Journal of Homosexuality, 59:633–655, 2012

ISSN: 0091-8369 print/1540-3602 online
DOI: 10.1080/00918369.2012.673901

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Intersecting Discourses on Race and Sexuality: Compounded Colonization Among LGBTTQ American Indians/Alaska Natives

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This article examines discourses on race and sexuality in scientific literature during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in context of U.S. settler colonialism. It uses a theoretical and methodological intersectional perspective to identify rhetorical strategies deployed in discursive representations salient to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, Two-Spirit, and queer American Indians and Alaska Natives. These representations reflect a context of compounded colonization, a historical configuration of co-constituting discourses based on cultural and ideological assumptions that invidiously marked a social group with consequential, continued effects. Hence, language is a vector of power and a critical vehicle in the project of decolonization.

KEYWORDS American Indians/Alaska Natives, Native Americans, sexuality, LGBTTQ, (de)colonization

"If you make people hate berdaches," Paula Gunn Allen states, "they will lose their Indianness. The connection to the spirit world, and the

I wish to thank the following in support of this research: Dr. Gayle Rubin for her pioneering contributions and scholarly expertise, Dr. Ruth Dunkle for her unwavering scholarly support, and Ms. Sophie "Egeelana Tungwenuk" Nothstine, Inupiaq Elder originally from the village of Wales, Alaska, for her inspirational spirit of love and authenticity—*Quyaana!* I am also grateful to the many reviewers of this article and funding from the National Institute on Aging Grant T32-AG000117.

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> connection between the world of women and men, is destroyed when the berdache tradition declines." The adoption of Western prejudices by modern Indians is, she concludes, an important aspect of "psychological colonization. If you hate the traditions, you hate part of yourself as Indian. If you hate yourself, that weakens your resolve to oppose white colonization. If we could stop Indian homophobia, other aspects of cultural revival can occur. We must recolonize ourselves. The issue of self-determination for Indian people means acceptance of lesbians and gays is central to accepting ourselves as Indian." (Paula Gunn Allen, personal communication, June 3, 1983, as cited in Williams, 1992, p. 228)

As illustrated in Paula Gunn Allen's comments above, intersecting discourses on race and sexuality yield profound effects—personal, social, and political. These discourses are bound in U.S. settler colonialism, which continues today.[1] Consequently, we who live in U.S. settler society live in relation to one another at the interstices of tension or transformation.

This article examines discourses on race and sexuality in scientific literature during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries—among them anthropology, sociology, and sexology—in the context of U.S. settler colonial history. During this period, so-called expert scientists inscribed notions of race and sexuality in socially stratified classification systems based on cultural and ideological assumptions. In this qualitative analysis, I identify rhetorical strategies buttressing these assumptions that marked racial and sexual diversity salient to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, Two-Spirit, and queer (LGBTTQ) American Indians and Alaska Natives (AIANs). I unpack these assumptions through a theoretical and methodological intersectional perspective guided by the following question: With a focus on LGBTTQ-AIANs in the context of U.S. settler colonialism, how do discourses on race and sexuality intersect in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century scientific literature, and with what effects?

From historical discourses on race characterizing indigenous Natives as inferior savages to historical discourses on sexuality characterizing homosexuals as ill, insane, and criminal, LGBTTQ-AIANs are implicated in what, I argue, is a context of *compounded colonization*. Compounded colonization refers to a historical configuration of co-constituting discourses based on cultural and ideological assumptions that invidiously marked a social group with consequential, continuing effects. Compounded colonization among LGBTTQ-AIANs is evident through rhetorical strategies in scientific literature that intertwine theories of racial degeneracy and sexual pathology, theories bound up in racism, homophobia, and heterosexism.

U.S. settler colonialism has not ended. Its effects and political exigencies are experienced even today. The condition of LGBTTQ-AIANs in particular is one of "a colonized people still living under siege" (Fieland, Walters, & Simoni, 2007, p. 288). Consequently, the empirical reality of LGBTTQ-AIANs cannot be understood through a lens that fails to critically examine the co-constitution of discourses on race and sexuality.

These discourses are ideologically multilayered, fluid, and ambiguous. They are "complex processes of rupture and recuperation" with ongoing reconfigurations (Stoler, 1997b, p. 200). At any given moment in history, a collection of competing issues and arguments exists; these collections change, but they never disappear. Accordingly, in the "hierarchy of credibility," the "members of the highest group have the right to define the way things really are" (Becker 1967, p. 241). Contributing to multidisciplinary scholarship, this article demonstrates that language is a vector of power and a critical vehicle in the project of decolonization. Decolonization involves unveiling and deconstructing colonialist processes and practices in institutional structures as well as the mindsets of those who enact them (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000; Weaver, 1999).

A NOTE ON LABELS AND LOCATION

Because I am working within the constraints and limits of language, I offer an explanation regarding my own use of labels in this article and, then, briefly situate my own social location. First, boundaries between identity categories are socially constructed and, therefore, somewhat artificial. From an intersectional perspective, race and sexuality do overlap with such categories as gender and class. For purposes of this article, though, race and sexuality are entry points for examining the ideological work done at the discursive intersections salient to LGBTTQ-AIANs. Thus, the present argument is illustrative, not exhaustive.

