

12-2020

Assimilating through Consumption: A Rhetorical History of the Early Years of The Advocate

Cora Beth Butcher-Spellman
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.uark.edu/etd>



Part of the [Gender, Race, Sexuality, and Ethnicity in Communication Commons](#), [Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies Commons](#), [Organizational Communication Commons](#), and the [Speech and Rhetorical Studies Commons](#)

Citation

Butcher-Spellman, C. B. (2020). *Assimilating through Consumption: A Rhetorical History of the Early Years of The Advocate*. *Graduate Theses and Dissertations* Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.uark.edu/etd/3844>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UARK. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UARK. For more information, please contact scholar@uark.edu.

Assimilating through Consumption: A Rhetorical History of the Early Years of *The Advocate*

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Communication

by

Cora Beth Butcher-Spellman
Missouri Southern State University
Bachelor of Science in Public Relations and Mass Communication, 2018

December 2020
University of Arkansas

This thesis is approved for recommendation to the Graduate Council.

Lisa Corrigan, Ph.D
Thesis Director

Ryan Neville-Shepard, Ph.D
Committee Member

Lindsey Aloia, Ph.D
Committee Member

Abstract

This thesis uses analysis of constitutive rhetoric and queer archival methods to examine how *The Advocate* used assimilationist rhetoric and consumerist rhetoric in fundamentally anti-democratic ways to consolidate the form of ideal gay consumer-citizenship. Focusing on the first three years of the publication, I utilize queer theory and theories of citizenship and political economy to explain how *The Advocate*'s rhetoric and mainstream success allowed the publication to normalize a limited and politically weak gay identity. This thesis argues *The Advocate*'s rhetoric of exclusion, authority, and consumerism were three central features shaping ideal gay consumer-citizenship as most available to people who have privileged and normative identities, making appeals to mainstream authority rather than working within queer communities, and replacing activism with consumption.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I must thank my thesis committee. I appreciate my thesis advisor, Dr. Lisa Corrigan, for advising me through the creation of this thesis and for guiding pursuit of my career goals. You taught me so much and significantly impacted who I am and who I am becoming. Thank you to my other committee members, Dr. Ryan Neville-Shepard and Dr. Lindsey Aloia, whose feedback shaped this project. Your genuine mentorship both inside and outside of the classroom greatly impacted my experience throughout the completion of my thesis and my time at the University of Arkansas in general. Dr. Neville-Shepard, I am endlessly thankful for all you have taught me about rhetorical analysis and writing. Dr. Aloia, I cannot thank you enough for the reassurance and support you gave me in your class on quantitative methods. To all three of my committee members, your patience and kindness during this pandemic have been true gifts. You all made my time at the University of Arkansas more enriching and enjoyable. I will always appreciate you.

Thank you to all of the archival staff who made my thesis possible and much more engaging and historically grounded. You helped me find sources and suggested artifacts and ideas I had not yet considered. Your assistance in navigating archives made me a better student and practitioner of archival research methods. To everyone at the Gay and Lesbian Archive of Mid-America (GLAMA) at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, thank you. I am especially appreciative of Stuart Hinds for encouraging me to pursue my interests, brainstorming with me, recommending secondary sources, and teaching me about how to conduct quality archival research. You taught me a lot and prepared me to conduct more conscientious and exploratory archival research in the future. Additionally, I am thankful for all of you at ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives at the University of Southern California. You made my visit to the largest

repository of queer and trans materials in the world as welcoming, accessible, and educational as possible. You made me feel less intimidated and validated my feelings of burnout in the archives. I especially appreciate Joseph Hawkins and Michael C. Oliveira for their generous assistance and the interesting conversations we had together.

I am also deeply grateful for the funding I received across the University of Arkansas. The funding I received from the Department of Gender Studies was invaluable because it enabled me to visit GLAMA, the first archives in which I ever conducted research. Thank you to the Department of Communication for your financial support which allowed me to travel to Los Angeles, California to conduct archival research at ONE. I also appreciate the financial assistance I received from the Graduate School through the A.L. Chilton Foundation Award which enriched my archival research by enabling me to expand my visit to ONE.

Finally, this project would not have been possible without the love and support of my friends and family. To my family, Lutie Butcher, Jim Spellman, and Wesley Butcher-Spellman, your support means the world to me. Lola Butcher, thank you so much for editing my thesis draft and growing my confidence in my work. Andy Cline, thank you for showing interest in my research and nerding out about rhetoric with me at family events. I am eternally grateful for all of the dear friends I made during my time in the M.A. program. I am so thankful for all of the time I got to spend with KC Ludwig, Alexis Hubbard, Nicole Sanford, and Michaelah Reynolds. Thank you for keeping me sane and keeping me company. To my former student and dear friend, Jordan Smith, thank you for assisting with edits and formatting as well as your emotional support, especially during the later stages of this process. I am also thankful for Sarah Robbins and her edits and feedback. I am perpetually grateful for all of my love ones and the many ways you all have contributed to this thesis and my education overall.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter 1: <i>The Advocate</i> 's Rhetoric of Assimilation through Exclusion and Bigotry"	20
Chapter 2: " <i>The Advocate</i> and Locations of Authority"	48
Chapter 3: "Gay Power is Purchasing Power: <i>The Advocate</i> 's Creation of the Model Market"	71
Conclusion: "Pete Buttigieg as Ideal Gay Consumer-Citizen"	101
Notes	115
Bibliography	136

Introduction

“LOOK OUT, STRAIGHT WORLD, HERE I COME!” blared the caption of a comic in the first issue of what is now known as the “newspaper of record for the gay community” in the United States.¹ In this first issue of *The Advocate* which “came out” in September 1967, this comic featured a man pictured with a name tag reading “Harry Hetero” as he ducked away from the words “[G]AY POWER,” “Equality,” “[R]IGHTS,” “Moral,” “FREEDOM,” and “ADVOCATE.”² As the words flew over Harry Hetero, he covered his head to shield himself from gay rights and gay rights activism.³ Although *The Advocate* came out to consumers in the form of an organizational publication, within the next decade, it became independent, increased in popularity, increased to nationwide circulation, and gained nationally recognized advertisers.⁴

To define the new publication’s goals, next to the coming-out comic, the first editorial, “Happy Birthday To Us,” detailed the “birth” of the publication.⁵ Here the editors humbly and self-deprecatingly described the publication’s birth as “clumsy, awkward, full of innocence, and perhaps even a little ugly,” just like that of a newborn infant.⁶ Despite the clumsy start, editors declared their goal was to “perform a very important service as the newspaper of the homophile community,” because “homosexuals, more than ever before, are out to win their legal rights, to end injustices against them, to experience their share of happiness.”⁷ The editors explained they did not aim to compete with other homophile publications, but rather, they primarily aimed “to publish news that is important to the homosexual— legal steps, social news, developments in the various organizations.”⁸ They added *The Advocate* “will present a generous portion of featured material to entertain, to inform, and perhaps to provoke. We do not intend to be deadly dull.”⁹ Defending the twenty-five-cent cost per issue, the editors asked for support from readers and

local organizations: “We exist to serve you, but we cannot do it well without your help.”¹⁰ With this editorial, the publication established its goals for content, cost, and consumer reception.

For just over four decades, *The Advocate* garnered substantial support from consumers and advertisers exactly as it requested in its first issue. The print publication of *The Advocate* was lauded as a valuable source for news and entertainment pertaining to the gay community. Scholar of journalism Edward Alwood argued *The Advocate* was “the only...continuous historical record of the emergence of the nation’s gay and lesbian liberation movement.”¹¹ Historian Christianne Gadd argued it “illustrated internecine struggles within the [gay] community over race, gender, and class.”¹² Reverent scholars called *The Advocate* “the country’s first, true, gay newspaper,” or at least the “first hard-hitting gay newspaper.”¹³ Former Editor-in-chief Judy Wieder referred to the publication in terms of mythologized greatness: “the keeper of the flame, the vessel for the entire history of the gay movement since 1967.”¹⁴ Scholar of journalism Rodger Streitmatter argued the publication was unique because it “contained nonfiction material in tabloid format,” had full-time paid employees, and was the first gay publication entirely funded by advertising and sales revenue, rather than organizational membership funds.¹⁵ Streitmatter argued *The Advocate*’s “editorial voice relentlessly demand[ed] gay rights, consistently speaking with defiance and volume.”¹⁶

From its beginning, *The Advocate* saw itself as the first financially successful, mainstream homophile periodical. It was less political and certainly less militant than most organizational publications and lesbian publications. Instead, it prioritized social assimilation and working with “the system:” the courts, police, media, and state and federal government.¹⁷ This approach pleased advertisers, who saw *The Advocate* as a less risky, more business-friendly venture than other queer publications. It focused more on lifestyle topics like entertainment,

fashion, and travel which made for more of a light, enjoyable read that appealed to a wider range of consumers including apolitical gays. *The Advocate*'s rapid, decades-long success contrasted sharply with the fate of other gay publications which failed in the early- to mid-1970s.¹⁸

First, *The Advocate*'s mainstream approach encouraged a different kind of consumer demand than other aggressive, cynical, and disruptive queer publications. It was more successful in its direct calls for financial support, which included graphics demanding "Support our advertisers!"¹⁹ Market research commissioned in the first year of *The Advocate* "shaped" readers into "a viable market for mainstream ads."²⁰ Marketing scholar Katherine Sender noted that "market research data and an increasingly public gay cultural life affirmed the stereotype of the wealthy, free-spending, trend-setting gay man whose lifestyle *The Advocate* had helped to construct" both for readers and potential corporate sponsors. This gay persona characterized the publication and helped shaped the values and behaviors of its readers.

Second, *The Advocate* touted the gay community as a "model minority" similarly to other advocacy publications such as *Ebony*, which argued respectability was a means to equality.²¹ In this thesis respectability refers to the desire to perform certain traits or behaviors in order to gain favor from a majority group. Gadd argues *The Advocate* "valorize[d]" gay men who "attain[ed] the symbols of mainstream American success" including "a family, a lucrative career, and enough extra income" to buy staples of upper-middle-class status like "frequent vacations, luxury cars, designer clothing, and engagement with the fine arts."²² Still, despite its commercial popularity, *The Advocate* has been criticized for being too consumeristic, politically conservative, sex-focused, and exclusionary.²³

Critics such as Sender, Karen Stabiner, Peter Rehberg, and Fred Fejes have critiqued the emphasis on lifestyle, which consistently dominated the pages of *The Advocate*.²⁴ In pushing for

consumption as the major evidence of gay fidelity to capitalism, the publication prioritized financial profit over movement efforts.²⁵ While the magazine certainly began adjacent to movement efforts, it also aimed to capitalize on its potential for profit to elevate the status of gay men in society.²⁶ Sender defended consumer publications as more sustainable in a capitalist society because “explicit critique of capitalism and consumption in radical gay and lesbian feminist magazines” was partially responsible for other publications’ collapses as such critique precluded the development of “strong relationships with more lucrative advertisers.”²⁷ This relationship with advertisers catalyzed a shift in content and presentation, which transformed gay identity politics in the United States.

Critics have claimed *The Advocate*’s apoliticism was a result of the publication’s focus on profit and consumerism. Sender and Gadd have argued that the publication’s capitalistic goals contributed to its politically conservative or passive content.²⁸ Sender critiques *The Advocate*’s and other consumer advocacy publications for their failure to critically analyze ideology and social structures such as “patriarchy, capitalism, racism, sexism, heterosexism, imperialism and colonialism.”²⁹ Sender argues that *The Advocate*, it took an individualistic “perspective [that] emphasized the psychological over the social and political.”³⁰ She also suggested that the publication was “totally unlike gay liberation papers” because it adopted “a guarded position” on gay rights.³¹ Thus, *The Advocate*’s ambivalence about movement activism and its early focus on material consumption shape the kind of ideal citizen that it was articulating for its gay readership.

Another major critique of *The Advocate* centers on its sexually lewd content, through which the publication mimicked *Playboy* and *Esquire* in its construction of a “tasteful, luxurious, and sexually satisfying lifestyle.”³² *The Advocate* frequently discussed public sex, hook-up

culture, and cruising alongside other behaviors generally considered promiscuous and risky. *The Advocate*'s hypersexualized content may suggest it was too focused on sexual freedoms and "lifestyle" at the expense of other potential goals. However, Streitmatter suggests that this priority was mirrored in the community which largely believed a "primary aim of gay men's liberation was the freedom to enjoy sex with whom and whenever one wanted."³³ Historian David K. Johnson argued that sexual consumer content, consumer culture, and "physique entrepreneurs" catalyzed the gay rights movement and helped create community and sites for resistance because these foci created a sense of gay pride.³⁴ While the prioritization of sexual freedom could be interpreted as somewhat radical compared to other publications (especially lesbian publications such as *Furies* and *Lesbian Tide*), the publication prioritized individualism over collective struggle and movement activism focused on community building and solidarity.³⁵

Finally, one irrefutable critique of *The Advocate* is its exclusion of queer people of color and queer women in organizational diversity and publication content.³⁶ The all-white, all-male staff in the early years meant that the publication lacked diverse voices and opportunities for debate, dissent, and course-correction. The lack of organizational diversity fostered the staff's racist and sexist personal views and allowed the publication to consistently exclude and disrespect women and people of color. Some of this exclusion has been linked to racist and sexist views about consumers, especially the idea that white consumers would not want to consume content about people of color, particularly Black people.³⁷ Additionally, scholars such as Edward Alwood argued women and people of color were excluded from the publication due to their lack of financial power, which made them less valuable potential consumers.³⁸ Gadd argued *The Advocate* promoted singularly "white middle-class mores" to help shape their ideal readers.³⁹ However, the prominence of the women's liberation movement and the publication's popularity

with female readers means *The Advocate* could not “claim ignorance” about women’s desire for representation.⁴⁰ *The Advocate* also could not claim ignorance about racism due to the state of the Black civil rights movement which had been going on for about 15 years when *The Advocate* was first published. In fact, the publication mentioned Black civil rights somewhat frequently, indicating awareness but given the paucity of coverage within the publication’s pages, there was a clear disregard for civil rights activism as a gay issue. Additionally, readers often wrote letters-to-the-editor lamenting the white-centric, male-centric content, demonstrating both dissatisfaction of readers and awareness of editors.

However, even after the “death” of the standalone print version of *The Advocate* in 2009, editorial responses to these critiques were hostile, victim-blaming denials.⁴¹ In this thesis, victim-blaming broadly refers to language that transfers responsibility from the wrong-doer unto the victim of the wrong-doing.⁴² Aside from the general exclusion of women and people of color, *The Advocate* often contained “casual racism” and sexism in the form of comments, illustrations, and articles, that demonstrated racial insensitivity and an “unwitting acceptance of white supremacy” and patriarchal values.⁴³ With attention to these various critiques of *The Advocate*, this study fills gaps in the literature about *The Advocate*’s consumerist, assimilationist arguments.

Research Questions

This critical rhetorical analysis will investigate how *The Advocate* used consumerist, assimilationist rhetoric to erase within-group diversity, foster political passivity, and construct ideal gay consumer-citizenship as the only acceptable form of gay identity and gay political participation. To address these interrelated rhetorical goals, the following research questions drive this project’s purpose: *How did early queer media navigate power at mid-century? How*

did The Advocate's conceptualization of gay power demonstrate assimilationist goals? How did The Advocate erase within-group diversity and contribute to the limited, racist, sexist, classist, and transphobic construction of a gay model minority? How did The Advocate contribute the nature of acceptable mainstream gay identity? How did The Advocate define gay power as primarily economic? In what ways did The Advocate encourage political passivity and deference to mainstream authorities? How did The Advocate's political goals and tactics vary depending on central topics or authority figures? What were the consequences of rhetorically privileging heteronormative practices, especially those performed by white gay men? What rhetorical strategies persisted in these early magazines and how did they position queer people via representation and critique?

This project examines *The Advocate* from September 1967 until December 1970 to show how the gay movement became “increasingly visible, articulate, and media-savvy” as queer publishing rapidly diversified.⁴⁴ This range of issues centers around the June 1969 Stonewall Rebellion, known as a major catalyst for the gay rights movement. Using queer archival methods, analysis of constitutive rhetoric, and ideological critique, this project charts three major arguments about queer rhetoric in this influential time. First, I argue *The Advocate's* exclusion of queer people of color and women was foundational and strategic for the publication's assimilationist rhetoric, which appealed to whiteness, masculinity, capitalism, cisnormativity, homonormativity, and heteronormativity. Second, I argue *The Advocate* objectified its audience as politically passive by prioritizing the language and actions of outside, mainstream authorities and neglecting and demonizing gay leadership, political engagement, and protest as anti-citizenship practices. Third, I argue that *The Advocate* constructed gay power as individual financial power and affluence and interpellated readers as a gay model market. Together these

arguments importantly explain the relationship between assimilationist rhetoric and consumerist rhetoric in mainstream queer rhetoric. These arguments demonstrate the anti-democratic nature of *The Advocate* and its construction of ideal gay consumer-citizenship. Ultimately, these arguments combine to show how *The Advocate* normalized a certain set of queer identities and citizenship practices, while neglecting and further excluding others in such a way that hindered the development of a more powerful, diverse, and nonnormative social movement.

I argue that *The Advocate* constituted the ideal gay consumer citizen primarily through its broader function as an “institution of consumption.”⁴⁵ In *Business, Not Politics: The Making of the Gay Market*, Sender discussed how theorist Michel Foucault argued that “sexualities do not reside in the body, in a set of behaviors, or even in desires, but in the discourses that transform bodies, behaviors, and desires into a ‘truth’ of human sexuality.”⁴⁶ Sender suggested that while Foucault investigated the “dominant discursive institutions that shaped sexuality in nineteenth century France: law, religion, education, and medicine,” by the early twentieth century, “the role these institutions have played in identity formation has been displaced, albeit unevenly, by institutions of consumption: advertising, marketing, public relations, and commercial media.”⁴⁷ As an institution of consumption, *The Advocate* was able to shape sexuality and behaviors.

Critical Rhetorical Methods and Analysis of Constitutive Rhetoric

In considering the dynamism of sex/gender politics at mid-century, this project uses a critical rhetorical lens to chart a history of queer advocacy in the late 1960s through emergent print media. First, it uses critical queer archival methods to analyze how *The Advocate* discussed power and identity differently from other queer publications of the period. Queer archival work examines queer “historical self-representations as sites of ongoing hermeneutic and political struggle in the formation of new social subjects and new cultural possibilities.”⁴⁸ Due to the

conservative nature of most archives and histories, queer archival methods are especially necessary. Archives', museums', and academic institutions' need for funding have driven conservative policies about how and what information is preserved, catalogued, organized and presented. For example, by the logic of compulsory heterosexuality, if a historical figure's queer sexuality or gender identity could not be confirmed clearly and without a doubt, they were presented as a cisgender heterosexual. Additionally, homophobia, transphobia, sexism, racism, and other forms of bigotry have led to a lack of prioritization of diverse contents. To problematize and queer these conservative histories, queer studies scholar Charles Morris advocated for the queer archival approach which he describes as "tireless cruising in vexed pursuit of the elusive artifacts of our queer histories."⁴⁹ Queer archival methods are pertinent for understanding how past images "animate the present."⁵⁰ This queer historical scholarship requires an ongoing search for what history has ignored, erased, and misunderstood.

Secondly, this study utilizes analysis of constitutive rhetoric to examine how, borrowing the words of Maurice Charland, *The Advocate* "calls the audience into being" by interpellating readers "as political subjects through a process of identification in rhetorical narratives that 'always already' presume the constitution of subjects."⁵¹ This study examines how *The Advocate* impacted and shaped its readers into a certain type of gay consumer and citizens. This study looks at explicit interpellation, such as when the publication demanded certain values and behaviors from its readers, and implicit interpellation, such as when the publication created an ideal image of the gay consumer and citizen to which readers should aspire. This approach reveals how identity is "produced in and through communication, not as something taken for granted from which communication originates."⁵² This perspective also allows for analysis of not just how *The Advocate* might reflect the white gay male community at this time, but more

importantly how *The Advocate* contributed to shaping and creating meaning about gay men and the gay lifestyle. The focus on constitutive rhetoric in *The Advocate* also enables an examination of how, in the words of Communication scholar Raymie McKerrow, the publication utilizes “the discourse of power” which “creates and perpetuates the [social] relations, and gives [material] form to the ideology which it projects.”⁵³ This analysis of constitutive rhetoric examines how *The Advocate* was able to shape and even partially create its audience and its relationship with its audience. This thesis analyzes this function of rhetoric in *The Advocate* and how its rhetoric “come[s] to possess power” and create and contribute to meaning about gay men and the gay male lifestyle.⁵⁴

Queerness and Queer Theory

This project uses the term “queer” sparingly and specifically because the term has a variety of meanings and resists definitions and organization.⁵⁵ Academics use the term “queer” as an inclusive alternative to the terms “gay,” “lesbian,” or variations of the acronym “LGBTQ” for a variety of reasons. Many scholars such as Gloria Anzaldúa have argued white academics have co-opted the term “queer” and used it to construct “a false unifying umbrella which all ‘queers’ of all races, ethnicities, and classes are shoved under.”⁵⁶ The term “queer” can be used in this way to erase difference and hide exclusion. Nikki Sullivan argues that “queer” as a noun should be understood as a positionality and identity. Sullivan additionally argues the term “queer” requires a rejection of assimilationist goals and leads to various competing goals for different subgroups or identities.⁵⁷ Though scholars such as Sullivan and Anzaldúa argue the use of “queer” as an inclusive umbrella term is naively optimistic, this project uses the term to describe queer people and their contributions.⁵⁸ While use of any attempts at inclusive language may be naively optimistic, the reckless use of narrow sexuality- and gender-specific terms and

acronyms can often blatantly erase other sexual identities and gender identities. Thus, these more specific terms are only used when they are appropriate.

This project does not use “queer” to describe the oppositional politics or antinormativity for which queer theory is known except when specifically describing such queerness. This distinction aims to avoid misrepresenting *The Advocate*’s rhetoric as what this project will refer to as “politically queer.” This project relies heavily on these theoretical contributions from queer theory to examine the normativity and assimilationism that precluded the publication from political queerness. Many scholars agree the “oppositional politics” of antinormativity is a defining characteristic of queerness and queer theory.⁵⁹ Antinormativity is a resistance to norms which are interpreted as restrictive, exclusionary, and “conceptually and politically limiting.”⁶⁰ Antinormativity is negatively defined against a few key concepts: normativity, hegemony, and assimilation. Normativity is “a type of operation of power” that establishes and enforces norms which are moral “imperatives” and which Lee Edelman and Adrienne Rich call “compulsory.”⁶¹ In this way, normativities are hegemonically produced as the “values and interests of the hegemonic [or dominant] group” to which others are forced to submit.⁶² Furthermore, assimilation is intentional or persuasively utilized conformity to hegemonic norms⁶³ by a nondominant subject into a dominant, hegemonic group through the submissive process of becoming similar or behaving similarly to the dominant group.⁶⁴ This project uses queer theory’s central concepts to examine *The Advocate* as a normative project with assimilationist goals.

This project relies on queer theory to examine a pre-queer discursive landscape where “gay” was the catchall as publications moved away from using the term “homophile” due to the transition from the homophile movement to the gay liberationist movement. Queer theory is primarily based on oppositional politics, antinormativity, and an alternative to and critique of

identity politics.⁶⁵ Because queer theory is a more recent development, this theoretical perspective is somewhat presentist. Despite the potential drawbacks of a presentist perspective, queer theory is ideal for this examination of early gay liberationist rhetoric during this transitional period because it provides insight into the exclusionary and assimilationist normativity of earlier gay rhetoric such as that of *The Advocate*. This perspective allows this project to analyze the lack of political queerness of this publication and the ideal gay consumer-citizenship it consolidated and popularized.

Queer Citizenship and Political Economy

This project also relies on theories of queer citizenship and queer political economy to understand how *The Advocate* shaped its readers into ideal gay consumer-citizens. This thesis continues the work of scholars such as Shane Phelan, E. Cram, Judith Shklar, and Lee Edelman who have rejected a legalistic focus on citizenship to varying degrees. Cram, a communication and queer studies scholar, defines this sort of “cultural citizenship” as a “negotiation of belonging.”⁶⁶ Shklar, a philosopher and political theorist, argues American citizenship depend on positionality or relationality rather than the false ideal of equality.⁶⁷ Shklar argues the relationality of American citizenship forces it to rely on exclusion because citizenship is valuable in the U.S. through the denial of citizenship to others.⁶⁸ This contributes to the desire for inclusion, which tends toward assimilationism and normativity. Phelan, political scientist, argues queer people’s citizenship – both legally and culturally – is limited and less politically effective due to the denial of rights and recognition to queer citizens.⁶⁹ Phelan argues that representation and acknowledgement are aspects of citizenship which are particularly difficult for invisible minorities to attain.⁷⁰ The difficulties of invisibility while seeking recognition from the state have led to assimilationism, exclusion, and small-scale reforms, all of which have done nothing to

disrupt the anti-queer bigotry, queer inequality, and normative expectations of queer people. Gay assimilationist exclusion is thus an extension of broader American citizenship.

I argue *The Advocate* consolidated the ideal gay consumer-citizen using assimilationist politics which excluded various identities and rejected activism as anti-citizenship practices. Veronika Kneip defines consumer citizenship as the merging of consumer and citizen roles which arguably leads to the “commercialization of politics and a marginalization of legitimate political power.”⁷¹ Consumer citizenship is the idea of citizenship based on consumers whose consumption and political engagement are synonymous. Consumer citizenship is a product of classical republicanism, political liberalism, and deliberative democracy.⁷² The classical republicanism contributes to consumer-citizenship’s focus on civil society, or organizations, institutions, and individuals, as well as civic virtue, or the fostering of values and behaviors intended to help a community be successful. The political liberalism provides a focus on liberty, legal equality, and consent to the social contract. Deliberative democracy allows consumer-citizenship to thrive under the assumption that political participation and persuasion can affect political decision-making processes and social change. This has led activists and theorists to focus too much on “state apparatuses” and rights and not enough on community-building, disruptive activism, or other forms of nonnormative political engagement that do not rely on the imagined eventual benevolence of state powers.⁷³

I am interested in how gay consumer-citizenship interacts with the political economy, or the relationship between politics and economics. English, gender, and sexuality studies scholar, Rosemary Hennessy defines the political economy as “the material relationship between the discourses by which we make the world intelligible and the structures of accumulation and labor on which capitalism irrevocably depends.”⁷⁴ Hennessy uses Marxist theory to examine how

“consciousness, state, and political economy as interlinked historical and material forces by which social life is made and remade.”⁷⁵ This thesis analyzes how *The Advocate* responded to economic forces by prioritizing profit-making which contributed to the consolidation and commodification of the ideal gay consumer-citizen as a gay model market. Furthermore, I argue that *The Advocate*’s ideal gay consumer-citizen shaped the gay community’s participation in the broader political economy. This focus on the gay rhetorical participation in the political economy enables this thesis to examine how gay rhetoric has been shaped by capitalism, thus avoiding a narrow focus on “the spectacle of sexual identity” which “commodif[ies] sexuality by separating the organization of sexual identity from the complex historical ways capitalism shapes the human capacity for pleasure, affect, and social interaction.”⁷⁶ This project follows Hennessy’s advice not to “rally around identities” but to question the economic reasons for their historical development and organization as well as sexualities’ “commodification under capitalism.”⁷⁷ Using Hennessy’s understanding of sexuality as a product of economic factors, this project focused on how *The Advocate*’s gay rhetoric responded to and influenced the broader political economy.

This project pays especially close attention to consumerism as a culture-ideology of the political economy. Culture-ideology is the “beliefs, norms, narratives, images, and modes of intelligibility” through which capitalism is hegemonic.⁷⁸ Hennessy describes the “culture-ideology consists of a variety of different practices or ways of making sense (i.e., discourses),” such as sexuality, gender and race, “that displace, condense, compensate, mask, and contest the basic inequality of capitalism.”⁷⁹ I contend that the ideal gay citizen contributes to the culture-ideology which legitimates capitalism. The culture-ideology of consumerism is the “transformation of excessively above-subsistence consumption from a sectional practice of the

rich throughout human history to a globalizing phenomenon directed at the mass of the population,” in this case, especially as it pertains to the gay portion of the population. This work examines how gay culture-ideology interacts with the rainbow economy or “pink economy,” which is the relationship among queer consumers and the market, especially through spending power.⁸⁰ In other words, like Hennessy’s work, this thesis critiques how the cultural recognition of queer sexualities and identities interrelates with economic processes.⁸¹

Précis of Chapters

In this project, I suggest that acceptable normative gay identity was achieved, in part, through the success of *The Advocate*, given its interest in profit, assimilation, and consumption. To demonstrate the relationship between *The Advocate*’s interconnected values of assimilationism and consumerism, I make three arguments. First, I argue *The Advocate* appealed to whiteness, maleness, masculinity, heteronormativity, capitalism, homonormativity, and cisnormativity through the assimilationist exclusion of queer people of color and queer women and gender-nonconforming folk as well as the normalization of bigotry. Second, I argue *The Advocate* encouraged political passivity by neglecting content centering queer voices and actions and by prioritizing the language and actions of outside, mainstream authorities who were thereby allowed to define sex and sexuality for the gay community. Third, I argue *The Advocate*’s rhetorical construction of gay power as individual financial power constituted the gay community as apolitical consumers and contributed to the “affluent gay male” stereotype, which was an understanding of the ideal gay consumer-citizen as a model market. Together these chapters indicate how *The Advocate*’s and its construction of the ideal gay consumer-citizen were anti-democratic and reflected the relationship between assimilationist and consumerist rhetoric.

