

## Common Reading Series: Lavender Lives Forced Relocation for LGBTQ+ Individuals

MATTHEW: Good afternoon, everyone. Is my mic good? Thank you. I'm going to be careful because I sit right in the projector line. Thank you, Karen. So ask Karen mentioned, I'm Matthew. I am the director of the Gender Identity Expression Sexual Orientation Resource Center, I use he and his pronouns. And I'm upstairs on the fourth floor of the cub, and the most beautiful view probably outside Webster on this campus.

If you haven't seen it-- well, you probably did during your alive program. We overlook Kamiak Butte, which was most likely visible during your time here. Sometimes it's smoky and you can't see anything. So I have you for 45-ish minutes, and I'd like to give you an overview because I never like to be in a presentation where we might not have a roadmap of where we're going.

So first off, I've a few notes and a few definitions something that's important to figure out what we're talking about. A little bit of history. Anyone in history 105 or 305? So we're going to talk about why history is important a little bit. Some present day persecution and what we're seeing happening across the globe. And then, what it means to attain refugee status here in the United States or in some of the other countries where we would think we folks are going and where the research already exists. So the UK, Australia, et cetera.

If you have questions along the way, please feel free to ask. I'm happy to come and listen or answer that. I have to repeat it though for the cameras since [? it's being beamed ?] out and they can't hear you, hence why I'm wearing two mics.

All right, so a disclaimer before we get too far in. This is a heavy topic. We're talking about really sad awful things that humans are doing to other humans based on their identity, right? I was telling some folks earlier today that I was working and finishing out this presentation yesterday and this morning, I had to take time away from it because it's just so icky. But I encourage you, if you need to take some time please do. There's no judgments from me because I get it. I had to walk away and I do this stuff often.

But also, if you can sit through the suffering of others, we oftentimes times-- even myself included. I'm on social media and I'm like, oh, I don't want to deal with that right now. I'm just going to look away. Engage fully if you can, but also take care of yourself. So find a balance for you.

So I'll talk a little bit about language before we get into this. Because language is complicated, right? All of us can probably agree that language changes quickly. Slang in particular changes very quickly. I joke about words in our office like yeet. That was not a word when I was a youthful person, I don't know. And now, I hate that word, by the way. But I appreciate it for what it is, right? It's come in and out of slang.

But words and language in our communities have also changed over time. And so most commonly we see sexual orientation, which is someone's sexual and oftentimes, tightly coupled with their romantic orientation or attraction to someone else. And then, gender identity and expression is separate, right? So sexual notation may be gay or lesbian, bisexual, pan sexual. Whereas gender identity and expression might be trans, or gender fluid, or gender queer, all right?

So sexual orientation is who you're attracted to, and gender identity and expression are who you are and how you express yourself. So very basic level. And there's a little bit of a history because-- you're probably like why is it the LGBTQ community? Well, once upon a time, picture of the 1850s, not a great time for any of us probably, and anywhere, there's not a lot of sanitation, et cetera. But a historian summarizes the complexity of language, Susan Stryker, when she writes, in practice, the distinctions between what we now call transgender and gay or lesbian were not always as meaningful back then as they are now.

Throughout the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, homosexual desire and gender variance were often closely associated. One common way of thinking about this was gender inversion or homosexuality as gender inversion in which a man who was attracted to men was thought to be acting like a woman, and a woman who desired women was considered to be acting like a man. And we see that split out in my early 1900s.

But in many ways, these aren't distinguishable concepts in other languages. So we're talking about the world. A lot of languages being spoken, a lot of concepts that we would know. Sex is the biological components of a person, and gender is the sociological construct. Not every language will have those two, right? Or they may not even delineate at all between sexual orientation, gender identity expression, et cetera.

So we're limited by our language to some extent, but vibe with me a little as we go through these complicated things. All right, so I'm going to define forced relocation really quickly. Oftentimes, I think also called forced migration in the literature depending. So forced relocation are first the movements of refugees and internally displaced people. Those displaced by conflicts as well as people displaced by natural environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine or development projects.

And one of the many options of types of forced relocation are conflict induced displacement, most often for LGBTQ folks. Because these are folks who are forced to flee their homes for one or more of the following reasons, and where the state authorities are unable or unwilling to protect them. So armed conflict, including civil war, generalized violence, and persecution on the grounds of nationality, race, religion, political opinion, or the varies social group, and that's usually where LGBTQ folks fall.