Second, the label lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, Two-Spirit, and queer (LGBTTQ) is a contemporary reference intended to be more, rather than less, inclusive of individual self-identifications of diversity along a sexuality-sex-gender continuum. While lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) refers to the more standard classifications along this continuum, Two-Spirit (T) and queer (Q) are more contemporary constructs that defy standard classification and specific definitions. Two-Spirit, *niizh manitoag*, originated in Northern Algonquin dialect and was adopted at the third annual spiritual gathering of LGBT Natives in 1990; it "indicates the presence of both a feminine and a masculine spirit in one person" (Anguksuar 1997, p. 220). Queer has a complicated history.[2] For the purposes of this article, however, queer refers to "an umbrella term for gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender, and transsexual people and others who challenge heteronormative views of sexuality" (McConnel-Ginet, 2002, p. 141). The inclusivity of the label LGBTTQ is relevant to Native, indigenous peoples:

> Some Native individuals may feel strongly that "Two-Spirit" is a term of empowerment, signifying a choice about how he or she wishes to be known. Other Native people may identify just as powerfully as

> being labeled lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, transgender, or queer, depending on their social-economic, regional, generational, or political attitudes. Some Native people reject the more standard classifications as being too culturally biased. (Tafoya, 1996, p. 611)

Third, the label American Indian/Alaska Native (AIAN) is an umbrella term that represents the 5.2 million AIANs, or 2% of the U.S. population (U.S. Census, 2010). I use AIAN because it is a preferred, more inclusive, umbrella term.[3] Although used here as an umbrella term, AIAN represents more than 560 federally recognized tribes in the United States, each with distinct cultural practices, traditions, and history (Fieland et al., 2007).

As to my own current social location, I self-identify as a member of the LGBTTQ community, and have for more than 20 years. I am aligned with AIAN individuals and communities through personal friendships and professional partnerships, and have been for more than 10 years. Consequently, I situate myself in the context of intersecting discourses on race and sexuality salient to LGBTTQ-AIANs.

U.S. SETTLER SOCIETY

LGBTTQ-AIANs, among the general AIAN population, have experienced a history of repeated attempts by United States institutions to extinguish their unique cultural traditions. This history is one of genocide. Legters (1988) explains the "policies and practices of the colonies and of the United States qualify easily under provisions of the [1948 United Nations] Genocide Convention" (p. 772). From "historical trauma" (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998) to "colonial trauma" (Evans-Campbell & Walters, 2006, p. 273), from being at "compounded risk" (Fieland et al., 2007, p. 281) for health and social stressors to "the invisibility of indigenous health statistics" (Fieland et al., 2007, p. 287), LGBTTQ-AIANs, among the general AIAN population, are colonized peoples living on colonized land.

U.S. settler colonialism began with European contact and conquest more than 500 years ago resulting in a legacy of loss and destruction among AIANs. Settler colonies "were not primarily established to extract surplus value from indigenous labor," but instead "are premised on displacing indigenes from (or *re*placing them on) the land . . . Settler colonies were (are) premised on the elimination of native societies" (Wolfe, 1999, pp. 1–2). U.S. settler colonialism is evidenced by a series of genocidal policies and practices (see Cameron & Turtle-Song, 2003; Case & Voluck, 2002; Hodge & Fredericks, 1999).

The legacy of losses among AIANs is incalculable and ongoing. Among these are significant loss of land, language, spiritual practices, and cultural

traditions. For example, prior to 1492, there were approximately 8–12 million indigenous peoples living in North America and, by 1900, this population declined to about 250,000 people (Grandbois, 2005). During the early 1900s, Alaska Natives, in particular, were reduced in population by 60% due to the 1900 influenza epidemic known as the Great Death, which was then followed by cultural genocide (Napolean, 1996).

THE HISTORICAL PERIOD IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

U.S. settler colonialism's legacy of *othering* persisted as a dominant cultural ideology during late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century American society. This notion of othering originated during the period of Empire when Europe's oldest colonies, the Orient—one of its "most recurring images of the Other"—was distinguished from the "Occident" (Said, 1978, p. 1). From this Orient/Occident distinction, an entire constellation of binary distinctions—East/West, them/us—developed. This paradigm of binary distinctions was based on a "relationship of power, of domination" between Europe and its colonial others (Said, 1978, p. 5). Articulated in the "colonizer-colonized relationship" of domination-subjugation, this othering ideology was exploitative, devaluing, and dehumanizing (Memmi, 1965).

During this period, cultural and ideological assumptions of othering permeated discourses on race and sexuality. These discourses intersected in various social movements, such as eugenics, social Darwinism, and moral reform campaigns, and were replete with questions and debates associated with selective reproduction for humankind's progress (see Galton, 1883; Gibson, 1997; Odem 1995; Smedley, 2002; Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Somerville, 2000; Stocking, 2001). During this period, human behaviors or acts coalesced into various social identities. For example: "The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species" (Foucault, 1973, p. 43). Among invidiously marked others were "the poor," "the criminal," the "sexual invert," non-White races and the "hypersexual woman" (Gibson, 1997, p. 110). All were labeled in some form as degenerate and stigmatized, thereby construed as a threat to the propagation and progress of the human population.

