

**Please note that this work,  
“Foucault and the Heterosexual Panopticon”  
was written in 1998 as a Thesis project for my  
Feminist Geography Major at Dartmouth College.**

**Please scroll down to page 2 to start reading.**

**-Breeze Harper**

# **Foucault and the Heterosexual Panopticon:**

*How Rural Geography Shapes the “Dartmouth College  
Experience” of Queer Identified Female Students*

By Amie “Breeze” Harper

## Chapter One: "Discourse at Play"



The Dartmouth College Baker Library Reserve corridor is used extensively by students for reading, writing, studying, etc. Until the Fall of 1996, the wooden tables in this space had decades of graffiti written on them. It was not uncommon to find most anything scribbled on these tables, including sexist and homophobic remarks:

**A woman should only open her mouth to suck a d-k.**

**Some Dartmouth men, stalwart and hairy/with much beer had become over merry./ On the green around 3/ They were shrieking with glee/"Come on out, we are burning a fairy<sup>1</sup>."**

These two quotes, along with many other derogatory quotes, remained on the table until the end of 1996. Writing in the Dartmouth daily newspaper, *The Dartmouth*, Kraemer argues:

**Though some of the writing on the...desks may be harmless..,the recurrent appearance of sexist, heterosexist and sexually violent writing cannot be overlooked...The desk are...a forum...where those with the strongest, loudest voices continue to dominate.(Kraemer 1996: 4).**

On December 3, 1996, while the library reserve employee was away from the desk, an unidentified group wrote in bold red and black markers on the table their own statements against Dartmouth's legacy of sexual and gender inequality. 'Frats rape,' 'Dyke strike,' and 'Lesbian power' were a few of these quotes (Kung, 1997).

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<sup>1</sup>Kraemer, Michelle. "Reserve Corridor Graffiti Indicative of Misogynistic, Heterosexist Attitudes. *The Dartmouth*. Vol CLIII No. 111. July 31, 1996. p.

*The Dartmouth* reporter of this particular incident, David Kung, started his article with "Unidentified vandals defaced tables in the Baker Library Reserve Corridor..." (Kung 1997: 3). The two words under critique in this particular article are vandals and defaced. After all, what is the difference between students in the reserve corridor writing sexist and homophobic remarks and 'unidentified people' writing anti-sexist and anti-homophobic remarks? Why should the latter be considered 'vandals' 'defacing' the tables? These tables are constantly defaced by students, everyday. In addition, why were all the tables stripped and refinished for the winter of 1997?

At Dartmouth in 1992 a 'Social Issues Night' was held during freshman week. The presentation opened with a professor telling the audience that he was homosexual. *The Dartmouth* later quoted Professor Jeffery Hart on his reactions toward this situation to be inappropriate:

**Tim Edgar '94 challenged Hart, asking if he thought people do not have the right to declare that they are gay. Hart responded that "part of civilization is that one's private life stays private." (Fernandes: 1993, 1)**

An important question in response to Hart's comment is, would he have the same reaction if this man were a heterosexual and introduced himself by saying he is married to his wife of twenty years and has several children and has lived in Hanover for thirty years? Granted, the professor wouldn't be telling the audience directly that he is heterosexual, but it's fairly obvious that his private life

would be welcomed by the audience as an important aspect of his experience and identity as a Dartmouth professor. Even more, he wouldn't be labeled as flaunting his sexuality in the public sphere.

A further example of the spatial codings of sexuality occurred in January of 1998. In the Fall of 1997, *Uncommon Threads*, a paper that addresses many aspects of a dominant Caucasian male heteropatriarchal society, published a fiction article titled "Awakening," about a lesbian sexual experience. Writing in *The Dartmouth*, Dugan argued:

Now if we begin at the inherent nature of the sexual act, we see that it is private and selfless...In "Awakening," the two women are each other's sexual playthings. Thus the story trivializes and glorifies the assault on human dignity...Instead of the beauty of selfless giving, the sexual act as a public story becomes the means to an end.(Dugan: 1998, 1)

Dugan's first sentence automatically reveals that he is caught in the myth of the public/private dichotomy and it's relation to sex and sexuality. By using the word 'we' he assumes that everyone perceives sexuality this way, reinforcing this construct.



In a May 2, 1977 issue of *The Dartmouth*, Van Heusen had an ad that depicted a female and a male. The female is saying, 'The Guy I'm Choosin' Wears Van Heusen®...Sure, he could look just like all those other guys...but then he wouldn't be the one for me.' (Heusen, 5). In the September 28, 1979 *The Dartmouth*, on page 11 there is an advertisement of a heterosexual couple gazing into each other's eyes (*The*

*Dartmouth*, 11; 9/28/79). On May 2, 1980, there is an advertisement on page 9 titled, "Got a hot date? Bring him to Landers." Depicted is a heterosexual couple with the woman snuggling into the male with his hand around her shoulder. On pages 18-19, there is an article titled, "Are you a generic formal date?" Showing the image of a man with flowers in his hand and a woman with a bottle of wine in her hand. Both are grinning at each other. (*The Dartmouth*, 11/8/85; 18-19). **(Refer to APPENDIX, Pictures A-E)**

Indeed, a majority of heterosexuals in America are under the impression that sexuality is something that remains within a private sphere. Therefore, same-sex couples seen holding hands in public by many heterosexuals are perceived as flaunting their sexuality. Gill Valentine argues that public space is in fact (hetero)sexed, and that the private/public dichotomy is a myth (Valentine: 1993). Heterosexual couples are always seen walking around holding hands and kissing. In addition, the workplace has pictures of people's heteropatriarchal families and opposite-sex spouses or lovers. Furthermore, heterosexuals constantly talk about their opposite-sex 'significant' others as well as possible love-interests within the public and private sphere (Valentine: 1993).

The displays above are illustrative of the heterosexual codings carried within the publicly distributed newspaper, *The Dartmouth*. However, as the ads show, heterosexuality is constructed in both the public and private spheres.

Heterosexuality is so ingrained in the Western World's heads as the norm that it's taken for granted. Portrayed too is the assumption that sex or sexuality is strictly for the private sphere.

There is resistance, however. In the case of the Reserve Corridor table incident, this was demonstrated by those who marked the tables with the red and black markers.

According to Bouthillette et al(1997) of Queers in Space, as soon as the December 3, 1996 incident occurred, a site of resistance was created, temporarily creating not only a female space, but lesbian space within a public arena. However, this incident is part of a history of sexuality, gender and sex discourse at Dartmouth, linked to the powers of relations at hand.

The goal of this thesis will be to determine **(a)** how queer is constructed at Dartmouth College, **(b)** how queer female Dartmouth students perceive space, **(c)** how the concept of The Panopticon applies to Dartmouth College and **(d)** how the rural environment affects the perceptions of space through the eyes of queer female students at Dartmouth college.

## Chapter Two

### Introduction

Historically, human sexuality has been confined and controlled by the heteropatriarchy in American society. The dominant and accepted form of sexuality, has been- and still is- heterosexuality. Heterosexism is written out in the public sphere of space in America. In corporate America, employee's offices and cubicles show pictures of nuclear families or their opposite sex spouses or significant others. Furthermore, most heterosexuals don't understand their freedom and right to appropriate and control space as the sexual majority; it is taken for granted:

**Heterosexuality in modern Western society can therefore be described as a heteropatriarchy, that is, a process of sociosexual power relations which reflects and reproduces male dominance (Valentine, 396: 1993).**

The underlying theme of heterosexual male dominance, in Western culture, has structured and continues to define the spaces all people must socialize, work, and live in. Therefore, those that identify as 'queer', are either marginalized or made invisible within these heterosexist spaces.

The word 'queer' has had an interesting history in Western Culture. Until recently, it has had negative connotations; a derogatory word towards those that do not identify as heterosexual (Jagose: 1996). Presently, queer does not have a strict definition because it is constantly



being redefined(Jagose: 1996). However, queer is now associated with a sexuality and gender identity that isn't heterosexual or conform to heteropatriarchal gender norms (feminine for females; masculine for males)(Jagose: 1996). For example, lesbians, bisexuals, gay men, transgendered people, transvestites and transsexuals could be considered 'queer' and are included in queer theory studies(Bouthillette et al: 1997).

The majority of queer theory is written in reference to men(Bouthillette et al: 1997). Even more, these men are non-rural 'white' middle class gay men(Bouthillette et al: 1997). "The gay community sees itself as a white male enclave and prefers to ignore us [people of color], except when driven by lust to seek the exotic"(Beam, 1997). Therefore, queer females, lower class queer people, queer people of color(Hidalgo, 1995), and queer people in rural and non-metropolitan areas are completely marginalized from queer literature(Kramer: 1995). Mainstream feminist theorists and geographers have failed to acknowledge the differences between queer men and queer females, queers in rural areas and queers in urban areas, as well the fact that space is 'sexed' and controlled by the heteropatriarchy.

Feminist theorists of mainstream America tend to forget to include lesbians as well as women of color in their feminist discourse(Meyers, 1997). This is clear in Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique when she does not take women of color, queer females or lower class women into account

(Friedan, 1983). Hope Massiah, a Black lesbian in Lisa Moore's anthology Does your mama know? An Anthology of black lesbian coming out stories brings this feeling of being ignored into the first few pages of her essay, as she recounts her visit to Greenham with a queer feminist group as the only Black female:

**"Why don't more Black women come to Greenham?" I ask what they are doing to reach out to Black women. They look puzzled...They look totally confused: "But why; we are all women." Eventually I draw away; I realize that they don't want me to tell them what they could do (Massiah: 1997, 9).**

Queer females of color living in rural regions and of different socio-economic classes will deal with their queer sexuality differently. Furthermore, they will have their own spaces of comfort that reflect an identity influenced by factors other than sexuality (i.e. culture, race, class). (Hidalgo: 1995).

A number of geographers suggest that space mediates queer identity:

**there are no sexualities existing outside of culture- our sense of self is a product of the world around us. Reading accounts of non-Western, non-modern, non-urban-industrial sexual behaviors and identities...shows us just how (spatially) contingent sexuality is (Bell et al: 1995, 23).**

Jerry Lee Kramer speaks of the difference of identity building in terms of rural space versus metropolitan space. Environments such as the city have easily attainable information and accessible services for queer people.

**However, in an environment where reliable and easily obtained information is absent, as it is in many rural environments, the entire process of coming to terms with one's new identity may be compromised (Kramer: 1995, 208).**

Space creates identity and identity creates space.