Chapter 1: “The Advocate’s Rhetoric of Assimilation through Exclusion and Bigotry”

In chapter one, “*The Advocate’s Rhetoric of Assimilation through Exclusion and Bigotry*,” I discuss how gatekeeping and exclusion of within-group diversity in publication content and marketing allowed normative white gay men to become a gay model minority. Previous scholarship has asserted that *The Advocate’s* “efforts to shape an American minority group into ‘model’ citizens and promote their engagement in the political realm were not, by any means, unprecedented.”⁸² However, I examine how *The Advocate* not only excluded others but also victim-blamed them those who critiqued the bigoted choices of the publication. I argue *The Advocate* blatantly and purposefully excluded within-group diversity in an effort to create the gay model minority in the form of the ideal gay consumer-citizen. I argue *The Advocate’s* exclusion was foundational for the publication’s assimilationist rhetoric which appealed to power including whiteness, maleness, masculinity, capitalism, cisnormativity, homonormativity, and even heteronormativity. Using archival methods, I assess how other queer publications navigated inclusion and gatekeeping decisions at this time.

This chapter examines the assimilationist exclusion of various groups of queer people and how this helped shape the ideal gay consumer-citizen as privileged and normative in a variety of ways. This chapter focuses on the economic factors contributing to this exclusion from this form of gay citizenship. Because exclusion of queer people of color and queer women was assumed to be good for business, this choice further demonstrates the publications prioritization of profit over service to the community. The exclusion in marketing worked in two ways: “selling products to gay consumers that address their emotional need to be accepted while selling a palatable image of homosexuality to heterosexual consumers that meets their need to have their dominance obscured.”⁸³ The chapter focuses on the economic logics behind various types of

exclusion. I argue the racism in *The Advocate* normalized sexual tourism, fetishization, infantilization, inferiorization, and sexual power imbalances determined by race. Thus, the publication created ideal gay consumer-citizenship which was not only foreclosed to various queer group but was also founded on bigotry against those excluded groups.

Chapter 2: "The Advocate and Locations of Authority"

In chapter two, "*The Advocate and Locations of Authority*," I discuss *The Advocate's* prioritization of mainstream authorities. The publication had different attitudes towards certain types of authority as well as different approaches to interacting with these authorities or attempting to persuade them. Using archival materials, I contextualize *The Advocate's* orientation toward authority and compare it to other queer publications' relationship with power and authority. I argue that, although some other queer publications around this time shared a similar orientation, no other publications had quite this saturation of authority-centered content.

Overall, *The Advocate's* prioritization of non-queer authorities instead of queer people allowed queer readers to understand themselves as passive bystanders relieved from any responsibility to advocate for themselves. Ultimately, I suggest that the publication reinforced gay people's political passivity and attention to mainstream authorities. I also discuss the implications of the absence of content featuring community leaders, notable gay individuals, community groups, or queer people in general. Additionally, I demonstrate how *The Advocate* encouraged few political actions as acceptable forms of ideal gay consumer-citizenship behaviors, all of which were normative and worked uncritically within the system(s) and passively alongside state powers. Furthermore, I show how the publication allowed these authorities, particularly medical, psychological and academic authorities, to define sex and sexuality for the gay community with little more than ambivalent critique in response.

Chapter 3: “The Advocate’s Gay Power as Individual Financial Power”

In chapter three, “*The Advocate’s Gay Power as Individual Financial Power*,” *The Advocate* consolidated the form of ideal gay consumer-citizenship as citizenship through consumption based on hedonism and individualism. Using archival materials, I discuss how other publications of the time defined “gay power” through visibility and language of militant revolutionary activism. Publications like the back-to-the-land, lesbian separatist magazine *Lesbian Connection* and its construction of “gay power” as community-building contrasted significantly with *The Advocate’s* “gay power” as wealth accumulation, saving, consumption, upward mobility, and other elements of (white) financial power. I argue *The Advocate’s* news and editorial content on gay power interpellated queer readers to think of themselves as consumers and capitalists who felt individually responsible for supporting gay businesses and accumulating wealth. I argue *The Advocate’s* rhetoric on gay power as individual economic power is partially responsible for the “affluent gay man” stereotype which remains prevalent today. I argue *The Advocate’s* rhetoric not only consolidated the ideal gay consumer-citizen, but also commodified it as the gay model market.

Next, this chapter examines how marketing research, including early research commissioned by the publishers of *The Advocate*, ultimately led marketers to believe the gay community was a wealthy enough niche market to be worth risking a loss of other more conservative consumers. *The Advocate* commissioned the first marketing survey of gay men in 1977 which indicated that gay men ages 20-40 had above-average incomes.⁸⁴ Many employed writers at *The Advocate* bragged that “[Gays] are everywhere and we are the most affluent of any minority.”⁸⁵ I argue the success of mainstream advertising in *The Advocate* and subsequent marketing research and scholarship on the community’s spending potential and behaviors led to

the solidification of the gay niche market that rhetorically constituted, depoliticized, consumerized, queer community.

Conclusion

This project concludes with a discussion of the implications of *The Advocate's* construction of the ideal gay consumer-citizen through an analysis of discourses about and by 2020 U.S. presidential candidate Mayor Pete Buttigieg. I discuss how and to what extent Buttigieg's campaign reflected his ability to embody the ideal gay consumer-citizen. I explain how his performance of the ideal gay consumer-citizenship enabled his acceptability and heteronormativity. I discuss how the publication impacts contemporary gay consumers as voters and political candidates as well as how it impacts straight expectations of gay political candidates. Finally, I examine the lasting effects of the idea gay consumer-citizen on current political realities and the self-understandings available to queer people today.

Chapter 1: “*The Advocate’s* Rhetoric of Assimilation through Exclusion and Bigotry”

In a February 1968 editorial titled “A Policy for Politics,” the editors of *The Advocate* stated that, “During the next several months, we are going to be subjected to a steadily rising crescendo of ear-splitting, head-cracking political diatribes from the Left, the Right, the Righteous, the Lunatic Fringe, and. . . well, you name it.”⁸⁶ In response to the overwhelm of politics in the 1968 presidential campaign cycle, editors explained their choice to disengage with most issues not specific to gay men. The editorial states that *The Advocate* planned to only cover politics in relation to “homosexuality or sex law reform” and had “no intention of getting involved in other issues.”⁸⁷ It goes on to say that, despite this, homosexuals should “most definitely” “be concerned about such incendiary issues as Viet Nam, taxes, racial equality, and so forth.”⁸⁸ The editorial creates distance between this short list of “other issues” and homosexuals and their political goals, despite the fact that these sorts of issues undoubtedly affected a large portion of gay readers. The inclusion of taxes along with a decade and a half of war and centuries of racial inequality seems to suggest either excessive focus on individual financial concerns or a lack of adequate concerns for war and racial inequality. Rather than examining how these issues impacted homosexuals specifically, *The Advocate’s* conscious avoidance of “other issues” assumed that readers were not impacted by them or were impacted by them in the same ways that heterosexuals were and thus, either did not need that sort of content or could get it from another source. *The Advocate* argued that “there are thousands of newspapers and magazines that will discuss these fully.”⁸⁹ Due to this apparently satisfactory level of saturation, the editorial said the staff “feels that now, as before, it should expend its resources on subjects that other news media ignore—matters that touch homosexuals as

homosexuals.”⁹⁰ Thus, less than a year into publishing, *The Advocate* was explicitly limiting its already-narrow focus.

This editorial explained some of *The Advocate*'s reasoning behind its apolitical and avoidant coverage of many issues. It demonstrates that the staff was certainly aware of the range of issues about which *The Advocate* could have spoken. It also shows how at least part of this disengagement with other issues was due to burnout or overwhelm. However, *The Advocate*'s central reason for strictly avoiding other content was a desire to strategically and intentionally only prioritize specifically gay issues rather than tackle political issues the editors saw as either too divisive or not financially lucrative. Nonetheless, *The Advocate* encouraged readers to stay engaged with these “other issues.”⁹¹ Specifically, the publication suggested readers learn about the other issues and politicians' positions on other issues as well as “be concerned,” “get involved,” “register to vote,” and “vote.”⁹² While this example of a call to action was more political than most of *The Advocate*'s calls to action, it encouraged only state-sanctioned civic engagement practices, indicating *The Advocate*'s preference for working within the system rather than against it. The calls to action made the disengagement from other issues seem somewhat less apolitical, but this put the onus of political action on the individual consumers. *The Advocate*'s avoidance of many political issues contributed to the publication's erasure of various groups and identities.

This chapter examines how *The Advocate* strategically erased groups and issues which were not specifically (and only) gay, which contributed to the publication's extreme normativity. I contend that the publication's apoliticism and avoidance contributed to its exclusion of various groups such as women, trans and nonbinary people, and people of color as well as the normalization of bigotry and exclusion of those groups within the gay political economy. *The*

Advocate constructed the ideal gay consumer-citizen, its exclusion of various groups shaped the ideal gay consumer citizen as white, male, and cisgender. It encouraged its readers to embody ideal gay consumer-citizenship and the normativity, bigotry, apoliticism, and exclusion on which this ideal was founded. I argue *The Advocate* used a range of exclusionary tactics to create the normative, assimilationist ideal gay consumer-citizen. Finally, this chapter explains how *The Advocate*'s consolidation of the ideal gay consumer-citizen and the publication's overall assimilationist gay politics erased radical queer politics from mainstream gay publications and undermined the political power of nonnormative queer identity.

The Historical Development of “The Homosexual”

A variety of interrelated contextual factors allowed for the emergence of “the homosexual” as a political and social category distinct from heterosexuals in the United States during the twentieth century.⁹³ Earlier understandings of homosexuality were defined by behavioral and moral ideas of homosexual desire and behavior as sinful choices. As homosexuality took the shape of an identity, the elements of choice and behavior took less prominence, instead emphasizing a biological essentialism. Thus, the element of choice shifted to describe whether born homosexuals should or would choose to act on their naturally deviant instincts. So, while behavior and moral elements remained aspects of popular Western understandings homosexuality, their importance was reduced, especially by queer people, many of whom embraced the more forgiving understandings of homosexuality as (at least primarily) biologically essentialist.

Additionally, the biological essentialism of homosexuality as an identity was interpreted as supported by the development of psychology and sexology.⁹⁴ These early social sciences and the results of various famous sex studies such as those by Alfred Kinsey brought mainstream

attention to the prevalence of deviance.⁹⁵ More specifically, biological essentialism offered a potential reason for so many people's frequent deviance. Following this line of thinking, biologically essentialist understandings of homosexuality could be used to justify the desire to normalize forms of sexual deviance.

The two World Wars and the Vietnam War all affected the economy as well as gender roles and norms in the U.S.⁹⁶ Historian John D'Emilio argues World War II in particular "temporarily created a new erotic situation conducive to homosexual expression" by segregating people into homosocial environments.⁹⁷ After the war, large numbers of queer people who sought "to maintain the friendships of the war years" migrated to cities where anonymity and opportunities for queer socializing were more available.⁹⁸ Post-war homophobia was also a factor in that "the attacks on gay men and women hastened the articulation of a homosexual identity and spread the knowledge that they existed in large numbers."⁹⁹ War not only had direct effects on social factors in the development of "the homosexual," but also broader effects on American culture which also had somewhat less direct impacts.

Fueled by war, economic shifts also contributed to changing understandings of homosexuality. Katherine Sender, a communication and gender studies scholar, says the "relatively undifferentiated post-World War II mass market" impacted gender roles.¹⁰⁰ Industrialization continued to increase, leading to industrial capitalism and its effects on the social and familial structures around this time.¹⁰¹ Fear of communism also affected the development of the gay identity and community due to the common misperception of homosexuality and communism as linked forms of deviance.¹⁰² In fact, the association between homosexuality and communism was so strong and widely accepted that the FBI investigated

many gay and lesbian publications such as *ONE Magazine*, *Mattachine Review*, and *The Ladder* for communist content.¹⁰³

Other social and political developments were also linked to both American involvement in wars and the development of homosexual identity. Partially due to the wars' impact on gender, family, and labor in the United States, the developments of the Black civil rights movement, the women's movement, "1960s youth culture and the counterculture movement" allowed for a new type of sexual freedom that aligned with gay liberation.¹⁰⁴ These movements as well as early gay and queer activism and political organizing contributed to the political dynamism and rapid change of this time period. Together all of these factors yielded "a more obvious cultural fragmentation that was quickly reflected in—and reinforced by—increasingly segmented media and advertising" such as that of *The Advocate*.¹⁰⁵

Exclusionary Ideal Gay Consumer-Citizenship

Despite popular belief that *The Advocate* advocated for gay rights first and foremost, the publication was deeply exclusionary in its content, thus suggesting narrow and unprioritized advocacy mission, if any.¹⁰⁶ The publication exclusively targeted privileged and normative consumers, especially white homosexual men. *The Advocate* primarily targeted these consumers by featuring content which almost exclusively contained the voices and actions of people who had more privileged and behaved more normatively. When less privileged and normative groups such as white, wealthy, cisgender, masculine, men were included, *The Advocate* used various tactics to exclude other less privileged and powerful queer people. As Phelan points out, this sort of exclusion is what gives meaning to inclusion as a citizen.¹⁰⁷ Thus, by excluding less powerful and privileged queer people, the publication was able to increase the value of the queer citizenship it offered white, cisgender, homosexual men.

The Advocate's audience resulted from the publication's goals to normalize homosexuality and encourage its readers to assimilate upwards into straight society. These goals reflected a desire for visibility which Phelan argues is a requirement for invisible minorities in their attempts to attain citizenship.¹⁰⁸ The publication sought to increase and stabilize its revenue by choosing a more privileged audience which could theoretically afford the publication and support the publication's advertisers more easily. It also allowed *The Advocate* to have a sort of credibility linked to its whiteness and masculinity while being able to be perceived as more normal, less potentially radical, and less of a threat. In this chapter, I argue the primary reason for *The Advocate*'s exclusion of people of color and women was to attract advertisers. In the process, I explain how the ideal gay consumer-citizen was shaped primarily by economic factors.

This chapter focuses on how exclusion played a central role in *The Advocate*'s construction of the ideal gay consumer-citizen. Cram defines cultural citizenship as a "negotiation of belonging."¹⁰⁹ Scholars such as Phelan and Shklar have pointed out that citizenship often has as much to do with belonging as it does with denial of belonging.¹¹⁰ Shklar explains that U.S. citizenship is based on relationality among individuals and groups.¹¹¹ Additionally, U.S. citizenship derives its value from the denial of citizenship to others.¹¹² *The Advocate* replicated the U.S. model of citizenship defined by exclusion of noncitizens and instead excluded less privileged and normative gay identities from content and staff. In doing so, *The Advocate* used denial of citizenship to diverse queer people to increase the value and potential of gay citizenship.

The Advocate's exclusion of various intersectional identities is highly assimilative and demonstrates a desire to gain power and adjacency to power, primarily in the forms of representation and visibility. Additionally, this exclusion indicates that the publication prioritized

assimilationist goals even at the continued expense of the least powerful and privileged queer people whom the publication routinely excluded. Phelan argues the invisibility of queerness makes representation and recognition harder to access.¹¹³ By creating the ideal gay consumer-citizen as intersecting with identities of privilege and normativity, this form of citizenship was more recognizable to mainstream straight society. At the same time, this exclusion also made citizenship even harder for less powerful and privileged queer people who were not only unwelcome in mainstream society but also within the realm of gay politics *The Advocate* helped create.

The Advocate primarily aimed to gain power through profit-seeking goals dependent on assimilationist exclusion. Because state powers prevented gay men from obtaining full citizenship, *The Advocate* sought aspects of citizenship from the private sector. In a way, *The Advocate* created its own representation of gay men as ideal gay consumer-citizens. At the same time, it sought recognition and representation elsewhere, such as from advertisers. Advertisers needed to be convinced that the gay consumers were worth targeting. The exclusion in marketing worked by “selling products to gay consumers that address their emotional need to be accepted while selling a palatable image of homosexuality to heterosexual consumers that meets their need to have their dominance obscured.”¹¹⁴ Regardless of the products being advertised, the goal of this marketing was to make gay consumers feel included and respected.

Marketers’ and advertisers’ interest in gay and lesbian consumers has been and continues to be based on a variety of psychographic and demographic characteristics which make the niche market valuable to sellers. These characteristics often center around “affluence” particularly in relation to gay men. Gay consumers are also considered valuable due to the higher likelihood for homosexual households to have dual incomes and no children. Gay and lesbian consumers are

often categorized as “early adopters” who are quick to adopt new technology and follow trends. Gay consumers are also considered brand-loyal based on the assumption that their desire for recognition from mainstream society including mainstream advertisers will make gay and lesbian consumers more likely to support advertisers who target them because they want to financially encourage continued recognition.

Nascent academic research argues that *The Advocate* first seriously aimed to make itself attractive to advertisers and marketers in the late 1970s. Fejes argues the publication’s 1977 survey was “the first marketing survey of gay men” with a national reach.¹¹⁵ According to the self-reported results, “the typical Advocate readers were gay professional men between the ages of twenty and forty with above-average incomes.”¹¹⁶ Fejes describes the portrayal of these consumers as “free of the financial burden of supporting a family” and therefore able to “afford to spend their large incomes on themselves, particularly on high-priced liquors, clothes, and travel.”¹¹⁷ Fejes also argues *The Advocate*’s shift in format, centering of editorials, sequestering of classified ads, and shifts in content which started in the later 1980s and early 1990s reflected a desire to attract national advertisers.¹¹⁸

But this thesis argues *The Advocate*’s attempts to woo advertisers and marketers began much sooner, with the very beginning of the publication. Instead of responding to the stereotype of the gay consumer, I argue *The Advocate* helped shape the way marketers and advertisers see the “gay market” or “gay niche market.” Despite beginning as an organizational newsletter, it became an independent newspaper within its first year of publication. This choice indicates a desire for profit which could come from a consumer publication but is less likely to come from an organizational publication that relies on membership dues rather than sales revenue and advertising revenue. Even in this initial decision to transition from the “P.R.I.D.E.” newsletter to

local underground consumer publication demonstrates early attention to the revenue potential of advertising.

Assimilating for Citizenship: Exclusion and Bigotry in *The Advocate*

This analysis proceeds in two parts. The first section analyzes how *The Advocate* prevented various groups of queer people from engaging or being included in this negotiation of belonging. This section focuses on the coverage of these groups or lack thereof. Each subsection explains why the relevant excluded groups were shut out from ideal gay consumer citizenship. The second section focuses on the rhetorical tactics *The Advocate* used to exclude these groups with attention to tactics which were widely used across groups.

The Advocate chose to help the most normative gay men assimilate at the expense of people from the following excluded groups: women, lesbians, trans people, gender nonconforming people, and people of color. This section analyzes how *The Advocate's* exclusion of various identities made citizenship easier for the most normative and dominant groups and made citizenship even more difficult for the excluded people. Additionally, this section addresses why certain consumer identities were excluded due to their lower levels of desirability.

Exclusion of Women

The Advocate's exclusion of women constructed the ideal gay consumer-citizen as male, traditionally masculine, and sexist. Women were not considered ideal consumers because they were seen as a financially risky market due to cultural differences, financial differences, and essentialist understandings of gender differences. Sender argues that lesbian women “were considered even less of a desirable market by advertisers than were gay men, if they were considered a market at all.”¹¹⁹ Part of these sexist assumptions about women consumers was the

idea that including lesbians in the gay market was risky due to lesbians' relative economic disadvantage, an argument that sees woman-ness as an inherent financial disability.¹²⁰

The exclusion of women was often based on essentialist understandings of gender and how gender intersected differently with masculinity and femininity. Specifically, women were not considered ideal consumers because they were difficult to target and please. This continued throughout the lifespan of the publication. For example, in a 1979 article in *The Advocate*, lesbian publisher Jeanne Cordova argued gay publications could never appeal to both men and women equally, because “Politically it's possible, but culturally it's not. Gay men and women's lifestyles and tastes are very, very different.”¹²¹ This shows that decades into the publication, biologically essentialist and sexist assumptions remained common knowledge for marketers and queer publication staff alike. Former Editor-in-chief of *The Advocate* Judy Wieder, a woman, argued in 2009 that “Gay men aren't like gay women. They don't take the wait and see attitude: are you worthy of my money today? They're easier to please.”¹²² Wieder argues that this essential difference between gay men and gay women was central to the problems of the publication's decades-long struggle over how much it should prioritize content about women and how much it should prioritize women as a potential segment of the publication's target audience.¹²³

Women were rarely mentioned in *The Advocate* and, when they were, were often disparaged as physically revolting or as sexual competition. *The Advocate*'s exclusion of women from the ideal gay consumer-citizen meant that lesbians were rarely portrayed. The first piece specifically and outright directed to or about lesbians was published in April 1969, nearly two years after the publication began. The piece claimed to be “the first of a series of articles on the vast amount of literature mentioning certain types of emotional reactions of women to members

of their own sex, namely, female homosexuality or lesbianism.”¹²⁴ Before this, the only other mentions of lesbians were fleeting.

Exclusion of Lesbians

Lesbians were generally considered unsexy or prudish and therefore not ideal consumers.¹²⁵ While this first lesbian-centered piece included an excerpt of a highly sexual poem describing a sex scene, the rest of the piece was desexualized, demonstrating a common theme in lesbian representation in *The Advocate*. Author Susan Webb literally defines lesbian sexuality as emotional intimacy by describing female homosexuality and lesbianism as “certain types of emotional reactions” among women.¹²⁶ Additionally, the piece was paired with a graphic of two women cuddling and smiling soft, small smiles while one woman leaned her head on the other’s shoulder.¹²⁷ This exemplifies how *The Advocate*’s representations of queer women contrasted with its highly sexual and physically exaggerated depictions of gay men. The women were shown fully clothed, not making eye contact, and not touching each other with their hands or faces.¹²⁸ Nor are any of their body parts emphasized, detailed, or exaggerated the way men’s pectoral muscles, shoulders, abdomens, buttocks, and penises frequently were within the publication. In fact, both women were depicted as relatively shapeless blobs whose only identifiable body parts were each of their heads and one arm each.¹²⁹

The Advocate’s rare lesbian content was also typically ghettoized within the publication. For example, the same author as the previous example wrote another article about lesbians in literature from the Middle Ages.¹³⁰ *The Advocate* rarely split a piece across more than two pages unless it was exceptionally long. Though this piece was relatively short, it was spread across three pages. Each section of the article was surrounded by low-interest content that included 11 advertisements, the tail end of another story, and one filler graphic. This was an unusually high

saturation of advertisements per page, both in number and in proportion to the total size of the pages. The ghettoization of the lesbian content in this example demonstrates that this content was likely assumed to be less valuable and relevant to the readers, whom *The Advocate* consistently presumed were (only) gay men.

The Advocate's lesbian content was also highly inconsistent, unlike many other recurring columns within the paper. At the end of a second article about lesbian representation in literature, the author proclaimed, "Next Month: Nineteenth century literature."¹³¹ However, *The Advocate* published no such piece nor any more pieces on any other topics of lesbian representation or lesbian content more generally for the rest of the year. Furthermore, the author of the previous two examples seems to have never contributed to the publication again. Lesbian content remained similarly rare and only increased slightly over the following two years.

One might assume *The Advocate*'s poor inclusion of lesbian content was due to a lack of lesbian readership, but various factors indicate that lesbians and queer women made up a significant portion of *The Advocate*'s audience. Thus, I argue the opposite is true: the lack of lesbian content was the reason for lower numbers of lesbian readers compared to gay men. Letters-to-the-editor demonstrate that queer women were reading *The Advocate* despite the exclusion of queer women within its pages. For example, in a letter in November 1968, a writer said she "enjoy[ed] your newspaper" but "was wondering one thing, though—would it be possible for you to print more news about the girls—such as places to go, items of interest to the girls, places to purchase books, etc.? [...] would appreciate some inside info on this. Thanks much, and keep up the good work."¹³² *The Advocate* made no apparent attempts to satisfy this request. Despite this continued exclusion, by late 1969, it became increasingly clear that queer women were reading *The Advocate*. The last few issues in 1969 included several women's

submissions to the monthly advice column. For example, the December 1969 issue of the advice column was subtitled “Gals Speak Up” and contained four submissions from queer women asking for advice about their girlfriends, the expectation that lesbian couples require one butch and one femme, lesbian parenting and adoption, how to tell men they were not interested, and the domestic roles expected of butches and femmes.¹³³

Despite the fact that *The Advocate* claimed not to be able to find women writers, evidently some lesbians were interested in contributing to *The Advocate* and had tried in the past. In one article in the second issue of the newspaper, Helen Sanders, editor of *The Ladder* the organizational publication associated with Daughters of Bilitis wrote a half-page article which *The Advocate* republished.¹³⁴ The piece discussed her organization and publication as well as the “dormant” local chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis. Sanders seemingly attempted coalitional work by positively describing a past event the group had organized as co-ed and well-attended by the invited men. The fact that this piece was published, especially so early in the publication’s history, draws attention to the fact that *The Advocate* could have continued republishing lesbian content or content from other queer publications. This also indicates other lesbian publication’s staff’s willingness to be republished in this way. Furthermore, this suggests that *The Advocate* could have obtained a correspondent from a lesbian publication or lesbian organization. Even if the editor of *The Advocate* had unreasonably high standards for women or wanted to keep its staff all-male, some compromise could easily have been reached by way of a queer woman correspondent or partnership with queer women’s publication.

Additionally, the publication primarily reproduced rather than rejected sexist and homophobic gender norms, which, in turn, uncritically reinforced and encouraged those attitudes within the publication’s readership. While *The Advocate*’s coverage of gay fashion, décor, and

taste allowed gay men to play with femininity more than straight men generally could within mainstream culture, the publication frequently reproduced sexism and gender norms in the process. For example, a December 1969 article titled “Men’s Fashions: Lace Shirts Can Have Male Look,” argued that the most recent “upheaval” of men’s fashion norms was around trendy new lace shirts which men could not wear previously without being “suspect[ed]” “of being something less than normal.”¹³⁵ The article argues gay men made lace shirts acceptable for all men so “the average guy” (i.e. the straight guy) “probably owes a great deal of this newfound freedom to us . . . the homosexuals.”¹³⁶ This piece uncritically associates normality and average-ness with straightness, traditionally masculine gender performance, and the ability to pass as straight. *The Advocate* reinforced the masculine/feminine binary and arguing that lace shirts were “Perfectly Masculine” and that even straight men were wearing them.¹³⁷

The Advocate critiqued femininity as non-normative in gay men and constructed the ideal gay consumer-citizen as traditionally masculine. The publication frequently critiqued stereotypically feminine gay men, which reinforced sexism, cisnormativity, and homophobia. For example, a December 1969 comic depicted a couple watching the news while the television screen previewed tomorrow’s segment on the “HOMOPHILE” “POINT OF VIEW.”¹³⁸ In the cartoon, the angry wife complains, “WHAT EVER HAPPENED TO THE OLD FASHIONED SISSY-LIKE FAIRY WE COULD HATE WITHOUT FEELING GUILTY?”¹³⁹ In response to his wife, the husband looked up from his gay publication featuring articles about gay interior decorating and gay neighborhoods in moderate surprise. Around the couple, the floor was covered in gay publications. This comic made fun of the wife’s ignorance of her husband’s sexuality due to his ability to use masculinity to pass as straight. The comic did not critique his closeted-ness, his marriage to a woman, or the stereotype of gay femininity, which reinforced the

mainstream normative lack of value associated with women and femininity in general.

Furthermore, *The Advocate*'s critiques of feminine gay men extended this misogyny to include feminine men.

Exclusion of Trans and Gender-Nonconforming People

The Advocate's exclusion of gender-nonconforming people and transgender people constructed the ideal gay consumer-citizen as cisgender. In other words, the ideal gay consumer-citizen was depicted as having a gender identity that "matched" with their biological sex assigned at birth.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, *The Advocate* constructed the ideal gay consumer-citizen as cisnormative or as having and/or performing relatively traditional gender and transphobically enforcing traditional gender norms on those around them. The term "cisnormativity" is used to discuss how "cisgender" identities are expected while other gender identities and their corresponding modes of resistance are ignored, policed, or punished.¹⁴¹ *The Advocate*'s excluded trans and gender-nonconforming people from its consolidation of the ideal gay consumer-citizen because of their non-normativity and mainstream straight society's lack of acceptance for these groups.

The Advocate's primary failure on behalf of trans and gender-nonconforming people was exclusion, which was common among similar publications in this period and reflects at least such publications' misogyny and internalized homophobia. The rarity of content about trans and gender-nonconforming people suggests that trans and gender-nonconforming people were certainly not a prioritized segment of *The Advocate*'s readership. *The Advocate*'s generally conservative, traditional, and biologically essentialist gender politics may have had an even harsher impact on trans and gender-nonconforming readers due to the general lack of content about trans and gender-nonconforming people.

