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Provincial paradoxes: 'at home' with older gay men in a provincial town of the Antipodes

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Abstract

In this paper we explore the importance of 'home' in the everyday lives of older gay men living in Townsville, a provincial town in tropical north Queensland. To do this we deploy the work of Alison Blunt and Robin Dowling (2006), who present a spatialised understanding of home. Drawing on interview materials with ten men who identified as gay, and who are also over forty years of age, we demonstrate that home is a crucial site in the production of their subjectivities. We argue that a spatialised understanding of home reveals paradoxical qualities of Townsville-as-home for older gay men. Furthermore, we argue that conceiving Townsville-as-home as a provincial paradoxical space is crucial to understanding how non-heterosexual subjectivities are sustained beyond the metropolis.

Keywords

Provincial, paradoxes, home, older, gay, men, provincial, town, Antipodes

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Provincial paradoxes: 'at home' with older gay men in a provincial town of the Antipodes

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we explore the importance of 'home' in the everyday lives of older gay men living in Townsville, a provincial town in tropical north Queensland. To do this we deploy the work of Alison Blunt and Robin Dowling (2006), who present a spatialised understanding of home. Drawing on interview materials with ten men who identified as gay, and who are also over forty years of age, we demonstrate that home is a crucial site in the production of their subjectivities. We argue that a spatialised understanding of home reveals paradoxical qualities of Townsville-as-home for older gay men. Furthermore, we argue that conceiving Townsville-as-home as a provincial paradoxical space is crucial to understanding how non-heterosexual subjectivities are sustained beyond the metropolis.

INTRODUCTION

It did take about two or three years of trips back to Sydney for the fix. And, I always remember, it was coming back from a Mardi Gras, flying into Townsville. And, I just clicked, so good to be home. (Ben, 50-something gay male)

We begin with Ben's recollection of Townsville – a provincial town of around 150 000 in tropical Queensland, some 2 120 km north from Sydney – becoming home, because we want to examine the homemaking processes of older gay males out from metropolitan centres. Ben grew up in Sydney and moved to Townsville with his same-sex partner in the 1980s, during the overtly homophobic Bjelke-Petersen state government administration (1968-86). Ben's actions and feelings trouble the assumption of non-heterosexual movement as a uni-directional rural-to-urban 'homecoming' to escape the heteronormative assumptions of rural society.ⁱ While acknowledging the initial importance of the 'fix' of Sydney, counter to the discourse of pink tourism that position Sydney as Australia's lesbian and gay 'homeland', Ben's feeling of being-at-home-in-Townsville first 'clicked' arriving back from a Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras. This article thus contributes to the research agenda began

by Phillips *et al* on de-centring sexualities – we examine the ways in which older gay males trouble the compulsory rules of heterosexuality by practices that make provincial locations 'home'.ⁱⁱ

In recent years, geographers have given increasing attention to the home as space for the production of subjectivities. As Duncan and Lambert explain, 'homes ... are primary sites in which identities are produced and performed in practical, material and repetitively affirming ways'.ⁱⁱⁱ Blunt and Dowling present a spatialised understanding of home that acknowledges how subjectivities are shaped by social space.^{iv} Drawing upon post-structuralist feminist thinkers such as Iris Marion Young, they demonstrate how neither home nor subjectivity are fixed, but rather mutually and ongoingly (re)constituted through uneven sets of social relationships that play out at a particular location. As Young explains, 'homemaking' is an ongoing process, the work required to feel 'at home', which 'give[s] material support to the identity of those whose home it is'.^v Blunt and Dowling additionally argue that the sets of social relationships that constitute home are multi-scalar. In other words, a place called home is made through homemaking practices that requires thinking in terms of the intersections beyond the scale of a private dwelling as home. Attention is

given to how homemaking constitutes geographical scales from the body, to a park bench, to the neighbourhood, to the nation and beyond. A place called home is constituted through sets of social inter-relationships that stretch across a range of other geographical scales. Finally, Blunt and Dowling argue home is a spatially located emotional experience. Individual feelings of belonging and alienation that ground home to particular places are generated by the discourses and practices that facilitate some subjectivities and oppress others.^{vi} They stress how conventional home housing design, finance and normative ideas, experiences and practices of home are informed by heteronormativity. In doing so they highlight the 'spatial imperative' of subjectivity and how heterosexualities are naturalised through spaces of the home.^{vii}

