



## A Stitch in Time: Public Emotionality and the Repertoire of Citizenship

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The narratives resonating from the AIDS Memorial Quilt speak to its power as a cultural text. The snapshots of lives lost to government neglect and incurable disease spark feelings of rage and sentimentality, generating both alienation and bonds of stranger-relationality.<sup>1</sup> If AIDS represents a “crisis of signification,” the incomplete narratives of the Quilt are an embodiment of that calamity.<sup>2</sup> It gains its emotive force not from a unified message, but from a series of incommensurable tensions: it is both utopian and apocalyptic; therapeutic and traumatic; speaks to the universal limits of the body and to individual demise; transcends time but alters the spaces in which it is situated; it is oddly normative even as it is discerningly queer. The fragmentary narratives of those lost to AIDS necessitate onlookers to negotiate these complications, navigating the discursive gaps of this anomalous memorial.<sup>3</sup>

Many of the Quilt’s panels could speak to the multifarious implications stemming from these tensions. One panel elucidating this rhetorical

quagmire was unveiled as the memorial was displayed on the Washington Mall for the third of its five complete showings. The *Washington Post* featured the story of a man named "Robert W." At the time, Robert was one of the latest people to have his name added to the vastly expanding Quilt. Though the country was eight years into the epidemic, the atmosphere for people living with HIV/AIDS remained volatile. Out of concern for their safety and his legacy, Robert's family stitched a strip of blue cloth across his last name. On it, they embroidered a message: "Family fear removed this name. Love can remove this patch."<sup>4</sup> The anxiety expressed by his family was exceeded only by the profound hope they embraced for the capacity of others to love. Fear and hope, remembrance and evolution, immobilization and exigency all radiate from the family's emotive call for action. Imploring participants to transform their attitudes, this single panel illustrated that the love of one family was insufficient for reconstituting debilitating prejudices in the polity. To be public required a wider disposition toward kinship and identification. The collective effort to eliminate that swatch would alter the meaning of Robert's panel, the composition of the Quilt, and the performances it enabled. Of course, love alone could not promise transformation—this was a faith in strangers that held no guarantees.

This moving, though little noticed, act draws attention to the memorial's unusual aptitude for constituting publics and civic identities. The Quilt is a peripatetic site of public emotionality that engenders repertoires of public citizenship. It embodies the emotive aspects of citizenship typically shunned in democratic practice, including normative rhetorics that have been privileged in AIDS discourse, such as science and public health. The emotive quality of the Quilt has played a central role in both resisting dominant cultural discourses and conforming to neo-liberal narratives highlighting individualism and equality. However, the Quilt complicates the process of entextualization because the narratives it perpetuates are continually unfolding, always being stitched together, even as they appear to stabilize over time. In short, the Quilt has adopted an itinerant peculiarity not only in space, but in time, allowing it to act as a site where narrative understandings of AIDS and stranger-relationship can be constantly reimagined. Though the Quilt's purpose and visibility are seemingly diminishing in the public sphere, its potential as a mobile

scene of public emotionality remains a powerful conduit for addressing the challenges of HIV/AIDS.

For the purposes of this essay, the Quilt is conceptualized not as an archive, but a performative repertoire of civic belonging.<sup>5</sup> Diana Taylor notes that the repertoire "enacts embodied memory: performance, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing—in short all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge."<sup>6</sup> People do not simply recount history when they are immersed in the Quilt's miles of fabric. In their encounters with this unusual memorial, people become active participants in the creation of knowledge about the impact of AIDS and its circulation in the polity. Displayed in spaces generally associated with public life (churches, schools, rallies), the Quilt gives presence to the mediation of public emotionality and its centrality in the polis. Unlike the archive, which works to stabilize texts, signifiers, and practices, the repertoire is exacted in scenarios forged in cultural fantasies and executed in the performances of everyday life.<sup>7</sup> These performances edify enigmatic histories "always in situ, every particular instantiation marked by the confluence of traditions in a particular scenario."<sup>8</sup> The Quilt was conceived at the juncture of neglect, absence, and betrayal, instigating a host of passions at a time when rituals of public mourning for AIDS-related deaths were limited. The hope projected by the Quilt and the indictment it symbolically conveys allowed loss to be publicly communicated in ways not previously imagined. Indeed, even as the meaning of AIDS continues to shift, and the Quilt rapidly disappears from view, the emotive repertoires it enables still have the potential to resist normative conceptions of disease and citizenship. The Quilt itself is empty without the meanings generated by our practices. Like Robert W.'s family, the Quilt's burden is not to reconstitute the norms of the polity: it is but one panel that can move us closer to the goals of motivating government agencies, educating publics, and bringing strangers closer together, knowing all the while that identification never assures action.

This essay unfolds in four segments. First, rational appeals used to explain the epidemic are briefly reviewed to illustrate how the official discourses of science and government gave rise to the emotive necessity of the Quilt. Second, having evolved into a national memorial, the public emotionality engendered by the Quilt is explored for both its peculiar

embodiment and its role in cultural memory. The complications of public emotionality in the entextualization process are probed in the third section. Finally, the ways in which these repertoires of civic performance both limit AIDS activism and expand the potential for stranger-relatedness are revisited.

