

Unfixing the Photograph: Rethinking How We Look at Portrait Photography

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In July 2009, the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art exhibited the first major retrospective of Richard Avedon's photographs to take place in the United States since his death in 2004. Sandra Phillips, curator of photography at SFMOMA and the organizer of the exhibition, referred to Avedon as "One of our great photographers, whose work will only increase in influence and resonance."¹ Indeed Avedon is one of the most recognized photographers of the 20th century.² In describing his own work, Avedon, a champion of both fashion and fine art photography, said, "My photographs don't go below the surface. They don't go below anything. They're readings of the surface. I have great faith in surfaces. A good one is full of clues."³ Avedon's portraits do entice viewers to linger over their beautiful, articulate surfaces. But sustained and unchallenged gazing also encourages readings of portrait photographs that are without critical and nuanced reflection or interrogation. This disregard for how we are actively and subconsciously interpreting what we look at is problematic. The pervasive idea that looking at the surfaces of people can reveal something deeper about them is attractive, but it is also misleading.





As viewers we do not passively receive visual or objective information, nor do photographs ever present objective accounts or reveal truths about a person's character. Avedon's portraits present us with detailed surfaces that seduce us into believing that the longer we look, the more we will uncover. But meticulous photographic portraits only represent surface details, at a fixed instant in time, seen through a particular lens, in a specific light. Because we are encouraged to look as long as we like and however we like, the assumptions we make go unchecked. Avedon's pictures do not require—or even hint—that we should consider *how* we are looking or question the assumptions we are making. On the contrary, they encourage us to make subjective interpretations of surface information and reductive categorizations of the sitters' identities. I left the Avedon retrospective at SFMOMA with the feeling that while he is certainly one of the great photographers of our time, his work is situated within a specific historical context. Rather than challenging how images create stereotypes, Avedon's work seems to celebrate pictures as fixed icons.

The act of looking, the primary means by which we engage with photographs, is (to risk repeating myself) an active process. Looking, to borrow a definition from the visual studies theorists Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, is intimately tied to ideology.⁴ To look is to actively make meaning as well as to engage in relationships to power. When we see, our senses take in information passively, whereas when we *look*, we actively make meaning of the world.⁵ When we look we rely on our naturalized—and thus, often unbeknownst to us, culturally informed—ideologies to make assumptions about what, or, in the case of portrait photography, who, we are looking at. We often believe that our highly particular interpretations are denotative, uninterpreted, unmediated visual facts.

Due in part to photography's seeming objectivity, the relationship between looking at photographic images and the lived experience of looking at people is highly complicated.⁶ Photographs may be mechanically made, but they are subjective representations. Allan Sekula, a photographer and visual culture theorist, poignantly contends that while pictures are not objective representations of the lived world, the cultural belief in the truth value of photography leads most people to consider photographs "congruent with knowledge in general."⁷ For my purposes it is not so important to determine to what degree photographs are objective records, but rather to explore how this assumption can be used to critique the authority we invest in looking. The issue at stake is how portrait photographs, and in particular images of representationally marginalized people, can resist this essentializing mindset and intervene in the way we look. Because I am invested in creating a text that is both theoretical and practically applicable, and because my own studio work is invested in thinking about these issues, I will include my own artistic production in the



Richard Avedon, *Juan Patricio Lobato, Carney, Rocky Ford, Colorado*, August, 23, 1980, 1980, Gelatin silver print, 59 5/8 x 47 1/8 in. Collection of the Richard Avedon Foundation



Richard Avedon, *Ronald Fischer, Beekeeper, Davis, California*, May 9, 1981, 1981, Gelatin silver print, 59 5/8 x 47 1/8 in. Collection of the Richard Avedon Foundation

discussion. The two other artists central to this essay are Catherine Opie and Nikki S. Lee. Like Avedon's pictures of Juan Patricio Lobato and Ronald Fischer, the photographs I will discuss are representations of figures not often seen in mass visual culture. But unlike Avedon, Opie, Lee, and I make pictures that resist reinscription of people into reductive stereotypes and call the act of looking to our attention.

