Queering Super-Manhood: Superhero Masculinity, Camp and Public Relations as a Textual Framework

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For those who don't read superhero comics, it may come as a surprise that homosexual superheroes are a new phenomenon. Only in recent years the "Big Two" comics publishers, Marvel and DC, have begun producing comics with homosexual lead and supporting characters. This emergent cultural practice has met with mixed reactions from the comics community and mainstream audiences. To some, the inclusion of homosexuality in the comic book medium is seen as an invasion and even a perversion of cultural icons. These arguments are grounded in Cold War attitudes and rhetoric, which also played a significant role in the creation of the comics industries self-censorship code, in part by focusing on sexual implications in the relationship between Batman and Robin.

This paper interrogates this emergent practice by examining primary texts such as *The Authority*, *The X-Men*, and most vigorously the *Rawhide Kid*, as well as press coverage and commentary. Specifically, this paper argues that Marvel's press releases accompanying the release of the new *Rawhide Kid* comic book function to prepare a dominant public perception of the character property as homosexual when the actual text is ambiguous and as open to polysemic reading as was the 1950s' Batman comics. By considering the homophobic backlash to Marvel's new cowboy comic, I argue that this particular resistance to homosexuality in mainstream media demonstrates the volatility of the cowboy as a national icon of masculinity and the political force of camp. While the Rawhide Kid does little to offer an alternative to the dominant models of superhero masculinity, his mere presence in the public eye challenges the assumed hetero-normative "ownership" of cultural iconography.

A Brief Historical Perspective

The Cold War period in the United States, was a time when homosexuality was institutionally pathologized and characterized as a sexual abnormality or deviancy. Typified as unloyal to the nation, homosexuals were also seen as a security risk. John D'Emilio has argued that, "the pens of right-wing ideologues transformed homosexuality into an epidemic infecting the nation, actively spread by Communists to sap the strength of the next generation" (D'Emilio,

1989:228). The American government adopted an anti-homosexual stance even in its foreign policy. Gillian Swanson has noted that during the Cold War years, "...the United States exerted pressure on the British government to follow their example in 'purging' homosexuals from prominent positions within public life, especially in the public and security services" (Swanson, 1994:128). Homosexual males were viewed as uncontrollable sexual beings who contradicted and corrupted the self controlled and restrained understanding of masculinity. Discrimination against homosexuals became commonplace; to the point that we can see some of the more extreme attitudes of the time when looking at testimony before the Senate committee investigating juvenile delinquency, where the mayor of Miami "called for an amendment to the so-called white slavery act so that homosexuals could be prosecuted under it" (D'Emilio, 1989:231).

This same Committee on Juvenile Delinquency heard testimony from Dr. Fredric Wertham who argued comic books were a major cause of delinquency and could lead to "sexual deviance." In Wertham's homophobic view, comic books corrupt young readers and lead them towards a homosexual lifestyle that includes the misogynistic treatment of women. In his infamous attack on the comic book industry, *Seduction of the Innocent*, Wertham makes one of the first queer readings of Batman and Robin stating that their life in Wayne Manor "...is like a wish dream of two homosexuals living together" (Wertham, 1972:1953:190). Wertham writes: "They live in sumptuous quarters, with beautiful flowers in large vases, and have a butler, Alfred. Batman is sometimes shown in a dressing gown.... Sometimes they are shown on a couch, Bruce reclining and Dick sitting next to him, jacket off, collar open, and his hand on his friend's arm" (ibid.).

Citing examples such the dressing gown (racy!), and Bruce's open collar, Wertham's argument is based on visual signifiers. Robin's green underwear, and bare (possibly shaved) legs are further evidence for Wertham. He points out that the sidekick is positioned in the traditionally feminine role of "damsel in distress."

After Wertham's crusade and the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, the Comics Magazine Association of America adopted a self-regulating censorship code to appease critics. Three key policies under the section "Marriage and Sex" can be seen as deterrents to homosexuality:

> 2. Illicit sex relations are neither to be hinted at nor portrayed. Violent love scenes as well as sexual abnormalities are unacceptable.
> 4. The treatment of love-romance stories shall emphasize the value of the home and the sanctity of marriage.
> 7. Sex perversion or any inference [sic] to same is strictly forbidden (Nyberg, 1998:168).

