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Terri Mayo

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## PERSONAL POLITICS

by Terri Mayo\*

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**AUTHOR'S NOTE:** It will be apparent that a great deal of this article is based on my own life experiences. In accord with the feminist idea that narrative is viable scholarship, I have made no attempt to extract myself from this article. The point of this article is to demonstrate that the lesbian and gay civil rights movement is by its nature an intimate, personal struggle. As Andrew Kopkind illustrated in *The Nation*, "Not for 30 years has a class of Americans endured the peculiar pain and exhilaration of having their civil rights and moral worth - their very humanness - debated at every level of public life. Lesbians and gay men today wake up to headlines alternately disputing their claim to equality under the law, supporting their right to family status, denying their desire, affirming their social identity. They fall asleep to TV talk shows where generals call them perverts, liberals plead for tolerance and politicians weigh their votes." Andrew Kopkind, *The Gay Movement*, THE NATION, May 3, 1993, at 580.

I feel as though I am beginning to wake up from a rather long nightmare. One that continues to send out tendrils into my waking life. It is the sort of nightmare that has me trying desperately to flee a pursuing assailant. The faster I run, the closer he gets. The faster I run, the softer the ground becomes until each step I take finds me sinking knee deep in sucking mud. This nightmare has lasted the duration of the last campaign season. I have often felt engulfed in a season of hatred from the right-wing love-fest of the 1992 Republican National Convention to the bigoted posturing of the Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA) here in lovely Oregon.

To be a gay man or lesbian in Oregon following the bitterly won defeat of Ballot Measure 9 is to continually feel pursued, and to be haunted by the hateful language of the ballot measure.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it is an attempt to simultaneously heal the invisible wounds left behind while continuing to fight the brush fires the OCA has ignited throughout the state.<sup>2</sup> Like countless lesbians and gay men, I am only now beginning

\* Terri Mayo is a 1992 graduate of the University at Buffalo School of Law. She is practicing as a prosecutor in the State of Oregon.

<sup>1</sup> In relevant part, the Measure sought to amend the Oregon State Constitution to declare homosexuality (and presumably lesbianism) "abnormal, wrong, unnatural, and perverse..." The OCA wanted this viewpoint taught in Oregon public schools by teaching that homosexuality is "to be discouraged and avoided." The OCA also sought to prohibit government money or agencies from "promoting" homosexuality.

<sup>2</sup> In the wake of its statewide defeat, the Oregon Citizens Alliance, founded and led by Lon Mabon, has now begun to bring local ballot measures in small towns throughout Oregon as well as on the county level. These "son of 9" measures are watered down versions of Ballot Measure 9. The OCA probably hopes that by eliminating the condemnation language of the statewide measure they can repeat their success in Springfield and duplicate the right-wing victory in Colorado.

The new initiatives order public officials not to,

"make, pass, adopt, or enforce any minority status...or any similar concepts, based on homosexuality or which establishes any categorical provision such as 'sexual orientation'..."

This language was taken from a press release issued in January by the "No Special Rights Committee." One interesting point is that out of the eight proposed county charter changes and twenty-five city charter changes, the OCA has conveniently avoided adopting any such changes in its own hometown of Wilsonville.

On May 6, 1993 the OCA filed for a new statewide initiative. The new measure is called "The Minority Status and Child Protection Act." Again, this new initiative has removed the inflammatory language of the failed measure.

The first vote on the local ordinances is to be held in Cornelius on May 18, 1993. Sura Rubenstein, *New Anti-Gay Rights*

to assess the psychic damage that the Oregon Citizens Alliance has left in its wake. It may be impossible to measure. After all, how does one hear voices silenced by fear, genuine fear?

However, what the fight over Ballot Measure 9 illustrates best is that what appears to be purely political is mostly personal. It shows that for lesbian and gay civil rights activists, the line blurs dramatically between what is needed in the public domain and what can be left to private reality. The lesson of Measure 9's defeat is that the separation between the personal and the political is a myth. It is a lesson that must be learned if there is to be any lasting change. In order for groups like the OCA to be forever quashed, lesbians and gay men and our allies must be the ones to frame the debate over civil rights based on the *true* lifestyles of lesbians and gay men.

