THE MARRYING TIMES:

PROGRESSIVE MARRIAGE UNDER NEOLIBERALIZATION

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Dedicated to the people of the Village of New Paltz, New York for their constant engagement in what matters most now, their New York candor and most importantly their attempt at living as intentionally as possible in order to remind us of our connections to one another and to the earth.

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ABSTRACT

This study shows how progressive-identifying people living in the Village of New Paltz, New York USA come to decisions about marriage in the current neoliberalized economy through different renderings of time (temporality). It examines how national discourses on marriage in light of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer movement integrate with the ways that villagers come to understand their life's trajectory through various understandings of work opportunities (i.e. shift work versus salaried work, time spent on higher education) and marriage (i.e., proper age to marry, marriage timing and marriage length). My fieldwork was conducted from June 2007 through December 2008 when the "Great Recession" began to be felt in the U.S. On-going village support of "same-sex" marriage combined with this historic circumstance created a fitting environment for examining the tensions between intimate marriage decisions, the marriage movement and the political-economy. Even the most progressive villagers decided to marry only when a calculus of economic or social capital achievement for themselves or their partner seemed imminent. I define this calculation as *marital arbitrage*. Many villagers reported perpetually deferring marriage as they attempt this timing, choosing cohabitation until they feel "ready" and thus further contributing to the deinstitutionalization of the rite even among those who desire marriage. Through such timings, marriage has become a rarified social category marked by plummeting marriage rates except among the most educated and affluent in the U.S. This finding clarifies why many activists for economically marginalized groups, including welfare and LGBTQ advocates, find the push toward marriage promotion to be limited and

discriminatory. Regardless of sexuality, marital arbitrage accounts for marriage being entered into later and later in life as a way to vest a partner with inheritance and decision-making powers upon disability or death imbuing the phrase “until death do us part” with critical new meaning.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I will say one thing that I didn't quite touch on...I am terrified about finances in regards to the future. But I also I've seen a lot now at this point, that I don't think we will ever be ideally where I want to be with marriage and finances. I don't think I'll be able to afford the house that, I don't want to say I've dreamed of but thought I would be living in when I was younger. And I'm 35 and I have a kid [now]. There's a vision that I just saw, not that I was like, "Oh, I'm going to get this color walls and that color carpet." I was never that materialistic. The way the economy is now, I don't see that happening. But I do see how being a strong family unit and a strong communicator and being happy with our life, can be so much better than a big house with plenty of room and all that stuff. It would be much better at this point have a small house where our kids have to share a room, and me and my husband live in the room right off of that. And there's like a kitchen full of, you know, the basics. But, we love each other, we communicate, we go out, we eat, we can spend time, we like each other …. I just don't see that happening in the next ten years. I just don't. I have college loans to pay off. I don't see him getting a great job right off the bat. I'm fine with it. If it happens later, it happens later. Or when it happens, it will be later, I should say. It's not going to happen anytime soon. I'm OK with that. That wouldn't be a deal breaker. That's not going to be a deal breaker. (Interview by the author with Emma, lines E1.506-527)

We now have this freedom and openness to have opinions on marriage and not feel that we're pushed. Sometimes I feel like, "Oh my god! All my friends are getting married." Like, "I'm 26 years old, where's my picket fence and 3.5 children?" [Then] I'm like, "Ugh. I don't want that." But then I'm like, "No. I don't have to! That's not something I have to have and I don't want it, so I'm not gonna do it."….I think that obviously because we're not forced to have those thoughts on marriage, we're not forced to be expected to get married there's increasingly people who are against marriage for themselves at least. But at the same time you've got a whole group of people, being gay people who do want to get married, who were not able to before and now they have the potential to push for, or get married. So that changes things a little bit too. (Interview by the author with Paige, line P1.40-51)

Emma and Paige both lived in the Village of New Paltz, New York (herein referred to as "the village") during my 18-month ethnographic study on marriage conducted from June 2007 through December 2008. When fieldwork ended, I continued meeting with and interviewing villagers through June 2012. The village is a municipality of just under two square miles located in the Hudson River Valley of Upstate New York. It is known to be a progressive college town as it hosts the State University of New York at New Paltz (SUNY New Paltz), which consumes half the land mass of the village. As the single, 27-year-old Paige reveals, many villagers are no longer expected to get married. Instead, now there is a "freedom and openness to have opinions on marriage" there. As for the timing of Paige's future marriage—she's "not gonna do it!" The married Emma has also adjusted her expectations within marriage based on the economic realities that involve school debt, earning potential and her advancing age.

