on laws, policies, and advocacy focused on folks who trade sex, including the criminalization of sex work, anti-trafficking policies, and HIV-specific laws. Prior to joining the Sex Workers Project, Kate was a community organizer and advocate with the Sex Workers Outreach Project and Sex Workers Action New York. In this role, she developed programming to promote community building, provided peer support and advanced political advocacy to support the rights and well-being of people engaged in the sex trade both on and off the job. She holds degrees from California Polytechnic State University and The New School.

Joseph Nicholas DeFilippis is Associate Professor of Social Work at Seattle University. He received his BA at Vassar College, a masters' degree in community organizing at the Hunter College School of Social Work, and PhD in Social Work and Social Research from Portland State University. His teaching has focused on social welfare policy, social justice, public policy, family law, sexuality, political economy, and community organizing. In addition to his teaching, Joseph has over fifteen years of practice in community-based work. He spent years doing volunteer work as a welfare-rights organizer, and then served for four years as the Director of

SAGE/Queens, an organization for LGBT senior citizens. In 2003, Joseph became the founding director of Queers for Economic Justice, an organization working with low-income and homeless LGBT people, and led the organization for six years. He has published numerous articles, on a range of issues, including LGBT communities, poverty, marriage politics, and feminist research. He is one of the primary authors of the infamous 2006 “Beyond Same-Sex Marriage” (which publicly critiqued the direction of the marriage equality movement), and one of the editors of “A New Queer Agenda,” published in 2012 by the Barnard Center for Research on Women. Joseph was born and raised in New York City. He is the bi-racial son of two immigrants.

Renatta Fordyce is a Comparative Literature: Colonial and Postcolonial Studies student with a minor focus in Women’s and Gender Studies at Rutgers University, New Brunswick. She has an Associate Degree in Africana Studies from Essex County College. In her native country, Guyana, Renatta was a News Reporter for *The Stabroek Newspaper* and volunteered with The Guyana Human Rights Association’s (GHRA) and Rights of the Child Organization (ROC). While with ROC, Renatta was actively involved in campaigns that sought to mend the country’s political divide during the electoral seasons. She was the news editor for the *Essex County College Observer* and plans to pursue an interdisciplinary PhD. In addition to issues pertaining to queer Guyana, Renatta endeavors to conduct research and publish on Black and Brown domesticity and the ways migrant female bodies are defined by race, citizenship, and workspace.

Pooja Gehi has worked for immigrant and racial justice, trans and queer liberation, transformative justice, youth leadership, and cross-movement coalition building throughout her life. Currently, she serves as the Executive Director of the National Lawyers Guild. For over eight years, she worked as a Staff Attorney and Director of Immigrant Justice at the Sylvia Rivera Law Project (SRLP). There she provided direct legal services to hundreds of low-income transgender and gender nonconforming clients, and achieved major victories like access to transition-related healthcare for New York State Medicaid recipients through litigation and coalition work. Pooja’s scholarly work focuses on social movements, the devolution of criminal and immigration systems, and the intersections of race, gender, sexuality, class, and nationality. Her recent work has appeared in *the Berkeley Asian American Law Journal* and *Harvard Journal of Law and Gender*.

Jennicet Gutiérrez is a transgender activist and organizer from México. She is best known for shedding light on the plight of transgender women in immigrant detention centers through the organization Familia: Trans Queer Liberation Movement. She burst onto the national scene when she interrupted former President Barack Obama in the summer of 2015 during his White House speech in honor of Pride month, calling attention to the struggles of trans immigrant women. She believes in the importance of uplifting and centering the voices of trans women of color in all

racial justice work. Jennicet will continue to organize in order to end the deportation, incarceration, and criminalization of immigrants and all people of color. She currently resides in Los Angeles, CA.

Paulina Helm-Hernandez is a queer femme artist, trainer, political organizer, strategist and trouble-maker-at-large from Veracruz, Mexico. This Chicana grew up in rural North Carolina, and is currently growing roots in Atlanta, GA. Paulina was the Co-Director of Southerners on New Ground (SONG) for eleven years, having joined the staff after coordinating the Southern regional youth activism program at the Highlander Research & Education Center for over four years. Paulina has a background in farm worker and immigrant/refugee rights organizing, cultural work, youth organizing, anti-violence work, and liberation work that centers people most affected by violence, poverty, war and racism. Paulina currently sits on the Board of Directors of the GA Latino Alliance for Human Rights Political Research Associates, the Vision and Strategies Council of Kindred Southern Healing Justice Collective, and is always exploring ways to deepen political unity with people willing to fight and organize for collective liberation.

