International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/tqse20

Embracing queer heartache: lessons from LGBTQ + intergenerational dialogues

Karen Morris, Adam J. Greteman & Nic M. Weststrate

To cite this article: Karen Morris, Adam J. Greteman & Nic M. Weststrate (2022): Embracing queer heartache: lessons from LGBTQ+intergenerational dialogues, International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, DOI: 10.1080/09518398.2022.2035459

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2022.2035459

Published online: 09 Feb 2022.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF QUALITATIVE STUDIES IN EDUCATION
https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2022.2035459

Embracing queer heartache: lessons from LGBTQ+ intergenerational dialogues

Karen Morris[a], Adam J. Greteman[a] and Nic M. Weststrate[b]

[a]School of the Art Institute of Chicago; [b]University of Illinois at Chicago

ABSTRACT

In this article, we reflect on the role of heartache during the first 2 years of *The LGBTQ+ Intergenerational Dialogue Project*. The project—a partnership between an LGBTQ+ community center, an art and design college, and a public research university—brings together racially, socioeconomically, and gender diverse cohorts of LGBTQ+ young (18–26 years old) and older adults (62–81) for dialogue, creative collaboration, and shared dinners. The project was conceived as a collaborative ethnographic pedagogical experiment in which participants became partners in research, education, and community formation. We quickly realized that heartache would be central to our journey together, as we navigated this rare opportunity for LGBTQ+ intergenerational contact. Grief, anger, and pain generated through interactions between LGBTQ+ people can be surprising, and especially weighty, components of Queer Battle Fatigue. It is necessary, we argue, to explore the heartache we experience within queer spaces as a pedagogical tool with which to strengthen queer communities.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 18 December 2021
Accepted 5 January 2022

KEYWORDS
LGBTQ elders; LGBTQ young adults; intergenerational; queer pedagogy; storytelling

The heartaches of "queer"

Queer joy gave way to heartache by the second meeting of the *The LGBTQ+ Intergenerational Dialogue Project*. We, the three co-authors and project facilitators (ranging in age from 36 to 45 years old at the time), were sitting in a circle with 15 LGBTQ+ young adults (18–26 years old) and 15 LGBTQ+ older adults (62–81 years old), eagerly discussing our collective hopes and dreams for the first year of our intergenerational experiment. The atmosphere felt ebullient, as younger and older LGBTQ+ folks—members spanning generations who rarely interact—employed terms such as "queer" and "family" to describe the new community we were creating. Ric, a 75-year-old Italian-American gay man who had been listening quietly, suddenly spoke up to express his discomfort with the group's use of the word "queer."[1] "I don't like it," he said emphatically. "Queer, faggot, homo—that's what the NYPD called us." Ric did not want to be associated with a group that described itself as queer.

Many of the younger participants, ourselves included, were taken aback. We knew that the term was a reclaimed pejorative, but had not realized the violence it might still perpetuate against members of our community today. Our (abstract) understanding of queer's historicity came up against the embodied feelings such a word provokes in those whose relationship to the word came about in the 1950s and 1960s. Having "you queer" hurled at you and used

CONTACT Karen Morris kmorris@saic.edu School of the Art Institute of Chicago, Visual Critical Studies, Chicago, IL 60603, USA

derisively is not, as we learned, easily forgotten despite a reclamation project within activist and academic circles and popularity within entertainment media.

Sometime later in the meeting, after our conversation had meandered away from Ric's comment towards other topics, Marti Smith, a 74-year-old self-proclaimed "Midwestern farm girl and non-separatist lesbian," pointed out participants' continued use of the word "queer":

> I grew up fighting the word queer. Younger people using the word is offensive less because the word is offensive, and more because it shows a lack of listening .... A perfect example is that Ric said he found the term really offensive and then it was passed around like you [young people] never heard him say that .... Maybe context doesn't matter, maybe it's wrong for you to use queer at all. Think about who you're with.

Arlo, a 26-year-old white transgender man, responded with a shaking voice:

> I identify very strongly with the word queer. It's an umbrella term and it feels safe. I need to prioritize myself over other people in this situation. I *need* that word to describe myself. I know this is a hard stance. But it's what I need to do.

Don Bell, a 71-year-old gay black retired academic who grew up on South Side of Chicago, jumped into the fray in an attempt to mediate as tensions arose in the room:

> Now, I'm of the same generation as Ric, and I also recognize that there are other experiences. For some people of our generation, queer was a declaration of independence. Queer could get you suspended, bashed, sent to Vietnam, killed, when I was young ... I could have lost my job, my children. I was coming out in a dangerous time and place. But queer has evolved into a collective term. We've got to find a way to accept that, just accept it. And, at the same time, it's really important for people [today] to know what queer meant in 1971. People of my age will not be here for much longer .... Often, collective terms don't express the diversity within groups.

This early foundational moment highlighted the importance and challenge of connecting across generations in order to create education rooted in LGBTQ+ histories and experiences. This is necessary work given the reality that schools remain one of the last institutional bastions of homo-and-transphobia to deny access to such conversations. The hostile legacies of schooling and society are written on the bodies and minds of LGBTQ+ people across generations (Lugg, 2016). Schools, as central institutions in socialization and cultural production, were and continue to be sites that deny and suppress LGBTQ+ presence (Blackburn & Pascoe, 2015; Woodford et al., 2017).

A central challenge of these exclusionary legacies is generational. Generation after generation of LGBTQ+ students have been and are denied access to LGBTQ+ histories and knowledges; left to fend for themselves as they age into adulthood. A key component to this problem is that LGBTQ+ young people have, more often than not, lacked access to LGBTQ+ adults through which such histories and knowledges can be transmitted (Blount, 2005; Graves, 2009). To counter this lack of access, opportunities for sustained engagement across LGBTQ+ generations are necessary to learn from and with one another.

The LGBTQ+ intergenerational dialogue project

For many years, we (a lesbian anthropologist, a gay philosopher, and a gay developmental psychologist) have been struck by the disconnect of our LGBTQ+ college students from the LGBTQ+ histories, cultures, and people who came before them. At the same time, we have learned from LGBTQ+ older adults how forgotten and isolated they feel from LGBTQ+ communities they helped to create. In 2019, we partnered with an LGBTQ+ community center in our area to launch an intergenerational pedagogical project that brings together racially, socioeconomically, spiritually, and gender diverse cohorts of LGBTQ+ young and older adults for dialogues, collaborative creative work, and shared dinners. We wanted to explore what would happen if members of these different generations—who rarely interact—were brought together repeatedly over a sustained period of time. The importance of this endeavour

deepened as we came to realize that many of our students had never imagined their own futures past 40 years old and were not even sure if many LGBTQ+ folks lived beyond that age.