The Comics Code may have, in a sense, worked against its own intentions.

Because of the strict rules regarding the depiction of sexuality, heroes could not have overt sexual relationships unless they were married. Even though homosexuality was not permitted, heterosexuality could never really be confirmed, leaving the relationship between Batman and Robin open to queer reading.

Not long after Wertham's quest had been put to bed, his own nightmare came to life. Gay aesthetics wrapped its hands around the superhero genre, zapping the sexually repressed corpse of Batman and gave birth to Wertham's Frankenstein. Andy Medhurst has argued that the repressed, 1950s' version of Batman becomes the raw material for camp subversion in the 1960s television show. In Medhurst's eyes, Batman ...

> ...was camp in the way that classic Hollywood was camp, but what the sixties' TV series and film did was to overlay this 'innocent' camp with a thick layer of ironic distance, the self-mockery version of camp. And given the long associations of camp with the homosexual male subculture, Batman was a particular gift on the grounds of his relationship with Robin. As George Melly put it, 'The real Batman series were beautiful because of their unselfconscious absurdity. The remakes, too, at first worked on a double level. Over the absorbed children's heads we winked and nudged, but in the end what were we laughing at? The fact they didn't know that Batman had it off with Robin' (Medhurst, 1991:156).

The show spun Wertham's interpretation into a playful send-up by performing the comic book with live actors and drawing attention to the corny dialogue and homo-erotic undertones of the superhero genre. The show's commitment to camp can be seen in its casting. Rotating villains were played by guest actors such as camp icon Tallulah Bankhead as the Black Widow, Julie Newmar and Eartha Kitt as Catwoman, Zsa Zsa Gabor as Minerva, not to mention the insanity of Ceaser Romero as the Joker and the Emmy nominated performance of Frank Gorshin as the Riddler. Of course, I must mention, a man who reeks of camp even today, Adam West, whose overacting is surpassed by only William Shatner. West's Batman is the central subversion of the show, as it tosses the conventional image of the superhero's physique out the window. The show came to its end in January 1968, but camp would revive Wertham's Frankenstein years later.

"Marvel Unveils Gay Gunslinger"

In 2002, a press release from the Marvel Comics Group swept the continent as major newspapers printed a story concerning the first gay hero to star in his own publication (**Fig. 1**). Although not the first gay hero to appear in mainstream comic books, the Rawhide Kid's return has made a significant impact outside of the comics community.

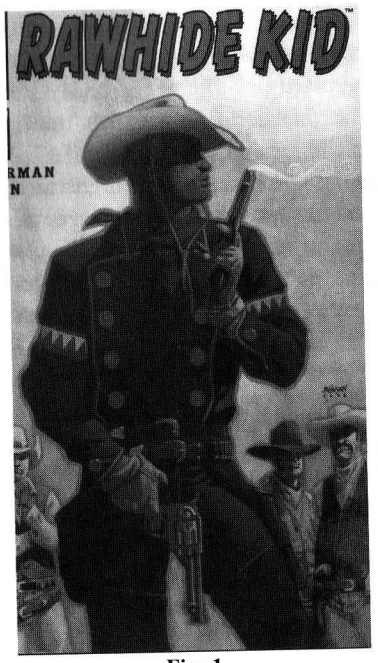

Fig. 1

The Kid first appeared in the 1950s, and was revamped a decade later. Although never explicitly revealed to be gay, the Kid never kept much female company. By openly stating the Rawhide Kid is gay, Marvel boldly proclaimed itself as a progressive company, willing to take risks on sensitive issues such as homosexuality. Marvel's public relations officer, Brian Reinert said, Marvel is "always interested in tapping into stories that are relevant today."[1] Certain precautions were taken to ensure that the comic reaches an appropriate audience, such as the use of the MAX imprint, a division of Marvel for comics aimed at adults, and a parental advisory warning for explicit content (although it should be noted that the Comics Code has been dropped off all of Marvel's comics including their flagship titles, *X-Men*, *Amazing Spider-Man*, and *Hulk*).