Their discussions on marriage relate to the questions shaping this inquiry. How do villagers think and do marriage in temporal terms (i.e., age and marriage timing)? How do their reckonings with social, political and economic messages about marriage work on their meanings of it? To be clear, I concern myself with the factors that *lead up to* decisions about marriage in this study. I do not discuss what it takes to stay married or the day-to-day aspects of being married. Instead, I focus as strictly as possible on the meanings of marriage and how those meanings get translated into action by progressive villagers.

Given the village context, I also discuss how sexual orientation and gender shape marriage decisions. Early in 2004, Mayor Jason West of the Village of New Paltz (along with three other U.S. localities all acting independently of one another) married lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) couples (Pinello 2006; Quinn 2005). The

village weddings occurred in reaction to then-President George W. Bush's announced support of the Federal Marriage Amendment (Bush 2004; Fagan and Wetzstein 2004). These marriages occurred a few months before the first such legally-sanctioned marriages in the U.S. were to happen in Massachusetts (Pinello 2006). These village weddings became a spontaneous, community-wide event and everyone I spoke with during my fieldwork voiced support for the mayor's decision to marry LGBTQ couples in 2004.

This was not the first time villagers were in the spotlight for their views on sexuality and gender. The Woodstock Festival, occurring in 1969 and just 30 minutes to the east, remains alive in village consciousness. Young people flocked there for the music yet through extended media accounts of the event the nation witnessed the transgressing of 1950s sexual proscriptions, like no sex until marriage (Woodstock 1970). Many in the area still live out the critique of such proscriptions started in those heady days of U.S. social movements. Over the period of my fieldwork, villagers remained actively engaged in creating other ideals of marriage and family like having babies with their long-term cohabitating partners or actively planning or participating in communes. In 1997, a racy feminist conference held at SUNY New Paltz entitled "Revolting Behavior: The Challenges of Women's Sexual Freedom" drew the ire of neoconservatives (Duggan 2003, 22-38). The conference's 20 presentations and workshops dealt with presentations on reproductive rights, HIV education and safer-sex techniques, young women's sexualities, and various non-normative sexualities, including discussions of lesbian sex and sadomasochism (Duggan 2003, 24). Since the 2004 weddings, many village residents have been intimately involved in the fight to win marriage rights for LGBTQ couples. In 2011, the precedent begun over the early months of 2004 in the tiny Village of New Paltz

succeeded with New York State becoming the largest, most populous state to grant marriage rights to LGBTQ couples.

These events mark some watershed moments that have solidified the reputation of the area as progressive and indeed I found many in the area who proudly identify with this moniker. Hence this work shows how a group who largely consider themselves "progressive" viewed marriage over the period of my fieldwork. As Paige asserted above, the movement to win marriage for LGBT couples changes her ideas about marriage "a little bit too." Such an example was the rule not the anomaly among villagers' discussions on marriage—they not only accepted the idea as a changeable one but many seamlessly integrated their ideas on marriage with LGBT marriage. Therefore, to accurately represent villagers' ideas on marriage, this work does not separate out village discussions of marriage into "straight" or "gay" but simply discusses marriage the way villagers do—as a concept inclusive of various sexualities and genders.

Changed American Marriage

As Paige and Emma clearly show, marriage in the U.S. is "still important, but now it is optional" (Cherlin 2009, 7). The data on marriage in the U.S. and in the State of New York document the practice as one of continual change (also see Cott 2000). The 2005 U.S. Census' American Community Survey surveying 111.1 million people found that only 49.7% of couples reported being "married family households" and by 2010 that dropped to 49.6% (U.S. Census 2005a and 2012). By 2010 in New York State, the number was 45.2% and within the 22nd U.S. Congressional district that includes the Village of New Paltz in Ulster County, New York the marriage rate was 45% (U.S. Census 2005a and 2012).