In this article, we reflect on the role of heartache in the first 2 years of the project in which 52 younger and older adults, and 4 student research assistants, participated. Approximately half of the participants were undergraduate and graduate students enrolled at an art and design school in Chicago, and half were older adults who participate in the Senior Services Program at the LGBTQ+ community center. All participants, co-facilitators, and research assistants identified in some way as LGBTQ+. The majority of our older participants lived in Rainbow Land,[2] one of only eight residential facilities serving low-income LGBTQ+ older adults in the United States. Our participants were socioeconomically, racially, spiritually, and gender diverse. About half identitied as women, more than a third as gender expansive (nonbinary, queer, and/or transgender), and a third as people of color. More than half qualified as low-income and food insecure.

We quickly realized, in the first few months, that a very queer form of heartache would be central to our collective journey together, that there would be more heartache to come along the way, and that heartache would be intertwined with and, often, the source of great joy. For most of us, this project was our first time within an exclusively LGBTQ+ educational space, and hopes were high.[3] Our hearts ached at the moment, during our second meeting, in which we realized that our casual and frequent use of the term "queer" provoked a sense of exclusion, and a traumatic return of queer bashing, for some of the older adults in our group. In ensuing conversations, "youngers" and "elders" (as participants began referring to themselves and each other) wrestled with a word informed, yes, by theory but also by bodies of knowledge, particularly, the knowledge borne out of physical bodies encountering words in different ways and times.[4] Queer's contemporary efficiency, expansiveness, and seeming inclusiveness became problematized for what it covers over, clothed in a form of radicality. Should we, as a group, an emerging community, use the word at all? How should we refer to ourselves so that we are inclusive and mindful of how words, as Toni Morrison taught us, have power? Cruz, a 22-year-old Latinx self-identified queer student, complicated the picture, noting that for them "queer was the word that first allowed me to feel at home." Queer could not simply be banished from our mouths because queer had different stories to tell, different things to do, and these emerged from different contexts and conditions. These contexts and conditions were not liberated from homophobia or transphobia, but had changed the relation to the word and its aftereffects.

Such aftereffects implicated the emotional labor that comes into play as generations meet across shared but also different experiences. Our students pointed out, numerous times along the way, this emotional labor and its requirement for meaningful, sustained engagement across LGBTQ+ generations. Talking across difference, and "staying in the room," when things get difficult, as Rankine (2020) argued, can render us vulnerable to emotional pain, anguish, sadness, grief, anger, and feelings of rejection (p. 151).[5] Yet, as we illustrate in the following sections, we have learned through these dialogues how generative heartache can be for LGBTQ+ people and communities.

As we began the second year of the project, Rain Shanks, a newly joining 26-year-old Latinx lesbian student who had heard about our previous conversations around "queer," asked the group is everyone felt okay if she and her peers used the word. "Or," she continued, "would you prefer if we don't use the word"? Ric, who a year before had bravely expressed his strong aversion to "queer," shocked many of us by responding:

> It's okay. I'm okay with the word queer now because they [the younger participants] showed me it can be good.

In our ensuing discussion, it became clear that our collective heartache around "queer," felt and interrogated in a year's worth of discussions, had yielded something new. For Ric and several of the elders, learning about younger generations' reclamation of the slur felt freeing, and empowering. For many of the younger participants, the experience of being confronted in a very

personal way with the violence of a term they casually threw around prompted them to think critically about their positionality within a history and a community. We decided, as a group, that "queer" can be both complicated and useful. Many of us (including the authors) now make strides to be thoughtful, and deliberate, when we invoke the term. In this article, we use queer as an adjective and a noun where we think it fits (or as a way to reference ways the term is used by others in scholarship and popular culture). But we avoid writing about "queers" as an amorphous category that makes claims at universality, except when invoking how it is used by others.

Through *The LGBTQ+ Intergenerational Dialogue Project*, we explore how education might be harnessed to cultivate, rather than suppress, LGBTQ+ people and community. In the following sections, we explore the role of heartache within this work. We begin by describing the collaborative ethnographic framework of our methodology and the evolution of the project over the past two years. Next, we unpack the idea of heartache as a pedagogical tool that can teach and transform us in affective ways that often are not available in other forms of learning. A section on intergenerational grieving explores the potential of witnessing loss to strengthen a marginalized community. In the final two sections, we explore feelings of "unrequited love" within queer communities and spaces and argue for the transformative potential of embracing heartache within queer education.

"Peering into each other's' hearts": collaborative ethnographic experimentation

From the very beginning, *The LGBTQ+ Intergenerational Dialogue Project* has been a grand, constantly evolving, glorious experiment through which participants create a new form of queer studies informed by embodied histories and their complex interactions (Morris & Greteman, 2021). We employ an ethnographic approach that centers collaborative exploration with community members (Rabinow & Stavrianakis, 2013). Ethnography, an immersive qualitative method conducted with relatively small subject populations over long periods of time, is generative for this work as it allows for in-depth and sustained engagement with subjects as they (and we) unpack complex legacies that have limited intergenerational contact in order to build an intergenerational LGBTQ+ community. As researchers, we actively participate in the communities and processes we are studying and draw just as much on our sensory and emotional experiences as our more intellectual observations. "Deep hanging out," as Clifford (1996) called it, is a practice often cited as the cornerstone of ethnographic fieldwork that adds depth and rigor to more formal methods such as participant observation, interviews, material and archival research, and note-taking (p. 56). It captures what Gusterson (2008) has described as the "improvisational quality of fieldwork, the confusing overlap between informal street corner conversation and the serious inquiry embodied in ethnographic fieldwork, and the profound level of understanding of the other for which ethnography aims through apparently casual methods" (p. 93).

Similar in many ways to participatory action research (McIntyre, 2008), ethnographic experimentation creates space for collaborative innovation. Rather than entering into and studying field sites that already exist, researchers venture into the collaborative production of venues for knowledge creation that turn the field into a site for inquiry (Estalella & Sánchez Criado, 2017). Together we create, study, and modify this experimental project of queer pedagogy. This methodological approach challenges epistemic injustice within research by "destabilizing hierarchies of expertise" (Biehl & Locke, p. xii).[6] Put differently, it places LGBTQ+ participants alongside the researchers as collaborators and co-creators in generating knowledges and practices rooted in LGBTQ+ experiences.