However, critiques of construction are aware of the need to identify strategic areas of communality in individuals experiences:

**rigid adherence to constructionism can be tricky to deploy outside of ivory-tower theorising: at a recent conference which...[insisted] that all identities are fictions (albeit 'necessary fictions') provoked acute anxieties and outrage in the latter, who weren't too keen to hear that their struggles, their oppressions, were over nothing more than *fictions*(Bell and Valentine, 23)."**

This thesis will analyze the sexuality of female undergraduate students in a rural college environment. Dartmouth College, located in Hanover New Hampshire, is used as a case study.

Hanover is located in the Connecticut River Valley of New Hampshire with a population of about ten thousand people. This region of New Hampshire is surround by wilderness. The Dartmouth College seal states Vox Clamantis in Deserto or, "A voice of one crying in the wilderness" (Graham: 1990, 9). Dartmouth's wilderness is more emphasized by the fact that it holds a twelve hundred acres skiway, one-hundred seventy four acre horse farm and has the famous Appalachian Trail running through it (Graham: 1990). In addition, Dartmouth is located about two hours away (by car) from Boston, a major city. Such a setting is ideal for research on rural affects on sexuality.

This thesis fills gaps in mainstream queer theory and geography. First, there is a lack of research on queer

people in rural regions. Jerry Lee Kramer, of Mapping Sexualities, supports this need for literature on queer issues in rural areas:

**The academic literature on gay men and lesbians, while ever expanding, remains essentially incomplete concerning the special circumstances of homosexuals in rural or nonmetropolitan areas, despite the fact that a considerable number of sexual outsiders are born and raised in rural locations (Kramer: 1995, 200).**

There are no lesbian coffeehouses, gay bars, or a 'visible' queer community at Dartmouth College, like at New York University (that has Greenwich Village in the same city)<sup>2</sup>.

Second, the thesis will add how knowledge of space is 'sexed' and its significance to the creation of power relations. For example, how Dartmouth College administration responds to issues and concerns dealing with sexuality and gender, directly affects campus policies that determine whether anti-discrimination can be applied to sexual-orientation; a policy which can give the feeling of the Dartmouth College space as either 'queer accepting' or heterosexist.

Third, the thesis will divest how queer identity and space is constructed and produced at Dartmouth College by examining a common written medium, such as a magazine, newsletter or newspaper that serves as a vehicle which reflects the attitudes and ideas of the time period it is being written.

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<sup>2</sup>I made this observance during the summer of 1997 when I traveled to New York City, Greenwich Village.

These objectives will be achieved through several methods: a poststructuralist epistemology that will entail reading and analyzing space through the use of Michel Foucault as a theoretical framework and the use of the *The Dartmouth*: the daily newspaper as a historical source. Ethnographic fieldwork through the interviewing of queer female students and administration at Dartmouth College will afford perspective on how queer females perform 'sense of place mapping' and how their perceptions may parallel underlying themes found in *The Dartmouth*.

The mode in which information is created and circulated through the masses is an important factor in determining how human beings perceive and conceptualize issues such as gender, socio-economic class, sexuality, race and ethnicity. The written media is one of the biggest conveyors of information to the public. Language is the tool of power in this medium. In this context, it is important to understand that "language is nothing more than a transparent mediation, a representation of consciousness in writing or speech" (Poster, 12). In the case of this thesis research, the language used in *The Dartmouth* daily will be analyzed.

Indeed, it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together...we must not imagine a world of discourse...as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play various strategies...Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality Volume 1*. New York: Vintage Press. 1990. pp. 100-101.

- Michel Foucault

However, the critique of this newspaper for this research is not intended to merely understand the intentions of the authors. The analysis will envelop the theoretical framework of poststructuralist, Michel Foucault.

**The value of Foucauldian analysis rests with the conviction that the close reading of scientific discourse may uncover language patterns which, when associated with practices, position those practices in definite way and legitimize the patterns of domination inherent in those practices. (Poster: 1990, 89).**

This research draws on the works of Foucault to drive at the specific questions in the next section.



How is queer constructed in *The Dartmouth*, within the discourse of sexuality, gender, race?

Because the identity of sexuality is inseparable from race and gender, sexuality must be viewed within the context of what racial and gender groups are dominating at this time. For example, during the first forty years of the twentieth century, Anglo-Saxon sexologists constructed "normal" sex among "civilized" people- or, Caucasian middle-class Americans.

**As studies forged connections between Anglo-Saxon civilization, evolutionary progress, and normal marital sex, they linked sexual perversion to primitivism and savagery. In turn, the sexology of the normal was undertaken by people whose legitimacy as scientists and as writers was assured by their own presume normality..,by their racial heritage.(Carter: 1997, 155)**

The 'primitive' and 'savage' populations had been constructed by Anglo-Saxons as dark-skinned people such as the Japanese, Chinese and Slavs (Carter: 1997).

How do underlying themes in *The Dartmouth* parallel the perceptions of space by 'queer' female students?

Hilda Hidalgo writes that lesbians of color will experience their sexuality differently than Caucasian lesbians because they have had a history of oppression and racism by the colonizing and dominant Caucasian power structure (Hidalgo: 1995). Therefore, underlying themes such as gender and racial conflicts that may emerge from *The Dartmouth*, could reflect the fact that a Black queer female may look at space differently than a Caucasian queer female at Dartmouth.

How do power relations play out in sexuality discourse, through the vehicle of *The Dartmouth*?

Administration is at the top of the hierarchy of Dartmouth College. Their power in relationship with the student population is often regulated by the Trustees of the college who desire to hold onto the Dartmouth tradition; a tradition that *The Dartmouth* will reveal to be White heterosexual affluent ideology. Not all three (administration, trustees, students) have the same perceptions of gender, sexuality and race, which is illustrated later in this thesis.

It is through a careful Foucauldean analysis of *The Dartmouth*, that these questions can be answered and understood.

## Chapter Three

### *The Dartmouth: How Queer is Produced and Constructed*

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The true civil rights movement was not based upon any desire. It was based upon a need to be recognized as human beings and a need to be protected by the law after centuries of physical abuse and oppression - in short, the need for humanity. The civil rights movement was the result of these needs, not the result of a desire to make noise and usurp the legitimacy of a prior movement for selfish ends...While many homosexuals have uttered the healing chant of genetic determinacy, as many as have uttered the awful liturgy of sexual choice. This choice is a problem - if homosexuality is not an inborn characteristic, but rather the result of a choice, then homosexuals are wholly responsible for that choice and the persecution it may bring...

If there is anything, it is the self-pitying cry of a group of social outcasts for unconditional acceptance - acceptance of things that are not meant to be topics of public discussion, and acceptance of things that are not meant to be.<sup>4</sup>  
- Amiri Barksdale

Frankly, I'm proud that Dartmouth "is the only Ivy League college that doesn't have a gay student organization." Let's keep it that way.<sup>5</sup>  
- Gary Simonds

This research examines every article published in *The Dartmouth* between 1971-1997. These dates were chosen because Dartmouth College did not allow female enrollment until the fall of 1972. Each article was sought with the intention of finding emerging and repeating themes in each newspaper issue.

As the quotes from *The Dartmouth* above show, it is impossible to restrict attention to just sexuality. In fact,

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<sup>4</sup>Barksdale, Amiri from "Gays and Civil Rights Movement." *The Dartmouth* . Volume CLI No. 12. January 18, 1994. p. 2

<sup>5</sup>Simonds, Gary. "Go Away Gays." *The Dartmouth* Vol CXXXV No. 49. November 22, 1977. p. 4



a number of themes have emerged: The Greek System, sexism, White male privilege, heterosexism and the use of 'gay' as a label for all queer people.

*The Dartmouth* does not produce and construct what it means to be queer at Dartmouth College. Instead, it is a vehicle which emphasizes the current issues and concerns of the student population. However, because certain themes repeat within the analysis of this paper, *The Dartmouth* reinforces and legitimizes these themes by constantly giving them space on the pages of their newspaper. Ultimately, the analysis of *The Dartmouth*, from 1971-1997, reveals that queer people do not have an all-around comfortable space at Dartmouth. This chapter explores the nature of the power relations implied, and how the dominant White affluent heteropatriarchal discourse is produced and reproduced.

## The Greek System

For over twenty-five years, *The Dartmouth* has presented the Greek System at Dartmouth as a sexist, racist and homophobic social space. Simultaneously, it has been portrayed as the center of social life at the college:

**The social life of the College has always been centered around fraternities...The houses served as a vehicle to bring women to Dartmouth. (Jordan: 1971, 2)**

**Stuart Lewan '79, an avowed homosexual, was forcibly expelled from Bones Gate fraternity Friday night...Lewan said he paused on the porch "to see if I had my hat and gloves," when someone kicked him from behind..." He kept repeating, 'It's illegal in New Hampshire....' Which isn't true since the state of New Hampshire repealed the**

law against homosexuality two years ago," Lewan said. (Berry: 1978, 2)

The first quote is from an opinion published in 1971. The second quote is from an article written seven years later.

Six years later, Margaret Pappano, a Dartmouth student at this time, wrote an article expressing her concern for the misogyny portrayed by a fraternity during Winter Carnival:

Winter Carnival is an unfortunate time to confirm one's feelings of the undertones of sexism inherent in Dartmouth College...Sigma Nu fraternity upheld their traditional theme of female breasts for their snow sculpture...I will describe it: it is a crude female breast fashioned out of snow and pierced with a sword. (Pappano: 1984, 5)

More than a decade later, *The Dartmouth* still published articles that constructed the Greek System as a negative social space, filled with the most popularly known "-isms" within American society:

"On the whole, the CFS system tends to encourage excessive drinking, anti-intellectualism, sexism, racism and homophobia..." (Anthony: 1994, 1)

Homosexuals who spoke to *The Dartmouth* asserted the Greek system is decidedly unfriendly toward gays, but not as hostile as many may believe...they still believe the [Greek] system is homophobic and that it limits its homosexual members. (Hunnicuttt: 1996, 5)

Essentially, Dartmouth College has the same 'problems' with the Greek system in the 1990s, as it did in 1971. On September 24, 1971, an article titled "Reform the Houses" was published in *The Dartmouth*. In 1995, Sean Donahue,

Dartmouth Class of 1996, wrote an article titled, "College Must Stop Supporting Frats," stating

The combination of fraternities' exclusion of women, their use of initiation rituals which establish a hierarchy based on sex, gender and sexuality and an institutional ideology...create brothers who are more likely to rape or harass women...Not all fraternity brothers rape and harass women, but all fraternity brothers are complicit in the creation of rape culture. (Donahue: 1995, 4)

Each of these quotes construct the Dartmouth College fraternity system as primarily homophobic and sexist. Dartmouth College, as a whole, has had a history of sexism and heterosexism/homophobia as well as racism.