Only twelve of the 29 U.S. Congressional districts in the State of New York count more than 50% of households as married with the highest percentage being 62.3% in the 3rd Congressional district encompassing the affluent, conservative eastern side of Nassau County on Long Island (U.S. Census 2011a). In 2010, for the first time in U.S. history, married couples became outnumbered by those *not* choosing marriage, while those who were getting married are more affluent and educated (Fry 2010). Marriage trends over the last forty years have almost completely reversed away from younger, rural and high school educated couples marrying at higher rates. As prominent marriage scholar Andrew Cherlin puts it, U.S. marriage has deinstitutionalized (2004). Katherine Edin and Maria Kefalas clarify Cherlin's assertion:

> People may have sex, live together, and even have children outside of marriage, and when unmarried women are no longer treated as social pariahs, marriage loses much of its day-to-day significance. But at the same time, the culture can afford to make marriage more special, more rarified, and more significant in its meaning…while the *practical* significance of marriage has diminished, its *symbolic* significance has grown. (Edin and Kefalas 2005, 201-202)

That marriage in the U.S. has changed over this period is clear (see Lewin 1998, 2004; Cherlin 2004, 2009; Peters and Kamp Dush 2009)—the question is why.

Historian Tamara Hareven found that the failure of laissez faire economics leading to the Great Depression caused delays in marriage timing because it was more difficult to achieve "economic independence and the establishment of independent households…Until World War II 'disorderly careers'—in which people experienced frequent discontinuities over their work lives—were accepted as the norm," (Hareven 1991, 178-179). Scholars studying the post World War II period of economy resurgence have identified a *singular* national discourse on marriage that developed during that time period, which was both a historical anomaly and foreign experience for most Americans

even during that period (Coontz 2000; Hareven 1993; Townsend 2002). With these studies as background, this work closely examines how current economic circumstances contribute to marriage meanings among villagers.

Hareven's 1991 work has shown how the stage-based life trajectory model presented as the singular and correct one in post-war America was naturalized because the economic stability of the period made early marriage seem "common sense" for later generations. Feminist historian Stephanie Coontz calls that period the "long decade" of the 1950s, which began in 1947 and lasted through the early 1960s (2000, 229). During that period Americans began "courting their own mates, getting married at will, and setting up their own households. Never had married couples been so independent of extended family ties and community groups. And never before had so many people agreed that only one kind of family was 'normal'" (Coontz 2000, 228-229).

This "short-lived" historical marriage pattern began the idea of what has since been rhetorically referred to as "traditional marriage" (Coontz 2000, 229). Cultural anthropologist Gayle Rubin has shown that the contest over what is considered to be "natural," "normal," or "traditional" marriage is based on a sexual hierarchy in which a "charmed circle" of married people is assumed to be "heterosexual, free, coupled, in a relationship, [and of the] same generation," while their sexual relations are to be "monogamous, procreative, [practiced] at home, [with] no pornography, bodies only, [and] vanilla" (1999, 153). The qualities of these social imaginaries have since been used to explicitly define alternative marital and relationship practices as threatening and deviant like divorcees, women dating before marriage, and homosexuals coupling (Fabian 1983; Rubin 1999; Warner 1999).

This fantasy of marriage and family that never was for most Americans was fundamentally questioned during the mid-20th century social revolutions (Coontz 2000, 2005). The free love, antiwar student movement, gay liberation and feminist movements critiqued post-war marriage as a way to control sexuality and citizenship. During this time, the Civil Rights Movement also provided the popular support necessary for striking down state-based anti-miscegenation laws with the Supreme Court decision in *Loving v. Virginia* in 1967 (The Loving Story 2012). The lore of these social movements still strongly influences ideas among villagers (see Appendix C). As Paige hinted above, such revolutions helped to create the "freedom" to choose a marriage of one's own, while also easing the expectation that one *should* always marry.