So an asylum seeker is an individual who is seeking international protection in countries with individualized procedures. An asylum seeker is someone who's claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she or they has submitted it. Not every asylum seeker

will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every refugee is initially an asylum seeker, according to Amnesty International. It's a little different, it feels like, in the United States, which I'll talk about in a second.

And a refugee is a person who's fled their country of origin and is unable or unwilling to return is a well founded fear of being persecuted. Because of their race, religion, nationality, or membership of a particular social group or political opinion. Now in the US, there's a little bit more complexity as you've probably have seen through any other of your reading programs or the good old news, which never ends.

So in the US, refugees or into the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement, it's ICE that does this or maybe Homeland Security. Refugee status is a form of protection that may be granted to people who meet the definition of a refugee, and who are of a special humanitarian concern to the United States. Refugees are generally people outside of their country who are unable or unwilling to return home because they fear serious harm.

You may seek a referral for refugee status only from outside of the United States. In contrast, asylum is a form of protection available to people who meet the definition of a refugee. So they're escaping something, some sort of persecution in their home country. They're already in the United States and are seeking admission at a port of entry.

So many times we saw this in the news, right? People were coming in this caravan to the border because they wanted to apply for asylum, and to be then considered for refugee status, which is how we do it here. I think a lot of times the news spun it weird. So I think that's important to note.

So I'm going to take a couple of comments. I'm sorry for the folks who are joining us virtually. But why is history important in what we're talking about today when it comes to forced relocation? Have we ever forced relocated people before forcefully? Sorry, that was a weird combo. So yes. When was a time that we had forced relocations in our world? We also talk about our nation. World War II, absolutely. Japanese internment camps. The Holocaust, which we'll talk about in a moment.

But why is history important in that? Because it repeats. So history repeats itself. Yeah. It was so funny that you mention that, and that is perfect because I took this class in grad school [INAUDIBLE]. And the professor said, history doesn't repeat itself, but it certainly rhymes. And that has stuck with me because it's doesn't look the same today as it said once upon a time, but there are a heck a lot of similarities, right? To seeing what we're seeing today.

So who can tell me what this means? Or what this symbol might-- or what the upside down pink triangle might symbolize? Melissa?

AUDIENCE: It symbolizes the LGBTQ community, and I believe in the [? Holocaust ?] folks who were queer had to wear that on their person. [INAUDIBLE]

MATTHEW: So this was a queer symbol during the Holocaust, and some have been reclaimed, right? Yeah, absolutely. So queer folks had to wear it. Mostly men. Queerness is funny, right? And gender roles in society are funny because men are expected to be men, right? And women who are queer sometimes get a little bit more flex on that. Not saying it's right or wrong, just kind of what we're seeing.

So according to the US Holocaust and Memorial Museum, between 1933 and 1945 an estimated 100,000 men were arrested for violating Nazi Germany's law against homosexuality. We don't really use that word anymore but, for context, that's what we're using. Of these, approximately 50,000 were sentenced to prison. And an estimated 5,000 to 15,000 men were sent to concentration camps on similar charges where an unknown number of them perished. There's some estimates between 60% to 75% of queer men in concentration camps died.

And you're probably, why are you bringing this up? But this is a reason why people try to escape, right? We focus so much on Jewish folks trying to escape, which was clearly important, right? But we don't really know anything about if queer folks got out, right? There's just not a lot. I was googling, and googling on the Google Scholar, which if you haven't used, amazing. But there's just not a lot of information because a lot of these records weren't captured, they were destroyed.

So I think you can probably gather why Nazis were coming for gay men. But gay men were seen often as asocial by the Nazis, an enemy of the master Aryan race. Led by Heinrich Himmler, the Nazis persecuted gay men in several ways. They shut down a majority of gay bars. They shut down any gay publications. They arrested gay men and tortured them, and forced them to give up their address books and the names of their partners in an attempt to create a registry of all gay men in Germany.

And in 1935, they revised part of their code which banned gay contact. So the law was extended to the concept of criminally indecent activities between men, which meant that the authorities could then arrest any males suspected on limited or no evidence. So they were some of the first folks that were sent to concentration camps in 1933. And they were subject to ridicule and hard work.