Legislative policies further reinforced an othering ideology. For example, the U.S. Supreme Court's 1896 ruling in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* legislated racial segregation in a southern state, yet set the stage for a whole series of racial segregation laws known as the Jim Crow laws for an era that lasted well into the twentieth century; and, the White Slave Traffic Act [Mann Act] of 1910 legislated the interstate transportation of women for immoral purposes in order to address prostitution and human trafficking, yet permitted selective prosecutions of immoral behavior due to the act's ambiguous language

(Langum, 2006; Somerville, 2000). Such legislation occurred in a cultural milieu of Victorian ideals:

> Expressions of sexuality that did not conform to a marital, reproductive framework were increasingly subjected to government surveillance and control, as evidenced by a range of legal measures enacted during the period. These included legislation prohibiting the dissemination of obscene literature, the criminalization of abortion, stringent measures targeting prostitution, and heightened legal repression of homosexuality. Such developments reflected Americans' deep anxiety about the increased potential for sexual expression outside of marriage—a situation that threatened middle—class Victorian ideals of sexual restraint and marital, reproductive sex. (Odem, 1995, p. 2)

As Foucault (1973) explains, legislation regulating sexual behavior "would become anchorage points for the different varieties of racism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (p. 26). Consequently, intersecting discourses on race and sexuality invoked the binary distinctions of Black and White and homosexual and heterosexual alongside one another.

AN INTERSECTIONAL LENS

The notion of *intersectionality* has enabled researchers and thinkers to explore and express a more nuanced, complex understanding of social and personal identity (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Hulko, 2009; McCall, 2005; Nash, 2008). Those using the lens of intersectionality—whether as a theory, paradigm, or methodology—have consistently interrogated and complicated a Eurocentric binary paradigm and its underlying ideological assumptions. Indeed, those working through an intersectional lens illustrate how identity is linked to multiple vectors of power.

In her critical analyses, Crenshaw (1989) identifies "Black women" as a "compound class" because they are socially located two steps—being Black and being women—outside "a White male norm" (p. 143). Similarly, LGBTTQ-AIANs are a compound class because they are socially located two steps—being LGBTTQ and being AIAN—outside White heteronormativity. In her critical analyses of employment discrimination among Black women, Crenshaw (1989, 1991) argues this group's experiences are often erased or fall in between different domains of discrimination—in between racism and sexism for example; their experiences are in fact "greater than the sum of racism and sexism" (1989, p. 140) —it is not additive discrimination, but combined or "compound discrimination" (1989, p. 148). An intersectional lens thereby challenges a single-issue analysis allowing for an examination of the "complexities of compoundedness" (1989, p. 166).

From its inception, the notion of intersectionality has been fraught with definitional and conceptual blurring; its limitations critiqued. For example, while early scholarship on intersectionality began as a mode to analyze oppression among marginalized groups, it has been critiqued for not including analyses of how exactly oppression intersects with privilege (Hulko, 2009; Nash, 2008). So, even though an intersectional perspective can account for privilege, I, for the purposes of this article, employ it from the perspective of its early roots.

For two primary reasons, a theoretical and methodological intersectional lens is a fruitful analytic tool when examining discourses on race and sexuality salient to LGBTTQ-AIANs. First, it resonates with AIAN spirituality and worldview emphasizing "the interconnectedness of all aspects of an individual's life" (Wilson, 1996, p. 310). This is contrary to a European American, or Eurocentric, worldview emphasizing compartmentalization of domains in an individual's life. Second, this lens allows for a critical analysis of the "complexities of compoundedness" directly relevant to LGBTTQ-AIANs (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 166).

Viewed through an intersectional lens, LGBTTQ-AIANs have indivisible identities and experiences. A context of compounded colonization—of racial and sexual (or medical) colonization—among LGBTTQ-AIANs intertwines experiences of racism and homophobia (Farrer, 1997; Wilson, 1996). Such is a context that constitutes the matrix of domination (Hill Collins, 2000).

Although those working with an intersectional lens tend toward various methodological approaches, I draw primarily on an intercategorical complexity approach (McCall, 2005); that is, I focus on multiple social categories (in this case, race and sexuality) to illustrate the complexity of relationships within and across these categories. Intercategorical complexity contrasts with intracategorical complexity that focuses on single categories, and anticategorical complexity that focuses on the deconstruction of categories (although these approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive).

Drawing upon an intercategorical complexity approach, I identify rhetorical strategies deployed in the scientific literature that culturally construct social identities salient to LGBTTQ-AIANs. In doing so, I unpack cultural and ideological assumptions that create a context of compounded colonization among LGBTTQ-AIANs. Intending to be illustrative rather than exhaustive, the following analysis is an example of representational intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991).