Yet, even as such revolutionary sentiments were simmering under the veneer of the "Leave it to Beaver" post-war generation "other changes were spurred in later decades by people who had no intention of challenging traditional marital norms" (Chauncey 2004; Coontz 2005, 248-249). As Coontz quips, "the idea that 'traditional' marriage was overturned by 1960s revolutionaries makes a dramatic story," but it is incomplete (Coontz 2005, 248). The move to keep LGBTQ couples from legally marriage is part of the broader push by advocates of this very particular type of "traditional" marriage in the U.S. to keep it as the *only* normal. As Nicholas Townsend writes, "although norms about domestic life were fiercely debated during the 1960s and 1970s, behavior changed less than the representation of it" (2002, 101-102). As I show, villagers intimately understand this and many continue to engage those revolutionary ideas on marriage today even as many think of their own marriages as "traditional." This dissertation shows how national meta-narratives, like those "defending" "traditional"

marriage and "progressives" seeking to revolutionize its practice, come down to shape the meaning of marriage for villagers.

Marriage: Performative, Temporal, Symbolic

My strict emphasis on marriage meanings sets this study apart from others. This is not a study on parenthood or divorce—even as these related life events do come up in my interviews with villagers. However, studies that focus on marriage as related to parenthood are still instructive here. Townsend's 2002 ethnography investigated "the composition of, and internal contradiction within, a cultural model of successful male adulthood and fatherhood" among a group of American men who graduated high school together in the 1970s and made their adult lives in the same now-affluent California suburb (Townsend 2002, 20). Townsend's book *The Package Deal* focused on how men define a successful life trajectory as "complete an education, to get a job, to move out of his parent's home and live independently, to date a number of women, to meet the woman he wants to marry, to spend time as a couple, to set up a home together, to buy a house and to have children" (Townsend 2002, 37-38).

In my discussions with villagers, I actually found a similar list of preferred life events and material outcomes to the ones Townsend described. Villagers usually called this the "list" or the "checklist." In my study, though, the list was articulated regardless of gender and all the parts were not necessary even as villagers understood what "the list" meant. For example, Paige's comment above shows her being quite adamant about not being interested in marriage and Emma discusses her continual delay of purchasing a house due to economic circumstances—those things might not happen but these component parts still instruct feelings and behavior.

Similarly, Edin and Kefalas account for why economically disadvantaged, single mothers have children before or instead of getting married in the book *Promises I Can Keep: Why Poor Women Put Motherhood Before Marriage* (2005). They explain that a "new marriage norm" exists, in which "marriage ought to be reserved for couples who've already 'made it' economically, and who demonstrate their worth by acquiring the symbols of modest success: a mortgage, a house with some furniture, a car or two, and enough left over to put on a 'decent' wedding" (Edin and Kefalas 2005, 111). To account for how villagers perceive marriage, I identify where Edin and Kefalas' "new marriage norm" appears along with the still circulating post-war, stage-based discourse on marriage that Townsend articulated and that villagers refer to as the "checklist." Given the context of this study happening in a place that explicitly engages changing notions of marriage, I do not regard marriage as traditional, normative or even desired. Instead, I examine marriage as a performative symbol laden with meaning.

Performativity vs. Script Theory

Townsend's excellent study of fatherhood and notions of masculinity explains the cultural notion of the "checklist" in terms of script theory, which means "both a description of what has happened in a man's life and a set of directions for what should happen" (2002, 36). Though Townsend admits that scripts theory is "perhaps too directive," he treats the notion as a literal metaphor by suggesting that discursive "performance" better explains the package deal (see 2002, 48). In so doing, he avoids directly reviewing Judith Butler's well-known gender performativity theory, which effectively argued that gender is produced not through naming but through the "reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and

constrains" (Butler 1993, 2). Instead, Townsend implicitly summarizes the theory by discussing a jazz musical performance that integrates improvisation. He goes on to say that "the final performance, although it should be recognized as a performance of the standard, is not predetermined. While improvisation on a theme is the key to a jazz performance, good improvisations do not exist in isolation but refer to other performances" (Townsend 2002, 48). Ultimately he asserts "the script provides, by prescribing an approved sequence of life events, one way of reconciling contradictions. It simultaneously emphasizes men's departures from cultural norms and provides them a narrative framework within which to explain and justify those departures" (Townsend 2002, 49). His accounting draws on his informant's understanding of marriage using the post-war "stage-based" approach described by Hareven above, so his use of script theory is warranted. By relying on script theory even as he suggests performativity theory to explain behaviors around marriage and family-making, Townsend presents a static picture focused on *life outcomes* as delineated in the package deal and obfuscates theories about how marriage might change.