### *AIDS and the Limits of Reasoned Mourning*

The devastation of AIDS is perhaps the greatest tragedy of Ronald Reagan's administration. The common refrain that Reagan refused to utter the word "AIDS" publicly for seven years speaks to the monstrous political environment that confronted people with HIV/AIDS and their loved ones. This carefully planned public relations campaign, one that perpetuated negligence and paranoia, positioning people with HIV/AIDS as dangerous creatures lurking in the shadows of American life, continues to wreak havoc.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Yingling rightfully contended that "the benign neglect of government agencies makes the epidemic a passive-aggressive act on the part of rational society."<sup>10</sup> It is too easy to assert that high-ranking government officials such as the president feared "the Other." The White House's overt silence and refusal to combat fears about people living with HIV/AIDS illuminates the political rationalism that allowed erratic information to disseminate throughout the polity and advance the careers of politicians, demagogues, and bigots.<sup>11</sup>

While the administration seemed content with its silence on AIDS, medical officials and scientists (who were usually connected to government institutions) addressed the epidemic in both productive and harmful ways. The development of a language to signify the many facets of HIV/AIDS created opportunities for sparking initiatives to combat ignorance, but it also gave rise to a classification system that (further) stigmatized various communities, including gay men, sex workers, and Haitians.<sup>12</sup> Paula Treichler explains, "the construction of scientific facts, the existence of a name plays a crucial role in providing a coherent and unified signifier—a shorthand way of signifying what may be a complex, inchoate, or little-understood concept." Unfortunately, the practice of creating a signifier for what is a bewildering syndrome is often lost in

translation when relocated to the public sphere. The original signification of AIDS as GRID (Gay Related Immunodeficiency), for example, left many people believing they were insulated from the reach of AIDS. When individual cases materialized outside of the aforementioned classification systems, scientists often assumed those aberrations would simply fall into place.<sup>13</sup>

The reliance on medicine and science allowed for the constitution and perpetuation of several partial truths about AIDS. While science rightfully told the world HIV could be prevented by using condoms, could not be spread by casual contact, and made no distinctions among human bodies, it also erroneously asserted that AIDS originated in Africa, that health-conscious gay men should not be allowed to give blood, and that testing drugs on impoverished populations in non-Western countries was in the best interest of the people being exploited.<sup>14</sup> Cindy Patton observes that any "cultural stereotype or political idea that could be recirculated or challenged by this association with science had far greater power than a stereotype that stood on its own."<sup>15</sup> Narratives supported by science generally play a critical role in the acceptance of public health policies, and in AIDS rhetoric the most egregious of stereotypes could be advanced with the help of science. These negative associations did not exclusively infringe on gay men or drug users. They also explain why many people believed they were immune to HIV: they were never a component of cultural narratives grounded in "empirical fact."<sup>16</sup>

As AIDS continued to march resolutely toward the homes of people around the globe, the epidemic quickly became articulated with notions of liberal democracy in America. Across the country a campaign was under way that asserted "we're all equally at risk" and "we're all in this together."<sup>17</sup> This attitude, which democratized disease, fabricated a false notion of unity by allowing all to mourn, even when losses were categorically unequivocal. Themes of individual responsibility, the destruction of the nuclear family, and protecting the borders had become fixtures in the media.<sup>18</sup> The year the Quilt had its debut the government began prohibiting people who were HIV-positive from entering the country.<sup>19</sup> Flowing throughout official discourses was a simultaneous essentialism and segmentation of identities, borders, and sex practices. In the wake of these isolating practices, the Quilt provided an emotional outlet for scores of

people who knew little of science or public health, but everything about the loved ones they were consecrating.

The rational narratives guiding AIDS discourse did not provide a cathartic forum for people coming to grips with the impact of the epidemic in their everyday lives. Government silence left a void, and scientific "discoveries" offered little comfort. The rational discourses being disseminated left a conspicuous absence. Shifting the focus from statistical oneness to political wholeness, the Quilt became a site of "popular civil religion."<sup>20</sup> It made AIDS "meaningful in a way that allows those affected and infected by it to secure it as an experience and not merely as information."<sup>21</sup> Even if we accept this claim, the panels on the Quilt provide remarkably little information about the people it enshrines. We know almost nothing of people like Robert W. (and sometimes no name is embroidered at all). Those narrative features the Quilt fails to express leave a space where humanity's capacity for ingenuity beams bright. At the heart of that inventive spirit is emotion.

### *Public Emotion and the Repertoire of Citizenship*

While science and public health were (and continue to be) a guiding force of the crisis, few outlets for publicly channeling the emotive impact of AIDS existed. The partners, parents, friends, and children of people grappling with AIDS were still developing and learning a language that captured the enormity of the epidemic and the rapid pace at which the syndrome's tentacles were spreading. The Quilt was certainly not the *only* outlet that people embraced in their effort to understand the devastation of AIDS, but it offered communal spaces for working through the syndrome's perplexities. The Quilt propagated an emotive quality that allowed publics to be constituted around reflection, loss, despair, anger, and hope. For some the Quilt was public acknowledgment of queer lives lost, for others a space where loved ones who did not "belong" to the classification schemes of official discourses could be recognized. One visit to the Quilt illustrates easily enough that these losses are neither equivalent nor hierarchical in their emotive expression. Contra "rational" understandings of AIDS, the Quilt did the important work of suturing

voids left by lives impossible to signify. Public emotion seems especially crucial for the performance of citizenship in relation to this crisis for two reasons: it initiates change and constitutes particular embodiments of cultural memory. Each of these alters the repertoires of civic life reflected in the Quilt.

Exploring the emotive features of the Quilt does not suggest an absolute division between reason and emotion. The two are not only interdependent but also often indistinguishable from one another. Reason, as is increasingly transparent in much academic research, is not possible without emotion. Reason is not thought or deliberation free of emotion; nor is emotion an excessive remainder that distorts the reasoning process. Reason is built on a foundation of situated and practiced emotion, some of which is conscious, but much of which is not. George Marcus argues that "emotion talk has explanatory power because embedded in it are some central metaphors that do the actual explaining. And, as often happens with good metaphors, their use becomes invisible to those who use them and their presumptions remain hidden."<sup>22</sup> Emotion in the public sphere is often castigated as "getting in the way," even when it is acknowledged that emotion is foundational to being reasonable.