The inclusion of trans and gender-nonconforming people was incredibly rare in any publications during this time. *The Advocate* most explicitly transphobic and cisnormative with its content about drag performers which the publication also referred to as “female impersonators.”¹⁴² It is difficult to gauge *The Advocate*’s language choices when referring to trans and gender-nonconforming people, as many of popular past terms are now considered non-affirming and transphobic. However, because the terms “transsexual” and “trans-sexual” were also commonly used at this time, the use of the term “female impersonator” in some contexts seems less than affirming to say the least.¹⁴³ The use of the term “female impersonator” was most commonly used in relation to laws such as one California law against “any performer [who] impersonates by means of costume or dress a person of the opposite sex, unless by special permit issued by the Board of Police Commissioners.”¹⁴⁴ Even the language of the law emphasizes the performance of gender rather than the embodiment of gender identity. *The Advocate* used the term “female impersonator” for both drag performers and trans or gender-nonconforming people who identified as a particular gender and/or sex rather than performing a representation of a gender and/or sex.

Like in many publications at this time, *The Advocate*’s coverage of “female impersonators” was often an ambiguous mixture of affirmation and dis-affirmation. For example, one article uses the term “female impersonator” to describe someone who went by the name Sir Lady Java, whom the article stated “is a male. But, she says, she has lived as a female for years.”¹⁴⁵ The reference to her biological sex assigned at birth undermines her self-identification while also seemingly attempting to explain her trans identity to readers. However, the article only used feminine pronouns to refer to her which was also somewhat affirming.¹⁴⁶ The article affirms Sir Lady Java “as a female” based on how long she had “lived as a female” and how she

conformed to traditionally feminine gender norms: “She has never shaved, and her long black hair is her own. Her body, a shapely one, is also all her own.”¹⁴⁷ Additionally, the article’s affirmation of her gender identity is at least partially dependent on her ability to “pass” as a cisgender woman: “vivacious in a simple white dress and smiling radiantly, it was obvious that she was no nelly homosexual in ‘drag.’”¹⁴⁸ These conditional affirmations of Sir Lady Java’s gender were supportive of her but in a way that perpetuated a narrative of identity as something which needed to be proven through long-term, convincing, legible, and traditional gender embodiment.

Unlike many of the articles discussing trans or gender-nonconforming people, this article clearly attempts to define cisgender gay readers’ relationship to “female impersonation” laws.¹⁴⁹ It simultaneously attempts to distance homosexuality from these laws while it also attempts to convince cisgender gay readers they should care about such laws and how they impact gay men in drag as well as “female impersonators.”¹⁵⁰ The article reiterates that Sir Lady Java is not a gay man in drag performing as a woman: “Although the question of homosexuality is in no way involved in the dispute [about these laws], many gay entertainers” have been similarly discriminated against by the law.¹⁵¹ The article distinguishes between gender identity and drag performance and describes the police as a shared enemy.

Like many of *The Advocate*’s pieces related to police this article is one of the publication’s most critical pieces, especially due to its critique of police power, discrepancies among laws, and discrimination. *The Advocate* frequently used the term “fuzz” to contemptuously, hatefully, and/or disrespectfully refer to police, police homophobia, police misconduct, and homophobic laws.¹⁵² This article’s use of “fuzz” replaced more respectful descriptions and diminished the power associated with those terms. Additionally, the use of

“fuzz” expands the sources of readers’ negative feelings toward police to include the police’s transphobia and their enforcement of oppressive sex laws which did not just impact cisgender homosexual men.¹⁵³ Along with this vaguely coalitional use of term “fuzz,” the article ended with a call to action with information about who to contact to “join” Sir Lady Java’s “battle” against this “Fuzz-y” law.¹⁵⁴ This attempt to garner support is a somewhat rare direct call to action in a news article. The call to action was also rare as it applied to protest, specifically picketing, which was a more disruptive action than most calls to action in *The Advocate*.

Unfortunately, the lack of a political call to action in a later news article about Sir Lady Java’s struggle demonstrated *The Advocate*’s more typical apoliticism and passivity, especially in regard to issues not directly affecting cis-gender white gay men. The story indicates that Sir Lady Java and the ACLU would be unable to press her discrimination case because the case needed a bar or club owner to testify in order for them to “tackle such a test case.”¹⁵⁵ The brief piece concluded by saying that “Until someone does step forward, the ACLU is powerless to act.”¹⁵⁶ This conclusion passively accepts the status of the case and does not make any call to action directed at bar or club owners or customers who might be able to apply financial pressure to the owners of the bars or clubs they frequented. This assumes that the case will continue eventually once someone helps her, but makes no effort to help in any way, despite the fact that this would be a great opportunity to use *The Advocate*’s gay financial power.

Much of *The Advocate*’s coverage of trans and/or gender-nonconforming people was even more ambivalent and vague, potentially indicating a lack of consensus among staff and/or changes in staff opinions over time. For example, in a media review column, author Bart Cody described examples showing how entertainment had “only recently” portrayed homosexuality “in an even remotely honest way.”¹⁵⁷ Cody described these recent portrayals of homosexuality as

disruptions to the “mainstream,” “conformist” sexual norms which “had not changed much since the Pilgrims landed.”¹⁵⁸ One example Cody mentioned in this column was a movie adaptation of Gore Vidal’s “best selling” [sic] novel “‘Myra Breckenridge,’ the story of a trans-sexual.”¹⁵⁹ “Trans-sexual” was an increasingly popular identity term at this time and reflected self-identification more than other terms such as “female impersonator” which emphasized gender performance rather than identity. According to Cody, Vidal claimed that “several actresses have expressed an interest in the role, but no young actors have come forth.”¹⁶⁰ This quote transphobically implies that a man may be a (more) suitable choice for the role of a trans woman. Cody’s interest in and discussion of a male actor in drag suggests a failure to accept or understand the character’s identity. The article does not include a discussion of whether any trans people had expressed interest in or been considered for the role. According to the article, “When asked if he would consider a male [actor] in drag for the role,” Vidal said he knew of “no men ‘pretty’ enough today to be right for it. Hmm!”¹⁶¹ Vidal’s opinion suggests that trans women are prettier than men (in drag) which reinforces biologically essentialist understandings of sex, gender, and beauty. It is unclear whether Cody supports Vidal’s logic as he ends the brief description of this upcoming film adaptation in perhaps the most vague and ambiguous way possible – “Hmm!”¹⁶² This “Hmm!” could indicate anything including disagreement about the supposed un-pretty of men (in drag), disbelief about the potential prettiness of trans women, disappointment that a man in drag would not be considered for the role, etc.¹⁶³ This extremely ambivalent ending of this article is highly representative of *The Advocate*’s mixture of affirming and dis-affirming coverage of trans and gender-nonconforming people.

Exclusion of People of Color

The Advocate also excluded people of color and constructed the ideal gay consumer-citizen as white. Some scholars have suggested that gay publications' exclusion of people of color was due to a desire to appeal to racist advertisers.¹⁶⁴ Other scholars such as David Johnson have argued that white consumers who were unwilling to purchase or consume racially diverse media were the "real culprits" responsible for gay publications' failure to include other races.¹⁶⁵ This argument assumes the majority of white gay consumers shared similarly racist racial preferences in content; that the majority of white gay consumers would not tolerate racial diverse content in the publications they purchased and would not buy publications with racial diversity; that gay men of color were not considered potential customers of these discriminatory white gay publications; and that publications' readers are the ones primarily responsible for the contents of the publications they read. Additionally, *The Advocate's* exclusion of queer people of color created the ideal gay consumer-citizen as a role unavailable to queer people of color.

Due to the extreme oversaturation of whiteness in *The Advocate*, the main way people of color were excluded was through the general lack of content about people of color. Queer women of color were even more frequently excluded in content. Even content featuring large numbers of individuals lacked racial diversity. For example, each year, *The Advocate's* Groovy Guy Contest only featured white or white passing men. This oversaturation of whiteness also allowed the publication to create an ideal gay consumer citizen only available to white men.

When *The Advocate* did mention men of color, this content was often casually racist. For example, a comic in March 1970 depicted a pair of Black gay men and casual racism about Black hair textures being comparable to a shag carpet.¹⁶⁶ In the comic, one Black man visits another's home, critiquing him for having a shag carpet to match his afro hairstyle.¹⁶⁷

Throughout the first three years of *The Advocate*'s publication, no other comics prominently featured Black people. This example demonstrates how *The Advocate* only included people of color, especially Black men, in order to make a racist joke.

This flippant racism and lack of seriousness about issues of racism was common for some other white gay publications around this time. For example, *Gay News* republished Huey Newton's 1970 "A Letter from Huey about Women's — and Gay— Liberation," in which he advocated for the Black Panthers to form a "working coalition" and "unite with them [homosexuals and women] in a revolutionary fashion."¹⁶⁸ Newton admitted to and apologized for his own homophobia and sexism and suggested readers let go of "'insecurities'" or "fear" that gay men are "some kind of threat to our manhood."¹⁶⁹ Newton argued that, homophobic slurs should be "deleted from our vocabulary" because such language might "turn off" gay people from wanting to work together.¹⁷⁰ Newton generously suggested that "maybe the homosexual could be the most revolutionary" type of activist and that readers should be especially "careful" when referring to gay people who were enemies of people such as Richard Nixon.¹⁷¹ In response to this empathetic, strategic proposition, the publication included no commentary other than a joke that if Newton wanted to prove his allyship, he would certainly be welcome at the next gay orgy.¹⁷²

Aside from the semi-frequent racist jokes, most of *The Advocate*'s references to people of color were casual were insensitive comparisons including Black power and gay power; the Black civil rights movement and the gay liberation movement or homophile movement; racism and homophobia; and the oppression and enslavement of Black people to the oppression and heteronormativity of gay people.¹⁷³ For example, in one article, *The Advocate* called certain gay men who supported the police "Auntie Toms" in comparison to "Uncle Toms" in the Black

community.¹⁷⁴ By using the created analogous term “Auntie Toms,” the article linked the negativity of “Uncle Toms” to gay men who supported police. This example shows how the publication made casual comparisons to Black experiences and borrowed Black rhetorical inventions, often without examining the severity of racial oppression. In another example, a news article compared an underage nude model’s protests of laws against underage pornography consumption to the activism of a “militant Black Panther.”¹⁷⁵ Without any explanation, this comparison seems to have been solely based on the idea that this boy was “militant” in his willingness to be disruptive and suggests that being gay and naked or being gay and consuming pornography were radical acts in and of themselves. These examples show how the publication excluded people of color but used their experiences and oppression to understand homophobia, minority issues, activism, social movements, and oppression.

The Advocate’s use of Black rhetoric for comparisons to gay experiences sometimes implied false equivalence and erased (the severity of) racial oppression. Sometimes *The Advocate* used comparisons to intensify claims about homophobic oppression. For example, one article referred to homophobic tax law “Apartheid” as though discriminatory tax laws in the United States was equal of closely comparable to institutionalized segregation in South Africa which had gone on for two decades at the time of this publication.¹⁷⁶ Another article stated that

Straight people do not regard homosexuals as a minority like Negroes. The straights had moral conflicts and guilt feelings [sic] about their treatment of the Negro minority, but they have no such qualms when it comes to gays. [...] Negroes had many friends in white society. The number of straights who understand homosexuals and our plight are few—very few.¹⁷⁷

This comparison attempts to underscore the indifference of oppressors but fails to see how whiteness and privilege informed this perspective. This example shows how, in an attempt to highlight homophobia and straight indifference, the publication downplayed racism and white indifference. While most previously mentioned examples were undetailed analysis, the details of

this comparison show the staff's ignorance of the extent of racial oppression and the difficulties of the Black Civil Rights struggle in the United States. Additionally, these examples show how white gay male staff at *The Advocate* failed to acknowledge their own contributions to racial oppression within the publication. Furthermore, this quote shows how insensitive and out of touch many of these comparisons were.

Tactics of Exclusion

This section analyses some of *The Advocate*'s tactics of exclusion that it used most frequently and against multiple groups. One of the most common forms was erasure through either lack of content or language that erased different groups. *The Advocate* primarily used erasure to obscure the groups it excluded from ideal gay consumer-citizenship. This helped create the hegemonic nature of ideal gay consumer-citizenship so that it seemed nature and normal to include the groups of people who were discussed and exclude the groups who were erased.

One common exclusionary tactic, *The Advocate*'s victim-blaming of readers, fostered an ideal gay consumer citizen that was unsympathetic and indifferent to critique. In response to a letter asking for more content for queer women, the editor included a response attached at the bottom, which was relatively uncommon. The response read: "As you may have noticed, all staff members of the ADVOCATE are male, so the girls are not exactly our container. We want to carry more info of the type you want, and we will as soon as we find someone who can write it. – EDITOR." This response treats the fact that the staff is all-male as a given and implies that capable queer women writers were difficult to find. While it states the publication is interested in content "about the girls," it does not seem very interested considering, up until this point, the publication rarely discussed women and even more rarely discussed lesbians and/or queer

women. Additionally, many male authors wrote about things they did not personally experience by interviewing people, which seems like an obvious temporary solution until the publication could “find someone who can write” “the type of content you want.”¹⁷⁸ The faultiness of this defense suggests an actual disinterest or lack of prioritization of content for queer women. It also avoided blame or any discussion of any decisions that may contribute to the lack of such content. Instead, it placed the blame on the lack of (access to) queer women writers.

The Advocate's behavior pattern of victim-blaming continued even after the print version of the publication “died.”¹⁷⁹ In describing the “colossal cluster of f-ups” since her time as editor-in-chief, Wieder victim-blamed women consumers even while arguing that her version of “a cogender Advocate sold best of all” [sic]. Wieder argued that later owners of the publication had “killed off completely” the demographic of “gay women [...] Not that they’ [sic] did that all alone. Women are a pain in the butt, a near-impossible sell, period. I would know. I am one.”¹⁸⁰ Wieder’s wording absolved her and her former staff of any and all responsibility for having more and better women-centered content as well as any responsibility to attract more women readers. Instead, the blame is on later leadership and all “gay women” who might have been readers of *The Advocate* if they weren’t such “pain[s] in the butt.”¹⁸¹ Wieder gives no attempt to describe her or any other staff’s efforts to attract women readers and instead pairs this victim-blaming with playing the victim by describing her efforts to raise the percentage of women readers from 3% to 30% as a “nonstop disheartening battle.”¹⁸² Wieder seems to beg for applause for her efforts, while complaining of the difficulty, and blaming women for making her job hard. *The Advocate*'s victim-blaming fostered a readership which knew certain types of criticism would be met with indifference or hostility. This likely prevented some from speaking up. Meanwhile, it likely silenced many who critiqued or wanted to critique the publication. Furthermore, the

victim-blaming reframed critiques of *The Advocate* and its exclusion as petty, silly, or frivolous. This minimized the potential importance of these critiques in the eyes of those who were always already included. Thus, those who were included were soothed into accepting the exclusion of others.

Another similar type of erasure was the unnamed assumption of certain combinations of identities. This was common throughout the majority of each issue of *The Advocate*. Even the horoscope column, “HOMOSCOPE,” always used masculine pronouns to describe the signs, even in 1969 and 1970 when women began to make up a somewhat larger segment of the readership.¹⁸³ In the same way, *The Advocate* frequently used masculine pronouns to refer to “the homosexual” or “homosexuals” such as throughout an editorial in which author Mel Holt consistently framed the subject as homosexuals whom he referred to as “he”: “If the homosexual is to have freedom, he must take a stand.”¹⁸⁴ Another editorial referred to politicians as “men,” using only masculine pronouns, and referring to a reader’s favorite candidate as their “chosen man.”¹⁸⁵ These examples show how uncritically reinforced combinations of certain identities, usually implying whatever specific identity at hand most typically intersects with other identities of privilege such as whiteness and masculinity.

Additionally, by expanding on arguments based on assumptions of certain identity combinations the meanings of these arguments can change. One 1968 editorial calls a 1967 trial dealing with gay publications “an important step toward equal rights for homosexuals -- being able to buy and enjoy beefcake, just as heterosexuals have been able to feed on cheesecake for years.”¹⁸⁶ S. Winston, goes on to say, “The male body, clothed or naked, does the same thing for homosexuals that the female body does for heterosexual males....”¹⁸⁷ By not addressing the gender of homosexuals and heterosexuals in this comparison, this description assumes that both

homosexuals and heterosexuals are men and that female homosexuals do not exist. In fact, it does not even include women as people, but instead as one of two types of bodies, male/“beefcake” or female/“cheesecake”) as sexual objects for consumption by either (male) homosexuals or (male) heterosexuals. It reinforces binaries of sex (as either male or female) and sexuality (as either heterosexual or homosexual). Furthermore, the example’s juxtaposition of pairing of “male body” and “homosexual” with the pairing of “female body” and “heterosexual males” applies the myth of complementarity to gender and sexuality.

The Advocate excluded certain groups by avoiding explicit terms for certain identities. This continued until after the print publication ended, in which Wieder referred to “gay women” several times but never used the word “lesbian” in the 2364-word piece, likely indicating internalized lesbophobia.¹⁸⁸ The use of “gay” as a descriptor does not act as umbrella term the way “queer” can be used. This lesbophobia is consistent with the misogyny perpetuated throughout her article and throughout the history of *The Advocate*. In her description of the lack of inclusion of women since her time as editor-in-chief, she also fails to mention bisexuals, trans people, or any people of other gender identities or sexual identities aside from “gay men,” “gay women” and “straights.”¹⁸⁹ This shows how glossing over or avoiding identity terms was often paired with outright erasure and complete absence.

Another tactic *The Advocate* used was erasure of other forms of oppression. This tactic further erased the existence, lives, and struggles of anyone outside of the normative ideal gay consumer citizen. For example, one editorial describes the Federal Equal Opportunity Commission’s recent decision that airlines could not legally refuse to hire men, to which the author states ““Dammit, it’s about time.””¹⁹⁰ The author perhaps somewhat jokingly complains that “we who have a different idea of the fair sex have been sorely abused by the airlines.

Thousands of miles of bouncing boobies and saccharine smiles.”¹⁹¹ This describes the customer service behavior of smiling at customers as essentially feminine and therefore revolting (to gay men). It also vaguely critiques the sexualization of the women flight attendants, but in a way that centers their bodies as objects of disgust. This article objectifies men as the ideal sex object and grossly downplays significance of this court decision and the issue of discrimination against women in the workplace. This piece turns employment discrimination into a joke, further normalizes the sexual objectification of women (and men), and somewhat jokingly describes sexist employment patterns as oppressive to gay men.

Conclusion

This chapter argued that, at best, *The Advocate* was in fact only a “newspaper of record” for normative, white, masculine, cisgender, gay men. I demonstrated that the publication’s exclusion of women, lesbians, trans people, gender-nonconforming people, and people of color was not accidental, but rather tactical. *The Advocate*’s exclusion of less privileged and normative identities helped consolidate the ideal gay consumer-citizen as even more privileged and normative and therefore, more attractive to advertisers. Additionally, I showed how this exclusion benefited these ideal gay consumer-citizens (as discussed by Shklar) by allowing them to deny citizenship to other queer people whose less privileged and normative made them visible in other ways that prevented ease of assimilation. I have showed how *The Advocate*’s exclusion supported rather than disrupted mainstream culture’s ideas about gender, sexuality, relationships, power, inequality, and oppression. Additionally, I have demonstrated how gay assimilationist exclusion mimics the mainstream American form of citizenship as defined by non-citizenship and exclusion. *The Advocate*’s exclusion caused other queer people to be further ostracized, not only within mainstream/straight society, but also within the would-be queer community. By

exploring *The Advocate*'s various tactics of exclusion, I showed how exclusion was normalized and justified as a result of financial restraints on the publication. I argue the exclusionary aspects of ideal gay consumer-citizenship have had long-lasting effects on the mainstream gay community which remains similarly raced, sexed, gendered, classed, and abled and exclusionary as well as bigoted against other less normative, privileged and powerful queer people. As such, the gay or queer "community" remains largely normative and privileged and anti-democratic just as *The Advocate* and its construction of ideal gay consumer-citizenship were.

Chapter 2: *The Advocate* and Locations of Authority

At 1:20 a.m. on June 28, 1969, police raided the Stonewall Inn gay bar in the Greenwich Village neighborhood of Manhattan, New York City. Like in many places around the world, police had a history of raids and harassment at and around the gay bar. Tensions grew and many queer people seem to have become increasingly aware that these police behaviors were unavoidable even when they did not break laws or act “indecent.” Instead of following police orders during the raid, the people attending the bar resisted in a variety of ways ranging from sarcastically exaggerated displays of respect to destruction of police property. The violent protests and resistance lasted five days and became known as the Stonewall Riots, or more affectionately among queer people as the “Stonewall Uprising” or “Stonewall Rebellion.”¹⁹² The Stonewall Uprising is often considered a major catalyst to the gay liberation movement and the modern fight for queer rights in the United States.

One aspect of the Stonewall Uprising that is frequently forgotten is many gay people’s conservative, hesitant responses. In October 1969, an article in *The Advocate* titled “Viewpoint: Reflections on the N.Y. Riot” by Don Jackson critiqued the queer rebels and their militant politics and rioting. Jackson explained that slow social change and increasing social tension led to “angry and edgy” feelings in the crowd at Stonewall as well as “many hostile and derogatory remarks about the police” to be “overheard” there by more peaceful bystanders.¹⁹³ Jackson reported that “we cannot help but chuckle in our beer a bit when we read the reports, but few approve of the violent behavior arising among members of our community.”¹⁹⁴ Jackson argued that hope contributed to this violence: “Now that they see a glint of hope for some improvement, it calls attention to how long the road to equality will be.”¹⁹⁵ However, he argued that hope should be instead be used as inspiration to be more careful with gay responses to police violence for fear of retaliation:

Social Changes come slowly. Although equality seems out of reach in our lifetimes, there are many signs that the status of homosexuals is about to be substantially improved. However angry and frustrated they become at the injustices and brutalities inflicted upon them, they must remember that they are a minority. Homosexuals simply cannot afford rioting and violence. Such incidents solidify straight opinion against them and will surely bring a reaction.¹⁹⁶

This quote demonstrates the incrementalism and respectability politics driving *The Advocate's* responses to queer activism such as the Stonewall Rebellion. It argued that riots were “not the road to equality. Such disturbances will increase the irrational hatred the straights feel toward homosexuals.”¹⁹⁷ The author also feared that riots would likely continue and get “larger” and cause “needless loss of life and property damage.”¹⁹⁸ This shows the author’s fears of material loss which was another main reason to avoid violent activism in the form of riots. Furthermore, the lack of critique of police behavior in this piece demonstrates the publication’s predilection to critique community responses to violence while often failing to adequately critique such violence.

This editorial also shows how *The Advocate* would have preferred gay activism be performed. It argued that a compromise was needed between violence which was “too much” and educational programs which were “too little.”¹⁹⁹ The compromise, “peaceful protests,” would be found by “subvert[ing] emotion to reason,” despite increasing collective “feeling[s] of anger, frustration, and impatience.”²⁰⁰ The editorial argued “It is essential that rational leaders appear who will redirect the anger into more peaceful and successful methods.”²⁰¹ This implies a definition of success synonymous or compatible with mainstream acceptance. It was with this goal in mind that the publication advocated against disruptive activism which might slow or prevent gay assimilation in mainstream straight culture.

This chapter examines how *The Advocate* covered gay activism and community leadership in comparison to its coverage of outside, mainstream, or straight authorities. This is

not to say that some of these mainstream authorities were all personally heterosexual, but rather that their power stemmed from their positions in heteronormative institutions which existed outside of any burgeoning community and were generally exclusionary of queer people. *The Advocate*'s outward-looking focus resulted in the publication's neglect of gay readers and members and leaders of queer communities and organizations. Furthermore, this outward focus contributed to *The Advocate*'s construction of the ideal gay consumer-citizen whose main goal was achieving citizenship, acceptance, and legal rights through the state powers and various other authorities.

This chapter explains how *The Advocate*'s formation of the ideal gay consumer-citizen is based on a politically liberal orientation towards authority, the state, and social change. This chapter uses theoretical insights about gay citizenship and consumer-citizenship to demonstrate how *The Advocate* promoted ideal gay consumer-citizenship as a form of gay citizenship based on recognition from the state and other mainstream authorities rather than on gay activism. This assimilationist form of citizenship displaced more radical interventions into the political economy and more disruptive forms of gay activism. This chapter aims to explain how *The Advocate* taught its readers to orientate themselves in relation to different types of authorities. These lessons contributed to trends in the gay rights movement, most importantly, the way consumption took the place of activism. I contend that *The Advocate* interpellated its audience as politically passive by [1] privileging the language and actions of already-privileged mainstream authorities; [2] neglecting and negatively portraying queer community members, activists, leaders etc. *The Advocate* promoted seeking citizenship from the state and other mainstream authorities while it rejected more radical interventions into the political economy and less assimilative citizenship goals. Through these two types of strategies, *The Advocate* assured its

own self-preservation and consolidated the ideal gay consumer-citizen as assimilationist and passive.

Queer Respect for Authorities and Respectable Queer Political Engagement

Previous literature shows that mainstream authorities such as social scientists, academics, and religious leaders had a substantial impact on the development of homosexual identity. For example, academic social-scientific research such as Alfred Kinsey's best-selling books "Sexual Behavior in the Human Male" in 1948 and "Sexual Behavior in the Human Female" in 1953 which revealed that sexual "deviance" was common.²⁰² The results of the Kinsey Reports suggested that supposed norms of sexual behavior were false due to the commonness of what was considered deviant behavior (i.e. premarital sex, homosexual sex, and abortion).²⁰³ This scholarship not only changed how people generally thought about sexual norms, behaviors, and desires, but it also called attention to the fact that sexual "deviance" was not being practiced by some generalized "They"/"Other," but instead a "We"/"Us."²⁰⁴ These groundbreaking results revealed that most people are not entirely heterosexual nor entirely homosexual based on participant responses to the Kinsey scale.²⁰⁵ Many responded to these findings with a new or increased fear of invisible queer people who "pass" as straight.²⁰⁶ However, like the discourse and actions of many authorities, this example of research impacted queer people's understandings of themselves and their sexuality. Results of this and other sexology scholarship allowed for some normalization and reduction of isolation for queer people who could read about other people like themselves.

The following critical analysis examines how *The Advocate* interpellated its audience as politically passive receivers of information about authorities' actions and discourse. This analysis examines three rhetorical moves *The Advocate* used to define itself, its audience, and its own and

its readers' attitudes toward authority. These moves are discussed in three sections: *The Advocate's* high saturation of content about language and behaviors of already-privileged mainstream authorities; *The Advocate's* neglect of and hostility towards queer community activists and leaders; and *The Advocate's* interpellation of readers as consumers rather than activists or community members.

The Prevalence and Privileging of Content about Mainstream Authorities

This section analyzes *The Advocate's* high saturation of content about authorities. The publication further privileged the voices and actions of always already privileged mainstream authorities. The publication prioritized certain content through order, quantity, and location of coverage and framed content about these outside, mainstream, and largely normative authorities in ways that validated their power. *The Advocate* consistently prioritized content about authorities including police, medical professionals, social scientists, academics, political figures, legal professionals, media professionals, and religious leaders. In doing so, *The Advocate* amplified the voices of outside authorities back onto their readers. *The Advocate* centered outside authorities as the speakers and doers in relation to most gay issues, topics, and news. This outward-looking focus forced readers to read news and content through the eyes and voices of these authorities. This contributed to the interpellation of the publication's readership as passive, apolitical consumers. Basically, readers were conditioned to consume information about their community which was created or contributed to by outside authorities.

By mainstream or outside authorities, I mean those leaders and workers whose work roles give them prestige and status which is widely accepted by normative society. These authorities, for the most part, did not openly identify as part of the gay community or a queer community of any sort, but still were relevant to the gay community due to their work. While certainly not all

these authorities were heterosexual or cisgender, their roles often required and even rewarded heteronormativity and cisnormativity. Additionally, many of these types of authorities, such as law enforcement and media professionals for example, actively participated in policing sexuality and gender. For the sake of clarity, I avoid using the word “authorities” to describe people in powerful roles within queer communities. Instead, I refer to these people as “queer leaders and activists” by which I broadly mean queer business owners, activists, and organizational leaders whose roles and power are largely limited to the confines of the queer communities to which they belonged.

The Advocate’s prioritization of authority included notable trends which often linked to certain types of authorities. These variations in content by type of authorities focused on in the content indicate variations in *The Advocate*’s understanding and perspectives on different authorities and their values, beliefs, goals, and actions. Most basically, these variations also reflect different attitudes towards different types of authorities.

Conversely, some of the types of authorities were consistently less prioritized. Examples of less prioritized authorities were media professionals, academics, social scientists, and religious leaders. The prioritization of most types of authorities varied across issues and years. Some of this variation came from peaks in content around news-worthy events by which these authorities became relevant to *The Advocate*’s readership. Prioritization of certain types of authority did not just reflect the importance and impact of those authorities – it also reinforced their power and significance.

***The Advocate*’s Coverage of Different Types of Authority**

The Advocate primarily positioned itself as a mediator relaying information between mainstream authorities and the publication’s readership. *The Advocate*’s style of mediation

allowed a higher saturation of communication from mainstream authorities to the readership. In this way, *The Advocate* worked more as an advocate uplifting the voice of mainstream authorities, than as an advocate for its readers. Patterns in *The Advocate*'s style of mediation varied depending on the type of authority being discussed which indicates *The Advocate*'s attitudes and goals for working with that type of authority. *The Advocate*'s various biases encouraged and discouraged certain reader attitudes toward different mainstream authorities and queer leaders and activists.