And the latter within, or the hierarchy within a concentration camp, gay men were the absolute lowest. And they were given the hardest tasks, they were experimented upon, et cetera. So I have a short video for folks to watch. So I believe all of my videos are captioned or auto captioned. But if there are any concerns, please let me know.

So the Nazis saw gay men as carriers of a disease which weakened the nation. They ransacked the Institute for Sexual Science, closed gay clubs and journals, and created pink lists. They used paragraph 175 the criminal code to punish homosexual behavior. They wanted to morally purify Germany. Between 1933 1945, 100,000 men were arrested for violating Nazi Germany's laws against homosexuality. 50,000 of them were sentenced to prison. 5,000 to 15,000 were sent to concentration camps, they were forced to sign confessions, and were jailed without trial.

In camps, gay prisoners were made to wear pink triangles to single them out. They were at the bottom of the concentration camp hierarchy. Beaten or ridiculed by guards, they were often given deadly work assignments. How many perished in the camps is not known. After the war, many had difficulty getting work if employers knew they were arrested under paragraph 175.

Rudolf Brazda was one of the last surviving pink triangle prisoners. So he passed away in 2011 at age 98. So today, cities such as Tel Aviv, Amsterdam, Sydney, and San Francisco have memorials dedicated to the gay victims of the Nazi Holocaust.

Are folks familiar with some of this information? So we often see this picture, credits to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, of book burning which happened across Nazi Germany. There are some reports that this is a book burning at the Institute for Sexual Science, which I was googling just to confirm whether or not that was true. But I couldn't find any confirmation other than it was a book burning at that same time-- or around the same time.

But the Institute of Sexual Science was dedicated and devoted to some of the earliest gender affirmations surgeries, which some people may have heard of as sex change operations or something. But now, we call gender affirmations surgeries. And all this information that had been done from the early 1900s up through 1930s was burned.

One of the leaders of this was put into a concentration camp. The founder, Magnus Hirschfeld, who was known as this-- a sexologist, but we probably called him something very different now. He didn't ever return from France. He was like, no. He was called the most dangerous Jew in Germany. And he just fled. I'm just speaking to in the US [INAUDIBLE].

So I bring this back up though because the allies swept through Europe to victory over the Nazi regime in early 1945. Hundreds of thousands of concentration camp prisoners were liberated. However, the new government of Germany repealed many of the laws, but they left unchanged the paragraph 175.

So as gay men were forced to-- they were forced to serve out the terms of their imprisonment regardless of time served in the concentration camps. It remains on-- this paragraph 175 as it was written by Nazi Germany remained in West Germany until the law was revised in 1969 to decriminalize gay relations between men over the age of 21. However, that really didn't get fully repealed until 1994.

So present day persecution. So shout out, and I will repeat it out, how many countries are there in the world right now? There about? How many? 219? OK. How many? It's always changing. So close enough for jazz is fine. Anyone else willing to take a guess? This is a very unbold crowd. 195 thereabouts, right? There 195 countries.

And so how many countries do you think outlaw gay relationships right now in some capacity? More than half. Thanks, I had to do a quick math in my head. What else? 125. Way more than half of that one. What else? It is lower, which is exciting I think. 77. And about how many

countries have a death penalty for gay people? Anyone else willing to take a guess? Should have brought candy. I'm so sorry. Probably would have made you more bold. Five, or thereabouts.

So again, things have changed. I got these statistics from rainbow refugee. And again, to note that gender, sex, and sexual orientation are diffuse concepts in English, not always the same in others. But some of the laws, in particular on trans folks, they exist to say no cross-dressing or males can't wear a female's clothes. Very binary, very much based on that sex concepts in English that very much not the diffusion that there is here. And cross-dressing is against the law in at least nine countries.

And I think we also need to note that laws don't equate perfection or acceptance or equity, right? I was just talking today with someone about marriage equality in the United States. And while it's great and we're seeing that marriage equality is having a positive impact on queer youth not wanting to hurt themselves, we still haven't solved a lot of other problems around being targeted by certain groups, not having housing protections in all states, or employment protections, on and on.

So the next video I'm going to show before I get to it, has anyone heard of Chechnya? And I got a handful of people. You don't have to tell me what it is, so if you've heard of it, that's OK. And I won't call on you to tell me all about the history of Chechnya. Because I had to really look into it. So Chechnya is a part of the Republic within Russia and/or in Russia. And in March of 2017, they begin a crackdown in some of their capital city on men they were suspected to be gay, or having same sex relationships.