When creating pictures of representationally marginalized subjects, the artist is faced with two dilemmas. First: Once visible, the subject risks becoming a token representation or a stereotype. In his discussion of colonial discourse, the cultural theorist Homi K. Bhabha contends that the colonizer (or, for the purposes of this essay, Avedon's gaze coupled with the reception of his work by the mainstream public) "produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible."⁸ To maintain what it means to be "normal" and in the power-controlling majority, dominant culture must always regulate and depict the "other" as an identifiable and marginal subject.

The second and perhaps more nuanced issue is intertwined with the first and has much to do with the reductive, binary oppositions that this essay seeks to dismantle. When people belonging to visual groups not often seen in popular visual culture are made visible and stereotypes are created, others who identify similarly

yet are *not* visually recognizable as representations of, or subtle variations of, those stereotypes become illegible. Abigail Solomon-Godeau, an art historian and the author of *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices*, writes that the problem of engaging with binary oppositions of negative visibility countered by positive visibility is “uncomplicated,” grounded in “unexamined essentialism,” and relies on a “positivist model that is both limiting and ultimately deceptive.”⁹ In summation, we must consider how the project of creating visibility itself reinforces and further legitimizes the cultural weight we invest in looking.

I have developed and regularly deploy three mutually informing lenses for making portraits, and for thinking through portraiture. These lenses can be applied individually and (for the most part) interchangeably, or all three lenses can be applied to a discussion of any single image, and insights continue to unfold as each angle of analysis augments the critical perspective provided by the others. Since my primary interest lies in strategies of problematizing the act of looking, the widely held cultural belief in the iconicity of the photograph, and depicting subjects not often seen in popular media, the examples I discuss here all involve marginally represented subject positions. But these lenses can be applied productively to a wide range of photographic portraiture and are broadly useful as teaching tools, critiquing tools, and rhetorical models.

Picturing Without Showing: Strategies of Visibility and Resistance

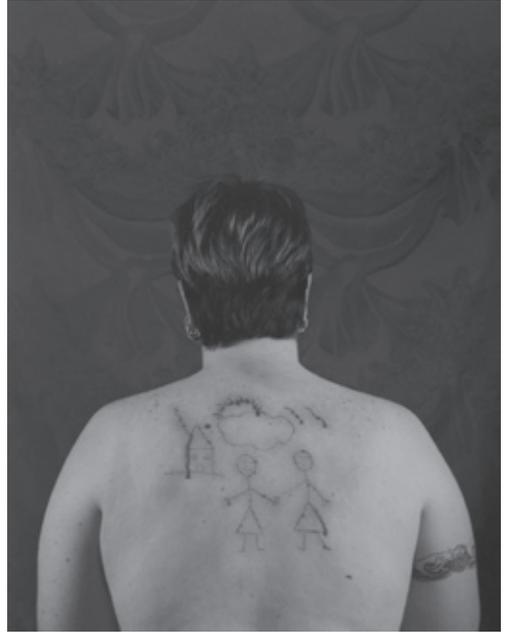
When a work “pictures without showing,” it challenges traditional portraiture by calling to our attention how looking causes us to make subconscious cultural and ideological interpretations. These works create visibility for minority subject positions, but in a way that resists reductiveness. They engage systems of representation and at the same time challenge the conventions of how we look at and interpret people in images. Using this strategy, artists make portraits that are about a particular subject or experience but resist presenting a reductive illustration of an “other.” Catherine Opie’s *Self-Portrait/Cutting* (1993) is a self-portrait, but what is important for me in this work (and what makes it unlike Avedon’s work) is that Opie’s strategy of picturing without showing prevents us from fixing and reducing the subject. What we see is a person’s unclothed back and shoulders, hair, tattoo, and piercings. The person is facing away from us. A line drawing of a house, a sun, a cloud, and two female figures holding hands has been freshly cut into the skin. Realizing that we have limited information, we come to conscious awareness of how we are looking at and interpreting signs through received cultural ideologies to arrive at conclusions about the person in the photograph.

A deep-green backdrop stretches from top to bottom and side to side of the frame. Reminiscent of Baroque and Renaissance fabric drapes, it brings to mind regality and stateliness. In front of the backdrop are the squared-off shoulders, head and back of a figure. The arms are at rest, and the bottom edge of the photograph crops them just above the elbow. A black tattoo bands horizontally around the sitter's right arm. The subject is a fair-skinned, broad-shouldered Caucasian with freckles dappling the back and arms, short dark hair, a silver hoop in the right earlobe, and three similar hoops in the left. The haircut, piercings, tattoo, and body shape are culturally coded signifiers; depending on our familiarity with these signifiers, we may or may not infer that we are looking at an American dyke and that the picture was likely taken sometime in the 1990s. Regardless, the image begs us to make assumptions based solely on what we can infer from the person's back, and thus actively calls our attention to the frequency with which we unconsciously make assumptions about people based solely on how they look.