Coverage of Police

Like many gay publications, *The Advocate* most prioritized news coverage of police, largely because police were a constant threat. *The Advocate*'s content about police was nearly entirely critical, and even polemic at times. One comic in a 1969 issue of *The Advocate* demonstrates the publication's typical coverage of police. In the comic, one police officer frantically shakes in a telephone booth outside of a bar while calling the police station and yelling "Why, Officer! This place is a disgrace! And one of them even SMILED at me!" to which the officers back at the station said, "Thanks for making the complaint sir, we'll make some arrests immediately."²⁰⁷ In the background, one officer quickly scribbles down this message while another officer swings his baton excitedly, and a third officer grins while holding a box filled with handcuffs.²⁰⁸ This shows how police were generally depicted as sadistic and hateful, as well as an organized threat to gay men. It also highlights the way the publication primarily portrayed the police as a threat to gay public life and social gathering. While this was likely the most common public interaction many gay men had with police, unfortunately harassments and arrests were not the worst of police behaviors. Many police were violent and

even murderous. This was only mentioned when examples came up in the local news. Otherwise, *The Advocate's* critiques of police generally focused on police interference in gay socializing.²⁰⁹

Many of these frequent critiques aimed to protect readers from police violence or, at the very least, prepare them for what to expect in such a situation. For example, an article titled "Blue Boys Bomb Out In Balcony Blunder" referred to cops as "the uninvited" and "the fuzz" while comparing the police's most recent excuse for a bar raid, a supposed reported bomb threat, to another recent excuse to break up a gay dance event due to an alleged shooting.²¹⁰ Others more explicitly tried to educate readers on how to handle interactions with police, such as an interview with a victim of entrapment, "The Fine Art of Entrapment: Victim Tells How Hollywood Vice Fracture the Law."²¹¹ These critiques attempted to provide some insight into how police asserted their power during raids of gay businesses and events so that readers could attempt to navigate these situations.

Other times, *The Advocate's* criticism of police reflected a sense of humor as a coping mechanism or an opportunity for readers to commiserate together. One article, "Pubic in Public Is a No-No, Especially for a Go-Go," explained the police's concentrated effort to drive gay consumers away from gay establishments so they would be forced to shut down.²¹² In the process, it also teased police for being prudish, explaining that a go-go dancer at a gay bar had pulled his pants down too far "revealing (Faint, Shock, Gasp!) pubic hair -- also known as crab grass. Shocking and gasping, the Fuzz arrested both the dancer and bar manager and hauled them off."²¹³ Examples like this critiqued police violence while maintaining a sense of humor about the sensitive, reactive nature of police.

Surprisingly, *The Advocate* occasionally portrayed police neutrally or ambivalently, such as in one article which was substantially made up of transcripts from part of a meeting between

police and gay activists.²¹⁴ While the author did not seem particularly pleased or impressed with the police officers' statements, the article was relatively neutral for an article about police power in a gay publication. This was due to the fact that so much of the piece consisted of direct quotes from a transcript and therefore had little to no mediation or input from the author.²¹⁵ As various scholars have noted, advocacy publications typically disregarded the goal of "objectivity" broadly shared by traditional journalists.²¹⁶ Thus, this choice to portray this event neutrally is especially odd. The article was even more shockingly unopinionated due to the police officers' remarks, many of which were outright discriminatory and likely false according to various outraged attendees publicly contradicting the police. Heated debates surrounded the police's inability to clearly and definitively explain the differences between private and public events, their vague descriptions of what does and does not constitute "lewd contact," one of officer's admission that the police give "'slightly' more attention" to gay bars than straight bars, and his continued denial of indiscriminate arrests at gay bars and his denial of police raids.²¹⁷

This lack of critique of homophobic police meant that the details of their comments were only further amplified by the piece. Though *The Advocate* claimed to be an advocate for its gay readers, it acted more like an ambassador by advocating for authorities such as police as well as and sometimes instead of gay people. For example, the article began by quoting the police captain as saying that the reason for police's "practices" "toward homosexuals," is because "the community sets the tone of law enforcement. Law enforcement itself does not set the tone for the community," thus erasing any potential for growth, improvement or err. *The Advocate's* style of mediation for police content ranged from critical editorials to printed transcripts. This ambiguity is even more interesting because the police were a type of powerful authority which was likely the most frequently and seriously harmful to members of the gay community.

The most consistently and virulently critical content often focused on law enforcement did not critique the power of law enforcement as an institution frequently. One piece sarcastically titled, “Say Something Nice? OK!,” argued that *The Los Angeles Advocate*, is not anti-police, but instead, “anti-crime, even when the guardians of the law break the law.” However, articles such as “The Police Primer,” which discussed how police officers utilize their power to continue protecting each other from the potential consequences for their actions. It concluded by stating, “Even the uniformed officers look with contempt at the vice officers. Nothing we can say could be harsher criticism than that,” thus indicating the author’s hard feelings toward police but an unwillingness to engage.

Coverage of Media Professionals

The Advocate’s coverage of media professionals was varied and inconsistent in frequency. Most examples of coverage of media professionals center around interviews or things they stated publicly while at work. Coverage of media professionals generally ranged from moderate outrage about a homophobic statement to thankfulness for the increased visibility, even if flawed.

Some of the most varied content regarding media professionals tended to deal with fictional representations of homosexuality in film and literature. For example, various articles critique one or more films.²¹⁸ For example, in “67’s BEST FLICKS,” Sam Winston critiqued several films with a range of positive negative and positive traits about them.²¹⁹ Included in this review, Winston described and critiqued the nude scenes in each film and explained why he thought two recent Elizabeth Taylor films are some of her worst work ever.²²⁰ The moderate critiques were pretty typical of critiques of fiction media especially in terms of how the examples represent gayness.

The most celebratory content about media authorities tends to focus on positive representation or visibility in media. For example, an article titled “L.A. Homosexuals Get Nationwide TV Appearance,” commended a local advocate who recently went on television to defend recent critiques of a pinup feature in an issue of *The Advocate* a few months priorized.²²¹ The piece also made fun of a homophobic critic in the crowd by suggesting that the heckler was probably gay and just jealous and angry because he is not having any sex.²²² This piece is a rare example of a piece that privileges the queer voices interacting with media professionals rather than focusing solely on media professionals.

One article demonstrated the author’s gratitude for the media attention which the author described as an increased frequency of queer advocates’ television appearances. This author described this increased media attention as an optimistic sign of progress for movement efforts. Paired with this hopeful take, author Jerry Joachin blamed negativity and impatience on queer people who were too critical to enjoy the progress he believed in. Joachin stated,

I don’t mean that homosexuality is a disease, but the results of living in a hostile society can create problems for us that often take shape in a several neurosis [sic]. Saying that heterosexual America is by and large also neurotic is only projection of some of our own inability to understand ourselves.²²³

This example shows how some pieces in *The Advocate* used media critique to address other issues outside the media at hand. It also shows how much of the content in *The Advocate* promoted attention to mainstream authorities, often uncritically of the power and privilege of those mainstream authorities.

While the rest of the article did not address media in much more detail, the rest of the content in this piece demonstrates victim-blaming and/or criticism of queer people often paired with this type of overwhelmingly uncritical takes on authorities. Joachin suggests critical readers refocus their criticism inward: “I would like to propose that we dedicate ourselves, in 1968, to

the task of understanding our own bias towards sex, police, women, the establishment, and so forth. Let us not ask our heterosexual brethren to accept us until we can accept ourselves.”²²⁴

This heterosexual apologia was relatively rare in *The Advocate*, but this example shows the publication’s trend of forgiveness and/or lack of criticism of authority paired with self-criticism and within-group criticism of queer people. Joachin concludes that his optimistic and forgiving perspective on the movement is superior to the unforgiving pessimism of more critical perspectives. To reinforce this point, he concludes by saying, “Christ new what He was talking about when he [sic] asked us to love our neighbors.”²²⁵ In citing Christ, Joachin associates himself and his politically passive and assimilationist perspective with the Christ-like values of forgiveness, love, and martyrdom.²²⁶

In a way, *The Advocate* reviewed the details of mainstream attention on gay people and issues. For example, an editorial in July 1968 detailed how talk-show host George Putnam sprinkled some casual homophobia into his opinion segment. In response to the recent assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, Putnam argued the United States should prevent rising anarchy after the president’s assassination by suggesting that ““It’s time to stop showing compassion to junkies and dope peddlers and throat-slashers and beatniks and homosexuals and punks and assassins.””²²⁷ In response, the editorial argues this attitude that “the homosexual is lower than the proverbial worm” is common and that this comment is evidence “once again” of “the complete failure of homosexuals and their organizations to state their case to the public convincingly.”²²⁸ This textbook example of victim-blaming shows how *The Advocate* was often quick to turn its criticism inwards toward the gay community. What begins as a (brief, surface-level) critique of a homophobic news anchor concludes by arguing “Winning out legal rights must come first” before the gay community will have a chance to gain acceptance from the

mainstream public.²²⁹ Thus, this criticism of gay people for unsuccessfully ending homophobia is clearly linked with assimilationist politics and rights-centric political goals.

Coverage of Gay Activism and Community Leadership

The publication sometimes showed a preference for unity and false peace over more disruptive activism or political action associated with lower levels of mainstream respectability. For example, one article celebrated the civility of a meeting between gay people and police which it described as “polite, relaxed, and pleasant.”²³⁰

The Advocate rarely mentioned, encouraged, or celebrated queer activism or activists and when it did, these actions were always aimed at working with the system rather than against it. *The Advocate* erased, downplayed, debated, and critiqued gay activism and political activity. *The Advocate's* neglect of content about activism decentered queer voices and actions, allowing the voices and actions of outside authorities to dominate the pages of the publication. At the same time, *The Advocate's* erasure and negative coverage of gay activism and community leadership shaped the ideal gay consumer-citizen as passive, apolitical, incrementalistic, anti-radical, and assimilationist. This section analyzes the way *The Advocate* portrayed most types of activism as anti-citizenship practices. *The Advocate* was anti-democratic and intolerant of debate and conflict among gay leaders and activists. Thus, ideal gay consumer-citizenship was about mainstream citizenship and assimilation into mainstream culture rather than about the creation of a gay polity or community of any kind.

The Advocate mostly portrayed activism and community leadership as negative, misdirected, anti-citizenship practices which impeded positive social change within the community and mainstream society. Accompanying an editorial titled “Join In, But Grow Up” in 1969, a political cartoon depicted white, blonde, topless Greek gods scowling down from the

clouds at a mob of gay activists as they attempted to work through a topiary labyrinth toward a temple on a faraway hill labeled “HOMOPHILE UNITY.”²³¹ The mob is made up of angry, yelling, and violent white people, the vast majority of whom appear to be cisgender men. Some of them carry signs bearing the names of gay organizations. None of the signs match showing that no one is working together or thinking about issues in the same way. The mob represents activists and organizations whose conflict with one another prevents any of their success. Two gatekeepers leisurely guard pathways labeled “patience” and “COMMUNICATION” while a third gatekeeper guarding the path called “LOGIC” shields his eyes and leans forward peering down.²³² The gatekeepers are dressed like police suggesting that state powers are guarding against gay progress. However, the signs on the guarded paths and the distance of the mob suggests that the gay people are struggling not with the police power but with these skills or lessons which are apparently necessary to reach “HOMOPHILE UNITY.”²³³ One of the watching gods says to the other, “IF THEY’D GET TOGETHER[,] THEY MIGHT GET SOMEWHERE.”²³⁴ This comic argues for pluralism and teamwork in the gay community and casts the lack of leadership and consensus as internal threats to gay unity, social change, and gay citizenship.

The mythological references demonstrate *The Advocate’s* cynicism about gay unity and the publication’s desire to educate readers about the history of gay representation. Most recognizably, the references to Greek mythology in the Grecian, statuesque drawings of the gods, is an example of Greek imagery which was commonly associated with a prestigious, noble gay history based on the erroneous understanding that gay sexuality was accepted and celebrated in Ancient Greece. In the foreground of the comic, the outside hedge around the maze and temple has a sign labeled “GARDEN of THE GODS” which suggests gay unity is utopian and/or like

the mythological location of divine paradise.²³⁵ The idea of the garden of the gods was passed down from ancient Mesopotamian religions to Greek mythology's version of Mount Olympus, the home of the gods. This imagery suggests that gay unity is an unattainable ideal like a fairytale or mythological utopia.

This comic also critiques the weaknesses of the gay mob in order to educate readers about within-group obstacles on the path to gay unity. The comic does not depict desires or efforts to tear down the structures or confront the police or guards. Instead of critiquing to structure of power, the comic encourages gay men to seek and obtain similar power within the system. The mob's lack of leadership and consensus contrasts with the authority and teamwork of the uniformed guards almost like a literary foil. The guards are each working at different stations but working together to police the mob and guard the paths to "HOMOPHILE UNITY." Notably, no clear leaders are represented in the mob. Nor does the cartoon depict any cooperation between groups or individuals. The mob is active and emotional while expending energy trying to compete in the maze toward unity. Meanwhile, the guards are passive and mellow without much work to do. In a way, the depictions of the guards' authority and teamwork were portrayed as a foil to the representation of the mob. Thus, the guards' calmness and authority are shown as aspirational traits the gay mob needs to adopt in order to succeed in the guards' world.

This comic demonstrates how *The Advocate* frequently placed the brunt of the blame for gays' problems on the actions and failures of gay men rather than heteronormative, homophobic society or state powers actively working against gay activism. Next to the sign labelling the entrance to the maze, a police officer holds his hand up to his ear as the discord of the mob is depicted as music notes flowing towards him while he twirls his baton, taps his foot, and thinks

to himself “KEEP IT UP.”²³⁶ Nearby, gay men yell at one another. The artist argues that unproductive conflict in the movement does homophobic institutions’ jobs for them and brings them joy. Meanwhile, the mob exhausts itself while getting nowhere. This comic fails to address how the structure of the maze and the power of the guards and police have caused the outrage among gay activists, instead focusing on the outrage as the problem in and of itself. By focusing on conflict between gay groups and activists, *The Advocate* implied readers should prioritize working on and amongst themselves. *The Advocate*’s emphasis specifically on unity-focused self-work suggests again a vision of gay movements predicated on acceptability and respectability in the eyes of mainstream society.

The Advocate frequently argued that conflict among gay men and organizations was the main obstacle to gay citizenship and mainstream acceptance because the publication believed in working within systems and earning gay rights or equality. *The Advocate* argued assimilation into the mainstream straight culture depended on unity, peace, and assimilation. For example, a June 1969 editorial describes sometimes-true stereotypes about aggressive homosexuals and passive homosexuals:

Are the so-called ‘experts’ right? Are homosexuals by nature bitchy, selfish, immature, destructive? [sic] We hope not [... and hope] these traits which continually sap us of our strength, are not typical of the average homosexual. Sure, we all know people who are like that, but need they dominate what we might call ‘public gay life’? Might it not be possible to entice more of the mature, responsible, selfless homosexuals out of their homes and into the service of the Cause?²³⁷

This piece suggests the movement may be more successful if “bitchy, selfish, immature, destructive” homosexuals took a step back and let “mature, responsible, selfless” homosexuals lead.²³⁸ The editorial next argues “the constant strife and downright bitchiness” among gay leaders and organizations have kept the Los Angeles gay community “fractured” and “ineffective” “since the movement started here.”²³⁹ The continuous “bickering” and

“backbiting” sets back “our battle for civil rights” and makes “our enemies get stronger.”²⁴⁰ It argues “L.A.’s homosexuals could be a very potent economic and political force, IF UNITED.”²⁴¹ It calls for new leadership and involvement in “a new movement—dedicated to achieving a place in the sun for all homosexuals, not just for this or that individual egoist.”²⁴² It says “destructive” homosexuals should “change their ways” or give up trying to join the new movement.²⁴³ “The mainstream—those more interested in fighting injustice rather than each other—will merely bypass them.”²⁴⁴ The editorial concludes with by arguing homosexuals need to communicate better and stop trying to dominate one another politically indicating that selfishness was also a concern *The Advocate* had about gay citizenship despite promoting individualism extensively.

The Advocate’s absolute intolerance of conflict and/or pluralism within the gay community is anti-democratic and suggests that assimilation despite differences was the only acceptable path to gay citizenship. The publication never mentions productive conflict, debate, or the potential benefits of having a multifaceted movement or community. It reduces all conflict and differences within the movement to negative personality traits and toxic behaviors. This individualizes the movement’s struggle to unify, compromise, and/or agree to disagree. Though it individualizes the problems within the community, this editorial and many similar critiques notably lack any mentions of gender, race, class, or any other identity differences which played a role in these conflicts and differences.

The Advocate was not only critical of gay activism and community leadership but also the perceived gay culture and norms which inhibited *The Advocate*’s goals for social change, assimilation, and mainstream acceptance and citizenship. For example, one comic critiqued the stereotypical homosexual by depicting a man unboxing a “BUILD-A[-]HOMOSEXUAL KIT”

from a box overflowing with items labeled “1 inflatable PENIS”, “GUILT”, “PARANOIA”, “ASSORTED FETISHES”, and “COSTUME JEWELRY”.²⁴⁵ With the box, a “PACKING LIST” includes “Fantasy Bag[,] Assorted Escapes[,] Over Active Sex Drive[,] 1 Self Destructive Element[,] 1 Cross (strapped to Back)[,] 1 Fuzzy Sweater[,] 24 Cans Hair Spray [...]”²⁴⁶ These lists described and critiqued what made a homosexual a homosexual according to *The Advocate*. The comic is captioned “INSTRUCTIONS: Your ACME HOMOSEXUAL (wrapped in plain wrapper) is a most valuable toy. It will give you years of pleasure if well cared for. CAUTION: Keep your HOMOSEXUAL in a closet and well oiled with apathy. Keep away from straights, and DO NOT ABUSE with clear thinking. Your ACME HOMOSEXUAL is bigoted.”²⁴⁷ Though this comic points out bigotry in gay men, this was rare. This caption highlights the apathy which was one of *The Advocate*’s more frequent critiques of gay men during this time. It seems *The Advocate* blamed some readers’ apathy as the quality preventing them from performing the citizenship practices *The Advocate* attempted to encourage in its audience.

The Advocate’s neutral discussions of activism and community leadership was uniquely apolitical for an advocacy publication. Advocacy publications frequently forgo objectivity in favor of transparent persuasion and political perspectives. Despite *The Advocate*’s self-proclaimed “militant” and “radical” politics, much of the publication’s content about activism and leadership was portrayed without comment or intervention.²⁴⁸ Even worse, such content often failed to provide readers with specific calls to action or opportunities for more information.

This neutrality and indirectness encouraged the apathy and apoliticism the publication appeared to despise. For example, in September 1968, the publication reprinted part of an article from the *San Francisco Chronicle* brief detailing a recent protest.²⁴⁹ The piece took up roughly one third of the second page of the 28-page issue indicating a moderate prioritization of the

story. However, despite the story's relevance, no content elsewhere in the issue expanded on the protests at all – not even in the travel column which focused on San Francisco a couple pages later.²⁵⁰ This lack of apparent bias was odd for a publication with such an outspoken, blunt voice. *The Advocate* did not frequently reprint articles from other publications. This choice along with the lack of supplemental coverage reflects a lack of input or contribution from *The Advocate*'s staff. In a way, through this lack of contribution, the publication modeled the civic inaction it encouraged its readers practice while simultaneously critiquing them for mirroring that inaction.

Other content in *The Advocate* promoted passivity and incrementalism as long-term citizenship-attainment strategies that gay men should embrace. An editorial titled “We’ll Stay and We’ll Win” responded to a councilman seeking reelection who recently told mainstream reporters he would put an end to *The Advocate* and the *L.A. Free Press*.²⁵¹ The editorial admitted the staff did not know how the councilman would follow through with that threat. Additionally, it expressed concern that “there is little doubt that the LAPD will be as much as at his beck-and-call as it has been for the past four years.”²⁵² In response to the threat of government interference and continued police violence, the editorial said, “If it weren’t so damned inconvenient, we’d say: OK, let’s all move.”²⁵³ This argument was perhaps a bit facetious but it still suggested a level of acceptance of the status quo. This editorial suggested that gay men should just plan on enduring homophobia and posits that endurance or waiting out homophobia as a form of resistance.

This editorial also promoted upward social mobility and consumption as the keys to attaining citizenship and mainstream acceptability for homosexuality. It argued that since businesses in the area are struggling, the author(s) figured even the homophobic councilman may be begging homosexuals to come back if they left and were no longer supporting the local

economy.²⁵⁴ The editorial concluded: “But let’s be generous. Let’s stay, let’s keep Hollywood economically healthy, and let’s win our rights too.”²⁵⁵ This shows how *The Advocate* saw consumption as gay men’s main contribution to the community. It implies gay consumers will help stop “business after business” from closing and may be able to help keep real estate values such as the values of the councilman’s many properties from continuing to decline.²⁵⁶ Similarly to the analysis of gay affluence in Chapter 1, this example suggests gay men are affluent and support local business to such a significant extent as to be difficult to replace with new residents. The article is uncritical of the way business ownership and property ownership are stratified. It argued that spending and accumulation of wealth are the key to earning acceptance from powerful homophobes such as the councilman. This editorial’s final optimism about gaining rights paired with the supposed economic contributions of gay men in the area also implied that rights attainment will be made more possible through financial success and participation in the economy. This exemplified the broader pattern of queer people believing they could earn their rights through good, normative behavior such as consumption.

Perhaps the most significant pattern in *The Advocate*’s content about activism, politics, and community engagement was that it generally lacked calls to action and ways for readers to participate, which again contributed to the passivity of its audience. For example, a November 1967 article in Mel Holt’s “HAPPENINGS...” column discussed homosexuality in politics. Oddly, it does not offer any ways to participate in politics. It does not even mention donating money which is a common tool offered to readers elsewhere in the publication. The article is indignant but lacks a call to action. Combined with evidence that the publication frequently made other calls to action such as one fashion article that ended by encouraging readers to “Buy what

you can afford, and what is coming to you. Have fun shopping.”²⁵⁷ *The Advocate* was keen to call for other, less political reader behaviors related to consumption.

When the publication did give political calls to action, they were frequently (if not always) actions working with the system rather than outside it or against it suggesting that working within the system was the only acceptable way for gay men to achieve citizenship. For example, some articles chastised gay men for engaging in public sex or other risky behaviors, suggesting the way to avoid police violence and discrimination was to lay low and follow and possibly accept even discriminatory laws. *The Advocate* also failed to offer many opportunities or suggestions for ways its readers could engage politically outside of the publication. The publication’s most common political demand was that readers should vote. For example, one banner graphic commanded readers to “VOTE!!” with a small blurb explaining the process and importance of primary elections and telling readers “Don’t be an April Fool. Vote in the Primary.”²⁵⁸ More sporadically, the publication implied their readers should be involved in gay organizations. *The Advocate* also encouraged the bare minimum of civic engagement: voting. A couple years of election-time issues established good-sized chunks of content about candidates. These and other issues were seasonally peppered with banner/filler graphics demanding people to vote. The paper even occasionally endorsed a candidate.

Though it was rare, some of *The Advocate*’s coverage applauded some forms of activism which did not conflict with the assimilationism of the ideal gay consumer-citizen. *The Advocate* primarily tolerated and/or celebrated activism that was less disruptive or radical because these forms of activism aligned better with *The Advocate*’s assimilationist goals for gay citizenship. For example, in an editorial describing resistance to a police raid, the editorial implied support of this resistance by explaining the cause for the crowd’s disobedience: police make raids and

arrests in attempt to scare away customers and put gay bars out of business.²⁵⁹ The editorial proceeds to celebrate the surprising joyfulness of the crowd of customers and their choice to remain at the bar and continued drinking and dancing even after arrests had been made. This pleasure-seeking despite homophobia exemplified gay liberationist resistance that was minimally disruptive and maximally enjoyable. *The Advocate*'s positive reception of this type of resistance suggest that *The Advocate* considered it one of the most acceptable forms of gay resistance.

The Advocate characterized ideal gay consumer-citizenship as only a small amount of resistance which worked within the boundaries of institutions rather than attempting to dismantle them. This often took the form of calls to action for readers to appeal to government officials and other authorities. For example, one article—“Want a Pen Pal? Write Your Assemblyman: Back the Brown Bill”—encouraged readers to write letters to their representatives in the California Assembly.²⁶⁰ The piece said, “*The Advocate* is avoiding a ‘draft’ letter to prevent the Assemblymen from getting a lot of very similarly worded letters.”²⁶¹ However, it offered a couple talking points about the Brown Bill and suggested people also include other concerns they had. It recommended a few examples of additional issues to readers should consider. Then it offered readers “the names, districts, home cities, and political affiliation of all Assemblymen” as well as information for readers about how to check which district they are in.²⁶² After this listed information, the article suggested readers keep a copy of their letter and forward any interesting replies they receive to *The Advocate*. It also encouraged readers to write similar letters to local newspapers and Governor Ronald Reagan. The piece concluded by telling readers to encourage their friends to write letters as well. The extreme specificity and genuine usability of this content is absolutely uncharacteristic of *The Advocate*'s typical lack of call to action. This piece exemplified what the publication was able to do but avoided throughout the rest of the issues.

Political calls to action were rare in general but such explicit, informative, and actionable calls to action without ties to consumption or individual gain were even rarer. However, even this political call to action expected gay men to accept and respect mainstream authorities' power even if they were using it to harm gay people. This shows that even in its most political and potentially productive call to action, *The Advocate's* content was still conservative and assimilationist.

Conclusion

This chapter shows how conflicts within the content and among the staff shaped *The Advocate* and contributed to its ambiguous nature. While the publication claimed to a radical and militant approach and many scholars have previously interpreted the publication in exactly this way, I argue here that the publication was largely conservative, even (or especially) for its location in time and in contrast with other queer publications. I argue that *The Advocate's* conservatism is most apparent through its focus on the words and actions of mainstream authorities and frequent denunciation of the ideologies, words, and actions of queer activists and leaders. Furthermore, this chapter argues that the publication used its focus on authority paired with its rejection of most forms of queer political engagement to interpellate its readers as passive consumers rather than activists. I argue that these choices all benefitted the publication in various ways and that these rhetorical choices highlight the consumer publication's prioritization of profit over the health and progress of queer politics and social movement efforts. Overall, this chapter explores rhetorical choices that demonstrate *The Advocate's* conservative, normative, and assimilative nature as well as its efforts at self-preservation.

Chapter 3: “Gay Power is Purchasing Power: *The Advocate*’s Creation of the Model Market”

In the largely forgotten federal court case *U.S. v Spinar* in July 1967, a United States District Court judge finally decided the owners of a “gay conglomerate” that distributed gay business directories and products were not guilty on all counts of obscenity.²⁶³ Previous court cases had legalized both gay publications and sexual publications separately. However, courts consistently ruled gay sexual publications were obscene.²⁶⁴ The *Spinar* case was widely celebrated as ushering in a new era of gay publishing, which no longer had to be discreet, hide behind pretenses of body-building and “appreciation” of the male body as an art object, or be subjected to constant harassment and prosecution by the United States Postal Service (where much of the FBI’s anti-smut campaign had consolidated in the 1960s).²⁶⁵ As one author at *The Advocate* pointed out, the *Spinar* case “opened the door to nudie literature, magazines, books, and the general male-physical-body cult. The trial was an important step toward equal rights for homosexuals -- being able to buy and enjoy beefcake, just as heterosexuals have been able to feed on cheesecake for years.”²⁶⁶ The term “beefcake” was common slang for an attractive, muscular gay man and the comparison of beefcake to cheesecake suggests such men were perhaps more satisfying, substantial, and masculine while cheesecake indicates a light, airy, dessert connotated with femininity and baking. Shortly after this massive win for the gay publishers and their consumers, *The Advocate* magazine began publication. It celebrated the result of the *U.S. v Spinar* case on the first page of the publication’s inaugural issue in September 1967. *The Advocate* ultimately became so mainstream as to be considered the “newspaper of record for the gay community” in the United States.²⁶⁷

The Advocate's early content focused on fostering consumption, hedonism, and individualism in its audience so that the publication could be successful. While these traits likely benefited some readers, no readers benefited so well as *The Advocate* itself which ultimately evolved into a "desirable icon" that "actually *made* news."²⁶⁸ *The Advocate* encouraged readers to engage in a "respectability politics of consumption," a phrase I use to describe political participation driven by consumption in an effort to earn respect, rights, esteem, upward mobility, or otherwise positive social change

Constituting Gay Lifestyle and Consumption in *The Advocate*

While *The Advocate* consolidated the ideal gay consumer-citizen, it tried to sell this ideal as a gay model market thereby producing the gay model market. Narrow images of gay men in advertising helped "construct a particular subject position ('the right way to be gay' is to buy this car and have this sort of affluent lifestyle) by artfully obscuring the hidden workings of power."²⁶⁹ This promoted consumption as the ideal form of political participation and citizenship-seeking behavior. The gay model market aimed to achieve gay liberation, mainstream acceptance, and legal equality through a consumptive, individualist understanding of gay power as economic power and consumer behavior.

