Media and Networks in the Queer API Archive











In 2022, Sudeep Bhargava worked with the queer Asian/Pacific Islander (API) communities in Philadelphia. He visited local art galleries and cultural spaces, observed community organizations' online meetings, and interviewed queer API community members to understand how they built social networks and maintained connections amid the global pandemic of Covid-19. The result is what unfolds before your eyes now – a deeply caring and critically engaging ethnographic account of the API community experiences rooted in the greater Philadelphia region.

In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, Philadelphia's queer API communities grappled with multifaceted challenges, including Anti-Asian hate and a renewed urgency for racial justice spurred by the Black Lives Matter movement. Leveraging digital media, these communities displayed resilience, forging stronger bonds, and facilitating community support initiatives. This ethnographic study explores these dynamics through what Bhargava proposes as a form of queer archiving defined "not as a static repository of information, but instead as a dynamic field of interaction." This study illuminates the unique intersectional struggles, survival strategies, and solidarity-building endeavors within the queer API community in a time of unprecedented societal disruption.

For Bhargava and his interviewees, queer archiving consists of efforts to forge friendships, train fellow organizers, build safe community spaces, use digital media technologies, and generate inclusive processes of knowledge production. Through in-depth interviews with nine participants and a series of online participant observation of community events, Sudeep Bhargava presents three aspects in which the queer API communities built social networks during the pandemic: "I am gendered by way of my race," "We're connected both on and offline," and "This is how people burn out."

From the beginning, Bhargava highlighted that participants acknowledged the influence of colonial and marginalizing violence upon their bodies, desires, and politics. They thus resorted to both in-person and virtual connections for countering various forms of violence in everyday life. Community centers and digital platforms emerged as important spaces for social interaction and resource-sharing, such as film screenings, speaker series, and various kinds of digital workshops. These spaces also offered crucial services such as health care, immigration consultation, and political advocacy. Moreover, queer API community organizers and members understood their social networks as fluid and potentially fragile, thus requiring constant care and affirmative support. Thanks to the affordances of digital platforms, support networks were extended beyond one single location - and potentially beyond the pandemic itself. Virtual infrastructures such as Facebook, Instagram, dating apps, and messaging apps such as WhatsApp, brought people, sometimes previously unknown to each other, into one shared space - both online and offline - together, as Sudeep Bhargava found out in the opening reception for "Body Conduit" at Asian Arts Initiative.



In his interviews with participants and in event attendees' efforts to build networks, Sudeep Bhargava also noticed that people felt burnout. As one of his interviewees Anson put it, "it's truly a lot of work. And if you're not organizing with a group of people that you're on the same page with, it becomes even more work." Each one had to navigate a complex landscape with intersecting or, oftentimes conflicting, interests. Some participants carefully chose to disassociate with certain organizations to ensure their own sense of safety and well-being. Some cautioned against an uncritical approach to the notion of "safety" at the risk of excluding people with disability.

This study has broader implications for both archival studies and social network research. Queer archiving is messy, fluid, and unfixed, as Sudeep Bhargava's study beautifully shows. Yet, queer archiving is empowering, generative, and promising, as Bhargava sees it as a form to produce new and relational knowledge. In our continuous efforts to expand the definition and role of archiving through social interaction and digital media, Bhargava's study offers a refreshing vision for imagining "alternative possibilities of futures concerning both queer and non-queer populations" in the post-pandemic world.

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MEDIA AND NETWORKS IN THE QUEER API ARCHIVE

After obtaining his bachelor's degree in communication from the Annenberg School, Sudeep Bhargava continued his exploration into digital archives and mediated relationships at the Oxford Internet Institute, earning an MSc in Social Science of the Internet. His master's dissertation examines the impact of personal data archives and shared personal data on users' perception of their social structures and relationships. While at Oxford, he assisted the <u>Fairwork</u> <u>Project</u>, a global initiative to measure labor conditions and standards in the platform economy. Sudeep is currently based in London and is conducting research for <u>Towards a Hybrid Cities</u> <u>Programme</u>, a pilot project based at LSE Cities.

INTRODUCTION

On June 23, 2022 the Asian Arts Initiative (AAI), a community arts center and gallery space located in Philadelphia's Chinatown North neighborhood, opened their experimental exhibit "Radio AAI" to the public. Consisting of three installations, the exhibit interrogates the medium "as alternative media, as a mutual aid tool, as a means to share information to limited listeners, as an uncanny symbol of early technological connectivity, [and] as a hobby tool for conspiracists of disaster mentality" (Asian Arts Initiative 2022). One of these installations, "Stories from the Storefront," encouraged visitors to leave behind personal anecdotes as they moved through the exhibit. Recording and translating the ephemera and experiences of AAI's community members into media artifacts constitutes the construction of a digital archive which simultaneously documents the community's past, affirms its present, and provides guidance for its future. Another installation, "Body Conduit," was created by artist alliance Sound Music Collective, and asked visitors to interact with outdated media hardware to "consider the ways in which these typically unheard sounds comment on our relationships to the planet, each other and our technologies" (Asian Arts Initiative 2022). In effect, the installation's visitors themselves were stripped of individualizing factors and translated into media artifacts.



Figure 1: At the entrance to "Radio AAI," a panel stands explaining the "Body Conduit" exhibit.



The use of digital media in the construction of this exhibit, and its resulting archive of experiences and interactions, warrants academic exploration. In contrast to traditional media formats, new media carries certain affordances which allow it to escape qualities such as authorship and remain (un)grounded in time while allowing those who interact with it to (un)identify with it with relative ease (Chen 2010; Manovich 2001). Digital media presents new and affirming techniques for archiving and relationship-building for community organizations and individual organizers, and particularly within the queer Asian/Pacific Islander (API) community.

Only a few blocks northeast of AAI's exhibit, also in Chinatown North, another community organization held an online event to introduce and/or familiarize their community to digital media. The Asian Pacific Islander Political Alliance (API PA) coordinates political action with community-based activism to increase the political and electoral power of API communities in Pennsylvania. Their workshop, "Digital Organizing 101: Using Social Media to Build Strong Communities," was held virtually over video conference platform Zoom and introduced attendees to strategies employed over various digital media platforms to reach and mobilize audiences. Attendees, including myself, joined in the form of video thumbnails from various regions of Pennsylvania; one even called in from Wisconsin on behalf of their own local community organization. Despite the range of miles between where each person was calling in from, everyone's presence was experienced simultaneously, in a single space, brought together by shared goals and interests.