#### "White Male Privilege"/Racism and Sexism at Dartmouth

One of the most noted changes Dartmouth College ever went through was its transformation to a co-educational institution, evident in the many articles and opinions dedicated to the topic in the analysis of *The Dartmouth* from 1971-1997. *The Dartmouth* has captured the reactions, decisions and opinions of trustees, faculty, administration and students. Even after twenty-five years of coeducation, *The Dartmouth* depicts a feeling that not all men believe women should attend this institution; those that do accept women as students feel that they are 'not equal to men' or valuable as academic colleagues. Furthermore, even though Dartmouth has a population of women nearly equal to the population of men, it is still a relatively Caucasian campus that has not had enough success to address issues of racial

diversity, equality and especially the effects of White Male Privilege.

"White Male Privilege: A Myth or Reality?"

White males cannot deny that the male hegemony has opened doors for them.<sup>6</sup>

-Steve Cornish

Dartmouth Professor of Sociology

In February of 1996, the Interracial Concerns Committee held a panel discussion to discuss the question of the myths and realities of White Male privilege (Issacs: 1996). A Panel speaker, Dean of Residential Life, Mary Turco, recalled that when she interviewed Dartmouth President John Kemeny during the coeducation decision of 1971, he told her that "the vote for coeducation passed by a narrow margin...the process itself was complete in stages...to appease these privileged men" (Issacs, 1). In addition, Dartmouth did not elect its first female trustee until 1979 (Camp and Lynch: 1979, 1). In 1994, Michael Tallman writes in *The Dartmouth*

It is this "Old Dartmouth" which scares away many of our brightest prospective students, who don't happen to fit the rich, White, conservative, heterosexual male mold of the old school. (Tallman: 1994, 4)

This reveals that Dartmouth College has had and continues to struggle with the dominance of the White male paradigm and it's relations to race equality and race relations.

A further example of racist stereotyping concerns the use of the Indian Head as Dartmouth's Mascot. On September 27, 1971, the headline title to *The Dartmouth* is "Indians

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<sup>6</sup>Issacs, Roberts. "Panel discusses white male privilege." *The Dartmouth*. Volume CLIII No. 25. February 6, 1996. pg. 1

Blast UMass in Debut; Klupchack Paces Scoring Attack"(Wisneski, 1). The Indian head once was the official mascot of Dartmouth College. Because many students, especially Native Americans, felt the symbol to be racist, the school stopped recognizing the offensive mascot in the 1980s. Today, however, students continue walking around with T-Shirts that have the Indian head symbol on them; the newspaper *The Dartmouth Review* continues using this symbol as well. The use of the symbol has had a history of racial prejudice. Students of Dartmouth have and continuously argue that this symbol of a Native American painted in war paints with a feather in his hair is a negative stereotype.

Again in November 1971, *The Dartmouth* published an article that shows racist acts at Dartmouth towards Native Americans. Carol BirdBear, Stuart Tenemah and Geraldine Buckanaga expressed their grievances with how Dartmouth has portrayed Native Americans in symbols and racist Native American icons in the Hovey Grill of Dartmouth.

**The Grill also perpetuates the ignorance about Indian culture, and history...**

**...Tonemah said the meeting was a positive step towards making the college more sensitive about Indian feelings, and that Grill, the banner, and the mascot were white concepts about Indians, not historical accuracies. (Newman: 1971, 1)**

In 1973, January 11, the Committee for the Preservation of Dartmouth Tradition put in a full page add in support of using the Indian Symbol of Dartmouth College.

SHOW INDIAN HEAD ADVERTISEMENT HERE

The subject of racial discrimination continued in 1974:

In response to the request of three "concerned students," President Donald Kreider...met with those students in Baker Library...The meeting focused on a report which outline what the students believed to be discrimination... (*The Dartmouth*; anonymous. 11/20/74, 1).

In November of 1975, the trustees held a hearing to address minority problems at Dartmouth(Price: 1975). However, more than ten years later, racial inequality continued to plague Dartmouth. *The Dartmouth Review*, in 1988, wrote that music Professor William Cole was not teaching a 'real' course. It implied that learning about aspects of African American music is not part of a 'real' education. Following this incident, *The Dartmouth* published an article titled "Cole Incident Sparks Racial Strife: Blacks protest racist attitudes on campus." (Strand: 1988, 1).

In 1990, the use of the Indian Head symbol was still an important issue at Dartmouth:

I am a firm believer in the freedom of speech and expression, and I rarely try to prove another person's view wrong because of this belief. But I was shocked at the lack of understanding and the narrow-mindedness of the distasteful editorial that called on people to wear their Indian symbol shirts(Garrow: 1990: 4).

Following, in 1991, Jeff Strabone writes of White privilege

Here at Dartmouth, we have a similar problem that is causing a crisis of confidence: white affirmative action for children of alumni. Because these applicants are not getting in on their qualifications and characters, it still cannot be said that we have chromosome-blind admissions where whites are concerned. (Strabone: 1991, 4)

Most recently, in an article by Clare Unis in 1995, she wrote that she had attended a discussion that addressed the gay lesbian and bisexual community of Dartmouth. She notes,

I heard two straight, white males insist that gay students choose their sexual orientation, imagine their oppression and do not deserve or need administrative support...In light of what many white men see as preferential treatment given to others, it is not so surprising to me that a vast majority of them continue to retreat into their social organizations where they can pretend the "others" do not really exist...(Unis: 1995, 5).

With a Dartmouth history of such racist acts, the 1996 Dartmouth Interracial Committee Concerns panel discussing White Male Privilege has a more understandable context. However, White Male Privilege has also been reflective of influencing issues of gender equality at Dartmouth as well.

"Cohogs" of Dartmouth

**There are certain things which separate a man from a woman.**

-Dr. William H. Masters<sup>7</sup>

This quote was published on the top right hand corner in *The Dartmouth* issue of September 27, 1971. Also on the front page is a picture of the well known masculine American sport, football.

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<sup>7</sup>Master, William H. *The Dartmouth*. Vol CXXXI - No. 4. September, 27 1971. page 1.



SHOW FOOTBALL IMAGE

The quote and the picture of the Dartmouth football team immediately construct Dartmouth College as a strong masculine patriarchy. Granted, the school is not coeducational at this time, but Dartmouth College had 17 women students attending through the exchange program.

1971 was a year of controversial attitudes towards the decision of whether to make Dartmouth a co-educational institution. In the article "Coeducation Plan Urged By Members of CYRO," there was a sense that Dartmouth College's decision to turn 'coed' was not out of a moral obligation to provide equal opportunities for women:

A major aspect of the CYRO plan which was discussed by the Executive Committee yesterday and which confronted the Authors of both the Trustee Study Committee proposal and the Committee on Education Planning proposal is the issue of discrimination against women in admissions. The Trustees have already stated that they will not base any of their decisions on whether or not Congress is likely to make 'weighted' admissions illegal.

Specifically, there is now a bill pending in Congress that would make discrimination in coeducational institutions 'on the basis of sex' illegal. (Watkin: 1971, 1)

The second paragraph indicates that Dartmouth may have been pressured into accepting women in the fall of 1972, but may have not necessarily approved.

Shortly after this release of the above article, two students wrote their opinions about the Trustee's decision and perspective on coeducation:

...We would like to propose a new way of life for Dartmouth men...:  
 (2) Hire 750 women between the ages of 17 and 25, or, in other words one girl for each group of four undergraduates. These young women will be in

effect, concubines. They should be paid around \$40 per week above room and board...

(3) Allow, even encourage the girls to audit classes in their spare time, but do not award them with a degree from Dartmouth...

We feel that this plan is consistent with the spirit of other proposals being considered by the Trustees at this time. It shows absolutely no respect for the rights, or feelings, of women. (DeJong et al: 1971, 2).

Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine whether this article is written as a humorous critique to the Trustee's or if these two students truly feel this way. However, either way, the Trustees have been constructed as sexist.

During the first Winter Carnival that women were official Dartmouth College undergraduates, *The Dartmouth* published an article titled "Carnival Finds Coeds Dateless; Women Plan Weekend Boycott." The title itself indicates that women were not perceived as 'equal to men'. Instead of using the phrase female undergraduate or Dartmouth women, the term 'coed' is used, indicating that the author himself may have perceived women as still 'guests' of the college:

"The social situation is so artificial...So many guys simply assume that we all have dates...Others resent us for barging into "their" College..."

...A sophomore [male] who is having a "Smithie" up for the weekend offered a plausible explanation: "When you have a girl up from another school, there's no question but that she's going to sleep in your room..."

...One junior who proudly bears his reputation as an "ass man" on fraternity row offered a differed explanation.., "[Dartmouth women] dress so poorly-baggy in overalls...don't do much to accentuate their nubile young figures." Almost as an afterthought, this confirmed "male chauvinist" added, "And their grooming's atrocious." (Zonana: 1973, 1)

Though this article is not indicative of every Dartmouth male attitude towards women it does show that, in

1973, the acceptance of female students was limited. Several months later, an anonymous student delivered a sexist letter to Woodward Hall, an all-female dorm at the time. *The Dartmouth* published excerpts from the letter in an article titled, "Obscene Letter Angers Campus:"

The letter listed a series of "demands" necessary for women students to "become a viable member of our community" Among them were the - "the upper part of your body must remain naked before our eyes when you eat in Thayer. Perhaps you consider this unreasonable," the letter stated. "Well, f--- you." ...The letter stated that "your mere presence at this institution is a direct confrontation to the goals we consider sacred..." (*The Dartmouth*: April 11, 1973: pg. 3)

Such an incident reinforces the coding of Dartmouth as a heteropatriarchal space. In addition, it appears that since a majority of Dartmouth females did not present themselves as "Playboy model-like" or act passive and hyper-feminine, a majority of Dartmouth male students found this threatening to the heteropatriarchal space they had appropriated throughout two centuries. Many Dartmouth males labeled the Dartmouth women as 'cohogs'; a play off of the word, co-ed (Lindsey, 1973).