Performativity theory works best in my study since villagers draw upon a complex interplay of discursive influences in discussions of marriage that include "gay marriage," "traditional marriage," the feminist movement, "modern marriage," the Civil Rights Movement, experiences of divorce, sex, cohabitation, love and heartbreak. As I draw out in the chapters to come, villagers think marriage less as outcome and more as process or practice. Thus, I use Jon Borneman's definition of performative marriage from his 1996 article "'Until Death Do Us Part': Marriage/Death in Anthropological Discourse" where he defines marriage as:

> Part of a variable chain of signifiers, a chain of differential references that are resignified and prioritized only at the occasions in which they are performed and symbolized. There is no originary theoretical or practical core out of which the other terms or relations are generated, no universal referent prior to all others. (Borneman 1996, 229)

Borneman's definition allows a consideration of marriage as a practice which changes in historical context instead of as stage-based and static. This definition allows for the national marriage discourses to meet local, personal experiences among villagers and for marriage meanings, even norms, to change. The idea that norms change is nothing new but drawing out this implicit understanding on the subject of marriage is important for this study.

Conceptualizing marriage in this way is in line with the revolution in thinking that improved anthropological studies on kinship. An early anthropologist working on the subject of kinship in the late-1800s, Lewis Henry Morgan's main contribution was to successfully argue that through understanding kinship and marriage structures we might understand how a society is organized and functions (White 1957, 257). This insight still speaks to the importance of investigating kinship, family-making and marriage today (Godelier, Trautman and Tjon Sie Fat 1998). Many studies on marriage in the U.S. employ definitions that presuppose a specific value, meaning or norm for marriage onto all research subjects (Lewin 2004). Earlier anthropological studies on marriage did this by framing it structurally in terms of paternal economies and treated marriage qua androcentric organization as an ideal form (Fortes 1969; Lévi-Strauss 1969; Radcliffe-Brown 1950).

This meant that works on kinship and marriage often unintentionally set up a duality of Western versus non-Western kinship systems (for this critique see Asad 1986, Gough 1971, Schneider and Gough 1961, Needham 1971, Schneider 1980, Schneider

1984). Johannes Fabian compared this major flaw in such early anthropological studies to the temporal conceptualization of anthropology's "Other" (1983). There he introduced what I would call temporal normativity, successfully arguing that such early studies constructed "primitive" research subjects placed against "civilized" Western anthropologists. In other words, anthropologists at the time marked out difference using such temporal justifications and in so doing justified Western institutions and practices over all others.

As Janet Carsten summarized:

> From the 1970s on, the position of kinship as a field of study within anthropology has been under question. "Under question" is something of an understatement…the shift away from kinship was part of a general shift in anthropological understanding from structure to practice, and from practice to discourse. Kinship lost ground – most obviously to gender. But this was part of a wider recasting of the nature of social and cultural life which involved the breaking down of discrete domains of economics, politics, religion, and kinship which had defined anthropology…in which concerns about social justice, from feminism to the civil rights movement, were crucial. (2000, 2)

To wit, I use discourse analysis and temporal theory to closely examine the "improvisation," contingencies and contradictions that exemplify the experience of marriage among villagers. I continue the recent anthropological concern with social justice by discussing how villagers conceptualize what they are doing within the current "marriage movement." The term "marriage movement" is defined here as the national discourse on marriage that has some groups advocating for "traditional marriage" and others advocating for "marriage equality." The former group is usually advocating for "gay marriage" or "same-sex marriage" but as I discuss later that group stands in as a proxy for the critique on marriage that "progressives" have been leading for decades now and to which the group for "traditional" marriage has been reacting. By addressing these national discourses against more intimate discussions of marriage ideas and expectations

in a particular context, I develop a theory that contends with how villagers conceptualize changing economic circumstances with their ideas on marriage. Since I consider discourse analysis a method of inquiry, I discuss my use of it in the next chapter on methodology.