Indeed, research on a spatialised conception of sexuality has drawn attention to how in the confined geographies of the house-as-home a hegemonic model of heterosexuality influences every day domestic experiences. Spaces of the house are conflated with nuclear families.^{viii} As a site of heteronormative socialisation, research has demonstrated how house-as-home often produces feeling of alienation and acts of concealment amongst non-heterosexual subjectivities.^{ix} Similarly, residences occupied by gay/lesbian couples often feel discomfort under the heteronormative surveillance of neighbours, heterosexual families and tradespeople.^x Yet, as Robinson *et al* demonstrates, tensions and resistances can exist within family-based heterosexuality, while Gorman-Murray shows that the family home and relationships therein can at times embrace sexual difference.^{xi} Further, as Elwood, Gabb and Johnston and Valentine have shown, domestic spaces can be appropriated to affirm lesbian subjectivities.^{xii} With the notable exceptions of Gorman-Murray, Kirby and Hay and Valentine, Skelton and Butler, few studies have explored how gay male subjectivities are interpellated by home-spaces.^{xiii} While attention has been given to the intersections between non-heterosexualities and gender in the process of gentrification,^{xiv} the spatial imperative of gay male subjects has tended to focus on their use of public spaces as having *homelike* qualities, including parks and public toilets,^{xv} bars^{xvi} and streets.^{xvii} These scholars have demonstrated the various ways in which particular gay male subjectivities become sanctioned through these spaces of the 'scene' and the metropolis. In this article we advance an awareness of the importance of homes to older gay male subjectivities living in non-metropolitan locations.

Initially, we explain our method. Next we outline why Townsville may initially seem an unlikely place for any non-heterosexual subject to call home. We then examine the homemaking experiences and practices that enable older gay males to constitute Townsville-as-home. In our conclusion we argue that while home spaces of older gay males are embedded in discourses of class, they have many paradoxical qualities that position them as sites of radical politics where conventional discourses of 'marginality', gender and sexuality are challenged.

NOTES ON METHOD

This article draws upon semi-structured interviews conducted by Gordon in 2005 with people with non-heterosexual subjectivities who live in Townsville, alongside participant

observation of the places spoken about as home. To publicise the research a flyer was circulated through the help of the Queensland AIDS Council and the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender (GLBT) Anti-Violence Committee. Thirty-two people gave their consent to participate. Each narrated their story of how they came to be living in Townsville as well as their ideas, practices, experiences and meanings of home. Embedded in telling these narratives is Gordon's experience as a gay male dealing with homophobia and the processes of homemaking. The participants cited in this article are drawn from the responses of ten gay males who are over forty years old. Crucially, these men had therefore lived through the change in the definition of homosexuality from a 'deviance', 'illness', 'perversion' or 'sin' to an expression of sexuality, and a basis for a visible community and public identity. In their narratives of home, the implications of HIV/AIDS constantly resurfaced. Equally important in thinking about the process of homemaking, these men were also no longer grappling with issues of self-esteem or self-acceptance. As 'out' gay men, they did not self impose a layer of marginality through segmenting their sexual lives from family, jobs, friends and neighbours. Through their narratives the process of 'coming out' requires inordinate amounts of self-reflection on what constitutes home. While all these respondents were Anglo-Celtic and middle-class they represented a variety of education levels, employment histories and what Weston refers to as 'queer kinship' including single gay men with non-human children, married gay couples, de facto gay partnerships, and different dimensions of gay fatherhood including divorced gay dads and social dads in families of choice.^{xviii}

