

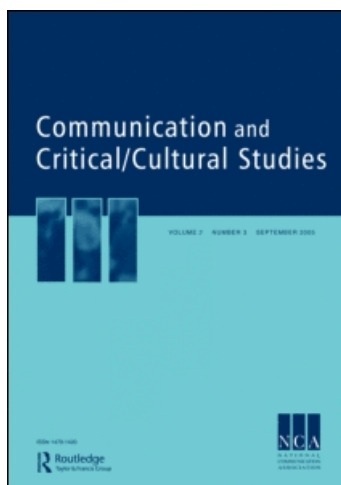
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Border (In)Securities: Normative and Differential Belonging in LGBTQ and Immigrant Rights Discourse

Karma R. Chávez

This essay demonstrates the ways in which some lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer (LGBTQ) rights and immigrant rights organizations enact a form of cultural citizenship that relies upon normative belonging with their depiction of LGBTQ and immigrant rights. It also shows how other groups engender what Aimee Carrillo Rowe refers to as “differential belonging,” by directly confronting normative and exclusionary discourses. This paper first justifies linking these two issues by establishing the notion of the “stranger” as a way to describe how both migrants and queers threaten the way the nation state sees itself. It then unpacks both the normative and differential discourses of belonging in relation to two prominent neoliberal values: family values and good citizenship. Finally, this essay considers the implications of differential belonging as a strategy of cultural citizenship that may confront the exclusions that currently constitute the way the US nation-state imagines belonging.

Keywords: Family Values; Good Citizenship; Cultural Citizenship; Coalitional Subjectivity; The Stranger

Most immigration and LGBT rights organizations have steered away from publicly linking their issues or commenting on the “other’s” issue.¹ Some organizations have, however, illuminated certain connections between these communities by emphasizing the rights of bi-national same-sex couples who family reunification immigration laws currently exclude.² One widely-distributed 2006 report, *Family, Unvalued*, produced by the Human Rights Watch and Immigration Equality implies that the central

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concern LGBT rights proponents should have with immigration pertains to legal residents and US citizens' ability to *legally* sponsor their partners for immigration. A secondary concern relates to the rights of LGBT asylum seekers to be able to receive refuge in the United States. The report's silence on the plight of undocumented migrants, the rights of migrants generally, as well as their emphasis on bi-national couples, suggests that immigration should only be a concern for LGBT people because US LGBT *citizens*, especially white middle class citizens, are having their rights violated under current immigration law.³ It offers little reason for immigrants or immigration activists to support LGBT rights. In this way, these large, national and mainstream LGBT, immigrant and human rights organizations enact a particular kind of cultural citizenship that attempts to ameliorate the threat LGBT people and their immigrant partners pose by utilizing normalizing discourses of belonging to frame the issues—a strategic move with potentially significant consequences.

On the other hand, some queer and immigrant activists refuse normalizing discourses of belonging. For example, queer immigrant activists in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco have built coalitions and alliances that emphasize the labor exploitation that migrants often endure. Additionally, activists in Southern Arizona have long understood the related threat that queers and migrants⁴ pose to borders within the US nation-state. Wingspan, Southern Arizona's LGBT Community Center and *Coalición de Derechos Humanos* (CDH), a Tucson-based grassroots immigrant and human rights organization, have worked together for many years confronting what they perceive as anti-migrant and anti-queer oppression. Unlike the urban organizations, which are primarily promoted by and for queer immigrants, Wingspan and CDH largely consist of constituencies that are queer and citizen on the one hand, and migrant or migrant advocate and non-queer on the other. Although each individual organization focuses primarily on its "own" issue, the mission and constituency of the other group always remain present in the actions in which they each engage. When warranted, these two organizations team up in "coalition"⁵ in order to create a unified front to challenge all kinds of policy, treatment, or ideologies that migrants and queers face in Southern Arizona, thereby constructing different possibilities for belonging.

These latter strategies work to create what Aimee Carrillo Rowe describes as "differential belonging,"⁶ an alternative mode of cultural citizenship, which can challenge the national social imaginary that figures queers and migrants as threats to family values and the good citizen. Instead of bargaining, compromising, or representing the interests of few, differential modes function by coalescing differently-situated groups and demanding that policy address the deep causes of interlocking oppressions. Manifestations of differential modes are important to examine because they provide clear examples of what it means to do politics without compromise (or guarantees).

In this paper, I provide an analysis of three sets of statements on LGBT and immigration issues. I begin with a critique of normative belonging through discourses of family values and good citizenship in *Family, Unvalued*. I then unpack modes of differential belonging through analyzing a statement from Queers for

Economic Justice called “Queers and Immigration: A Vision Statement,” and two statements produced by Wingspan and CDH before and after the 2006 election titled: “Joint Statement: Stand against Racism and Homophobia,” and “Joint statement: Continued stand against racism and homophobia.” Although each statement could be said to envision a kind of cultural citizenship that forms the basis for inclusions (exclusions) and rights, the differential strategies evidenced in these latter statements challenge normative belonging by formulating the modality of relationality and locus of belonging as radically other than the desire for normativity. I then consider the implications of differential belonging as a strategy to confront the exclusions that currently constitute the way the US nation-state imagines belonging.

Strangers and Exclusions

Queers and migrants have always been excluded from fully belonging to the US nation-state.⁷ This particular historical moment, constituted by neoliberalism and post-9/11 insecurity, has re-emphasized the importance of secure borders—moral and national ones. Migrants and queers emerge as the prototypical threats to those borders, in part because they are figured within the national social imaginary as strangers. Borrowing from Zygmunt Bauman, who argues that the “undecidable generated by the friend/enemy binary is the stranger,” Shane Phelan contends that “strangers disrupt seemingly natural boundaries and borders.”⁸ In addition to being strange because queer people are often citizens who do not possess the rights of other citizens, queer people in the US live within and among the heteronormative citizenry and cannot always be easily identified.