Anthropologists of education have noted the potential of collaborative ethnography to function as a form of pedagogy (Marcus, 2008). It is physical, emotional, and sensory work centered around personal interaction as a means of learning about both ourselves and others. Campbell

and Lassiter (2010), for instance, have written about the success of *The Other Side of Middletown*, an ethnography of African American history in Muncie, Indiana, collaboratively researched by a team of faculty, students, and community participants. The project served as "a collaborative experience, as well as experiment, with teaching and learning in which students, faculty, and community members engaged the project in multiple roles as co-teachers, co-learners, and, eventually, as co-citizens" (p. 380). In a similar fashion, undergraduate students at the University of Pennsylvania who worked with local high school students on an ethnographic film project as part of an "experimental" film cass noted, in their own words, the role of collaborative ethnography "as a pedagogic process centered around excavating one's own biases even as they [participants] learn about those whom they are in conversation with" (Kelly et al., 2017, p. 147).

Storytelling has emerged as central to our collective approach to research, education, and community formation. Listening to LGBTQ+ people telling stories offers an affective way to discover (and recover) the people and histories that evade us. It helps to fill gaps in knowledge, and foster empathy across differences.[7]

We structured the first year of the project (the 2019–2020 academic year) as a series of themed dialogues followed by informal conversation over shared meals. Participants committed to active participation for at least 4–9 months to allow time for relationships and trust to grow.[8] Initially, we (the facilitators) chose the ice-breaking activities and topics for our themed dialogues. Yet the plan was to work towards a model in which participants worked together to select topics, and plan and lead discussions. As evidenced in our interrogation of the word "queer," almost immediately, participants' differences in experience, identification within the umbrella category of "LGBTQ+," and perspectives emerged. Participants began to focus a significant amount of time in our dialogue meetings on questions of who we were as a group, what participants wanted the project to be and do, how to talk across differences within the group, and what folks found important to talk about in future dialogues. These conversations offered incredible insight into how participants understood LGBTQ+ identities and communities, what they valued as important for LGBTQ+ people, their dreams for LGBTQ+ futures, and their perspectives on racial, socioeconomic, and generational divides within LGBTQ+ communities. All dialogues were documented with video and audio-recording, ethnographic note-taking by student research assistants, and fieldnotes written by the facilitators. When the COVID-19 pandemic necessitated moving the project (and its documentation) to Zoom, several older participants initiated "informal" meetups in the weeks in between our "formal" (themed) dialogues. These meetings continued into the summer (beyond the timeframe we had initially envisioned).

As we planned for the second year of the project, participants assessed, as a group, the first year, and ways they would like to see the project develop. Participants also responded individually to surveys that asked them to reflect on the project (and their own experience within it), and share suggestions for the second year. As we (the facilitators) analyzed the data collected from the first year of the project, discussed our own experiences and what we had learned, and reflected on the thoughts and suggestions of participants, we zeroed in on the work the project was doing as a radical educational model for countering legacies of epistemic injustice that continue to oppress and divide LGBTQ+ people (Greteman et al., 2021). We had, from the beginning, envisioned the project as an educational one. Yet we learned from those participating in the project the depth of their feelings of loss at being denied access to knowledge about LGBTQ+ histories, identities, and communities. Most of our participants had never received any formal education, or had any significant access to sources of information, about LGBTQ+ people and histories.

We designed the second year of the project (2020–2021) to push back at the erasure and suppression of LGBTQ+ people and histories within education (broadly defined), and experiment with an embodied pedagogical approach that brings generations together to teach each other, and together learn about our "people." More than half of the participants from the project's first year elected to continue on with the project in its second year, and we welcomed a new cohort

of 13 students and 9 elders. In response to suggestions from students in the first year, we created and co-taught a course entitled *Generating Queers* for students joining the project in its second year. The course allowed students to better fit their participation into their academic schedules and receive college credit. The course structure alternated between seminars (with assigned readings, films, and podcasts on LGBTQ+ social movements, histories, and issues) and themed intergenerational dialogues in which students and elders discussed their personal experiences with, knowledge of, and perspectives on the topics engaged in the assigned materials. We left the syllabus open so that participants could determine the topics we would engage during the second half of the semester. The pairing of "academic" learning with embodied, dialogic discovery brought a great deal more depth, nuance, and understanding to topics such as the HIV/AIDS pandemic, LGBTQ+ social movements, LGBTQ+ aging, and queer radical care networks. For their final class assignment, students worked with elders in small groups on creative projects (a blog, an audio piece, an art book, a visual anthology, and a virtual roadtrip) that explored the topic of "queer joy." Participants decided to focus on queer joy as a way to counter negative representations of LGBTQ+ lives in media and public culture.

As the project has evolved, participants have come to understand their role in this ethnographic experiment as more than research subjects, but rather as "epistemic partners that define the imaginary and plot of our own inquiries"' (Holmes & Marcus, 2008, p. 83). Early on, several younger participants ruefully observed that "the majority of the students are not cisgender, and the majority of the seniors are cisgender" (exceprt from a student's ethnographic fieldnotes). Their advocacy for the inclusion of more transgender and nonbinary elders resulted in a shift in our ongoing recruitment practices. Participants determined the topics of themed dialogues (most recently gender expansiveness and nonbinary identities, lesbian cultural shifts, media represetentations of LGBTQ+ folks over time, race and racial reckoning in LGBTQ+ communities, and disability). Small groups of participants with special interests in the topics at hand planned and led each dialogue. Lindsey Lascaux, a long-time participant in the project, built our website, a process which involved countless group conversations. The website (generationliberation.com) has served as a constantly evolving collaborative project as well as a site of inquiry and analysis. Grant-seeking to cover the costs of shared meals, participant research assistants, and materials has become a dynamic "family" affair, with participants suggesting funding resources, writing testimonials and letters of support for inclusion in grant applications, mourning each rejection letter, and celebrating each success. Recent news that we would need to wait ten months to receive word on a large grant application was met with collective groans as Marti exclaimed, "Tell them I might be dead by then!"