And so Kadyrov is the leader of Chechnya. I forget his official title. Because his dad also spent a lot of time looking at Chechnya relations with the world. But he has a very colorful view of the world. And so I will say that it's not the most uplifting video I've seen. But this is Kadyrov the leader of Chechnya. [INAUDIBLE]. I'm sorry, part of it is not subtitled.

[VIDEO PLAYBACK]

- [SPEAKING IN RUSSIAN]

- but do you not get concerned when you read these accounts of young men saying they've been tortured for days? Does it concern you [? as a matter of ?] law and order of the [?] Republic to hear these stories [?]

- [SPEAKING IN RUSSIAN]

[END PLAYBACK]

MATTHEW: So, he just goes on to how he feels America is treating Russia and Chechnya. But there are tons of reports of men being snatched up off the streets, wherever, and then taken to

what we would consider probably some sort of concentration camp like facility, where they're held, beaten, tortured. And then released, depending, within a few weeks.

In the next video is a survivor of one of those who did ultimately gained freedom and then status within Canada. It's kind of perfect based on what he was talking about.

[VIDEO PLAYBACK]

- They wanted TO destroy me. Like I am nothing. [INAUDIBLE]. [VIEW CAPTIONS ON VIDEO]

[END PLAYBACK]

MATTHEW: So a happy ending to a rather sad story. But there are numerous others that have been captured and taken into these places. And I haven't seen a lot lately of new men being taken, but it comes up every year or six months or so where it really hits the press again. But again, a lot of folks in Chechnya don't want to talk about because there's the shame.

It's very interesting, even here in the US, we always look for different resources in different languages to help. A lot of folks don't have parents who speak English as their first language, and so we always look for those materials. And there is just not a lot, even in Russian, to help explain some of these concepts on how to support.

So attaining refugee status or getting asylum is complicated, as you probably could gather. And as I've learned more and more, it's just sadder and sadder. And I'm going to share some narratives today that, again, are not so uplifting. But I think they're important to understand.

So there's the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR. And it was created in 1951. And there's some guidance in maybe '67. And there have been some guidance since. But their purpose and their overview function really is a UN refugee agency, which is a global organization dedicated to saving lives, protecting rights, and building a better future for refugees, forcibly displaced communities, and stateless people. [INAUDIBLE]. And then, their function is they work to ensure that everybody has a right to seek asylum and find safe refuge having fled violence, persecution, or disaster at home.

So that's their function. They are doing a lot with probably not enough resources. But they've issued at least two statements that I could find on guidance to help support LGBTQ asylum seekers and refugees. So once in 2008 and once in 2012. And I have to say, I'm going to give you some of the pieces from it. So I apologize for reading some of the text. But it's really thoughtful. I don't know, maybe my expectations are kind of low sometimes because I'm just so worried about people and how are we inflicting unintentional harm. But these are so thoughtful.

So the process, right? You have to create a narrative and explain your case of why you deserve asylum and refugee status. And they need to provide some proof, right? Not just letting

everyone in, which I have some feelings about that personally. But there's a lot of gate keeping to keep folks out.

And then, there's credibility. So according to Rachel Lewis, who wrote some really great pieces on all of this unclear asylum seekers, she writes, unlike other refugee claimants who are not compelled to perform a visible identity in the country to which they migrate, lesbian and gay asylum applicants are thus expected to conform to Western stereotypes of male homosexual behavior based on visibility, consumption, and an identity in the public sphere in order to be considered worthy candidates for asylum.

So people are expected to behave in a particular way based on our notions in places they're looking for, right? In the US or Australia or the UK. What does it mean-- in your mind, if you think about media perceptions and portrayals, of many gay men or lesbians? That might be what-- since there might be bias in the folks who are reading these applications, interviewing these people, then they're expected to be like that, right?

I'm not going to go into all the stereotypes of queer people [INAUDIBLE] anything. Except for Netflix, sometimes super great to see Netflix trying to do your best. But like Will and Grace might be a good example.

And so according to the UNHCR's guidelines, ascertain the applicants LGBTI, they use I instead of Q, which means intersex. Background is essentially an issue of credibility. The assessment of credibility in such cases needs to be undertaken in an individualized and sensitive way. Exploring elements around the applicant's personal perceptions, feelings, and experiences of difference, stigma and shame are usually more likely to help the decision maker ascertain the applicant sexual orientation or gender identity rather than a focus on sexual practices.