Figure 2: Towards the back of the space is the recording booth for "Stories from the Storefront" with these instructions.



Recent years have witnessed bursts of action in response to both queer and API issues. Queer activist campaigns for marriage equality and nondiscrimination policy have come alongside calls for immigration reform and mainstream campaigns such as 2021's #StopAsianHate. As API and queer identities begin to take more space in national discourse, there should be particular attention paid toward the intersection of the two. Existing structures of identification often do not account for queer API histories or realities, effectively removing them from the public sphere. Queer activism has often been delegated to the private sphere, effectively placing queer-identifying people "back in the closet" (Bhaskaran 2007; Vaid 1999). In many API communities, racial identity is similarly considered a private luxury. In her 1996 essay, Mari Matsuda asks API communities to consider their place as the "racial bourgeoisie."

One of the ways that organizers and individuals engage in such a task is through community- and network-building, which I propose is a form of queer archiving in its function of producing new and relational knowledge. This constitutes a new reading of the queer archive as both a point of access to support and a set of practices which make that support accessible. Digital media plays a supportive, and sometimes constitutive, role in building archival relationships. The archive itself is composed of and enabled through media infrastructure and artifacts—particularly in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic. The queer API archive, however, gains meaning from how people interact with it and how it facilitates interaction within the community.

It is also important to note the intentional choice to use the term "Asian/Pacific Islander" (API) in lieu of other options such as "Asian Pacific American" (APA) or "Asian American/Pacific Islander" (AAPI). I call into question the term "American" in relation to API and queer identity. As I will discuss, both API and queer identities are commodified in nationalist contexts to produce white masculinist queer bodies and (hetero)sexually-nullified Asian bodies. Further, the participants of these studies do not necessarily identify with American, or popular, constructions of their identities.

The purpose of this study is to determine how media act as entryways into, and representations of, the queer API archive. I ask how queer API individuals in Philadelphia access support—through community organizations and their own social networks. From there, I analyze the form that the queer archive takes in the lived experiences of queer API individuals, and the role it plays in building supportive social networks.

QUEERING THE ARCHIVE

Inquiries into archival practices present differing epistemologies regarding communities and lives existing in both the past and present. Research in this area, from textual analyses of colonial documents and digital-based imagery to ethnographic case studies of individual subjects' personal archives and related affects, proposes that the documentation and organization of people, artifacts and narratives serve not only as references for moments in time but also for colonial projects and their ongoing processes. As opposed to the traditional construction of an archive as an official recounting of historical events, Thomas (2013) emphasizes the dynamic and unfixed nature of archives as "an articulation of processes" (42) and the transformative potential of their latent knowledge production. These inquiries call into question the trajectory of diasporas and traditional notions of the "Global South" and instead propose dynamic structures of power through relationships.



Arondekar (2005) establishes the queer archive as an active interpretation of such official documents as British colonial accounts of "non-normative" sexual behavior in colonial India. Analyzing two instances of reported homosexuality in the colonial context, the essay highlights the paradoxical way in which queerness is categorized. Queerness, referred to as "sexual perversity," is shown through official documents to be naturalized upon the colonial subject, but rarely do colonial legal systems have the proper framework to convict or address it. Queer archiving is presented by Arondekar (2005) as a legitimate practice for questioning official accounts of sexual diversity. The essay also addresses postcolonial India's obstruction of queerness, referring to the national archive in contemporary India as "a site that had hitherto systematically erased the labor of subaltern groups in independence struggles" (Arondekar 2005, 13).

Reflecting on the process of resistant and reparative archive-building and its effect on regional studies, Thomas (2013) proposes that the archival imperative within regions of the Global South is "oriented toward the creation of an historical consciousness, one that often stands in opposition to forms of state memory" (28). The research focuses on various ethnographic and community archival efforts within Caribbean studies, those aimed at building postcolonial nationalist narratives and also dismantling racist epistemologies defining the political, economic and cultural autonomy of subaltern groups. The archive is illustrated as a location of knowledge generation with the specific ends of establishing relationships between people, actions, and nationalist constructions. For example, citizenship is approached "as a set of performances and practices that is grounded in specific historical circulations and that is directed at various state and nonstate institutions" (Thomas 2013, 42). Such bottom-up approaches "open up the range of futures that are possible at any given moment" (Thomas 2013, 42), as opposed to the narrativebuilding tendencies of others.

Manalansan (2014) establishes their definition of a queer archive as an unstructured collection of relationships and evidence of place-making. Each of the residents of the household self-identified as queer and was also an immigrant. Their archival constructions exist outside of those of the state, especially in a context that would render them invisible or illegal. The author makes use of the term "mess" to evoke "not a cleaning up but rather a spoiling and cluttering of the neat normative configurations and patterns that seek to calcify lives and experiences" (Manalansan 2014, 99). Interviewing each of the residents, the author establishes a difference between *hoarding* and *archiving*. Split between conflicting routes to assimilation and preservation, the emphasis on "mess" reflects an insistence on a disidentification framework that characterizes the socialization of queer API immigrants (Liu 2019). Queer undocumented immigrants remain untethered, as does their collective knowledge, making the structure of their relationships and the places in which their knowledge rests incredibly important in finding and sharing resources and community-building. Manalansan (2014) interprets the archive, and the citizen, as a set of actions enacted by an individual in relation to other actors in their network.

It is worth noting that the reviewed research contends with postcolonial political and cultural projects in their "historical amnesia" and inability to "make subalternity the focal point of narration" (Arondekar 2005, 13). Under a more rigid definition of a national or diasporic archive, queer communities within API diasporas and ethnic groups within queer communities are often disregarded if not actively hidden. These interpretations of the archive present it not as a static repository of information, but instead as



a dynamic field of interaction. By building narratives around place, people and institutions, archivists and ethnographers enable alternative understandings of the past, present and future of the concerned subjects. I therefore propose a definition of the queer archive which conforms to the structures of relationships that characterize queer API communities. Revealed through interviews and participant observation, these structures include ways of showing care, camaraderie, and community among communities of queer Asian/Pacific Islanders. They are not only the conversations held in intimate settings or with trusted confidants, but also the affirmation of each other's bodies, desires, and politics. As part of such an archive, relationships are the epistemological bases for knowledge production. Knowledge made otherwise inaccessible due to legal, political, or cultural reasons can be uncovered as it is embodied in everyday communication.