SPATIALISED UNDERSTANDINGS OF TOWNSVILLE-AS-HOME

In Townsville, everyday spaces are not asexual – the city reminds us of how places become naturalised sites of heterosexuality. Arriving at Townsville airport the welcome sign depicts the masculine bodies of players in the city's National Rugby League team, *The Cowboys*, proclaiming the city's hegemonic definition of masculinity. Equally, barracks, guns and military personnel on nearly every street corner announce the city's eminence as a garrison, a centre of the Australian defence force and a bastion of hegemonic (hetero)masculinities. On the streets, sexuality is monitored closely by the surveillance of the heterosexual gaze. Many participants spoke of carefully monitoring their conversation, clothing and comportment to conceal their sexuality in the inner and outer suburbs of Townsville. In 2000, the unacceptability to be openly lesbian or gay in Townsville was underscored by the bombing of the Queensland AIDS Council Offices. In the aftermath, the local media dubbed Townsville the 'homophobic capital of Australia'. In 2005, local journalists once again brought non-heterosexual acts under critical public scrutiny in the more spatially marginalised public spaces of beats.^{xix} These reports wrongly equated same-sex male desire with paedophilia. Clearly, opportunities to express acts of homosexuality without anxiety of disclosure publicly suggests the importance in Townsville of the 'privacy' of houses and the sole commercial gay venue known as *The Sovereign*. For the not-so-young gay males, however, Townsville's sole commercial gay space was never evoked as *homelike*, instead being described as a 'shit

hole', the 'happy funeral', and 'vile'. On the surface, Townsville would not appear a good place to live openly with a non-heterosexual subjectivity. However, older gay men do not live as either victims or outsiders of either the *homonormative* or *heteronormative* societies, but consider Townsville-as-home.

For mature gay males who call Townsville home, the town is integral to their subjectivity. It is through experiences of the spaces of Townsville-as-home that value and significance is given to their lives. We contend that these respondent's privileging of a Townsville-based identity is not because their sexuality is unimportant, but, indeed because of the complexity of how respondents (re)configure their sexual subjectivities spatially, across geographical scales. Townsville-as-home reflects the outcome of a process operating over different geographical scales from intersections with the body, house, suburb, city, region, and Sydney. In doing so, Townsville-as-home for older gay males is understood as a site of resistance to homo- and heteronormativity, shaped through the interplay with different axes of their subjectivities over a range of geographical scales.

For example, Russell a retired, single, fifty-something, HIV-positive gay male, has lived in Townsville for over twenty years. He describes himself as a 'provincial queen' who 'couldn't do big cities'. Russell's sense of himself is related to and produced through lived experiences of Townsville-as-home and his perceptions of larger cities as unhomely to older gay males, their status as 'homelands' apparently age-restricted. As Russell goes onto explain, Townsville-as-home enables him to maintain a sense of self-determination through continuing to fulfil the self-designated responsibilities of a 'provincial queen', these include hosting parties for the GLBT community, providing a venue for support groups for HIV-positive people and providing a 'safe house' for young GLBT people who don't have supportive families. In establishing and maintaining this 'queer family' Russell points out that 'the house's job is to make people comfortable'. Russell confirms the idea of home as process of establishing connections with other people, making people feel comfortable and creating a sense of belonging.^{xx} Further, the theme of responsibility echoes Percival's work on older peoples' ideas of home.^{xxi} Importantly, however, in Russell's case these are not parental roles of a conventional nuclear family. Finally, when reflecting on the formation of these social networks, Russell raises the theme of 'ageing in place':

Gordon: You talked about social relationships. Are they important in why you think of Townsville-as-home?

Russell: Yeah. I've been here so long, that you have those established networks over a long period of time. And, you know, if you were to move somewhere else, you'd have to start all over from scratch again. And, that just takes too much, too much energy.

Russell no longer has the desire or energy to rebuild social networks elsewhere. The theme of ageing in place reiterates a general finding of Varley and Blasco's research on older men.^{xxii} However, Russell's understanding of Townsville-as-home emerges from the support he provides and receives from being part of a particular set of social relations that counter homophobia. For Russell, the *process* of making Townsville-as-home promotes his sense of continuity and self-determination as

a provincial queen. Thereby, he offers insights into how Townsville-as-home is an outcome of resisting heteronormativity and affirming sexual difference.