As we reflect on the project as a whole, we find that the moments of shared heartache have often been the moments in which we, as a community, have progressed. The act of storytelling (described in more detail in the following section) has often caused grief and sadness for both the project's storytellers and listeners. Yet storytelling is consistently folks' favorite (and most anticipated) part of our dialogues. Learning through heartache is an incredibly difficult task. It requires a cultivation of empathy—an approach beautifully described by activist and educator Loretta Ross (2020) as "peering into each other's hearts"—through which we witness others' pain and take it on as part of our collective queer history.

Heartache as a pedagogical tool (or, what We can learn through heartache)

"I think everyone who does gay and lesbian studies," Eve Sedgwick (1993) noted, "is haunted by the suicides of adolescents." (p. 1). This was a motivation, in Sedgwick's work, for the *then* just emerging realms of scholarship that *now* invariably falls under the labels of "gay and lesbian" or "queer" or "trans" studies. Writing in the early 1990s, Sedgwick continued, "to us, the hard statistics come easily: that queer teenagers are two to three times likelier to attempt suicide, and to

accomplish it, than others" (p. 1). Little has changed by way of these hard statistics as teenagers—queered by sexuality, queered by gender, queered by how genders and sexualities intersect with race, geography, ability, and more—continue to experience violence, exclusion, and ostracism that contributes to the still unacceptable high rates of youth suicide (Kosciw et al., 2020; Meyer et al., 2021). Heartache, we might suggest, is a founding affect—an underlying bodily sensation—of gay, lesbian, queer, and trans studies.

Yet, what queer theorists writing in the early years didn't, perhaps couldn't, point out yet were the (coming) realities of LGBTQ+ "elders," and what "hard statistics" would illuminate about their experiences and lives. This oversight may be, in part, understood given realities that, amidst the genocidal consequences of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on queer populations, the ability to imagine growing "old" was unfathomable to a range of scholars and activists encountering the pandemic. It may, as well, have to do with the reality that intergenerational contact across LGBTQ+ communities was uncommon, particularly in the academy, contributing to the invisibility of challenges that faced LGBTQ+ individuals beyond childhood and adolescence. However, decades later—amidst the continued realities of the HIV/AIDS pandemic—LGBTQ+ people have aged and in aging represent what we might recognize as the first out-and-proud population of elders who are facing new challenges as they age into and beyond retirement (Ramirez-Valles, 2016). Many have lived their lives openly as LGBTQ+ since their teens or early twenties. Others have come out to themselves and others later in life. Today's elders were the young activists who agitated within the Gay Liberation Movement, publicly celebrated gay pride, and demanded change through ACT UP. They made us visible by being visible despite the repercussions many faced for such an act. Now, because of the systemic inequality which has shaped their lived experiences, the majority of LGBTQ+ older adults are low-income, live alone with minimal support systems, and are more likely to struggle with mental and physical health issues than their cisgender heterosexual peers (Emlet, 2016; Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2015).

LGBTQ+ folks aging into and beyond retirement makes manifest that we are everywhere, including across the lifespan. And while we might be everywhere, the ability for us to meet across generations within educational spaces is still quite limited and fraught.

We did not intend initially to explore heartache, especially in a project that has brought so much joy to its members. But it kept coming up in our dialogues and informal interactions. Participants brought grief, pain, sadness, and loss with them into the project—much of it related, we found, to what Wozolek et al. (2015) have described as Queer Battle Fatigue. In turn, new forms of heartache were generated through the cultivation of intergenerational relations. The anger, disappointment, and discomfort that participants felt within an exclusively LGBTQ+ space came as a surprise to many. Queer spaces are often imagined as, and cultivated to be, spaces where LGBTQ+ people can get away from Queer Battle Fatigue (Wozolek et al., 2020, p. 225). *The LGBTQ+ Intergenerational Dialogue Project* proved not to be an airtight refuge from the "implicit and explicit aggressions [assault, verbal harassment, feeling unsafe] LGBTQ people and their allies encounter daily that contribute to a cartography of queer exhaustion" (Wozolek et al., 2015, p. 12). The dialogues exposed divisions, discrimination, and suppression within LGBTQ+ communities. Yet, at the same time, participants told us the project gave them hope, pleasure, and pride. One student observed:

> I have found better language to articulate myself with, I have a fuller sense of LGBT history grounded in wonderful stories, I am a more confident person, I have a better idea of how activism actually works, I've finally been able to envision my own future, and I now have a real community I belong to.

While our initial reaction is often to avoid that which causes us pain, we have learned through this project the pedagogical value of opening up, and exploring, our aching hearts as a way to heal them.

Our exploration of the "queer heartache" within LGBTQ+ intergenerational dialogues offers a lens through which to think about forms of Queer Battle Fatigue at play within queer spaces

and between LGBTQ+ people, and their intersections with Queer Battle Fatigue experienced in primarily cisgender, heteronormative spaces. Embracing queer heartache within queer spaces can help to bridge divides within LGBTQ+ communities and empower individuals of all ages within them.

Grieving generations

In a chapter on queer feelings, the lesbian feminist scholar Sara Ahmed (2004) reflected on the impact of exclusions of "queer losses" from public cultures of grief (p. 157). She wrote:

> It is because of the refusal to recognize queer loss (let alone queer grief) that it is important to find ways of sharing queer grief with others .... To support others as grievers – not by grieving for them but allowing them the space and time to grieve – becomes even more important when those others are excluded from the everyday networks of legitimation and support. The onoing work of grief helps to keep alive the memories of those who have gone, provide care for those who are grieving, and allow the impressions of others to touch the surface of queer communities (p. 161).

In the second year of the project, we began incorporating "storytelling hours" into our dialogue meetings. These sessions helped uncover and navigate queer losses and grief related to HIV/AIDS, aging, and youth experiences with violence and exclusion in ways that we could not have predicted.

Our move to storytelling hours emerged organically the week that our intergenerational dialogue focused on the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The previous week, students in our class had watched a documentary, listened to a podcast chronicling one person's experience, and read several written pieces on histories of HIV/AIDS. Before our dialogue meeting, we (the facilitators) reached out to several elders in the project who had previously mentioned personal connections to the topic and asked if they would be willing to share a 6–8 min story. We ended up with enough volunteers to fill an hour with stories. Ric described his abandonment by his family as a gay teenager living in New York in the 1960s, being taken in by a gay uncle, and being diagnosed as HIV + in the 1980s. Ric watched his friends and, eventually, his uncle die until he had no one left. Ron, a white 62-year-old gay man who was usually a quiet presence in our conversations, began crying as he recounted the moment he was informed about his own diagnosis, and realized that his life was over. George, a 65-year-old Filipino gay man who usually likes to joke around and make folks laugh, recalled how he gave away all of his possessions in the month after his diagnosis as he prepared to die. Christina, a 62-year-old Chicana lesbian, recounted the horror and fear her community felt as they watched young men in their neighborhood disappear. Marti, the 74-year-old Midwestern lesbian who had first challenged our younger participants over their use of the word "queer," described the time she had spent as a volunteer "angel of death" who helped console young men dying alone and convince them to sign "do not resuscitate" orders in the AIDS ward of the hospital where she volunteered. Marti talked about the guilt she has carried for decades after she decided to withdraw from this role and her activism within the HIV/AIDS crisis due to exhaustion and emotional trauma. Several of the older HIV + members of the group thanked Marti for what she had done and reassured her that she should not feel guilty for honoring her own need for self-care.