Amber L. Hollibaugh is an American writer, filmmaker, and political activist largely concerned with feminist and sexual agendas. She is a self-described lesbian sex radical, ex-hooker, incest survivor, gypsy child, poor-white-trash, high femme dyke. She is also an award-winning filmmaker, feminist, Left political organizer, public speaker, and journalist. Her first book, *My Dangerous Desires*, presents over twenty years of Hollibaugh's writing, an introduction written especially for this book, and five new essays including "A Queer Girl Dreaming Her Way Home," "My Dangerous Desires," and "Sexuality, Labor, and the New Trade Unionism." Amber L. Hollibaugh is currently a Senior Activist Fellow at the Barnard Center for Research on Women where she directs the Queer Survival Economies project.

Angela Jones is Associate Professor of Sociology at Farmingdale State College, State University of New York. Jones obtained her PhD from the New School for Social Research. Her research interests include: African American political thought and protest, gender, and sexuality. Her current research is on online sex work. Specifically, she is conducting a mixed method study of adult webcam performers and her book based on this research is forthcoming with NYU Press. Jones is the author of three books *African American Civil Rights: Early Activism and the Niagara Movement* (Praeger, 2011) and *The Modern African American Political Thought Reader: From David Walker to Barack Obama* (Routledge, 2012), and *A Critical Inquiry into Queer Utopias* (Palgrave, 2013). She is also the author of numerous scholarly articles, which have been published in peer-reviewed journals.

Alexandra Juhasz has been making and thinking about AIDS activist video since the mid-80s. She is the author of *AIDSTV: Identity, Community and Alternative Video* (Duke, 1995), and a large number of AIDS educational videos including *Living with*

AIDS: Women and AIDS (1987, with Jean Carlomusto), *We Care: A Video for Careproviders of People Affected by AIDS* (1990, with the Women's AIDS Video Enterprise), and *Video Remains* (2005). Most recently she's been engaging in online cross-generational dialogue with AIDS activists and scholars about the recent spate of AIDS imagery after a lengthy period of representational quiet: "AIDS Reruns: Becoming 'Normal'? A Conversation on 'The Normal Heart' and the Media Ecology of HIV/AIDS," with Ted Kerr, *Indiewire*, August 18, 2014 and also with Kerr, "Home Video Returns: Media Ecologies of the Past of HIV/AIDS," *Cineaste* (May 2014). She is a professor and chair in the film department at Brooklyn College. With Jean Carlomusto and Hugh Ryan, she co-curated Visual AIDS 2016 art show, EVERYDAY, and Day With(out) Art video program: Compulsive AIDS Video. Some of her recent essays about the changing shape of the representation of AIDS including: "Downtown Asides from AIDS," in Joan Hawkins, ed. *Burning Down the House: Downtown Film, Video and TV Culture 1975–2001* (London: Intellect Press, 2015): 242–258. "Digital AIDS Documentary: Webs, Rooms, Viruses and Quilts," in Alexandra Juhasz and Alisa Lebow, eds., *Blackwell Companion to Documentary* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Press, 2015): 314–334. "Forgetting ACT UP," ACT UP 25 Forum, *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 98: 1 (February 2012): 69–74.

Theodore (Ted) Kerr is originally from Canada and now a Brooklyn-based writer, organizer and artist whose work focuses on HIV/AIDS, community, and culture. His writing has appeared in *Women's Studies Quarterly*, *The Village Voice*, *The New Inquiry*, *BOMB*, *CBC (Canada)*, *Lambda Literary*, *POZ Magazine*, *The Advocate*, *Cineaste*, *The St. Louis American*, *IndieWire*, *HyperAllergic*, and other publications. In 2016, he won the Best Journalism award from *POZ Magazine* for his *HyperAllergic* article on race, HIV, and art. Kerr earned his MA from Union Theological Seminary where he researched Christian Ethics and HIV, and his BA from the New School where he was Riggio Writing and Democracy fellow. Currently, Kerr teaches at The New School. He has lectured at Hunter College, Rutgers and Skidmore College. Kerr was the programs manager at Visual AIDS, where he worked to ensure social justice was an important lens through which to understand the ongoing epidemic. In 2016/2017 Kerr performed ten interviews for the Smithsonian's Archives of American Art's Visual Arts and the AIDS Epidemic: An Oral History Project. Kerr is a founding member of the What Would An HIV Doula Do?—a collective, a community of people committed to better implicating community within the ongoing response to HIV/AIDS. Creating postcards, posters, stickers, and collages, Kerr's art practice is about bringing together pop culture, photography, and text to create meaningful shareable ephemera and images. He has been in exhibitions curated by Kris Nuzzi, Sur Rodney (Sur), Danny Orendorff and others. Two of his works, in collaboration with Shawn Torres and Jun Bae, are part of DePaul Art Gallery's permanent collection.