Similarly, Carl, aged in his forties, single, local GLBT activist and business owner, illustrates how the processes of homemaking is an actual site of resistance to heteronormativity. Carl has a high public profile, so that he cannot strategically manage the disclosure of his sexuality. He has learnt to live at ease with such public openness, being proud of his security, and using humour to make his oppressors feel awkward. Carl provides an understanding of home that is both spatialised and a contested site. Carl highlights the 'spatial imperative' of subjectivities constituted through the place of home:

Home is a place where I choose to identify as being the principal place on this earth that is most important to me. That place is Townsville for me. I'm a regional person. I'm an objector towards the big cities. I don't find them comfortable. They're not my way of life.

Carl reveals how he constitutes Townsville-as-home across different geographical scales. He articulates a sense of being comfortable in regions but discomfort in metropolitan centres. Carl goes onto explain his sense of discomfort arises from cities being unable to support his various subjectivities as an older, politically-active, gay male who does not live through his sexuality alone:

When I go to Sydney and Melbourne and the bigger cities now, I enjoy going down there for my two or three weeks' holidays and hitting the bars and clubs. But, within 24 hours I'll be standing in that club by myself, standing against the wall or at the bar surrounded by hundreds of gay people that I would never get to experience in a place like Townsville. And, I can be so surrounded by all of that sex and that sexuality and still feel totally, absolutely alone and emotionally isolated. So, to me, what is more important than sex is my self, my feeling of self, and my feeling of satisfaction with who I am, and sexuality is only a part of that.

Living in Townsville, Carl acknowledges the importance of the commercial gay venues available in metropolitan centres in establishing and maintaining a sexual identity.^{xxiii} However, the 'gay fix' offered by Sydney is insufficient for Carl, even with high levels of self-esteem, to feel at home. For Carl, neither Sydney nor Melbourne is perceived as a 'gay mecca' or centre of community. Further, Carl suggests how the commercial gay spaces of Sydney particularly evoke the celebration and normalisation of 'youth', and this is a key source of his 'emotional isolation':

I've looked around at my friends. I've looked at the community at large, you know, older gay men, there is very little place for them anywhere, you know.

For Carl, inner-city venues privilege the creation of looks, fashion and body image in producing normative gay male subjectivities. So while he enjoys the possibilities of expressing his sexuality in commercial gay venues, his feeling of connection with other gay males is largely broken by the age of his body.

Carl points to the complex and politicised interplay between Townsville and his subjectivities in why he experiences Townsville-as-home. In particular, the persecution of non-heterosexual identities through homophobia and establishing a GLBT community are crucial to giving meaning to his life:

My sense of home is all about not only being an active participant in my community, but a place where my community allows me to actively participate and somewhere I feel that I can achieve and have a sense of purpose.

For Carl, sexualised processes of oppression through homophobia have produced a very different conceptualisation of home to the conventional heteronormative ideal of a nuclear family house-as-home. For Carl, Townsville-as-home, simultaneously, opens-up and closes-down his sexual subjectivity. In the context of the process of oppression of African-American people, hooks has also noted the importance of the politicised role of home as a site of resistance and the paradoxical qualities of home as a place of oppression and resistance.^{xxiv}

HOUSE-AS-HOME

Houses are a significant space within older gay male lives in the process of making Townsville home. In Townsville, as elsewhere, the suburban housing stock is designed and built for the needs of heteropatriarchal families.^{xxv} Paradoxically, while houses may have been designed for patriarchal family needs and imagined as the domain for heterosexist gender relations, replete with 'master' bedrooms,^{xxvi} this has not disallowed older gay men from feeling 'at home' in this space. In comparison to older heterosexual men, our respondents had no problem in relaxing in the house.^{xxvii} However, respondents varied significantly in how their sexuality was performed and experienced in the house-as-home. Six emergent, yet mutually constituted themes are apparent in the process of making house-a-home: privacy, family, sexual self, caring, comfort, and reconciliation of the self. Above all, privacy from the surveillance of the heterosexual gaze is crucial to the processes of making a house-a-home.

Brendan, a sixty something year old, divorced, single gay male dad, alludes to the importance of privacy in the process of transforming his house into a home.