When looking at the press coverage, we can see that the queering of the Rawhide Kid was a strategic marketing ploy. CNN.com reports, "After looking at the response... [Marvel] will decide whether to continue production and whether they would be interested in more series with gay title characters."[2]

By reviving and "outing" the Rawhide Kid, Marvel attempted to change the dominant public perception of the character so that he is recognized as gay. In a sense, this allowed Marvel to rework the existing history of the Marvel Universe so that it included homosexuality as far back as the 1950s. More importantly, Marvel was preparing the audience to have a specific reading of the text, which is just as open to, what Stuart Hall calls, negotiated or oppositional reading as the old Batman stories. I will problematize the textual framework in a later section, but first I want to briefly look at some other queer heroes and interrogate this new practice.

Queering Super-Manhood

Many consider Northstar from *Alpha Flight* to be the first openly gay superhero. Publicly coming out of the closet in 1992, Northstar not only became the first gay superhero in mainstream comics; he put himself at the center of the AIDS crisis and gay struggle (**Fig. 2**). Northstar came out to use his celebrity

and hero status to attract attention to the AIDS epidemic. This gesture was prompted by his discovery of an abandoned child who later dies of the syndrome. Northstar's sexual orientation was long debated by fans before his outing, and it was often implied that he was gay but never made explicit until this point. The timing of Northstar's outing is significant, as it coincides closely with Marvel's recent decision to move to the direct marketing system where comics are sold through a large distributor directly to specialty comics shops. It became fairly obvious to the marketing executives at the Big Two publishers, that the largest audience for their products was no longer young kids. Adults ranging in age are buying comics, and DC and Marvel have become more willing to publish more adult-oriented material.

It took Marvel some time to decide to enter into the controversy over depictions of homosexuality. Writer Bill Mantlo wanted to out Northstar as early as 1986. Instead it was only implied, and along with his implied homosexuality came a bad case of implied AIDS. Mathew P. McAllister notes that Northstar, "contracts a 'mysterious illness' which breaks down his 'body's systems'" (McAllister, 1992:10). McAllister goes on to explain that Northstar then "moves to an elf-world, where the germ-free environment allows him to live" (ibid.). Northstar was written out of the *Alpha Flight* series for a while, because Mantlo was asked to trim down the roster of the team. But when Marvel found out Mantlo's plan for Northstar, they quickly passed down an edict that forbade Northstar's death by AIDS and the use of a gay character due to the controversy it may cause (McAllister, 1992:19-20).

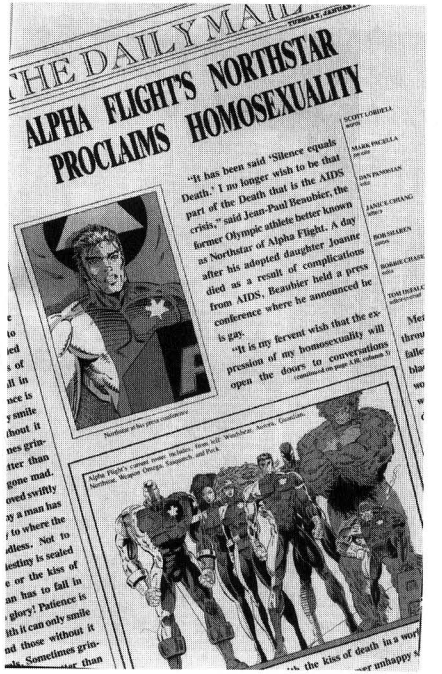

Fig. 2

Since his outing, Northstar had not been seen much, until recently when he joined the X-Men. He serves as the token effeminate gay character on the team, whose mandate is to represent diversity. While the other characters engage in melodramatic sexual relationships with one another, Northstar is contained as the only gay member and, in a sense, is castrated since he never has a sexual relationship.

In contrast to him are Midnighter and Apollo, the married gay-male couple of Wildstorm's (A DC imprint) *The Authority* (**Fig. 3**). The characters

are an unashamed pastiche of the World's Finest Superheroes, Batman and Superman. Midnighter's outfit resembles the leather clad Michael Keaton of Tim Burton's *Batman*. Apollo, like Superman, gains his incredible and similar powers from the sun and he resembles the long-haired Superman of the mid 1990s.