The driving force of emotion in public life continues to influence theories of citizenship. Similarly, ideals of citizenship "deeply engage our received conceptions of reason and emotion."<sup>23</sup> Writing against models of citizenship privileging reason over emotion, several scholars have refuted claims that emotion disrupts reasonable decision making.<sup>24</sup> In these works, as in the philosophical writings of Aristotle, emotion is central for the rise of moral action and political participation. In Marcus's view, reason is "a set of conscious skills that are recruited by emotion systems for just those occasions when we wish them to be available and applied, situations that compel explicit consideration and judgment."<sup>25</sup> In fact, emotion enhances a citizen's ability to be reasonable because it affords a flexibility to make political judgments in particular situations.<sup>26</sup>

Nonetheless, even compelling works on public emotion have difficulty breaking with the reason/emotion binary. For example, Barbara Koziak's excellent text on the subject sometimes retreats into the realm of duality. Koziak asserts "although emotions may involve thought, in the sense of a background belief or judgment, emotional capacity is not thought or

reason itself." Concepts such as loss and grief clearly complicate this frame. Attempting to capture the pain of loss without emotion is at best melancholia, but certainly not a form of "reason." Despite this, Koziak rightfully contends there is a "governing scenario of emotion," and particular situations (such as traumas) incite "emotional repertoires" because there are no historical events to aid in molding public decorum.<sup>27</sup> AIDS was one such trauma when public emotionality needed to be discursively defined for the purposes of coping and meaning production.

The power of public emotion to initiate change is especially pertinent for eras afflicted by trauma. The complicated relationship between loss and signification—of recognizing the limits of words to capture that which is absent—is mitigated by emotion, even as emotions themselves are impossible to encapsulate with words. The enigmatic qualities of the scenario are managed by emotion, forging new pillars of tradition and novel forms of decorum. Personal pain can be an instigator of change, and public emotion provides the catalyst for stimulating action in the public sphere. Cautiously avoiding direct causality, Taylor recognizes such potential, remarking that "performances enter into dialogue with a history of trauma without themselves being traumatic. These are carefully crafted works that create a critical distance for 'claiming' experience and enabling, as opposed to 'collapsing,' witnessing."<sup>28</sup> The Quilt facilitates such experiences, allowing actors to express feelings of loss and anguish in ways that are both cathartic and plausibly empowering. Rather than be stunted by narratives that long for explanation or conclusion, these embodied practices engender repertoires of citizenship steeped in emotion. Here it is not the "authenticity" of the experience transpiring that is important. It is the repertoire of emotion that produces experience to energize meaning for unfathomable events.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps because the trauma of AIDS is no longer central to contemporary public discussions (though assuredly AIDS still traumatizes plenty of people), public emotionality has taken on a different form.

The emotive healing generated by the Quilt can be found in various cultural artifacts that eschew the rational narratives associated with AIDS. One writer noted, "The Quilt is certainly not a pure monument of the twilight of the Age of Reason, like the obelisk to George Washington; nor is it a brilliant work of poetic minimalism, like Maya Lin's Vietnam

Memorial. Unlike a monument built of stone, it is mutable, capable of—and encouraging—growth and replication."<sup>30</sup> Perhaps the most recurring way the Quilt reworks the rational impetus of public institutions is in the preoccupation people place on breaking down the statistical obsession of the sciences. A quick glance at popular press coverage of the Quilt highlights this subtle renegotiation. In 1989 a reporter contended the Quilt provided a space for "focusing on the lives and faces and names behind the statistics."<sup>31</sup> Three years later, a woman told the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* that the panels "prove that no one is a statistic, every life has its own fabric and its own colors—no two are alike."<sup>32</sup> Gwenn Barteld, who lost her twenty-five-year-old brother to AIDS said the Quilt, "tells a story and personalizes it for people. . . . Now he is not just another statistic. He is a person."<sup>33</sup> The final time the Quilt was displayed on the National Mall, Anthony Turney, executive director of the NAMES Project, commented, "What it has done always in the past, and will continue to, is put a face on this epidemic. It makes this epidemic human."<sup>34</sup> As comforting as this may seem, these statistics also represent absence. At one point organizers estimated that roughly 10 percent of the panels did not include full names.<sup>35</sup>

The relationship between social change and emotionality is even more significant when one considers the ways embodiment is central to cultural memory. Memory is itself a practice that cannot be understood separate from the body, always being wrapped up in the ideas and experiences of the person remembering. Attempting to come to terms with the diffuse performances that transpire when people come into contact (or not) with the Quilt is itself an insurmountable task.<sup>36</sup> Peggy Phelan has noted that attempting "to write about the undocumented event of performance is to invoke the rules of the written document and thereby alter the event itself." Technologies privileging the archive (such as writing) can never capture the performative nature of identity creation forged in the realm of the lived practices to which emotive response is central. The failure to capture ontological essences—those incomplete narratives one is exposed to when in contact with the Quilt—is the void where identity emerges. Phelan advocates writing toward disappearance rather than preservation (the archive), arguing the "after-effect of disappearance is the experience of subjectivity itself."<sup>37</sup>

The idea that moving toward disappearance affords a space for producing personal or political empowerment is captured by the idea of the repertoire and its relationship to emotionality. Although absence has mainly been conceived in the form of death when deciphering the Quilt, the erasure of particular identities also necessitates attention. The Quilt has been criticized because it severely lacks panels featuring women and minorities, two populations now disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS. A mere 616 blocks of the memorial include women, and only 260 represent African Americans. These are massively uneven figures when compared to both new infection and mortality rates, not to mention the 91,000 names affixed to the Quilt. However, pushing the Quilt into arguments about statistical representation does little more than reproduce the logic of empiricism it resists. These unaccounted representations provide an opportunity for rethinking the Quilt's purpose and the epidemic's changing nature.<sup>38</sup> Bringing this discomforting oversight into public view, contrasting these absences to the immensity of the Quilt itself, could further highlight the enormity of the epidemic that is not only seen—but unseen. The Quilt has long been regarded as a memorial that is malleable and changing. Altering the mode of performance to stress absence could serve a useful function, but humans must alter the repertoire of the Quilt—the Quilt itself does little. The NAMES Project has provided some workshops in minority communities about Quilting, and while such spaces can be empowering, the absences are equally significant and have been since the start of the pandemic. Public emotionality is not always inherently inclusive, but it can be discursively transformed. There is a struggle in negotiating repertoires of emotion, of anger, and of absence, but without these forms, no body of reason for grappling with the epidemic can emerge. The ability to produce identifications among members of a community is dependent on these shared understandings of emotionality and what remains unseen could provide new avenues of activism.<sup>39</sup>