In 1975, the perception of Dartmouth College as a heteropatriarchal space still continued. Ann Priester writes in her article "On Traditions":

Dartmouth is no longer the exclusive bastion of white, upper-middle class males. Yet women are still in many ways forced to conform to this "all-male" tradition...To a large extent, women are still seen as objects to be herded into fraternities for the amusement of men. (Priester: 1975, 4)

This heteropatriarchy was also spoken of in an article written by Mary Klages, two years later, in her article "Dartmouth: a citadel of patriarchal scholarship." This article focused on the guest lecturer, Mary Daly:

**Mary Daly, feminist theologian, patriarchy was inherent in Christianity and singled out Dartmouth as "a citadel of patriarchal scholarship" in a speech here Tuesday.(Klages: 1977, 3)**

Furthermore, without reading the article, the audience already knows that a patriarchy is perceived at Dartmouth. Klage titled the article using the word 'patriarchal,' instead of something along the lines of "Mary Daly, feminist theologian, speaks at Dartmouth." A week later, Dartmouth class of 1978 Ann T. Laquer published an article titled, "Dartmouth women: still guests of the College."(Laquer, 1978).

During the 1980s, Dartmouth's image as a patriarchal and sexist institution continued to penetrate *The Dartmouth*. In the Voces Clamantium section of *The Dartmouth* on May 15, 1985, an article titled "Male 'group mentality' preserves sexism," was written by Ed Burns in response to an article written May 13, 1985 by Jeff Weitzman that expressed women should stop thinking all Dartmouth males hate them. Ed Burns wrote

**The problem of sexism on campus lies not in any hypersensitivity among Dartmouth women, but in an unquestioning group-think mentality among some Dartmouth men...Indeed. How many schools can you think of where a group of normally intelligent men get up in a public forum and shout obscenities at their female classmates?" Why, then, does this phenomenon happen at Dartmouth..? This attitude has become self-perpetuating, left over from the days when women really were unwelcome at**

Dartmouth." It's group-think at work. No one hates women, but it is though that abusing women is a "traditional" group activity and therefore cool.(Burn: 1985, 4)

This traditional group-thinking continued several years later, as well. Sandy Guylay wrote an article in the winter of 1987, "Women of Dartmouth: Charges of sexism have tainted relations among many segments of the community." She writes

...A sign saying "F\*\*\*ing feminist, go home" is posted on a woman's door. At a foreign study program interview, a professor asks a student, "You aren't going to do any feminist research, are you?"...Sexism in its various forms must be attributed to a variety of factors. Dartmouth's reputation as a "male drinking school" certainly does not help..."Some institutions and traditions within the College foster sexism and make it more acceptable than it would be at other places," says Laurie Adams '88.(Guylay: 1987, 3)

History certainly does repeat itself. On March 2, 1995, an article published "Women still need support groups" stated that "twenty-three years after coeducation, women at Dartmouth still say they experience the disadvantages of the College's male-dominated heritage"(Rini, 1). A more recent article in 1997 declared that sexism is still a part of Dartmouth College tradition. Michelle Kraemer writes of sexism in a joke that was distributed by electronic mail:

...The joke, recounting a sexual exchange between a prostitute and a koala bear... It is the sort of talk that has gone on among some Dartmouth men for decades...It is the public and printed crystallization of the ghosts of sexism which have haunted this College for 25 years.... It is also hard not to wonder if Dartmouth has somehow changed our standards since matriculation(Kraemer: 1997, 4).

Sexism has been and still continues to be a problem at Dartmouth College, stemming from the fact that coeducation itself has not been accepted, clashing against Dartmouth's

tradition of masculine and heteropatriarchal dominance of space. This history of sexism has negatively affected women's ability to control and appropriate space.

Because Dartmouth has been constructed as a heteropatriarchal dominated space, sexism at Dartmouth will affect queer people at Dartmouth. Being queer clashes against heteropatriarchal gender roles that dominate Dartmouth ideology, leaving queer people unable to appropriate space and security at Dartmouth college. Therefore, queer females have a double marginalization at Dartmouth College. As Valentine would put, "To be gay, therefore, is not only to violate norms about sexual behaviour and family structure but also to deviate from the norms of 'natural' masculine or feminine behaviour"(Valentine: 1993, 396). The next section examines to what extent *The Dartmouth* presents the opinions, reactions and perceptions of sexuality at Dartmouth as an extension of the White Male privilege and sexist ideas and traditions of the college.

### The Invisible Minority

Queer sexuality on the Dartmouth College campus was not addressed in 1971-1997 analysis of *The Dartmouth* until November 1977 in the article "Gay student group forming"(Shuga: 1977, 1). In comparison to the other Ivy Leagues, Dartmouth College, at this time, was ten years behind in the formation of an organization that recognizes

and assists queer students (Lewan: 1978). Stu Lewan '79, coordinator of the new group at this time,

attributed the lack of gay student organization to "the overall extreme conservative nature of the school, the intense all-male tradition which fosters images like the 'super-macho' male, the school's smallness and isolation, and professionalism of the students..." (Shuga: 1977, 1).

Less than a week later, Gary Simonds '79 writes in *The Newspaper* "Frankly, I'm proud that Dartmouth is the only Ivy League college that doesn't have a gay student organization. Let's keep it that way" (Simonds: 1977, 4). Another student writes about his 'disgust' of homosexuality in January of 1978:

There are still, thank God, students, professors, administrators, and townspeople in this liberalized community who recognize homosexuality for the sick and sinful aberration it is...I would like to voice my disgust at the College's support of homosexuals and their organization...(Barrett: 1978, 4)

Barrett's reference to even administrators is interesting because in February of 1979, Bill Petty '81 of the Gay Student Association, wrote that the decision of Dartmouth IFC to delay discussion on a non-discriminatory policy statement towards gays was rather irritating and writes

Despite the consistent raising of the gay issue, including at the pretentious Top of the Hop meeting, the IFC has consistently ignored it. Obviously, it is a non-essential cosmetic for their make-up kit. (Petty: 1979, 4).

As several years pass, it appears that the issue of queer sexuality at Dartmouth was still not accepted or tolerated in the community as a whole:

There is at this College an all-pervasive atmosphere of hostility and derision toward



lesbians and gay men. Because of numerous past and recent acts of harassment and physical violence against gay, many people involved in the GSA have felt unsafe to walk the streets alone...(Knight: 1981, 4).

The perpetuation of intolerance and lack of acceptance to queer sexuality of Dartmouth administration is also reflective once again in the article, "Queer bashing days at Dartmouth:"

Twice this past year the President and the Board of Trustees have eliminated reference to sexual orientation from the list of grounds on which the College Community may not discriminate...Chair of the Affirmative Action Review Board, President McLaughlin has said: "The Affirmative Action Review Board, is the wrong place to make this statement [of non-discrimination on account of sexual orientation...]" (*The Dartmouth*: 4/5/1983 p. 4).

Not only was this statement spoken by an administrator, the statement was coming from a person who chairs the affirmative action review board; a department that is supposed to make sure the college treats everyone equally.

Administration's lack of commitment to recognizing the issue of queer rights continued in 1984. In 1984, Teresa Polenz illegally taped a confidential GSA (Gay Students Association) meeting. In the article "GSA claims illegal taping by Review staffer," the author wrote that several GSA members

hoped the Committee on Standards would consider taking action against Polenz for her alleged violation of their confidentiality oath. Garling added that he considered Polenz's action a "clear violation of the Honor Principle." (*Newton*: 1984, 1).

It is important to take note that those who have violated the Dartmouth Honor Principle have been suspended from the

college due to such dishonest acts as plagiarism, cheating on academic assignments and exams (Student Handbook: 1997). The Dartmouth College community has 'prided' itself in maintaining such a principle of honesty with strict disciplinary actions. However, the administration of the college does not react to the illegal tapping incident that year with any disciplinary action. Peter Miller of the Resource Policy Center wrote that Polenz behavior is "clearly in violation of the Honor Principle and this type of outright harassment must not be allowed to continue" (Miller: 1984, 4). However, the administration did not take any action against this student and Miller states, "I wonder if the administration would be so reticent to act if it was an Executive Committee meeting that had been taped and was about to be published in *The Review*" (Miller: 1984, 4).

The college's lack of immediate disciplinary action in reprimanding a student's 'obvious' violation of a very traditional principle is indicative of the college as a male heteropatriarchal institution. Though the issue was eventually addressed towards the end of June that year, it was the State Attorney General's Office and the American Civil Liberties union, entities outside of Dartmouth College, that dealt with this violation (Benis: 1984).

However, for the first time, in 1985, a lecture series about queer sexuality was presented at Dartmouth, sponsored by GSA. *The Dartmouth* presented an article on the first page of the October 29 issue, "GSA sponsors awareness week."

(Jackson: 1985). Unfortunately, even though such events of awareness had begun to occur at Dartmouth, it doesn't mean that the promotion of acceptance would be immediate. The following year, Jim McCann '86 writes,

**At nine o'clock on Thursday morning, as I was entering Collis... I saw two students...reading posters. One screamed, 'The homos are having a dance. How can they do that?'. This was yet another example of how most people on campus treat lesbians and gay men (McCann: 1986, 5).**

Acceptance of queer sexuality continued to be problematic in 1989. Students expressed concern with the Dartmouth administration's support for the ROTC program. Drew Groves '91 commented

**ROTC does not provide any choices for openly gay students...The Dartmouth College administration professes to value diversity, free thought, and the rights of the individual. Yet, Dartmouth...allows the military to invade a theoretically discrimination-free campus...(Groves: 1989, 5).**

Biases toward queer people in Dartmouth administration continue as a student wrote about his concerns with Dartmouth allowing the CIA to come and recruit on campus even though CIA discriminated against queer people. The student wrote, "The presence of the Central Intelligence Agency on the Dartmouth campus is an abominable violation of the spirit of 'equal opportunity for all students'" (*The Dartmouth*, 10/31/1989, 4).

Blatant homophobia continued on the Dartmouth campus in the 1990s, as Matthew Babcock wrote, "At the homecoming football game when jubilant fans screamed such phrases as 'Beat Yale, stop AIDS!' and 'One in four, maybe more!' people

laughed"(Babcock: 1990, 4). Campus intolerance continued at the response of the gay/lesbian journal of Dartmouth *In Your Face*. At the arrival of this new journal, Daniel Katz wrote,

**Probably the most prevalent attitude I heard from various people last week was a degree of resentment. They didn't like the concepts of homosexuality being in their faces...and resented feeling like they should even be aware of its existence.(Katz: 1991, 4)**

That year, administration once again had homophobic responses to an issue of queer sexuality as well, when Dartmouth Gay and Lesbian Alums were denied official recognition from the college alumni affairs office. The director of alumni affair, Michael Choukas claimed "the idea of alumni subgroups runs counterproductive to our philosophy. We're here to help all alumni" (Wong: 1991, 1). However, as there already existed was a Black, Native and Dartmouth Lawyers Alumni association, Choukas' comment was undermined.