Marriage Temporality: Ritual, Institution, Process

Interpreting marriage as explicitly temporal, or bound by ideas on time, provides a useful framework for this study. For example, common U.S. marriage idioms are "happily ever after" and "'till death do us part." Temporality brings this subtext of marriage to the fore, clarifying *why* villagers act upon it in the ways that they do. Outside of the temporal identification "traditional" or "progressive," we see that Emma and Paige convey more mundane temporalities like ideas about age, paying off present debt and the future purchase of a home. Even though Emma is married and Paige is not, both women concern themselves with temporal reckonings like: terrified of "the future," "dreamed of," "I don't see that happening," "we *now* have this freedom," and "changes things a little bit too." All of these are conceptions of time and marriage discussed in relation to how old they were at the time of our interview.

Temporality is not just a way for people to make sense of past, present and future, though it is that. As temporality scholar Barbara Adam writes:

> Time is multifaceted: it is involved in physical processes and social conventions, in the abstract relations of mathematics and concrete relations between people. We measure it in clock-time units and by celestial motions, with the aid of recurrent events and through changes in our bodies. We utilize it as a medium of exchange for goods, services or payment. We use it as a resource of nature, of society, of people and of institutions. (1995, 20)

The idea of time differs from temporality in that the latter is the quality of or the state of being in a certain kind of time. Temporality is a condition that arises from multifaceted kinds of time even as those kinds of time are taken to be natural or "common sense" in particular cultural practices or across certain geographies. Like marriage and kinship studies (Leach 1958, Malinowski 1929; Radcliffe-Brown 1967, White 1957), time has also been a subject of anthropological interest for many years. Alfred Gell created a concise review of this broad body of work in 1992. There he emphasized that any anthropology of time must "insist on a distinction between time and the processes which happen in time" (Gell 1992, 315).

Up to this point, I have been using the term "progressive" as the native category people in the village use as a loose identifier. This term was often used by informants to set themselves apart from others who attempt to live by more "traditional" customs but not usually used outside of that distinction. Throughout this work though, I use the term "progressive" in two distinct ways. To identify that native category but also as an analytic category to articulate the temporal process that I argue allows me to discuss alternative ways of thinking and doing marriage. At times, the analysis shows this process and the identity category "progressive" corresponding to each other in discussions of marriage. At other places these diverge unpredictably because of the mutability of identity categories as interpreted through different people's experiences, desires and contextual shifts—marriage may still be regarded as a process by people who identify by turns as progressive or traditional and sometimes as these things simultaneously.

Marriage is often said to be both a ritual and an institution, which explains why even as it is deinstitutionalizing in the U.S. it remains a ubiquitous symbol. Understanding how the idea of ritual relates to the idea of an institution clarifies the

temporal processes and performativity of marriage that demonstrate villagers' progressive, process-oriented ideals on marriage. A ritual is a behavior that is:

> Formal, stylized, repetitive and stereotyped. People perform them in special (sacred) places and at set times. Rituals include liturgical orders—sequences of words or actions invented prior to the current performance of the ritual in which they occur….Repeated year after year, generation after generation, rituals translate enduring messages, values and sentiments into action …. Participation in a collective ritual may build up stress whose common reduction through the completion of the ritual enhances the solidarity of the participants. (Kottak 2006, 266)

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu names *rites de passage* like marriage as "rites of consecration, or rites of legitimation, or quite simply, rites of institution" in order to show the power they wield through repetition (1991, 117). He emphasized that "the social function of ritual and the social significance of the boundaries or limits which the ritual allows one to pass over or transgress in a lawful way" must be laid bare in order to fully understand these rites since:

> One of the essential effects of rites, namely that of separating those who have undergone it, not from those who have not yet undergone it, but from those who will not undergo it in any sense, and thereby instituting a lasting difference between those to whom the rite pertains and those to whom it does not pertain. (Bourdieu 1991, 117)

Those who experience the rite are differentiated from those who do not through assumed "durable" differences leading to the idea that institutions are immovable and even natural (Bourdieu 1991, 122). Ritual weddings legitimize the institution of marriage as a thing, or an "act of social magic which can create the difference *ex nihilo* or else (and this is the case more often than not) by exploiting in some way preexisting differences" (1991, 119-120). So, we find that those adherents to the "traditional institution" of marriage, defined in the post-war period as something only for heterosexuals abiding by the rules of the charmed circle, necessarily keep LGBTQ couples out of marriage in order to retain a

sense of legitimacy in their own marriages. Institutions are composed of groups of people who adhere to formal behaviors and rules to form a societal thing by such ritual repetition, like married people versus those who can never be married (Miller 2005, 222).

Marking difference then works to justify itself temporally:

> by solemnly marking the passage over a line which establishes a fundamental division in the social order, rites draw the attention of the observer to the passage (whence the expression 'rites of passage'), whereas the important thing is the line. What, in effect, does this line separate? Obviously, it separates a before and after. (Bourdieu 1991, 118)

Marriage is thus a specific institutional manifestation that legitimizes a different status thought of as perpetual or enduring by marking that time through ritual (before and after marriage, before and after divorce, never married, not marriageable).

In America, marriage is also linked to juridical, religious and political institutions which are established through the same temporal rules and social "magic." Ideas of affiliation, generation and social connectedness are then clearly temporal phenomena that link to and reinforce other institutions. Temporality and rites of passage "mark the individual's social development—rituals of birth, puberty, marriage, death—are often similar…such facts show us that the regularity of time is not an intrinsic part of nature; it is a man made notion which we have projected into our environment for our own particular purposes" (Leach 1966, 133). Such rites are acts of "communication, but of a particular kind: it *signifies* to someone what his identity is, but in a way that both expresses it to him and imposes it on him by expressing it in front of everyone (*kategorein*, meaning originally, to accuse publicly) and thus informing him in an authoritarian manner of what he is and what he must be" (Bourdieu 1991, 121). Hence the efforts of social movement revolutionaries to transgress (both intentionally and by living their felt identities openly) the lines that the 1950s post-war imaginary set up

around marriage with the concept of the charmed circle heretofore *de jure* imposed on all those who might find themselves married.

In discussing rites of institutions, Bourdieu's references to time are apparent even though he does not discuss temporality as a reason rites move social convention into action and identity. This is apparent in his discussion of class: "We are always dealing with continua, with continuous distributions, due to the fact that different principles of differentiation produce different divisions that are never completely congruent. However, social magic always manages to produce discontinuity out of continuity" (1991, 120). The social magic that *produces* "discontinuity out of continua" is temporality as it manifests in social meaning and practice and spatially on bodies, buildings, clothing—in the American marriage imaginary these *might be* the young bride, the white dress, the chapel.

Bourdieu uses examples of "biological differences between the sexes" and "natural boundary" in geography to illustrate his discussion of rites of passage (1991, 120). Yet both examples are spatial and do not allow him to account for the temporality of the rite of passage he aptly phrases as "social magic." In discussing the temporality of the rite of passage, Bourdieu points to the capacity of a rite to account for changing social phenomena. Yet his spatial examples substitute space for time and stop his analysis from incorporating temporality as a reason for how social magic happens. Analytically keeping space and time separate is essential for understanding the function of time and the ways that humans project it "into our environment for our own particular purposes" (Leach 1966, 133).

In the modern era among Westerners, rites of passage outwardly support continuity while manufacturing discontinuity through the process of reflexivity.