Relatedly, Katarzyna Marciniak suggests that migrants, figured as aliens, are also strangers who “disrupt the clear-cut national identification of rightful citizenry.”⁹ Migrants live like citizens, they are often in relationships with citizens, and yet they are not citizens. Phelan further explains, “strangers are not just ‘not like us,’ as enemies are, but may ‘pretend’ to be like us. In fact, the more the stranger attempts to become ‘like us’ the more threatening s/he becomes, and the greater the potential for betrayal as relevant boundaries are seemingly crossed.”¹⁰ Strangers, especially queers and migrants, can easily become a common national threat that must be prevented from both material and imagined belonging, which often proves essential to unifying the rest of polity.¹¹

Because strangers disrupt discourses of citizenship, many queer and immigration scholars have applied the notion of cultural citizenship to understand how strangers function within and outside the mainstream.¹² Aihwa Ong describes cultural citizenship as “the cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory.”¹³ Cultural citizenship, then, refers to the ways that people, regardless of legal status, maneuver in relation to existing norms. Because stranger groups are variously strange, however, Aihwa Ong has used the notion of “variegated citizenship” to describe the ways in which cultural and legal citizens are differently disciplined within

a given context due to their ability to adapt to cultural (i.e., racial, familial, and linguistic) norms or their flexibility as a result of significant wealth.¹⁴ No matter how well particular groups may be able to accommodate given norms through their enactment of cultural citizenship, some groups remain strange. Because of their positioning as stranger, many mainstream LGBT and immigrant rights organizations, especially well-funded national ones who purport to represent large constituencies, adopt normative discourses of belonging to ameliorate the threat they pose to secure national and moral borders. Importantly, just as queers and migrants are strange to the nation, they are strange to each other. In this next section, I uncover how such discourses function in *Family, Unvalued*.

Normative Belonging

Family, Unvalued is the first comprehensive report on the rights of bi-national same-sex couples, and one of the first detailing an important intersection between LGBT and immigrant rights in the US.¹⁵ Published by Human Rights Watch (HRW), a progressive international human rights organization committed to ending human rights abuses, and Immigration Equality (IE), a US-based organization that seeks to end LGBT and HIV discrimination in US immigration law, several large LGBT and immigration rights organizations financially supported its preparation, including: the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, Amnesty International and UCLA Law School's Williams Institute.¹⁶ Moreover, it is published on the websites of prominent immigration sites such as the American Immigration Lawyers' Association and asylumlaw.org, and prominent LGBT groups including the Human Rights Campaign.

Family, Unvalued clearly seeks expedient political change for a particular group of people. The document is thus a calculated one, and no doubt the exclusions that it perpetuates are an intentional strategy to accomplish the desired legislative objectives. Moreover, the normalizing strategies utilized will prove familiar and expected to those who use queer theory and study immigration and cultural citizenship. Nevertheless, since it received wide distribution, and also serves as one of the few available texts about the connections between immigration and LGBT issues, assessing the representations within the text is especially important. Moreover, although the text may appear to subvert norms that oppress all LGBTs, HIV positive people and immigrants, in actuality, this seems merely a strategy to placate radicals and progressives who may be reading it. Since the goal of the report is to advance federal legislation, *Family, Unvalued* advocates only for the rights of LGBT US citizens. This statement positions immigration politics as subservient to LGBT politics.

Family Values

Discussions of family values as a powerful national discourse or ideograph have long concerned communication and cultural studies scholars.¹⁷ Many scholarly critiques emphasize the ways in which (neo)conservatives and members of the religious right

deploy “family values” through both policy and rhetoric in order to exclude certain kinds of people from national belonging. Some queer critiques emphasize the way in which gay people have succumbed to the “family values” discourse by accepting its general premises rather than challenging them. Referring specifically to the focus on military and marriage rights within the mainstream gay movement, Lisa Duggan calls such normalizing moves examples of “the new homonormativity,” which is a politics with conventional citizenship as a goal that upholds heteronormative ideas and institutions and also promises a “depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption.”¹⁸ Duggan uses this concept to critique the more conservative wings of the gay community, but liberal and progressive human and civil rights organizations such as HRW and IE also deploy homonormativity, especially in relation to family values.

Family, Unvalued uses a strategic homonormative discourse of middle class family values to accomplish a number of objectives that foremost include: (1) introducing the reader to the serious harm that bi-national same-sex families endure as a result of the current immigration laws; and (2) making recommendations for different bodies of the US government on how to remedy the aforementioned problems, specifically emphasizing the necessity of passing the Uniting American Families Act (UAFB). This piece of federal legislation would change the word “spouse” to “permanent partner”¹⁹ in the language of the Immigration and Nationality Act, the primary document that constructs immigration law.

Happiness to Hardship

The central narrative of *Family, Unvalued* features the stories of a number of bi-national couples, mostly coded as middle (and sometimes upper) class, and many pictured throughout the text embracing each other and/or their children. Such visual rhetoric constructs normal families with whom a legislator or decision maker may identify. Each story includes one US American citizen or legal permanent resident (LPR) and their partner who is a citizen of another country. The narratives share a similar structure, one that the intended audience will find initially familiar as each begins with the couple’s meeting, and their decision to spend their lives together as a family. These narratives, however, conclude with the ensuing and ongoing difficulties couples have faced as a result of discriminatory US immigration laws. For example, one story features Will, a US citizen, and his partner Stefano, an Australian-Italian dual-citizen.

The couple fell in love while Will was working in Sydney on a business visa. “We met at a dance party with fifteen thousand people there, gay and lesbian Mardi Gras. We danced till 6 a.m., exchanged phone numbers using the eyeliner of a drag queen at the coat check, and have been together ever since.”

They live in the United States now, where Will works for a large corporation, and have adopted a child. But, they have had a perpetual struggle to keep Stefano in status so that Will can keep his job here, and they can stay together.²⁰

Although this story involves some queer slippage, as the two scribbled numbers with a drag queen's eyeliner, the transition to their lives in the US quickly reiterates the normative narrative as they struggle to provide for their child and do whatever they can to keep their family together. Will and Stefano clearly have the cultural flexibility and financial stability to provide for their family; the difference between these homonormative family stories and heteronormative ones is that most of these stories end with a proclamation of a loss of faith in the values of the US such as freedom or democracy, a plea for the US government to change its laws, or the announcement of the couple's intent to try to (reluctantly) relocate elsewhere so that they can be together. *Family, Unvalued* does not comment on the class privilege implied with couples having the financial resources to relocate as hardship is defined strictly in relational and legal terms.