One of the ways *The Advocate* fulfilled its role as an institution of consumption was through its functions as a lifestyle magazine. The publication constituted the ideal gay consumer-citizen and position it as a gay model market and the gay lifestyle. Lifestyle magazines serve a pedagogical function teaching about taste or "how and what to consume."²⁷⁰ Sender argues the publication instructed readers on "'socially correct participation' while situating gay magazine publishing as central in an increasingly marketable, and class-specific, notion of gay lifestyle."²⁷¹ Sender argues *The Advocate* later replicated lifestyle magazines such as *Esquire* and *Playboy*.²⁷²

Other gay publications were also successful partially due to their ability to shift away from the presumed femininity of consumption. For example, Sheila Webb argues *Life Magazine* constituted the consumerism of the American middle-class.²⁷³ Sender argues that *The Advocate's* transformation into a lifestyle magazine began in 1974 when David Goodstein bought the publication and “consolidated the image of the ideal gay consumer, his (occasionally her) tastes, pleasures, and concerns, for readers and advertisers alike.” This chapter argues the publication began consolidating the ideal gay consumer-citizen at the offset through hedonism, consumerism, and individualism how *The Advocate* used the “respectability politics of consumption” to decrease the risk associated with gay consumers.

Niche marketing to a segmented market can be expensive and risky, thus the economic constraints on *The Advocate* contributed greatly to the development of the gay model market and ideal gay consumer-citizen. The ability for producers to meet specific market demands is limited by the need to make profit.²⁷⁴ Newsmagazines were expensive to print, the paper was a consumer publication, and it was profit-driven. It was funded primarily by sales revenue and ad revenue, which impacted its relationship its audience. The publication often directly called readers to subscribe, to support the publication’s advertisers, and to even buy ad space themselves. Ads were often more graphic a sketch of a topless, lean, small young man with perfectly coiffed hair surrounded by text that said “LOOKING FOR SOMETHING? GET RESULTS WITH TRADER DICKS.”²⁷⁵ On the same page of Trader Dick’s, text reading “The ADVOCATE means BU\$INE\$\$ for YOU” overlaying a bold black dollar sign in the corner, likely acting as a filler space.²⁷⁶ The use of free spaces in the publication for artful, bold, and ink-heavy graphics suggests the revenue from paid ads was substantial enough that the editors felt comfortable using up excess resources like space and ink in a flashy way. This meant that any excess space was

utilized primarily to increase revenue through ad sales or issue sales. Other commercial gay publications also used this type of direct self-promotion. Like many gay publications, *The Phoenix: Midwest Homophile Voice*, a commercial publication, also used imagery of classic Western nude sculpture and art including a drawing of “The Thinker” by Auguste Rodin captioned “STOP Thinking About It! Join Phoenix.”²⁷⁷ With these graphics, publications literally demanded readers to purchase issues and advertising space.

This type of shameless self-promotion contrasted sharply with queer women’s publications and organizational publications which typically relied on member dues rather than sales revenue. For example, readers of *Lesbian Connections* requested and received different types of content. In contrast, *The Advocate* often ignored direct requests while trying to seduce the majority of gay consumers. *Lesbian Connections* was published with the tagline “FREE TO LESBIANS,” which suggests a sort of honor system expecting only lesbians to use the publication. This indicates a form of in-group membership centered around lesbianism. It also seems to suggest to readers that the publication was like a free gift associated with their sexuality. This contrasted sharply with the niche marketing of consumer publications which was primarily focused on getting money from consumers rather than giving something to members of an organization.

The Advocate also considered itself a gift to its readers but mostly due to the included images of handsome nude men. For example, it reasserted its value in a full-page advertisement that declared a subscription to *The Advocate* was “The Perfect Gift For that special friend!” because it included “12 issues full of News[,] Wit[,] Scintillation[,] Titillation[,] And whatever.”²⁷⁸ As a sort of bonus gift with the subscription, the advertisement guaranteed “An unusual, attractive card” announcing the gift before Christmas.²⁷⁹ This shows how the

publication attempted to leverage its content and qualities in order to increase revenue. In contrast to the gift of the publication itself, commercial gay publications offered the enclosed nude imagery as a gift with purchase. For example, *The Advocate* advertised a full-page picture of shirtless man as a “Christmas Gift inside.”²⁸⁰ In this example, nude imagery is used to repay readers for their purchase of the publication. Commercial gay publications also utilized abstract representations of nudity and references to nudity to sell issues. For example, the May 1967 issue of *The Phoenix: Midwest Homophile Voice* featured an ink drawing of a rooster head with much of the detail in the fleshy comb and wattle associated with masculinity.²⁸¹ The cover title, “Cock of Socrates,” clarifies the visual double entendre.²⁸² This cover was like a thinly veiled inside joke that was also attention-grabbing in the odd specificity of the detailed portrait of a farm animal. *The Advocate* similarly ran an advertisement for a bar’s first anniversary featuring a full-page drawing of a burning candlestick dripping in wax shaped vaguely like the head of a circumcised penis and a droplet-shaped flame possibly intended to symbolize semen.²⁸³ The candle was labeled in large, bold font “1969[:] The year of the Cock.”²⁸⁴ Other gay commercial publications clearly also used sexual content as sort of gift to readers alongside other more newsworthy content.

Commercial publications often used commodification of nudity to sell issues, while organizational publications and lesbian publications did not. Lesbian publications did sometimes portray nudity, but often in a more artsy and/or abstract way. For example, the cover art of the March 1977 issue *Lesbian Connections*, an organizational publication, is a somewhat abstract piece of nude art. The cover featured four hand-drawn hearts arranged with rotational symmetry like slightly overlapping leaves of a four-leaf clover. The outlines of the hearts represented labia majora while the in the centers of the hearts resembled labia minora. Many of the curving lines

overlap in organic vesica piscès or almond shapes which have been used to symbolize the vagina and divine femininity for centuries.²⁸⁵ Such depictions constitute examples of niche marketing directed at queer women. Though only gay commercial publications typically portrayed nudity in the highly-sexualized, commodified way, queer publications of all kinds used artful, abstract, and symbolic representations of nudity and genitalia.

Because market segmentation was dependent on profitability, however, the gay niche market endured unique struggles stemming from homophobia. In response to these constraints, many queer people countered with respectability politics to play up their respectability or normativity in an attempt to compensate for others' negative perceptions of them. Under the logic of market segmentation and *The Advocate's* role as a consumer publication, both respectability of content and audience were required since the magazine relied on subscriptions and ad sales for profit. This meant that *The Advocate* also needed to be able to sell their consumers to their advertisers as worthwhile targets of advertising. I argue *The Advocate* encouraged queer people to participate in what I term the "respectability politics of consumption" in the hopes that increased respectability would lead to increased rights. By respectability politics of consumption, I mean a style of consumption which allowed gay men to earn respect through performance of tasteful, affluent cultural participation. The gay respectability politics of consumption made gay consumers more attractive to advertisers and either less risky or more worthy of risk because the publication was fundamentally promoting itself as a kind of status good. Subscribing to *The Advocate* marked a reader as having better tastes and perhaps more prestige than gay readers who did not subscribe.

The Advocate consolidated the ideal gay consumer citizen and portrayed its readership as the gay model minority in order to increase profits. In the process, it aimed to increase the

respectability and decrease the risk associated with gay consumers. Thus, *The Advocate* constructed a very specific type of model minority, which I term the “gay model market.” The gay model market is a model minority under capitalism which is valued for its viability as an attractive or lucrative market for advertisers. Fundamentally, the gay model minority is characterized by consumeristic, hedonistic, and individualistic characteristics making the group an ideal market and shaping white gay men, in particular.

The Gay Model Market: Hedonism, Consumption, and Individualism

The Advocate powerfully interpellated gay-identifying men to exhibit specific traits and behaviors and exist in particular ways which were the behaviors of the ideal gay consumer-citizen. In an attempt to satisfy their profit goals, *The Advocate* played up its audience’s behaviors of gay consumerism that would make them attractive to advertisers. *The Advocate* demanded these behaviors and interpellated readers as gay consumers as a unique group of consumers with its own interests and tastes. *The Advocate*’s interpellated its collective readership as what I call a gay model market, by which I mean a model minority in a capitalistic society, a group of individualistic consumers. More specifically, *The Advocate* encouraged values and behaviors such as hedonism, consumerism, and individualism which were aspects of the only acceptable form of gay citizenship, ideal gay consumer-citizenship. I argue *The Advocate* focused so centrally on hedonism, consumerism, and individualism because the behaviors associated with these traits could stimulate the publication’s financial success.

Individualism as a Model Market Value in *The Advocate*

The Advocate interpellated their readers as a model market of individualistic consumers. The focus on individualism promoted an inability to think about or behave mindfully of a large-scale community. Individualism was often recommended in the paper even as it called for unity

and community engagement. This individualism primarily helped to encourage gay men who were or aspired to be part of the professional class. *The Advocate*'s individualism takes a few forms: individualistic competition, lack of community involvement, lack of political participation, and individual upward mobility as a substitute or step towards acceptance.

The Advocate encouraged its readers' desires and efforts toward individualism in the form of upward mobility. *The Advocate* encouraged upward mobility by consistently focusing on and placing value on authorities and people in specialized professional careers. While this was not a direct call to readers to join or aspire to those professions, other types of content supported the goal of upward mobility. Editorials and letters to editors often focused on individual financial success stories which helped reinforce the value of these prestigious jobs. For example, one letter to the editor told the story of a disenfranchised former activist who decided to "stop trying to do good works and save the world; that it was time for me to save myself and a single homosexual instead."²⁸⁶ In this letter, he also told other readers, "you can best serve the homosexual community by being a success yourself" and told them not to let their "inferiority complexes" hold them back.²⁸⁷ This shows that the writer believed upward mobility was a replacement for activism and any focus on the well-being of other gay men. He also advocated for the freedom of self-employment because "Nobody ever fired their boss for being gay."²⁸⁸ This letter-to-the-editor indicates that some readers internalized the desire for upward mobility and thought of it as a form of protection from homophobic discrimination.

Not surprisingly given the construction of gay model market, individual competition often centered on conflict between gay businesses and job candidates. Competitiveness among gay men in the job market has been linked to fear sexuality would limit opportunities for upward mobility, fear that one might have to choose between being out and having a successful career,

and hope that career success could help “compensate for parental and social disappointment about being gay, where the pressure to be ‘good’ had a galvanizing effect on their career aspirations.”²⁸⁹ One representative example of economic competition is an article sub-titled “Work -- But Don’t Make Money,” which critiqued a recent debate about whether gay organizations should make a profit. In this article, *The Advocate* argued outrage about gay organizations’ profits was absurd. Additionally, the article argued that gay advocates and organizational leaders deserved to earn a profit in return for their work. Furthermore, this article argued concerns about profits were something loyal consumers should tolerate so that gay people could succeed. This suggests that tolerating financial inequality and organizational profits was the duty of less financially fortunate gay men. It also suggests that, although gay men should expect to compete with one another, they should also support other gay men’s endeavors and wealth accumulation.

An example addressed more in terms of exclusion and misogyny in Chapter One, demonstrates competition among subaltern social groups within society at large. This editorial in the first official issue of *The Advocate* demands “If we talk of equal rights, then let’s get down to the BVD’s [i.e. underwear] of it.” This meant the editor wanted to break down the underlying issues in regard to fights for equal rights for women and/or gay men.²⁹⁰ This implies that one group’s fight for “equal rights” can impede or otherwise harm another group’s fight for their own “equal rights.” This editorial further exemplifies this type of individual competition while also relating back to the last characteristics of individual competition in the workforce. The author complains about women competing in the job market: “If she can compete for my job, she can stand on the bus when I get the seat first.”²⁹¹ This quote demonstrates a negative emotional response to women entering and/or competing within the job market, excusing and perhaps

encouraging misogyny against women as a reasonable consequence of their employment. This suggests men's entitlement to an apparently limited number of jobs as well as a limited number of bus seats. It also suggests that if women want rights, they should abandon their (assumed) expectations of civility from men. This attitude demands compromise from the competition (i.e. women) in order to earn or deserve their right to compete with gay men.

Themes of competitive individualism were also salient in discussions of the gay sexual marketplace. The aforementioned editorial goes on to demonstrate animosity towards women as competitors for male attention and sex as based on the presumptions that women are sexually interested in men and that men are interested in women. It states, "If she can boast her plastic mini skirt and gold pumps, I can sport my leather pants" ... "If she can tempt by carefully planning her wardrobe... so can I."²⁹² Notably, this editorial uses first-person and third-person singular language which emphasizes the author's individualized perspective on these types of competition. Additionally, the combination of first-person and third-person encourages a sort of "me vs. her" or, more broadly, a "us vs. them" mentality in which the "us" is a group of highly individualized readers and "them" is a group of broadly generalized women who dress sexily, dress carefully, want a job, desire or fight for women's rights, and expect chivalry, respect, or politeness.

Sexual competition was also common and blatant within *The Advocate* in the Trader Dick's classifieds section. A direct, literal representation of sexual competition can be found in *The Advocate*'s yearly Groovy Guy competition which was basically a sexy beauty pageant and body building contest which soon grew into a large social event and became a common, trendy type of event in bars and businesses all across the country.²⁹³ This indicates another layer of competition between publications and businesses which stole or borrowed successful tactics

from one another to try to increase their own market share. Though *The Advocate* encouraged support of other gay businesses, it never supported anything that was a threat to the publication of its market share. Therefore, while it fostered support it also withheld support from some gay businesses, particularly other gay publications.

Comparatively, this competition was not found in many lesbian publications during this time—in fact, some even denounced competitiveness as an impediment to change. The *Kansas City Women's Liberation Union's Newsletter*, included a “Statement of Principles” stating “We are committed to working for a radically different society which emphasizes collective efforts toward the common good rather than competitiveness.”²⁹⁴ This emphasis on the “collective” and corresponding rejection of competition was fairly typical of many lesbian publications. The popularity of these polar opposite messages within each respective queer community.

This absence of community-centered content was especially obvious in comparison to lesbian and/or organizational publications. Lesbian publications such as *Women and Women as Women* suggested team sports like softball leagues and opened a potential line of communication among readers either via phone or in person. The blurb accompanying one call for softball players suggested interested parties “call Debbie; anytime” telling readers to call any time for more information.²⁹⁵ The informality and constant availability from the team leader contrasts sharply with the professionalism in the rare organizational blurbs in *The Advocate*. Some of the group activities *Women and Women as Women* promoted were more formal and potentially sensual or romantic such as at the “A ‘CELEBRATION’[:] Gala Spaghetti Dinner-Benefit” where women were invited to come “Bathe your body in noodles.”²⁹⁶ Other events offered even more substantial benefits such as the “Drop-In Center for Women” which offered opportunities to discuss “LAWYERS, DOCTORS, ABORTIONS, DAYCARE, WELFARE, COUNSELING

or anything that's on your mind. JUST COME BY.”²⁹⁷ *Women and Women as Women* encouraged active participation in the creation of the publication through engagement opportunities such as “Strategy Meeting” and “voting on organizational procedures and leaders. Your participation is welcomed.”²⁹⁸ Another lesbian publication called *Lesbian Connections* acted as a print-based social media through its “Contact Dykes” section which allowed lesbian readers to add their name to the published list if they wanted to be contacted for information on their area or were willing to let other lesbians visit.²⁹⁹ No matter how these lesbians used the service, it likely gave them a sense of community and reduced the feeling of isolation many women faced.

The Advocate voiced concerns about lack of positive community, arguing gay men in these organizations should stop being “individual egoists” and stop intergroup fighting, “backbiting,” “strife and downright bitchiness.”³⁰⁰ In this editorial, the editors asked vaguely for unity as it had done a few times before and continued to do in response to negative feedback about homophile organizations. An early editorial said, “Once again we urge the mature and responsible leaders of the homophile community to unite... Let's stop blaming the typical homosexual for not joining our organizations. We actually have only ourselves to blame. When we have something to offer them, they'll join in droves. Gay Power may be a joke to some, but Gay Chaos is a catastrophe for all of us.”³⁰¹ The focus on “unity” mostly meant agreeance and passivity or deference. For example, one article detailing a meeting between LA police and leaders of nine gay groups happily reports that “The meeting was polite, relaxed, and pleasant. The homosexual leaders did not disagree among themselves”³⁰² although the police officers were somewhat unsatisfactory in their responses. This editorial was paired with a comic on the same page captioned “IN A FAMILY SQUABBLE -- IT'S THE CHILDREN WHO SUFFER.”³⁰³ In

the frame, two heterosexual parents each labeled “L.A. Homophile Organization” yell seemingly at the child labeled “The Homosexual.”³⁰⁴ The Homosexual leans backward and away with their eyes slanted and chin jutting out in a posture that appears both displeased and defiant.³⁰⁵ This is likely meant to represent the warring homosexual organizations blaming homosexuals for not wanting to get involved.

Comparatively, lesbian publications tended to critique those outside the community and call for readers to rely on one another. For example, in the *Newsletter of the Kansas City Women’s Liberation Union*, a poem suggested community support rather than professional mental health services: “Sisters together - / Supporting and guiding. / Why need we the Authoritarian Rule / of society’s Mental Health services? / We are together - / Women helping Women to become strong, whole people. / We are tired of being ripped off and kept in our roles / by a society which itself does not know what it means / To Be Human.” ... “Let us turn to each other / in a true sense of SISTERHOOD !!!”³⁰⁶

Related to the lack of community, *The Advocate* also did not call readers to get involved in political organizations. These trends were less common in many other gay publications, particularly organizational, local, and/or lesbian publications. For example, almost all content in the organizational, midwestern paper *The Phoenix: Midwest Homophile Voice* was political and community-focused. It often related to joining or otherwise supporting organizations, following political discourse and events related to gay issues, and getting involved with activism, legal funds, and coalitional work. This approach starkly contrasts with organizational publications which were often only one service provided by an organization. This theme also contrasts sharply with lesbian and organizational publications such as *Lesbian Connections*, which was defined by its communal, egalitarian style of communication and was also known for its political

lesbianism and its encouragement of readers to get involved in a range of political fights including civil rights, women's liberation, and environmentalism.

Part of *The Advocate's* reservation to call for specifics on organizational engagement likely stemmed from the staffs' relative lack of connections to organizations. In an editorial titled "Unity and Action, The Saving Grace," the editors admitted the staff themselves were "all relative newcomers to the 'organized' gay scene. None of us can boast of more than two years as a member of any homophile organization."³⁰⁷ This highlights that, though the publication initially started as an organizational newsletter, it had quickly become a wholly consumer publication with little connection to gay organizations. While *The Advocate's* encouragement of individualism contrasted with organizational and lesbian publications, so did its focus on hedonism and respectability.

Hedonism and Respectability Politics

The Advocate was defined by a spirit of hedonistic sexual content. Hedonistic content was most prevalent until the late 1970s when its second publisher, David B. Goodstein, reduced this content.³⁰⁸ While other scholars such as Sender have critiqued *The Advocate's* later move toward desexualizing content, this chapter examines how this sexualized content was always in conversation with conservative respectability politics, fostering consumerism and individualism.

Sexualized content proliferated the pages of the publication, so that *The Advocate* popularized a sexed-up image of the gay lifestyle in which the ideal gay consumer-citizen participated. Almost all pages in every issue had sexual content in some form: sexy ads, news articles about public sex, editorials about aspects of sexual culture, sexual references or innuendos sprinkled into otherwise non-sexual content, sexual slang, comics with jokes about sex, or reviews of gay adult films. For instance, many advertisement's for businesses which

would not normally be considered sexy or sexual featured sexy advertisements. One example of this is an advertisement for aquarium accessories featuring a muscular naked man looking through a fish tank in the foreground.³⁰⁹ Another example of sexualized content was the comics in *The Advocate* which were often raunchy, such as one depicting a pair of young men getting caught by one of their parents while having sex, to which the mother figure tells her husband “OH COOL IT, HARRY. AT LEAST SONNY WON’T GET PREGNANT LIKE HIS SISTER.”³¹⁰ This comic shows how *The Advocate’s* humorous content was typically light-hearted and casual and frequently focused on sex and sexual norms.

The Advocate also promoted hedonism as an aspect of gay liberation and social progress. For example, in a set of blurbs about recent gay films, “The Current Crop,” author Bart Cody praises a recent film for its representational “breakthroughs” of showing “open cruising, boys kissing, vice raids, and ... some of the least inhibited dialogue ever put on a soundtrack.”³¹¹ This quote demonstrates the explicitness in some of these films as well as the author’s positive reception of it. This arts column suggested that readers view these films and appreciate their sexual explicitness, thus directly encouraging readers to embrace such content which similarly filled the pages of *The Advocate*. This further supported the financial goals of the publication by encouraging readers to associate the product with sex and enjoyment.

Other content in *The Advocate* sexualized content which was not inherently or necessarily sexual. For example, one advertisement for HOME DECORATOR’S Thrift Shop which featured a lean, muscular man in tight fitting clothes holding a tape measure from his pelvis to the top of a curtain rod nearby with the caption, “You can use your tape measure for draperies too!”³¹² These examples show that most content in *The Advocate* was either inherently sexual or was sexualized to match with the rest of the content. Another example of sexualized serious content, is a short-

lived column titled “Lays of the Land” which detailed sex laws across the U.S. The seriousness of this content was somewhat diminished by the title which referenced sexual tourism along with the graphic of a diamond-shaped traffic sign similar to a “ROADWORK AHEAD” or “SLOW[:] CHILDREN AT PLAY” sign which instead stated “SLOW[:] ADULTS PLAYING.”³¹³ These examples show how even mundane tasks and deadly serious information were sexualized for readers’ consumption. This sexualization was used to make tasks like decorating more exciting and information about homophobic laws easier to for readers to digest more enjoyably. These uses of sexualized content show the range of uses of sexualization and a few ways *The Advocate* used sexualization to make its content and the gay lifestyle more appealing.

The sexual content found in *The Advocate* was somewhat typical of gay male consumer publications though other gay publications often had less sexual content, indicating that *The Advocate*’s construction of the ideal gay consumer-citizen was significantly more sexualized and primed for more sexual consumption. One type of sexual content found in these other publications, was comics such as those found in *The Phoenix: Midwest Homophile Voice*, which was published from 1966-1972. One particularly similar example in *The Phoenix: Midwest Homophile Voice* was a comic depicting a superior chastising a member of the armed forces for lubricating his rifle with KY Jelly again.³¹⁴ This content was similar to some comics in *The Advocate* including similar comics, indicating that this sort of sexual content was relatively normal for gay publications at this time. Another couple of examples demonstrating this similarity of content can be found in *Gay Liberator*, a newsletter which had more sporadic sexual content. In an issue from March 1970, two random pull-quotes not connected to any other content read: “POSTER SEEN AT PEACE RALLY ----- PULL OUT DICK” and “From Playboy: There were 365 days in 69, how many times did you?”³¹⁵ These quotes were

surrounded by no other sexual content, which contrasts starkly with content of *The Advocate* in which the majority of most pages were sexual in content. These examples demonstrate both the commonness of sexual content in gay publications as well as the more minimal, scattered nature of sexual content in other gay publications in comparison. By decentralizing sex and sexy content, these publications were able to give more space to other content and goals such as news, community-building, activism, education, self-help, advice, etc.

The comparative lack of sexual content in lesbian organizational publications highlights how *The Advocate* uniquely centered hedonism and taught readers to focus on material and sexual consumption as some of the few acceptable behaviors of an ideal gay consumer-citizen. Organizational publications often contained higher saturations of content about news, activism, information, and creative collaboration and contributions from and between readers or organizational members. For example, *Lesbian Connections* produced a range of self-help content including how to build furniture so you never need to hire a male carpenter again, how to inseminate at home with a turkey baster, how to change a flat tire, and advice on whether lesbians can be friends with one another.³¹⁶ Many of these publications had only a few to several sexy ads or announcements about gay bars and events.³¹⁷

Other queer publications discussed sex more romantically or idyllically than *The Advocate*'s commodified portrayals of sex. Lesbian and queer feminine publications often discussed sex as dependent on romance and treated all sexual content in a romanticized and idealized way. For example, one later lesbian publication, *Coming Out: A Newsletter By, For, and About Lesbians*, included a short untitled creative writing piece which stated,

I was gently awakened by warm familiar fingers on my bare breast, accompanied by a rising sensuous feeling in the core of my being. I rolled over to see the beautiful sparkling eyes and smile of my friend and lover. Her eyes told me exactly what she wanted...tenderly... gently... Her wanting lips...gently sucking and teasing. Our moans

were harmonious. My legs automatically separated inviting her in... The sensual sensation it sent through my body was delightful. I knew what was to follow...³¹⁸

Here we see the lovesick, saccharine, and sensual qualities of sexual content found in many lesbian publications.

Some sexual content in lesbian publications attached shame to sexuality and promiscuity, indicating a desire for respectability as well as a political understanding of sex. The author of one poem in the *Newsletter of Kansas City Women's Liberation Union* lamented having had 12 sexual partners in 6 years, each for about 6 months monogamously and with periods of no sexual relations.³¹⁹ Vowing to be better and "retire" from short-term serial monogamy, the author stated "I am determined to be sexual only / With lesbian feminists who know where they're at / Or possibly, in an emergency, / Feminists I have known for a long time / Whose respect for me and my life / I can trust."³²⁰ This example also shows how lesbian discourse on sexuality was often more political and cognizant of the political nature of sex. It also references the idea of political lesbianism or the idea of lesbianism as feminist political choice, an idea which contrasts with *The Advocate's* preference for essentialist understandings of homosexuality included analogizing sexuality with race. These examples show how other publications offered other, less hedonistic, superficial ways of presenting sexual content and ways for their readers to consume sexual content differently. These sort of lesbian citizenship behaviors benefited members of the publications' readership first and foremost, while *The Advocate's* citizenship behaviors around sexual content and consumption primarily benefited the publication and its advertisers. These examples highlight *The Advocate's* relative lack of engagement with more emotional, romantic, and sensual aspects of sex, as the publication often prioritized raunchier and objectifying sexual content.

The Advocate commodified sexual content to play up the attractiveness of the publication and the gay lifestyle. In an editorial, the editors of *The Advocate* argued that sexual content and events encouraged reluctant and/or closeted gay men to join in on the fun and argued this content boosted morale: “Underneath the laughter and gayety [sic] that is visible, we hope that other homosexuals, like ourselves, feel a sense of dignity and pride.”³²¹ The editors of *The Advocate* believed that sexy content like that which surrounded the iconic “Groovy Guy Contest,” community dances, bars, and awards ceremonies was engaging for their readers and thus good for readers as well as the publication.³²² The sexy, fun fluff-pieces and erotic ads in *The Advocate* make it visually appealing, even enticing. Additionally, such content provided relief from other heavier content on police violence and coverage of hostile outside authorities. One of the least substantial types of sexual visual content was sexy cover photos which were often pulled from stories from within the issue. For example, one cover depicts two photos of attractive white men.³²³ The first is a screen grab or promotional photo from a gay erotic film discussed very briefly within a theatre review.³²⁴ In this shot, the naked young man pauses to look over his shoulder expectantly as though he is waiting for someone to catch up to him as he climbs between two trees. The man’s bare ass is the focal point of this picture because it glows compared to the rest of his more tanned body parts and it is accentuated by his pose with one leg lifted as if to climb a steep step. The second photo depicts the previous year’s winner of the Groovy Guy contest. In the picture, the topless man with shiny, carefully styled hair crouches casually while seeming grinning up at the viewer. This cover presents two potentially attractive traits or personalities: the coy, haughty naked man and the shy-but-welcoming winner.

The Advocate also argued that hedonistic sexual content and sexual culture were the well-deserved rewards of progress or relief from activism. One editorial argued sexy content was a

source of gay escapism from routine and “the drudgery of more serious [activism or advocacy] work.”³²⁵ This piece argued “these events, [such as Groovy Guy Contests or dance parties,] held openly with ample publicity, are demonstrations in themselves that homosexuals have a right to enjoy these activities and that they can conduct themselves just as properly as heterosexuals (or even more so).”³²⁶ The editorial refuted critiques that fun events and sexy content were “inconsequential,” “superficial,” “frivolous,” “undignified,” bad for “image,” and a “waste of energy and money that could be better spent trying to change the laws.”³²⁷ The editors professed a belief that sexual content was worthwhile and that gay men deserved to have fun.

Sexual liberation was always in tension with respectability politics, a tension which *The Advocate* contributed to on both ends of the spectrum. James Darsey argued the desire for respectability resulted from “fear of losing the rewards of good behavior...For [their] complicity with the rules...gays have been given the benediction of the liberal press.” In one letter-to-the-editor, an author grumbled that homosexual attraction is almost always completely superficial to the point that “it is probably only right that we continue to be considered as immature and mentally arrested.”³²⁸ This example demonstrates the aspect of respectability politics centered around earning rewards or punishments for respectable or unrespectable behaviors.