ARCHIVING RELATIONSHIPS THROUGH MEDIA

This paper proposes that the archive can be found in relationships and, further, is enacted through engagement with media. Media plays a critical role in this environment as a tool for communication and connection. This is particularly true amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, which has drastically limited the ability for more vulnerable community members, such as those with disabilities, to engage with their communities. Relationships—to other individuals, to community organizations, and also the media they create and engage with—are emphasized as sources of information and access to community archives. Particularly, information which exists in opposition to nationalist, violent, or otherwise inadequate epistemologies does well to remain adaptable and, at times, undetectable. The following literature examines various forms of community archives and their resilience to dominant narratives.

In regard to archival media, Caswell, Cifor and Ramirez (2016) examine the presence of queerness in the South Asian American Digital Archive (SAADA), measuring the impact of what they refer to as "representational belonging." The researchers base this term on the idea of "symbolic annihilation," which is used "to describe the ways in which mainstream media ignore, misrepresent, or malign minoritized groups" (Caswell, Cifor & Ramirez 2016, 57). Community archives combat this by giving "those left out of mainstream repositories the power and authority to establish and enact their presence in archives in complex, meaningful, and substantive [ways]" (Caswell, Cifor & Ramirez 2016, 74). Representational belonging is a multidimensional support mechanism, operating on epistemological, ontological and social levels to affirm the knowledge, existence and belonging of queer South Asians. The researchers measured the impact of this community-built archive through semi-structured qualitative interviews with eleven members of SAADA's Academic Advisory Council, which "[helps] to determine collection priorities, [represents] the organization at community and academic events," among other duties (Caswell, Cifor & Ramirez 2016, 65). Community archives can work against symbolic annihilation in creating accessible and inclusive structures that are used to document the experience of marginalized peoples.

Social media serves as an accessible, and almost ubiquitous, venue for community archiving (Cannelli & Musso 2022). Using a personal archiving framework, the researchers surveyed Facebook and Instagram users on social media usage and archiving practices, finding that "users consider the content they create and share on social media as meaningful traces of their lives, and a fundamental part of their personal archives" (279). However, preservation tactics for digital traces of individual lives were found to be



inadequate, as users are prone to losing their posted image-, video-, and text-based content—some of which only exist on these platforms. Due to the ephemerality of the digital space, Cannelli and Musso (2022) argue that both users and service providers need to be better informed about sustainable archiving practices.

Networked activity is framed under the notion of "people as infrastructure" in Simone's (2004) ethnography of inner-city Johannesburg. Using both interviews with an unspecified number of actors and personal experience, the researcher demonstrates how the seemingly disjointed and "ruined" urbanization of the city operates on its own logical basis. Assemblages of connected activity within the city work to "reweave its connections with the larger world by making the most of its limited means" (411). Perhaps originally drawn along national, ethnic, or even moral lines, the interconnectedness of actions and the potential profits of dealing with individuals and groups across these lines results in the dissolution of these identities. Simone (2004) attributes this phenomenon to "the relative absence of a systematic and formal framework for investment in the inner city" (416). Participants of these informal infrastructures are equipped with a "preparedness" to anticipate any potential economic or political collapse of their fragile ecosystems of interaction.

Masequesmay (2003a) identifies Ô-Môi—a social support network of "Vietnamese lesbians, bisexual women, and female-to-male transgenders"—as a location of a burgeoning queer Vietnamese community in California. Using three in-depth interviews with members of the organization, the study focuses on unique experiences and the network actors that defined each individual's experience with the community. Masequesmay (2003a) defines types of support offered to members of the Ô-Môi community: Affirmation by Mere Presence, Ethnic Bonding and Validation, Authenticating Vietnamese Queerness and Language Bonding and Needs. Ô-Môi, and the individuals involved in its space, plays a role in each of the interviewed individuals' social and support networks. Contained within the community space is specific knowledge which community members use to negotiate validation of their identities and violent experiences both outside of and inside the group.

Chen (2010) approaches the (in)visibility of queer APIs and the use of digital media for making or allowing for visual—and, at times, viral—evidence of queer Asian-ness. They conduct a textual analysis of two viral events surrounding the depiction and evidence of queer API bodies, commenting on the use of the Internet as an archiving tool through which to give a home to visual depictions of those non-masculine bodies. Chen (2010) states that "unlike personal archives, State archives have been historically conjured and implemented for the purposes of social and resource management and control" (201). In considering the Internet as an (im)personal archive, the disordered management of temporality aligns with queer, and particularly trans, API individuals' complicated relationships with citizenship and gender. These two identification markers are traditionally considered to be both constantly and consistently defined, though they may shift through positions over time. The very existence of visual evidence of queer bodies in API diasporas affirms that which is often scrubbed out of colonial and mainstream API contexts alike: the lives and dimensionality of queer individuals.



METHODS

I conducted a primary study consisting of interviews and a secondary set of observational studies with community members and in community spaces, both virtual and in person. A total of nine self-identifying queer and API individuals participated in the primary study. The interlocutors included two organization leaders, four organizers, and three members of community organizations, many of whom were recruited using snowball sampling. Participants self-identified their roles in their most relevant community organizations; however, they often held multiple roles in different organizations which shifted over time. Distinctions between queer identities were not considered in the eligibility or selection of participants, though their specific experiences with their queer identify as API were eligible for the study. Similar to their queer identity, the specificities and experiences of their API identity were also important aspects of their lived experiences, which were relayed in their interviews.

Philadelphia organizations with which interview participants were involved included the Woori Center, Asian Arts Initiative (AAI), Philadelphia Asian American Film Festival (PAAFF), Philadelphia South Asian Collective (PSAC), and the Radical Asian American Women's Collective (RAAWC). Their programming ranges from political and cultural projects, such as Census outreach and civic education, to community-building events, such as social gatherings and youth programs. Capturing an accurate picture of their services to both queer and cisgender/heterosexual populations was an important aspect of the interviews with participants.

The primary study attempted to capture participants' a) experiences in both mainstream queer and ethnic communities; b) history with systemic and symbolic violence; c) interactions within queer API-specific community spaces; d) perceived levels and types of support offered by these spaces; and e) experiences with relationship-building in such spaces. This information was collected through in-depth interviews. The interviews were semi-structured, leaving definitions such as "support" and "relationship building" open-ended in order to capture a more specific idea of the needs and strategies of participants.