Each story also justifies and describes the relationship along traditional notions of the American family. For example, like Will and Stefano, many stories feature children. Additionally, many discuss the sacrifices they have made just to be with their families. One US citizen, Barbara, proclaims:

We just want to be able to have a normal life as a family, just get past this and do what normal people do, just have the freedom to be like everyone else, and not have the government so bigoted against our rights to not have that. We'd rather spend our energy helping the kids with their homework, seeing a movie, worrying about normal financial issues, not these overwhelming questions.²¹

These sad stories evidence the hardships of maintaining a bi-national, same-sex relationship and are strategically useful. As narratives of cultural citizenship, these same sad stories also support a normative discourse on belonging that centers coupled, family-oriented relationships.

Minimizing Threats

The familiar family narratives feature most prominently in this text, and also work to minimize the threats posed by those who are undesirable. Importantly, the report discusses the ban that, until January 2010, prevented HIV positive people from immigrating to the US in an early section that succinctly details the history of sexuality-based exclusions within US immigration. HIV only briefly appears in other parts of the text. Moreover, while the report calls for the repeal of the HIV ban, it does not identify any of the foreign nationals or US citizens in its pages as HIV positive. Such a strategy keeps the questions of sex and potential non-monogamy from consideration. Additionally, with very rare exception, the report only discusses asylum and the undocumented when a US citizen has a partner who either seeks asylum or lives in the US without legal papers. Here, the report carefully minimizes the visibility of those immigrants who might be the poorest, the strangest, or the largest threat to mainstream acceptance of their inclusion as normal families.

The commitment to a normative discourse of belonging that supports “family values” is especially upheld in the recommendations that this report makes for alterations to federal law. The report’s authors begin by espousing a fairly progressive position on immigration, including many rights for the undocumented. They also suggest that although they support full marriage rights, the quest for rights for same-sex bi-national couples is not the same as the quest for civil marriage rights in the US. They then offer their recommendations, which all begin with the rights for same-sex couples. For instance, the authors foremost call US Congress to pass the UAFA and to repeal the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), both because of the negative impact these laws have on same-sex couples and their families.²² Secondarily, they urge Congress to pass laws that ensure the human and labor rights of undocumented people, and to end the HIV ban.²³ By placing these latter recommendations second, the authors placate progressives, at the same time that they continue to center middle class couples and their families.

Good Citizenship

If, as Ong suggests, citizenship is a “cultural process of ‘subject-ification,’” not just any subject should be produced; rather, the desired citizen manifests all the ideal characteristics found within the established citizenry.²⁴ “Good citizens,”²⁵ then are personally responsible, financially stable people who work hard to achieve the American Dream. Amy L. Brandzel explains that LGBT activists have picked up on this discourse, and that those who are capable—white, middle class, coupled—have engendered these ideals.²⁶ Immigration organizations also adopt the rhetoric of immigrants as personally responsible, good citizens.²⁷ Immigration Forum, one of the leading national immigration organizations in the US and a proponent of UAFA, describes its vision as: “to create US immigration policy that honors our nation’s ideals, protects human dignity, reflects our country’s economic demands, celebrates family unity and provides opportunities for progress.”²⁸

Family, Unvalued targets an audience of influential US citizens, especially lawmakers who might be most persuaded to take action if other US citizens’ rights are violated. The narrative centers so precisely on US citizens, that the text often does not refer to immigrants or foreign nationals as such, but as “foreign partners.” This rhetorical strategy suggests that immigrants have only a relational subjectivity. Although perhaps politically expedient, because of this framing of the issue of LGBT immigration, the report only expresses concern for immigrants coupled with US citizens. Even when stories use an immigrant’s voice, it remains only a relational voice, one that would disappear with the severing of the relational bond to a US citizen. Although the text clearly centers US citizen-subjects, both immigrants and US citizens get positioned as embodying all the characteristics of good cultural citizens and believing in the values of the US. These cultural characteristics, not the inherency of affording rights to all, provide the justification for changing laws.

Personal Responsibility

Characteristics such as personal responsibility and financial stability/ability as well as a desire to exist within the mainstream are all hallmarks of good citizenship. A number of the narratives express upholding these values at the same time that they reject undesirable qualities that would disqualify them from belonging as good citizens. These narratives are both racializing and class-based. One woman, Anji, decries the immigration system: "You can't get around the [US] immigration system. We try to let people know that we didn't mess this up; we're not lazy or stupid . . ." ²⁹ Anji, a white, middle class woman with a partner from Britain, eventually relocated to Spain. Her comments tellingly evidence both her expectation to be able to "get around" the system, and her perceived entitlement to mobility since she and her partner are not "lazy or stupid," which might make them undeserving of immigration rights. A US citizen named Brian reveals: "My partner and I are law-abiding people that simply want to live our lives together, which means we need the immigration benefit provided to married couples. We're not asking for the whole world to change." ³⁰ The use of the phrase "law-abiding" not only positions this couple as personally responsible, good (potential) citizens, but it also creates a distinction between people like them and those who do not abide by US laws. In this instance, their upstanding status provides the impetus for deserving rights. The Other upon which their claim to rights lies are undoubtedly the undocumented border crossers from Mexico and Central America who break US laws. Further affirming this normative judgment, with the exception of overstaying visas in order to remain with partners, no one featured in the report appears to have committed any type of offense that shows up on their record.

The importance of responsible citizenship is further emphasized in the recommendations the report makes pertaining to undocumented immigrants. The report's authors urge lawmakers to remember that within the Constitution, all people on US soil are granted the same rights as citizens. This plea for rights for the undocumented, however, is quickly dropped, as the report goes on:

Yet US citizens (and permanent residents) are equally victims along with their foreign national partners. Solely because of their sexual orientation or gender identity, they find their relationships unrecognized, their families endangered, their lives shadowed by separation and dislocation. Often, their relationships are wrecked, or driven underground. ³¹

Interestingly, none of the undocumented stories include people from Mexico or Central America. Because of the immense amounts of hatred spewed at Mexicans and Central Americans for "flooding" across US borders, it should not be surprising that this statement reinforces anti-Mexican/Central American sentiment as the presence of migrants from such regions would likely subvert the goals of *Family, Unvalued*.

