

Regulated Narratives in Anti-Homophobia Education Complications in Coming Out Stories

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Ce papier explore la fonction des histoires sur les « sorties du placard » dans une éducation anti-homophobe. L'auteure nous parle de son dilemme face à ses histoires et aux réactions qui s'ensuivent. Elle suggère que ces dilemmes favorisent une pensée critique élargie autant dans une éducation anti-homophobe que dans celle qui est anti-raciste ou encore équitable.

What does it mean to come out? This, to me, was the central question that I was forced to negotiate and renegotiate in framing and telling my stories.¹ As David Eng and Alice Hom state, coming out is about “the ways in which social groups and categories organize, stage and discipline the naming of our desires” (qtd. in Lee 3). As Ruthann Lee argues in relation to Asian queers,

by declaring who we are, we are trying to express what we are, what we believe and what we desire. However, these beliefs, needs and desires are often contradictory—not only amongst different communities but also within ourselves. (3)

In this paper, I explore the function of coming out stories in anti-homophobia education.² The coming out story in the context of anti-homophobia education required a certain coherence that made it difficult to be or speak myself as a subject in process or a subject becoming (Venn 56, 58) or as Lee suggests, a subject with contradictory desires and beliefs. It also required, by its very form, a primacy and linear telling of sexual identity, ending with a “fully realized ‘gay’ subject” (Gopinath 268). In excavating some of the assumptions in coming out stories, Gayatri Gopinath elaborates that a commitment to visibility in very specific and public ways as well as a focus on the individual gay or lesbian subject presupposes “Euroamerican social and historical formations” (272) that may or may not be commensurate with South Asian and, I would add, other non-white contexts and experi-

ences. While I was being asked to come out, to disclose who I was, in a sense, it was a story and subject that I participated in producing in relation to the requirements of the coming out story, the school system, interpretations of my own experiences, and the particulars of the school in which I was working (Gubrium and Holstein 164). Often, I felt compelled to speak myself into existence as a coherent, fixed and finished subject—a lesbian and Muslim. That I don’t comfortably or uniformly identify as a lesbian, and that being Muslim is a complicated set of religious and cultural processes, fell outside the purview of what it was possible to speak. That being Muslim for me is inseparable from being non-white seemed beyond the frame of the story, as a complication to my coming out story, rather than integral to what constituted it, or at least my understandings of it.

The Context, the Framework, the Questions

I locate coming out stories as part of what Michel Foucault termed subjugated knowledges (1972: 82), to refer to knowledges that are present but excluded and disqualified from dominant knowledges. As a long tradition of feminists and critical pedagogues have argued, the sharing of experiences of variously marginalized groups can provide important insights, both to the individuals themselves, as well as to movements of social resistance and change. Far from individual experiences being of little political consequence, an examination of personal experiences can provide an entry point to explore the organization of social relations of power (Smith 154). In the context of anti-homophobia education, the coming out stories of lesbians, gays, and bisexuals attempt to enlarge the spaces of the sayable (Foucault 1991: 59) by naming the homophobia of school practices and insisting on our visibility. This work seeks to challenge the assumptions of who students are/are not, what and how students are/are not taught, and the behaviours and attitudes that are/are

not permissible. In fact, even the naming of homophobia and acknowledgment of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people in some school contexts can be seen to be profoundly destabilizing to established heterosexual norms. At stake are not only symbolic practices but material ones, as lesbians, gays, and bisexuals attempt to (re)constitute them/ourselves as subjects with rights and entitlements within school communities. These rights, while formally recognized,³ continue to be elusive. I start out by acknowledging the importance of anti-homophobia education in schools. These programs were secured after much advocacy and activism on the part of community members and educators. While I do want to critically challenge the function of coming out stories in anti-homophobia education, I do so in a way that acknowledges the commitment and risks of individuals who continue to do this difficult work—difficult because of the homophobia and other forms of violence that continue to operate in schools in pervasive and insidious ways and the ongoing difficulty in naming and addressing these violences.

The desire for coming out stories was quite persistent during this work and it is this desire for student stories of oppression and struggle, specifically in relation to coming out, that I explore in this paper. I focus primarily on the dilemmas I faced in framing and telling my coming out stories as well as some of the responses to them. I suggest that some of these dilemmas have resonances beyond my own stories of coming out and are relevant in thinking critically about aspects of anti-homophobia education as well as anti-racism and equity education more broadly speaking. Acknowledging this work to be crucially important, I am curious to explore how it is that I constituted myself as a particular subject in order to claim a place of inclusion in school communities.