Interviews were conducted over video call, remaining mindful of participants' time and ability to meet face-to-face in regard to the COVID-19 pandemic. Interviews were recorded and transcribed with the consent of the participants, who were informed that the recordings would be destroyed after completion of the interview analysis. Participants were asked to recount experiences that relate to the themes mentioned above. The interviews focused on descriptions of specific instances or events that reflect the way queer API individuals understand the need for, seek out, and integrate into their lives various types of support. It is important to note that these specific results were achieved through intentional actions taken on behalf of the researcher to disclose my own identity as a queer South Asian, and particularly my experience with organizing culture and language. As such, our conversations circumvented the need for participants to explain terms and justify their experiences in organizing.

Though participants were initially intended to be recruited independently of each other, participants were recruited largely through snowball sampling, in which they referred their acquaintances after completing their own interviews. This was not unexpected, however, as this community can be hard to



reach. Many participants made sure to double check that the interviews would both be anonymous. The nature of the subject matter—personal, and sometimes sensitive, information—also required that the researcher develop a relationship with participants before conducting the interviews. In many interviews, participants would take some time, approximately 15-20 minutes, before sharing experiences regarding more sensitive subject matter.

By revealing my identity as a queer South Asian American with a history in community organizing, interactions with participants were perhaps expedited. Participants often used verbal shorthand—such as "...you know?"—when discussing marginalizing experiences to avoid exerting the emotional energy to completely recount how they felt in these experiences. The open-ended nature of the interview questions were designed to allow for autonomy and visibility, and as such, both collected data and allowed for research participants to address the invisibility which often surrounds their organizing work.

A secondary study consisted of observational research conducted at various events held by three Philadelphia community organizations: AAI, PAAFF, and the Asian Pacific Islander Political Alliance (API PA). Of these events, two were held in person and three in a virtual setting. The events included a public gallery opening, an organizing workshop, and a film screening and discussion. I held conversations with participants and organizers alike about their use of media to connect with their communities and their experiences at such events. The aim of the secondary study was to understand how attendees interacted with organizations and events as well as how organizations approached their communities.

Though all of the communities which were involved in these studies are based in Philadelphia, not all participants would identify themselves as Philadelphians. Some interviewees only moved to Philadelphia as recently as two years prior to the interview. Further, some attendees commuted to community events from the surrounding counties, and even from neighboring New Jersey. The specificities of Philadelphia's queer API community did come up in some conversations, with participants mainly commenting on its small size and tight-knit self-reliant culture, which equally contributed to its propensity for conflict as well as generative relationship-building.

"I AM GENDERED BY WAY OF MY RACE"

In order to understand the queer API archive, it is first crucial to understand the queer API position. My conversations with Hamza (they/them) and Moon (they/them) touched on a number of topics and themes which were echoed by interviewees regardless of their ethnic, gender, and/or sexual identities, as well as by existing literature. At the very least, simply being around other individuals who self-identified as both queer (LGBTQ+) and API facilitated a new sense of connection, communication, and freedom, as described by Moon. They explained that their community of queer and trans API folks in Philadelphia helped them realize that the "dissonance that [they were] feeling all [their] life" was an indication of their transgender identity. Having queer/trans friends of color reframed Moon's image of a non-binary identifying person from a typically white body to include an API—specifically Korean—one. This process of socialization was reiterated by interviewees Young (they/them), Kalen (they/them), and Mary (she/her), the last of whom referred to dominant categories of queer identity as "colonial."



Both Moon and Hamza attributed realizations about their gender identities to the conversations they could have with members of their support network about chosen names, pronouns, experiences with immigration, and healthcare. Hamza shared:

It's only in interacting with people who are living in a way that you thought was maybe beyond your reach, that you can start to envision what it would be like to apply some of those values into your own in context.

They went on to explain how their queer identity and their racial/ethnic identity are intertwined:

I identify as gender non-conforming, genderqueer, all these many other categories—trans, as well—but also queer in the sense of queerness being against, or in opposition to, systems of oppression...[I am] gendered by way of [my] race.

These revelations were not limited to personal identities or values. Moon acquired an expanded definition of viable relationship models, having witnessed many non-traditional relationships within their queer API community, and therefore felt more secure about their own non-traditional relationship. Hamza shared this sentiment:

I was like, 'Oh my God, I didn't realize that Indian people did that.' There were two Indians that I knew who were in open marriages...I didn't realize that people in our community were allowed to do that.

Hamza's use of the word "allowed" indicates that there exists an implicit set of rules for how Asian/ Pacific Islanders in Global North contexts are meant to behave and think. This idea was referred to by a number of interviewees and resonates with Lee's (2018) analysis of queer immigrants in the Global North.

Lee (2018) extends the role of colonialism as continued cis- and heteronormative violence. Immigrants, and their descendants, who hold multiple subaltern identities are compelled to define their identities in colonial terms in exchange for the nominal protections that host societies provide (this is evidenced in lower levels of activism within queer API communities, such as in the movement for marriage equality (Magpantay 2006)). Moon and other participants seemed to attribute their gender dysphoria to such an ongoing colonial violence, and were only able to combat it when they were building, and interacting with, their support networks. Another interviewee, Sunny (they/she), referred to being in their queer API community organization as "[getting] to experience queer Brown utopia," and reportedly felt more comfortable naming their identities in that setting.

Liu (2019) proposes that the racialized melancholic subject is "inevitably intertwined with a loss of place, a lack of origin"—as opposed to the easily-assimilated *model minority*—"[and holds] on to the negative affects that interrupt the presumed route of assimilation," suggesting that the queer of color subject is (dis)regarded as "the racialized remains of white queer futurity" (179-181). Whereas white neoliberal queerness and the cis- and cis/heteronormative model minority are welcomed into, and expected to join, the nationalist scheme which defines citizenship, queer API individuals fit neither paradigm without sacrificing some identity. However, interviewees described instances in which they felt able to hold both their racial/ethnic and gender/sexuality identities without experiencing violence.



It is important to note that many participants explicitly stated that shared identities is not the sole basis upon which they aim to make relationships. Blake and Kalen both described very supportive relationships with friends who either identify as queer but not API, or API but not queer. One of Young's most supportive relationships is with their cisgender and heterosexual partner. They explained a situation in which they questioned their gender identity and were only satisfied with their decision after having a conversation with their partner.