When Opie decided to make this image, she had already been working on a series of portraits of people from the San Francisco Bay Area S&M community. She was interested in making a work in which she brought her own participation in S&M culture to the fore.¹⁰

In this work we also encounter a second portrait: the figures cut into the subject's back. Opie asked her friend Judie Bamber to cut this double portrait into her skin largely because Bamber lacked experience in cutting; Opie wanted the piece to have a tentative, childlike look.¹¹ Opie's back has in effect been transformed into a page on which cultural meaning is bloodily inscribed. The cutting reads as a representation of domesticity and family that is almost normative, but not quite.

Abigail Solomon-Godeau has written insightfully about how the female body, throughout art history, has served as a blank slate upon which meaning is inscribed rather than an entity in which meaning already resides. *Self-Portrait/Cutting* is at once exemplary of and subversive of this type of reading. Opie is both



Catherine Opie, *Self-Portrait/Cutting*, 1993, Chromogenic print, 40 x 30 in. Guggenheim Museum, purchased with funds contributed by the Photography Committee, 2003

bearer and maker of meaning, thus raising questions about the oppressions regulating female bodies and who is able to make meaning with female bodies.

In a 2006 interview with Douglas Crimp, Opie explained the iconography of the cutting: “It’s a very innocent image, even though it’s cut into my back. It’s two stick-figure girls with a little bleeding house. What isn’t innocent is the attitude in American culture, especially right now, that seeks to deny me permission to have a family.”¹² Opie’s work is thus challenging not only the power that normally regulates the type of meaning bestowed on female bodies, but also the structures that seek to regulate her domestic life. She raises questions about gay marriage as well as arguments within the queer community about queer rights and marriage rights. Opie told Crimp that she made this image after her first serious domestic breakup, when issues of home life were heavy on her mind.¹³ The family portrait is not realized. It is longed for. The desire for domestic coupling is not only written in blood but something Opie cannot, so to speak, get off her back. The narrative, we understand, is that a family made up of two women is at once a reality and agonizing to attain.

Through picturing without showing, engaging strategies of creating visibility that resist fixity, *Self-Portrait/Cutting* pushes back against our impulse to apply a reductive, possessing look. Opie presents us with a queer body, yet the specifics of the person’s identity cannot be fixed, bringing to the fore instead larger social and political issues about queer rights and queer domesticity. Opie’s *Self-Portrait/Cutting* is a specific and profoundly impactful portrait—a powerful example of how portrait photography can intervene into the ideology of looking.

The Distance of Proximity: Between the Photographer and the Subject

Portrait photography always involves a relationship between the photographer and the person or people pictured. The emotional space among and between the participants changes drastically depending on the project. When thinking and looking through this lens, it is important to take into consideration the artist’s intentions as well as how the artist describes (through artist statements, interviews, et cetera) their relationship to the project and to the other people involved. In the words of Judith Butler: “Let’s face it. We’re undone by each other. And if we’re not we’re



missing something."¹⁴ It is crucial to consider what is happening in the inspirational space of relations and collaboration.

In 2002 and 2003, Nikki S. Lee worked on the series *Parts*. The artist appears in each casual, snapshotlike image as one half of a couple. The setting varies from domestic to urban to rural, and Lee changes personas from one picture to the next. Her various companions are always mostly cropped out; Lee's character is always entire, but as the artist she allows only a part of the other person's body to be visible within the frame. The white border on three sides of each picture signals to us that the fourth side, along with most of the other figure, has been deliberately cropped out.

Lee uses the crop as tool by which she exerts agency over image production, calling attention to the fact that she is constructing how we visually read her images and the bodies within the images. The emphasis, as the title suggests, is on *part*; we are only shown part of the other person and only part of a relationship. Since this work is a series, the element of time is implicit. Lee presents herself as constantly changing, her identity always in flux, in part because she is always depicted in relation to another. She thereby challenges the traditional concept of a photograph as an accurate, frozen, isolated, singular moment. She forces us to consider that perhaps we are only ever seeing a part of Nikki S. Lee.