My main questions can be summarized as follows: what are the conventions of the coming out story in anti-homophobia education? How do coming out stories in classrooms produce both stability and instability? Why the desire for stories? And how do storytelling and the constraints imposed by the classroom context flatten and freeze complicated social relations and subject positions? I attempt to problematize the practices in which I participated, as well as the dilemmas I negotiated. I also evaluate my coming out stories from multiple perspectives, including what seemed to be politically effective in practice, the simplifications in which I engaged, and the contexts which I negotiated. As Foucault explicates, in relation to power, his concern is not to understand power as only, or primarily, repressive and individualized but also productive, occurring through the entire social body and in its external practices and mechanisms (1994: 120; 1972: 97). I rely primarily on Foucault's understanding of power as repressive and productive as it allows me to expand my analysis and understanding of power in coming out stories as part of anti-homophobia education in interesting and challenging ways. Rather than seeing anti-homophobia

education, and coming out stories in particular, as only oppositional and part of marginal or subjugated knowledges (McHoul and Grace 15), I also begin to formulate an analysis around how the stories themselves become techniques of normalization and what counts as truth (McHoul and Grace 25), in sometimes troubling and problematic, as well as strategic ways.

I also want to acknowledge something that risks falling outside the frame altogether in my focus on coming out stories and that is the extent to which the individuals most at risk and with the most to lose, are doing the bulk of the work in addressing homophobia. How does this let everyone else “off the hook” for taking responsibility for addressing homophobia? While I was a reluctant participant in what often felt like a show and tell routine, it is true that other LGB people might find telling their coming out stories to be empowering in ways that I did not. However, I do remain concerned about how a focus on telling and consuming coming out stories comes to stand in place of examining how homophobia is organized, sustained and produced in policies and practices throughout the school.

Regulated Narratives: A Story of Sameness

My initial story was not recognizable as a coming out story, leading me to consider how it was that an audience came to recognize a “proper” coming out story. At the start, I told a story less about personal experiences with oppression and more about privileges I had not experienced, of whiteness, straightness and economic security. I came to an understanding of my sexual identity through complicated processes, including my relationship to my body as a non-white, working-class young woman and the kinds of meanings I had made and those made for me in relation to my body. The feedback I often received was that I needed to simplify my story and focus more on what it meant to be a lesbian and to try and connect with students emotionally, in terms of the hardships I had experienced. If I wasn't explicit in saying “I am a lesbian” in the story, students often asked at the end of my story, “so what are you?” However, the fact that I am perceived to be sufficiently feminine means that my body does not come into question in the same way as a body perceived to be outside the bounds of accepted gender norms. Calling on these norms, some students informed me that “I don't look like a lesbian.” Ambiguity in the story was not well tolerated, particularly in relation to assigning a familiar or recognizable name to my sexual orientation. In schools with Muslim students, I was often asked questions about what kind of Muslim I was, whether I prayed regularly or fasted during Ramadan. Some students insisted that I was not in fact Muslim as I did not follow certain rituals and ceremonies while others insisted that it was impossible to claim that I am Muslim and lesbian as these are incompatible identities. That

Islam is a faith of great diversity of traditions, interpretations, and practices was lost in translating my behaviour to familiar rituals observed by some. That my relationship with Islam and as a Muslim has and continues to change and is also something deeply personal as well as connected to a larger community felt quite impossible to engage or explicate. As Thomas King writes in relation to stories, “we trust easy oppositions. We are suspicious of complexities, distrustful of contradictions, fearful of enigmas” (25). As “coming out” suggests, there seemed to be a desire for me to come out and be recognizable in

analysis. While there were certainly still traces of these understandings, they were often barely perceptible. Himani Bannerji’s insight that living “is always like that, this being in society, it lacks neatness, a proper compartmentalization” (11) was not only difficult to speak in my story, as time went on it seemed to me that it was difficult to be heard, at times quite literally. Responses in classrooms ranged from ongoing homophobic comments during which it was difficult to even speak to quiet condemnation and refusal to engage, struggles to understand, moments of recognition, disclosure, and

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particular ways, and in many cases, I felt that I was not intelligible, either as a Muslim or a lesbian.