Fig. 3

Unlike Northstar, the Midnighter and Apollo do not compromise any masculinity by becoming effeminate or by being sexually castrated. In his book concerning the black superheroes of Milestone Entertainment, Jeff Brown discussed the male body and in extension the superhero as the site of exclusion for cultural and homosexual others. Brown supported this claim by referring to German fascist ideologies of masculinity. Referencing a book by Klaus Theweleit (*Male Fantasies*, 1977), Brown explained two body types defined in opposition to each other, one more desirable than the other:

> The first [is] the upstanding, steel-hard, organized, machine-like body, armored by muscles and rigidity marked by a vehement desire to eradicate the softness, the emotional liquidity of the feminine other. But the emasculating (i.e., castrating) criticism of effeminacy [is] also routinely projected by the dominant onto those marked as other primarily by their cultural or religious backgrounds. [It is]...also projected onto the homosexual, the Jew, and a long list of non-Aryan others. While Nazi Germany may be an extreme example, the underlying rhetoric is far from alien to modern Western culture. (Brown, 2001:169)

Superheroes are represented using the former body type over the latter, while

cultural and sexual others are defined as soft and effeminate. But the Midnighter and Apollo challenge this view, by maintaining the same level of machismo as straight heroes while also engaging in a sexual relationship with regular depictions of sexual intimacy (**Fig. 4**). Not only are the heroes married, they act as the adopted parents of a young daughter.

Fig. 4

Considering the radical approach to homosexuality by Wildstorm Comics, Marvel's *Rawhide Kid* title is relatively meek. The comic is filled with tongue and cheek humor and sexual innuendo, but at no point does the Kid explicitly state he is homosexual. Nor does anyone in the book ever figure it out. Instead, he dances around the issue with puns and double entendres. Like the villains in each episode of *Ace and Gary, the Ambiguously Gay Duo*, the supporting characters of the *Rawhide Kid* are constantly scratching their heads over "the most peculiar cowboy" they ever saw.

Rather than seeing the queering of the Kid as an emergent cultural practice or a politically motivated challenge to the dominant hetero-normative standard of superhero comic books, the launch of this series is an attempt to test the waters for a new audience. But even Marvel Editor-in-Chief Joe Quesada acknowledged the cowboy comic is a nearly deceased cultural form. In an ABC news report, Quesada said, "to do a straight-up Western would have been a double-death" (Robinson, 2003). Something needed to be added to spark interest in this new series. That something was homosexuality.

According to cultural theorist Raymond Williams, emergent cultural elements must be alternative or oppositional to the dominant culture. Emergent cultural forms can be incorporated into the dominant culture but often these incorporated forms are novelties or "facsimiles of the genuinely emergent cultural practice" (Williams, 1977:126). While Northstar offers a poor alternative to the straight superhero, and Apollo and Midnighter are oppositional, the Rawhide Kid is only a novelty. The series only lasted five issues, completing one story-line. Because of his short-lived stardom, the Kid hardly offered a sustained alternative to the sea of heterosexual heroes that appear on magazine racks monthly.