ANALYSIS OF INTERSECTING DISCOURSES ON RACE AND SEXUALITY

In context of U.S. settler colonialism and its legacies, racial colonization and sexual (or medical) colonization salient to LGBTTQ-AIANs is evident

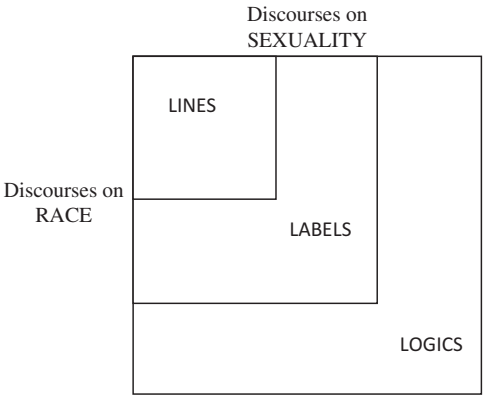

FIGURE 1 Intersecting discourses on race and sexuality.

in scientific literature during late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The scientific literature to which I refer includes texts produced by social scientists, psychiatrists and medical doctors. Moreover, while some texts originated in the United States, some originated in Europe; however, during this period, many such texts were in conversation with each other and mutually influenced respective developments. Specific rhetorical strategies in these texts intertwined theories of racial degeneracy and sexual pathology. Among these were mutually reinforcing logics, conflating identity labels, and correlating concepts within and between narrative lines. (See Figure 1.)

At this juncture, I wish to acknowledge that, although the literature I analyze here reproduces dominant ideologies of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, my intention is to render visible the multilayered, fluid and co-constituting discursive terrain. Specifically, I illustrate a context of compounded colonization salient to LGBTTQ-AIANs among competing—colonizing and decolonizing—forces. In doing so, I identify rhetorical strategies buttressing cultural and ideological assumptions in the construction of social identities salient to LGBTTQ-AIANs.

Intersecting Logics

During the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the rhetorical strategy of mutually reinforcing logics was evident in discourses on race and sexuality. This logic, developed by so-called scientific experts, was based on an ideological paradigm of othering, whereby classification systems socially stratified groups. The "degenerate savage" and "pathological homosexual" were culturally and socially constructed to represent inferior, stigmatized others.

Colonizing discourses on race and sexuality culturally constructed particular social identities that were construed as a threat to the progress of

humankind. Hence, the "degenerate savage" was inscribed in classification systems delineated by American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (1877) in *Ancient Society*, and by sociologist, Franklin H. Giddings (1910), in "The social marking system." Both of these taxonomic frameworks ranked social positions within an ideologically stratified social hierarchy that conflated race with social status.

Morgan (1877) linked social progress with technological progress in his theory of humankind's unilineal social, or cultural, evolution. He presented three stages of "savagery, barbarism and civilization" connected "in a natural as well necessary sequence of progress" to expand the idea that humanity evolved in a fixed, linear pathway toward social progress (p. 3). Morgan described "American Aborigines" to have "commenced their career on the American continent in savagery," and to have represented the "inferiority of savage man in the mental and moral scale." He further wrote "the period of civilization has been gradually assumed by the Aryan family alone," referring to Europeans as "the most advanced portion of the human family" (pp. 39–41).

Giddings' (1910) system ranked measures of nationality and race along a hierarchical continuum of socio-biological differences. In this system, those with darker color skin were correlated with a less civilized status while those with lighter, or white, color skin were socially positioned as more civilized. In describing his "social marking system," Giddings used ideologically loaded language such as "facts" and "a simple and natural expression of observed relations" upon which his system was developed (p. 124); furthermore, he used ideologically loaded language by invoking a positivist epistemology of "absolute truth" in describing the socially ranked positions on his 10-point scale that were based on "statistical measures from zero" (p. 125).

Responding to colonizing discourses on race during this period was American anthropologist Franz Boas. Boas critiqued the work of those who confounded biological characteristics with social and mental characteristics within the construct of race. For example, Boas (1894) asserted the "observer" is "always liable to interpret as racial character what is only an effect of social surroundings" (p. 326). He critiqued a unilineal model of human evolution arguing for a conceptual distinction among constructs of race, language, and culture (Boas, 1911/1991, 1915/1940a, 1931/1940b). In doing so, Boas rendered specious racial degeneracy theory.

> It has been claimed that the congestion in modern cities and other causes are bringing about a gradual degeneration of our race, which advocates of eugenics desire to counteract by adequate legislative measures. It is certainly right to try to check the spread of hereditary defects by such measures, but the movement as it is now conceived is not free of serious dangers. First of all, it would seem that the fundamental thesis

> of the degeneracy of our population has never been proved. (Boas, 1915/1940a, p. 26–27)

Boas (1915/1940) argued that racial "antipathies are social phenomena"—not biological phenomena; furthermore, he stated that "a stratification of society in social groups that are racial in character will always lead to racial discrimination" (p. 16).

Colonizing discourses on sexuality can be traced to German psychiatrist Karl Westphal (1869) who first located homosexuality within a medical paradigm of pathology. Westphal introduced the phrase "Die Konträre Sexualempfindung" ["contrary sexual feeling"] in his article, "The contrary sexual feeling: symptom of a neuropathic (psychopathic) condition." Westphal pathologized this contrary sexual feeling by identifying it as a neurosis, an illness. Thus, he developed a distinction between the insane, or the ill, and the healthy. Westphal's contrary sexual feeling was later translated into other terms, such as homosexuality.