Greggor Mattson is Associate Professor of Sociology at Oberlin College and Director of the Program in Gender, Sexuality, and Feminist Studies. He researches sexuality, inequalities, and cities, and is writing a book about changes in US gay bars in over the last twenty years. He tweets @greggormattson.

Cara Page is a Black queer feminist cultural worker & organizer. She comes from a long ancestral legacy of organizers and cultural workers from the southeast to the northeast. For the past twenty plus years she has worked within the queer and trans liberation movement, reproductive justice movement, the racial and economic justice movements and the National People's Movement Assembly. She continues to organize, create cultural and political spaces that honor our leaders, movements, communal legacies, and mobilize transformative spaces for the safety and well-being of our communities. Cara is the former Executive Director of the Audre Lorde Project. She is also co-founder and former Coordinator of the Kindred Collective, which is a southeastern network of healers, health practitioners and organizers seeking ways to respond to and intervene on state violence and generational trauma. She is the former National Director of the Committee on Women, Population & the Environment and a proud member of Southerners on New Ground, Project South, and INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence.

Christopher Rivera has studied and/or worked in Turkey, Mexico, Croatia, Argentina, and various parts of the US. He holds an interdisciplinary PhD from Rutgers University and he speaks English, Spanish fluently with some Portuguese and Turkish language skills. His activism has always come in the form of radical pedagogies both in and outside of the classroom. As Chairperson in the Humanities and Bilingual Studies at Essex County College, Christopher is responsible for curricular and student related concerns. He sees his role as an administrator as pivotal to contributing to larger discourses surrounding queer rights and histories into dominant narratives that govern privilege and disempowerment in the US.

Brandon Andrew Robinson received their PhD from the Department of Sociology at the University of Texas at Austin, and they are currently a University of California Chancellor's Postdoctoral Fellow at UC-Riverside. Brandon has published on a variety of topics related to sexualities, gender, race, HIV/AIDS, cyberspace, and homelessness. Their current project is an ethnographic study on LGBTQ youth homelessness in central Texas.

Terry Roethlein is media committee Co-Chair of Gays Against Guns' NYC chapter and also Communications Manager at the Center for Economic and Social Rights in New York City. Previously, with ACT UP NYC he was part of the campaign to make HIV prophylactic PrEP available to all without stigma. With ACT UP he also publicized and protested the high rates of HIV incidence in men of color and trans women and co-organized one of the first public demonstrations to bring media attention to the murder of trans woman Islan Nettles.

Lily Sanchez Ruiz is a graduate student at Rutgers University, New Brunswick. At Essex County College, Sanchez Ruiz worked as an educational activist for migrant communities with and without official documentation. She has an undergraduate degree in Political Science/Latin American Politics. Sanchez Ruiz has worked throughout the western hemisphere with non-profit initiatives; further, she

has implemented language programs and she has taught English as a Second Language in Latin America, all while organizing free educational campaigns. Her campaigns deal with equal rights, sustainable tourism, literacy, civil rights, and access to higher education. After twenty-five years, she is still working with migrant and undocumented young and adult students to create greater educational opportunities.

stef shuster is an assistant professor of sociology at Appalachian State. Their research examines the social construction of “evidence” in three domains including medicine, social movements, and interactions. Their work has recently appeared in the *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* and *Social Psychology Quarterly*.