When we first began *The LGBTQ+ Intergenerational Dialogue Project*, we (the facilitators) did not realize that the majority of the older men participating had been HIV + for decades. For our students, this news came as a shock. As they listened to the stories told by elders they had come to know in a more light-hearted way, the process of learning about the suffering their fellow participants had endured was heart-breaking.

Heartache, we have learned, can be generated (created a new, rather than simply shared) through intergenerational exchange. Elders' engagement with youngers often engendered sadness and a sense of loss as they learned how much younger queer-identifying folks do not know

about the experiences of earlier LGBTQ+ generations. Ric, who shared his story of losing his friends and uncle to AIDS, was disheartened to find that many of our students knew very little about the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Many students shared his dismay as they came to realize how much knowledge about LGBTQ+ peoples and histories—both sad and joyful—they had been denied. That dismay often turned to anger: anger at their own loss, and anger from learning what LGBTQ+ people have been subjected to and lost at different moments in time and in different places. Several elders who live at Rainbow Land like to recount to newly-joining project participants the history of the building that now offers a safe haven to low-income LGBTQ+ seniors. For decades, the building housed the neighborhood's police station that played an active role in the harassment and persecution of LGBTQ+ people. George, who was once employed at the police station (while hiding his sexuality), described to us the cells (located in what is now the kitchen) in which butch women, transgender women, and gay men were held. Ric shared how surreal it felt to see police at Pride parades today, when only a few decades before they were a source of terror for LGBTQ+ people; this true still.

Perhaps the most distressing thing that we (the facilitators) and our younger participants have learned is the dire situation of many LGBTQ+ elders today. Over a year into the project, we all watched Stu Maddux's *Gen Silent*, a 2010 documentary that follows six older adults in Boston as they navigate the difficult terrain of aging while LGBTQ+. *Gen Silent* showed us the harsh reality of many LGBTQ+ elders who are making the difficult decision to go back "in the closet" when they can no longer live independently and must enter nursing homes. Many of the students in our project cried as they watched scenes depicting a transgender woman, in great emotional and physical pain, dying alone and scared as her estranged family members refused her pleas to visit.

During our intergenerational dialogue that followed the film, the elders in the group acknowledged the reality, in their own lives, of the challenges it depicted. Roger, a cheerful 63-year-old white gay man from the South who sometimes wears a tiara (either as a headpiece or a necklace) during our meetings, recounted losing his husband of 30 years and, at the same time, their house, dog, and access to their bank account because they weren't in his name. Roger spent time on friend's couches and in homeless shelters before finding his way to Rainbow Land. He described the informal home health care networks that he and other residents of Rainbow Land have formed to care for one another in the absence of family and financial support. Each day, Roger helps a friend change his incontinence underwear and bathe. Don, the retired academic who had attempted to mediate our earlier conversations about "queer," later relayed to one of the facilitators that "ending up in a nursing home is worse than death" for him and many others. Don plans to die at Rainbow Land, so he will never have to move to a nursing facility.

The multiple layers of trauma carried by the first "out" generation has been overwhelming for younger project participants to take in. Yet this transgenerational sharing of trauma has gone both ways. For many older participants, including the facilitators who have been teaching college-aged LGBTQ+ students for years, perhaps the greatest heartache has come from the discovery that our younger participants have not found it easier, or safer, to be LGBTQ+ than we have. We thought things were better (not perfect, but better than what we'd experienced) for LGBTQ+ youth today, given the progress in LGBTQ+ civil rights and increased societal acceptance (as suggested by a proliferation of LGBTQ+-friendly TV shows, and "out" LGBTQ+ youth influencers on social media). We found out that over half of our younger participants are not out to their families, many grew up never knowing an LGBTQ+ person and thinking they were "the only one" in their community, and several had been victims of sexual abuse. Shauna, a Black bisexual student, was trying to figure out how to reconcile her identity with her family's deep religious beliefs. Emerald Pitts, a 23-year-old nonbinary student from a small town in Missouri, found participating in what they playfully termed our "very gay project" just as scary as it was exciting.

The COVID-19 pandemic brought our individual challenges and loss into high relief. Many of our students were forced to return home, and we watched them through Zoom as they sat in their childhood bedrooms and tried to muffle our queer conversations so their parents wouldn't hear. Kathleen, a 21-year-old self-proclaimed "dyke," spoke to us in hushed tones while she listened through earbuds and furtively glanced at the door for any signs of parental presence. The elders who lived in Rainbow Land were on lockdown for months with little to no in-person contact. Many spoke of their appreciation of the staff who left meals outside of their doors. Don worried that he might sound like a "dirty old gay man" when he ruefully observed that "no one has touched me in months." The group's collective decision to move to more frequent (weekly) meetings during the pandemic was an active response by the community that had formed to meet the needs of its most vulnerable members for connection and a space in which to share and witness loss.

Lovesickeness: unrequited love in queer communities and spaces

Just as the dialogues have fostered connection between LGBTQ+ folks who would usually never meet, they have, at the same time, reopened wounds caused by inequity, discrimination, and exclusion within the LGBTQ+ community. A dialogue in Spring 2021 brought such wounds to the forefront. Playfully deemed "Lesbian Week," the dialogue set out to focus on lesbian identities, histories, and cultures. Tensions quickly began to arise in the small group planning session when it became clear that the younger and older folks had very different ideas about what we should talk about. Connie, a 67-year-old white lesbian, wanted to talk about "disappearing lesbians." Lesbians, she insisted, are disappearing as younger generations eschew the label and women-only lesbian spaces such as bars and music festivals have shut down due to financial instability, sexism, and struggles over the exclusion of transgender women.