Several years later, the campus was still combating homophobia, as seen in *The Dartmouth's* publication of an article titled, "DaGLO-Sponsored youth workshop discusses sexuality, homophobia" in January of 1994(King: 1994, 14). In addition, the Trustee's support of the ROTC program was debated by Faculty in March of 1994, urging faculty to understand that "ROTC is inconsistent with the College's equal opportunity principle because homosexuals cannot openly display their sexuality without fear of being removed from the program" (Anthony: 1994, 1). A little over a month later, the Trustees voted to keep the ROTC program yet

"admitted the program discriminates against homosexuals" (Edlich: 1994, 1).

In 1995, Earl Plante, '94, co-chair of DaGLO (the queer student organization) received a flier in his mail box titled "Let's Talk Faggots." (Siegel: 1995). However, the progress of acceptance of queer sexuality at Dartmouth was slightly optimistic that year when Student Assembly voted that Dartmouth needs a full-time health care professional to address the needed of queer students and urged that Dartmouth Administration do this (Editorial: 1995). Bart Bingenheimer was eventually hired for the following year as this new administrator for queer students.

### The Use of 'Gay' as a Label

In the fall of 1977, a group of students formed an organization called 'Gay Student Support Group' at Dartmouth. When this news arrived in the office of *The Dartmouth*, an article titled "Gay student group forming" was written (Shuga: 1977). However, more than twenty years later, the term 'Gay' is still used in *The Dartmouth* article titles as a term for lesbians, bisexuals, etc. Below, these are articles about non-heterosexual orientation written in *The Dartmouth*:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Title</u>
1978	Lewan	"Helping gays adjust to Dartmouth"
1980	Iorio	"Gay dancing outlawed by Tri-Kap brothers"
1983	Weiss	"Garling, Cannon lead GSA campaign for gay rights"
1984	Goldberg	"Fear stifles attempts to fight for gay rights on campus"

1985	Morell	"Heterosexism, not heterosexuals, suppress gays"
1986	Nelson	"Dartmouth students march for gay pride"
1987	Silver	"Gay group said to support RAID effort"
1989	Groves	"Dartmouth alienates gays by celebrating ROTC"
1990	Horwitz	"The price of gay rights"
1991	Katz	"People are intolerant of gay/lesbian journal"
1992	Shirasu	"Gays were Inappropriate"
1994	Amann	"Arelene Stein lectures; speech focuses on lesbian feminism"
1994	Subramaniam	"The Civil Rights of Gays, Fundamental Human Rights"
1996	Pichler	"Let the old traditions fail: Gay, lesbian and bisexual students have slowly eked out a space for themselves."
1996	Hunnicuttt	"Greek queers find their niche"
1996	Opulauoho	"Siegel Misinformed on Queer Perspectives Housing"
1997	Loback	"Straights, gays lament dating scene, D-Plan, Greeks"

By constantly using the word 'Gay' for the past 20 years, *The Dartmouth* has, in a sense, given it a space. Even after The Gay Student's Association name was changed to DAGLO (Dartmouth Area Gay Lesbian Organization), the word 'gay' was used in the article "Gay group said to support RAID effort" (Silver: 1987). In 1992, an article about lesbians was titled "Gays were inappropriate." As a matter of fact, looking through the articles used for this research, the word 'lesbian' is used in an article title three times. The word 'queer' is used several times, but 'lesbian' and 'queer' are not given nearly as much space as the word 'gay.'

How queer is constructed in *The Dartmouth*, within the discourse of sexuality, gender, and race, is now better understood through the historical analysis of *The Dartmouth*. It is within the context of White Male privilege,

heterosexism and gender inequality that queer sexuality has been produced in not only *The Dartmouth* but the Dartmouth College campus. The history of sexuality in America has been primarily constructed by Anglo-Saxon male heterosexual scholars and scientists (Carter: 1997). Such constructions have categorized middle-class and affluent Caucasians, the heteropatriarchy and heterosexuality as 'normal' and non-Caucasians and queer people as 'abnormal,' 'unnatural' and 'inferior' (Carter: 1997). This discourse has emerged from the analysis of *The Dartmouth*.

The In addition, the power relations existing throughout 1971-1997 have remained the same. Those that have the power to maintain the status quo continue to be predominantly White heterosexual affluent males. The next step in this paper is to find **(a)** whether these underlying themes of White privilege, sexism and The Greek system (primarily fraternities) as a negative social space for queer people, parallel the current perceptions and experiences of queer female students at Dartmouth College, through 'sense of place mapping'; **(b)** what other Foucauldean analytical techniques can be applied to the perceptions and experiences of space among queer female Dartmouth students; and **(c)** how the rural environment plays out in the discourse of queer space and experience.

## Chapter Four

### ‘Gay Friendly Space’: Signs and Signifiers in Space and the *Panopticon*

All around the Dartmouth Campus, various students, faculty and administration have pasted the sticker ‘Gay Friendly Space’ on their doors.

“I have often felt that straight people at Dartmouth equate gay with all queer people. I think of gay in reference to male homosexuality. As a lesbian, I sometimes cringe when I see the sticker ‘Gay Friendly Space’ on campus. I feel as if we are all lumped into one group: gay. Well, we aren’t, and just because a space says ‘gay friendly’ doesn’t mean it will feel friendly to lesbians or bisexuals or transvestites or whomever that doesn’t identify as gay...And when issues come up about ‘alternative’ sexualities at Dartmouth, the gay aspect always get’s dealt with and recognized. What about us?” (“Fiona”).

“It should be changed -- "gay" refers almost exclusively to men, and it's really these little tiny male-oriented sorts of things that lead to assumptions about male domination (“Vanessa”).”

On April 11, 1998, Dartmouth College had a dance in the Alumni Center called the “AIDS Dance-a-thon.” This was a dance that provided information about AIDS, other sexually transmitted diseases and how to prevent it during sexual intimacy. There was one pamphlet that instructed gay males how to have safe sex. There was also a pamphlet with pictures of heterosexual couples as well. Interestingly enough, there were no pamphlets dedicated to safe sex between women or any images of women together as partners.

“...That’s like when I first came here [to Dartmouth], I was freaking out a little bit because I came from Northampton where everything is separated as gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, questioning and queer. And here, I saw the ‘gay friendly’ sticker and was like, “What about lesbians? What about bisexuals?” And when I brought that up, it didn’t seem like that much of a big issue...I also think that a name or a label



gives someone space as well...That's why it was so important for me for that safe space sticker to say lesbian and gay and bisexual and transgender and queer and questioning be on there too..."

- Margaret Smith

Coordinator for Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Concerns at Dartmouth<sup>8</sup>

"Fiona", "Vanessa", and Margaret Smith and the AIDS Dance-a-thon all bring up a main point: when looking at identity, the recognition of a name- even on something like an information pamphlet or sticker- gives space to a certain group or individual. Such an issue of the recognition of a group or identity affects how Dartmouth College Administration on campus deals with policies and campus studies. Combining various identities together or associating with another name, such as associating and labeling queer sexualities as 'gay,' leaves people such as queer females the inability to be visible as well as appropriate space.

Looking at this use of 'gay' as a label parallels it's use in the analysis of *The Dartmouth*, indicating that queer females themselves may not have a space at Dartmouth, because queer females had hardly any space as a label (i.e. 'lesbian' or 'queer females') in the *The Dartmouth*. It is through the use of 'sense of place mapping' that queer female perceptions of space, as well as identity, surface in the next section, paralleling the underlying themes that surfaced from the discursive analysis of *The Dartmouth*.

### Shifting Identities, Shifting Spaces

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<sup>8</sup>Smith, Margaret. Interview on March 10, 1998 in Hanover, New Hampshire at the Collis Student Center of Dartmouth College.

The narrative of place is a key method in understanding how queer females view the everyday spaces they interact in. This method of understanding place can be achieved through memories, autobiographies, interviews, etc. "Such imaginatively reconstructed experiences reveal the epistemological connections between mental theoretical space and tangible biophysical and designed spaces" (Bouthillette et al: 1997, 55). It is within this context that interviews will be used for this research and eventually reveal the subjective maps or, sense of place, within the minds of these interviewees. "In queer experience, this 'sense of place' map plays a key role, affecting how people go about their individual lives and how they interact in social networks"(Bouthillette et al: 1997, 55). Within these interviews, each person's "map" is not just a product of sexual identity; factors such as ethnicity, race, socio-economic class, gender, culture, etc. are inseparable from their sexual identity. Below are the alias names and descriptions of women interviewed for this thesis except for Margaret Smith.

- "Daphne:"** Bisexual and African American and Caribbean identified.
- "Joan:"** Upper class Caucasian identified lesbian from Denver, Colorado.
- "Nicole:"** Chicana and queer identified female from San Antonio, TX.
- "Elizabeth:"** Ojibwa lower class identified lesbian from Appalachia Pennsylvania.
- "Lisa:"** Caucasian identified lesbian from New Hampshire.
- "Penny:"** Lesbian identified female from Florida.
- "Fiona:"** African American identified lesbian from Connecticut.
- "Vanessa:"** Bisexual Caucasian identified female from Virginia.

**"Carol:"** Bisexual Caucasian identified female from New York.

**Margaret Smith:** Dartmouth College GLBTT Coordinator

*"Dating...at Dartmouth"*

Dating at Dartmouth has had the stereotype of being difficult. Most students are more familiar with the phrase 'hooking up,' rather than a long term relationship. This involves a night of kissing and 'heavy petting.' After 'hooking up,' students rarely interact with that person again. On April 30, 1998, a lecture called "Creative Dating," took place in the evening in 105 Dartmouth Hall, in response to this 'dilemma,' sponsored by the College Fraternity and Sorority Committee of Dartmouth College. This particular event is key in understanding how homophobia, another underlying theme that surfaced from the discursive analysis of *The Dartmouth*, is reinforced at Dartmouth.

105 Dartmouth Hall is a large lecture hall that can fit at least one hundred people. That night, over one hundred and fifty students attended this lecture, filling the hall to its maximum capacity. The speaker, Dave Coleman, introducing himself as specialist that tours the country specifically advising college students, stated that his advice should work for same-sex couples as well. Unfortunately, throughout the lecture, he created a space for Dartmouth heterosexuals who adhere to the heteropatriarchal gender roles of America. This was achieved by basically directing every question and statement towards straight people, during each exercise.

During an exercise to 'get to know females and males better', the Dave asked men to be silent for several minutes while asking women to express what they would like to see change in men. Several minutes later, men expressed what they wanted to see change in female behavior. During another exercise, Dave told the audience that people's pets were indicative of their personality. To prove this theory, he said to the women, "Ladies, only you can answer this...You see a guy walking down the street with a little puppy, what do you think about this guy..?"