The Advocate's tension between sexual liberation and respectability often focused more around criticism it received about its sexual content rather than its overly political nature, as was more common with more politically engaged publications. In *The Advocate*, the tension between sexual liberation and respectability was most evident in editorials and letters-to-the-editor complaining that sexual content was unrespectable and therefore harmful to the community and movement. One editorial in 1969 exemplifies such critiques, contending that

it is about time that each and every one of us recognizes his responsibility to elevate the total community opinion. We will cease to be viewed as freaks when we stop behaving as

though we are. With a little restraint, a lot more discrimination and a revision in our values, we might even gain respect—respect not just from the straight world, but for ourselves, which is infinitely more important.³²⁹

The author asked, “Must sex be our only axis? Can we honestly expect to assume a respected place when sex is our sole concern?”³³⁰ This editorial shows how some believed sexual restraint was a requirement for earning respect. The author partially concedes that oppression is a somewhat viable excuse for what he considers radical sexuality but doubtfully asks “is it true justification for a full scale swing into hedonism that, once granted, will soon cease to yield pleasure?” Furthermore, he hoped this radical sexual liberation was just a stage in the movement but worries the movement will never reach a new stage without “reserve, dignity, and plain old class.”³³¹ The author concludes by arguing gay men would at least be able to respect themselves more if they behaved less sexually, though he notably does not mention self-respect elsewhere in the editorial.³³² A similar editorial argued, “there needs to be a coming of age [of the homophile movement] by discerning individuals to produce stories, motion pictures and so forth with substance and artistic integrity that arouse other emotions and levels of consciousness than the purely sensual.”³³³ This kind of discussion emphasized the importance of a representational politics that moved beyond sexual pleasure and invited a different understanding of citizenship that removed sexuality from public life, despite the legal discrimination about sexuality at the time. This type of critique points to some readers’ desire for more diverse content and media which was not only sexual, but also had other merits.

Despite critiques based on respectability politics, much content in *The Advocate* largely rejected the push for respectability as a barrier to sexual liberation and a sexually fulfilling gay lifestyle. Instead, the publication continued to center sexual satisfaction as a major component of the gay lifestyle and a major goal of the ideal gay consumer-citizen. The choice to ignore critiques based on respectability politics can be partially attributed to the way *The Advocate*

profited from its sexual content and its depiction of a sexy gay lifestyle. While a shift towards more respectable or, in this case, less sexual content, may have pleased a segment of the publication's readers, but it would likely have resulted in the loss of other readers as well as some advertisers.

Hedonistic content in *The Advocate* resisted pushes for more respectable, heteronormative content. While these hedonistic leanings might be admirable for that reason, the high saturation of sexy content and feel-good lifestyle pieces reduced the available space for heavier, less enjoyable content such as news, politics, advice, and community-building. Even more importantly perhaps, the hedonistic content in *The Advocate* helped foster consumerism in the publication's readers. *The Advocate* articulated hedonism as a central behavioral tendency of the ideal gay consumer-citizen and capitalized on this ideal in order to profit off the publication's readership.

Consumption as a Model Market Value in *The Advocate*

The Advocate's ideal gay consumer-citizen's main form of political participation was consumption. With this consumption-centric understanding of citizenship, all consumption-related behaviors became forms of civic engagement. This focus on consumption detracted from gay people's ability to engage with politics, society, and the "community" in other ways. All other political behaviors took a backseat, despite many useful political tools/behaviors at gay men's disposal during this time.

The Advocate showed readers that consumption was the most important behavior associated with gay citizenship and offered consumption not only as a tool for satisfying readers' desires, but also as a way for them to gain respectability and power. One of *The Advocate's* most blatant consumerism-centered appeals to power was about how spending power could be a tool

for creating social change. Spending power was the most intentionally political way *The Advocate* suggested readers use consumption to achieve citizenship. Spending power was defined as the source of gay power and suggested as a tool for earning respect from the dominant, heterosexual culture and as a tool for upward mobility. Also referred to as “political consumerism,” collectivized spending power “means doing politics through the market” by mobilizing individual economic choice “to achieve political objectives”³³⁴ Political consumerism or “purchasing power” is the consumers’ ability to grant positive sanctions to reward producers.³³⁵

The Advocate’s rhetoric of “gay power” was mostly focused on spending power and how the ideal gay consumer-citizen could use spending power as a political tool. *The Advocate* explicitly defined gay power as financial power in an editorial in the second issue titled “Gay Power ~~~ \$\$\$.”³³⁶ Specifically, this piece defined gay financial power as “the awareness and the use of socio-economic force by the homosexual community.”³³⁷ In this editorial, the author argues that out and closeted gays alike could both “wield the great deciding weapon... the ALMIGHTY DOLLAR.”³³⁸ This suggests that part of the appeal of spending power as a political tool was that invisible minorities could choose to remain invisible or closeted while still using this tool. This tool therefore did not require the ideal gay consumer-citizen to come out or be visible in any way. Of the various consumption messages in *The Advocate*, spending power messages were often the most direct and explicit. This further increased the importance and adoption of this tool above all other consumption tools the publication advocated for.

Spending power could be used to withhold financial support from certain businesses. The author told readers to “Stop giving to the prejudiced heterosexual, and spread wealth among our own striving members” which shows that spending power was not just about giving money to

gay businesses but also about withholding it from businesses owned by homophobic straight people.³³⁹ This editorial optimistically encouraged readers to utilize the “power at our fingertips: Buying power. Selling power, voting power.”³⁴⁰ This example demonstrates the boycotting and financial isolationism of gay spending power.

These messages equating gay power with spending power indicate a desire to gain and maintain the privileges and advantages of wealth to counter the lack of privilege associated with homosexuality. Spending power messages also presume readers of *The Advocate* had the collective financial means to make a social difference through their spending habits. While this consumption goal was the most politically motivated, Holzer argues spending power ultimately a “rather restricted and derived form of power” because it is dependent on actions worthy of reward or encouragement and is unlikely to change producers’ behavior.³⁴¹ This lack of more substantial potential for change is especially true of *The Advocate*’s approach to gay spending power because it centered financial powers to the point of neglecting other political tactics.

Similarly to historical arguments about the “black dollar,” one editorial links social climbing to political benefits of spending power: “As more homosexuals move up or go down into positions of prestige and authority, the heterosexual is forced to accept him as a real bargaining power.”³⁴² Gay men were expected to struggle and achieve on their own and then use their new individual power in ways that could potentially, tangentially positively affect other gay men. As a citizenship behavior, spending power was also foreclosed to gay men with lower incomes and less wealth. Therefore, this pressure to use spending power as the ideal mode of consumer-citizenship behavior is classist and exclusionary. Furthermore, this editorial demonstrates how *The Advocate* assumed the acceptability of gay men was predicated on their financial power.

The Advocate offered gay consumption as a respectable replacement for traditional activism and more radical activist efforts. While most of *The Advocate*'s content about social change focused on spending power, other publications focused on a broader range of activist tools, many of which were less predicated on a certain level of class privilege. For example, lesbian publications such as *Women as Women as Women* advertised various ways for readers to engage. One small graphic invited readers to "The SOCIALIST-FEMINIST CONFERENCE..... on the 4th of JULY WEEKEND in DAYTON, OHIO....."³⁴³ *The Gay Liberator* encouraged participation in activism such as marches led by Metropolitan Community Church.³⁴⁴ These examples show the range and variety of tactics other publications were recommending instead of or in addition to political consumerism. Many publications advocated for consciousness-raising, protests, organizational participation, and other forms of political engagement as potential avenues for change which, in contrast, *The Advocate* largely ignored.

The Advocate also popularized sexualized consumption as a major method of consumption for the ideal gay consumer-citizen. Sexualized consumption was especially blatantly demonstrated in the travel columns. One of the behaviors most encouraged in the travel columns was sexual tourism, or the sexual objectification and exploitation of people as tourist attractions in racist, ethnocentric, misogynistic, and domineering ways. For example, in one column, the author recommended sex with submissive "locals" as the main attraction for gay travelers.³⁴⁵ An article for "The Gay Traveler" column in 1968 asks "Would you like to hold hands with your boyfriend... in Paris or to pinch a trick's butt in the bustling square of Rome?" then precedes to argue Europe is more laissez-faire about homosexuality and "the general public really does not care" about homosexual public displays of affection, especially in large cities.³⁴⁶ This take on sexual tourism demonstrates one partially understandable reason for gay sexual

tourism: possible increased safety and acceptability compared to local sexual culture. However, it is marked by broad generalizations and likely exaggerations which were typical in travel columns in *The Advocate*. These generalizations and exaggerations were dangerous for readers who may not have access to alternative information and could still potentially get in trouble with police while traveling and have less access to help in a foreign place. An article titled “Weekend in Sin City -- Blow-by-Blow Account” tells of a casual-sex-filled weekend trip to San Francisco which ended with the author’s group of friends all kissing their “prince charmings [sic] goodbye (each promptly turning into a toad).”³⁴⁷ This example demonstrates the casual, impersonal approach to sex on these trips and advocated as a common behavior for the idea gay consumer-citizen. It also demonstrates the temporariness of their interactions which were so short as to be able to ignore the “toad”-like features of their brief sexual partners. In the first issue of the paper, a travel column titled “The Gay Traveler: Take a Cycledelic Trip” [sic] exemplifies sexual tourism in San Francisco by saying: “There’s a lot to do whether you like sports, arts, crafts, music, or just cruising.”³⁴⁸ This treats casual sex as a hobby and local men as something like a regional delicacy, to be objectified, consumed, and discarded.

Another major consumption behavior encouraged as a gay model market behavior was conspicuous consumption, or consumption that others can witness. *The Advocate*’s gay fashion content in particular encouraged and demonstrated conspicuous consumption as a performance for others. Superficiality and excess were both often critiqued or debated. However, gay fashion was one aspect of sexualized consumption related to superficiality and excess which received little-to-no criticism within *The Advocate*. Instead, gay fashion was relatively well-received due to its potential use a tool gay men could use for a variety of reasons. Advertisements, articles, and editorials all claimed consuming and wearing stylish fashion would attract gay male

attention and sexual opportunities. One editorial questioned “Clothes make the man. Or clothes make the man makeable?” suggesting that clothing made men worth sexually consuming.³⁴⁹ The editorial continued, “clothing communicates and is an extension of our skins, we’re plugged in.”³⁵⁰ The editorial encourages retail therapy. It also argues for the deeper value of clothing as self-expression to communicate “personality and satisfy some need of [readers’] inner self.”³⁵¹

Some of this fashion content encouraged sexual objectification based specifically on types of garments, styles, or trends. For example, one author asked readers to “remember Ronald Reagan movies? His pants looked like full length culottes. Wasn’t he a gas? Remember the tee shirt sales after ‘Streetcar Named Desire’? I was nearly trampled. So we have fetishes and fancies about clothes.”³⁵² This sexual objectification of people wearing certain linked consumption to sexual fantasy and fulfilment. Another piece encouraged men who were attracted to “seafood” (which is gay slang for men in the navy, particularly when they’re wearing their uniforms) to borrow that sailor look to attract men to themselves.³⁵³ These examples show how gay fashion content in *The Advocate* was discussed as a tool for attracting or luring in sexual partners, thus making consumption a tool to sexual and/or romantic gratification.

The Advocate offered conspicuous consumption as a way for members of the gay model market to identify and socialize with one another. Like their gay fashion articles, *The Advocate*’s advertisements linked consumption of gay clothes and accessories with the ability to socialize and have sex with other gay men. That is, consuming gay clothes and accessories helped create a community of mutually recognizable gay men.

Consumption was advertised as a social activity, and advertisements about separate or secluded places for customers to mingle capitalized on the popularity of public sex in gay culture during this time. For example, advertisements posited that their shops selling gay merchandise

were great places to meet other gay “friends,” such as ads for a 24-hour bookstore with an “upstairs reading room.”³⁵⁴ Mentioning this in advertisements was a wink inviting curiosity in knowing and adventurous customers. In a sense, these ads advertised the possibility or idea of sex either publicly in stores or privately after meeting someone else shopping.

Sometimes, ads played on the idea of the gay man as the ultimate consumer based on the assumption that gay men had disposable income due to economic privilege and were feminine and stylish due to popular false assumptions of gender inversion. For example, one advertisement offered “colorful decoratives for the Gay Homemaker . . . [sic]”³⁵⁵ The idea of “the Gay Homemaker” exemplifies the logic that gay men were inherently feminine and therefore enjoyed homemaking tasks traditionally expected of women. Comparatively, lesbian publications rarely mentioned fashion and mostly mentioned clothing only in terms of hand-crafted pieces and supporting local seamstresses or lesbian-owned stores. For example, *Lesbian Connections* often featured advertisements for leather goods and other items crafted for and by lesbians. The publication had yearly winter catalogues of such advertisements, but few if any of these ads marketed their products as helpful for attracting sexual partners.

Conspicuous consumption in fashion content demonstrated a certain amount of financial privilege required for gay model market behaviors. *The Advocate*’s fashion content was highly trendy and ephemeral. Thus, conspicuous consumption indicated a privilege of disposability. This supported a high turnover of sale of goods as well as a disposability and replaceability of gay material consumption. Fashion content encouraged readers to buy something new for short-term use during the season in which each trend was popular. No fashion purchases were discussed as staple items, long-lasting items, or high-quality investment pieces.

Conspicuous consumption also provided a social function for the ideal gay consumer-citizen. Fashion was discussed and understood as a tool for readers to signal to other gay men that they were gay in order to ease gay social connections. One example of this is a groovy, flowery ad for a store called “That Look” which exclusively sold men’s accessories and fashions and provided wearers with “That DIFFERENCE in Appearance.”³⁵⁶ Many ads used gay signaling to indicate the business, owners, and/or preferred clientele were gay. An example of this is an ad for “The Hair Port” which notably included that the names of “Tad and Jake” who presumably owned the shop together, a shop where “you got that ‘SOMETHING EXTRA’” and which “specializ[ed] in men’s” hair.³⁵⁷ Other ads are more blatant such as an ad for “Tiffany’s” bar which stated, “‘For a gay time[,] meet your friends here,’” or an ad for a bar called “Jolly Times” which claimed it was the “Gayest spot in town” and featured a graphic of confetti, balloons, and a martini (a drink commonly considered feminine and, by the logic of gay inversion, therefore gay).³⁵⁸ An ad for “That Look” used a logo with eyes for the o’s in “Look.” The eyes in the ad looked up diagonally, with eyebrows raised at the muscular man featured in a striped tank top across from a bouquet of flowers with text of the ad emphasizing “men’s fashions” “That Bloom In the SPRING” were “ready to pick NOW.”³⁵⁹ This ad appears within a four-page “feature” on men’s fashion in the local stores “That Look” and “Ah Men.”³⁶⁰ It contained subtitles like “Necking with the LEADING MAN” and two subtitles which name the two stores: “That Look in COLOR” and “Ah Men, under-wear?”³⁶¹ These details seem to indicate some kind of unidentified agreement between the businesses and the publication. This stealth advertising strategy seems to provide a service for everyone involved without being blatantly sales-y: readers probably thought they were reading a fun fashion column; businesses received free or cheap attention from readers who might otherwise ignore or “tune out” regular

ads; and the publication received free, easy, space-filling fluff content which lightened the mood of the issue as a whole and made *The Advocate* appear trendy.

Conclusion

Building on the previous chapters, this chapter shows how *The Advocate* objectified their audience as politically passive consumers. I argue the publication's focus on consumption reflects more than just a preference for lifestyle content, but also offered specific consumer behaviors and traits as the publication's only sanctioned forms of queer political engagement. This chapter explains how *The Advocate* constituted its readership primarily as individualistic and hedonistic consumers, thus consolidating ideal gay consumer-citizenship as the only acceptable and productive way for readers to act as political subjects. All other political behaviors took a backseat, despite many useful political tools/behaviors at their disposal. I argue against other scholars who have generously interpreted these patterns as productive and beneficial for the movement. I argue this hedonism, consumerism, and individualism only benefitted some queer people while failing to support the queer people most at risk during this time. This ideal also fostered a reader base eager to support the publication and its allies and advertisers. Thus, these tactics largely contributed to the success and later mainstream recognition of the publication. This chapter demonstrates how *The Advocate's* consolidation of the ideal gay consumer-citizen allowed the consumer to take the place of activist. Ultimately, in this chapter, I argue the ideal of gay consumer-citizenship stunted queer social movements in the United States and limited the potential for radical queer politics, while failing to improve the lives of the most vulnerable queer people.

Conclusion Chapter: Pete Buttigieg as Ideal Gay Consumer-Citizen

This thesis has argued against many popular narratives about the benevolence and benefits of *The Advocate*. I have argued *The Advocate* was only a “newspaper of record” for normative, white, masculine, cisgender, gay men rather than for all queer people, all gay men, or any gay or queer social movements more broadly. I demonstrated that the publication’s exclusion of women, lesbians, trans people, gender-nonconforming people, and people of color. I have showed how *The Advocate*’s exclusion supported rather than disrupted mainstream culture’s ideas about gender, sexuality, relationships, power, inequality, and oppression. I expanded understandings of queer citizenship by showing how this type of gay assimilationist exclusion mimics the mainstream American form of citizenship and as a form of citizenship primarily defined by exclusion. I argued against the publication’s claims of radicalism and militancy and the popular acceptance of these claims. Instead, I argued that the publication was largely conservative and pointed out how the publication almost always denounced radical and militant queer politics. I showed how *The Advocate*’s conservatism is most apparent through its focus on the words and actions of mainstream authorities and frequent erasure and rejection of the ideologies, words, and actions of queer activists and leaders. I argued the publication’s conservatism centered around its focus on authority and its corresponding rejection of most forms of queer political engagement, both of which interpellated its readers as passive consumers rather than activists. I argued the publication’s focus on consumption reflects more than just a preference for lifestyle content as other scholars have suggested. Rather, the publication offered specific consumer behaviors and traits as the only forms of queer political engagement it sanctioned. I argued *The Advocate* constituted its readership primarily as individualistic and hedonistic consumers, thus consolidating ideal gay consumer-citizenship as the only acceptable

and productive way for readers to act as political subjects. I argue against other scholars who have generously interpreted these patterns as productive and beneficial for the movement. I argue this hedonism, consumerism, and individualism only benefitted some queer people while failing to support the queer people most at risk during this time.

My disruptions of popular narratives about *The Advocate* demonstrate various ways the publication quite clearly prioritized its own success over various potential political goals more centered in altruism. I argue these patterns were not accidental, but rather tactical. *The Advocate's* exclusion of less privileged and normative identities helped consolidate the ideal gay consumer-citizen as even more privileged and normative and therefore, more attractive to advertisers. Additionally, I showed how this exclusion benefited these ideal gay consumer-citizens (as discussed by Shklar) by allowing them to deny citizenship to other queer people whose less privileged and normative made them visible in other ways that prevented ease of assimilation. By exploring *The Advocate's* various tactics of exclusion, I showed how exclusion was normalized and justified as a result of financial restraints on the publication. I showed how *The Advocate's* conservative valuing of mainstream authority and its rejection of radicalism and militancy reduced the risk associated with gay publishing as well as the risk advertisers might experience if advertised in a gay publication. Once again, this indicates a preference for respectability and risk reduction in another attempt to make the publication as successful as possible. Furthermore, the focus on mainstream authority paired with the rejection radical and militant queer politics worked to interpellate the publication's readers as passive consumers rather than activists and as people who understood their consumption patterns as the only means of practicing social responsibility or political participation. I argue the ideal form of gay consumer-citizenship fostered support for the publication as well as its allies and advertisers.

Overall, I argue that these rhetorical patterns all benefitted the publication in various ways, thus indicating the consumer publication's prioritization of profit over the health and progress of queer politics and social movement efforts.

Additionally, these critiques highlight how the mainstream success of *The Advocate* increased its impact. *The Advocate's* mainstream success continued for four decades which allowed the publication to reach a broader audience. This success increased the publication's credibility as an expert on gay identity and politics thus further conditioning its readers to embrace the values and behaviors of *The Advocate's* ideal gay consumer-citizenship. The publication seriously impacted how queer people saw themselves and how they aimed to interact with the world. *The Advocate's* success additionally allowed the publication to impact consumers and their understanding and expectations of gayness and gay politics. Few queer media or organizations had such success which led to lack of variety in the queer voices available to many consumers. This success paired with the relative lack of comparable competition gave *The Advocate* monopoly-like control of mainstream gay rhetoric. As a normative consumer publication with mainstream appeal, *The Advocate* was able to reach cisgender and heterosexual consumers in a way other less popular and widespread queer media could. The publication's impact on gay consumers, especially those who adopted aspects of ideal gay consumer-citizenship, also subsequently impacted how the cisgender heterosexuals viewed gay identity and politics in their own lives and interactions with queer people. *The Advocate's* consolidation of ideal gay consumer-citizenship and its wide reach fostered a historically situated niche market for a particular sort of gay identity. The publication fostered a desire for gay identity performance and political participation centered around acceptability, respectability, normativity, and consumption. This consumer desire remains, as does the corresponding desire of many queer

people to perform ideal gay consumer-citizenship. While queer media and representation have diversified over the past several decades, *The Advocate*'s mainstreaming of white, gay men as ideal consumers has largely shaped the ideal gay identity as intersecting with identities of privilege which make normativity easier to achieve. The publication successfully crafted a singular ideal normative gay identity.

Because the publication's success increased its impact, many effects of the publication's rhetoric remain common today. *The Advocate*'s patterns of exclusion caused many queer people to be further ostracized, within the would-be queer community in addition to the even more violent forms of exclusion they faced within mainstream/straight society. I argue the exclusionary aspects of ideal gay consumer-citizenship have had long-lasting effects on the mainstream gay community which remains similarly raced, sexed, gendered, classed, and abled as well as generally exclusionary as well as bigoted against other less normative, privileged and powerful queer people. As such, the gay or queer "community" remains largely normative and privileged and anti-democratic just as *The Advocate* and its construction of ideal gay consumer-citizenship were. In this conclusion, I hope to demonstrate how consumption remains the primary way for queer people, and gay men in particular, to practice social responsibility or political participation. The hedonist and individualism consumption of this ideal demonstrates how *The Advocate*'s consolidation of the ideal gay consumer-citizen allowed the consumer to take the place of activist, a pattern which continues today. *The Advocate*'s gay consumer-citizenship has remained ideal and prominent throughout the past several decades. Many modern examples of queer tropes, stereotypes, and media representations reflect aspects of ideal gay consumer-citizenship. Ultimately, in this chapter, I argue the ideal of gay consumer-citizenship

stunted queer social movements in the United States and limited the potential for radical queer politics, while failing to improve the lives of the most vulnerable queer people.

The following conclusion uses the story of Pete Buttigieg's presidential campaign as a case study to demonstrate the lasting effects of *The Advocate's* rhetorical patterns related to exclusion, consumerism, and conservatism. This conclusion argues that Buttigieg exemplifies many aspects of *The Advocate's* ideal gay consumer-citizenship which remain prevalent today and helped present Buttigieg as a more respectable and mainstream gay politician.

Buttigieg was able to rise to prominence, raise funds, and gain media attention in part due to his personal combination of privileged identities, which the role of ideal gay consumer-citizenship requires. Buttigieg was able to rise to prominence, raise funds, and gain media attention in part due to his personal combination of privileged identities. As with many privileged identities, he inherited his privilege from his parents. His father was from Malta, a Southern European island in the Mediterranean Sea south of Italy. Malta is an industrialized country with long-established public healthcare system as well as a private healthcare system.³⁶² Buttigieg's father Joseph Buttigieg held four post-secondary degrees (a bachelor's and a master's degree earned in Malta, a bachelor's obtained in England, and a doctoral degree earned in the United States) and was a "globally recognized" scholar who "published numerous articles, essays, and books on topics ranging from the aesthetics of James Joyce to the development of civil society."³⁶³ Buttigieg's mother, Jennifer "Anne" Montgomery, was born in the United States to an Army Colonel and a piano teacher.³⁶⁴ Anne completed two post-secondary degrees in the United States and then took a faculty position at a New Mexico State University where she met Joseph.³⁶⁵ The two married and moved to South Bend, Indiana, to work at Notre Dame,

where they both taught for 29 years.³⁶⁶ These facts about his upbringing in a highly-educated, dual-income, upper-class home indicate his class privilege.

Buttigieg's identities and values also offered him privilege for their normalcy in the area in which he grew up. The majority of his identities matched the majority of those around him. Buttigieg's parents raised him as Catholic in the largely Catholic county including South Bend.³⁶⁷ However, he identifies as "more or less Anglican," a denomination of Christianity which is often understood as a middle ground or "middle way" between Catholicism and Protestantism.³⁶⁸ Buttigieg is white like 60 percent of South Bend residents.³⁶⁹

However, being born into privilege is not the primary reason for Buttigieg's success, rather his hyper-normalized performance of his various identities. Buttigieg was not only born into identities of privilege and power, but he has also been using them these identities strategically.

Without *The Advocate's* identity construction of the ideal gay consumer-citizen and Buttigieg's conformation to it, his prestige and the media attention he received during the election would not have been possible. Buttigieg's success is linked to his normative performances of his identities as well as his attempts to normalize any of his queerness or difference. Much of Buttigieg's normalization takes the form of emphasizing other identities to compensate for the nonnormativity of his sexuality as a gay man. For example, in his coming out letter, he emphasized his identity as a proud local by describing his upbringing and speaking collectively about local people. In doing so, he emphasizes his likeness to his constituents and his understanding of local issues and values. He demonstrates a sort of local patriotism for his city, state, and region similar to his patriotism for the country at large. He came out nine days before the Supreme Court legalized same-sex marriage. While addressing the upcoming court

decision, he framed the issue as local and relevant to all local families. He argued, “we have an opportunity to demonstrate how a traditional, religious state like ours can move forward. [...] we can navigate these issues based on what is best about Indiana: values like respect, decency, and support for families — all families.” Throughout his coming-out letter, he spoke collectively as one of the locals and as an American. In contrast, he only spoke of his sexuality using individualistic language rather than as part of a community. He erased any queer collectivity to which he or anyone else may belong or hope to belong while repeatedly emphasized his identity as a local. By generalizing the issue as a broad issue equally impacting everyone, Buttigieg erased gay difference and indicated a desire to be seen as one of the locals above all else. Additionally, the lack of collective language about queer people in light of the patriotic and local people, suggests he does not want to be associated with a queer collectivity, at least not in the way he self-identifies with his constituents and Midwesterners more broadly.

The Advocate’s impact consolidation and popularization of the ideal gay consumer-citizen prepared consumers for just such a gay leader and fostered the desire for *only* the most normative gay leader. The presidency is a normative position, in part due to the sheer number and diversity of people whom a president of the United States is expected to represent. Due to the power, privilege and prejudice of majority people, minority political candidates are often held to a higher standard of acceptability. However, Buttigieg’s performance of ideal gay consumer-citizenship was not only a result of societal constraints and expectations. He went above and beyond to become as palatable as possible to the white, straight majority.

Buttigieg not only has privilege as an upper-middle class white man, but performs privilege emphasizes these traits while downplaying his queerness. Buttigieg’s May 2019 *Time Magazine* is a compact visual example his performance of whiteness, class, and

(hetero)normativity. In the photo, Buttigieg and his husband, Chasten Buttigieg, smile softly and stand shoulder-to-shoulder in front of their home.³⁷⁰ American studies professor and queer and trans studies scholar, Greta LaFleur, argues the magazine cover is defined by heterosexuality and whiteness.³⁷¹ Additionally, LaFleur suggests the racial whiteness of their skin is emphasized by the “all-consuming aesthetic” of whiteness of the photograph including the whiteness of the background as well as the font of the title, description, caption, and cover story author’s byline.³⁷²

The *Times Magazine* cover also, perhaps more subtly, emphasized Buttigieg’s social class. In the cover photo, the couple wore nearly-matching business attire outfits: well-pressed, lightly colored, button-up shirts buttoned up to their collars and tucked into nearly identical navy blue pants held up by plain brown belts. Behind the couple, the couple’s home provided a background made up of the familiar features of middle-class homeownership. Two thirds of the background is made up of matching white features of the home: porch, siding of the house, and porch banister resembling a white picket fence. The rest of the background of the home included plain red brick and simple yellow flowers in lower the corners of the photograph. The men’s professional dress and the style and quality of their home emphasize Buttigieg’s belonging to the upper-middle class.

The cover image also displays Pete and Chasten Buttigieg’s performances of normal masculinity. The men’s business attire fit perfectly within the narrow confines of traditionally masculine fashion and indicates little-to-no self-expression. The cool-toned blue of the men’s shirts and almost-matching navy pants subtly suggests masculinity, due to our culture’s color coding of the gender binary. Their outfits had traditional silhouettes of masculine business wear with no apparent individuality of self-expression through dress. The men, their clothing, and

their home are all spotless, generic, and fresh-looking. The crisp blandness of their self-presentation is almost jarring and feels reminiscent of a stock photo, with only one slightly worn-looking notch in Pete's basic brown leather belt to show any sign of actual wear or life beyond the photograph itself.

Buttigieg's desire to appear upper-middle class reflects a desire to indicate normalcy and belongingness as well as a moderate to substantial amount of privilege and power. that compensate for his sexual orientation. His performance of class is irremovable from American beliefs in the myth of meritocracy. Due to the myth of meritocracy in the United States, social status is often associated with financial success earned through hard work an excellence. Throughout his campaign and his time as Mayor, Buttigieg continually framed his economic status as a result of his merit.