Of course, not all cultural fantasies, even in the most hegemonic of states, are ever fully shared. The sphere of fantasy requires memory and knowledge common among a people to constitute the fabric of community. With the partiality of fantasy, its wholeness never being fully captured, people forge identifications, suturing voids and creating meaning from

the incompleteness. The repertoire of performance and the emotions on which it is built will never be consistent among all people. This schism in signification can be both enabling and debilitating. While writing this essay I was discussing the Quilt with an acquaintance whose former partner died of AIDS complications. I relayed the experience of walking around the Quilt at Atlanta Pride and the distinct differences among those who clearly had loved ones who had died from AIDS and those who had not. Most noteworthy were the contrasts among the generations. While most people were undeniably solemn, younger people were not as visibly impacted by the devastation of the epidemic. Without missing a beat, the man sadly retorted, "I don't want them to get it." The relationship between knowledge, memory, and embodied performance was transparent for this man. It is common to argue that young queers are in a compromised position because they do not understand the devastation of AIDS. But this altered sensibility affords them an understanding of the epidemic that engenders a particular freedom in their everyday lives. At the same time, the identity of young queers has been conceived and continues to be transformed by AIDS. They are the product of PSAs, of health education, of popular representations, and of rising infection rates. These interpenetrating discourses of naivety and interpellation incite emotive responses that shape repertoires of public performance, highlighting new challenges for those memorializing and fighting against HIV/AIDS.

The heterogeneous qualities of the Quilt make it difficult to assert anything regarding emotional response with certainty. But this fleeting attribute is a positive characterization, allowing the Quilt to act as a peripatetic site that fosters public emotionality appropriate to specific eras and generations. So, when Marita Sturken pondered if the Quilt takes away a sense of anger that should be expressed over the deaths of people who battled AIDS, it is difficult to surmise an answer.<sup>40</sup> Certainly, some will approach the Quilt with an overwhelming sense of loss where the potential to exert anger is not possible. But that same loss renders others devastated by the impact of AIDS, inciting anger. This conflict was captured well by Eve Sedgwick, who describes being furious at a viewing of the Quilt while her friend Michael Lynch was dying. She was enraged by the Quilt's "nostalgic ideology and no politics, with its big, ever-growing,

and sometimes obstructive niche in the ecology of gay organizing and self-formation." She describes the mixed emotions of seeing the panel of a man that read "HE HATED THE QUILT."<sup>41</sup> This incongruent perspective magnifies an explicit rift between the need to mourn and the desire to take vengeance on a world that did (and still does) little for people living with HIV/AIDS. That collusion of feelings illustrates what is at stake in the performative repertoire of the Quilt itself. Moving from panel to panel provokes more than a singular feeling. Nonetheless, this puzzling crash of meanings can be a productive site of stranger-relationship.

### *Entextualization and the Problems of Neoliberalism*

The artificial divide between reason and emotion has generated a number of cultural associations about each concept. Reason, with its supposed well-plotted path toward discovery, is often conceived linearly. Both inductive and deductive reasoning, for example, follow a course that unfolds over time with calculated precision. Emotion, conversely, is rarely envisioned with such exactness. More often than not, emotion is seen as interference or explosion, being couched in metaphors of containment and risk. The ephemeral quality of emotion provides novel avenues for exploring the process of entextualization and artifacts such as the Quilt. As the years have gone by, the performances enabled by the Quilt have changed. Decades have passed since the memorial's unfolding, and while pain and grief linger, that anguish has taken on new forms of mourning. Likewise, for those coping with recent losses, the lack of commemoration for people with AIDS might produce melancholia difficult to verbalize. Although these practices have changed largely because of cultural attitudes about HIV/AIDS, community awareness, and a lack of media coverage, the Quilt's participation in these forms of mourning highlights a transformation in the repertoires of performance mediated by the memorial. While this reifies elements of neoliberalism, the memorial's flexibility provides resistive spaces for constituting civic identities.<sup>42</sup>

Entextualization is "the process through which narratives are made stable and crafted into tangible texts and other material expressions" to constitute discursivity.<sup>43</sup> While materializing standardized scenarios for

consumption, these narratives also empower some to speak at the expense of others. Inherent in these practices are attempts to manipulate, recuperate, and generate cultural and ideological meanings.<sup>44</sup> Emotion is central to this process because the constitutive features of memory invigorate feelings privileged among a people, guiding their actions and their capacity to induce change. The ways we entextualize the dead, and performatively engage with them, solidifies foundations of memory and tradition, even if this condensation is illusory.<sup>45</sup> Reason is dependent on emotion for defining that which is essential to a people, in large part because memory is situated entirely on emotive energies.<sup>46</sup>

The problems of entextualizing performances facilitated by the Quilt are evident in the efforts to clinch the magnitude of the epidemic in the archive. People often attempt to empirically comprehend the emotive power of the Quilt and the enormity of the epidemic it represents. One of the first stories featuring the Quilt in the *New York Times* observed that the Quilt measured 150 feet by 470 feet. Just a year later it was "the size of seven football fields," or five times bigger than the year before. In 1989 the Quilt expanded to fourteen acres, or forty-nine collective miles. In 1992, just a month before Bill Clinton was voted into office, the Quilt had grown tenfold from its initial viewing. It was up to twelve and a half football fields, with one new panel being added every two hours. By 1996 it included twenty-three miles of walkways alone and was now twenty-four football fields.<sup>47</sup> During the final viewing in D.C., the Quilt "was so large that visitors were directed to five different subway stations, depending on which panels they wished to see."<sup>48</sup> Repeatedly readers have been told the Quilt was composed of 1,920 panels in 1987; 8,000 in 1988; 10,000 in 1989; 20,000 in 1992. In 1996 it doubled to 40,000. Surprisingly, these empirical facts serve an important emotive function. They attempt to constitutively alter people's thinking about AIDS as it is mediated by the Quilt. But again, efforts to capture the magnitude of the epidemic can never be attained. The Quilt features a miniscule percentage of American deaths from AIDS and an even smaller amount of the deceased globally.<sup>49</sup>