The minimization of the unauthorized crossing also strategically turns attention away from illegality and towards a seemingly lesser offense. Implicitly, then, the report issues a normative judgment on those who engage in clandestine crossings of the US border. Much like conservative declarations against "illegal aliens" and for

“border security,” the careful framing of this report espouses a normative and restrictive perspective on national belonging, one that does not threaten the personally responsible status of those featured on its pages. The sort of cultural citizenship advanced in *Family, Unvalued* strategically emphasizes normativity as a pre-requisite for cultural or legal belonging. As Toby Miller suggests, very often, cultural citizenship fails at working toward a more equitable world because of its advocates’ collusions with neoliberal, liberal, and national ideations.³² While *Family, Unvalued* accomplishes a number of strategic goals, it also succumbs to Miller’s critique.

Differential Belonging

Alternative constructions of belonging and arguments through cultural citizenship can also be made. The theory of differential belonging emerges from feminists of color such as María Lugones, Gloria Anzaldúa, and Chela Sandoval who challenge simplistic ideas about identity, subjectivity, and political action based on the lived experiences and subjectivities of oppressed people.³³ In describing political strategies of US third world feminists, Sandoval advances a “differential consciousness,” which describes how these feminists had to and chose to shift “between and among” ideological positions as the basis of their political enactment “like the clutch of an automobile, the mechanism that permits the driver to select, engage, and disengage gears in a system for the transmission of power.”³⁴

“Differential belonging” extends Sandoval’s notion. Carrillo Rowe advocates a “politics of relation” in order to theorize the politics of our belongings.³⁵ Differential belonging asks people to acknowledge how “we are oppressed *and* privileged so that we may place ourselves where we can have an impact and where we can share experience.”³⁶ This perspective implies that one does not have to “be” in terms of being a certain identity in order to do political work. Who someone is, is constructed by where they already belong, and where they choose to belong. Differential belonging also compels us to *be* longing, as in, to desire relations across lines of difference. The result is a coalitional subjectivity that provides the agency to resist in ways not bound by fixed identities or subjectivities as one learns to politicize her/his belongings and adopt impure stances that allow for connection between people and groups who are very different. As a politics of cultural citizenship, differential belonging is a strategy where variegated groups choose to belong across seemingly strong lines of difference at the same time that groups demonstrate the fiction of divisions upheld within normative constructions of belonging. In this particular instance, differential belonging engenders a refusal to make a perceived audience comfortable by privileging mostly white and middle class citizens. Instead differential belonging involves a commitment to political alliances based on human and labor rights/violations, and connections built around overtly challenging racism, xenophobia, and homophobia. Here, possessing certain cultural characteristics does not serve as a prerequisite for deserving political and economic rights.

Enacting Differential Belonging

In response to events of 2006 including the movement for so-called comprehensive immigration reform, the historic immigration marches, the proposal and failure of a federal constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage, an increase in LGBT activism to advocate for gay marriage, and several ballot measures targeting either LGBT or immigrant rights around the country, some LGBT or queer and immigrant/human rights organizations offered alternative positions on belonging that challenged normativity. Queers for Economic Justice (QEJ), a radical New York-based organization led mostly by people of color, that seeks economic justice within the context of gender and sex liberation, published *Queers and Immigration: A Vision Statement*. Although only about four pages long, activist organizations including the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, as well as numerous blogs and academic listservs distributed the statement. Additionally, the Audre Lorde Project, Chicago LGBTQ Immigrant Alliance, and Love Sees No Borders all endorsed it.

Specifically in response to measures put on the Arizona ballot that targeted LGBT rights (Proposition 107) and immigrant rights (Propositions 100, 102, 103, and 300),³⁷ Tucson-based organizations CDH and Wingspan joined together to produce pre- and post-election statements linking queer rights with migration rights.³⁸ Activists distributed these statements locally over Tucson-based listservs and posted them on organizational and personal websites. Both the QEJ and Tucson statements offer an alternative mode of belonging that de-emphasize family values and good citizenship as discourses that should simultaneously bring migration and queer issues together, and discipline migrants and queers. These reports in no way received the same attention or financial support as *Family, Unvalued*. They were, however, produced at virtually the same time, and they represent some of the only other publicized statements pertaining to both queer and migrant issues. The fact that they received less attention and support will be taken up in the conclusion of this paper.

Shifting Modalities of Belonging

Queers and Immigration begins by affirming that in the US there is little analysis of the intersections between queer rights and immigration. It then critiques normative belonging by explaining how LGBTQ immigrants are invisible within both movements. The statement begins with a critique of both movements' emphasis on conventional, partnered relationships and conceptions of normality. *Queers and Immigration* not only challenges those discourses of belonging, but it also promotes an alternative that centers LGBTQ immigrants no matter their relationships. In this way, while the modality of belonging to the nation-state in *Family, Unvalued* centers traditional family values, *Queers and Immigration* shifts the modality to other affective and relational registers.

Queering Belonging

The layout of *Queers and Immigration* provides a short section on each of the issues emphasized, which begins with the HIV ban. While *Family, Unvalued* also has an early section on the HIV ban and recommends repealing it, HIV positivity is generally minimized throughout the rest of the document. In placing the HIV ban first in the list of issues, *Queers and Immigration* acknowledges both the long-standing impacts that HIV has had on queer communities, particularly queer communities of color, and the unmerited criminalization of a specific group of immigrants. Rather than utilizing a normative discourse of belonging that tries to fit LGBT people in the framework of family values, QEJ enacts differential belonging by outwardly choosing to belong to HIV positive queers/immigrants. Additionally, this statement critiques the ban for offering waivers “on the basis of qualifying familial relationships.”³⁹ Rather than calling for inclusion of any kind of queer kinship, the statement advocates reinstating waivers for *individual* instances of hardship. In this version of cultural citizenship, who one already belongs to or who one chooses to belong to in their personal life do not set the parameters for national belonging.

A critique of heteronormative family values infuses the entire text, yet “family” is also one of the primary issues that the statement argues needs to be addressed by both LGBTQ and immigrant rights communities. Although *Family, Unvalued* simply tries to demonstrate how LGBT families are essentially the same as heterosexual families, *Queers and Immigration* challenges the generally exclusionary definitions under immigration law, which not only impact same-sex bi-national couples, but also extended family members such as cousins. Thus, they do not ask for inclusion, but a broadening of the narrow definitions of family. This rhetorical tactic enacts differential belonging by challenging the definition of who can belong in a family. At the same time, it also offers support for UAFA. This move most clearly demonstrates differential belonging, as the inclusion of support for UAFA suggests that the statement’s authors do not seek to isolate themselves from others who want rights for LGBT immigrants, even if they disagree with their strategies and focus. QEJ seek belonging across lines of all kinds of difference because they understand that their issues are intertwined even as they seek different ends.