Ryan Thoreson is a legal anthropologist and human rights activist. He is currently a fellow in the LGBT Rights Program at Human Rights Watch, where his work focuses on the rights of LGBT youth, particularly in the United States and the Philippines. Ryan is also an adjunct assistant professor at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, where he teaches a course on the law and politics of LGBT rights in the United States. Prior to his current positions, Ryan clerked for the Honorable Scott M. Matheson of the United States Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit and was a research fellow at OutRight Action International. He is the author of *Transnational LGBT Activism: Working for Sexual Rights Worldwide* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014). Ryan holds a law degree from Yale Law School, a doctorate in anthropology from the University of Oxford, where he studied as a Rhodes Scholar, and a bachelor’s degree in government and studies of women, gender, and sexuality from Harvard University.

Steven William Thrasher is a Contributing Editor at BuzzFeed and is the 2012 National Lesbian & Gay Journalists Association’s Journalist of the Year. Steven spent three years as a staff writer for the *Village Voice*, where he wrote long format features and investigative articles, including twenty cover stories. His writing has appeared in the *New York Times*, *Out*, *Rolling Stone*, the *Daily Beast*, the *Advocate*, and *Time Out New York*. As a radio reporter and producer, he regularly contributes to *Marketplace* and is a guest host for the *Michelangelo Signorile Show* on SiriusXM QutQ 108. In 2007, Steven spent a year traveling America recording oral history for the NPR StoryCorps project, and his radio work has been heard on *Morning Edition*, *All Things Considered*, and *News and Notes*. Much of his work discusses the intersections of race, class, sexual identity, religion and politics. Steven was trained in writing and filmmaking at NYU’s Tisch School of the Arts, where he was a University Scholar and received his BFA. Steven is a Sloan Foundation Science Writing Fellow and a 2010 recipient of the Anti-Violence Project’s Courage Award. That year, he also penned the viral internet hit “White America Has Lost Its Mind,” which was read by over a million people and was translated into Polish. In 2011, he won the James Aronson Award for Social Justice Journalism from Hunter College for his story “Ronnie’s Kids,” as well as a Feature Writing Award from the Association of Alternative Newsweeklies for his profile of “Bad Lieutenant” Dan Choi.

Salvador Vidal-Ortiz is associate professor in the sociology department at American University (AU), in Washington, DC. He coedited *The Sexuality of Migration: Border Crossings and Mexican Immigrant Men* (NYU Press, 2009) and *Queer Brown Voices: Personal Narratives of Latina/o LGBT Activism* (University of Texas Press, 2015). A book he co-authored with two of his former students, Brandon A. Robinson (UT-Austin) and Cristina Khan (U-Conn), titled *Race and Sexuality* (Polity Press) is coming out in 2018. Aside from his Fulbright-based research on forced migration/internal displacement and LGBT Colombians, he is now engaged in a new project, with Juliana Martínez, also from AU, on “Transgendering Human Rights: Lessons from Latin America.” He is currently working on his manuscript on *Santería*, tentatively titled: *An Instrument of the Orishas: Racialized Sexual Minorities in Santería*.

Michael W. Yarbrough is an interdisciplinary social scientist whose work examines the intersection of law, culture, and family. He is especially interested in the ways people define their relationships to each other, and how these definitions both reflect and shape struggles for power. His current book manuscript pursues these questions through comparative ethnographic research among two groups recently incorporated into South African marriage law: people living in communities that observe African customary law; and people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and/or transgender. His research has been published in *Social Politics*, *Law & Social Inquiry*, *Sexualities*, and the *Yale Journal of Law & Feminism*, and he has received a Fulbright-Hays fellowship and other awards. Yarbrough is currently an Assistant Professor of Law & Society in the Political Science Department of John Jay College of Criminal Justice (CUNY), where he received a Distinguished Teaching Award in 2015. He also serves as a Research Associate in the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, at the University of Johannesburg, and he is a former member of the Board of Directors of CLAGS: The Center for LGBTQ Studies.

Hari Ziyad is an artist and writer. They received their BFA from New York University, where they concentrated on Film and Television and Psychology. Their work is informed by their passion for storytelling and wrestling with identity as a Black, non-binary child of Muslim and Hindu parents while growing up in Cleveland. Hari primarily creates art engaging with identity, race, gender and sexuality, ally politics and the arts. Their work has been featured on *Gawker*, *Out*, *Ebony*, *Mic*, *The Guardian*, *Colorlines*, *Paste Magazine*, *Black Girl Dangerous*, *The Feminist Wire*, and in the peer-reviewed journal *Critical Ethnic Studies* (upcoming 2017). They are also deputy editor for Black Youth Project, an assistant editor for *Vinyl Poetry & Prose*, and writer for *AFROPUNK*.