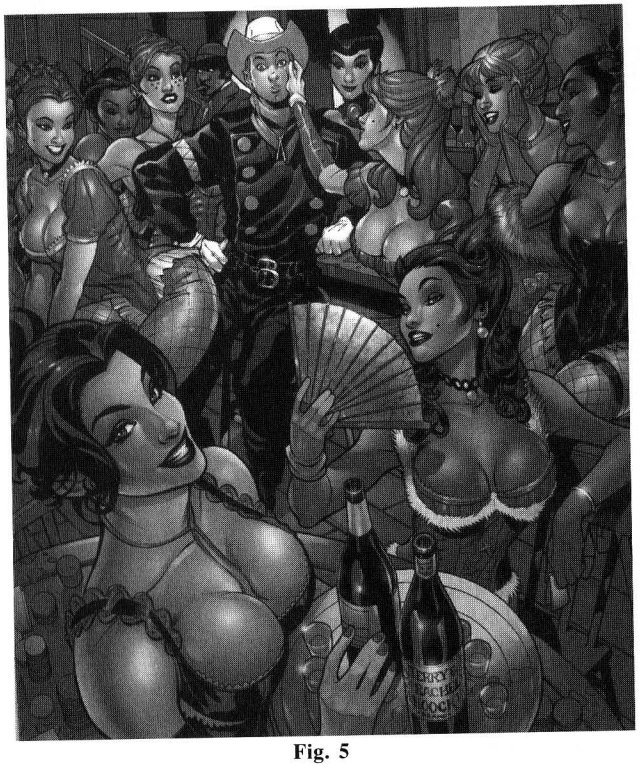

Fig. 5

Queering Character Property

Considering the market forces involved with the launch of the Rawhide Kid series and the influence of those forces over the audience reception, it becomes important to separate the character from the character property. This can be tricky, because in the case of the Kid the two are inseparable. Marvel's press machine tells us the Kid is gay, and the text is written in such a way that the dominant reading will make his sexuality fairly clear, but if we perform a resistant reading how well does his homosexuality stand up?

The press release, reprinted as a preface to the soft cover trade-paper that collects the entire mini-series, reminds us that the Kid was shy and awkward around women in his first incarnation, a characteristic the new series investigates (**Fig. 5**). One explanation for this, as mentioned before, is the Comic Code's strict rules regarding sexuality. Since the original Kid never had a girlfriend, or even a recurrent female character, the 1950s and 1960s series became open to the same queer reading as *Batman*. Medhurst wrote, "Wertham's reading of the Dubious Duo had been so extensively aired to pass into the general consciousness..., it was part of the fabric of [the] *Batman*" television show (Medhurst, 1991:156-157). By using press releases to queer the Kid before the comic is even released, Marvel performed the same function as Wertham. This is one of the most interesting textual strategies of the book. Marvel mobilizes nostalgia to recall our negotiated readings of past sexually ambiguous texts, but they simply reverse the elements, so that the dominant reading *is* homosexual. They have revived Wertham's Frankenstein and dressed him in sashes and spurs. This allows writer Ron Zimmerman to take shots at Wertham's homophobic interpretations. At one point the Kid even puts on an evening gown (**Fig. 6**)!

Although he bares the same likeness of the original Rawhide Kid, it's questionable whether he really is the same character. In an attempt to figure out what makes Batman, Batman, Urricchio and Pearson constructed a list of five key components that "constitute [his] core character" (Uricchio, Pearson, 1991:186). This list includes traits and attributes, events, recurrent characters, setting, and iconography. If we were to contrast this list of the Rawhide Kid of the past against the current incarnation, we find that the two characters have significant differences. The iconography and setting remain the same and they're both gun-fighting heroes, but the similarities stop there.

The most important difference between the two versions is the origin story. Urricchio and Pearson wrote, "The central fixed event, the origin story, is the source of many of the Batman's traits/attributes, which play themselves out in the iterative events" (ibid.). In the early 1960s' version of the Kid, writer Stan Lee has our hero taken care of and raised by an "Uncle Ben" figure, who discovers the cowboy as an abandoned baby. The Kid's new origin, explained in a one-page flashback, puts his effeminacy central stage (**Fig. 7**). Scorned

and abused by his alcoholic father for his difference, the Kid realizes his homophobic father is a poor role model for manhood. Rather than defeat the bad guys and restore law and order, his central motivation in the story is to restore the bond between a young boy and his emasculated father and reinforce the dominant notion of the father as the central role model for masculinity in a boy's life.

Fig. 6

In an interview with Kyra Phillips on CNN, Joe Quesada called the comic, "…a wonderful comedy Western whose main protagonist just happens to be gay" (Phillips, 2002). But the Rawhide Kid doesn't "just happen to be gay," he happens to be flamboyantly gay. At least, he appears to be gay. To maintain the dominant reading, that the Rawhide Kid is homosexual, Marvel, like Wertham, resorts to the use of stereotypically effeminate characteristics and visual signifiers such as a limp wrist, a great fashion sense, and a suggestively positioned pistol on the first issue's cover. Armed with feminist or queer

Fig. 7

theory, such as Judith Butler or Judith Halberstam, the audience can still read this comic and not assume that from effeminacy follows homosexuality.