Coalitions among Strangers

Wingspan and CDH do not center their analysis on LGBTQ immigrants. Rather, in response to the aforementioned anti-migrant and anti-queer measures on the 2006 Arizona ballot, the Wingspan and CDH pre-election “Joint Statement” seeks to overtly link anti-migrant and anti-queer oppression and to demonstrate solidarity between two seemingly separate communities. The post-election “Joint Statement Continued,” notes that the end of the 2006 campaign season does not mark an end to the joint work CDH and Wingspan conduct. Since the context for the production of these statements emphasizes the specific cultural and political circumstances in Arizona, these statements do not engage with issues such as the HIV ban and UAFA.

CDH and Wingspan instead issue an assertive proclamation of belonging to each other, in spite of discourses that often work very well to feature each as strange in the others' eyes. The joint statements emphasize the racism, xenophobia, and homophobia that the two organizations suggest each of these ballot measures reflect. For instance, "Joint Statement" boldly begins:

Coalición de Derechos Humanos and Wingspan recognize that propositions 100, 102, 103 and 300 are simply the latest in an ongoing, state- and nationwide campaign of coded racist dehumanization aimed at undocumented migrants and anyone else of color who might fit the underlying racial profile. We also recognize that proposition 107 is a continuation of homophobic attacks aimed at lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people of all races, ethnicities, and nations. Using an onslaught of initiatives in multiple states, state and federal legislation, and demonizing words and images, these campaigns of dehumanization do great harm to all people.⁴⁰

Although it might at first appear strange, this opening statement mixes queers and migrants and people of color in such a way that they are all implicated in the dehumanization of each other.

After locating all of the ballot measures as interwoven "campaigns of dehumanization," the "Joint Statement" continues with an analysis of the anti-migrant propositions. "Joint Statement" takes an offensive approach that maintains that the anti-migrant measures function to: (1) justify exploitation and mistreatment of migrants at the hands of employers, law enforcement, and vigilantes; (2) position migrants as a scapegoat and divert attention from the real reasons for the current immigration situation; (3) divert attention from finding real solutions to pressing social problems such as health care and government corruption; and (4) support a system in which the erosion of human and civil rights is a profit-making industry.⁴¹ The analysis in the statement calls attention to issues such as border militarization, the impacts of free trade policies on migration, economic exploitation, and the dehumanization created using the term "illegal alien" to refer to people. Refusing to defend migrants by locating them within a "family values" discourse makes the alliance between LGBTQ and migrants much easier.

In the subsequent section on Protect Marriage Arizona (PMA), "Joint Statement" takes the "family values" discourse on directly. This section suggests that PMA functions to: (1) argue that marriage is in crisis because of queer people; (2) scapegoat queer people for a perceived decline in traditional "family values"; and (3) use queer people to divert attention from finding real solutions to pressing social problems such as health care and government corruption. This analysis attends to issues such as the problem of granting rights only through conjugal familial relationships and the fact that "family values" have always only benefited a very select few. The parallel structure of these two sections demonstrates why queers and migrants should long to be in relation to each other; at a fundamental level, migrants and queers are scapegoats that are easily blamed for a multitude of societal problems. By evidencing how this scapegoating similarly works, CDH and Wingspan

rhetorically craft a justification for belonging across lines of difference and a refusal to utilize the family modality.

CDH and Wingspan choose to see their issues as always already interrelated. Their decision to join together to write a pre-election statement that refused many of the family values claims that both immigrant and LGBTQ groups often use as justification for their respective inclusion in national belonging shows this commitment. This enduring commitment invites queers and migrants into a coalitional subjectivity that many leaders and activists already embody. Cathy Busha, the Director of Programs for Wingspan until Fall 2007, demonstrates this subjectivity as a progressive enactment of cultural citizenship. She explains that there comes a point when one can no longer remember when she did not see all of these struggles as related.⁴² Cathy cannot understand herself as anything other than inextricably bound to other struggles and other kinds of subjects. Such a coalitional subjectivity, an ultimate goal of differential belonging, furthers the ability to do the difficult work in battling for rights without relying not rely on common, but exclusionary, modalities of belonging.

Shifting the Locus of Belonging

Rather than the narrow locus of belonging that emphasizes US citizens and those who embody all the characteristics of the good citizen, *Queers and Immigration* and the joint statements interrogate questions of “illegality,” border militarization and the general oppressiveness of all immigration laws in the US. These statements shift the locus away from legal citizenship and toward human and labor rights. While *Family, Unvalued* makes an implicit normative judgment on border crossing, *Queers and Immigration* includes a significant section on “policing the border” that underscores the detrimental impacts on human lives that heightened border militarization has had, including the record number of deaths in the past several years. They also challenge US nation-centrism by emphasizing the terrible impacts that border militarization and proposals for border walls have for indigenous peoples whose national borders span the US–Mexico border and whose people are currently allowed free movement across that border.⁴³ This discussion is especially important because it raises questions of which citizens get to appropriately belong to the US in the first place. Moreover, in recalling the complexities of US colonial history in relation to indigenous peoples, the issue is not about who is good enough to belong to the nation, but who should even be able to make these claims.

Centering Undocumented Rights

Queers and Immigration generally centers the rights of undocumented immigrants, and, in this context, US citizens and legal permanent residents become the ones with relational identities. For instance, in the section on “harboring provisions,” the statement notes how many laws target people who protect or assist the undocumented, and this potentially impacts those who provide services to undocumented

people, their friends, family or partners. Although harboring provisions are designed to deter undocumented immigrants, this statement blurs that boundary, stating “We oppose efforts to criminalize those who assist the immigrant community . . .”⁴⁴ Similarly, the statement’s authors oppose guest worker programs because they create a “two-tiered” system of immigrants “based on their income potential and class categories.”⁴⁵ Once again, US citizens and residents, in this instance workers, are placed in a relational identity with immigrants. The statement suggests that guest worker programs lead to underpaying and mistreating guest workers at the same time that they undermine the labor movement in the US. Specifically, immigrant workers’ rights cannot be regulated, and low-skill, low-wage workers often receive the brunt of such programs. This section places *laborers* in solidarity with each other, regardless of legal citizenship by noting that no matter where one’s legal citizenship, guest worker programs impact all low-wage workers. This alternative locus provides a rationale for all people oppressed by capitalism to long to be in relation to one another.