Richard Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing, a prominent nineteenth-century European psychiatrist (and one of the founding fathers of scientific sexology), whose work was influential in the United States, further associated homosexuality with pathology. His principal work, *Psychopathia sexualis* (1886), was a compilation of more than 200 case studies with autobiographical accounts of human sexual behavior. Many of these studies involved patients in medical clinics and mental institutions, which supported Krafft-Ebing's taxonomy of sexual pathological aberrations, or anomalies. These included fetishism, sadism, masochism, and homosexuality; all of these aberrations or anomalies were also abnormalities (Krafft-Ebing, 1886/1998). Thus, the label of homosexual ("inclination only towards the same sex") was distinguished from heterosexual; the abnormal from the normal (Krafft-Ebing, 1886/1998, p. 221). Yet, by pathologizing homosexuality, Krafft-Ebing attempted to dissociate it from religious sin and criminal behavior.

Responding to colonizing discourses on sexuality during this period was Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and Magnus Hirschfeld. Ulrichs was a sexologist who strove to decontextualize homosexuality from the paradigm of pathology by theorizing it was an inborn condition. He was the first among sexological researchers who publicly argued for the biological naturalness of homosexuality in order to advocate civil and legal rights for this group. For example, in 1867, he spoke at the Congress of German Jurists to publicly advocate repealing anti-sodomy laws of Germany and Austria; later, in 1870, he published the first homosexual journal (Kennedy, 1997).

Magnus Hirschfeld, another sexologist, proposed arguments against the theory of degeneracy in his theory of sexual intermediacy. He worked to normalize sexual variation by identifying different domains of sexual intermediacy. For Hirschfeld, sexuality was analogous to a fingerprint such

that no two individuals were exactly alike in their sexuality (Steakley, 1997, p. 144–145). He was a political activist who became known for his German homosexual emancipation work prior to his move to the U.S. (see Steakley, 1997; 1975; Weeks, 1977). For example, he was a pioneer associated with founding the Scientific Humanitarian Committee, "the world's first homosexual rights organization" in 1897 whose primary goal was to repeal the German sodomy statute, and the Institute of Sexology in 1919 (Steakley, 1997, p. 139–140).

During this period, the logic of classifying groups in socially stratified ideological systems is evident in both discursive domains of race and sexuality. The "uncivilized other" in discourses on race intersected with the "pathological other" in discourses on sexuality—both were marked as inferior within an ideological paradigm of superior–inferior; the American aborigines intersected with the homosexual.

Intersecting Labels

Conflating identity labels in discourses on race and sexuality was another rhetorical strategy deployed in discursive representations that contributed to a context of compounded colonization among LGBTTQ-AIANs. This strategy was centrally located at the berdache-homosexual nexus. Each label referred to those with marked variation or diversity along a sexuality–sex–gender continuum. Berdache as "icons of 'difference' and of the 'other'" (Jacobs, 1997, p. 36) intersected with the homosexual as "pathological other;" berdache applied primarily to indigenous peoples and homosexual to European Americans.

Even though berdache applied to indigenous peoples in North America, it is a label that originated outside Indigenous culture and epistemology.

> It is not a term from an Indian language, but was used by European explorers in North America. The word originally came from the Persian *bardaj,* and via the Arabs spread to the Italian language as *bardasso* and to Spanish as *bardaxa* or *bardaje* by the beginning of the sixteenth century. About the same time the word appeared in French as *bardache.* (Williams, 1992, p. 9)

Early French explorers in North America used this term to identify aboriginal American males who dressed as females (Medicine, 1999). In its European American usage, berdache was associated with sodomy, male-male sexual behavior, and homosexuality. Contemporary critiques of the historical berdache label include: it is "old-fashioned and even racist" (Herdt, 1997, p. 277) and its nonpatriarchal equivalent label, *amazon,* for female berdaches is not representative of indigenous female voices (Jacobs, 1997).

The berdache-homosexual nexus is a discursive site of representation whereby notions of sexual primitivity and civilization were differentiated in

the context of colonizer-colonized relations. In U.S. settler society, berdache was a site of U.S. sexual colonization of indigenous peoples. Through a reverse discourse, Morgensen (2011) explains:

> . . . early conquerors invoked berdache as if assigning a failure to differentiate sex to Indigenous people, but they did so to define sexual normativity for them *all*. Thus, if colonial observers invoked berdache to mark Indigenous difference, the aim was to teach both colonial *and* Indigenous subjects the relational terms of colonial heteropatriarchy. (p. 37)

It was U.S. colonial power that instantiated a system of marking variation, or diversity, along a sexuality-sex-gender continuum at the berdache-homosexual nexus. Thus, colonists and Indigenous people related to one another through the colonial object of berdache (Morgensen, 2011, p. 45).

The berdache-homosexual nexus is a site of many definitional and theoretical renditions in ethnological and sexological literature (see Jacobs, Thomas, & Lang, 1997; Roscoe, 1998; Trexler, 2002; Williams, 1992). For example, berdache referred to *boté*, *burdash,* and *mujerados* among American Indians and *schopans* and *schoopans* among Alaska Native Aleuts and *Konyagas*, who represented figures described as "not man, not woman," "half-man, half-woman" and boys who were "girl-like" (Ellis, 1927/2006). Such figures engaged in homosexual customs that ranged from cross-dressing to homosexual acts (Ellis, 1927/2006).