For Connie, the dialogue was a chance to mourn the history and culture she and many of her "lesbian boomer" friends feel have been devalued within the LGBTQ+ community (especially by cisgender gay men) and now forgotten. Yet, for some of the younger lesbian-identified folks planning the dialogue, Connie's strongly-voiced concerns felt transphobic and divisive. In addition they did not, much to Connie's dismay, share her sense of loss over lesbian spaces. One of the younger lesbians decided not to share a personal story during our lesbian-themed dialogue as she feared she was not "lesbian enough." In the end, our lesbian-themed dialogue felt respectful and constructive while also, at the same time, tense. People with very different identities and histories were engaged and speaking up. As we explored the sometimes contentious history between lesbians and transgender women, Danie, a 69-year-old transgender woman who had transitioned later in life, bravely spoke up to acknowledge and validate the immense loss that Connie and other aging lesbians felt. By the end of the dialogue, we hadn't solved anything—indeed, many participants felt that the conversation was nowhere near finished. But we were talking about and across our divides. "Wow," Danie observed, "we never would have been able to have this conversation a year ago."

Lesbian Week has been one of many moments in the project in which participants, excited to "come together" as a community, have had to grapple with a very queer form of battle fatigue triggered by violence, discrimination, and suppression within LGBTQ+ communities. Our discussions brought up for some folks their own conflicted feelings about, disappointment in, and feelings of alienation from LGBTQ+ communities. There is pain and resentment at not feeling acknowledged, or understood, as one would like within a community that is purportedly supposed to be "ours."

Many participants, especially younger ones, entered the project with imaginaries of a queer utopic safe space in which fellow "queers" would understand and support them without question or need for explanation of their identification. The shock at having one's pronouns and

gender identity alternatively ignored, questioned, or misconstrued could be disarming. At the end of the first year, Julian, a 26-year-old nonbinary Taiwanese student, decided to write an open letter to students joining for the second year in an effort to prepare them for the challenges that would likely arise:

> I am writing to you because I think it is important for you to know that to join the Dialogue group is akin to gaining a large and diverse family where everyone comes from very different cultural-temporal backgrounds … . Some of you may enter the group assuming that because the phrase 'LGBTQ+' is in the title that this would be a safe space for yourself, much as I had. But as I have come to learn, everyone's definition of 'safe' can be wildly different … I ask you to engage with uncomfortable topics if you feel the desire to, as I am trying (and sometimes failing) to do as well. After all, my belief is that these are the key moments that further meaningful dialogue that will most likely have lasting effects on us and our worldviews, which is another whole reason why we gather together despite all of the outside-wordly obstacles.

As community, trust, fondness, and personal relationships have grown so, too, has a queer form of lovesickness. As we dare to be optimistic about queer commnunities and spaces, we are often met with the realities of all that these spaces (and in this case, this project) cannot be or do.

For many of us, this project has been our first time within an exclusively LGBTQ+ educational space. The work has necessitated the opening of hearts, a willingness to be vulnerable as we listen to others, and a commitment of time and emotional labor. Many participants have used the word "love" to describe their feelings about the project and their fellow participants. It can be especially difficult, then, to feel at times that one's love is unrequited. Abbe, an 81-year-old minister, noted wistfully that it had become clear to her that the group did not want to discuss spirituality—a topic that was so important to her. Don was heartbroken at what he felt was the shallowness and lack of understanding expressed by fellow participants in our dialogue about race and racism within LGBTQ+ communities. Lindsey, our 29-year-old web designer, shared their hesitancy to discuss gender expansiveness with the group because "it's been so disheartening and hurtful in the past when people haven't responded in the way I would hope for a community that's gotten to know each other so well." At the same time, a quiet divide has seemed to emerge between LGBTQ+ elder participants with a long history of activism and elders who have only recently come out or transitioned.

The term "family" has been a contested one within our intergenerational dialogues, and some participants' hopes for newfound "queer family" difficult to realize. Louis, a 72-year-old Black bisexual poet, invoked the term "family" repeatedly in our very first meeting to describe the new community and relationships we were forming with this project. His description of the importance, to him, of "feelings of inclusion, love, being brought into a family" was met with snaps, nods of agreement, and smiles from younger and older participants. Kathleen, our student notetaker at the time, wrote in her notes "I teared up a bit." Some students, excited about their burgeoning relationships with some of the elders, have jokingly expressed their wish that the elders could adopt them. Yet others have shared privately with us, the facilitators, their discomfort with the use of the word "family" to describe our group. They already have family, some students told us, and family relationships could be fraught and rooted in hierarchy which they didn't want to recreate with elders. Mid-semester, we decided to incorporate readings by Kath Weston (1997) on histories of LGBTQ+ kinship and "families we choose" into our course content to help younger participants contextualize others' evocations of family. This history was new to many of our students, and they were drawn to Weston's description of kin networks in San Francisco during the first decade of the HIV/AIDS crisis. At the same time, most did not feel a desire to create kinship with fellow project participants.

The lovesickness and heartache generated through our dialogues draws attention to the salience of Queer Battle Fatigue produced *within* LGBTQ+ communities and queer spaces. Not only can Queer Battle Fatigue be a product of interactions between LGBTQ+ people, it can, at times,

feel even more hearbreaking than that which is produced within predominantly cisgender, heteronormative spaces. There is immense heartache in both (re)discovering, and experiencing anew, division, animosity, inequity, and lack of understanding between the letters of LGBTQ+. Over the last two years, we (the facilitators) have felt emotionally torn when tensions arise between participants, or folks find dialogues upsetting, even as we acknowledge the pedagogical value of these moments. Yet both younger and older participants in the project have shown that while "peering into each other's hearts" often causes heartache, it can also feel incredibly rewarding for members of a community that is strikingly divided along lines of race, gender, class, sexuality, and age.

Conclusion: lonely hearts club (or, healing aching hearts)

As small intergenerational groups of students and elders explored their own experiences with "queer joy" for their final projects in fall 2020, a pattern emerged. Stories of queer joy almost always involved heartache. Heartache plays a central role within the most joyful of our queer experiences, because they are queer. The exhilaration of falling madly in love for the first time with a boy, or stepping out into the world as a woman is tempered with the simultaneous pain—truly a dagger in our hearts—of not being able to share this feeling with loved ones and have it celebrated. The affirmation we feel in our relationships with chosen family is often directly related to its absence within our families of origin. This is what makes certain forms of joy "queer."