Confronting Illegality

The Wingspan and CDH joint statements discuss the labor and law enforcement crisis for immigrants, but they also spend time unpacking the term “illegal.” In critiquing the dominant themes apparent in the anti-migrant movement in Arizona, “Joint Statement” finds “repetitive use of the word ‘illegal’ to label human beings rather than specific actions; repeated references to undocumented migrants as ‘invaders’; implicit and explicit links between speaking Spanish, lawbreaking and invasion; and unsubstantiated rhetorical links between ‘illegal aliens’ and ills such as violence and drug use that in truth plague all segments of society . . .”⁴⁶ The statement goes on: “This type of hateful language positions undocumented migrants—and others who might be mistaken for undocumented migrants—as both dangerous and less than human.”⁴⁷ As in the QEJ statement, this statement blurs the boundaries between documented and undocumented in such a way that racism and xenophobia cannot be directed only at some “foreign other.” The slippage between being undocumented and “looking” undocumented makes any distinction between the citizen and the other tenuous at best.⁴⁸

After the 2006 election, all four anti-migrant measures in Arizona passed by a 3–1 margin, while PMA lost by roughly two percentage points. While LGBTQ organizations around the country celebrated, few attended to the fact that the rights of migrants in the state had been severely diminished. QEJ is one of the only non-Arizona organizations that made this connection, and used it as an opportunity to critique laws that hurt immigrants and advocate for ones that meet the needs of LGBTQ immigrants. Wingspan and CDH decided to issue another joint statement in response to the election results that would primarily speak to LGBT US *citizens*. This statement does not address the needs or rights of citizens, nor does it explicitly name this audience. Rather, “Joint Statement Continued,” urges LGBT, migrant and LGBT migrant communities to refuse “divide and conquer” tactics just because it seems like one rights movement has advanced while the other has regressed. The statement calls

all three of the aforementioned audiences to take action by speaking out for LGBT and migrant rights, acknowledging the scapegoating tactics used against LGBTs and migrants, and recognizing the people who exist within both communities. However, the specific action steps that the statement offers clearly target LGBTQ people:

- (1) Don't refer to migrants as "illegal." Human beings are not illegal.
- (2) Research the unfair global economic policies—often advocated by the US government and US big business—that depress economies in places like Mexico and lead to migration.
- (3) Research the good that migrants do for the US economy and culture.
- (4) Join one of the many local migrants' rights organizations, work for social justice, and learn about the inhumanity caused by the militarization of the US-Mexico border.⁴⁹

Some leaders in Wingspan feared that LGBT community members might be inclined to distance themselves from migrant rights with the defeat of PMA. Thus, the strategic centering of those individuals as an audience does not engage a discourse of good citizenship as the locus for national belonging; rather, it recognizes that citizens of all kinds are needed to promote human rights for all people. As a form of cultural citizenship that does not emphasize preferred characteristics or legality, this overt linking of (seemingly separate) groups that both get defined as strangers to each other and to the nation shows the possibilities to subvert normative discourses of belonging and seek other options. In this way, differential belonging functions as an alternative politics of cultural citizenship by refusing the significance of legal citizenship as the only mode for offering rights, at the same time that legal citizens become a target audience as an influential group who can belong to other *cultural* citizens.

Conclusions

As Miller has aptly quipped, "we are in a crisis of belonging . . ." Although cultural citizenship has been advocated as a frame for both understanding how belonging works and also for envisioning new possibilities, too often only a narrow type of culture creates the grounds for acceptable belonging. Miller writes of cultural citizenship, "My concern is that the cultural Left got what it wanted: culture at the center of politics and sociopolitical analysis. But it was not Queer Nation and Stuart Hall. It was creepy Christianity and Samuel Huntington. This outflanking has meant that culture can be utilized to trump progressive approaches and politics."⁵⁰ These failures of cultural citizenship to advance progressive politics, however, need not represent the only possibility if differential belonging is in fact a viable politics of cultural citizenship.

Migrants and queers challenge conventional belonging because they are both figured as strangers and threats to how the nation sees itself now, and, more importantly, how it hopes to see itself in the future. As Carrillo Rowe contends, the

nation-as-white is always constituted in and by the nation-as-heterosexual,⁵¹ so when groups who currently challenge each of those imaginaries, such as Wingspan and CDH, choose to belong to each other in spite of that threat (and even when they are seen as threats to each other), they rupture the divide and conquer mentality. When one longs to or chooses to belong to another group that is predominantly positioned as threatening, the acts of longing and belonging directly confront the national imaginary and hence challenge the values and discourses that have largely constituted it. Nevertheless, considering the vast resource disparities between HRW and IE on the one hand, and QEJ, Wingspan, and CDH on the other, the question remains: can differential belonging offer more than localized or small-time change?

This analysis has featured two very different forms of belonging and thus two alternative kinds of cultural citizenship. The normative form exemplified by *Family, Unvalued*, received considerably more support and publicity, and is far more extensive. The organizations that engage differential belonging are much smaller, with fewer resources and little national political presence. Undoubtedly, these disparities create different possibilities for staking out political positions. Herein lies the upshot of this analysis. Differential belonging is not a mainstream form of political action because it is located outside of most people's affective aspirations and it is, in a word, hard. As Lauren Berlant explains in another context, many US Americans very often long for conventionality when it comes to their relationships.⁵² These conventional longings sculpt normative belongings. To long to belong otherwise is dangerous, threatening, and strange. To garner acceptance for such (be)longings, from others who you also may long (or need) to be in relation to such as lawmakers and people with power, is no easy task. If a person can approximate the normative modes of belonging such as whiteness and heteronormativity like many who advocate for the rights of bi-national same-sex couples, then it makes sense to rely upon and enact normativity in order to gain some ground (for very few). These normative aspirations coupled with social status and financial resources enable some groups and issues to gain national regard when groups with ideologies, issues, and money such as QEJ have not. But the middle class, white-centric and homonormative modalities of reports such as *Family, Unvalued*, although undeniably strategic, do not have to be a foregone conclusion. If differential belonging is ever to have any policy implications, it will be in bringing people to coalitional subjectivities, where they cannot help but see their oppression and privilege as inextricably bound to others. Perhaps this is why the localized work of groups such as QEJ, CDH, and Wingspan remains so important, for it is on the ground, and in the day-to-day relationships we build with others that we learn to long to be better people, to belong to a more just world.