The berdache-homosexual nexus is indeterminate, unstable, and ambiguous. For example, the sexological literature is replete with scientific contestation as to whether homosexuality is an act, a role, a condition or identity; whether it is acquired or congenital, socially constructed or biologically based; whether it is normal or abnormal; whether it is a disease, an illness or crime; and, whether it is fixed or curable (Carpenter, 1908; Ellis, 1927/2006; Kennedy, 1997; Krafft-Ebing, 1886/1998; Westphal, 1869). The sexual politics during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were centrally located on these issues, resulting in a proliferation of codified categories and identity labels. For example, "the Homosexual" was also labeled "sexual invert," "third sex," "Urning," "intermediate sex," and "step child of nature" (Carpenter, 1908; Ellis, 1927/2006; Kennedy, 1997; Krafft-Ebing, 1886/1998).

Scientific contestation of the various renditions of homosexuality is mirrored by the many glosses of berdache. Berdache referred at times to a type of individual and at other times to a particular social role or behavior. There have been more than 350 berdache roles identified according to a specific tribe and area in Native North America (Roscoe, 1988). Berdache referred to revered, sacred individuals as well as disrespected, ridiculed individuals; they were characterized as having freely chosen this role and as having

had it forced on them (see Jacobs et al., 1997; Roscoe, 1998; Trexler, 2002). Berdache was an umbrella category representing some variation, or diversity, in gender, sexual behavior, personality, social, occupational, or spiritual role among Indigenous peoples.

Berdache were reportedly targets for attack by European colonizers (Williams, 1992). U.S. settler colonial history included "the attempt by the conquerors to eliminate various traditional forms of Indian homosexuality" (including sodomy) which has been described as "a form of cultural genocide involving both Native Americans and Gay people" (Katz, 1992, p. 284). As a result, **"**the recovery of the history of Native American homosexuality is a task in which both Gay and Native peoples have a common interest" (Katz, 1992, p. 284). This cultural genocide involving those of us at the historical berdache-homosexual nexus binds us through a shared interest in the project of decolonization.

Decolonizing discourses centrally located at the berdache-homosexual nexus are associated with the emergence of more contemporary labels. For example, indigenous activism generated an official statement presented to the American Anthropological Association in 1994 requesting authors use "Two-Spirit" in substitution for berdache (Tafoya, 1996). The Two-Spirit label was a reclaiming of Indigenous culture and tradition; it was an act of direct resistance to berdache as an imported, colonial term. As Morgensen (2011) explains Two-Spirit refers to "an indigenous epistemology—rooted in Native traditions, articulating Native modernities—that challenges colonial knowledges" (p. 86). Similar to Two-Spirit, queer is term that contests an ideological paradigm of othering. Queer indicates a "questioning of the meaning assumed in the binary definitions of sexuality" and "the disassembling of common beliefs about gender and sexuality" (Kirsch, 2000, p. 33).

Intersecting Lines

Correlating concepts of racial degeneracy and sexual pathology theories within and between narrative lines is a third rhetorical strategy that buttressed cultural and ideological assumptions salient to the social location of LGBTTQ-AIANs. This strategy of correlating concepts builds upon the previous two strategies. Combined, all three rhetorical strategies do the work of creating an ideological context of compounded colonization among LGBTTQ-AIANs. (See Figure 2.)

These intertwining theories are clearly evident in sexological literature. For example, sexologist Havelock Ellis (1927/2006) described American Indian and Alaska Native tribes stating:

> If we turn to the New World, we find that among the American Indians, from the Eskimo of Alaska downward to Brazil and still farther south, homosexual customs have been very frequently observed (p. 30) . . .

> Among all the tribes of the northwest United States sexual inverts may be found . . . (p. 32)

Later in this same passage, Ellis (1927/2006) described one particular American Indian tribe as belonging "to a primitive race, uncontaminated by contact with white races" concluding "the evidence shows that among the lower races homosexual practices are regarded with considerable indifference . . . In this matter, as folklore shows in so many other matters, the uncultured man of civilization is linked to savage" (p. 34). These lines do the ideological work of correlating American Indian with a primitive and lower race, savage, sexual invert and homosexual practices. Consequently, Ellis invoked an ideological paradigm of othering, whereby a binary of inferior and superior intersected with abnormal and normal; hence, racial degeneracy intersected with sexual pathology.

Sexologist Krafft-Ebing (1886/1998) also correlated concepts throughout his work in *Psychopathia Sexualis* that contributed to an ideological context of compounded colonization. For example, he stated pathological sexual aberrations

> are only encountered in that category of human beings whom we class among the degenerates infected with heredity taint . . . The commission of these atrocious acts by degenerated and partially defective individuals is the outcome of an irresistible impulse or delirium. The mechanism of these actions is indeed the property of psychical degeneration . . . (p. 47)

In this passage, Krafft-Ebing correlated pathological sexual aberrations with degenerated and partially defective individuals as well as delirium thereby conveying the message that homosexuality indicated mental illness and hereditary degeneration. He, thus, characterized homosexuality as inherited, dangerous and fixed.