The only way to confront the stereotypes successfully trotted out by the OCA and used to appeal to the fears of the general population is to personalize the fight.<sup>3</sup> In the vacuum of a dry political debate, it is far too easy to forget the lives affected by ballot measures that seek to impose a specific, narrow religious dogma on the rest of society. While using biblical quotes to justify bigotry, proponents of Ballot Measure 9 have forgotten that their own children, family members, neighbors and co-workers will be affected. The only way to ensure that average Oregonians understand what is at stake is to put familiar faces to their imagined enemies. This is precisely how Measure 9 was ultimately defeated.

## I. THE POLITICAL

Oregon is not unlike many other states where big city progressive attitudes are tempered by rural conservatism. Oregon's reputation as a progressive State, while well-deserved, hides a history rich in bigotry of every form.<sup>4</sup> From Oregon's beautiful coast to its deserts, the State is populated with a mix of liberal and conservative ideologies. I was naive to think that Oregon was different from other places I have lived, but the longer I live here the more I realize how similar it is to other places. It has become just another place to be wary, to calculate personal disclosure with extreme caution. It has become just another place to be afraid.

I started writing this personal commentary on the 54th anniversary of Kristallnacht.<sup>5</sup> And it is tempting, I admit, to find infinite parallels between the early Nazi laws and policies, the precursors to later pogroms against Europe's Jewish population, and the OCA's overall agenda in Oregon. Like the OCA, the Nazi agenda covered a wide range of prejudices.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the OCA's attempt to prohibit all but the

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*Measure Filed*, OREGONIAN, May 7, 1993, at A1.

<sup>3</sup> During the campaign for Ballot Measure 9, the OCA distributed various leaflets to Oregonians. Playing on long held, fallacious beliefs, the OCA linked homosexuality to pedophilia, violence and AIDS. Brian T. Meehans & Bill Graves, *OCA Stirs Emotions with Its 2nd Flier*, OREGONIAN, September 25, 1993, at D1.

In addition, the OCA distributed the video "The Gay Agenda." This video included highly selective shots of various gay pride celebrations, focusing on fringe elements of the lesbian and gay civil rights community.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Sullivan, *Postcard from Oregon: Revolution Number 9*, THE NEW YORKER, November 9, 1992 at 67, 70. The state had a large contingent of Ku Klux Klan members during the 1920's and came into the Union as a state that banned African Americans from moving into the state.

<sup>5</sup> On November 9, 1938, 5 years after Adolph Hitler had become Chancellor of Germany, synagogues and Jewish businesses were destroyed by Nazis and their sympathizers.

<sup>6</sup> The Nazi agenda did not draw the line with one specific group. There were the Nuremberg Laws aimed at Jews in Germany relegating them to second class citizens. There was the "Reichs-Center for the Fight Against Homosexuality and Abortion." Nazism sought to return women to their "proper" roles as mothers. Erwin J. Haeberle, *Swastika, Pink Triangle and Yellow Star: The Destruction of Sexology and the Persecution of Homosexuals in Nazi Germany*, HIDDEN FROM HISTORY: RECLAIMING THE GAY AND LESBIAN PAST, at 365, 370-372, 375-377 (Martin B. Duberman et al. eds., 1990).

most narrow and bigoted views of lesbians and gay men in government and schools parallels various laws and priorities of the early Nazi efforts.<sup>7</sup>

Many things that happened during the Ballot Measure 9 campaign have haunting similarities to the early Nazi push in Berlin. There have been roaming bands of thugs, Nazi skinheads, who harass people on the street. Churches have been desecrated with anti-gay and anti-Semitic graffiti.<sup>8</sup> Hattie Cohens, a lesbian, and Brian Mock, a gay man, were burned alive in their home by youth with ties to Nazi skinhead organizations.<sup>9</sup>

It is tempting to draw the parallels. However, while the OCA may share similar ideological notions of morality and cultural superiority with Nazi ideology, Lon Mabon, the leader of the OCA, is not Himmler. And the OCA is not the infant version of the Gestapo. The value in the comparison is merely to remember that political ideologies wrapped in the credibility of the Bible can get horribly out of control. Lost somewhere in all the discussions about morality is an acknowledgment that the United States is a pluralistic country where most fundamental tenets of citizenship and religious tolerance are embodied in the Constitution.

The Constitution protects everyone's right to practice their religious beliefs and to be free from state imposed or state sanctioned religion. It must be understood when religious minorities like the OCA attempt to force the rest of society to conform to their notions of morality, our communal fabric suffers. As in Germany, religions become pitted against each other, neighbor against neighbor.