Buttigieg he also used his apparent merit to deemphasize his homosexuality and re-center his professional experience and success in various fields of work. Buttigieg most frequently emphasized his career success in the military, business, and government. Each of these roles offered ways for cisgender and/or heterosexual people to relate to him or see him as regular. As early as his public coming-out letter in 2015, he has argued "being gay has had no bearing on my job performance" in any of his past or present professional roles "in business, in the military, or in my current role as mayor."³⁷³ Buttigieg seems to preemptively reject homophobic assumptions about his ability to govern and point out the absurdity of assumptions of gay incompetence by stating that being gay makes him "no better or worse at handling a spreadsheet, a rifle, a committee meeting, or a hiring decision."³⁷⁴ In this way he is able to downplay his sexuality while playing up his professional success in three challenging and different careers. Buttigieg suggests that his sexual identity is irrelevant to his political beliefs: "It [i.e. being gay] doesn't

change how residents can best judge my effectiveness in serving our city: by the progress of our neighborhoods, our economy, and our city services.”³⁷⁵ This quote also indicates his desire to unite with his constituents around local issues rather than spend substantial time or energy discussing more contested issues such as queer issues.

When possible, Buttigieg performs the most normative possible versions of queerness. He even attempted to explain away queerness of the process of coming out and avoided discussing any negative aspects of his personal experiences as a gay man. In his own coming out letter, he explained his reluctance to come out publicly as primarily due to a simple predilection for privacy. He says this desire for privacy is normal even for straight people around where he grew up, “We Midwesterners are instinctively private to begin with, and I’m not used to viewing this as anyone else’s business.” By reducing the struggles of queer coming out to a regional value for privacy, he partially explains away his decision not to come out earlier. He does not acknowledge the (potential) trauma of coming out and/or being closeted. Nor does he examine why a gay or queer relationship or sexuality might feel more private than a heterosexual relationship or sexuality.

Before coming out and continuously publicly downplaying his sexuality, Buttigieg was in the closet and thus, his sexual identity was invisible. Of course, this invisibility certainly does not mean he did not endure homophobia, trauma, and tribulations surrounding his sexuality, being closeted, or coming out. However, it was certainly a strategic choice which gave him a veil of normalcy and allowed him to materially benefit from his closeted-ness. He came out at 33 years old and after he had already been the mayor of his hometown for two and half years. By waiting, he prevented or stymied the various potential career setbacks associated with homophobia.

While Buttigieg emphasized his class, masculinity, and whiteness throughout his campaign for the presidency. In fact, even while coming out and since then, Buttigieg continues to conform as much as possible in terms of sexuality and gender. For example, LaFleur argues that Buttigieg's *Time Magazine* cover offers "the promise that our first gay first family might actually be a straight one."³⁷⁶ LaFluer compares the straightness of Buttigieg to straight people's claims of queerness and argues that Buttigieg weaponizes straightness in spite of his sexual orientation. Based on the *Time Magazine*, the couple's sexual identities and their relationship are not at all obvious or in any way represented visually. In fact, their pose in the cover photograph conforms to gendered expectations of masculine heterosexual, homosocial displays of affection. They are only touching slightly at their hips and shoulders the way any group of acquaintances might brush against one another during a group photo. To the many people who were aware of Buttigieg's sexuality before seeing the cover, it seems to suggest a calm, sexless, inoffensive, friendship-like relationship between the two men almost as if they were married platonic friends.

Buttigieg also performs (hetero)normativity in his discussion of marriage and children which he frames as obvious, normal, and nearly universal human desires. The only obviously person detail or artifact depicted in the *Times Magazine* cover photo is Buttigieg's wedding ring. In the photo, his hand rests casually on the front his leg and direct facing the camera more than any of his other body parts. The relative lack individuality, or self-expression in the photograph further emphasizes this small detail of his appearance. This suggests that Buttigieg's status as a married man is one of the few personal details about his relationship that he feels comfortable displaying prominently. The immense plainness of the photo also seems to suggest that this display of the ring is by no means accidental.

The *Times Magazine* article accompanying this cover photo further accentuates the normalcy of the couple's marriage. This *Times Magazine* article is uncritical of Buttigieg. Thus, it appears to likely have been heavily and directly influenced by Buttigieg and how he hoped to be portrayed. At the very least, it reflects what the couple allowed the author to see during her visit to their home for the interview. The author, Charlotte Alter, describes their marriage as "at once banal and extraordinary." Alter notes common details of the married couple's home such as the "a tiny photo of Pete and Chasten with Cher peaks out from behind wedding save-the-dates posted on the fridge." This not-so-subtle name-drop lends Buttigieg some social capital, while simultaneously associating the couple with not only celebrity, but the celebrations of weddings and marriages. The detail about the wedding save-the-dates on the fridge is so average that it is hardly worth noting except to contrast with some people's potential expectation of a non-normative marriage. It also suggests they may have several married couples for friends which suggests that, not only are they settled down, but so are the people with whom they socialize. Similarly, the article describes the early stages of their relationship and their engagement to be married. The story is again aggressively normal to the point of being hardly worth describing. The beginning of the article notes that Pete is a millennial and, in this portion about his marriage, mentions that the way the couple met: on a dating app.³⁷⁷ This emphasizes Pete's youth and relatability to young people.

The article's coverage of Pete and Chasten's marriage is not only generic but seems to subtly address how the couple fulfill gender norms in their relationship, particularly through details that suggest Pete is more dominant in their relationship. For example, it slightly emphasizes Pete's role as a leader or decision-maker in their relationship. Alter notes that it was Pete who proposed to Chasten and that Pete attempted to do so with attention to Chasten's

sentimentality about the early moments of their relationship. Without directly referencing masculinity or femininity, these details and the fact that Chasten took Pete's last name associate Pete more with the role of a traditional husband than of a wife. This is what LaFleur calls a "vision of heterosexuality without straight people."³⁷⁸

The contrast in power and adjacency to traditional gender roles within the relationship consistently reinforce positive aspects of Pete. The article portrays Chasten as intellectually inferior to Pete who Alter extensively praises for his knowledge of languages, music, and literature. The first mention of Chasten as an active participant in the interview begins with this interaction,

Buttigieg is musing about redeeming American credibility abroad, sipping from his coffee mug emblazoned with JFK's face, when his husband plops onto the living-room couch, picks up the blanket next to him and throws it on the floor in mock disgust. "Do we have to have this hideous blanket?" he said. The blanket is full of dog hair. "Can we put our nice blanket there?"

This interaction suggest Pete is more intellectual while, Chasten is more superficial and more invested in some domestic tasks such as homemaking. As evidence of the couple's banality and extraordinariness, Alter describes the couple's division of domestic labor: "Chasten handles the dogs, the shopping, the cooking. Pete does the dishes, laundry, and garbage. Chasten hates taking the bin out to the curb. Pete hates the way Chasten folds T-shirts." These details indicate a division of labor with each of them preferring a different combination tasks associated with femininity and masculinity. In this way, though other parts of the article portrays Pete as more dominant and/or traditionally masculine, the piece

Alter implies that the normalcy of their marriage despite their sexualities is what paradoxically makes the relationship "extraordinary" as it is "infused with the exuberant contentment of two people who once thought they would always be alone." To further emphasize

the couple's normalcy, Alter describes the small disagreements and differences about which the couple bickers. For example, Alter notes the couple's opposing snack preferences,

Chasten gets grumpy when they go too long without food, and Pete doesn't get it. 'You're like, 'Oh, here, I packed a bag of almonds and a thing of beef jerky,' Chasten says. 'I hate nuts, and he eats nuts all the time.' 'High in protein, good for you,' Pete counters. 'See!' Chasten says. 'I want a meal, and he's like, 'We'll just have a handful of nuts.' Also, he tells his husband, 'You do chew really loudly.'

By explaining their minor disagreements and pet peeves, Alter frames their marriage as normal and not so perfect as to be unbelievable.

This *Time Magazine* article reflects Buttigieg's consistently expressed desire for marriage and children since coming out in 2015. In the process, Buttigieg has reinforced the normalcy of marriage and childrearing in general and for queer people. He has not only positioned himself as a normal husband in a normal marriage, but as someone who, in his own words, wants to "eventually raise a family" "like most people." In his coming-out letter, he explained that he hopes queer people's desire to marry and have children will become absolutely normalized for queer people in the future, "I hope that when my children are old enough to understand politics, they will be puzzled that someone like me revealing he is gay was ever considered to be newsworthy." Buttigieg's utopian fantasy of a post-homophobic society erases the queerness and often far from utopian reality of coming out, being married, and raising children.

Buttigieg's privilege and ability to conform to the role of the ideal gay consumer-citizen indicate the continued relevance of *The Advocate* and its identity construction. It also points out how little queer communities have progressed as far as challenging norms and embracing less normative privileged. Finally, it demonstrates the necessity for queer people to perform normative identity.

Notes

¹ Sam Winston, "LOOK OUT, STRAIGHT WORLD, HERE I COME!," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967, 6; Larry Gross, "The Contested Closet: The Ethics and Politics of Outing," *Critical Studies in Mass Communications* 8, no. 3 (1991): 362.

² Winston, "LOOK OUT," 6.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Christianne Anastasia Gadd, *The Advocate and The Making of a Gay Model Minority* (Lehigh University, 2012).

⁵ "Happy Birthday To Us," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967, 6.

⁶ "Happy Birthday," 6.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Edward Alwood, *Straight News: Gays, Lesbians, and the News Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

¹² Gadd, *Model Minority*.

¹³ Roger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Faber & Faber, 1995); Rodger Streitmatter, "The Advocate: Setting the Standard for the Gay Liberation Press," *Journalism History* 19, no. 3 (1993): 93-102.

¹⁴ Judy Wieder, "The Not-So-Sudden Death of The Advocate," *Huffington Post*, November 4, 2009, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/the-not-so-sudden-death-o_b_342725.

¹⁵ Streitmatter, *Unspeakable*; Streitmatter, "The Advocate," 93-102.

¹⁶ Streitmatter, "The Advocate," 93-102.

¹⁷ Katherine Sender, "Gay Readers, Consumers, and a Dominant Gay Habitus: 25 Years of The Advocate Magazine." *Journal of Communication* 51, no. 1 (2001): 73-99.

¹⁸ Streitmatter, *Unspeakable*.

¹⁹ “Support our advertisers!,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967, 2.

²⁰ Sender, “Gay Readers,” 73-99.

²¹ Gadd, *Model Minority*.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Sarah Schulman, *Stagestruck: Theatre, AIDS, and the Marketing of Gay America*. (Duke University Press, 1998), 146; Gadd, *Model Minority*; Sender, “Gay Readers,” 73-99.

²⁴ Karen Stabiner, “Tapping the Homosexual Market,” *New York Times Magazine*, May 2, 1982: 80-82; Peter Rehberg, “‘Männer Wie Du Und Ich’: Gay Magazines from the National to the Transnational,” *German History* 34, no. 3 (2016): 468-485; Fred Fejes, *Sex and Money: Feminism and Political Economy in the Media* (University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 196.

²⁵ Streitmatter, “The Advocate,” 93-102.

²⁶ Streitmatter, *Unspeakable*.

²⁷ Sender, “Gay Readers,” 73-99.

²⁸ Gadd, *Model Minority*, 3-23; Sender, “Gay Readers,” 73-99.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Streitmatter, *Unspeakable*.

³⁴ David K. Johnson, *Buying Gay: How Physique Entrepreneurs Sparked a Movement* (Columbia University Press, 2019).

³⁵ Katherine Sender, “Gay Readers,” 73-99.

³⁶ Christianne Anastasia Gadd, “Pushed to the Margins: The Advocate, Women, and Sexism in the Gay Press,” *Reconstruction* 13, no. 2 (2013); Gadd, *Model Minority*, 3-23.

- ³⁷ Johnson, *Buying Gay*.
- ³⁸ Edward Alwood, *Straight News*.
- ³⁹ Gadd, *Model Minority*.
- ⁴⁰ Gadd, "Pushed to the Margins."
- ⁴¹ Wieder, "Death."
- ⁴² Robert Crawford, "You are Dangerous to Your Health: The Ideology and Politics of Victim Blaming," *International journal of health services* 7, no. 4 (1977): 663-680.
- ⁴³ Gadd, *Model Minority*.
- ⁴⁴ Streitmatter, *Unspeakable*.
- ⁴⁵ Katherine Sender, *Business, Not Politics: The Making of the Gay Market* (Columbia University Press, 2004), 143.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 142.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 142-143.
- ⁴⁸ Scott Bravmann, *Queer Fictions of the Past: History, Culture, and Difference* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1964) Reprint, 1997.
- ⁴⁹ Charles E. Morris, "Archival Queer," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 9, no. 1 (2006): 145-151. doi:10.1353/rap.2006.0028.
- ⁵⁰ Scott Bravmann, *Queer Fictions*.
- ⁵¹ Maurice Charland, "Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the *peuple québécois*," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73, no. 2 (1987): 133-150, DOI: 10.1080/00335638709383799.
- ⁵² John T. Warren, "Critical Communication Pedagogy," in *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*, Eds. Stephen W. Littlejohn and Karen A. Foss, (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc, 2009).
- ⁵³ Raymie E. McKerrow, "Critical Rhetoric: Theory and Praxis," *Communications Monographs* 56, no. 2 (1989): 99.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 105.

⁵⁵ Nikki Sullivan, *A Critical Introduction to Queer Theory* (New York: NYU Press, 2003): DOI 10.3366/j.ctvxcrwj6

⁵⁶ Gloria Anzaldúa, “To(o) Queer The Writer—Loca, Escritora y Chicana” in *Living Chicana Theory*, ed. Carla Trujillo (Third Women Pr, 1997), 263-76.

⁵⁷ Sullivan, *Critical Introduction*.

⁵⁸ Anzaldúa, “To(o) Queer,” 263-76.

⁵⁹ Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Duke University Press, 2004); Robyn Weigman and Elizabeth A. Wilson, “Introduction: Antinormativity’s Queer Conventions,” *Differences* 26, no. 1 (2015): 1-25.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Tamsin Spargo, *Foucault and Queer Theory* (Cambridge: Icon Books, 1999); Edelman, *No Future*. Adrienne Rich, “Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, no. 4 (1980): 631-660. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3173834>

⁶² Lloyd Davis, Tony Thwaites, and Warwick Mules, *Introducing Cultural and Media Studies: A Semiotic Approach* (Red Globe Press, 2002).

⁶³ Craig A. Rimmerman, *The Lesbian and Gay Movements: Assimilation or Liberation?* (Routledge, 2018).

⁶⁴ K. C. Councilor, “Feeding the Body Politic: Metaphors of Digestion in Progressive Era US Immigration Discourse,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 14, no. 2 (2017): 139-157. DOI: 10.1080/14791420.2016.1274044

⁶⁵ Annamarie Jagose, *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York: NYU Press, 1996).

⁶⁶ E. Cram, “(Dis)locating Queer Citizenship: Imaging Rurality in Matthew Shepard’s Memory” in *Queering The Countryside: New Frontiers in Rural Queer Studies*, ed. Mary L. Gray, et. al., Vol. 11 (New York: NYU Press, 2016).

⁶⁷ Judith N. Shklar, *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion* (Harvard University Press, 1995).

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Shane Phelan, *Sexual Strangers: Gays, Lesbians, and Dilemmas of Citizenship* (Temple University Press, 2010).

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Veronika Kneip, "Consumer Citizenship: Soft Governance in Political Market Arenas," *Krisis Journal for Contemporary Philosophy* 1, (2012): 20.

⁷² Angela Kallhoff, "Consumer Citizenship: A Self-Contradictory Concept?," in *The Ethics of Consumption: The Citizen, The Market, and The Law*, eds. Helena Röcklinsberg and Per Sandin (Wageningen: Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2013), 177-182, DOI: 10.3920/978-90-8686-784-4_28

⁷³ Phelan, *Sexual Strangers*.

⁷⁴ Rosemary Hennessy, *Profit and Pleasure: Sexual Identities in Late Capitalism* (Routledge, 2017), 33.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 121.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 110.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 11.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

⁸⁰ Justin Bengry, "Pink Pounds/Dollars," *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture*, eds. Dale Southerton, et. al. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc, 2011): 1092.
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,sso&db=e020mna&AN=474266&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

⁸¹ Silvia Reif, "Queer Theory," *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture*, eds. Dale Southerton, et. al. (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2011): 1187.
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,sso&db=e020mna&AN=474266&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

⁸² Gadd, *Model Minority*.

⁸³ Schulman, *Stagestruck*, 146.

⁸⁴ Fejes, *Sex and Money*.

⁸⁵ "Gays: A Major Force in the Marketplace." *Business Week* (1979): 118.

⁸⁶ "A Policy for Politics," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1968, 8.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ John D'Emilio, "The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970" in *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

⁹⁴ Gadd, *Model Minority*.

⁹⁵ Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin, and Paul H. Gebhard, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, (Indiana University Press, 1998); Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell R. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, "Sexual Behavior in the Human Male," *American Journal of Public Health* 93, no. 6 (2003): 894-898.

⁹⁶ Gadd, *Model Minority*; Sender, "Gay Readers;" D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*.

⁹⁷ John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity" in *Culture, Society, and Sexuality: A Reader*, Eds. Richard Parker and Peter Aggleton, 2nd Ed (New York: Routledge, 2007), 254.

⁹⁸ D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 39.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 52.

¹⁰⁰ Sender, "Gay Readers," 78.

¹⁰¹ Gadd, *Model Minority*.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Streitmatter, *Unspeakable*.

¹⁰⁴ Streitmatter, *Unspeakable*. Sender, "Gay Readers," 78.

¹⁰⁵ Sender, "Gay Readers," 78.

¹⁰⁶ Streitmatter, *The Advocate*.

¹⁰⁷ Phelan, *Sexual Strangers*.

¹⁰⁸ Phelan, *Sexual Strangers*.

¹⁰⁹ Cram, "(Dis)locating Queer Citizenship."

¹¹⁰ Phelan, *Sexual Strangers*; Shklar, *American Citizenship*.

¹¹¹ Shklar, *American Citizenship*.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Phelan, *Sexual Strangers*.

¹¹⁴ Fred Fejes, "Making A Gay Masculinity," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 17, no. 1 (2000): 113-116. DOI: 10.1080/15295030009388382

¹¹⁵ Fejes, *Sex and Money*, 198.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Sender, "Gay Readers," 73-99.

¹²⁰ Bradley Johnson and G. Levin, "Economics Holds Back Lesbian Ad Market," *Advertising Age* 64, no. 3 (1993): 34-35.

¹²¹ Gadd, "Pushed to the Margins," 7.

¹²² Wieder, "Death."

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Susan Webb, "Lesbians in Literature: Sappho-The 10th Muse," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1969, 28.

¹²⁵ Gadd, "Pushed to the Margins;" Sender, "Business, Not Politics."

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Susan Webb, "Lesbians in Literature: Twists & Turns in the Middle Ages," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, May 1969, 20-22.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² "More for the Girls," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, November 1968, 19.

¹³³ Gary Donovan, "Tell It to Tallulah: Gals Speak Up," *The Advocate*, December 1969, 14.

¹³⁴ Helen Sanders, "Viewpoint: What's With The Ladies?," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October 67, 9.

¹³⁵ Tony Lee, "Men's Fashions: Lace Shirts Can Have Male Look," *The Advocate*, December 1969, 16.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Buckshot, "WHAT EVER HAPPENED..." *The Advocate*, December 1969, 24.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Lana J. Petterson, Barnaby J. Dixson, Anthony C. Little, & Paul L. Vasey, "Viewing Time and Self-report Measures of Sexual Attraction in Samoan Cisgender and Transgender Androphilic Males," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 47, no. 8, (2018): 2427-2434, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-018-1267-7>

¹⁴¹ Meredith G. F. Worthen, "Hetero-cis-normativity and the Gendering of Transphobia," *International Journal of Transgenderism* 17, no. 1, (April 2016):31-57, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15532739.2016.1149538>.

¹⁴² "Sir Lady Java Fights Fuzz-y Rule Nine," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, November 1967, 1-2.

¹⁴³ Bart Cody, "Reeling 'Round," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, May 1968, 11-12.

¹⁴⁴ "Sir Lady Java," 1-2.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ "...While Lady Java is Stymied," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1968, 3.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Cody, "Reeling 'Round," 11.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Johnson, *Buying Gay*.

¹⁶⁵ Johnson, *Buying Gay*.

¹⁶⁶ Buckshot, "Now really Louis, a shag carpet with a 'natural'?" *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1969, 22.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Huey P. Newton, "Black Panther Party Supports Gay Liberation," *Gay News*, September 14, 1970, 3, 12; Huey P. Newton, "A Letter from Huey about Women's — and Gay— Liberation," *Berkeley Barb*, August 28-September 2, 1970, 11.

- ¹⁶⁹ Newton, "Black Panther Party," 12.
- ¹⁷⁰ Newton, "Black Panther Party," 12.
- ¹⁷¹ Newton, "Black Panther Party," 3, 12.
- ¹⁷² Newton, "Black Panther Party," 3, 12.
- ¹⁷³ Cody, "Reeling 'Round"; P-Nutz, "Mariposa de la Noche[:] Gay Power ~~~ \$\$\$," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October 1967, 8.
- ¹⁷⁴ Jim Kepner, "ANGLES ON THE NEWS: porno and politics," *The Advocate*, August 1969, 2, 36.
- ¹⁷⁵ "Overexposed Model Can't See Overexposed Film," *The Advocate*, August 1969, 1.
- ¹⁷⁶ "Gays Sue IRS Over 'Apartheid,'" *The Los Angeles Advocate*, May 1969, 9.
- ¹⁷⁷ Don Jackson, "Viewpoint: Reflections on the N.Y. Riot," *The Advocate*, October 1969, 33.
- ¹⁷⁸ "More for the Girls," 19.
- ¹⁷⁹ Wieder, "Death."
- ¹⁸⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁸¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁸² Ibid.
- ¹⁸³ P. Nutz, "HOMOSCOPE '69," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1969, 14; P. Nutz, "HOMOSCOPE '69," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, May 1969, 28; P. Nutz, "HOMOSCOPE '69," *The Advocate*, June 1969, 12-13.
- ¹⁸⁴ Mel Holt, "Happenings...", *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1968, 12-14.
- ¹⁸⁵ "A Policy for Politics," 8.
- ¹⁸⁶ S. Winston, "The Bead Reader," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1968, 5.
- ¹⁸⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁸ Wieder, "Death."

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ “The Only Way To Fly,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1968, 4.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Martin Duberman, *Stonewall: The Definitive Story of the LGBTQ Rights Uprising that Changed America* (Plume, 2019).

¹⁹³ Jackson, “Reflections,” 11.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 33.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 11, 33.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 33.

²⁰¹ Ibid, 33.

²⁰² Kinsey et al., *Human Female*; Kinsey et al., “Human Male.”

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Sender, “Gay Readers, Consumers,” 78.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Buckshot, “Thanks for Making the Complaint Sir...,” *The Advocate*, October 1969, 22.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ “‘Patch’ Fights Three-Way Battle,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, August 1968, 3, 25; “Having Sex in the Park,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, August 1968, 4, 10; Dick Michaels, “‘Patch’ Raids Police Station: Cops Join Hoods in Harassing Bar,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1968, 5-6; Mel Holt, “‘Black Cat’ Revisited,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, January 1969, 7; “Police OK

Full Drag,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 1-3; “Police Stage Mass Arrests in Barnsdall,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 1-3; “Is the LAPD Working for Lamport?,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1969, 1; “Rampart Heats Up: Vice Cops Hit Two Bars, Arrest Ten,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1969, 1; “Pubic in Public Is a No-No, Especially for a Go-Go,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1968, 1-2.

²¹⁰ “Blue Boys Bomb Out In Balcony Blunder,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, January 1968, 3.

²¹¹ Jim W, “The Fine Art of Entrapment: Victim Tells How Hollywood Vice Fracture the Law,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, May 1968, 1-3.

²¹² “Pubic in Public,” 1-2.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ “LA COPS, GAY GROUPS SEEK PEACE: Vice, Homosexuals Trade Views in ‘Historic’ Meet,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October 1967, 1-5.

²¹⁵ “LA COPS, GAY GROUPS SEEK PEACE: Vice, Homosexuals Trade Views in ‘Historic’ Meet,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October 1967, 1-5.

²¹⁶ Streitmatter, *Unspeakable*; Streitmatter, “*The Advocate*.”

²¹⁷ “LA COPS, GAY GROUPS SEEK PEACE: Vice, Homosexuals Trade Views in ‘Historic’ Meet,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October 1967, 1-5.

²¹⁸ Bart Cody and Sam Winston, “The Current Crop.”

²¹⁹ Sam Winston, “67’s BEST FLICKS,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, August 1968,

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ “L.A. Homosexuals Get Nationwide TV Appearance,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1968, 3.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Jerry Joachin, “From the Chairman: All You Need Is Love,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October, 1967, 1.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ “Weird, Weird World,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, July 1968, 10.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ “LA COPS, GAY GROUPS SEEK PEACE: Vice, Homosexuals Trade Views in ‘Historic’ Meet,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October 1967, 1-5.

²³¹ “Join In, But Grow Up,” *The Advocate*, June 1969, 24.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ “Join In,” 24; Buckshot, “GARDEN of THE GODS,” *The Advocate*, June 1969, 24.

²³⁸ “Join In,” 24.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ “ACME BUILD-A HOMOSEXUAL KIT,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1968, 14.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ “Unity and Action, The Saving Grace,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1968, 7; “Why Gays?,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1969, 12.

²⁴⁹ “San Francisco Gays Picket, Demand Rights,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, August 1968, 2.

²⁵⁰ “San Francisco Scene,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, August 1968, 10.

²⁵¹ “We’ll Stay and We’ll Win,” *The Advocate*, June 1969, 24-25.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Lee, “Men’s Fashions,” 16.

²⁵⁸ “VOTE!!,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1969, 1.

²⁵⁹ “Courage Catches On,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1968, 5.

²⁶⁰ “Want a Pen Pal? Write Your Assemblyman: Back the Brown Bill,” *The Advocate*, June 1969, 33-34.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Johnson, *Buying Gay*, 201.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Winston, “The Bead Reader.”

²⁶⁷ Gross, “Contested Closet,” 362.

²⁶⁸ Wieder, “Death.”

²⁶⁹ Steven M. Kates, "Making the Ad Perfectly Queer: Marketing 'Normality' to the Gay Men's Community?," *Journal of Advertising* 28, no. 1 (1999): 34. www.jstor.org/stable/4189098

²⁷⁰ Sheila Webb, "The Consumer-Citizen: 'Life' Magazine's Construction of a Middle-Class Lifestyle Through Consumption Scenarios," *Studies in Popular Culture* 34, no. 2 (2012): 31.

²⁷¹ Sender, "Gay Readers," 73, 76.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 77.

²⁷³ Sheila Webb, "The Consumer-Citizen."

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ "LOOKING FOR SOMETHING? GET RESULTS WITH TRADER DICKS," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 26.

²⁷⁶ "The ADVOCATE means BU\$INE\$\$ for YOU," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 26; "Trader Dick's," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 26.

²⁷⁷ "STOP Thinking About It! Join Phoenix," *The Phoenix: Homophile Voice of Kansas City*, June 1967, 9.

²⁷⁸ "The Perfect Gift For that special friend!," *The Advocate*, December 1969, 34.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*,

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ Walter Rogalski, "Cock of Socrates," *The Phoenix: Homophile Voice of Kansas City*, May 1967, 1.

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ "1969[:] The year of the Cock," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1969, 7.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ E. Ann Pearson, "Revealing and concealing: The persistence of vaginal iconography in medieval imagery. The mandorla, the vesica piscis, the rose, Sheela-na-gigs and the double-tailed mermaid" (Thesis, University of Ottawa, 2002); Javier Barrallo, Francisco González-Quintial, and Santiago Sánchez-Beitia, "An Introduction to the Vesica Piscis, the Reuleaux Triangle and Related Geometric Constructions in Modern Architecture," *Nexus Network Journal* 17, no. 2 (2015): 671-684.

- ²⁸⁶ Randolphe Wicker, *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1968, 6-7.
- ²⁸⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁸⁹ Sender, *Business, Not Politics*, 71.
- ²⁹⁰ Sam Winston, "Viewpoint: Mink, Leather, Loafers & Bosoms & Beads," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967, 10.
- ²⁹¹ Ibid.
- ²⁹² Ibid.
- ²⁹³ Johnson, *Buying Gay*.
- ²⁹⁴ "Statement of Principles," *Kansas City Women's Liberation Union's Newsletter*, September/October 1973, 2.
- ²⁹⁵ "Women's Softball Team," *Women as Women as Women: Kansas City Women's Liberation Union's Newsletter*, March/April 1975, 3.
- ²⁹⁶ "A 'CELEBRATION'[:] Gala Spaghetti Dinner-Benefit," *Women as Women as Women*, December 1974, 12.
- ²⁹⁷ "Drop-In Center for Women," *Women as Women as Women: Kansas City Women's Liberation Union's Newsletter*, March/April 1975, 12.
- ²⁹⁸ "Strategy Meeting," *Women as Women as Women: Kansas City Women's Liberation Union's Newsletter*, May/June 1975, 12.
- ²⁹⁹ "Contact Dykes," *Lesbian Connections*, December 1977, 12.
- ³⁰⁰ "Join In," 24.
- ³⁰¹ "Unity and Action," 7.
- ³⁰² "LA COPS, GAY GROUPS," 1.
- ³⁰³ Sam, "IN A FAMILY SQUABBLE -- IT'S THE CHILDREN WHO SUFFER," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1968, 7.
- ³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Sharon, "Sisters together –," *Newsletter of the Kansas City Women's Liberation Union*, September/October 1973, 19.