This multi-layered heartache interwoven with joy is at the center of our collaborative work, as are the inevitable loss and failure within it. Heartaches were never too far from joy, allowing all participants, in complex and sometimes fraught moments, to express their grief, to experience grief in relation to others stories, but to also move alongside such grief to encounter various forms of queer joy.

The intersection of heartache and joy could be felt on 2 July 2021 when members of *The LGBTQ+ Intergenerational Dialogue Project* met in person for the first time since the pandemic had begun. There was a birthday cake and lots of hugs. As our reserved afternoon slot on the outdoor terrace of the LGBTQ+ community center came to a close, George proposed we adjourn to a leather bar around the corner. A caravan of LGTBQ + folks ranging in age from 22 to 79, some holding hands, others navigating the bumpy sidewalk with canes and walkers, made their way into the dimly lit space, pushing tables together to form a lopsided circle. It felt heart-warming to see folks of such different ages, gender identies, sexualities, and socioeconomic and racial positionalities - folks who had, over the last two years, both argued with and comforted each other—express such joy in coming together. At some point, Emerald, who had travelled over six hours from their hometown for the occasion, yelled "shots! We're doing tequila shots! Who's in?" Fox, a 22-year-old transgender man who had just graduated, admitted "I've never done them. I don't know how!" Marti reassured Fox, saying "come on, I'll teach you." Much laughter ensued at the "truly intergenerational learning" going on as Marti and Ric walked Fox through the steps of salting his hand ("not yet, not yet!" Marti corrected when Fox licked his hand too soon) and readying the lime slice before the group, in unison, drank their shots.

The conversation eventually turned to a slightly tipsy intergenerational discussion of gender—the ongoing "hot button" topic of our dialogues that has often provoked strife. Marti admitted that she still did not "get nonbinary." The younger people "stayed in the room" and talked openly and honestly. One asked Marti "does it matter if you get it? Maybe it doesn't. As long as you get that we get it." "Yeah," replied Marti. "I just *want* to get it." It was a moment of profound empathy and, for many of us, a resuturing of hearts.

Just as this project creates (or renews) heartache for all of us involved, it simultaneously heals our aching hearts. As we learn about our histories and communities through each other, we find

ways to counter both the heartache we experience from living as queer people in an overwhelmingly non-queer world, and the heartbreak caused by divisions within LGBTQ+ communities. Kathleen found positive lesbian role models and mentors who delighted in her decision to start identitfying as a "butch dyke." Rain marveled at her feeling of being accepted by older adults for who she really is, and talking with them about things (queer sex, love, and politics) she would never be able to discuss with elders in her own family. LGBTQ+ elders who have felt forgotten by the generations that followed them have felt their hearts warm at finding, as Danie expressed it, "these younger people want to hear from us - they are hungry for it."

We have found joy in our differences, in interacting with folks within the LGBTQ+ umbrella with whom we would usually never connect, and recognizing the unique heartaches that different folks (lesbian, gay, nonbinary, transgender, queer, black, brown, white, religious, etc.) within the LGBTQ+ population bring to the table and cause for one another. We have each in our own way, we think, strengthened our sense of value and belonging within the LGBTQ+.

At times along the way, however, as the emotional labor required for participation in this grand experiment at times felt overwhelming, we wondered: Can queer heartache kill you? Does it make us stronger? We have found, through this experience, that it is necessary to embrace queer heartache for a liberatory approach to queer education. The heartache is already there, in queer spaces and communities. Yet we often do not have the chance to collectively sit with the pain and discomfort as Ahmed (2004) pointed out.

We see queer heartache as generative as both a theoretical framework and pedagogical tool, and its engagement as a powerful way to strengthen queer people and our communities. Queer heartache opens up the nuances of Queer Battle Fatigue by articulating the fatigue we experience through interactions *within* the LGBTQ+ community, and the ways that fatigue relates to our interactions with non-queers. It reminds us that we cannot think and write about "queers" as a category in discussions about LGBTQ+ experiences of fatigue, joy, and trauma without complicating it.

Heartache, we have found, is an embodied, empathic form of learning. "Discomfort," anthropologist Camille Frazier (2021) observed, "produces visceral reactions that can lead to reflection, and in this reflection is the capacity for political action" (p. 3). Queer heartache is a mode of investment, of caring and feeling things deeply, and wanting to effect change for the better.

Notes

1. In this article, we use a combination of pseudonyms and real names for project participants based on their individual preferences.
2. Rainbow Land is a pseudonym for the senior living facility.
3. And an institutionally sanctioned educational space, to boot!
4. Early on, participants began using the terms "younger" and "elder" which led to thinking about and through the use and problems with such terms. A general agreement to the words "younger" and "elder" was landed on to capture the two age groups broadly represented. This agreement is not without complications.
5. Reflecting on an especially tense conversation around race and politics in the shadow of the 2016 presidential election, Rankine writes "I learned early that being right pales next to staying in the room" (p. 151).
6. Epistemic injustice, a concept coined by feminist philosopher Miranda Fricker (2007) gets at the ways marginalized groups are unjustly treated as knowing subjects. This occurs when a member of a marginalized group is given a deflated level of credibility by a hearer, what Fricker called testimonial injustice. It also occurs at a prior stage when a member of a marginalized group lacks access to interpretive resources for making sense of their experiences, termed by Fricker as "hermeneutical injustice."
7. Our use of storytelling as method takes up an established approach to countering erasure and legacies of epistemic injustice imposed on marginalized populations. Storytelling can provide a way to construct counter-narratives vis-à-vis dominant narratives that oppress or erase certain peoples and histories and legitimize the experiences and perspectives of some over others (Bamberg & Andrews, 2004; Johnson, 2008; McLean & Syed, 2015, Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999).

8. For our work, participants recognized both the usefulness and falsity of "generation" talk. There is something to having been born at a particular time, but such a time is complicated by other variables such as race, gender identity, economic class, geography (urban vs rural vs suburban) and so forth. Time may be a particular arbiter, but other factors can connect people across time that generate different relationships. Our dialogues have thus never centered on generations in any traditional sense (Boomers, Gen Xers, Millennials, etc.)

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Karen Morris is an associate professor of Visual and Critical Studies at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. She is a lesbian mother and cultural anthropologist, whose work focuses on family, gender, media, and sexuality.