The damage done to Oregonians during the battle over Ballot Measure 9 runs deeper than national embarrassment. There has developed not so invisible tears in our communal fabric. The very air almost seems to be polluted by opinionated posturing that divides us further and further each day.<sup>10</sup> Our lives as lesbians and gay men are under increasing public scrutiny - scrutiny still saturated by ignorance and stereotype.<sup>11</sup> All across the state, and indeed the nation, lesbians and gay men will be assessing their safety and preparing for what promises to be a cultural war.

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The infamous concentration camps were filled with the various groups singled out by Hitler: Jews, Jehovah's witnesses, communists, gypsies, foreigners and homosexuals. *Id.* at 376-77.

The OCA's agenda extends far beyond attacking lesbians and gay men. In addition to eliminating gay and lesbian civil rights, the OCA seeks to end "redistributionist welfare," promote patriotism, unfettered capitalism, anti-communism and anti-liberalism. To do this, they have received funding from a wide range of sources including a \$64,000 donation from the Senate Republican Campaign Committee chaired by Sen. Phil Gramm, R. Tex. Sura Rubenstein *Measure 9, Oregon's Great Divide*, OREGONIAN, September 20, 1992, at A1.

<sup>7</sup> The OCA's Ballot Measure 9 labeled homosexuality as a sickness and as immoral behavior. They sought to eliminate even the mention of lesbians and gay men in Oregon's schools unless it was to roundly condemn. *supra* note 1.

In Nazi Germany, the infamous Paragraph 175 criminalized any sexual acts between men. And as early as 1933, Hitler began sending gay men to the first of the Nazi concentration camps. By the end of World War II, between 5,000 and 15,000 gay men were sent to the camps. In 1935, Hitler barred Jewish doctors from practicing in public hospitals. Jewish teachers were taken from public schools as poor role models. *supra* note 6, at 370.

If you were to substitute the word 'homosexuals' for Jewish in the preceding, you would have essentially the same arguments spokespeople for the OCA used to justify Ballot Measure 9.

<sup>8</sup> For example, St. Matthew's Roman Catholic Church in Hillsboro, Oregon was set on fire, and "Kill Gays + Catholics", among other brilliant graffiti, was spray painted in the sanctuary. Sullivan, *supra* note 4, at 79.

<sup>9</sup> Diana Elliott *Neighbors Say Beating Led to Fatal Fire: Friends Cite a Pattern of Harassment of a Gay White Man and a Black Lesbian in Salem*, STATESMAN JOURNAL, September 30, 1992, at C1.

While it was initially considered a homophobic attack, evidence was offered at trial to show the attacks were racially motivated.

<sup>10</sup> For instance, there was a 200% increase in gay bashings in the first quarter of 1992. Rubenstein, *supra* note 6, at A1.

<sup>11</sup> Jeffery Schmaltz, *National Soul Search, Homosexuals Wake to See a Referendum: It's On Them*, N. Y. TIMES, January 3,

In Oregon, the OCA's agenda not only includes its anti-homosexual position, but it also represents a broad range attack on all moderate or liberal political ideas. It is a political campaign that feeds on and gains strength in the prejudiced notions of an uninformed populace. The only way to counter this is by educating the public, showing them the real gay and lesbian America in all its diversity and mundaneness. Straight Oregonians must be presented with the face of lesbian and gay America so that they can see it is one strikingly similar to their own.

## II. THE PERSONAL

The feminist idea that the personal is political, and vice versa, has become more apparent to me the longer I live in Oregon. I began coming out many years ago. I chose to be as open as I could be with my friends and colleagues; I could no longer tolerate the lies and half-truths I had to tell in order to be accepted. For the past 14 years I have been able to keep that promise. Now I am not so sure it is worth the danger. Prior to living in Oregon, I was deeply engaged in the struggle for lesbian and gay civil rights at the University at Buffalo School of Law. I took on battles that I knew would follow me beyond my years in law school, battles my straight friends could leave behind after graduation. And now, living and working in a small town in Oregon I am faced with a similar choice - to help put a "face" on the battle for lesbian and gay civil rights or to work quietly behind the scenes.