"BUILDING COMMUNITY" BETWEEN THE PHYSICAL AND THE DIGITAL

Community centers, as described by interviewees and event attendees, are hubs for the development and maintenance of the queer API community archive. The specific spaces described by participants vary in structure and services offered: some are loosely structured and focus on social interaction while others provide direct services such as political advocacy, immigrant justice, and/or healthcare. As such, participants' roles ranged from casual/social to professional/service-oriented. Needs met by the community archive often vary along these lines, though consistent overall was an emphasis on support networks of close relationships within these centers.

Interviewees who referred to more social organizations tended to focus on building community and supportive relationships. These relationships, in turn, meet tangible needs. For example, Blake shared that "building community" could mean "holding a space where we can go out for brunch or making sure you don't go hungry for a day." Sunny shared more on their practice of resource-sharing:

Since the pandemic started... I've also put a lot of effort into making sure to support other folks. I ran fundraisers for someone's top surgery...I think that it's definitely both ways. It's that I'm receiving a lot of support and I'm thinking of new ways to [organize for other disabled queer individuals].

This practice extends to informal interactions as well:

A friend of mine was having a really bad week...I [sent] them \$15. It's not like a ton of money, but it's what I could afford. I just said, 'Get yourself a fancy latte on me or something so that you can just have a little bit of comfort.'

Moon has received hand-me-downs from their support network, such as binders and gender-affirming clothes, which they said helped them battle their "dysphoric moments." They have also had discussions with friends who have undergone hormone therapy, sharing information on safe and API-friendly healthcare providers.

Information is also shared over digital platforms regarding community events such as film screenings, speaker series, and gatherings as well as immigration services and healthcare. Alex (they/them) had been able to find information on social events and queer- and POC-friendly housing opportunities through their queer API Facebook group. Sunny similarly referred to sharing information digitally over platforms such as WhatsApp or Discord.



Common throughout the more structured organizations described by Moon, Young, and Hamza is a strong queer presence in leadership positions despite the organizations themselves not being explicitly for queer-identifying individuals. Such leadership affects organizational practices such as asking for and sharing pronouns at the beginning of meetings, which participants stated makes them feel comfortable in the environment.

Social networks—particularly those comprised of relationships with trusted friends, fellow organizers, and safe community spaces—provide multiple forms of support, ranging from affirming identities, values, and experiences to meeting tangible and urgent needs. The discussion of these services aligns with Masequesmay's (2003a) types of support offered in community spaces. From the mere presence of similarly identifying individuals to bonding over specific language needs and shared experiences, participants indicated that their social networks helped them feel secure in their identities.

Affirmation and validation were consistent themes throughout interviews, and were expressed as metrics by which interviewees measure the supportiveness of their relationships. Alex shared that unlike in other spaces, they do not feel questioned in their identity when surrounded by other queer/trans POC:

If I come into the room and say, 'I use they/them pronouns,' [my community is] gonna use the pronouns for me. They're not going to be like, 'But you look, you know, too feminine or you're not, you know, you're not masculine enough.'

Moon and Hamza extended these two mechanisms to address their values. The former feels validated at their community center because of its progressive focus on immigrant justice, reproductive rights, and gender equality despite not being a queer-specific community. The latter similarly only wants to work in environments "where [they] can openly say things like white supremacist, capitalist, patriarchy."

On behalf of the organizations which hold spaces both digitally and in person for their communities, observations and conversations with organization leaders revealed that they intentionally operationalize many of the same values and practices which interview participants had stated made them feel safe or supported.

The opening reception of "Radio AAI" brought together a racially diverse community from within and around the city of Philadelphia. The artwork's interactive nature lent itself to interaction between visitors as well. The Initiative's staff were equally engaged with the exhibit alongside visitors, allowing me to hold conversations about the conception of the exhibit and AAI's larger relationship with digital media. The opening reception of "Radio AAI" also marked the reintroduction of AAI's 1223 Storefront, a part of their facility to which access had been lost since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. Speaking to staff members, it became clear that the exhibition was equally about reclaiming the physical space through the use of art and media as well as community-building.

During the pandemic, AAI's programming and outreach had been largely confined to digital means. AAI's Marketing & Communications Supervisor shared that the shift to a one hundred percent online programming schedule had required some restructuring within the organization, though it had been handled by the staff as a whole. Speaking with the Initiative's Engagement Coordinator, I learned that, along with a general sense of excitement, the gallery opening had been accompanied with some anxiety, particularly because it was the first big return to in-person events since the onset of the pandemic.



When asked about AAI's strategy moving forward, both staff members stated that the pandemic had highlighted the necessity for equal parts digital and in-person programming as their communities existed in both places.

API PA's community workshops similarly took measures to ensure that they attended to their community across formats. I attended two digital workshops over Zoom and one at their community space in Philadelphia. Though the three events were unique in various aspects, similar throughout all of them were salient efforts made by organizers to encourage participation and inclusion. In a digital setting, this took the form of beginning meetings by orienting participants to the affordances of the platform—tools and functions such as muting, turning one's camera on and off, and the use of breakout rooms and reaction buttons. Face to face, organizers made space for silence in order for attendees to feel comfortable participating in their own time. Each of the workshops were ethnically diverse, though everyone identified as API, and attendees ranged widely in age as well as location; many were from various parts of Philadelphia and its neighboring counties, though a small amount were even from other states.

One of the online workshops, "Digital Organizing 101," covered digital organizing and various platforms and their uses. As the workshop's facilitator stated, "we're connected both on and offline, making a strong diaspora." After covering popular platforms, their general audiences and supported media types, the workshop turned to how to reach and mobilize communities through digital means. As shared by many participants in the primary study, this workshop emphasized the need for a variety of topics through which to build relationships online—such as existing connections, interests, humor, news—instead of just political organizing.

The other two workshops were hosted by one of the participants from the primary study. The inclusionary tactics that they and other participants had mentioned in their interviews were on full display here, with meetings beginning with the setting of "community norms," sharing pronouns, etc. Both of these workshops began with attendees sharing their answers to the question "What are you?" While some responded earnestly, stating the parts of their identity they deemed most important, some also responded in rhetorical or sardonic ways, highlighting the othering they experience due to their API background. In this way, the workshops employed humor alongside identity work as methods of relationship-building. The digital setting allowed attendees to identify in alternative ways, as one workshop asked participants to introduce themselves with an emoji as well as pronouns.