Adam J. Greteman is an associate professor of Art Education at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. His work addresses the ethical and political challenges and possibilities that emerge as genders and sexualities are centralized in pedagogical and philosophical thought. He is the author of ***Sexualities and Genders in Education: Towards Queer Thriving*** and the coauthor of ***On Liking the Other: Queer Subjects and Religious Discourses*** and ***The Pedagogies and Politics of Liking***.

Nic M. Weststrate is an assistant professor of Human Development and Learning in the Department of Educational Psychology and member of the Center for Research on Health and Aging at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Nic's research investigates positive aging in the LGBTQIA + community. Recently, he has been exploring the potential for intergenerational storytelling to bolster the health and well-being of LGBTQIA + elders and youth, while also sustaining the community's rich culture and history.

ORCID

Karen Morris http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9381-9194
Adam J. Greteman http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0115-3386
Nic M. Weststrate http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5272-472X

References

Ahmed, S. (2004). *The cultural politics of emotion*. Routledge.

Bamberg, M., & Andrews, M. (2004). *Considering counter-narratives: Narrating, resisting, making sense*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Blackburn, M., & Pascoe, C. J. (2015). K-12 Students in schools. In G. Wimberly (Ed.). *LGBT Q issues in education: Advancing a research agenda*. (pp. 89–104). American Educational Research Association.

Blount, J. (2005). *Fit to teach: Same-sex desire, gender, and school work in the twentieth century*. SUNY Press.

Campbell, E., & Lassiter, L. (2010). From collaborative ethnography to collaborative pedagogy: Reflections on the other side of middletown project and community-university research partnerships. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *41*(4), 370–385. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1492.2010.01098.x

Clifford, J. (1996). Anthropology and/as travel. *Etnofoor*, *9*(2), 5–15.

Emlet, C. A. (2016). Social, economic, and health disparities among LGBT older adults. *Generations*, *40*(2), 16–22.

Estalella, A., & Sánchez Criado, T. (2017). *Ethnographic experimentation: Other tales of the field*. Anthropology for Radical Optimism. https://allegralaboratory.net/post-1-ethnographic-experimentation-other-tales-of-the-field-collex/

Frazier, C. (2021). Positionality and the transformative potential of discomfort. *City and Society*, *33*(1). https://doi.org/10.1111/ciso.12386

Fredriksen-Goldsen, K. I., Kim, H.-J., Shiu, C., Goldsen, J., & Emlet, C. A. (2015). Successful aging among LGBT older adults: Physical and mental health-related quality of life by age group. *The Gerontologist*, *55*(1), 154–168. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnu081

Fricker, M. (2007). *Epistemic injustice: Power and the ethics of knowing*. Oxford University Press.

Graves, K. (2009). *And they were wonderful teachers: Florida's purge of gay and lesbian teachers*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Greteman, A. J., Morris, K., & Weststrate, N. M. (2021). Countering Epistemic Injustice: The Work of Intergenerational LGBTQ+ Dialogues. *Studies in Art Education*, *62*(4), 408–413. https://doi.org/10.1080/00393541.2021.1975492

Gusterson, H. (2008). Ethnographic research. In A. Klotz & D. Prakash (Eds.), *Qualitative methods in international relations*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230584129_7

Holmes, D. R., & Marcus, G. E. (2008). Collaboration today and the re-imagination of the classic scene of fieldwork encounter. *Collaborative Anthropologies*, *1*(1), 81–101. https://doi.org/10.1353/cla.0.0003

Johnson, E. (2008). *Sweet tea: Black gay men of the south–An oral history*. University of North Carolina Press.

Kelly, L., Raheel, N., Shen, J., & Shankar, A. (2017). Anthropology, film, pedagogy, and social change: Reflections from an experimental course. *American Anthropologist*, *119*(1), 147–153. https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.12827

Kosciw, J. G., Clark, C. M., Truong, N. L., & Zongrone, A. D. (2020). *The 2019 National School Climate Survey: The experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer youth in our nation's schools*. GLSEN.

Lugg, C.*US Public Schools and the Politics of Queer Erasure*. Palgrave MacMillan (2016).

Marcus, G. (2008). Collaborative options and pedagogical experiment in anthropological research on experts and policy process. *Anthropology in Action*, *15*(2), 47–57. https://doi.org/10.3167/aia.2008.150205

McIntyre, A. (2008). *Participatory action research*. SAGE Publications, Inc.

McLean, K. C., & Syed, M. (2015). Personal, master, and alternative narratives: An integrative framework for understanding identity development in context. *Human Development*, *58*(6), 318–349. https://doi.org/10.1159/000445817

Meyer, I. H., Russell, S. T., Hammack, P. L., Frost, D. M., & Wilson, B. (2021). Minority stress, distress, and suicide attempts in three cohorts of sexual minority adults: A U.S. probability sample. *PloS One.*, *16*(3), e0246827. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0246827

Morris, K., & Greteman, A. (2021). Generating Queers.Anthropology News Online, April.

Rabinow, P., & Stavrianakis, A. (2013). *Demands of the day: On the logic of anthropological inquiry*. University of Chicago Press.

Ramirez-Valles, J. (2016). *Queer aging: The gayby boomers and a new frontier for gerontology*. Oxford University Press.

Rankine, C. (2020). *Just Us: An American Conversation*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Graywolf Press.

Ross, L. (2020). How to call people in (Instead of Calling Them Out). *Ten Percent Happier with Dan Harris*. [Podcast]. https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/how-to-call-people-in-instead-calling-them-out-loretta/id1087147821?i=1000505631002

Sedgwick, E. K. (1993). *Tendencies*. Duke University Press.

Tuhiwai-Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books.

Weston, K. (1997). *Families we choose: Lesbians, gays, and kinship*. Columbia University Press.

Woodford, M. R., Weber, G., Nicolazzo, Z., Hunt, R., Kulick, A., Coleman, T., Coulombe, S., & Renn, K. (2018). Depression and attempted suicide among LGBT Q college students: Fostering resilience to the effects of heterosexism and cisgenderism on campus. *Journal of College Student Development*, *59*(4), 421–438. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2018.0040

Wozolek, B., Bettez, S. C., Coloma, R. S., & Kelly, H. (2020). The Queer Love Project: AESA, fatigue, and building the body of an organization. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, *26*(2), 223–226. https://doi.org/10.1215/10642684-8141746

Wozolek, B., Varndell, R., & Speer, T. (2015). Are we not fatigued? Queer Battle Fatigue at the intersection of heteronormative culture. *International Journal of Curriculum and Social Justice*, *1*(1), 1–35.