Straight society's prurient curiosity about our sex lives forces lesbian and gay activists to be exposed in the most intimate ways. Straight America has chosen to talk about homosexuality in a purely sexual context and it is difficult for lesbians and gay men to direct society's attention to the real issue - that of basic human rights. Few are willing or able to withstand the kind of scrutiny needed to raise the debate to a tolerable level. The issue remains "sex" and rarely ever becomes job security or anti-lesbian and gay violence.

For instance, in Buffalo, even the most intimate aspects of my personal life were open to discussion, speculation and, in one case, juvenile graffiti in the law library. People who were associated with me were probed and prodded even by members of the Law School staff and faculty. The exposure seemed necessary at the time in order to persuade people to set aside their bigotry and to get them to treat us with respect, as people deserving of the basic human rights afforded all by the Constitution. It seemed necessary to set aside my right to privacy to demonstrate that lesbians and gay men are just like the rest of society.

To be out in that manner is to be entangled in a distressing conundrum. It is to be fighting for privacy rights, while at the same time being on public display. In addition, those of us who dare to speak out as lesbians and gay men have to suffer the endless analysis and criticism of our more closeted brothers and sisters, or suffer the challenge of our "political correctness" by the more radical elements of our community. This internal criticism points out the central difficulty facing lesbian and gay activists today-- who or what group can or should be our representative in the struggle for human rights. The lesbian and gay community is so racially, ethnically and culturally diverse that one spokesperson cannot possibly speak for all.

However, what my experience in Buffalo and Oregon prove is that a coalition of gay men, lesbians and straight progressives can win small victories, and in some instances change societal attitudes. The most successful method is by directly confronting the myths and stereotypes used by radical right-wing activists

1993, § 4, at 1. Witness the media frenzy surrounding President Clinton's failed attempt to end the ban on lesbians and gay men in the military. It seems the overriding concern here is no longer the mythological threat to national security but straight soldiers fears of wholesale sexual harassment by gay enlistees.

like the OCA. This "revolution", if you can call it that, has come about by those of us at the University at Buffalo and here in Oregon who speak to our neighbors, towns and communities as gay and lesbian citizens

Quietly, a face is being given to faceless lesbian and gay America. The face is one that is strikingly mainstream and strikingly unlike the images put out by the OCA in its videos and flyers. We have been able to show mainstream America that they, in fact, do know someone who is gay or lesbian. We are their sons and daughters, neighbors and co-workers. The potential impact of Ballot Measure 9 was not left to conjecture but was placed in a real life context.

What happened in Sherman County, Oregon, is one extraordinary example of personal politics in action at a grass roots level. In 1988, Ballot Measure 8 was passed. In this referendum, Oregon voted to repeal then Governor Neil Goldschmidt's Executive Order that banned discrimination based on sexual orientation. Sherman voted 63.4% to 36.6% **in favor** of Ballot Measure 8.<sup>12</sup>

However, in 1992, Sherman County residents voted 55.4% to 44.6% **against** Ballot Measure 9. What accounts for an almost 38% shift in voter sympathy? One explanation credits the efforts of one gay man. This long time resident and respected member of the Sherman County community took action. He sent an anonymous letter to the county's registered voters addressing various fallacies in a mailing sent them by the OCA. It was not long before his neighbors in this tiny community figured out who had sent the letter. They then had to deal with the enormous contradiction presented by the OCA's propaganda and their actual experiences with their gay neighbor, whom they considered their friend and respected co-worker.<sup>13</sup>

The level of ignorance-based homophobia is still overwhelming in most of this country despite years of activism in cities like New York or San Francisco. It is precisely this ignorance that had to be overcome in order to squeak out a victory in Oregon. Actions such as those of the gentleman in Sherman County helped to ensure the victory. Ballot Measure 9 failed, but it was by a dangerously close margin.<sup>14</sup> It was only by the endless perseverance of the Oregon lesbian and gay community and our allies that the measure was defeated. However, the battle required a degree of individual exposure unheard of for lesbians and gay men - a risk not to be taken lightly as evidenced by the Sherman County story.

The more familiar civil disobedience tactics used by big city groups like ACT-UP and Queer Nation do not work outside major cities.<sup>15</sup> The Oregon Citizen's Alliance used highly selective and purposefully inflammatory images of gay pride marches to frighten the general populace. The OCA, in a flyer that landed on every doorstep in Oregon, touted the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), as a paradigm of gay and lesbian political groups. We were portrayed as a deviant group of molesters with a secret agenda of recruitment.<sup>16</sup> These images play extremely well in rural areas.