Though existing literature (Choudhury et al. 2009) locates queer API individuals' networks as a venue for accessing support, participants described the specific mechanisms through which that support is accessed. In order to address the barriers they experience, they emphasized needing to first understand their racial/ethnic and gender/sexual identities in relation to each other. Formal support structures that attend to one or the other often overlook the areas in which the two overlap for reasons such as citizenship status, gender presentation, etc. (Liu 2019; Lee 2018). As the building blocks of networks, individuals placed weight on their specific social, political, and economic relationships. Further, they specified both how and in what context these relationships could be developed. In this way, the informal support which networks offer participants work against colonial and marginalizing violence.



"WE'RE CONNECTED BOTH ON AND OFFLINE"

The tools participants use to find supportive communities are notable for their mediated nature. From the primary study, interviewees reported using Facebook and Instagram to find queer API communities which fit their needs. Participants referred to queer-specific, API-centered Facebook groups as a way to learn more about the communities which existed near them and were safe and accessible. Some followed specific community organizations on Instagram before actually getting involved in an in-person capacity. This section highlights both how the social media which participants use are entryways into the archive as well as how the way they engage with online communities is informed by the community archive. For example, participants recounted learning of community norms and cultivating supportive relationships online through shared media use. The media use described below neither preceded or succeeded in-person interaction, but often instead served as its complement.

Moon described mobile dating apps as a means to find supportive communities and safe social opportunities with other queer people that they employed when they first moved to Philadelphia. They recounted, "I didn't know anyone in Philly...so something I ended up doing was [trying] to like use, like, dating apps, not because I really wanted a relationship, but just to, like, interact with people." They ended up meeting their current partner, as well as many members of their current support network, through these methods. Anson (they/she) described how using both dating and messaging apps allowed them to build connections, stating:

We were all on dating apps, we were all just meeting randos. We'd send screenshots to each other like, 'Hey, this is a weird conversation, right?' 'This response is strange, right?' or 'Yes, this thing happened. It was amazing.' I think part of why we became friends...The more that we talked the more that we became friends.

Messaging apps, such as WhatsApp, also allowed Anson to expand their social network. They shared their experience connecting with like-minded individuals online through existing relationships and shared activities, speaking of their friend Sunny, another participant, who uses social media to bring people together:

They have been a really great connector for me, in terms of being like, 'Oh, I have these other friends who are also in this space in their life and are interested in having a support group for this,' and they would just literally just create a WhatsApp group, then we all become friends that way...We have a group chat right now called Love is Not That Blind. It's all these random people who probably have never really met each other and we're just watching *Love is Blind* together, having live commentary. We literally just watched the reunion episode together on Zoom.

Social media is an important tool for accessing community events—both virtual and in person. At the opening reception for "Body Conduit" at Asian Arts Initiative, I discovered that two acquaintances of mine had also found their way to the event. Wy and Ezra are both queer and API-identifying and live in West Philadelphia, about a half hour's journey from AAI. Both of them currently work in community organizing and are well-versed on the use of social media platforms such as Instagram and Twitter. Ezra explained that they had seen a flier for the reception on Instagram, and having prior knowledge about AAI, decided to visit. Upon talking to other attendees—who represented diverse racial communities of various gender/sexual identities—I learned that most of them had found the event online or through a friend who had seen the event promoted online. AAI further encouraged engagement through social



media at the event itself through the use of hashtags and linking their own social media accounts. My conversations with AAI organizers reinforced this trend, with many of them explaining that even though their programming was shifting back to an in-person mode as COVID-19 restrictions in the city were being lifted, they were still utilizing and relying on their social media presence and following to reach their audience.

API PA's workshop, "Digital Organizing 101," addressed various social media platforms and how to optimize outreach efforts across a variety of them, including Instagram, Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, etc. Attendees at API PA's virtual meetings were based in various Philadelphia neighborhoods and suburbs, and one attendee even called in from Wisconsin. Against the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic, participants from both studies repeatedly emphasized that even though their communities were largely returning to holding events, organizing, and socializing in person, they are still relying on social media to both bolster their outreach methods and connect with community members across long distances.

Perhaps the most salient media technology in this study was Zoom, upon which all but one of the interviews from the primary study and all the online events from the secondary study were conducted. The platform itself, as participants pointed out during our conversations, allowed us to connect despite safety concerns regarding COVID-19 that had otherwise stopped them from attending events and having interpersonal interactions with other community members. Participants often opted to meet over Zoom for convenience and safety as well as prior experience with the platform's functions.

Based on participants' description of their social media use, particularly in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, it is clear that social network growth and mediation occurs online as well as offline. From Facebook to WhatsApp to Twitter, participants cited multiple social media tools with which they engaged in social network maintenance, such concepts as *honing* and *social compensation* (Robbins et al. 2021). One participant even described a number of relationships which only exist in online platforms through group chats, but maintained offline through mutual friends. Also worth noting is how relationships described by participants of both studies surrounded both creating and critiquing existing media as a form of building connections.

Another common method of finding a supportive community for participants was through existing relationships, which are also often mediated or rely on media technologies. While some interviewees refer to specific individuals who introduced them to queer API communities, many also spoke of existing relationships with broad communities which allowed them to confidently enter specifically queer API spaces. For example, Anson recounted taking part in a class being offered at AAI with which they had previously volunteered, where they met Sunny and quickly became good friends. Sunny introduced Anson to the Radical Asian American Womxn's Collective (RAAWC), a self-described radical progressive community space, which they then joined. Both Anson's relationship to AAI and to Sunny were necessary to introduce them to RAAWC. In interviews, Mary and Hamza shared that they also gained access to queer API communities through other identity- or interest-based communities where they already felt integrated and supported.



Young, on the other hand, joined API PA without much of an existing relationship. After leaving a non-Asian, non-queer labor organizing space (the leadership of which they described as "male, pale, and stale"), they decided to try organizing in one of their identities. They came to API PA, a political advocacy group for API mobilization in Pennsylvania, for a change, and because they felt that was where they could be the most help.