Notes

- [1] There are of course exceptions. The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force openly requests that gay people support immigration rights, and the United Farm Workers openly advocate for marriage equality.

- [2] Eithne Luibhéid, "Queer/Migration: An Unruly Body of Scholarship," *GLQ* 14, (2008): 169–90.
- [3] Yasmin Nair, "Nair Views: Gay Immigration (and) Inequality," *Windy City Times* (2007, July 1), <http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=15470>; Nair, 'Viewpoints: Queer Immigration: Change the Paradigms,' *Windy City Times* (2008, January 9), <http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=17177> (accessed June 1, 2008).
- [4] I use "migrant" to refer to immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers whether they have documents or not. When organizations use "immigrant," I utilize their language. "Queer" refers to LGBT people and others such as prostitutes or "welfare mothers" who fail to conform to the conventions of heteronormativity. For a more elaborate discussion on the use of these terms, see: Eithne Luibhéid, "Introduction: Queer Migration and Citizenship," in *Queer Migrations: Sexuality, US Citizenship, and Border Crossings*, ed. Eithne Luibhéid and Lionel Cantú Jr. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), ix–xlv. When referring to mainstream organizations that I argue engage in normative discourses of belonging, I generally refer to them using the acronym LGBT. This is a political choice as the term "queer" is not one that these organizations generally espouse to describe their identities or their modes of activism. I use the acronym LGBTQ, where the Q stands for "queer" when that is the term organizations use in their writings, or in times when I am referring to both mainstream and progressive organizations.
- [5] Much debate has long existed within feminist theory about the terms "coalition" and "alliance." To remain consistent with the language that activists in CDH and Wingspan use, I use the term "coalition" to describe their relationship.
- [6] Aimee Carrillo Rowe, "Be Longing: Toward a Feminist Politics of Relation," *NWSA Journal* 17, (2005); Aimee Carrillo Rowe, *Power Lines: On the Subject of Feminist Alliances* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 15–46.
- [7] For example, Eithne Luibhéid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004); Linda Bosniak, *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006); Siobhan B. Somerville, "Notes toward a Queer History of Naturalization," *American Quarterly* 57 (2005): 659–75, Somerville, "Sexual Aliens and the Racialized State: A Queer Reading of the 1952 US Immigration and Nationality Act," in *Queer Migrations: Sexuality, US Citizenship, and Border Crossings*, ed. Eithne Luibhéid and Lionel Cantú Jr. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 75–91; Shannon Minter, "Sodomy and Public Morality Offenses under US Immigration Law: Penalizing Lesbian and Gay Identity," *Immigration and Nationality Law Review* 15 (1993–4): 428–74; Margot Canaday, "Who Is a Homosexual?: The Consolidation of Sexual Identities in Mid-Twentieth-Century American Immigration Law," *Law & Social Inquiry* 28 (2003): 351–86; Lionel Cantú Jr., *The Sexuality of Migration: Border Crossings and Mexican Immigrant Men*, ed. Nancy A. Naples and Salvador Vidal-Ortiz (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Bettina M. Fernandez, "HIV Exclusion of Immigrants under the Immigration Reform & Control Act of 1986," *La Raza Law Journal* 5 (1992): 65–107; Eithne Luibhéid, "The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act: An 'End' to Exclusion?," *Positions* 5 (1997): 501–22.
- [8] Shane Phelan, *Sexual Strangers: Gays, Lesbians, and Dilemmas of Citizenship* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001), 29.
- [9] Katarzyna Marciniak, *Alienhood: Citizenship, Exile, and the Logic of Difference* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 9. David Cole also extends a version of these arguments in his discussion of the "enemy alien" in post-9/11 US. See, David Cole, *Enemy Aliens: Double Standards and Constitutional Freedoms in the War on Terrorism* (New York: The New Press, 2003). The notion of the stranger in connection to immigrants and non-white racial others in Western social theory has a long history. See, Robert Ezra Park, "The

- Concept of Social Distance as Applied to the Study of Racial Attitudes and Racial Relations,' *Journal of Applied Sociology* 8 (1924): 339–44; Alfred Schutz, "The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology," *The American Journal of Sociology* 49 (1944): 499–507.
- [10] Phelan, *Sexual Strangers*, 31.
 - [11] Jasbir Kaur Puar and Amit S. Rai, "Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terrorism and the Production of Docile Patriots," *Social Text* 20 (2002): 118–48; Lauren Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).
 - [12] For example, Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship, Inequality, and Multiculturalism," in *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Space, Identity, and Rights*, ed. William V. Flores and Rina Benmayor (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 27–38; Toby Miller, "Culture, Dislocation, and Citizenship," in *Global Migration, Social Change, and Cultural Transformation*, ed. Emory Elliot, Jasmine Payne, and Patricia Ploesch (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 165–86, 165–86; Lauren Berlant, "Uncle Sam Needs a Wife: Citizenship and Denegation," in *Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics*, ed. Russ Castronovo and Dana D. Nelson (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2002), 144–74.
 - [13] Aihwa Ong, "Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States," *Current Anthropology* 37 (1996): 738.
 - [14] Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).
 - [15] Although some scholars have written extended texts on LGBT and immigration issues (as noted above), the first community report of this kind was: The Audre Lorde Project, "Community at a Crossroads: US Right Wing Policies and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Two Spirit and Transgender Immigrants of Color in New York City" (New York City: The Audre Lorde Project, Inc., 2004).
 - [16] Importantly, *Family, Unvalued* is also lauded by Independent Gay Forum, which is, according to Duggan, the quintessential homonormative organization. See: <http://www.indegayforum.org/news/show/30952.html> (accessed September 1, 2009).
 - [17] For example, Dana L. Cloud, "The Rhetoric of <Family Values>: Scapegoating, Utopia, and the Privatization of Social Responsibility," *Western Journal of Communication* 62 (1998): 387–419; Janet R. Jakobsen, "Can Homosexuals End Western Civilization as We Know It? Family Values in a Global Economy," in *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism*, ed. Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Manalansan IV (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 49–70; Rebecca Dingo, "Securing the Nation: Neoliberalism's US Family Values in a Transnational Gendered Economy," *Journal of Women's History* 16, (2004): 173–86; Patricia Hill Collins, "It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation," in *Decentering the Center: Philosophy for a Multicultural, Postcolonial, and Feminist World*, ed. Uma Narayan and Sandra Harding (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 156–76; Janice M. Irvine, *Talk About Sex: The Battles over Sex Education in the United States*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
 - [18] Lisa Duggan, "The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism," in *Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics*, ed. Russ Castronovo and Dana D. Nelson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 179. For other cogent and powerful critiques of normativity in relation to LGBT movements, see Cathy J. Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Real Radical Potential of Queer Politics?," *GLQ* 3 (1997): 437–65; Michael Warner, *The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics, and the Ethics of Queer Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1999).
 - [19] The Permanent Partners Immigration Act was originally introduced in Congress in 2000. Since then, the name of the legislation has shifted to the Uniting American Families Act, though the content of the proposed act remains similar and the term "permanent partners," remains in place. This term, "permanent partners," presumably serves as a reminder that