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<sup>12</sup> Rubenstein, *supra* note 6, at A18.

<sup>13</sup> The percentages of the Sherman County votes are taken from voter analysis done by gay and lesbian activists following Ballot Measure 9's defeat, copies of which are with the author of this article. The efforts of the anonymous gay man in Sherman County come from a presentation he made at an organizing meeting I attended in May of 1993.

<sup>14</sup> The final ratio was 56% to 44% against the measure. Rubenstein, *supra* note 10, at A18. I submit that it is no small coincidence that this percentage almost mirrors that in Sherman County.

<sup>15</sup> ACT UP and QUEER NATION are direct action protest groups fighting for increased AIDS awareness and lesbian and gay visibility. They use the time honored tradition of civil disobedience to address these issues.

<sup>16</sup> NAMBLA is a highly controversial organization that promotes lowering the age of consensual sex, among other things. Meehan, *supra* note 3, at 1. Personally speaking (and this may be completely politically incorrect), I know of no gay man or lesbian who supports this group or who thinks they belong in the lesbian and gay civil rights movement. In fact, most people I know had never even heard of them.

I came to Oregon to redefine my private space and in so doing, I have come to realize that it was my refusal to lie about who I am that has fostered the most awareness, not the innumerable press conferences and media events. In Oregon, Ballot Measure 9 was defeated not so much by the national organizations, but by the individual lesbians and gay men who quietly told their neighbors and co-workers, "Hey, it's me they're after, not some stranger." Even these simple acts were dangerous in Oregon for if the measure had passed, neighbors would carry with them information that could ruin countless lives.

I experienced a distressing sense of dislocation and isolated myself for much of the campaign. At first I blamed it on studying for the Oregon Bar Examination. Next, I excused myself because I was adjusting to a new job. I have come to realize in the last month or so that I was afraid, *really afraid*, for the first time in my life to be openly lesbian. I wanted to keep my job and the respect of my co-workers. I wanted to be secure, so I silenced a part of myself. Ultimately, I was at a loss to find a way to counter the stereotypes being offered by OCA supporters as the "gay lifestyle" without putting my future at risk.

You see, I do not support NAMBLA or what they represent. They are not a part of the human rights movement of which I am a part. And they most certainly do not represent the cultural values of the lesbian and gay civil rights movement known to me these past 14 years -- a movement made up of people who work and live just like the rest of mainstream America. The gay and lesbian civil rights movement, in order to counter the increasing successes of the radical right, must become better at exposing America to the real lives of most lesbians and gay men. This requires more of us to become visible.<sup>17</sup>

One example of the importance of visibility is an encounter I had with my next-door neighbor. During the campaign this neighbor put up a "Yes on 9" sign. She did this despite knowing me and knowing I was a lesbian. It served to remind me, in a most profound way, that the battle was not a remote intellectual debate. It was a debate over whether or not I as an individual would be allowed to live in Oregon as an equal citizen. She did take the sign down but it wasn't until the rest of the neighborhood put up "No on 9" signs, and not until she and I had a rather emotional and personal confrontation. It turned out that the source of her support for Measure 9 was one of the infamous OCA videos. It was not until we talked that she realized how narrow a picture the OCA painted of gay and lesbian lifestyles, and how at odds that portrait was from her life experiences with her lesbian neighbors. She has put my face on the image and no longer sees the imagined enemies of OCA propaganda.

An occurrence that happened on the grounds of a Methodist Church in Portland is another more telling example of the ease with which religious zealots blank out reality while pursuing a politically tinged religious crusade. While visiting the "Anne Frank Out in the World" exhibit, I was approached by a conservatively dressed woman. She smiled and advised me that I needed to read the Bible. It seems my sin was wearing a "No on 9" button. I asked her if she had forgotten the horrors depicted in the Anne Frank

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<sup>17</sup> For an interesting discussion of this very issue see David Jefferson, *Some Marchers in Suits May Consider Fetishes and Male 'Nuns' a Real Drag*, WALL ST. J., April 23, 1993, at A16.