I wanted total privacy. I like getting my gear off in the sun, so I built walls around it to give me the privacy and put the pool in. ... I wanted privacy paramount. I needed something small. I am not a great housekeeper, so I didn't want something that was [pause]. I'm not a show person in that I don't want to show off. I'm quite happy for people to come in small groups to entertain. But, I never set out to be a glam type person or I buy things for myself not to impress other people.

Brendan underscores the importance of privacy to prevent neighbours and pedestrians from exercising surveillance over the activities in his house and backyard. His practices confirm Johnston and Valentine's point that the privacy of the house-as-home provides a space where 'inhabitants can escape the disciplinary practices that regulate our bodies in everyday life'.^{xxviii} As Brendan suggests, privacy enables him to walk

around naked. Brendan goes on to explain that the privacy of his house-as-home also enabled him to create opportunities to express his sexuality:

Brendan: I haven't brought many people back home, but people that I have met, here at the beach, I say, 'Do you want to come back'. ... It's been very successful, in as much as I've opened my home ... that itself, to let someone come in to your home. A couple of people have been well educated, married of course, who enjoyed the whole thing in a secretive way, who very early on in the piece say, 'You know I'm married'. Which, you could have picked anyway. So, it's there, and yeah, they've rung me when they've come through Townsville.

Gordon: So your home is now helping those people in an emotional way?

Brendan: Yes, because they can't let anyone see. No one's going to look over the fence. They can feel relaxed and they are usually affectionate people. So what's probably great about being a mature person and so inexperienced, is that you can only go on learning. And it must be very hard for some guy of 35 who's been there, done everything there is.

Buildings fences and installing blinds prevented anyone seeing Brendan's bodily habits and daily activities. As Young asserts, privacy enables the control necessary for enacting and materialising personal subjectivities through home spaces.^{xxix} Consequently, this control enabled Brendan to use his domestic space to narrate his subjectivities. His sexuality, while sometimes spilling out of the bedroom into the backyard, is always kept invisible from the close scrutiny of neighbours. For Brendan, this 'closeting' of sexuality was deemed essential not only to prevent any forms of homophobic abuse but also to maintain the confidentiality of sexual partners, whose lives were often enmeshed within heterosexual familial identities. At the same time, erecting borders enabled freedom.

However, the privacy of the house-as-home cannot always assure either anonymity or confidentiality. Brendan spoke of how he had been blackmailed after disclosing his identity to a man he met at a beat, then invited back to his house. This incident he immediately reported to the police. Brendan's narrative illustrates Gorman-Murray's argument of how the beats become an extension of the house-as-home through how a chosen sexual partner is taken back to the privacy of bedrooms for male-to-male sex.^{xxx} Yet, once invited into the confines of a house, privacy can no longer be assured. The privacy of Brendan's home was rendered public through how his use of house-as-home interacted with his the intimate homosex of the 'beat'.

While all our participants understand the house-as-home within the conventional concepts of a more or less private space for the social relationships of a 'family,' they all challenge the hegemonic values of family practices, composition and relationships. For example, Phillip – a single, fifty something gay social dad – noted how the social relationships that comprised his understanding of home are outside the dominant norms of the heterosexual familial-based gender relations.

Gordon: What does home mean to you?

Phillip: Well, I've often wondered about this. And as I've moved around a little bit, haven't had a blood family, well a generation of my own, I thought of being more of a free spirit. And, I could travel anywhere. So, I've moved around a bit. ... I wondered whether I had a different feeling of home to what straight people had. Home was their family, the family home, the house and cars and swimming pools and dogs and things. ... One thing that has happened in Townsville is after a period of [fourteen] years, I've now got an extended family, where I've got a godson, who I'm his father figure. So, I guess home comes up as family and friends and social networks and a comfortable knowledge of the area that you're living in.