Lee's images resist the viewer's impulse to reduce her character to a single, essential identity by withholding visual information about her relationships with her semi-pictured companions. This resistance to depiction complicates the tactic of picturing without showing; this second lens, a consideration of the



Nikki S. Lee, *Parts* 6, 10 & 37 from the series *Parts*, 2002–3
Chromogenic print on aluminum, Leslie Tonkonow Artworks + Projects

relationships between the photographer and her subjects, enhances our understanding of the work. In her writings and interviews, Lee is transparent about her interest in viewers' responses. In particular she wants to know what her audience thinks of her in relation to her partially seen, ever-changing companion.

Her strategy of cropping, she has found, inevitably leads viewer's imaginations to wander toward narratives of breakup and loss. "Many people see these images as melancholic," she says, "thinking that they may be pictures after a breakup, but that was not my intention. I adopted the cliché of cutting pictures to show how personal identity is affected by other people and different kinds of relationships."¹⁵

At first it may seem that *Parts* is mostly an exercise in self-portraiture, yet the real complexity of the images resides in her relation with, and attention to, her companion. In other words, Lee is using her own body but the pictures are not about her; they are about the relationship between a character she is playing and the other partial figure in the frame. Lee is inviting us to think not only about how we look at figures in pictures and how we come to think we know them, but also about how relationality within the frame (as well as the photographer's relationship, as author, with the other subjects, and the picture itself) influences our interpretation of a work.



Lee's resistance to showing her companion results in our inability to know her character, or to entirely understand any of the scenarios. Her personhood is tied up in her relationship to the other presence, and that other presence is continually unknown and changing. By calling our attention to the "distance of proximity," and denying us our usual ability to look at and read relationality, Lee disrupts the usual ways in which we look at and understand portrait photography.

Of course photographs, like all art, maintain their own existence in the world independent of the artist's intentions. But no artwork, and certainly no photographic portrait, is made in isolation; rather, these images are always the products of relationships. By considering the distance of proximity—the emotional relationships in play among artists, participants, and projects—we can, and indeed should, employ as analytical tools the artist's intentionality and the personal space(s) in which a work evolved. These considerations help us challenge previously held assumptions, make critical considerations, and gain a well-rounded if not sympathetic understanding of the project, process, and product.

Hybrid-Autoethnography: Self-Presentation and Performing for the Lens

100% Triptych (2009) is part of an ongoing project about my partner and love of



Ace Lehner and Libby Olguin, *100% Triptych*, 2009
Digital chromogenic prints, Three parts, each 43 x 34 in.
Collection of the artist

my life, Libby. The larger project is a dual exploration: at once making pictures about my feelings for her and through my particular queer, female bodied gaze, while also investigating Libby's lived experience as a white-looking, Mexican American femme lesbian.

The three photographs hang in a horizontal row a few inches apart. Each image is 43 inches high and 34 inches wide. The same figure appears in each frame, with some variation. The backgrounds are slightly different shades of pale blue sky atop a bottom third of more saturated, less focused greens, grays, and browns, which we read as land. Slightly larger than life and only shown from the chest up, the figure is outdoors but no place in



particular. Her dark hair is slicked tightly back in a high ponytail. She wears black eyeliner, dark lipstick, two rosaries, a white tank top, and large gold hoop earrings.

In the image on the left, the figure's head is tipped back so that she looks down the bridge of her nose at us. Her lips are parted slightly, her shoulders relaxed, arms presumably hanging at her sides. In the central image she has moved slightly to the left of the frame. Her head is still tilted back but now ever so slightly. Her face is in three-quarter view, her gaze still unflinching but now out of the corners of her eyes. In the image on the right she is slightly higher in the frame. She confronts us squarely, head cocked to the side, shoulders slightly uneven. In the center and right images the figure clenches the shoulders of her tank top; in the right-hand image she is pulling the straps down and away from her chest to reveal most fully her pectoral tattoos. One is a tattoo of a rose over a banner reading "Margarita." The other is a cameo-style rendering of a woman over a banner that reads "Guadalupe."