So they are suppose to ask open ended questions, specific questions, really interview someone with a bunch of how tos and how not tos. So self identification, which this is so great, right? Self identification as an LGBTI person should be taken as an indication of the applicant's sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

So if I say that I'm gay, you should believe me, right? Or at least that should outweigh so much, right? Instead of me-- because it might be really hard for me to say that in the first place. But even if I don't, there's other ways to tease that out. Especially if I'm with family. Depending on what part of the world I am from, religious background, et cetera.

So applicants from highly intolerant countries may, for, instance not readily identify as LGBTI. This alone should not rule out the applicant. We should not rule out that the applicant could have a claim based on sexual orientation or gender identity where other indicators are present. So there is some concerns around gender identity and how can people dress, what should they look like. If we live in a Western world and we expect people to look like a man or a woman, and if folks are wearing different clothes and don't understand those nuances or those cultures, then we could be making the wrong decision, too.

So some invisibility, which I found to be not at all surprising, but really interesting. So two areas of real invisibility have been lesbians and bisexuals. So first, they're often invisible in the asylum process. All asylum seekers, they're asked to prove their sexual orientation. As one lesbian asylum seeker in one of the Lewis article states, the officials wanted me to prove that I was a lesbian, but they wouldn't tell me how I could. How do you do that, right? How do I-- and some of the others, which I don't have the exact statement.

But this is super bizarre to me, but there are people who are seeking asylum. So the one case study that I saw in one of the articles was a-- excuse me, a man from the UK. He had found this guy from Malawi, and the guy was looking for refuge in the UK. And the way that they proved they were having-- been banned from a law it was gay was by sending in extremely intimate photos of themselves. That was their proof, and it worked.

And so lawyers don't always encourage that, but it seems like that was a huge encouragement is to send in photos with another man. So from GLAAD, gays and lesbians against defamation. So a blogger wrote, when I started my asylum process, there was no question in my mind that I would apply as bisexual. As we do these days, I Google searched bisexual asylum. Back then, the results page showed failed bisexual asylum claims and even had a link to an immigration organization that implied that seeking asylum as a bisexual was a bad idea.

Everything online told me not to apply as bisexual, but to apply for asylum as a gay person. I've been mislabeled a lesbian in the past by overexcited journalists and people who thought they knew more about me than I did myself. But this was different. I couldn't bring myself to even consider lying about who I am after I had left my home because it was unsafe for me to be who I was.

So her lawyer even asked her if she would consider seeking asylum as a lesbian because it would quote "improve my chances" unquote. Like it was a choice I could make. The false assumption that adjudicators and judges make right now is that a bisexual person you can go choose to be in a relationship with someone of the opposite gender and pass as straight and hence be safe in your home country.

That was all over the literature. So just pretend-- how can you be really persecuted if you can choose who you're attracted to. But she was the first bisexual asylum-- successful bisexual asylum seeker in the country. She applied for asylum, I think it was the United States. So lots of invisibility. And also, really terrible odds of being approved. Much harder to get approved for sexual orientation or gender identity than some of the others. Violence and maybe some of the other protected or other classes of social identities that we've talked about.

So a short video. [INAUDIBLE] So we are LGBTQ refugees.

[VIDEO PLAYBACK]

- [INAUDIBLE] [VIEW CAPTIONS OVER VIDEO]

[END PLAYBACK]

MATTHEW: So there are a few non-profits that are working on these things. And there are some success stories. And I try to end on a happier more uplifting note, but there is hope for change. But there is no-- like you come to the United States, there is no legal support necessarily for you to get your asylum [? or to apply for Visa ?] all that. It's all either a non-profit or you have the funds like when you come but, that's so rare, right? [INAUDIBLE] [? I can't afford a lawyer for like ?] expensive processes, right?

So with that being said, if you or someone you know is in need of immigration help or support, here or any of our other campuses, going global, you can check out our immigration clinic. So you can check my name out Matthew.Jeffries@WC.EDU And I'll get you connected to that. We're happy to do a Zoom or a Skype session with someone that's not here in Pullman. They are an incredible resource that we have through the University of Idaho. A partnership between WCU and the University of Idaho.