PREFACE

Two Junes, a year apart, frame the mission of this collection. In June 2015, the US Supreme Court ruled that that country's constitution forbids the exclusion of same-sex couples from legally recognized marriage. Arriving after a hard and often painful fight, the ruling seemed to many to mark a new kind of inclusion. Rainbows wrapped many of our public spaces, from profile pics to the White House, in triumphant celebration.

One year later, in June 2016, a massacre on Latin night at Pulse nightclub in Orlando shocked the nation and the world. Many felt the shock of disbelief. But many LGBTQ people, especially Latinx and LGBTQ people of color, felt the shock of recognition at a familiar violence that marriage did little to address.

Fiercely debated for many years, same-sex marriage has become a legal reality in a rapidly growing number of jurisdictions around the world. First enacted in 2001 in the Netherlands, same-sex marriage is now legally recognized in over twenty countries,¹ approximately three quarters of which legalized it in the past half-decade. At the same time, these sweeping gains have often triggered significant backlash both where they have occurred and elsewhere. Homosexual acts are currently criminalized in seventy-five countries, including ten where they can be punished by death. Such violent backlash is an especially visible manifestation of a complex range of consequences that have accompanied same-sex marriage. In the United States, for example, same-sex marriage has channeled the priorities of national LGBTQ and statewide equality organizations away from other issues, reduced the availability of other forms of legal recognition for families, and generally reinforced mainstream family norms.

The time is thus ripe to 1) examine this key moment in the ongoing history of LGBTQ communities; 2) interrogate predictions by scholars and activists about what social changes same-sex marriage would produce; and 3) consider paths forward for LGBTQ scholarship and politics.

The *After Marriage Equality* collection was designed to tackle these three broad themes. *Queer Families and Relationships After Marriage Equality* focuses on the legal, material, and cultural impacts of legal marriage equality on diverse queer families and relationships. *Queer Activism After Marriage Equality* focuses on the implications of legal same-sex marriage for LGBTQ social movements and examines what queer activism looks like now that the national gay and lesbian organizations have succeeded in achieving their main priorities. *The Unfinished Queer Agenda After Marriage Equality* focuses on dire issues facing LGBTQ individuals and communities that were eclipsed by the marriage equality movement, such as policing, immigration, healthcare, homelessness, violence, poverty, and more.

All three titles draw their materials from a major conference held at John Jay College of Criminal Justice on October 1–2, 2016 and organized by CLAGS: The Center for LGBTQ Studies, based at the City University of New York (CUNY). This conference, entitled “After Marriage: The Future of LGBTQ Politics and Scholarship,” staged an open, diverse, and critical conversation among over 175 academic, activist, and artist speakers. Approximately 450 people attended, and the conference also streamed online. Building on similar conversations LGBTQ activists have been having among themselves for some time, this was to our knowledge the largest public conversation focused on this theme, and the only one combining critical and intersectional perspectives with extensive dialogue among both scholars and activists. The conference was supported in part by a grant from the American Sociological Association and the National Science Foundation, by the Office for the Advancement of Research at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, and by the Center for the Study of Gender and Sexuality at New York University. We also thank our colleagues on the CLAGS staff and the conference organizing committee who helped make the conference a reality: Yana Calou, Stephanie Hsu, Bianca Laureano, Kevin Nadal, Noam Parness, Jasmina Sinanovic, Andrew Spieldenner, Kalle Westerling, and Nicole Vitrit. Finally, we are so grateful to our editor at Routledge, Alexandra McGregor, whose support and enthusiasm for this project was unwavering. We would also be remiss for not thanking our editorial assistant at Routledge, Kitty Imbert, who shepherded us through the entire publication process.

All three titles use critical and intersectional lenses, focusing on the problems and limits of marriage and on those queer and trans people also disadvantaged by racism, immigration status, socioeconomic class, and other intersecting factors. The rapid spread of legal same-sex marriage increases the relevance of longstanding queer critiques of marriage. Many of the chapters in this collection thus use as a starting point queer critiques of the same-sex marriage movement, investigating their implications now that marriage is legal. By presenting research on these and other trends, these volumes help translate queer critiques advanced during the marriage campaigns into a framework for ongoing critical research in the after-marriage period.