I was constantly negotiating Judith Butler’s insight that “no subject is its own point of departure” (9) with the recognition that no subject is wholly produced by this point of departure. However, it is this desire for me to be recognizable that I explore, in relation to what I speculate is at stake for dominant bodies and the resulting production of myself in ways that were at times, barely recognizable to me. As time went on, I spoke less of relations of power and more of oppression and more specifically, homophobic oppression. I spoke less of ambivalences and more of certainties; less of difference and more of sameness. I displaced much that was not considered relevant to my coming out. In short, I attempted to make myself recognizable and respectable as a Muslim lesbian in order to more effectively do the work of addressing homophobia, or so I thought. I was very careful about presenting the homophobia I experienced as a Muslim within my family and community in ways that I hoped would not reinforce the prevailing racism and stereotypes of Muslim communities as more homophobic, conservative, and traditional. My strategies of respectability included mentioning my long-term relationship, talking about the challenges I faced but emphasizing survival and support from family and friends, and presenting myself as a healthy and productive person. That I am well educated formally, with multiple degrees, and speak English “without an accent,” or at least without the “wrong” accent, all bolstered my claims to respectability. I tried to get as close as I could to normal.

My analysis of the world as a complicated place, in which oppressions work together, and that people, including myself, respond to in messy and contradictory ways, got packaged into a story that often flattened this

quiet affirmation. As Jaber Gubrium and James Holstein suggest, “stories are not complete prior to their telling” (166) and certainly this range of responses had an impact on what I was able or willing to say and the levels of risk that felt endurable. I struggled with compartmentalizing myself, and in particular with the difficulty I had of speaking about myself as a racialized person in ways that have and continue to so profoundly shape my life. I often felt that I was talking about race and whiteness as complications to coming out or as footnotes in my story. I was accused many times of having a hierarchy of oppressions, in which race was firmly on top, when it was homophobia that needed to be addressed and centred in coming out stories. I was often told, subtly and by exclusion, that I did not actually do anti-homophobia education. I understood such feedback and comments about simplifying my story and focusing on coming out as a lesbian to be about the displacement of what were understood to be peripheral identities, primarily of race. I understood this pitting of oppressions against each other as the need to secure for ourselves “our own place on the margin” (Fellows and Razack 339) in order to make claims of belonging and inclusion. Often, I did not want to risk complications that might jeopardise my claim. However, it is easier for some LGB people, particularly those who are white, to simplify their story as their privileges make this possible and even desirable. It became clear to me that I did not understand or locate my coming out only or primarily in relation to my sexual orientation and it was not just this that I was attempting to name and centre. However, given all of the other constraints and the dominant framing of the coming out story that I was constantly negotiating, in terms of other people’s demands and expectations, as well as the political project at hand, I often complied but uneasily.

Why a Story of Sameness? Empathy, Accountability and Other Things Along The Way⁴

While I have alluded to it above, in this section, I attempt to more thoroughly excavate some of the assumptions about what constituted an effective coming out story and I speculate on the investments in telling and hearing certain stories and performing myself as a certain kind of subject, rather than others. What is at stake in this particular way of doing anti-homophobia education? From my own reflections on my experiences of coming out, I

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suggest that the story that is solicited and desired in coming out is a story of sameness, the story that we are just like you, or at least almost like you, and in fact it is this near sameness that makes us as LGB people recognizable. However, for racialized LGBs, the performance of sameness can only go so far as we are already Othered in complicated and sometimes contradictory ways. Where we are/I am different, I certainly attempted to generate empathy on the part of the audience, asking them to imagine what it might mean to come to school everyday and experience homophobic violence and exclusion.

I suspect for the dominant bodies, straight, white students and staff, my story was more palatable and less threatening when it was a story of oppression and sameness. What might it mean to shift my story from one of asking for inclusion to questioning its formation and terms? What might it mean to rely not on generating empathy but responsibility as a political project, and would it be an effective political intervention in schools to advance anti-homophobia education? As Craig Womack, a self-identified Indian gay man⁵ writes in relation to the desire for stories,

I'm always being asked by, well, for lack of a better term, white people, to come to various gatherings and tell stories. I get the feeling that they already have a certain type of story in mind ... a story, in short, that mirrors their own culture back at them and makes them feel good, unimplicated. (31)

I suggest that the "put yourself in my shoes" approach to talking about difference, while politically expedient, reproduces problematic dynamics, including the ones that Womack suggests, that in fact often undermine claims to social justice.