As numerous comics scholars have pointed out, comic fans are used to reading comics with a sense of continuity, where the events of the last comic affect the next. But they are also able to distinguish between stories occurring outside of the regular continuity and the primary canonical narrative. Because the Rawhide Kid series is written to be self-contained, with no events from the past series affecting the storyline and without any implications for further stories, the new version of the character treads an ambiguous line between

reboot and non-canonical narrative (like an Elseworlds or What If...?). Its short-lived novelty form reinforces this ambiguity, leaving us to wonder if the next time we see the Rawhide Kid, after being discovered under a pile of other exhausted character properties, will he be straighter than an arrow or queerer than a three dollar bill? Because character property is so malleable in legal terms, the Rawhide Kid could be resurrected years from now with new significant changes to his character. Marvel has launched this series strictly to test the waters for new markets using sexuality as their lure. The clever textual framing of the series allows Marvel to step back if the water gets too hot. Following the contemporary trend in other forms of mainstream media, Marvel uses representations of homosexuality to generate income and expand its market, rather than progress the social inclusion of homosexuality.

Queering an American Icon

It is somewhat unfair to compare the queering of an exhausted character property like the Rawhide Kid to a character like Batman who has become a national icon, but Marvel chooses an equally recognizable icon when they appropriate the cowboy. The gunfighter is a distinctly American representation of ideal masculinity. Michael S. Kimmel argues that this vision of masculinity is unique to America and Americans even expect their leaders and presidents to live up to this ideal. The cowboy may be a hyper masculine image but he also has a long history as a gay icon. Writer Ron Zimmerman and artist Jon Severin work in this camp tradition, leaving boot prints all over the genre.

Numerous aspects of the genre are camped for comedic effect, especially those that destabilize the hyper-masculine tone of the genre. The best example of this is the costumes. In his genre study of the Western, John G. Cawelti says, "...utility is only one of the principles of the hero-outlaw's dress. The other is dandyism, that highly artificial love of elegance for its own sake" (Cawelti, 1977:45). In the *Rawhide Kid*, this aspect of the cowboy is played up to the fullest extent so as to suggest homosexuality among all cowboys. Even the villains admire the Kid's keen fashion sense (**Fig. 8**).

The most important subversion of the genre is the re-articulation of the Cowboy's masculinity and his motivation to live free and alone. In Kimmel's character sketch of the cowboy, we can see how aspects of the figure lend themselves to camp subversion:

> ...the cowboy is fierce and brave, willing to venture into the unknown territory and tame it for its less-than-masculine inhabitants. As soon as the environment is subdued though, he must move on, unconstrained by the demands of civilized life, unhampered by clinging women and whining children... he forms no lasting emotional bonds with any single person (Kimmel, 1987:238-239).

Fig. 8

The Kid's homosexual lifestyle prevents him from fully assimilating into society and thus he must move along after his good deeds are done. The use of a camp strategy reinforces this exclusion. Andrew Ross wrote:

> If camp has politics, then it is one that proposes working with and through existing definitions and representations, and in this respect, it is opposed to the search for alternative, utopian, or essentialist identities which lay behind many of the countercultural and sexual liberation movements. In fact, it was precisely because of this commitment to the mimicry of existing cultural forms, that camp was seen as pre-political and out of step with dominant ethos of liberation movements (Ross, 1989:161).

The problem with a camp re-writing is that it never breaks from existing cultural practices in search of new alternative or oppositional ones. Because of its reliance on mimeses, it is only a "survivalist ethic, and never an oppositional critique" (Ross, 1989:163). By mimicking the role of what straight dominant culture would call a "real man," the queer cowboy mockingly states that he is outside of the dominant, but by doing this, he agrees with the dominant's "definition of who he is" (ibid.). Even the comic seems to acknowledge that camp is only dress up. In the final pages, The Kid separates himself from the icon he's queering when he bids farewell: "What is it the Cowboys say...? 'Ya'll Take'r Easy Now!'"

As further evidence of the use of camp as a survivalist ethic, the story concludes with the reaffirmation of a son's love and respect for his father and a heterosexual wedding. This is an important intersection with the other gay heroes. Both Northstar and the Authority's married couple demonstrate an increased concern of values regarding parental responsibility. As if to ward off Wertham's criticism that superheroes sexually corrupt children, all of these heroes have been linked to children by serving as their protectors.