Another sexologist, Edward Carpenter (1908), deployed the constructs sex and race in his work *The Intermediate Sex* such that racial degeneracy

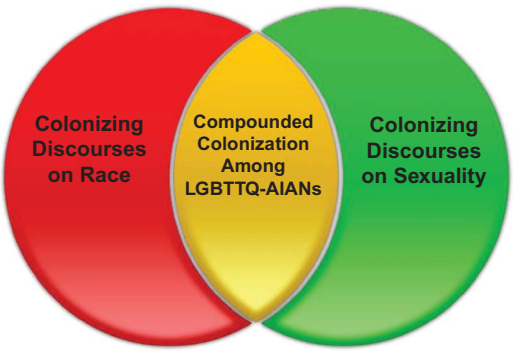

FIGURE 2 Compounded colonization among LGBTTQ-AIANs (color figure available online).

theory intertwined with sexual pathology theory. For example, in describing "the intermediate sex," Carpenter refers to "general characteristics of the intermediate race" and compares "what may be called the extreme and exaggerated types of the race" to "the more normal and perfect types" (p. 29). Here, racial type conflated with sexual type in the logic of classification systems that marked others within an ideological paradigm of inferior-superior.

In addition to sexological literature, intertwining theories of racial degeneracy and sexual pathology are evident in medical reports. Holder (1889), a medical doctor, described American Indians as *bote,* or *burdash*, representing not-man and not-woman figures among American Indians, and reported: "Of all the many varieties of sexual perversion, this, it seems to me, is the most debased that could be conceived of" (p. 623). Holder was "assured that the bote is to be found in nearly all tribes of Indians, of the Northwest at least" and he described the "perversion of the bote" as "perversion of the function depriving them of the normal passion for the female" (pp. 623–624). In one case of a particular bote, Holder wrote: "He confessed the practice of the habit for years, showing that there is no bottom to the pit into which the sexual passion, perverted and debased, may sink a creature once he has become its slave" (p. 625). Thus, bote was correlated with sexual perversion, abnormal passion, creature and slave which invoked the imagery of animal or savage and the binary distinctions of Black and White alongside homosexual and heterosexual.

Robinson, another medical doctor, invoked the rhetoric of eugenics in describing homosexuality. In 1914, Robinson wrote a public statement about his views on homosexuality and stated: "The true homosexual is not a normal individual . . . and when examined into they will all show one or more points of distinct inferiority to the normal man" (p. 551). Furthermore, he invoked the ideology of U.S. settler colonialism, premised upon the elimination of Indigenous peoples, when he stated "the world could get along very well without these step-children of nature" (p. 552). As is evident, Robinson correlated concepts of homosexual with inferiority thereby invoking mutually reinforcing logics in discourses on race and sexuality based upon an ideological paradigm of othering; consequently, the binary distinction of abnormal-normal was ideologically naturalized alongside inferiority-superiority.

Intertwining theories of racial degeneracy and sexual pathology are also evident in anthropological literature. For example, in his article "Institutionalized homosexuality of the Mohave Indians," Devereaux (1937) identifies "two definite types of homosexuals"—"male transvestites" and "female homosexuals," thereby invoking the logic of classification systems with underlying cultural and ideological assumptions (p. 500). Invoking a sexual typology, Devereaux contrasted male transvestites to "'normal' individuals of his anatomic sex" (p. 502). Devereaux explained: "For a normal person to dream of homosexual relations also causes weylak [disease],

which is usually fatal" (p. 516). Devereaux described Mohave social aspects that "localized the disorder in a small area of the body social" (p. 520). Correlating concepts of homosexual with abnormal individuals, disorder, and *weylak* [disease] in these narrative lines, Devereaux invoked intertwining racial degeneracy and sexual pathology theories.

Decolonizing discourses on race and sexuality continued beyond the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in the United States. For example, the public *Statement on "Race"* issued by the American Anthropological Association in 1998 provides accurate information in response to historical cultural and ideological assumptions in discourses on race:

> As they were constructing US society, leaders among European-Americans fabricated the cultural/behavioral characteristics associated with each "race," linking superior traits with Europeans and negative and inferior ones to blacks and Indians . . . How people have been accepted and treated within the context of a given society or culture has a direct impact on how they perform in that society. The "racial" worldview was invented to assign some groups to perpetual low status, while others were permitted access to privilege, power, and wealth. The tragedy in the United States has been that the policies and practices stemming from this worldview succeeded all too well in constructing unequal populations among Europeans, Native Americans, and peoples of African descent. Given what we know about the capacity of normal humans to achieve and function within any culture, we conclude that present-day inequalities between so-called "racial" groups are not consequences of their biological inheritance but products of historical and contemporary social, economic, educational, and political circumstances.

Additionally, decolonizing discourses are reflected in modifications associated with the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (1968) and the recent presidential memo to protect the human rights of LGBTTQ individuals. For example, "sexual perversity" and later "homosexuality" were clinically diagnosable disorders in the first edition, published in 1952 by the American Psychiatric Association, yet were removed in 1973. December 6, 2011, *The New York Times* reported on the U.S. federal government's advocacy to protect LGBTTQ rights abroad in order to combat violence against this group; this report also acknowledged that until 2003, sodomy was a crime in parts of the United States (Myers & Cooper, 2011).