The most frequently reoccurring statistics involve not only the Quilt's size, but, interestingly, its weight. This is a feature of media reports and academic scholarship alike. The burden of dealing with AIDS was clearly growing heavier with each passing year. In 1987 the Quilt already

weighed three-and-a-half tons. Two years later it had substantially grown to thirteen tons. By 1992 it weighed twenty-six tons without walkways and almost thirty-one tons with them. And in 1996 it was composed of forty tons of fabric.<sup>50</sup>

The statistics that frequently surface in the media are undoubtedly the work of press releases composed by the NAMES Project. Equally important are the connotations of public emotionality underlying these facts. Note the obsession with "football fields." The image of the football field conveys more than mere magnitude. It offers explicit encapsulation of cultural measurement, alluding to a specifically American identity, and an identification that transcends the realm of gender typically associated with the queer bodies on the Quilt.<sup>51</sup> Likewise, the idea of "weight" is more than statistical. It signifies an emotive sense of burden and immobility. Despite these cultural inferences, the Quilt will never foster the emotive feelings people have with the layers of fabric that constitute a transient hallowed ground.

As an experiential artifact of profound emotive magnitude, the Quilt instigates disparate performances. But simply because the repertoire initiated by the Quilt can never be fully captured does not mean it is free of ideological discourses guiding understandings. In many ways, the Quilt does conform to discourses of neoliberalism that prize individuality and reify multiculturalism. Being prominently displayed on the National Mall, in the halls of educational institutions, and during gay pride parades and festivals, the Quilt has secured a place for public expression that is prey to hegemonic forces. Sometimes it is articulated with progressive social causes; at other times it is joined with discourses seemingly counterproductive in the fight against HIV/AIDS. The democratization of the Quilt, for instance, is apparent in the description of the panels themselves. While all are equal in size, they carry their own characteristics that emphasize individual personalities. As one reporter noted, by "including details about those who have died—hobbies, birth dates, favorite songs and photographs—Quilt organizers hope to emphasize that people who die of AIDS are as diverse in philosophy and background as the general population."<sup>52</sup> Queers have long been excluded from conceptions of the "general population" in AIDS discourse and the process of entextualization may do little more than move them toward erasure.

Indeed, some have argued that the Quilt is marred by the larger heterosexual culture that concocts diabolical images of queer men. Speaking to the NAMES project, Jeff Nunokawa writes:

If a homophobic reticence helped to prompt the Names Project in the first place, a different homophobia has contributed to its canonization in the dominant media; if the majority culture is not inclined to recognize the death of the male homosexual, it is also not inclined to recognize anything else about him; if the majority culture grants no notice to his death, it also inters him from the start. The gay community is thus taxed during its sad time by a double burden: the variegated regime of heterosexism not only inhibits the work of acknowledging the loss of a gay man, it also exacts the incessant reproduction of this labor, by casting his death as his definition.<sup>53</sup>

Although some have accused Nunokawa of being "paranoid" in his reading of the Quilt, a more vexing question involves the context in which he was writing.<sup>54</sup> At the time, there was indeed a troubling way in which death and queerness were intimately linked (a connection that lives on today). But equally significant is the modernist (and almost overly rational) ways in which Nunokawa plots the ideas of death and queerness. Nunokawa longs for the idea of the individual. He is steeped in understandings of the Quilt that prohibit the inventive possibilities that it yields. For him, the Quilt has been "canonized," there is a "reproduction of labor," and queer men are transparently defined by their death. The Quilt for him is not a scenario that sparks emotive repertoires of civic identity and memorializing. In his account queer men can never win because the entextualization process condemns them from the start. This overlooks a number of practices that might otherwise run contrary to his thesis, not the least of which is the way many queer men living with HIV/AIDS have produced their own panels.

The memories cultivated by the entextualization process offer clues into the ideological position adopted by a polis. Similarly, the emotive features of memory always mirror the cultural norms in which they are situated. In American culture, the outlook is perpetually toward the future. Unlike many societies, Americans are predisposed to a discourse



that pushes us forward at all costs. Progress remains our most valued God-term, and the Quilt is consistent with a therapeutic ideology that literally allows participants to "move on." Progress is the instigator of science and public health, and the Quilt's "healing" capacity shares the forward moving impulse of these fields. However, just as emotion and citizenship fundamentally alter one another, so too does the Quilt hold some promise—even if minute—to transform the ideas of stranger-relationality circulating in the polity.

The Quilt is unique in its situatedness, in its use of both time and space. The protean relationship between the past and the present is one example of its unusualness. Walking through the aisles of the Quilt, one quickly learns that time is a labyrinth with no clear exit. Participants can never escape the blurry line between past and present. It is difficult to situate AIDS firmly in the past when panels featuring present day are easily observed. Memories are always filtered through the lens of the present, and the Quilt is fast to remind those who come into contact with it that the epidemic lives on. There are no official starting points when immersing oneself into the fabrics, no chronological beginning that travels a straight line to a conclusion. The memorial's long stream of panels, each covered with touchstones to various moments of the past, is somewhat disorienting, as citizens do not simply reflect on the slow creep of change, but leapfrog from date to date. The Quilt constantly reminds us that everything has changed, but nothing has.

Just as the Quilt alters time through repertoires of public emotionality, so too does it change the spaces it occupies. The Quilt has a peripatetic quality, meaning it teaches as it moves among locations. Like Aristotle's method, in which movement is central to learning, the Quilt travels to spaces and transforms them as it unfolds and new bodies (both living and dead) flow through its aisles. Usually displayed in small segments, the Quilt reconstitutes public spaces like gymnasiums and university ballrooms. It has no center, being constrained only by the area where it is exhibited.<sup>55</sup> Silence is manufactured by the Quilt, disrupted only by the sounds of names being read and the occasional emotive responses of those in contact with the memorial.<sup>56</sup> Adapting to local communities and appealing to regional identifications, it materializes bonds between participants. For example, in the state of Indiana there are often several

panels dedicated to Ryan White on display in schools where the Quilt makes appearances. This is coordinated not only because White was a student who was cast aside by educators, but because his hometown is Kokomo, Indiana. Participants enter these spaces, filling in the narrative details and allowing the dead to speak to them in ways that will and will not forge identifications.