³⁰⁷ "Unity and Action," 7.

³⁰⁸ Sender, "Gay Readers."

³⁰⁹ "Mention this," 8.

³¹⁰ "OH COOL IT, HARRY...," *The Advocate*, September 1969, 25.

³¹¹ Bart Cody and Sam Winston, "The Current Crop," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, August 1968, 18-23.

³¹² "Mention this ad for GAY 10% discount!," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1969, 8.

³¹³ "Lays of the Land," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 18.

³¹⁴ "Parade Rest," *The Phoenix: Midwest Homophile Voice*, June 1967, p. 8.

³¹⁵ "POSTER SEEN AT PEACE RALLY ----- PULL OUT DICK," *Gay Liberator*, March 1970, 1; "From Playboy: There were 365 days in 69, how many times did you?," *Gay Liberator*, January 1970, 1.

³¹⁶ "How To...[:] HOW TO GET PREGNANT WITHOUT GETTING SCREWED," *Lesbian Connections*, December 1979, 14-15; "How To...[:] HOW TO CHANGE A FLAT TIRE," *Lesbian Connections*, December 1977, 14; "How To...[:] HOW TO FIX A TOILET," *Lesbian Connections*, September 1977, 6; "TIPS ON PLANNING LESBIAN EVENTS," *Lesbian Connections*, August 1976, 6. "How To...[:] CAULKING OR RECAULKING A BATHTUB," *Lesbian Connections*, November 1977, 14; "How To...[:] PATCHING A LINOLEUM FLOOR," *Lesbian Connections*, November 1977, 14.

³¹⁷ "Unity and Action," 6; "Enjoying Our Rights," *The Advocate*, October 1969, 22.

³¹⁸ *Coming Out: A Newsletter By, For, and About Lesbians*, December 1990, 13.

³¹⁹ Kathleen Rimler, "FIVE POEMS FOR CAROL – WHOM I SAW FIVE TIMES," *Newsletter of Kansas City Women's Liberation Union*, January/February 1974, 5.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² “Enjoying Our Rights,” 22.

³²³ “The ’69 GROOVY GUY Is Coming,” *The Advocate*, June 1969, 1.

³²⁴ Jay Ross, “Nudie News: Three from Zenith,” *The Advocate*, June 1969, 16.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

³²⁸ Tom Briggs, “Gay Culture,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 22-23; Kym Allyson, “Gay Culture,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 23.

³²⁹ Briggs, “Gay Culture,” 22-23; Allyson, “Gay Culture,” 23.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

³³¹ *Ibid.*

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ Allyson, “Gay Culture,” 23.

³³⁴ Boris Holzer, “Political Consumerism Between Individual Choice and Collective Action: Social Movements, Role Mobilization and Signaling,” *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 30, no. 5 (2006): 405-415. DOI: 10.1111/j.1470-6431.2006.00538.x

³³⁵ Holzer, “Political Consumerism.”

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ P-Nutz, “Mariposa de la Noche,” 8.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² *Ibid.*

- ³⁴³ “Socialist-Feminist Conference on 4th of July Weekend,” *Women as Women as Women: Kansas City Women’s Liberation Union’s Newsletter*, May/June 1975, 15.
- ³⁴⁴ “Metropolitan Community Church,” *Gay Liberator*, March 1970, 1.
- ³⁴⁵ Bill Lewis, “The Gay Traveler: Take a Cycledelic Trip,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967, 5.
- ³⁴⁶ Bill Rand, “The Gay Traveler,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, January 1968, 5.
- ³⁴⁷ J Laurence, “Weekend in Sin City -- Blow-by-Blow Account,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1969, 26.
- ³⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁴⁹ Winston, “Viewpoint: Mink,” 10.
- ³⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ³⁵¹ Ibid.
- ³⁵² Ibid.
- ³⁵³ Jay Ross, “The Look of Seafood,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 9.
- ³⁵⁴ “A BRAND NEW CONCEPT IN ADULT BOOKSTORES! WHERE FRIENDS MEET!,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1969, 15; “Come to where the flavor is... ADONIC COUNTRY,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1968, 16.
- ³⁵⁵ “Art World: SOMETHING NEW!!,” *The Advocate*, December 1969, 18.
- ³⁵⁶ “That Look [:] For That DIFFERENCE in Appearance,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October 1967, 8.
- ³⁵⁷ “Hair Point[:] you got that ‘SOMETHING EXTRA,’” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1969, 5.
- ³⁵⁸ ““For a gay time[,] meet your friends here,”” *The Advocate*, October 1969, 26; “Gayest spot in town,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 13.
- ³⁵⁹ “That Bloom In the SPRING,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1968, 8-9.
- ³⁶⁰ J. R., “MEN’S FASHION THIS SEASON[:] California Dreaming,” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1968, 9-12.

³⁶¹ Ibid, 10-11.

³⁶² “IMF World Economic Outlook (WEO) – Recovery, Risk, and Rebalancing, October 2010 – Table of Contents,” International Monetary Fund. accessed August 17, 2020, <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2010/02/>; “The Health Care System in Malta_1,” Sahha Government, accessed August 17, 2020, https://Sahha.gov.mt/TheHealthCareSysteminMalta_1.

³⁶³ “Obituary for Joseph A. Buttigieg | Kaniewski Funeral Homes, Inc,” *Kaniewski Funeral Homes, Inc*, accessed August 17, 2020, <https://www.kaniewski.com/obituary/JosephA-Buttigieg>.

³⁶⁴ Erin Laviola, “Jennifer Anne Montgomery, Pete Buttigieg’s Mother: 5 Fast Facts,” *Heavy*, April 17, 2019, Accessed August 17, 2020, <https://heavy.com/news/2019/04/jennifer-montgomery-pete-buttigieg-mother/>

³⁶⁵ “Obituary for Joseph A. Buttigieg.”

³⁶⁶ Dennis Brown, “Hesburgh-Yusko Scholars Program to seek new director to replace retiring Joseph Buttigieg,” *Notre Dame News*, December 15, 2016. <https://heavy.com/news/2019/04/jennifer-montgomery-pete-buttigieg-mother>; Laviola, "Jennifer Anne Montgomery."

³⁶⁷ “Area Schools and Parishes, Diocese of Fort Wayne- South Bend,” *Wayback Machine*, August 30, 2009. <https://web.archive.org/web/20090830221416/http://www.diocesefwsb.org/MAP/>.

³⁶⁸ Father Edward Beck, “Pete Buttigieg on faith, his marriage, and Mike Pence,” *CNN*, Retrieved April 2, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2019/04/02/opinions/buttigieg-and-religion-qa-beck/index.html>; Diarmaid MacCulloch, “Cranmer’s Ambiguous Legacy,” *History Today* 46, no. 6 (1996): 23-31.

³⁶⁹ “Quick Facts[:] South Bend City, Indiana,” *United States Census Bureau*, accessed August 1, 2020, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/southbendcityindiana>.

³⁷⁰ Charlotte Alter, “Mayor Pete Buttigieg's Unlikely, Untested, Unprecedented Presidential Campaign,” *Time*, May 2, 2019, <https://time.com/longform/pete-buttigieg-2020/>.

³⁷¹ Greta LaFleur, “Heterosexuality Without Women,” *BLARB: Blog Los Angeles Review of Books*, May 20, 2020, <https://blog.lareviewofbooks.org/essays/heterosexuality-without-women/>.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Buttigieg, “Coming Out Matters.”

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ LaFleur, "Heterosexuality."

³⁷⁷ Alter, "Mayor Pete."

³⁷⁸ LaFleur, "Heterosexuality."

Bibliography

- “...While Lady Java is Stymied.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1968, 3.
- “For a gay time[,] meet your friends here.” *The Advocate*, October 1969, 26. “1969[:] The year of the Cock.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1969, 7.
- “A ‘CELEBRATION’[:] Gala Spaghetti Dinner-Benefit.” *Women as Women as Women*, December 1974, 12.
- “A BRAND NEW CONCEPT IN ADULT BOOKSTORES! WHERE FRIENDS MEET!.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1969, 15.
- “A Policy for Politics.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1968, 8.
- “ACME BUILD-A HOMOSEXUAL KIT.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1968, 14.
- “Area Schools and Parishes, Diocese of Fort Wayne- South Bend.” *Wayback Machine*, August 30, 2009. <https://web.archive.org/web/20090830221416/http://www.diocesefwsb.org/MAP/>
- “Art World: SOMETHING NEW!!” *The Advocate*, December 1969, 18.
- “Attention Shy Readers.” *The Advocate*, January 1969, 17.
- “Blue Boys Bomb Out In Balcony Blunder.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, January 1968, 3.
- “Come to where the flavor is... ADONIC COUNTRY.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1968, 16.
- “Contact Dykes.” *Lesbian Connections*, August 1976, 22.
- “Contact Dykes.” *Lesbian Connections*, December 1977, 12.
- “Courage Catches On.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1968, 5.
- “Drop-In Center for Women.” *Women as Women as Women: Kansas City Women’s Liberation Union’s Newsletter*, March/April 1975, 12.
- “Enjoying Our Rights.” *The Advocate*, October 1969, 22.
- “From Playboy: There were 365 days in 69, how many times did you?.” *Gay Liberator*, January 1970, 1.

- “Gayest spot in town.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 13.
- “Gays: A Major Force in the Marketplace.” *Business Week* (1979): 118.
- “Gays Sue IRS Over ‘Apartheid.’” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, May 1969, 9.
- “Hair Point[:] you got that ‘SOMETHING EXTRA,.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1969, 5.
- “Happy Birthday To Us.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967, 6.
- “Having Sex in the Park.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, August 1968, 4, 10.
- “How To...[:] CAULKING OR RECAULKING A BATHTUB.” *Lesbian Connections*, November 1977, 14.
- “How To...[:] HOW TO CHANGE A FLAT TIRE.” *Lesbian Connections*, December 1977, 14.
- “How To...[:] HOW TO FIX A TOILET.” *Lesbian Connections*, September 1977, 6.
- “How To...[:] HOW TO GET PREGNANT WITHOUT GETTING SCREWED.” *Lesbian Connections*, December 1979, 14-15.
- “How To...[:] PATCHING A LINOLEUM FLOOR.” *Lesbian Connections*, November 1977, 14.
- “Is the LAPD Working for Lamport?.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1969, 1.
- “Join In, But Grow Up.” *The Advocate*, June 1969, 24.
- “LA COPS, GAY GROUPS SEEK PEACE: Vice, Homosexuals Trade Views in ‘Historic’ Meet.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October 1967, 1-5.
- “L.A. Homosexuals Get Nationwide TV Appearance.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1968, 3.
- “Lays of the Land.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 18.
- “LOOKING FOR SOMETHING? GET RESULTS WITH TRADER DICKS.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 26.
- “Mention this ad for GAY 10% discount!” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1969, 8.
- “Metropolitan Community Church.” *Gay Liberator*, March 1970, 1.

- “More for the Girls.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, November 1968, 19.
- “OH COOL IT, HARRY...” *The Advocate*, September 1969, 25.
- “Overexposed Model Can’t See Overexposed Film.” *The Advocate*, August 1969, 1
- “Parade Rest.” *The Phoenix: Midwest Homophile Voice*, June 1967, p. 8.
- “‘Patch’ Fights Three-Way Battle.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, August 1968, 3, 25.
- “Police OK Full Drag.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 1-3.
- “Police Stage Mass Arrests in Barnsdall.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 1-3.
- “POSTER SEEN AT PEACE RALLY ----- PULL OUT DICK.” *Gay Liberator*, March 1970, 1.
- “Pubic in Public Is a No-No, Especially for a Go-Go.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1968, 1-2.
- “Rampart Heats Up: Vice Cops Hit Two Bars, Arrest Ten.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1969.
- “San Francisco Gays Picket, Demand Rights.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, August 1968, 2.
- “San Francisco Scene.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, August 1968, 10.
- “Sir Lady Java Fights Fuzz-y Rule Nine.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, November 1967, 1-2.
- “Socialist-Feminist Conference on 4th of July Weekend.” *Women as Women as Women: Kansas City Women’s Liberation Union’s Newsletter*, May/June 1975, 15.
- “Statement of Principles.” *Kansas City Women’s Liberation Union’s Newsletter*, September/October 1973, 2.
- “STOP Thinking About It! Join Phoenix.” *The Phoenix: Homophile Voice of Kansas City*, June 1967, 9.
- “Strategy Meeting.” *Women as Women as Women: Kansas City Women’s Liberation Union’s Newsletter*, May/June 1975, 12
- “Subscribe, dammit!” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, July 1968, 22.
- “Support our advertisers!” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967, 2.

“SWEEPSTAKES TICKETS WIN A COLOR TV.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, August 1968, 5.

“That Bloom In the SPRING.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1968, 8-9.

“That Look [:] For That DIFFERENCE in Appearance.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October 1967, 8.

“The ’69 GROOVY GUY Is Coming.” *The Advocate*, June 1969, 1.

“The ADVOCATE means BU\$INE\$\$ for YOU.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 26.

“The Only Way To Fly.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1968, 4.

“The Perfect Gift For that special friend!.” *The Advocate*, December 1969, 34.

“TIPS ON PLANNING LESBIAN EVENTS.” *Lesbian Connections*, August 1976, 6.

“Trader Dick’s.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 26.

“Unity and Action, The Saving Grace.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1968, 7.

“VOTE!!.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1969, 1.

“Want a Pen Pal? Write Your Assemblyman: Back the Brown Bill.” *The Advocate*, June 1969, 33-34.

“We’ll Stay and We’ll Win.” *The Advocate*, June 1969, 24-25.

“Weird, Weird World.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, July 1968, 10.

“What Lesbians Are Doing Across The Continent.” *Lesbian Connections*, August 1976, 20-22.

“Why Gays?.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1969, 12.

“Women’s Softball Team.” *Women as Women as Women: Kansas City Women’s Liberation Union’s Newsletter*, March/April 1975, 3.

Allyson, Kym. “Gay Culture.” *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 23.
Alwood, Edward. *Straight News: Gays, Lesbians, and the News Media*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

Alter, Charlotte. “Mayor Pete Buttigieg’s Unlikely, Untested, Unprecedented Presidential Campaign.” *Time*, May 2, 2019. <https://time.com/longform/pete-buttigieg-2020/>.

- Anzaldúa, Gloria. "To(o) Queer The Writer—Loca, Escritora y Chicana" in *Living Chicana Theory*, ed. Carla Trujillo (Third Women Pr, 1997), 263-76.
- Barrallo, Javier, Francisco González-Quintal, and Santiago Sánchez-Beitia. "An Introduction to the Vesica Piscis, the Reuleaux Triangle and Related Geometric Constructions in Modern Architecture." *Nexus Network Journal* 17, no. 2 (2015): 671-684.
- Beck, Father Edward. "Pete Buttigieg on faith, his marriage, and Mike Pence." *CNN*, April 2, 2019. <https://www.cnn.com/2019/04/02/opinions/buttigieg-and-religion-qa-beck/index.html>.
- Bengry, Justin. "Pink Pounds/Dollars," *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture*, eds. Dale Southerton, et. al. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc, 2011): 1092. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,sso&db=e020mna&AN=474266&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.
- Bravmann, Scott. *Queer Fictions of the Past: History, Culture, and Difference* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1964) Reprint, 1997.
- Briggs, Tom. "Gay Culture." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 22-23
- Brown, Dennis. "Hesburgh-Yusko Scholars Program to seek new director to replace retiring Joseph Buttigieg." *Notre Dame News*, December 15, 2016. <https://heavy.com/news/2019/04/jennifer-montgomery-pete-buttigieg-mother>.
- Buckshot. "GARDEN of THE GODS." *The Advocate*, June 1969, 24.
- Buckshot. "Now really Louis, a shag carpet with a 'natural'?" *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1969, 22.
- Buckshot. "Thanks for Making the Complaint Sir..." *The Advocate*, October 1969, 22.
- Buckshot. "WHAT EVER HAPPENED..." *The Advocate*, December 1969, 24.
- Buttigieg, Pete. "South Bend Mayor: Why Coming Out Matters." *South Bend Tribune*, last updated June 17, 2015. https://www.southbendtribune.com/news/local/south-bend-mayor-why-coming-out-matters/article_4dce0d12-1415-11e5-83c0-739eebd623ee.html
- Charland, Maurice. "Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the *peuple québécois*." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73, no. 2 (1987): 133-150, DOI: 10.1080/00335638709383799.
- Cody, Bart. "Reeling 'Round." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, May 1968, 11-12.
- Cody, Bart, and Sam Winston. "The Current Crop." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, August 1968, 18-23.

Coming Out: A Newsletter By, For, and About Lesbians, December 1990, 13.

Councilor, K. C. "Feeding the Body Politic: Metaphors of Digestion in Progressive Era US Immigration Discourse." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 14, no. 2 (2017): 139-157. DOI: 10.1080/14791420.2016.1274044

Cram, E. "(Dis)locating Queer Citizenship: Imaging Rurality in Matthew Shepard's Memory" in *Queering The Countryside: New Frontiers in Rural Queer Studies*, ed. Mary L. Gray, Colin R. Johnson, and Brian J. Gilley, Vol. 11 (New York: NYU Press, 2016).

Crawford, Robert. "You are Dangerous to Your Health: The Ideology and Politics of Victim Blaming." *International journal of health services* 7, no. 4 (1977): 663-680.

Davis, Lloyd, Tony Thwaites, and Warwick Mules. *Introducing Cultural and Media Studies: A Semiotic Approach* (Red Globe Press, 2002).

D'Emilio, John. "Capitalism and Gay Identity." In *Culture, Society, and Sexuality: A Reader*, edited by Richard Parker and Peter Aggleton, 254. New York: Routledge, 2007.

D'Emilio, John. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

Donovan, Gary. "Tell It to Tallulah: Gals Speak Up." *The Advocate*, December 1969, 14.

Duberman, Martin. *Stonewall: The Definitive Story of the LGBTQ Rights Uprising that Changed America*. (Plume, 2019).

Edelman, Lee. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Duke University Press, 2004).

Fejes, Fred. "Making A Gay Masculinity." *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 17, no. 1 (2000): 113-116. DOI: 10.1080/15295030009388382

Fejes, Fred. *Sex and Money: Feminism and Political Economy in the Media* (University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 196.

Gadd, Christianne Anastasia. *The Advocate and The Making of a Gay Model Minority* (Lehigh University, 2012).

Gadd, Christianne Anastasia. "Pushed to the Margins: The Advocate, Women, and Sexism in the Gay Press," *Reconstruction* 13, no. 2 (2013). <http://search.ebscohost.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=jss&AN=90487038&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

Gross, Larry. "The Contested Closet: The Ethics and Politics of Outing." *Critical Studies in Mass Communications* 8, no. 3 (1991): 352-388.

- Hennessy, Rosemary. *Profit and Pleasure: Sexual Identities in Late Capitalism* (Routledge, 2017).
- Holt, Mel. "'Black Cat' Revisited." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, January 1969, 7.
- Holt, Mel. "Happenings..." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1968, 12-14.
- Holzer, Boris. "Political Consumerism Between Individual Choice and Collective Action: Social Movements, Role Mobilization and Signaling," *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 30, no. 5 (2006): 405-415. DOI: 10.1111/j.1470-6431.2006.00538.x
- International Monetary Fund. "IMF World Economic Outlook (WEO) – Recovery, Risk, and Rebalancing, October 2010 – Table of Contents." Accessed August 17, 2020. <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2010/02/>.
- Jackson, Don. "Viewpoint: Reflections on the N.Y. Riot." *The Advocate*, October 1969, 33.
- Jagose, Annamarie. *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York: NYU Press, 1996).
- Joachin, Jerry. "From the Chairman: All You Need Is Love." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October, 1967, 1.
- Johnson, Bradley and G. Levin, "Economics Holds Back Lesbian Ad Market." *Advertising Age* 64, no. 3 (1993): 34-35.
- Johnson, David K. *Buying Gay: How Physique Entrepreneurs Sparked a Movement* (Columbia University Press, 2019).
- J. R. "MEN'S FASHION THIS SEASON[:] California Dreaming." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1968, 9-12.
- Kallhoff, Angela. "Consumer Citizenship: A Self-Contradictory Concept?" in *The Ethics of Consumption: The Citizen, The Market, and The Law*, eds. Helena Röcklinsberg and Per Sandin (Wageningen: Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2013), 177-182, DOI: 10.3920/978-90-8686-784-4_28
- Kaniewski Funeral Homes, Inc. "Obituary for Joseph A. Buttigieg | Kaniewski Funeral Homes, Inc." Accessed August 17, 2020. <https://www.kaniewski.com/obituary/JosephA-Buttigieg>
- Kates, Steven M. "Making the Ad Perfectly Queer: Marketing 'Normality' to the Gay Men's Community?" *Journal of Advertising* 28, no. 1 (1999): 34. www.jstor.org/stable/4189098.

- Kepner, Jim. "ANGLES ON THE NEWS: porno and politics." *The Advocate*, August 1969, 2, 36.
- Kinsey, Alfred C., Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin, and Paul H. Gebhard, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, Indiana University Press, 1998
- Kinsey, Alfred C., Wardell R. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin. "Sexual Behavior in the Human Male." *American Journal of Public Health* 93, no. 6 (2003): 894-898.
- Kneip, Veronika. "Consumer Citizenship: Soft Governance in Political Market Arenas," *Krisis Journal for Contemporary Philosophy* 1 (2012): 20.
- Laurence, J. "Weekend in Sin City -- Blow-by-Blow Account." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1969, 26.
- LaFleur, Greta. "Heterosexuality Without Women." *BLARB: Blog Los Angeles Review of Books*, May 20, 2020. <https://blog.lareviewofbooks.org/essays/heterosexuality-without-women/>.
- Laviola, Erin. "Jennifer Anne Montgomery, Pete Buttigieg's Mother: 5 Fast Facts." *Heavy*, April 17, 2019. <https://heavy.com/news/2019/04/jennifer-montgomery-pete-buttigieg-mother/>.
- Lee, Tony. "Men's Fashions: Lace Shirts Can Have Male Look." *The Advocate*, December 1969, 16.
- Lewis, Bill. "The Gay Traveler: Take a Cycledelic Trip." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967, 5.
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid. "Cranmer's Ambiguous Legacy." *History Today* 46, no. 6 (1996): 23-31.
- McKerrow, Raymie E. "Critical Rhetoric: Theory and Praxis." *Communications Monographs* 56, no. 2 (1989): 99.
- Michaels, Dick. "'Patch' Raids Police Station: Cops Join Hoods in Harassing Bar." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1968, 5-6.
- Michaels, Dick. "Next Month[:] Your Newspaper Gets Bigger, Better." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, December 1968, 2.
- Morris, Charles E. "Archival Queer." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 9, no. 1 (2006): 145-151. doi:10.1353/rap.2006.0028.
- Newton, Huey P. "Black Panther Party Supports Gay Liberation." *Gay News*, September 14, 1970, 3, 12.

- Newton, Huey P. "A Letter from Huey about Women's — and Gay— Liberation." *Berkeley Barb*, August 28-September 2, 1970, 11.
- P-Nutz. "Mariposa de la Noche[:] Gay Power ~~~ \$\$\$." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October 1967, 8.
- P-Nutz. "HOMOSCOPE '69." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1969, 14.
- P-Nutz. "HOMOSCOPE '69." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, May 1969, 28.
- P-Nutz. "HOMOSCOPE '69." *The Advocate*, June 1969, 12-13.
- Pearson, E. Ann. "Revealing and concealing: The persistence of vaginal iconography in medieval imagery. The mandorla, the vesica piscis, the rose, Sheela-na-gigs and the double-tailed mermaid." Thesis, University of Ottawa, 2002.
- Petterson, Lana J., Barnaby J. Dixson, Anthony C. Little, & Paul L. Vasey. "Viewing Time and Self-report Measures of Sexual Attraction in Samoan Cisgender and Transgender Androphilic Males." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 47, no. 8, (2018): 2427-2434, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-018-1267-7>
- Phelan, Shane. *Sexual Strangers: Gays, Lesbians, and Dilemmas of Citizenship* (Temple University Press, 2010).
- Rand, Bill. "The Gay Traveler." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, January 1968, 5.
- Rehberg, Peter. "'Männer Wie Du Und Ich': Gay Magazines from the National to the Transnational." *German History* 34, no. 3 (2016): 468-485.
- Reif, Silvia. "Queer Theory." *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture*, eds. Dale Southerton, et. al. (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2011): 1187. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,sso&db=e020mna&AN=474266&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.
- Rich, Adrienne. "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, no. 4 (1980): 631-660. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3173834>
- Rimler, Kathleen. "FIVE POEMS FOR CAROL – WHOM I SAW FIVE TIMES." *Newsletter of Kansas City Women's Liberation Union*, January/February 1974, 5.
- Rimmerman, Craig A. *The Lesbian and Gay Movements: Assimilation or Liberation?* (Routledge, 2018).
- Rogalski, Walter. "Cock of Socrates." *The Phoenix: Homophile Voice of Kansas City*, May 1967, 1.

- Ross, Jay. "Nudie News: Three from Zenith." *The Advocate*, June 1969, 16.
- Ross, Jay. "The Look of Seafood." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1969, 9.
- Sahha Government. "The Health Care System in Malta_1." Accessed August 17, 2020. https://Sahha.gov.mt/TheHealthCareSysteminMalta_1.
- Sam. "IN A FAMILY SQUABBLE -- IT'S THE CHILDREN WHO SUFFER." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1968, 7.
- Sanders, Helen. "Viewpoint: What's With The Ladies?." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, October 67, 9.
- Sappho, *Sappho: A New Translation of the Complete Works*, eds. Diane J. Rayor and André Lardinois (Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Schulman, Sarah. *Stagestruck: Theatre, AIDS, and the Marketing of Gay America*. (Duke University Press, 1998), 146.
- Sender, Katherine. "Gay Readers, Consumers, and a Dominant Gay Habitus: 25 Years of The Advocate Magazine." *Journal of Communication* 51, no. 1 (2001): 73-99.
- Sender, Katherine. *Business, Not Politics: The Making of the Gay Market* (Columbia University Press, 2004), 143.
- Sharon. "Sisters together --." *Newsletter of the Kansas City Women's Liberation Union*, September/October 1973, 19.
- Shklar, Judith N. *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion* (Harvard University Press, 1995).
- Spade, Dean. "Resisting Medicine, Re/Modeling Gender," *Berkeley Women's Law Journal* 18 (2003): 15. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/berkwolj18&i=21>
- Spargo, Tamsin. *Foucault and Queer Theory* (Cambridge: Icon Books, 1999).
- Spiegelman, Willard. "The Progress of a Genre: Gay Journalism and Its Audience," *Salmagundi*, no. 58/59 (1982): 312. www.jstor.org/stable/40547575
- Stabiner, Karen. "Tapping the Homosexual Market," *New York Times Magazine*, May 2, 1982.
- Streitmatter, Rodger. "The Advocate: Setting the Standard for the Gay Liberation Press." *Journalism History* 19, no. 3 (1993): 93-102. DOI: 10.1080/00947679.1993.12062367

- Streitmatter, Roger. *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America*. (Faber & Faber, 1995).
- Sullivan, Nikki. *A Critical Introduction to Queer Theory* (New York: NYU Press, 2003): DOI 10.3366/j.ctvxcrwj6
- United States Census Bureau. "Quick Facts[:] South Bend City, Indiana." Accessed August 1, 2020, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/southbendcityindiana>.
- W, Jim. "The Fine Art of Entrapment: Victim Tells How Hollywood Vice Fracture the Law." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, May 1968, 1-3.
- Warren, John T. "Critical Communication Pedagogy," in *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*, Eds. Stephen W. Littlejohn & Karen A. Foss, (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc, 2009).
- Webb, Sheila. "The Consumer-Citizen: 'Life' Magazine's Construction of a Middle-Class Lifestyle Through Consumption Scenarios," *Studies in Popular Culture* 34, no. 2 (2012): 31.
- Webb, Susan. "Lesbians in Literature: Sappho-The 10th Muse." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1969, 28.
- Webb, Susan. "Lesbians in Literature: Twists & Turns in the Middle Ages." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, May 1969, 20-22.
- Weigman, Robyn and Elizabeth A. Wilson. "Introduction: Antinormativity's Queer Conventions," *Differences* 26, no. 1 (2015): 1-25.
- Wicker, Randolphe. *The Los Angeles Advocate*, April 1968, 6-7.
- Wieder, Judy. "The Not-So-Sudden Death of The Advocate." *Huffington Post*, November 4, 2009. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/the-not-so-sudden-death-o_b_342725
- Winston, Sam. "LOOK OUT, STRAIGHT WORLD, HERE I COME!" *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967.
- Winston, S. "The Bead Reader." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, February 1968, 5.
- Winston, Sam. "Viewpoint: Mink, Leather, Loafers & Bosoms & Beads." *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967, 10.
- Worthen, Meredith G. F. "Hetero-cis-normativity and the Gendering of Transphobia." *International Journal of Transgenderism* 17, no. 1, (April 2016):31-57, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15532739.2016.1149538>.