- although these partners cannot be legally married, their relationships are in fact permanent, in spite of the likelihood that a majority of all relationships are impermanent.
- [20] Human Rights Watch and Immigration Equality, *Family, Unvalued: Discrimination, Denial, and the Fate of Binational Same-Sex Couples under US Law* (New York: Human Rights Watch and Immigration Equality, 2006), 61.
 - [21] *Ibid.*, 113.
 - [22] *Ibid.*, 15.
 - [23] *Ibid.*, 16.
 - [24] Ong, "Cultural Citizenship," 737. See also, Toby Miller, *The Well-Tempered Self: Citizenship, Culture and the Postmodern Subject* (Baltimore, NJ: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).
 - [25] David Batstone and Eduardo Mendieta, eds., *The Good Citizen* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State? Language, Politics, Belonging* (New York: Seagull Books, 2007).
 - [26] Amy L. Brandzel, "Queering Citizenship? Same-Sex Marriage and the State," *GLQ* 11 (2005): 171–204. See also, Diane Richardson, "Claiming Citizenship? Sexuality, Citizenship and Lesbian/Feminist Theory," *Sexualities* 3 (2000): 255–72; Richardson, "Locating Sexualities: From Here to Normality," *Sexualities* 7 (2004): 39–411; Richardson, "Desiring Sameness? The Rise of a Neoliberal Politics of Normalisation," *Antipode* 37 (2005): 515–35.
 - [27] See Susanne Jonas, "Decolonization from within the Americas: Latin@ Immigrant Responses to the US National Security Regime and the Challenges of Reframing the Immigration Debate," in *Latin@S in the World-System: Decolonization Struggles in the Twenty-First Century US Empire*, ed. Ramón Grosfoguel, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, and José David Saldívar (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2005), 183–98.
 - [28] "About the Forum," Immigration Forum, <http://www.immigrationforum.org/about> (accessed September 1, 2009).
 - [29] Watch and Equality, *Family, Unvalued*, 91.
 - [30] *Ibid.*, 51.
 - [31] *Ibid.*, 14.
 - [32] Miller, "Culture, Dislocation, and Citizenship."
 - [33] María Lugones, "Purity, Impurity, and Separation," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society* 19 (1994): 458–79; Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999); Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2000), 6.
 - [34] Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed*, 56.
 - [35] Carrillo Rowe, "Be Longing."
 - [36] *Ibid.*, 35.
 - [37] Proposition 107, Protect Marriage Arizona, sought to include an amendment to Arizona's state constitution that defined marriage as between one man and one woman, and denied any non-married state employees—homosexual or heterosexual—access to domestic partner benefits. The anti-migrant measures included provisions that: (1) prohibit any undocumented person charged with a felony offense from posting bail (Proposition 100); (2) make it impossible for undocumented migrants to receive punitive damages after winning a claim in civil court (Proposition 102); (3) name English as the official language of the state for all official government business (Proposition 103); and (4) prevent undocumented people from taking adult education classes or getting child care assistance, scholarships, grants, tuition assistance or in-state tuition (Proposition 300).
 - [38] During my year-long qualitative research project studying the coalition between Wingspan and CDH, I was on the committee which produced both the joint statements. As a committee member, I read drafts and inputted changes that members of the organizations desired. I offered minimal input on the direction of the statements.
 - [39] Queers for Economic Justice, "Queers and Immigration: A Vision Statement," http://www.barnard.edu/sfonline/immigration/qej_01.htm (accessed April 22, 2010).

- [40] 'Coalición De Derechos Humanos and Wingspan Joint Statement: Stand against Racism and Homophobia,' Wingspan, http://wingspan.org/content/news_wingspan_details.php?story_id=353 (accessed September 1, 2009).
- [41] Ibid.
- [42] Interview with author, April 2007.
- [43] Justice, "Queers and Immigration."
- [44] Ibid.
- [45] Ibid.
- [46] CDH and Wingspan, "Joint Statement".
- [47] Ibid.
- [48] As a number of scholars have suggested, in the US this slippage between citizen and alien is an historically prominent one. See, Ian Haney-López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Luibhéid, Eithne, "Sexuality, Migration, and the Shifting Line between Legal and Illegal Status," *GLQ* 14, nos. 2–3 (2008): 289–316. This is perhaps especially difficult for Latinos/as who not only get lumped into a homogenized group, but are also racially similar to Mexicans who are imagined to be the ideal "illegal alien." See, Eduardo Mendieta, "Becoming Citizens, Becoming Hispanics," in *The Good Citizen*, ed. David Batstone and Eduardo Mendieta (New York: Routledge, 1999), 113–32; Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*.
- [49] "Coalición De Derechos Humanos and Wingspan – Joint Statement: Continued Stand against Racism and Homophobia," Wingspan, http://wingspan.org/content/news_wingspan_details.php?story_id=359 (accessed September 1, 2009). As a side note, similar action steps also appeared in an unpublished statement issued by members of the People of Color Caucus of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's Creating Change Conference in 2006.
- [50] Miller, "Culture, Dislocation, and Citizenship," 180.
- [51] Aimee Carrillo Rowe, "Whose 'America'? The Politics of Rhetoric and Space in the Formation of US Nationalism," *Radical History Review* 89 (2004): 115–34.
- [52] Lauren Berlant, *The Female Complaint: The Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).