Undocumented initiatives. Marcella Pattinson is an incredible resource. Together she and I-- and now UW Seattle. We've worked really closely together over the past years, it feels like, to co-host on a Docu Queer Conference. So our focus is on looking at those intersections between immigration and being queer, which are complicated, right? When we often talk about one we often talk about the other. I think this is illuminate some of those reasons why we need to have those conversations.

And last, but certainly not least, there's my office. The longest department probably ever. GIESORC, CUB 401. Do you have questions? Comments? We all have concerns out there at this point. Questions? I'm going to take your question and repeat it out.

AUDIENCE: [INAUDIBLE]

MATTHEW: They don't legally have it in their books. But Brunei is one that just did it. [COUGH] So I can't remember the other four, but Brunei is one. And so you may remember-- depending on the news media you follow. The Sultan of Brunei said, we're going to-- they added to the Constitution that they can stone men who are caught having sex with other men to death.

And then he said, we're not going to enforce it. Then why would you it in your constitution? So there was a real big backlash from folks because the Sultan of Brunei, or the Brunei government maybe, own some properties in the United States. And so people were like, boycott those properties.

And if you're not, that's a great point though. If you're not following anything. Who's on Twitter? OK, cool. And I don't know. I'm sure they do Snapchat and TikTok, all that stuff too. But follow some queer news media outlets. You'll be amazed at what you're missing. Communities that I'm a part of, like queer community. I do these for communities I'm not a part of so I can see what's happening in those spaces. Because mainstream media is so focused on mainstream

things, right? And not looking at all these smaller subsets of our populations, which are so important.

But thank you for your question. I'm sorry I don't have a list. What else we got? Going back to you.

AUDIENCE: Did you encounter any deportation [INAUDIBLE].

MATTHEW: I didn't not say anything about that. Yeah, oh sorry. The question was, did you see any deportations based on the LGBT status or identity.

AUDIENCE: [INAUDIBLE]

MATTHEW: Yeah, so did I see any of LGBT folks who came for asylum then get deported? I didn't see any of that, but I don't think they're also curating those numbers well, or the data doesn't exist as well as maybe some of the other social identities. But I wouldn't say we-- a lot of countries wouldn't take LGBTQ folks in until more recently.

And there have been a lot of histories around folks with HIV coming into the United States. That was banned for a long time. So I don't know where that falls now because things are bopping around quite a bit. Flip flopping, I mean, even trans in the military has been a huge topic that keeps flip flopping. So I have not checked on that. But I think if you saw Immigration Equality, they talked about if you're an LGBTQ person or if you are living with HIV, that there might be complications. And so how you can apply for refugee status. Yeah, sorry.

AUDIENCE: [INAUDIBLE]

MATTHEW: So the comment and question was, there are already internalized issues within the queer communities, right? And do you think those will resolve? Those issues around racism and classism and ability, amongst a bunch of others. Do you think they'll be solved? I really hope so because otherwise my job would be very sad. But I think it requires all of us to work together. I think once we realize that a lot of our oppressions are rooted together, and we've been divided over time because that allowed people to stay in power, that that will be the day that we see the true change.

When we all group together. Folks who've been marginalized and oppressed for whatever of our social identities that have been picked upon, and we work together then things will change. And that's why I think it's so important about undocu queer, right? It is exposing-- like we took a bunch of students from-- they were more connected to my Center in GIESORC, and students are more connected to undocumented student services.

To see the complexities of both sides and to see those identities together. Because sometimes we get lost in our own worlds that we don't think about these complex lived experiences that people are having. For instance, undocumented folks, they don't have access to sometimes

Planned Parenthood, and all the rules of Planned Parenthood. But if you're not a citizen or you don't have certain documentation, you can't go. So then where do you go as a person?

If you're queer and undocumented, and maybe you have HIV, which I think was a blog then I'd read. Where do you turn to next? If you're a student, you have queer health services. But once you're not a student, you don't have health insurance, you don't have the money, right? What are your opportunities?

And together, that means that health care is a queer issue. And it's an undocumented issue, right? Just like affordable housing is an issue for all of us, right? Folks who are queer are often-- especially youth-- are homeless. or houseless. And so housing is an issue for all of us to address. And health care is an issue for all us to address. They all surface differently. So I can go on about that for ages. Back to you.

AUDIENCE: [INAUDIBLE]

[APPLAUSE]