The heterogeneous qualities of the Quilt make it at least partially resistive to the discourses that so often move us forward at the expense of remembering those who have been lost to devastating afflictions. This resistance to the progressive narrative is especially significant when contemplating the unity denied by the Quilt. Despite the impulse to articulate the Quilt in relation to national identity, it remains conspicuously fractured. In Yingling's words, the Quilt "seems to successfully resist the last move of the sublime (reincorporation) precisely because the unity it allows and constructs, the identity it offers through its collective scope, remains outside all of our corporate structures of knowledge."<sup>57</sup> The cloudy arrangement of time and its role in the performative repertoire perpetuates an anxiety that is profoundly perplexing. Its incomplete narrative structures the voids that those engaged with the Quilt must fill and prohibits the therapeutic qualities of the Quilt from eliminating possibilities for change.

### *A Stitch in Time: Narratives of Stranger-Relationality Reimagined*

At a time when our understanding of HIV/AIDS has changed dramatically and our performances with the Quilt have largely moved into the realm of memory, one of the more pressing questions to ask is how the Quilt maintains its relevance in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Certainly the NAMES Project continues with its goals of educating publics and attempting to provide spaces of remembrance for those who have lost loved ones. However, the spaces available for communal reflection and the desire to do so are taking on different meanings. What happens now that the Quilt cannot be displayed in its entirety? Does its incompleteness alter cultural performances? In truth, the Quilt has made thousands

of appearances, and only five of them have been collective. Perhaps the fantasy of wholeness is itself a suspicious claim.<sup>58</sup> What emotions are now provoked by the Quilt? Which can be made public? Who do they memorialize? How has the sedimentation of contemporary history altered the scenarios of performance?

At the beginning of this fight, NAMES Project founder Cleve Jones said, "part of making an event real is just saying it, over and over."<sup>59</sup> Continuing these reiterations, making these discourses more secured over time, eventually alters the message. Now that the signifying process of HIV/AIDS has transformed from a rhetoric of death and disaster into a rhetoric of management and control, it would seem that the emotive possibilities associated with the Quilt have fluctuated as well. Much like the discourse surrounding diseases like diabetes, AIDS is endemic, but no longer positioned as the public health threat it once was. The Quilt's occupation of small spaces in gymnasiums and lobbies may reflect the changing nature of the epidemic itself—powerfully emotive, but ultimately contained. HIV/AIDS is always ubiquitous, but its enormity is increasingly difficult to accentuate. Yet the changing nature of public emotionality from something discrepant than it was in 1987 need not be apocalyptic. Some element of public emotionality will always be present in this struggle. What should be feared is the waning anxiety some people have about AIDS and its debilitating consequences. The bigger question becomes, how do strangers ensure the Quilt continues to generate a sense of anxiousness necessary for keeping people alive? Should this be done through the creation of more panels, or perhaps the recognition of those panels not present? Theories of public emotion have been instrumental in advancing the idea that anxiety is a productive emotion for initiating change. Anxiety not only generates immediate learning, it also interrupts habits that have been previously learned. Emotions motivate people to alter their lives.<sup>60</sup> But the rhetoric of control—no doubt a rational and well-plotted schema if ever there was one—threatens this potential for action by justifying the capacity for containing HIV and relinquishing the anxiety that has propelled change.

Emotion continues to be a guiding force of political change in a culture where we are still largely strangers to one another, where AIDS continues to be whispered and the lives of millions continue to be lost.

Robert Hariman and John Lucaites remind us that "in a world lived among strangers, emotional resonance becomes an important measure of connection."<sup>61</sup> Just as the characters of Greek tragedy make their gravest mistakes when they do not recognize the stranger as kin (think Oedipus), so must we remember the connections to others propagated by the Quilt.<sup>62</sup> We need not see bodies to be reminded that our capacities for humaneness continue to be a necessary force in public life. Anxiety, anger, and sentimentality remain an imperative part of the fight against HIV/AIDS. Meaning can still be generated through the medium of the Quilt, but it requires a public that wishes to remain engaged. This need not happen through a unified public response. A multitude of responses, Peter Hawkins reminds us, is best for addressing the complicated scenarios generated by HIV/AIDS.

There remains hope that the Quilt can engender performances of citizenship that alter understandings of AIDS, even as the project for combating AIDS evolves. A group of high school students who saw the Quilt the final time it appeared in Washington, D.C., shows the continued value of the memorial. One of the students reflected, "I know all the technical stuff—how its transmitted, how not to get it, how many people are dying—but to come here and actually see all the lives it's touched, how many people have died, it's like reality hitting you in the face. This makes it real." Central to their newfound understanding was not what they were reading in their textbooks—a powerful tool in the archive of public life. The reporter following the story noted that "some of the students seemed surprised at the opportunity of emotion they saw—people crying, embracing and offering each other support. Several students said they were surprised at their own feelings of sadness and pain for people they didn't know, and many left messages and tributes on sections of the Quilt."<sup>63</sup> It was the repertoire of emotive citizenship playing a central role in these people's lives—and the quotes above are insufficient for capturing what was moved (or not) in their souls.

The Quilt can have an effect on the quotidian performances of people looking to impel change in a world where AIDS continues to devastate millions. But the idea of moving the Quilt into a San Francisco museum should make us shudder.<sup>64</sup> The Quilt's emotive power has always best exerted itself in public spaces that can be transformed, where the repertoires

of citizenship can unfold in innovative ways. Absences can be a powerful source of motivation, and the changing face of the epidemic must be aggressively addressed. Though somewhat different from the losses the Quilt once sanctified, these tragic deaths can be combated in numerous forms, those that are material and those that remain unmarked. The Quilt may instigate a scenario of mourning that radiates privilege. But it can be more if the desire to recreate the fabric of our world is pursued and the cultural narratives surrounding the Quilt continue to be reconstituted among strangers in the polity.