Phillip's experience confirms Knopp's argument of the importance of movement in the lives of non-heterosexual people.^{xxxix} However, his mobility has been curtailed and his ideas of home have been reconfigured within paternal-sexual subjectivities of a gay social dad. The experience of nurturing has changed how Phillip considered Townsville. Phillip constitutes the spaces of home through social relationships of a family that are outside the normative confines of heterosexual romance and the conventional nuclear family gender-relations. In the space he calls home, while Phillip is a non-monogamous gay male that is questioning and rejecting conventional understandings of gender roles and family life constituted through house-as-home, he simultaneously identifies himself as a 'father'. Hence, through the negotiation of these tensions, possibilities are presented for creative parental gender roles for gay social dads in a co-parenting, nurturing or caring roles rather than the conventional patriarchal role of father.

Equally, none of the respondents experience or imagine the house-as-home as a utopian gay male space. Russell used the term 'battle' when asked if he considered his two-bedroom house as home. His decision to move from a unit to a house with a backyard was partially premised upon 'raising his children' (two cats). However, he went onto explain that the first time he walked to the front-door he reflected upon the conventionally unhomey practice of dying:

When I bought it, when I picked up the key from the solicitor and walked to the front door, my first reaction was, so, this is it, the place I am going to die.

As the place of his imagined death from HIV, Russell's home is coded as place of comfort for people living with HIV, but simultaneously as unhomey, a place controlled by the routine of drugs and visits of health-care professionals. The paradoxical spaces sustained through the practice of dying at home through being neither public nor private, but both, are further explored in the work of Brown and Dyck *et al.*^{xxxix} Russell's reflection illustrates Johnston and Valentine's crucial point about how home spaces operate as sites where various conflicts are brought closer together and are forced into processes of reconciliation.^{xxxiii} Consequently, Russell underscores how the feeling of being at home is often a painful as well as joyful process. Russell alerts us to how home is a site of contest, shaped by struggles to reconcile multiple subject positions.

CONCLUSIONS

This article makes a contribution to discussions of sexuality in non-metropolitan places through highlighting how older gay males in the process of making a place to call home produce 'provincial paradoxes'. By provincial paradoxes we mean home spaces that are imbued with contradictions that allows for the simultaneous occupation of dualistic categories such as centre and margin, inside and outside, public and private, homely and unhomey.^{xxxiv} At one scale, paradoxical meanings of Townsville-as-home are an outcome of how neither Sydney nor Townsville can be categorised as either centre or margin, but are simultaneously both. On the one hand, some older gay males position the 'gay scene' in Sydney as central to providing a 'gay fix'. On the other hand, some often felt marginalised because their age or body shape did not conform to the *homonormative* script. The gay scene was not always a place of affirmation. Conversely, in Townsville, while they acknowledged how they do not have the gay venues or social support facilities of Sydney, and were constantly marginalised by heterosexual surveillance, one important way Townsville became home was through the establishment of a range of social networks that could address the politics of sexuality within institutions of oppression. At the scale of the house-as-home the concept of paradoxical spaces is equally relevant in explaining the processes by which older gay males are at home in Townsville. On the one hand, house-as-home is shaped by conventional ideas of privacy, family and comfort. On the other hand, these conventional ideas of house-as-home are troubled by how public and private lives become disrupted in a range of ways including the use of beats, the health care of people living with HIV/AIDS, and the everyday family lives of gay couples and gay dads. Older gay male houses-as-home are ambiguous, challenging conventional norms of gender and sexuality. Understanding home as provincial paradoxical spaces provides a helpful concept to provide insights into how non-heterosexual subjectivities are sustained beyond the metropolis.

ⁱ For other critiques, see: Anne-Marie Fortier, 'Coming home: queer migration and multiple evocations of home,' *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 4 (2001): 405-424; Andrew Gorman-Murray, 'Rethinking queer migration through the body,' *Social and Cultural Geography* 8 (2007), in press.

ⁱⁱ Richard Phillips, Diane Watt, and David Shuttleton (eds), *De-Centring Sexualities: Politics and Representations Beyond the Metropolis*, London: Routledge, 2000.

ⁱⁱⁱ James Duncan and David Lambert, 'Landscapes of home,' in James Duncan, Nula Johnson and Richard Schein (eds), *A Companion to Cultural Geography*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2004, pp. 387.