In light of these important intersectional and queer critiques of marriage, we would like to address the problematic titles of these books. We originally proposed the books to have the same title as the conference, *After Marriage*. In working with the publisher, there was concern that some readers might become confused,

associating the phrase “After Marriage” with newlyweds or with divorce. We needed to find a framework that would be easily recognizable to a mainstream audience, and “marriage equality” had become the dominant frame used by same-sex marriage rights advocates in the United States and many other countries. We want to reassure our readers that we both recognize and reject the implication in the title *After Marriage Equality* that the *Obergefell* decision created equality for LGBTQ communities. Not only is that emphatically not true, but the central point of the conference and these volumes is to highlight the reality that so many queer and trans people, particularly queer immigrants and queer people of color, know all too well—that legally sanctioned same-sex marriage did not create equality or address the myriad issues facing queer and trans people. *Obergefell* did not foster economic justice; it did not address poverty; it did not address racist and heterosexist policing; it did not address a bigoted immigration system; it did not address a broken healthcare system; it did not address systemic violence and any of the other ominous issues facing queer and trans people that were ignored by the marriage equality movement. It did not even provide legal protections for most LGBTQ families.

Despite the issues we had with the title *After Marriage Equality*, we do believe that this framing can help bring in readers who may not be familiar with queer critiques of marriage equality. To help open these volumes up to such readers, we use a variety of materials, including research studies, essays, interviews, and transcripts from the conference. Our contributors include activists working on a wide range of issues and scholars from numerous disciplines, from across the United States and around the world. We also asked contributors to write in accessible language suitable for undergraduate students in a variety of courses (including LGBTQ studies, gender studies, social movements, social work, family studies, law and society, and political science), as well as for a wide range of audiences outside the academy. Finally, each of the three volumes was designed so that it could be read individually as a stand-alone book, but also to complement and build off the others so that they could be used together as a complete set.

We see this moment as an opportunity to reorient the direction of LGBTQ thought and action. We hope that the diverse perspectives found in this book collection will open up conversations among students and community members about what can or should happen next for LGBTQ families, activists, and communities.

Angela Jones

Joseph Nicholas DeFilippis

Michael W. Yarbrough

Note

- 1 While not an exhaustive list, as same-sex marriage laws are constantly changing, nations that have legalized same-sex marriage include: Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, England and Wales, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Scotland, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, the United States, Uruguay, and many states in Mexico. As these volumes were going to press, Taiwan, Chile, and Australia both took steps moving toward legalization.

INTRODUCTION

Angela Jones

On July 21, 2015, the beaten and bloody body of India Clarke was found in Tampa, Florida—less than one month after the Supreme Court decision legalizing same-sex marriage. Clarke was a Black trans woman, and, on that day, Clarke became the tenth trans woman of color (of whom we are aware) to have been murdered by that time in 2015. A little less than one year later, on June 12, 2016, forty-nine queer and trans people, who were predominantly Latinx and Afro-Caribbean, were massacred at the Pulse Nightclub in Orlando, Florida. According to the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, as I pen this introduction in August 2017, thirty-three hate-violence-related homicides of LGBTQ people have been committed already this year. LGBTQ people, particularly trans women of color, are killed with impunity. What did the Obergefell decision do to protect queer and trans people from homicide? What did Obergefell do to protect LGBTQ workers from workplace discrimination? Did the acquisition of legal marriage rights open up access to culturally competent healthcare or reform educational institutions making them safe for queer students? Did same-sex marriage rights help defend LGBTQ immigrants from deportation and detention or help to squash the over policing and militarization of poor communities of color where many queer and trans folks reside? The acquisition of legally recognized marriage for same sex couples did nothing to address the economic, political, and social injustice that most queer and trans people face every day.

Far from inconsequential though, the 2015 Obergefell decision capped decades of scholarship, activism, and litigation advocating for and against same-sex marriage and did help to shift public discourses about LGBTQ people in a positive direction. While mainstream society in the US was focused on marriage equality, LGBTQ allied academics and activists worked on many other issues throughout this time—poverty, anti-racism, education, housing, healthcare, policing and incarceration, immigration, violence, etc.—but these issues were largely eclipsed in

2 Introduction

national arenas by marriage. Now that the fight for marriage equality has been won, it is time to take seriously the queer agenda that activists have been working on for decades. *The Unfinished Queer Agenda after Marriage Equality* focuses on these other issues that LGBTQ people and communities continue to face and that were ignored by mainstream gay and lesbian organizations, such as the Human Rights Campaign, the media, and other mainstream political agents. For many members of LGBTQ communities, the struggle for marriage equality was a homonormative¹ campaign that benefited only the most affluent and middle-class lesbian and gay people.