At a moment of intense pain and reflection, a family stitched a blue swatch across their loved one's name to protect themselves from the harsh response of a malicious public who justified their hate through every avenue possible. People were told God demanded the sacrifice of young men because their sexual practices defied nature. Religious fundamentalists suddenly embraced survival of the fittest. We even convinced ourselves that everything happens for a reason. As the decades passed and as emotions made room for change, the opportunities for living in this world have become more bearable. But comfort has not come for all, much suffering remains, and much action is left to be taken. The world continues to change. And love can still remove that patch.

#### NOTES

1. For more on stranger-relatedness, see Danielle Allen, *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship since Brown v. Board of Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002).
2. Paula Treichler, *How to Have Theory in an Epidemic: Cultural Chronicles of AIDS* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 19.
3. John Durham Peters reminds us that gaps may be the most fundamental unit of communication. See Peters, "The Gaps of Which Communication Is Made," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 11 (1994): 117–140.
4. Brooke Masters, "AIDS Quilt Captures the Fear Behind the Loss," *Washington Post*, October 8, 1989, D3.
5. For more on performative repertoires, see Isaac West, "Debbie Mayne's Transcripts: Performative Repertoires in Law and Everyday Life," *Communication and*

*Critical/Cultural Studies* 5 (2008): 245–263.

6. Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 20.
7. Taylor makes an important distinction between *scenario* and *trope*. Scenarios "exist as culturally specific imaginaries—sets of possibilities, ways of conceiving conflict, crisis, or resolution—activated with more or less theatricality." Unlike tropes, scenarios are not constrained by language to transmit a set pattern of behavior or action. See Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 13.
8. Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 272.
9. There is little denying that the Reagan administration systematically annihilated gay people in the early years of the AIDS epidemic (the countless dead are proof enough). Writing of the White House's attempts to squander AIDS research through budget restrictions, Randy Shilts noted: "Even the most cynical critics of the Reagan administration were staggered when the Office of Management and Budget released its proposed AIDS budget for the 1986 fiscal year. Not only had the administration *not* increased AIDS funding but the budget called for reducing AIDS spending from the current level of \$96 million to \$85.5 million in the next fiscal year. The 10 percent reduction would be felt across the board in AIDS research but most heavily at the CDC, where funds would be cut back 20 percent to just \$18.7 million. The government's planned appropriation for education aimed specifically at the gay community was \$250,000, which, again, was to be channeled through the U.S. Conference of Mayors in an effort to ensure that no federal agency was in the business of telling gays how to perform sodomy safely."

These lethal actions are documented throughout *And the Band Played On*, and it is especially disturbing to see how these measures were put into place so late in the epidemic's scourge. As Shilts reflects, "by early 1987, the only major Western industrialized nation that had not launched a coordinated education campaign was the United States." Shilts is not alone in the clear documentation of Reagan's malcontent. Cleve Jones points out that even after Reagan finally uttered the word "AIDS" in public, he never did say the word "gay." Steve Epstein writes of Reagan officials who admitted discussions of quarantining entire populations. Reagan's White House AIDS adviser Gary Bauer penned callous editorials against safe-sex education. The executive branch was so overtly hostile toward pouring resources into combating AIDS that the surgeon general of the United States at the time, C. Everett Koop, developed educational materials without the administration knowing, so as to avoid the ideological censorship threatened by the White House. But

perhaps Larry Kramer put it best: "Year after year of his hateful and endless reign we knew we were not a part of the American People he was President of. He would never talk about us, of course, or do anything for us except murder us. There were no social services for us. There was no research into our health. Even as we were dying like flies. How could he not have seen us dying? The answer is he did see us dying and he chose to do nothing. There was no representation in his government of us. There was never anything for us but his ignoble dismissal of us. All of Washington, indeed the world, knew that Reagan hated us."

See Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 525, 589; Cleve Jones, *Stitching a Revolution: The Making of an Activist* (San Francisco: HarperCollins Publishers, 2000), 188; Steve Epstein, *Impure Science: AIDS, Activism, and the Politics of Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 95–96; Douglas Crimp, *Melancholia and Mourning: Essays on AIDS and Queer Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 189; Treichler, *How to Have Theory in an Epidemic*, 57; Larry Kramer, "Adolph Reagan," *Advocate*, July 6, 2004, 32–33.

10. Thomas Yingling, *AIDS and the National Body* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 53.
11. Douglas Crimp, *Melancholia and Moralism: Essays on AIDS and Queer Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 69.
12. The U.S. government was not the only one to advance problematic responses to AIDS. The British, for example, also developed reactionary policies and educational initiatives that were sometimes unintentionally stigmatizing and at other times overtly murderous. In 1986 a Tory leader announced, "As a cure I would put 90% of the queers in the ruddy gas chamber . . . We must find a way of stopping these gays going round." See Colin Chuter and Gill Seidel, "The AIDS Campaign in Britain: A Heterosexist Disease," *Text* 7 (1987): 347–361.
13. Treichler, *How to Have Theory in an Epidemic*, 20, 28.
14. Cindy Patton, *Inventing AIDS* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 77–97.
15. Cindy Patton, *Globalizing AIDS* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2002), 50.
16. See, for example, Cathy Cohen, "Contested Membership: Black Gay Identities and the Politics of AIDS," in *Creating Change: Sexuality, Public Policy, and Civil Rights*, ed. William B. Turner, John D'Emilio, and Urvashi Vaid (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).
17. Cohen, "Contested Membership," 76.
18. The press largely stopped covering the AIDS crisis after 1987 because they worried

about oversaturation and public disinterest. See Edward Alwood, *Straight News: Gays, Lesbians, and the News Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 235.