Marvel in the Crossfire

Accompanying the press coverage of the Kid's coming out are the voices of resistance who take this comedy very seriously. When looking at the statements made by the conservative opposition, we can see the resurfacing of Cold War rhetoric regarding homosexuality. Demonstrating the volatility of a cultural icon, Robert Knight, director of Concerned Women for America's Culture and Family Institute, says the *Rawhide Kid* is "...a perversion of Westerns. All Western heroes have been portrayed as straight shooters -- and that just doesn't mean hitting a target with a gun. It's a matter of character" (Robinson, 2003). Knight is claiming the cowboy icon as if it is *owned* by hetero-normative culture. He goes on to characterize homosexuality as a dangerous force: "Why is Marvel glorifying homosexuality when it has taken so many lives and played a role in so many sexually transmitted diseases?" (ibid.)

On December 13, 2002, Marvel Chairman Emeritus, Stan Lee, is brought on CNN's political talk show *Crossfire* along with Andrea Lafferty, executive director of the Traditional Values Coalition. Lafferty argues the old argument that comics are for kids, despite the use of the adult MAX imprint, and she expresses her concern that as a culture, we are sexualizing kids too early in their lives. She goes on to say, "Homosexuality has invaded the childhood of so many kids. They've invaded Hollywood. They've invaded Disney. They've invaded Nickelodeon" (Tucker and Begela, 2003).[3] Lafferty's language recalls Cold War security concerns that homosexuality invades and corrupts the youth of the nation, compromising a supposed homogeneity of masculine and feminine national identity. Her argument never seems to point to the overt heterosexuality in most comics or other forms of media. It is not the issue of sexuality in the media that provokes her to speak out against this comic, it is the presence of homosexuality.

Conclusion

Marvel's press releases, the press coverage, and controversy are obviously intended to generate sales for a comic that was destined to flop, yet they also serve to tame the text so as not to stir too much controversy. Homosexuality is added as an element to attract a larger audience, possibly from the gay community, but more likely from curiosity seekers. Considering the tame nature of the text -- which only *implies* homosexuality, reinforces hetero-normativity, and contains the narrative so that the character property can be reworked again -- the Rawhide Kid can be seen as a cowardly move disguised as a progressive act. But, this seemingly minor gesture generated enough backlash and scrutiny from the press that it serves as a microscope into the greater issue concerning homosexuality in mainstream media.

I want to conclude by contradicting Ross' argument that camp is apolitical, because I have to recognize the irony in this situation. Would the presence of homosexuality in superhero comic books be such a common view if it weren't for Wertham and the Cold War attitudes surrounding homosexuality? If we are to believe Medhurst's argument, that Wertham's homophobic and yet queer reading of Batman was to become a common interpretation and the material for a camp television show, then today's homophobic right wingers are battling Wertham's Frankenstein in the form of the Rawhide Kid. Just as Wertham gave audiences a queer lens through which to read Batman, Marvel has done the same for the Rawhide Kid. This time the right reacts to the homosexualizing of a national icon in a medium still predominately perceived to be for children.

The cowboy has become the site of a territorial battle over cultural iconography where sexuality draws the border lines. Even if camp is a survivalist ethic, it has had a significant effect on our perceptions of these icons. Even Ross concedes that camp's crossover into straight dominant culture has had a "...significant effect on the constantly shifting, hegemonic definition of masculinity" (Ross, 1989:161-162). When Robert Knight calls the *Rawhide Kid* a perversion of the western, he is denying the right of homosexuals to associate themselves with nationalistic iconography, and by extension, denying homosexuals the comfort of calling America their home. It is this overprotective and exclusionary attitude toward hyper-masculine icons like firemen, sailors, superheroes, or cowboys, that makes them so attractive to camp aesthetics. Although the Rawhide Kid did not blaze any trails for gay representation, camp does survive the gunfight to ride another day.

Endnotes

* Special thanks to Charles Acland, Bart Beaty, Leila Pourtavaf, and Steven Dam for their help and input with this paper.

[1] <http://www.cnn.com/2002/SHOWBIZ/12/09/rawhide.kid.gay/>. Accessed 9/16/2004.

[2] Ibid.

[3] <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/12/13/cf.opinion.rawhide.kid/index.html>. Accessed Nov. 9, 2004.

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