^{iv} Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling, *Home*, London: Routledge, 2006.

^v Iris Marion Young, 'House and home: feminist variations on a theme,' in *On Female Body Experience: 'Throwing Like a Girl' and Other Essays*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 140.

^{vi} Andrew Gorman-Murray, 'Reconfiguring domestic values: meanings of home for gay men and lesbians,' *Housing, Theory and Society* 24 (2007), in press.

vii Elspeth Probyn, 'The spatial imperative of subjectivity,' in Kay Anderson, Mona Domosh, Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift(eds), *Handbook of Cultural Geography*, London: Sage, 2003, pp. 290-299.

viii Louise Johnson, *Placebound: Australian Feminist Geographies*, South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000.

ix Gill Valentine, '(Hetero)sexing space: lesbian perceptions and experiences of everyday spaces,' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 11, 4 (1993): 395-413; Gill Valentine, Tracey Skelton and Ruth Butler, 'Coming out and outcomes: negotiating lesbian and gay identities with, and in, the family,' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 21, 4 (2003): 479-499; Lynda Johnston and Gill Valentine, 'Wherever I lay my girlfriend, that's my home: the performance and surveillance of lesbian identities in domestic environments,' in David Bell and Gill Valentine (eds), *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities*, London: Routledge, 1995, pp. 99-113; Johnson, *Placebound*.

x Sarah Elwood, 'Lesbian living spaces: multiple meanings of home,' in Gill Valentine (ed) *From Nowhere to Everywhere: Lesbian Geographies*, New York: Haworth, 2000, pp. 11-28; Johnston and Valentine, 'Wherever I lay my girlfriend'.

xi Victoria Robinson, Jenny Hockey and Angela Meah, 'What I used to do ...on my mother's settee: spatial and emotional aspects of heterosexuality in England,' *Gender, Place and Culture* 11 (2004): 417-435; Andrew Gorman-Murray, 'Queering the family home: narratives from gay, lesbian and bisexual youth coming out in supportive family homes in Australia,' *Gender, Place and Culture* 14 (2007), in press.

xii Elwood, 'Lesbian living spaces'; Jacqui Gabb, 'Locating lesbian parent families: everyday negotiations of lesbian motherhood in Britain,' *Gender, Place and Culture* 12 (2005): 419-432; Johnston and Valentine, 'Wherever I lay my girlfriend'.

xiii Andrew Gorman-Murray, 'Homeboys: uses of home by gay Australian men,' *Social and Cultural Geography*, 7, 1 (2006): 53-69; Andrew Gorman-Murray, 'Queering home or domesticating deviance? Interrogating gay domesticity through lifestyle television,' *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 9, 2 (2006): 227-247; Andrew Gorman-Murray, 'Gay and lesbian couples at home: identity work in domestic space,' *Home Cultures*, 3, 2 (2006): 145-168; Andrew Gorman-Murray, 'Reconfiguring domestic values'; Stewart Kirby and Iain Hay, '(Hetero)sexing space: gay men and 'straight' space in Adelaide, South Australia,' *Professional Geographer*, 49, 3 (1997): 295-305; Valentine, Skelton and Butler, 'Coming out and outcomes'.

xiv Anne-Marie Bouthillette, 'Gentrification by gay male communities: a case study of Toronto's Cabbagetown,' in Stephen Whittle (ed) *The Margins of the City: Gay Men's Urban Lives*, Ashgate: Aldershot, 1994, pp. 65-8; Larry Knopp, 'Some theoretical implications of gay involvement in the urban land market,' *Political Geography Quarterly* 9 (1990): 337-352; Mickey Lauria and Larry Knopp, 'Towards an analysis of the role of gay communities in the urban renaissance,' *Urban Geography* 6 (1985): 152-169.

xv David Bell, 'One-handed geographies: an archaeology of public sex,' in Grant Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter (eds) *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Spaces, Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, 1997, pp.81-90; Maurice van Lieshout, 'Leather nights in the woods: locating male homosexuality and sadomasochism in a Dutch highway rest area,' in Grant Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter (eds) *Queers in Space: Communities,*

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