19. This is no small irony considering the rest of the world largely viewed AIDS as an American disease. The emergence of AIDS in American communities such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York supported the widely held belief that AIDS was a U.S. affliction.
20. Peter S. Hawkins, "Naming Names: The Art of Memory and the NAMES Project AIDS Quilt," *Critical Inquiry* 19 (1993): 760–762.
21. Yingling, *National Body*, 54.
22. George Marcus, *The Sentimental Citizen* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 9.
23. Marcus, *The Sentimental Citizen*, 12.
24. Marcus, *The Sentimental Citizen*, 19; See also Barbara Koziak, *Retrieving Political Emotion: Thumos, Aristotle, and Gender* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Martha C. Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
25. Marcus, *Sentimental Citizen*, 28, 49.
26. George Marcus, W. Russell Neuman, and Michael MacKuen, *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 124.
27. Koziak, *Political Emotion*, 27–28, 95.
28. Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 210.
29. In making this claim, I am not assuming direct causality between making a panel and global awareness of AIDS. However, the feminist movement reminds us that consciousness-raising is an imperative element of social change. Some studies have already alluded to the potential action that can be forged between the AIDS Quilt and action. See Jacqueline Lewis and Michael R. Fraser, "Patches of Grief and Rage: Visitor Responses to the NAMES Project and AIDS Memorial Quilt," *Qualitative Sociology* 19 (1996): 433–451.
30. George Shakelford, "Fabric of Remembrance," *Washington Post*, October 4, 1992, C5.
31. Jeff McLaughlin, "AIDS Quilt Becomes Symbol of Caring," *Boston Globe*, October 5, 1988, 89.
32. Helen Gregory Alfton, "AIDS Quilt Has Healing Spirit," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 3, 1992, 2B.
33. Howard Schneider, "Acres of Anguish and Healing," *Washington Post*, October 11, 1992, A1.


34. Marc Sandalow, "AIDS Quilt Covers National Mall," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 11, 1996, A1.
35. Masters, "AIDS Quilt," D3.
36. In the words of Diana Taylor, "The bodies participating in the transmission of knowledge and memory are themselves a product of certain taxonomic, disciplinary, and mnemonic systems" (*The Archive and the Repertoire*, 86).
37. Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (London: Routledge, 1993), 148.
38. Alan Zarembo, "The Quilt Fades to Obscurity," *Los Angeles Times*, June 4, 2006, A1; Jesse McKinley, "Fight Over Quilt Reflects Changing Times in Battle Against AIDS," *New York Times*, January 31, 2007, 16.
39. I recognize this is a difficult task since the NAMES Project claims not to be an author and would therefore be hesitant to draw attention to the absences of the Quilt. At the same time, the organization has taken efforts to do outreach in African American and Latino communities and might push for such efforts.
40. Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 200.
41. Eve Sedgwick, *Tendencies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 265.
42. There are many ways to define "neoliberalism." Lisa Duggan notes that neoliberals "advocate privatization of economic enterprises, which they consider fundamentally 'private' and inappropriately placed in any 'public' arena. They go further than this, though, in advocating that many ostensibly public services and functions also be placed in private profit making hands," including cultural production. She continues, this "rhetoric promotes the *privatization* of the costs of social reproduction, along with the care of human dependency needs, through *personal responsibility* exercised in the family and in civil society—thus shifting costs from state agencies to individuals and households." See *The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press Books, 2003). For other works on neoliberalism, see especially David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Wendy Brown, "Neo-liberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy," *Theory and Event* 7 (2003).
43. Stephen Olbrys, "Disciplining the Carnavalesque: Chris Farley's Exotic Dance," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 3 (2006): 253.
44. Eileen Moore Quinn, "Entextualizing Famine, Reconstituting Self: Testimonial

- Narratives from Ireland," *Anthropological Quarterly* 74 (2001): 72.
45. Olbrys, "Disciplining the Carnavalesque," 253.
46. Marcus, *Sentimental Citizen*, 76–78.
47. *New York Times*, "Memorial Quilt Rolls Out," October 12, 1987, 11; McLaughlin, "AIDS Quilt," 89; Lynne Duke, "D.C. Crowds Recall AIDS Victims through a Common Thread," *Washington Post*, October 9, 1988, B1; Masters, "AIDS Quilt," D3; Shackelford, "Fabric of Remembrance," C5; Sandalow, "AIDS Quilt," A1.
48. David Dunlap, "AIDS Quilt Grief on Capital Mall," *New York Times*, October 13, 1996, 22.
49. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "AIDS Quilt Carpets National Mall," October 13, 1996, 18A; Craig Wilson, "AIDS Quilt: Patchwork Memories," *USA Today*, October 5, 1992, 4D.
50. Judy Elsley, "The Rhetoric of the NAMES Project AIDS Quilt: Reading the Text(ile)," in *AIDS: The Literary Response*, ed. Emmanuel S. Nelson (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992), 187; Marcia Stepanek, "AIDS Quilt: A Work of Love, Protest," *Houston Chronicle*, October 9, 1992, A12; *New York Times*, "Grown Too Large, Full AIDS Quilt Is Displayed for the Last Time," October 7, 1989, 1; Wilson, "Patchwork Memories," 4D; Sandalow, "AIDS Quilt," A1.
51. For more on the relationship between gender norms and the Quilt, see Hawkins, "Naming Names," 765; Lawrence Howe, "The AIDS Quilt and Its Traditions," *College Literature* 24 (1997): 114.
52. Stepanek, "A Work of Love," A12.
53. Jeff Nunokawa, "All the Sad Young Men: AIDS and the Work of Mourning," in *Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories*, ed. Diana Fuss (New York: Routledge, 1991), 319.
54. Sarah Brophy, *Witnessing AIDS: Writing, Testimony, and the Work of Mourning* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 46.
55. Hawkins, "Naming Names," 764.
56. Peter S. Hawkins, "Confronting AIDS: The NAMES Project Quilt," *AIDS Patient Care and STDs* 12 (1998): 746.
57. Yingling, *National Body*, 53–54.
58. Hawkins makes the important point that without an "official" space, the overall impact of a traveling memorial might be lessened. Hawkins, "Naming Names," 762.
59. Elsley, "The Rhetoric of the NAMES Project AIDS Quilt," 190.
60. *Ibid.*, 102; Marcus, Neuman, and Mackuen, *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*, 95.

61. Robert Hariman and John Lucaites, "Public Identity and Collective Memory in U.S. Iconic Photography: The Image of 'Accidental Napalm,'" *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 20 (2003): 61.
62. Koziak, *Political Emotion*, 139.
63. Benning, "AIDS Quilt's Moving Message," B01.
64. McKinley, "Fight Over Quilt," 16.

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# Remembering the AIDS Quilt

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