Despite stereotypes of gay affluence, millions of LGBTQ people are living in poverty. LGBTQ people are significantly more likely to live in poverty than their straight and cis gender counterparts. In addition, experiences of poverty under capitalism are exacerbated by other systems of oppression and differ for queer and trans people based on other facets of identity, such as gender, age, race, nationality, citizenship status, and ability. For example, according to the National LGBTQ Task Force, trans people are four times as likely to be living in dire poverty. As another example, every year, 1.7 million youth experience homelessness, and as much as 40 percent of these youth identify as LGBTQ; gender non-conforming youth and youth of color make up a disproportionate number of LGBTQ homeless youth.

The prevalence of discriminatory laws and policies in various institutions has deleterious effects on the lives of LGBTQ people. For many young LGBTQ people, schools are unsafe. Almost 30 percent of LGBTQ students in the US drop out of high school because of unsafe and hostile climates, and they often experience extreme poverty as a result. Poverty then often forces people into survival economies such as sex work. This situation places these LGBTQ people in spaces where they are more likely to be policed and end up in the criminal legal system. Again, according to the National LGBTQ Task Force, 73 percent of LGBTQ people have had contact with a law enforcement agent in the last five years, and, in general, LGBTQ people have disproportionately high incarceration rates. LGBTQ people often become entangled in other segments of the prison industrial complex such as immigration detention centers. Estimates suggest 1 million LGBTQ immigrants are living in the US, and nearly one-third of these immigrants are undocumented. Therefore, many LGBTQ immigrants are in danger of detention and incarceration, and racism leaves LGBTQ immigrants to face regular xenophobic discrimination. Finally, many LGBTQ individuals lack access to quality healthcare. Specifically, many LGBTQ people lack access to culturally competent healthcare and access to medications, such as hormones, PreP, HIV-related medications, and general preventive medicine.

Contextualizing LGBTQ people's access to institutional resources is important. According to the Williams Institute, 35 percent of the LGBTQ population in the United States lives in the South. In this region, LGBTQ people lack employment protections and on average earn less than \$24,000 a year; many cannot afford basic necessities, such as food or healthcare. Moreover, these data only relate to regional

differences in the US; the country that a person originates from and in which country throughout the world one resides will no doubt shape an individual's experiences with homophobia, transphobia, and the overlapping systems of capitalism and global White supremacy. While no one queer agenda exists, for many LGBTQ people, the issue of marriage rights was never high on their list of priorities, and, instead, queer activists and academics have continued to shape a queer agenda that is first and foremost attentive to economic and racial justice.

Theoretical framing of the book

Drawing from critical and intersectional perspectives, this volume highlights that while legal recognition of marriage has met the needs of a segment of the LGBTQ population, many are still living in a grim reality: a reality that intersects with their experiences of poverty and racism—issues not addressed by the acquisition of legal marriage rights. However, in highlighting the myriad forms of oppression that LGBTQ people face, this volume also highlights the resiliency and power of queer communities. Thus, this book is framed using both the framework of intersectionality and the concept of positive marginality.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality has its birthplace in Black feminist thought. Crenshaw (1989) originally criticized conceptions of discrimination for analyzing subordination along one single axis. In her criticism of legal policies regarding race and sex-based discrimination law suits, she wrote the following:

this focus on the most privileged group members marginalizes those who are multiply burdened and obscures claims that cannot be understood as resulting from discrete sources of discrimination . . . Black women are sometimes excluded from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because both are predicated on a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the intersection of race and gender.

140

In subsequent work, Crenshaw (1991) used cases of battering and rape of women to further her astute analysis of the deficiencies within both feminist and antiracist discourses to address the marginalization of Black women.

Along with Crenshaw, Collins (1991) famously critiqued liberal feminism and gynocentrism by noting that Black women's oppression is experienced along three interlocking dimensions: economic, political, and ideological realms. Black feminists have continued their strong track record of highlighting the importance of race, gender, class, and sexual orientation in conditioning individuals' experiences (Davis, 1981; hooks, 1981; Lorde, 1984; Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1993; Guy-Sheftall, 1995; Crenshaw, 1989; Moore, 2011). Thus, again, Black feminists are the trailblazers