(POST)COLONIAL LEGACIES

From discourses that naturalized "scientific racism" (Somerville, 2000) to those that were "less a sexology than a demonology" (Rubin, 1993, p. 36),

an ideological context of compounded colonization among LGBTTQ-AIANs is evident. During the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, many factors—social anxieties, body metaphors, and codified categories among them—coalesced into a biopolitics of identity driven by an ideology of othering that naturalized inequality. Whether by a comparative anatomy approach (Somerville, 2000) or one that combined external and internal, mental or cognitive, processes to essentialize social identities (Stoller, 1997a), many so-called expert scientists during this period deployed rhetorical strategies buttressing cultural and ideological assumptions that invidiously marked racial and sexual diversity.

(Post)colonial legacies in the context of U.S. settler society include contemporary social and health conditions among AIANs. As Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt, and Chen (2004) explain:

> The current conditions may be attributed to historical causes, however, the origins of the symptoms may be contemporary experiences . . . The threats to their way of life and culture have been ongoing, the losses progressive as each generation passes away. These losses are so salient because they are not truly "historical" in the sense that they began a long time ago. There has been a continual, persistent, and progressive process of loss that began with military defeat and continues through to today with loss of culture . . . The losses are not over. They are continuing day by day. (pp. 119, 128)

In the context of U.S. settler colonialism, AIAN colonial trauma connects historical conditions to contemporary conditions (Evans-Campbell, 2008).

(Post) colonial legacies of compounded colonization among LGBTTQ-AIANs in U.S. settler society include the multidimensional experience of racism and homophobia, or heterosexism. For example, there is the problem of conflicts in allegiance, whereby affiliating with and seeking the support of one's racial community requires disconnecting from or suppressing one's marked sexual identity and vice versa. Such conflicts yield unique stressors and complexities in navigating a positive identity (Walters, 1997). There is preliminary empirical evidence that shows LGBTTQ-AIANs, as compared to their LGBTTQ or AIAN peers, appear to be at higher risk and more vulnerable to health and social problems (Balsam, Huang, Fieland, Simoni, & Walters, 2004; Fieland et al., 2007; Lehavot, Walters, & Simoni, 2009).

CONCLUSION

The emergence of new sexual identities and the reconfiguration of racialized identities in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were not singular events through which those meanings were simply established once

and for all but rather ongoing processes of contestation and accumulation (Somerville, 2000).

Discourses on race and sexuality illustrate scientific experts contesting the many terms, labels, and their meanings. In the field of identity politics, labels represent a site for ideological contestation; their deployment is social action. In an ongoing context of competing—colonizing and decolonizing—forces, language is vector of power.

" . . . [S]ettler colonialism has not ended" (Morgensen, 2011, p. 52). It continues to manifest in contemporary social spaces and conversations. From internal others in institutional academic departments to the indigenous anti-sovereignty movement to the anti-gay movement, colonizing discourses on race and sexuality salient to LGBTTQ-AIANs are evident (Brodkin, Morgen, & Hutchinson, 2011; Cattelino, 2010; Herman, 1997). Such is the legacy of compounded colonization.

In response to this legacy, the project of decolonization continues. This project necessarily involves both groups in the representative colonizer–colonized relationship. As Memmi (1965) states: "For if colonization destroys the colonized, it also rots the colonizer" (p. xvii). Settler colonialism affects everyone who lives in a settler society. Consequently, both representative groups have mutual interests that exist across social identities, locations, and experiences. By transforming the historical pattern of communication between them—that of violence and counterviolence (Fanon, 1961, p. 42), such mutual interests may be fulfilled. The following comment by Memmi (2006) is an appropriate conclusion to this review:

> Perhaps there is some naivete in hoping that, in the near future, one group will succeed in tempering its resentment, the other its greed . . . maybe history, for the most part, simply passes us by and we have no other recourse than to let time pass, with the hope that things will improve. But if we can act toward fulfilling our shared destiny, even a little, if we can play some role in it, no matter how small, it would be unforgivable for us not to have tried. (p. 144)

NOTES

1. U.S. settler colonialism is defined and discussed in the next section of this article.

2. The term *queer* is often credited as originating with Teresa de Lauretis in the early 1990s; it is a contested term with a history of complicated semantic meanings; for example, it has been deployed as a derogatory label and as a re-appropriated label salient to those with marked variation along a sexuality–sex–gender continuum; it has been deployed as an umbrella term for other identity labels along this continuum as well as a function of resistance to identity categories altogether (see Jagose, 1996; Kirsch, 2000; McConnel-Ginet, 2002).

3. "A variety of terms are used interchangeably for Native North Americans, among them *Indian, American Indian, Native, aborigine, indigenous people, First Nation, First People,* and *First American*. The search for a single name, however, has been unsuccessful. In the United States, the term *Native American* has been used but has fallen out of favor recently because anyone born in North or South America may

claim to be a Native American. The term *American Indian* is currently in favor, despite its misnomer; *Indian* still carries the stigma of its bestowal on tribal groups by European explorers who were searching for the Indian subcontinent of Asia. As such, the term fails to define the originary status of pre-Columbian American peoples. That the Inuit, Yupik, and Aleut peoples of Alaska consider themselves distinct from other indigenous North American peoples compromises the term *American Indian* even further, as these groups do not wish to be called *Indian*. Thus, when generalizations of the entire group are necessary, it is preferred to use the terms *American Indians* and *Alaska Natives*" (Hodge & Fredericks, 1999, p. 269).

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