The relationships explored above represent Manalansan's (2014) notion of "mess" in the structure and function of queer archives and communities. Participants indicated that their relationships shifted over time, assuming new roles and shedding old ones as their needs changed. A general understanding existed across participants that the community spaces they inhabited were ephemeral; the safety of community spaces relies on the individual actors involved with them. Many participants referred to situations in which a community space would become unsupportive, or would even reproduce marginalizing practices, depending on the values and opinions of the most prominent actors. Participants expressed having to complicate "the neat normative configurations and patterns that seek to calcify lives and experiences" (Manalansan 2014, 99) by expanding their networks in constructive, although sometimes contradictory, ways.

Marginalized communities' access to support is mediated by relationships which are themselves shaped by access to platforms and technology. This was perhaps more true than ever in light of the COVID-19 pandemic and its emphasis on virtual means of support seeking. Such tiered integration is exemplified by Hamza's experience, who connected with a Philadelphia community organization and its members online before moving to the city and becoming more involved. After joining one organization, they became acquainted with multiple spaces where they now report receiving varying levels of support. Relationships within participants' social networks are mediated by their access to media technologies in the absence of physical locations to gather—whether that is due to COVID-19 anxieties, hostile or invalidating environments, or even a lack of a pre-existing support network.

The relationships within community organizations described by participants function as archival units themselves. As identified by existing literature (Manalansan 2014; Thomas 2013; Arondekar 2005), the archive is a non-neutral assemblage serving epistemological ends in its ability to both create narratives and define realities. This article defines the queer archive by its ability to share and store information towards the specific ends of defining multiple realities and generating expansive knowledge. For example, almost all interviewees cited having access to new definitions of emotional and identity expression through interactions within their networks. They were able to give their identities and relationships new names and have generative conversations about the possibilities of queerness.

As an "archive of relationships," built upon relationships as infrastructure (in communication with Simone's (2004) "people as infrastructure"), community organizations incorporate their networkbuilding functions as a way to enable their archival functions. Such infrastructure provides resilience particularly in the absence of formal support systems.

This reflects how Chen (2010) describes the digital visual archive of queer and trans API bodies. By affording subjects the ability to (un)identify with various organizations, communities, other individuals, and cultures, the relationships themselves constitute an (im)personal archive through which subjects are able to interrogate and manage not only their identities, but also their values, opinions, and beliefs. The



ephemera in which these relationships exist is similarly mediated. Whereas objects such as photographs, text and email chains, and Zoom recordings can unilaterally define the identities of their creators and participants, their use, as described by research participants, affords such actors the ability to renegotiate these definitions over time. Furthermore, within their support networks, participants critically (re) examine their identities as well as the political and economic connotations attached to them. This was not a salient practice in participants' relationships outside of their support networks, which sometimes even had invalidating or reducing effects. Further, many participants described their most generative relationships being built upon shared values, experiences, and beliefs rather than shared identities, though they admitted that those often go hand in hand.

Another specific role which these "archives of relationships" play is to affirm the existence of these queer API communities and traditions. Much aligned with the ontological aspect of "representational belonging" (Caswell, Cifor, & Ramirez 2016), community organizations play the archival role of validating individuals' histories where they are denied elsewhere due to political, social, or even interpersonal reasons. As a form of media (Thomas 2013; Chen 2010; Arondekar 2005), the archive contains within it the ability to both define and document the realities and experiences of marginalized people.

"THIS IS HOW PEOPLE BURN OUT."

It is important to note that the support networks and community archives examined in this article are not impervious to the colonial or marginalizing violence which queer API bodies experience almost on a daily basis (Liu 2019; Lee 2018; Chen 2010). The maintenance of one's support network necessitates constant negotiations and assessments of a community space's level of safety and acceptance as well as contribution to one's overall health and ability to expand, or remain fluid in, one's identity. Much as a community archive is curated (Caswell, Cifor & Ramirez 2016), interview participants and event attendees referenced taking action in regard to their networks in order to remain surrounded by a healthy and safe environment. These actions are best described by the analysis presented by Robbins et al. (2021) of *honing* and *social compensation*, wherein support networks are either expanded to address multiple needs or purged of unhelpful or violent relationships, as well as Masequesmay's (2003b) process of "identity work" between individuals and actors in their networks. The intricate decision-making processes which participants detailed as they recounted their movement through community spaces evidenced what Simone (2004) refers to as "preparedness" within a community that lacks supportive infrastructure and therefore is prompted to construct their own.

Anson described an incident in which an individual in their community space attempted to violate the group's COVID guidelines. Explained by Anson, and confirmed by Sunny, these guidelines were collectively decided on in order to protect the group's most vulnerable members. Both participants stated that the transgression tokenized the few disabled organizers of the group. The organization itself, which had previously held a mostly queer identity, had grown to include more cisgender/ heterosexual individuals, which Anson claimed had changed the identity of the organization as a whole. The incident, left partially unresolved, indicates that the organizing space's identity is not a static one, and therefore is not always safe for queer API members either. Following that, both Anson and Sunny



lessened their commitment to the organization, with the former stating that "it's truly a lot of work. And if you're not organizing with a group of people that you're on the same page with, it becomes even more work."

Tokenization of queer identities was a persistent theme throughout the interviews. Kalen stated that non-queer organizers often leave them with the "brunt of the labor" when it comes to "queer issues" within the API community. Young similarly admitted that being in non-POC queer spaces or cisgender/ heterosexual API spaces can be difficult. When invalidated or tokenized in a particular community, participants tended to avoid interacting with similar communities. For example, Blake referred to an abusive relationship with a parental figure in which she was habitually mocked for her perceived cultural inadequacy which made her wary about entering Chinese and Chinese American community spaces. Similarly, Alex described relationships in which their API identity, with Southeast Asian heritage, was invalidated by their cisgender/heterosexual Chinese American friends, making claims such as "[Alex] isn't really Asian" which only worsened with the revelation of their queer identity. Participants' relationships to their API identities, much like their gender identities, were therefore unfixed.

Each participant referred to the discomfort of being aware, or being made aware, of how they presented their queer and/or racial/ethnic identities in their community spaces, and also sometimes in public spaces. Being hyper aware of racial presentation, Blake "generally [takes] it as a given that if the event is non POC-centered, [she] will be the only Asian person present." Young used to organize in communities characterized by largely white and male leadership. After the fatal shooting of six Asian women in March 2021 (Dudding 2021), they became distinctly aware of their racial identity, mainly because people around them didn't consider them to be affected by the attack. According to them, the people in their organization did not consider them to be "Asian" in the sense of being emotionally or politically connected to a broad API community.