The work's title comes from Libby's experience attending Horace Mann Middle School in the Mission district of San Francisco at a time when the Mission was still mostly populated by Mexican and Mexican American families. She describes her style in middle school as "gangster," similar to how she stages herself in *100% Triptych*. Libby at age 11 was the fairest Mexican American student at the school and was often picked on and threatened by her classmates because she looked like a gringa. It was not so much that she was an outcast that bothered her, but rather that (both then and now) her cultural heritage as well as her queer identity were often illegible to others. During a particularly rough time, one of her friends gave her a popular style T-shirt, with an illustration of a crucifix on the front and a heterosexual Chicano couple on the back, with the caption "100% Chicana." Wearing the shirt was an early act of exerting her Mexicanness, enacting the version of her self that she wanted people to see and read. In the course of our larger project, Libby became interested in re-exploring this particular event in her personal history from an adult standpoint.

Titling the piece *100% Triptych* Libby and I hoped to underline that her identification(s) can never be totalizing and that she is always disidentifying, or only partially identifying, with various subject positions, be it femme lesbian, Mexican American, or any of her other many self-identifications.¹⁶

The use of repetition in this piece resonates with Judith Butler's discussion and characterization of gender performance as "imitation for which there is no original."¹⁷ In *100% Triptych* Libby slightly repositions herself from one frame to the next, suggesting that perhaps she is posing and reposing in an effort to find a demonstration of herself that best conveys her gangster identity. This was the only strategy she once had for enacting a Mexican identity, and thus it points to the dearth

of available strategies for visually presenting herself in legible ways. In a sense this process is as much a self-critical reenactment of her former self as a questioning of cultural authenticity as played out through a particular stereotype of Chicana gangster identity. Playing out this role today from a safe distance takes on humor and insincerity, questioning the premise of authenticity and originality. The idea of infinite iterations with subtle variations also undermines the idea that there is ever an authentic or right version that will be entirely legible. The work points to the complexity of identification involved in performing one's identity and what it sometimes takes to be legible. Multiple iterations for which there is no obvious original reflects the way photographs themselves are effectively limitless; an infinite number of prints can be made from a single negative, with no single one being any more original or authentic than any other.

By performing the "gangster" stereotype version of her former self, an identity she no longer regularly deploys, Libby reanimates this identity from a distanced and critical perspective. She is able to disidentify with this particular character—to accept the elements of a gangster identity that she finds useful while subverting those that now seem undesirable. The performance and cultural studies theorist José Esteban Muñoz, borrowing from the cultural theorist Celeste Olalquiaga, describes Latina lesbian camp as a "strategic response to the breakdown of representation that occurs when a queer, ethnically marked, or other subject encounters . . . her inability to fit within the majoritarian representational regime."¹⁸ Performing her "gangster self" is no longer a strategic response to enacting a very particular Mexicanness; in *100% Triptych* Libby's particular performance combined with the visual repetition of similar but shifted imagery is a deployment of Latina lesbian camp.

Muñoz discusses auto-ethnography as performances wherein artists articulate their complex and disidentificatory cultural locations through sub-cultural performances reclaiming and transforming their status as 'others.' In Muñoz's definition the performance subverts the language of mass culture to enact a subculture identity. Muñoz uses the term auto-ethnography to call into question the very foundations of ethnography and anthropological discourse, which are traditionally grounded in colonialization and subjugation of non-Western and subaltern identities.

Muñoz is actively engaging colonialism with his deployment of the term "ethnography" in order to bring this thinking into dialogue with contemporary artistic practices. Ethnography is a methodology used to describe and report anthropological fieldwork, just as anthropology as a discipline originated as an extension of colonial discourse. That is to say, ethnography and anthropology, along with other early Western sciences, employed visual classifications of non-Western people that

naturalized racism and legitimized Western colonial imperialist endeavors of capitalist expansion. Thanks to many writers, philosophers, cultural theorists, and novelists who have reshaped the field of anthropology and the practice of ethnography, this is no longer so much the case today.

If we think of Avedon's images as ethnographic, documentations of otherness that position the photographer as objective recorder of the exotic, and auto-ethnography as situations where artists, as others, articulate their own marginal subject positions and perform their subcultural identities through performances that subvert the language of mass culture, *100% Triptych* can best be described as collaboratively performing identity or what I would call hybrid auto-ethnography. Hybrid auto-ethnography is a strategic collaboration that simultaneously dismantles both the Western modernist notion of the singular genius artist and the binary dynamic of colonial expert versus observed other. In this type of work the person within the frame performs and manipulates identity presentation while the formalist and photographic strategies by which the picture is made critically engage the culturally naturalized way we look at people and pictures. Notably, however, while this process is not consciously enacted in all works, both photographer and persons pictured participate to varying degrees in how the subject's identity is performed and represented.