I rely on Sherene Razack to demand an interrogation of the interpretive structures and spaces between the narration of experience and its reception and investments in hearing stories in ways that demonstrate the "dominant group's refusal to examine its own complicity in oppressing others" (40). As Joan Scott suggests, while exposing the different experiences of marginalized groups reveals repressive mechanisms, it does not help us to understand difference as relationally constituted (25). Without speaking about this relationality between homophobia and heterosexism, there is an obscuring of how homophobia is organized relationally to benefit people who are heterosexual at the expense of those who are not. Rather than trying to only align themselves with the suffering of LGB peoples, what might it mean to suggest that straight staff and students are all too familiar with homophobia as they enact and benefit from it, either directly or through the heterosexual privileges they incur? Applying Razack's insights to anti-homophobia education, how is accountability replaced by feeling? How might the frame of anti-homophobia education be expanded to include race, not as a complication but also as part of the way in which homophobia and heterosexism are lived and organized? If, as Megan Boler contends, "these 'others' whose lives we imagine don't want empathy, they want justice" (255), do coming out stories move us towards justice and if so, which stories and how heard? Womack articulates the possibilities and pitfalls of storytelling in this way:

Storytelling, it now seems to me, is a vast terrain with many possibilities for getting lost, as well as for finding one's way, and not enough folks talking about better maps that represent the real territory in question. (33)

I suggest that the real territory includes questions of domination, oppression, and injustice that are often displaced or peripheralized in coming out stories, including my own.

While some LGB people willingly see and story themselves as the same, I participated in this story very reluctantly and anxiously. This connection between myself and the audience that I attempted to make was one in which I could make myself a person with a family, feelings, likes, dislikes—a story in which I could make myself human in the hopes that students and staff with homophobic ideas and attitudes might reconsider their ideas and behaviours about who they presumed me to be. If I had a face, a name, a body and a story, perhaps their homophobia would be tempered or challenged by my humanness, by my story. In cases where students, as well as staff, continue to believe that LGB people do not deserve protection, rights, and entitlements in the schools, sometimes as basic as the right to be alive, the possibility of seeing me and other LGB people as human is a radical political project. For those students and staff who are LGB or questioning and not

out in schools, I can only speculate what the workshops and our presence might mean. In some cases, as I came to know, it meant that people, students as well as teachers, did not feel hopelessly alone, despondent, or totally isolated. For those students who contacted me after workshops or through teachers to whom they were out, the need for support and visibility and to know that they were not alone was critically important.

Playing the Respectable Subject

As Paul Passavant argues, “rights are given meaning within a discourse that embodies subjects who can make legitimate right claims” (115). He traces the liberal subject who is authorized to make and benefit from such claims, not as disembodied (117), but as civilized, meaning bourgeois and “racially white” (118). Drawing on Passavant, Kari Dehli elaborates that the “possibility of becoming and being recognized as a subject with rights or a subject who knows is constituted through discourses of reason, morality, decency and civility” (136). In the context of coming out stories, I see traces of my efforts to perform myself as respectable so as to be admitted to the category of those entitled to rights, despite the provisional and tenuous nature of this status, given my non-white, lesbian, Muslim identities and the differing meanings and impacts of these identities. While my performance might be strategic, I am also instructing others, both LGB and non-LGB audience members about what it means and looks like to be a lesbian. I am produced and participate in producing myself as a particular subject, in order to be recognizable and deserving of rights. However, how am I reproducing the very terms of regulation and repression that I am attempting to challenge through these “forms of self-governance” (Passavant 122) that are required in order to be recognizable?

Sara Ahmed cites Butler in relation to problematizing efforts for gay marriage while also recognizing what it means to have one’s relationship recognized by others. Following Butler, Ahmed asks how efforts to secure gay marriage might actually “strengthen the hierarchy between legitimate and illegitimate lives” (150). I want to ask a similar question of my efforts to produce myself as respectable and recognizable in my coming out story. How do I attempt to secure legitimacy for myself, however tenuous and incomplete, at the expense of those who cannot be seen as legitimate, or refuse to do so, while also recognizing the importance of the political project at hand and the contexts in which I am coming out? As Foucault argues,

there are two meanings of the word subject: subject to someone else by control and dependence and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to. (1982: 212)

It is much apparent to me how LGB people are subject to control outside of ourselves and live lives in conditions not of our making. What is less clear is how my own understanding of who I am, my identities, are also forms of power that I sometimes take up as a way of producing myself, not outside of identities to which I am subjugated, particularly in my efforts to gain access to rights. As Mary Louise Fellows and Sherene Razack argue, “respectability is a claim for membership in dominant groups; attaining it, even one aspect of it, requires the subordination of Others” (352). How might partial and complicated bids

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for inclusion also be connected to broader movements for social justice that extend beyond our investments in particular subjects and not others? Is it possible as a short term strategy to fight for respectability while also attempting to question the terms and relationality on which respectability is constructed? Foucault’s work on how subjects constitute themselves “through the exclusion of some others” (1994: 403-404) I have found helpful, not only in relation to how heterosexuals construct themselves through the exclusion of LGB peoples but also about how we, as marginal Others, engage in these dividing practices in our political work as a result of our bids for inclusion. While I do want to qualify that the impacts of these exclusionary practices are not the same, I also want to draw attention to how anti-homophobia and equity efforts are involved in these complicitous practices.