Dave continues this heterosexism when he spoke about the movie "Wild Things" because a male in the audience had indicated how attractive he felt co-star Denise Richards was. Dave explained to the audience who Denise Richards was and said that she and the other co-star Neve Campbell, "decided to do each other instead of the guys..." with disappointment.

Lastly, to help the college students date better, he revealed to them the most common questions men and women had about dating. He indicated that the number one concern women have is, why men don't call them back immediately, after they have given them their phone numbers; men asked, why do females feel they must go to the bathrooms together.

It only took Dave Coleman about fifteen minutes to convert 105 Dartmouth Hall into a space specifically comfortable for heterosexuals. Granted, even though Dave told the audience that his advice worked for same-sex

couples, his heterosexist direction of the lecture marginalized any queer people in the audience who may have had questions about same-sex dating. There were quite a few queer people in the audience, including "Fiona":

"I have so many questions about how to approach women... However, I felt as if I couldn't speak about it because of all the heterosexuals talking about what they wanted to see in the opposite sex. Dave didn't help with his comment about Neve Campbell and Denise Richards. He obviously seemed disappointed that the women in the movie decided not to 'do the men' instead of each other...And why couldn't he ask questions like 'Women, what do you want to see in other women?' Hello, Dave, this lecture can't work for people who are attracted to the same sex." ("Fiona").

Even though "Fiona" had intended to participate in the lecture by asking Dave her own questions, she had basically been marginalized and eventually silenced. No one asked about or stated concerns over same-sex dating.

Looking at the bigger picture, "Creative Dating" is indicative of CFSC's (College fraternity and sorority committee) heterosexist historical connotation that surfaced in *The Dartmouth* analysis. This committee was given the responsibility to battle the problem of difficult dating at Dartmouth. Their approach to the problem was obviously through heterosexist eyes, because they could have invited a speaker that could have asked questions such as "Women, what do you want to see in a women or man that you have interest in?" By hiring this man, the CFSC indirectly redefined heterosexist space at Dartmouth by not considering that there is a queer population at Dartmouth as well.

The selection of Dave Coleman as a speaker for the Dartmouth student population also reemphasizes the power of maintaining the status quo by laying out the 'importance' of heterosexual relationships while ignoring queer sexuality. Therefore, the audience was under the impression that adhering to heterosexual societal norm is 'good' and deviating from it is 'bad.' Everyone was observing each other in the audience as well as reemphasizing heterosexuality whenever they made a comment about their concerns with the opposite-sex. When Dave commented with obvious disappointment that the two women in "Wild Things" 'do each other,' this subtly reminds those that are queer that their sexual orientation is a disappointment to the heteropatriarchal gender roles that dominant our society.

These constant negative responses to such queer sexuality (i.e. Dave's negative response to *Wild Things* and his exclusion of same-sex partners) force queer people at Dartmouth to conform to a certain behavior while in the public eye. For example, personal experiences suggest that it is rare to see any same-sex partners at Dartmouth holding hands. Therefore, how is a queer female expected to perform or find space at Dartmouth, when events such as this, continues to epitomize the heterosexual dominance at Dartmouth?



### *The Dance*

On April 18, 1998, the African American Society of Dartmouth held a dance in the basement of Shabazz Hall. When "Fiona", a Dartmouth undergraduate African American identified lesbian, entered the space, she automatically felt comfortable. The music playing was from a culture she could relate to and most of the people inhabiting the space were either Black or Latino identified.

However, that feeling of comfort and identification disappeared as soon as the next event occurred: she was handed a ticket with a number '73' written in the middle and the letter "F" written on the upper right corner titled "Find Your Match." The point? To find the other person with the number 73 and to attempt to possibly meet a new love in interest.

*"What an excellent way to meet people...if you're heterosexual",* "Fiona" says she remembers thinking. For the person holding the other #73 would ultimately be male. It was like this for everyone who had a ticket; their secret partner of that night would be that of the opposite sex.

As soon as the woman gave "Fiona" the ticket, this label, she automatically assumed that "Fiona" was heterosexual; even more so, every time she handed out a ticket, the space of the dance floor was appropriated and constantly defined as "Heterosexual Space Only." Granted, it was never said or pasted on the wall of the room, but as soon as she had handed Jane that ticket, it was written out.

**"Because the music was great, I tried to stay for as long as I could. However, the damage had**

already been done. Even though I looked like everyone else, had dressed like most of the females in a hyper-feminized manner and agreed with the choice of music, I felt threatened and uncomfortable because I knew straight guys would be looking at me, asking me what my number was and propositioning me to dance....One guy had asked me what my number was, and I didn't like that..." - "Fiona"

These men had assumed, that as a woman dressed in an overly hyper-feminized manner, "Fiona" would act as part of this heteropatriarchal gendered script.

"I consider it even worse for me sometimes, when I go out, because I consider myself a 'lipstick' lesbian. Straight men usually assume lesbians dress and act quote unquote, masculine. People automatically read how I act out gender through my partying and dance clothes, assuming my hyperfemininity must mean I am straight as a nail." - "Fiona"

"For sexual minorities 'open' space is often not so open, and communality does not always make for community" (Ingram: 1997, 95). Realizing that if she continued responding negatively to these men she might end up in a verbal confrontation, Fiona left after about fifteen minutes. For within this open dance space, she had no space.

Interestingly enough, sexuality is not the only aspect of one's identity that determines the comfort level in a social space. Sexuality identity, itself, is inseparable from ethnic, class, religious, gender factors as well. This is evident in the fact that sexuality at Dartmouth has been constructed within a White Heteropatriarchal affluent context, as seen in the analysis of *The Dartmouth*.



"Daphne", a Dartmouth undergraduate and a woman who identifies as an African American woman of African and Caribbean heritage and bisexual states that

"It was then Junior year that I first started to feel isolated and not part of Dartmouth Community- because I am not White...It wasn't even a straight thing...because I can do that. Being bisexual in behavior...one can play straight...It was definitely a color thing...I think the place where this isolation was most heightened was in the fraternity scene."

Such a perspective on the Fraternity system and racial identity is an underlying theme that emerged in Chapter Three's discourse analysis of *The Dartmouth*.

Socio-economic class also comes into play when "Daphne" says, "...it's a very dangerous place to be for anyone who is not Caucasian and upper-middle class." In addition, even though the Dartmouth Fraternity system has been depicted as an uncomfortable space for people of color, "Daphne" notes that she often does not feel comfortable in the queer scene at Dartmouth as well:

"So, it's really interesting how at Dartmouth I didn't feel...perfectly comfortable in the queer scene, because they didn't represent my culture. So, it wasn't just a sexuality thing; it was a 'being Black at Dartmouth' thing. So, when I would be at [DRA] meetings and hear things that would be spoken about, I saw how jumpy people would get would issues of race come up; they didn't even come up half the time...a couple of time when we had gone out to [queer] conferences they just wouldn't have any other people of color there."

"Fiona" also feels the same way:

My ethnic, socio-economic class and sexuality identity are all inseparable. However, when we have DRA meetings, I am under the impression that mostly everyone- and DRA is mostly white- is there to strictly talk about sexuality. Don't they even understand that being lesbian in African American culture differs from mainstream White American culture? That being queer and poor is much more stressful than being queer with affluence...I feel that most DRA members are middle-class or higher. They just don't see it.

This may stem from the fact that 'gay' has a male homosexual connotation and the image of 'gay' has been constructed in reference to Caucasian middle-class in mainstream queer theory. In reference to discursive analysis of *The Dartmouth*, Dartmouth College campus has been depicted as Caucasian, male, and middle to upper-class environment.

In addition, drawing on ethnographic evidence, Esterberg writes that

white women discuss race in varying ways...For these women, being white is so much an assumed part of who they are and how they are seen in the world that race, for them, is not an identity...Other white women talk about race in terms of racism.(Esterberg: 1997, 99)

This indeed was the case for "Lisa" and "Carol", two of the three Caucasian queer undergraduate females interviewed. "Lisa", A Caucasian upper-middle class lesbian identified undergraduate student, was asked to reflect upon her experience at Dartmouth, looking at such factors as race, class, sexuality and gender:

"I am White...I come from a town that is like 99% White people. I didn't think it was all that different coming to Dartmouth...Along with the race/class lines with that, there hasn't been a lot of influence on me..."

For "Joan", a Caucasian upper class female, race comes up when she says "[Dartmouth] seemed extraordinarily White.., wealthy and...heterosexual...As a lesbian I definitely felt kind of isolated." Interestingly, she is aware that Dartmouth's student population and faculty is primarily White. However, because she is Caucasian and upper class, her isolation is caused by her sexuality. This is

logical since she has much more in common with mainstream Dartmouth than "Fiona" and "Daphne". "Joan", however, admits also that "Dartmouth is a very hard place for people who don't fit the stereotype."

"Nicole" is a sophomore at Dartmouth College. During the interview, she says,

"I am Chicana, first and foremost. And queer. That's where I stand politically...With my girlfriend, I probably felt most comfortable at the Latino parties...labeling myself Chicana automatically give you Latino/Latina friends."

"Elizabeth", a junior and lesbian identified female at Dartmouth College parallels "Nicole"'s identity experience as well:

"...I'm associated with the Native American. I'm part Ojibwa....[The Native American House] has been very good because it's been more like a home to me. I've had a very comfortable space to socialize and to be in."

However, "Fiona" states,

"I have never felt comfortable with my lesbian identity in the African American community. I don't even think the majority of them even know, because I have never been crazy enough to bring a female date to any of the dances. Maybe I am freaked out because of the stereotype of extreme homophobia within African American culture..."

Through these interviews, one thing is for certain: even though there is really no one common queer female identity, there is one common place that eight out of nine interviewees don't feel comfortable socializing in: The Dartmouth Fraternities. Such a theme parallels the history of the college and *The Dartmouth's* depiction of the fraternity system. The only female who felt fine in fraternity social scenes was Carol, a Caucasian bisexual

identified female. This may be the fact that she is Caucasian and bisexual; such an identity allows her to participate in the Caucasian heterosexual social behavior that has come to epitomize the Dartmouth Fraternity scene, through *The Dartmouth*<sup>9</sup>.

### *Lesbian Flâneur and Spatial Performance*

As mentioned before, spaces are marked and labeled. In terms of fraternity parties, the spaces are labeled primarily with bodies: bodies kissing, dancing, eroticizing and intimately touching. *Flâneur*, in terms of sexuality, is the performance of gender and sexuality with one's own body as well with other bodies (i.e. kissing and dancing) to ultimately create, control and appropriate space (Munt: 1995). This performance also is used to draw attention to one's body, in terms of sexuality and gender (Munt: 1995). Feminists have theorized that the queer *flâneur* can often be insecure, marginalized and ambiguous (Munt: 1995). This, of course, depends on what eyes are watching; in the case of this paper, it is the heterosexual gaze looking at lesbian or queer female *flâneur*.