In *100% Triptych* Libby's performance of her version of Latina lesbian camp highlights her inability to fit within a dominant framework of legibility. Through collaborating to create a performance of a hybrid self and a reanimation of her middle-school identity for the camera, Libby makes herself legible from her current position as an adult femme Latina lesbian. Collapsing the way I look at her and the way she performs, the resulting image is at once an enactment and an intervention into an inherently reductive reading of her identity—looking without critical engagement. This body of work positions the viewer as my surrogate and invites you to look with my gaze. This collaborative project intervenes in the act of looking and challenges the ideas of singular authorship and unified identity.

Loading a New Roll: Conclusions and New Questions

It is precisely the challenge of using the medium of photography—a technology of visual representation—to create work that calls into question the authority and ideologies we invest in looking that makes such interventions so potentially powerful. Photographic work that considers people who are rendered illegible through the usual processes of looking and actively strives to address this is fascinating, and can actually change how we look. Photographic portraits that resist the reinscription of identities into hegemonic inequitable classifications of race, class, gender, and other oppressive systems are both necessary and difficult. As makers, thinkers, writers,

and teachers, we must continually ask in what ways a subject's self-presentation, disidentification, and intersections of identity can affect the resulting photographic representation. What are some successful imaging strategies for creating visibility while resisting reducibility? And how does a photographer's proximity to his or her subject shape the working process and the resulting images?

The relationship between viewing photographs of people and looking at people in life is inextricable; the picture is not a simulation of the lived world, but a place where ideology is significantly tied to visual culture. Photographs have the potential to offer a space where we are able to interrogate our processes of looking precisely because they present suspended visual moments. In manipulating the cultural belief in the truth value of the photograph, artists and subjects can unfix the image in a way that destabilizes the naturalization of ideologies that come into play in the act of looking.

It is the moment of looking at an image when the picture's meaning is created. This is why this text and the three lenses are so important to take into consideration, for they aid in a thoughtful and critical engagement with looking. Just as each viewer and artist will use each lens differently, the context in which photographs are encountered will always influence their reception. As an alternate mode of producing and viewing, the lenses I propose here are meant as points of departure and as the beginning of a process for investigating more critically engaged and nuanced ways of looking at photographic portraiture. They offer a way of moving forward that thoughtfully considers practices of making and looking—not only at photographs but also at all art and all life.

The works I have discussed follow a loose historical trajectory that has been in some sense a rhetorical strategy, which, here at the end, is only beginning. I have been invested in situating my own work historically and using it—more through intuition than articulation—to propose contemporary ways of building on the past to move portrait photography, and the dialogue around it, forward.

Notes

1. "SFMOMA Presents Richard Avedon: Photographs 1946–2004," San Francisco Museum of Modern Art press release, <http://www.sfmoma.org/press/releases/exhibitions/435>.
2. Richard Avedon Foundation website: http://www.richardavedon.com/data/web/richard_avedon_chronology.pdf.
3. Ibid.
4. Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): 21.
5. Ibid., 10.
6. Ibid., 16.
7. Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (1986): 56.
8. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994): 67, 70–71.
9. Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991): 258.
10. Douglas Crimp and Catherine Opie, "Catherine Opie in Conversation with Douglas Crimp" in *The Aesthetic of Risk: Conversation at the 3rd Annual SoCCAS Symposium* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, April 29, 2006): 300.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid. The possible metaphorical meanings here are various. The two triangles could possibly operate more as symbols of queerness than literal dresses. The triangles and the stick figures are simplistic but also problematic, as they reinforce the conflation of gender and sexuality. Viewers must remember that attire and gender presentation do not necessarily connote biological sex; the inscribed figures could embody several variations of partnership, including for example cross-dressing, which is not necessarily representative of queer sexuality or queer gender identity.
13. Ibid.
14. Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004): 19.
15. Susan Bright, *Art Photography Now* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2005): 41.
16. José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999): 31.
17. Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004): 19.
18. José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999): 128.