Disparate Thoughts—Wrapping Up

As Mariana Valverde observes, “we have not developed practices of truth telling that acknowledge power differences” (86). In the framing, telling and taking up of coming out stories in ways that do not centre asymmetrical relations of power but rely on emotions, primarily empathy, to move the audience to rethink their homophobia, I am suspicious of what remains unnamed and unchallenged. Echoing Womack, I suspect that the great desire for particular coming out stories is in part due to the fact that the audience can remain innocent and unimplicated. I also suggest that the desire for coming out stories in which sexual identities are almost exclusively focused is due in part to the fact that white lesbians, gays, and bisexuals can continue to avoid questions of white privilege and complicitous with racism. While coming out stories may be an important strategy in seeking rights,

representation, and protection for LGB students and staff, it is not without risks. Coming out stories, and certainly my coming out story, did not only speak back to power but was a practice embedded in power in particular ways. David Scott's insight that we come to understand and perform freedom and resistance not only in ways of our making but in appropriate ways (52, 81) is, to me, both disturbing and illuminating. Following Scott, Dehli asks "about the terms in which it is possible (or not) to 'fashion' a self that can legitimately be recognized as a speaking subject" (137). For me, one of the tasks becomes to investigate how, in part, I produced and am produced as a subject that I also contest, participating in problematic practices of normalization (Dehli 135) despite my own efforts to advance equity. This article is an effort to supportively challenge and trouble this particular approach to doing anti-homophobia work in order to think more critically about our interventions for social justice and what they conceal and illuminate. While every analysis and intervention is partial and problematic, not all are equally so and I want to be able to continue asking which are better and more effective in relation to the goals and contexts in which I/we locate our interventions while keeping a focus on the mechanisms of power.⁶

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¹I use the term coming out stories, in plural, to reflect the many and varied stories I told.

²A number of preoccupations bring me to this inquiry. During my time as an equity worker at the Toronto District School Board (TDSB), my responsibilities included participating in, supervising and sometimes leading various equity efforts, including the collaborative overseeing of the anti-homophobia speakers' bureau. Anti-homophobia workshops were usually requested from teachers or school administrators in response to incidents of

homophobia or as one time educational sessions.

³Despite the adoption of a broad equity policy that is inclusive of class, race, gender, sexual orientation, and ability, the gap between policy and reality in TDSB schools is difficult to miss, not only in relation to anti-homophobia but all equity areas. See www.tdsb.on.ca for details of the full policy. This policy was secured as a result of the advocacy of a broad range of community organizations, educators and activists.

⁴I rely on ideas and insights about storytelling developed in an M.A. thesis that was collaboratively researched and theorized with my colleague Tabish Surani. These insights were also collaboratively written in the theoretical framework sections of both theses. For a fuller discussion of this point, see Surani; Charania.

⁵Womack identifies as being of Creek, Cherokee, Irish and German descent. Throughout the article, he variously refers to himself as Native American, a Creek trickster, a warrior, mixed blood, a queer Indian and a gay Indian man.

⁶At the time of writing this article, my position as a Student Program Worker at the TDSB remains vacant. It was not reposted when I left the board. Cuts to equity positions, lack of accountability for anti-homophobia, anti-racism and equity policies as well as deep cuts in services and funding to public education and a corresponding rise in punishing equity seeking youth and communities continues.

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CORNELIA C. HORNSTY

Connecting

He didn't know what to make of it
and was always puzzled
by his daughter's choices,
the one to go to a small college
and not the prestigious university
in his city where just everyone went,
the one to go to France for third year
to acquire language facility
and see some of the world,
the one to marry someone who was NOT
going to be a doctor
and who lived in a different country,
the one to work on an MA
in French Literature, even though
her health was fragile.

So when it was done, the MA,
the best he could do
was take a photo of the book
containing her thesis
as it stood on the diningroom
table.

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