Entering a weekend night fraternity dance party, people are bombarded with images of heterosexual couples dancing with one another. The word 'fraternity' itself connotes a male space. Though fraternities at Dartmouth College do not officially write in their constitution, "No same-sex partner

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<sup>9</sup>None of the other women interviewed identified as both Caucasian and bisexual.

dancing allowed," like several fraternities did in the 1970s and 1980s, it is pretty much an act that isn't too positively accepted by other students within that space; others students that appropriate space through the performance of the heterosexual *flâneur* through dancing:

I went dancing with a female friend of mine at Psi U fraternity in the Winter of 1998. It was all cool because we weren't dancing really close and lots of girls always dance together to fast music in fraternities...It was really crowded and all. Suddenly, a slow song came on and her and I danced really closely and intimately. Suddenly, we had a lot of space, because people probably didn't want to be around 'something like that.' These three girls would not stop staring and would occasionally point at us in awe." ("Fiona").

"Daphne" notes:

I've danced with women at basically every party I've been to...I once [danced] in a fraternity basement...there were other women there too-straight women who obviously were not comfortable [with use dancing].

Because the fraternity is a heterosexual space, these experiences from queer females are rather expected. "Fiona's" same-sex dancing, her lesbian *flâneur*, does create a space for her in the Psi U fraternity that night. However, she is marginalized and 'put on display' when the heterosexuals at the dance party give her space by inching away and pointing at her and her partner.

Looking at lesbian performance of queer female students at Dartmouth is an efficient technique in illustrating how queer females spend their social time and where they do and don't feel comfortable; the analysis of *The Dartmouth* has already given a clear picture of negative spaces for women and the queer population. Unfortunately, Sally Munt's

analysis of the lesbian *flâneur* has been applied in a urban context, where there is a bigger population and usually a 'visible' queer community. Hanover's non-urban location affects the lesbian *flâneur* and ability to appropriate space differently than in the urban.

Dartmouth College is located in Hanover, New Hampshire. The area is rural. For a majority of Dartmouth students, a choice of where one goes to have fun is quite simply limited to either dancing at fraternity parties or watching a movie or local performance. Such an underlying theme is prevalent in these interviews of queer female Dartmouth students. There are no lesbian or gay bars, coffeehouses or restaurants in Hanover. There are no queer dance clubs at all; that is why most dancing is done at Greek (mainly fraternity) parties. The town stores and businesses primarily close at around 5:30pm. Essentially, Hanover Main Street is socially dead in the evening.

"When I got here, the cute little college town atmosphere I started out with wasn't so cute anymore. It was too small. I come from Denver...and growing up in a city there's...a lot more variety of people and diversity." ("Joan")

"[I'm from] San Antonio...It's got like a few million people...You options are very limited in what you do for entertainment [at Dartmouth]." ("Nicole")

Queer female students are not the only ones who perceive Dartmouth as being socially limiting because of it's rural location. In general, many students find Dartmouth College's rural atmosphere too small to have a full and diverse social life.

"A straight friend of mine from Harlem, would go home like every other weekend, freshman year. Dartmouth was just too small for him- especially since he is from such a largely populated area." ("Fiona").

However, space is perceived in a way that is reflective of one's own home environment. While some queer females interviewed found Dartmouth too small in terms of a queer female community and social space, "Fiona" and "Elizabeth" have different perceptions:

"Coming from a rural mountainous area...Dartmouth is more accepting...Talking about how my identity has been shaped comparing Dartmouth with where I came from, there is absolutely no space where I come from to be homosexual...It's weird to hear other people who come from cities here at Dartmouth say they have no space; and then people like me coming from places that really have no space and have a lot of space here." ("Elizabeth")

"My town is smaller than Hanover. There is no queer community and it's all White. I don't even know anyone who is 'out' in my town. Dartmouth to me doesn't really seem that small and non-diverse because of where I am from. It is here I feel most comfortable with my identity as African American and a lesbian. I graduate soon and don't even want to think that I may have to go back home to live." ("Fiona").

With such different perceptions of the space of Dartmouth, how do these queer females create their own spaces? Most have answered that they spend their social time within a private sphere: the dorm rooms or apartments of other queer females. This parallels the underlying themes found in *The Dartmouth*: homophobia and the fact that queer people on campus have felt isolated.

"...most of it is localized like throwing our own parties or like I'll throw my own party at my own apartment and invite all my friends over and everybody has something to go to where they feel comfortable." ("Joan")

"...When I go out it's usually just to friends rooms...Like small parties." ("Elizabeth")

It can be theorized, perhaps, that even though females are 'out' about their sexuality, several of them spend a lot of their social time within a private sphere where they cannot be seen by mainstream Dartmouth students. Therefore, the lesbian *flâneur* within the public sphere at Dartmouth, does not appear to be an efficient way of permanently appropriating and controlling space. In a sense, the majority of queer female students' social life can be considered spent 'in the closet' because their performance is confined to the 'private sphere.' Their social life is defined within this 'private' and 'public' dichotomy because the home has been constructed as a private space within the heteropatriarchal paradigm we all live in. It is outside of this 'private' space and in the outside/outdoors public space of Dartmouth Campus that "Joan" feels her sexuality, her lesbian *flâneur*, is on display.

"If you are on campus.., it would be a really big effort to hold the hand of someone you are dating, if you are gay.., and have people watching you because people will stare...It's your love life and your emotions and it's like putting it on display because that draws more attention than a heterosexual couple." ("Joan")

"You're on display wherever you go if you quite frankly don't look and act like the mainstream population at Dartmouth. Whether you be holding the hand of your same-sex partner or be an African American woman wearing non-Westernized traditional dress and hairstyle, you will be pointed out by your peers." ("Fiona")

Interestingly enough, the feeling of being 'put on display' was felt by a queer female student, twenty years ago, as she



states that people ask her, 'Really, oh wow, tell me what it's like, what drove you to it..,' the kind of person who upon realizing your sexuality immediately puts you in a glass cage and observes.(Frishman: 1978, 3). The *flâneur* is transfixed and trapped, a blank page which the status quo can write on (Munt: 1995). The same lesbian *flâneur* that had helped "Fiona" create a space at the Psi U Dance party, ultimately does not allow the queer Dartmouth female to appropriate and control space within the large eye of public space. The lesbian *flâneur* is transfixed and trapped by an eye that writes her as 'deviant.'

For those that 'refuse' to display a socially constructed 'normal' behavior within the mainstream Dartmouth College culture, the looks of awe, disgust and pointing is harassment legitimized by the fact that it is 'necessary' punishment, reminding them that they are 'socially deviant' and in need of discipline. Several queer females interviewed had expressed feelings of being 'put on display' and 'stared at' while performing their sexuality/gender in a public space. In a more theoretical sense, it is the effect of the Dartmouth *panopticon* these queer female students are experiencing.



## Fixed Space

### The *Panopticon* and the Public: Dartmouth College Campus

**Discipline sometimes requires enclosure, the specification of a place heterogeneous to all**

others and closed in upon itself. It is the protected place of disciplinary monotony<sup>10</sup>.  
-Michel Foucault

The concept of the *panopticon* is a technique that observes society's individuals; it is the eye of power. Foucault theorizes that we all live in a society that observes individuals, making sure each one adheres to the rules and regulations of the status quo. "There [is] a central observation-point which [serves] as the focus of the exercise of power and, simultaneously, for the registration of knowledge" (Foucault: 1980, 148). In relation to the Dartmouth College campus, the point of observation stems from the center of campus, known as The Green. **(REFER TO MAP ON NEXT PAGE)**

Encircling The Green are all the structures and buildings of administrative power. The 'important' guests and affluent tourists of Hanover reside in the Hanover Inn which is on the South side of the Green. Foucault notes that in "themes of surveillance, and especially schools, it seems that controls over sexuality becomes inscribed in architecture" (Foucault: 1980, 150). Therefore, the placement of these certain buildings around The Green is an important concept in understanding how the *panopticon* works at Dartmouth and how it affects the space that queer females students must interact in. Because Dartmouth college is a very small campus and located in a rural region of New England, the *panopticon* is much more intensified.

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<sup>10</sup> Foucault, Michel. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York: Pantheon Books. 1977. p. 141

The way Dartmouth College Campus is structured, students as well as faculty and administrators must cross The Green several times a day to do such activities as research at Baker Library, check their mail at the Hopkins Center, attend class or eat.

In the *panopticon*, the peers and colleagues become the overseers. With this system

**there is no need for arms...An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself. (Foucault: 1980, 155).**

It is the mere gaze or stare from the peers of queer females that make them feel not comfortable enough to walk around on The Green holding their partner's hands. Also, because Administrative buildings surround The Green, there is a psychological connotation that 'Administrative' equals power. In addition, it isn't uncommon for the Hanover Police be parked on the south side of The Green, near the Hanover Inn. The location of the Hanover Inn is crucial to the concept of the *panopticon*. Personal experience suggest that most of the people entering to stay in the Hanover Inn are Caucasian heteropatriarchal families who are upper middle class. Guests of the inn are welcomed to sit in front of the building to talk or relax, overlooking The Green. There is also an outdoors eating terrace that inn guests, as well non-residing Hanover Inn guests, spend time on during the spring, summer and early fall.

These eyes that observe The Green have economic value, because they are expensive customers for the inn. The inn is owned by Dartmouth College. From Chapter Three, there is an underlying theme of Dartmouth Administration, Trustees, etc expressing subtle racism, sexism and homophobia in administrative policies and rules and regulations that stem from the analysis of *The Dartmouth*. Therefore, it wouldn't be surprising that the school would be concerned with what Hanover Inn customers, Dartmouth Perspective Students and Tourists are seeing on The Green.

The placement of the Hanover Inn on the south side of The Green has done two things: Because of the inn's attraction of an affluent heteropatriarchal Caucasian majority, the space of The Green is visibly pleasant to observe; and because The Green is encircled by administrative power structures, police, and hundreds of students passing by daily, Hanover Inn residents are able to 'enjoy' observing The Green without having to see many people that don't fit the ideal Westernized heterosexual identity of the status quo.

Such a confined center of campus enables the status quo to dominant how people in public spaces should be viewed, and keeps anyone from wanting to deviate from that, feel uncomfortable, influencing them to perform in a way they would normally not perform in the eye of the public majority.