Many participants also referred to the maintenance of their social networks throughout the course of the pandemic in a manner similar to how Robbins et al. (2021) defines *honing*: an action undertaken by individuals to ensure their networks' safety and supportiveness. Along with questioning alliances to certain organizational bodies throughout the course of the pandemic, many participants explicitly disaffiliated with spaces which they deemed unsafe, and sometimes even with other organizers. This refers to both an ontological as well as relational procedure through which participants evaluate their support networks. Participants determine whether or not their networks validate their existence as transgender, disabled, ethnic minority, etc. before making decisions regarding them. The way participants described their affiliations lies between stable categories such as "ingroup" and "outgroup," allowing them flexibility in how they define not only their identities, but also their political orientations and moral beliefs. Implicit in the constant negotiation referenced at the beginning of this section is the knowledge that certain identities, such as gender and citizenship, are inherently unstable.

As participants' needs change over time, they adjust their involvements with various community spaces to meet those needs. Some specifically stated that they had to reevaluate their role in their communities after being left out of conversations regarding "COVID safety." Sunny, who is disabled, shared more specifically how the events of the pandemic have negatively affected their role in their community:



My assumption is that people don't expect me to be a part of anything until it's safe...There is not a lot of concern for queer disabled folks of color...It's just really sad to realize that it's really easy for those communities that seemed safe to throw us away.

These experiences reflect Kanuha's (2013) findings in that social networks can be both tools of connection and isolation. Participants' negative experiences with trusted members of their networks often had damaging and lasting effects on their tendency to seek support from community spaces.

Such an unfixed relationship with community spaces necessitates a certain notion of "preparedness" (Simone 2004). Research participants explained how their support networks around one community space could often offer support upon the collapse of another. Their networks, therefore, are resilient, particularly in the absence of formal support systems. Such resilience corresponds to participants' changing relationships to communities and organizations, as well as the generative quality of the relationships themselves, reflecting the way that Chen (2010) describes the digital visual archive of queer and trans API bodies. By affording subjects the ability to (un)identify with various organizations of communities, other individuals, and cultures, the relationships themselves constitute an (im)personal archive through which subjects are able to interrogate and manage not only their identities and relationships, but also their values, opinions, and beliefs.

CONCLUSION: "I HAVE A FUTURE. THIS IS WHAT IT COULD LOOK LIKE."

While this study particularly looked at queer Asian/Pacific Islanders and the specific issues faced by this community, its results can be used to inform the practices concerning various communities which qualify as "double minorities." As first identified by Crenshaw (1989), these individuals and communities lie at the intersection of various forms of oppression. This study revealed how being at this intersection can result in being cut off from traditional forms of support, but also revealed where and how this support can be recovered.

Practices discussed in this study such as mutual aid, fundraising, and information- and resource-sharing proved to be adequate ways for the participants of this study to access support otherwise unavailable to them. The results of this study highlight how individuals within this community access support in sustainable and reparative ways. Particularly, this study's findings regarding the use of the Internet, and particularly social media, by participants to locate forms of support and address their needs carries implications regarding where the future of public service access resides.

Additionally, this study's expanded definitions of the archive and its functions places them within the interactions and relationships developed inside and outside of organizing and activist spaces. This opens the door for a joint field of research concerning archival studies and social network research. Thus far, social network research within minority communities has measured connectedness and access to resources, but not the potential for networks and relationships to develop new practices for securing access and resources. Similarly, archival research will benefit from examining interpersonal relationships and networks implicating individuals and organizational bodies in the production of knowledge.



Future studies could benefit from intentional distinctions when sampling between organization leaders and community members as well as between participants involved with queer-specific organizations, queer-adjacent organizations, and non-queer-specific organizations. Recruiting participants from similar geographic locations could also be an important aspect of the sample of future studies as organizing cultures vary from region to region. Focusing on other POC and/or queer communities and their intersections could also highlight archiving practices which transverse otherwise disparate communities, broadening the understanding of the practice.

This study began ethnographic exploration into the structure and interactions of queer Asian/Pacific Islanders within community organizations, but there are many forms which the queer archive can take. This study's focus on relationships, between individuals and towards organizational bodies, is only one foray into the active role and structure of the queer archive. Indeed, one of the queer archive's functions is to imagine alternate possibilities for futures concerning both queer and non-queer populations. In this sense, the definition of the queer archive lies precisely in its undefined nature.

As a tool for combatting marginalizing interactions and institutions, the queer archive operates at many levels—from an individual basis to a global diasporic one. Queer people of color remain at the intersection of multiple systems of oppression and discrimination, and many experience further violence within their already-marginalized communities. In the absence of formal and institutional support structures available to queer people of color, and particularly immigrants and their children, such marginalized communities form their own organizations which model forms of support often deemed impossible or too ambitious to be applied to a larger population. Studying community practices can provide alternate models for such institutional support structures which are actively excluding or obscuring certain populations. By making space for the producers of such knowledge to give their models a name, this study joins others in advocating for such disenfranchised communities to make their voices heard in academic fields.



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APPENDIX (IMAGE DESCRIPTIONS)

1. A wooden board with the following text:

Body Conduit: An Experiment in Electromagnetic Socio-Interference

The Sound Museum Collective invites you into our electromagnetically primed playground. Electromagnetic waves are traveling in the spaces all around us, all the time. These waves emanate from almost every type of electronic device from a washing machine, to an analog radio, to cellphones.

In "Body Conduit," we tune into waves that surround us, emitted by our y2k22 environment, manipulated by our bodies. These waves have been bent/reinscribed outside their typical parameters and now require your touch to activate them into sound. We invite you to amplify the invisible sonic environment and consider the ways in which those typically unheard sounds comment on our relationships to the planet, each other and our technologies.

@sound_museum_collective www.soundmuseumcollective.org



2. A white wall with the end of a window visible on the left and the following text:

Stories from the Storefront: Record your story here!

"Stories from the Storefront" is a radio recording booth designed to record the stories of anyone passing through our storefront space. Asian Arts Initiative opens the mic to patrons of our community storefront and gallery.

What do you want listeners in Philadelphia to know? Who do you want to connect with? How do you find yourself here?

AAl in collaboration with PhillyCAM/WPPM will produce a series of "off the street" miniseries collection of segments recorded in our booth.









MISSION STATEMENT

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