On April 25, 1993, close to one million lesbians and gay men and our allies marched for civil rights in Washington, D.C. Throughout the weekend I was struck by how many more mainstream lesbians and gay men were visible. Even the press coverage of the march seemed to steer away from covering only the flamboyant, and focused on the vast diversity of the marchers.

We can never be forced to ignore an important part of our history - meaning, we must never forget that the modern day gay and lesbian civil rights movement was started during the Stonewall Riots in New York City in the 1960s. It was then that African American drag queens and butch lesbians fought back against the routine police raids on gay bars in Greenwich Village. All I am suggesting is that while we honor diversity in our community, that diversity must include those of us with more, admittedly boring, mainstream lifestyles.

exhibit. The irony was completely lost to her, as was the obvious parallel in history between the exhibit she had just seen and the ongoing battle over Ballot Measure 9.

This is what happens when questions concerning the civil rights of an entire group of people are treated like a sterile political issue which ignores the human factor. Lesbians and gay men are people with ordinary lives, families, and jobs dealing with the same day to day issues and priorities as anyone else. Folks like this woman in Portland and her leader Lon Mabon, seldom if ever, address the people they claim to know so much about. It is the "issue" that claims all importance to them. They are completely blind to the affects of their thinly veiled religious rhetoric.

This type of political/religious bigotry will never be addressed by the direct action tactics of ACT UP or Queer Nation. One effective way of dealing with ingrained homophobia, the basis for "Yes on 9" votes, is to destroy the myths that create the ignorance. Americans will listen to their sons, daughters, or next door neighbors.<sup>18</sup>

I have come to realize that in this country at this time, the most revolutionary act I could engage in is to live my life. It is not something I am entirely comfortable with; I am much better at confrontation. However, I at least know that none of my neighbors or co-workers voted for Ballot Measure 9. I am sure it was in no small way a result of having become friends with someone they knew to be lesbian. And if I am to be made to bleed in this season of homophobic religious zealotry, I will do what is necessary to protect myself. However, I will continue to keep the issue personal by speaking quietly to my neighbors and friends where I assume it is safe to be me.

**EDITORIAL NOTE:** On May 14, 1993, three young men were convicted of murder in the racially motivated firebombing of an apartment house that resulted in the deaths of Hattie Cohens and Brian Mock. The defendants received sentences ranging from 25 years to 35 years. Two of the defendants, Sean Edwards, 22, and Leon Tucker, 22, both of whom each tossed a firebomb, are self-described white separatists. The third defendant, Philip Wilson Jr., 21, received the longest sentence of 35 years. The Judge dismissed his apologies for his act in the murders and based the sentence on Wilson's past misdemeanor conviction for spraying white-supremacist slogans and symbols on a state park bridge, his leadership role among local Skinheads and his willingness to brand himself with a Nazi swastika. Cheryl Martinis, *Fatal Firebombing Nets Long Terms*, OREGONIAN, May 14, 1993, at C1.

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<sup>18</sup> An example of the power of personalizing the debate over gay and lesbian civil rights is the recent confirmation proceedings of President Clinton's nomination of Roberta Achtenberg as an assistant secretary of housing and urban development in charge of fair housing and equal opportunity. Her nomination was met with ardent opposition by conservatives. Achtenberg, a 42-year-old lawyer and member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, is a gay and lesbian civil rights activist who is openly lesbian. Conservative members of the Senate, in particular Republican Senator Jesse Helms, North Carolina, used the debate as a forum to express their homophobic rhetoric. Helms went so far as to show a video of Achtenberg participating in the San Francisco gay and lesbian pride parade to other senators. Following the debate, which seldom if ever was focused on Achtenberg's qualifications for the position, long-time Democratic Senator Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island, powerfully and quietly addressed the myths and stereotypes relied on by Senator Helms and his ilk. Senator Pell informed the senate that his daughter Julia is a lesbian and as a result he has "... a personal reason for supporting this nomination." He further stated, referring to his daughter, "I would not want to see her barred from a government job because of her orientation." This revelation by a father about his daughter rehumanized the debate, a debate often characterized by the demonization of the group of people whose rights are so often casually tossed aside. Merrill Hartson, *Senator Backs Lesbian Nominee*, OREGONIAN, May 22, 1993, at E1. Helen Dewar, *Senate Confirms Achtenberg 58-31 to HUD Equal-Opportunity Office*, OREGONIAN, May 25, 1993, at A8.