Such a theory is not improbable. Economics has always played an important role in space and how sexuality, gender, class and ethnicity/race is regulated in that space. In 1994, Lions Bay Vancouver, lobbying by local homeowners had the British Columbia Ministry of Highways install dividers on the highway to stop parking in order to prevent the influx of lesbians on the public beach nearby (Ingram: 1997).

Panopticism makes regulating the status quo much more easier and economically cheap. For example, I have heard Dartmouth undergraduates gossip to each other, what they observed while passing by The Green. Some of these observations have included comments such as 'I can't believe I saw two girls holding hands' on the Green. This particular comment was marked with disgust. Such a comment is heard by other students within such highly student traffic areas like Collis Student Center (located on the West side of the Green) or Thayer Dining Hall. Queer students also hear such homophobic comments and this affects the way they perceive the space of The Green. This student making such a homophobic comment will influence queer students not to display their affections in such a publicly centered space, because straight students may respond negatively to it.

Even though Dartmouth College is rural and Hanover has a small population in comparison to such places as Hartford, Connecticut or Burlington Vermont, the *panopticon* is still effective. It can be argued that Hanover's isolation magnifies this effect as well, to the point that queer

females who feel watched or confined by this, must leave to a larger space such as the town next door, West Lebanon. During her interview, "Joan" mentions that Hanover's isolation is constricting and that "if you can drive off campus and get somewhere else or even West Lebanon" you'll most likely feel more comfortable and feel less like you are on display.

"Penny" says that the rural environment of Dartmouth has definitely affected her:

"I mean maybe I would be really inclined to be a radical activist...The community here is so...small...Whereas at city schools, they've got ten LGBT groups and they do this and that. They protest. I think that's something we definitely lack because we're so removed from the real world" ("Penny").

This difficulty "Penny" sees in organizing some type of activism stems from the fact that the GLBTT community is very small, has low visibility and the lesbian *Flâneur* is not as present in non-urban areas. It's smallness makes it more susceptible to the eye of power, or rather, the panopticism that maintains the heteropatriarchal status quo. This implies that queer students are less apt to organize and engage in *direct* acts of activism. However, activism does exist on the Dartmouth campus; it is forced to occur more subtly within this space, which makes it harder to detect by the gaze of the panopticonic eye (Foucault: 1977). For example, the pasting of 'Gay Friendly' stickers around campus doors is subtle resistance.

Even though Hanover is very small, there are spaces on campus that have developed to be known as very queer friendly. Through the interviews of the queer females students attending Dartmouth, the social space of The Tabard, Panarchy, Amarna and The Foley House came into play **(Refer to Map on several pages before)**. The Tabard is a popular co-ed Greek society that is well known for it's accepting attitude toward 'alternative' lifestyles and queer sexualities. In the window of one of the student's room, a rainbow flag hangs, easily visible to passerbys on the street, clearly labeling the house 'queer' space.

Panarchy and The Foley House are non-Greek co-ed organizations that are also known to be perceived by a majority of the Dartmouth student queer population as 'queer' organizations. In the Fall of 1990, anonymous students sent 'anti-homosexual' e-mail to The Panarchy members. Panarchy member Jake Sproull '91 writes in *The Dartmouth*, indicating that the space is known to be 'queer:'

**The authors of these messages have viciously attacked Panarchy residents and all of us, gay and non-gay, are tired of being the subject of others' jokes...Regardless of how one feels about homosexuality, there is no need to attack, curse, and threaten others.(Sproull: 1990, 4).**

The following year, Laura Gadd '91, co-chair of the Dartmouth Area Gay and Lesbian organization was interviewed and indicates that Panarchy, somehow along the way, was labeled the 'gay' house, reflecting on the gay-bashing email messages sent that previous year. (*The Dartmouth*: CXLVIII no. 32. 2/22/91.)

"Penny" and "Fiona" note during their interviews,

"Well, I'm lucky because I live in Panarchy...It's not a queer house in like 'it's a college sanctioned as queer' but most of the people who live there are queer...Other houses, like The Tabard and Amarna are really open." ("Penny")

"When I think of queer friendly spaces, Foley House, Panarchy, The Tabard and Amarna immediately come to mind." ("Fiona").

Even more interesting, "Penny" is a member of Tabard and has lived in Panarchy; "Fiona" and "Nicole" are members of Amarna and have brought females to the house's semi-formal dance; "Vanessa" lives in Panarchy.

The creation of these spaces as 'queer,' is geographically interesting(**Refer to map on previous page**). The Foley House, Amarna and Panarchy are located on the periphery of the Dartmouth Campus. They are away from the center of campus and are not nearly as visible to the 'eye of power' as spaces located on and around The Green are. However, The Tabard is not located on the edge of the campus. The explanation for it's labeling as a 'queer' space could perhaps be due to it's co-educational status as a Greek organization.

A social organization that allows both genders to interact with each other within the same space eventually leads to better communication, understanding and equality between the genders; gender equality and understanding often leads more acceptance of sexualities that don't conform to heteropatriarchal gender 'norms'. In addition, The Tabard has had a recent history of 'queer' Presidents; The



Panarchy's president of the Spring term of 1998 is a queer male student and Amarna, a relatively new organization (est. 1994), had a homosexual identified male president for the Fall of 1998. Obviously, if a house or organization is presided over by a 'queer' identified student, more queer students on campus will be able to perceive that that space will be comfortable and accepting. Therefore, it is more understandable why queer females in these interviews make positive references to these spaces.



When the student working in the reserve corridor during the day the Baker tables were 'defaced,' reported to the 'proper authorities' that 'vandalism' had taken place, this student was playing their role as the observer within the Panopticon. For students are constantly writing on these tables within perfect view of the employees working at the library circulation desk; police authorities have never been called in to 'discipline' them.

Dartmouth's history of heterosexing space through a heteropatriarchal ideology as well as its lack of gender equal space and present continuation of appropriation of space as heterosexual (i.e. "Dating...at Dartmouth," and "The Dance") give the Baker Reserve Corridor Incident the perspective of being more a 'site of resistance' than a mere 'senseless act of vandalism'. Such an act of resistance has rarely occurred through the analysis of *The Dartmouth* from 1971-1997. Focusing back on the fact that Hanover is a rural

region is a major factor in determining how discourse of sexuality has been played out, and how queer sexuality and space has been produced.

## Chapter Five: Conclusion

Discourse of sexuality in *The Dartmouth* has emerged as heterosexist, influenced by White male privilege and gender inequality. This has been continuously perpetuated by administration and trustees that continue to maintain the Dartmouth space as an environment of White heteropatriarchal ideologies. In re-addressing the bigger question of rural regions and its affects on queer female identity, the queer female performance is limited in the rural public because of the intensification of the panopticon and

**historically, rural environments lag behind population centres in the diffusion of social change. This gap between urban and rural is especially pronounced concerning race and gender relations, as well as homosexuality...In addition, nonmetropolitan media sources frequently assist rather than hinder this phenomenon.(Kramer: 1995, 208).**

Even though *The Dartmouth* is merely a vehicle which opinions and ideas of sexuality, gender and race have emerged, it has presented Whites and heterosexuality as normal. This is evident in the many *The Dartmouth* advertisements that have portrayed predominantly images of Whites and heterosexuality.

**Harriet Engel Gros and Sharyne Merritt (1981), in their study of urban/rural differences in coverage and content of women's issues (including homosexuality) in newspaper 'lifestyle' pages, documented a greater amount of social 'gatekeeping' in nonmetropolitan newspaper coverage, suggesting that rural and nonmetropolitan sources function more as social executors than educators, sustaining traditional images of reality rather than validating or explaining new information to the public.(Kramer: 1995, 208-209).**

The rural nature of Hanover has influenced the low visibility of the public lesbian *flâneur* and performance, confining it mostly to the private sphere at Dartmouth. This is evident in the fact that several queer females revealed that social time is spent in the dorms or apartments and walking around in public feels like they are being 'put on display'. Unlike the rural, the lesbian performance is less on display in the urban environment because urban areas have large heterogeneous populations.

...the Western city [is] a 'world of strangers'... with 'a logic [and sexuality] of its own'... This kind of sexuality is 'only possible within the city', because it depends upon the 'large, dense and permanent cluster of heterogeneous human beings in circulation' which is the modern city (Knopp: 1995, 151).

In addition, "Elizabeth Wilson, for example, sees densely populated urban spaces as potentially liberating and empowering for women" (Knopp: 1995, 152), while Kramer finds the rural environment confining for all queer people (Kramer: 1995).

However, it is also important to note that the interviews of Dartmouth queer female undergraduates has revealed that the perceptions of Hanover as 'rural' depends on the person's initial home environment. For example, "Fiona" didn't fully understand her lesbian identity until she attended Dartmouth College, where there is a queer student organization recognized by the college. Her town is half the size in population and has even less access to information and sources about queer sexuality. She feels

more comfortable with the lesbian *flâneur* in Hanover, than in home town.



Through a Foucauldean framework, discourse analysis of *The Dartmouth* and interviews with queer female Dartmouth undergraduates, Dartmouth queer sexuality has emerged as an identity that is influenced by a White heteropatriarchal system that defines the Dartmouth status quo. Furthermore, Dartmouth's rural location maintains this system, making social progress much slower in comparison to a city such as New York that has Greenwich Village, a large and visible queer community.

The underlying themes that emerged in *The Dartmouth* parallel the queer female students' perceptions of space and identity at Dartmouth College. The Greek System surfaced as negative space in *The Dartmouth* and the interviews. Also, the fact that the label 'lesbian' was given limited space in *The Dartmouth*, paralleled the fact that queer female students at Dartmouth feel that they really have no comfortable space in the public; their social space is spent in the privacy of dorms or apartments, away from the eye of the panopticon.

Further research in queer rural sexualities can focus on a myriad of questions and studies. Interesting topics such as comparing Hanover with a rural environment that doesn't 'fit the mold' of rural queer sexuality such as Northampton can be studied. Studies in race, queer sexuality

and rural space is another topic to be researched. For example, how does a Black queer female living in a predominantly White rural town find her own space in terms of race, gender, and sexuality?

Lastly, even though Dartmouth College is located in a rural area, it's affluence makes physical mobility possible. For instance, personal experience suggests that most students at Dartmouth are able to afford a means of leaving the campus during the weekend or vacations to cities that have a bigger queer community. If a queer person is poor living in a rural environment that is more than an hour or two from a major city, they will less likely be able to afford transportation to these more queer friendly environments. With this study, affluence and poverty in relation to rural queer sexuality can be compared.

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