Reflexivity has become central to anthropology and ethnographic writing through feminist research praxis (see Mascia-Lees, Sharpe and Cohen 1989; McClaurin 2001; Visweswaran 1997) yet it is also the marker of modern temporality. It is the reason that we may understand our intimate connections to one another, even if we eschew these. Anthropologist Elizabeth Povinelli clarifies that:

> intimate interiority is characterized by a second-order critical reflexivity, by the *I* that emerges in the asking of the question, What do I feel toward you? In other words, the I who asks, What do I feel toward you? How do I desire you? contours the intimate interior. Along with being a form of orientation and attachment, intimacy is the dialectic of this self-elaboration. Who am I in relation to you?—this question and its cognates lift up a reflexive ego in the act of asking and stitch it into the world of others. The question is a performative in the strict sense. In the act of asking, Who am I? the I is constituted. This I and its labor with an other provide the micropragmatic architecture out of which We-the-People and other mass subjects unfold. (Povinelli 2002, 230-231)

As subjects existing in something we call modernity, we understand our entwinements with contextual dynamics which point to indexed temporalities like *being* a patriot, an American, a married person, a parent, a lesbian, a white person, which are drawn upon in the process of reflexive discernment. No where are these reflexive intimacies more apparent than in the marriage movement, which ties together nation and desire in a conversation that stitches us all (gay, straight and otherwise) together "into the world of others."

Bourdieu's substitution error of space for time is understandable as time is difficult to conceptualize precisely because it literally makes things, like *kategorein*/categories, *become* possible in order to form a framework that supports reasons to act. Povinelli further clarifies how it is that these categories link our intimate experiences of desire to rites of passage institutions, like marriage:

> Indeed, the I of the modern self has become so closely associated with this particular narrative form that challenges to intimacy seriously threaten the modes

> of attachment the subject has to herself and others, and thus challenge the basis of social coherence. Where would the I be without this intimate form of reflexivity? Where would we be? At sea—cast adrift, without nationality and without recognition? "Where" is one way of asking the question; "when" is another. In other words, crucial aspects of the intimate subject emerge when we examine the changing temporalities of asking, Who am I in relation to you and what do I feel? And when we ask, What are the changing stakes of my answer in relation to my social bonds? Understanding the temporality of the intimate subject moves us away from intimacy and toward what we might describe as the temporality of modern sexual contract and consent. (Povinelli 2002, 230-231)

Here Povinelli shows how reflexivity as a modern practice links seemingly intimate desires to the "changing stakes" of our social bonds like that original sexual contract called marriage. In so doing, she clarifies the *how* of institutional magic that Bourdieu is attempting to explain. In the era of "marriage movements," desires acted upon through this institution are continually linked to larger social imaginaries like the nation but also to "the temporality of modern sexual contract and consent" (2002, 231). In chapter five, I discuss how this sexual contract, intimacy and the idea of consent figure centrally into ideas of marriage for the people of the Village of New Paltz. Before getting ahead of the story, I next conduct a cursory accounting of the temporalities that appear to influence villager discussions of marriage, as rite and as sexual contract, in this late-modern moment.

Modern, Postmodern, Queer in Marriage Discourse

Temporality is used to understand marriage here because my informants speak of the institution in terms that reference time, such as immediate desire/passion, permanence, longevity. The concept is also useful as it provides a theoretical framework for understanding marriage as a process of social construction open to performative reflexivity and reinterpretation. Marriage as institutional process tautologically ascribes

an identity based on the act of marriage, whether one desires that category or not (i.e. wife and all of the traits that are to be associated with it).

Modern

The tensions between the reflexive versus institutionalized "social magic" of marriage are often roughly described as the difference between "modern" (reflexive) and "traditional" (institutional) marriage among my informants. Such framings of marriage in the U.S. today often invite a quarrel for reasons that have to do with conflicts inherent in the concept of modernity. Philosopher Bruno Latour's integration of modernity and temporality shows us why this is so:

> Modernity comes in as many versions as there are thinkers or journalists, yet all its definitions point, in one way or another, to the passage of time. The adjective "modern" designates a new regime, acceleration, a rupture, a revolution in time. When the word, "modern," "modernization," or "modernity" appears, we are defining by contrast, an archaic and stable past. Furthermore, the word is always being thrown in the middle of a fight, in a quarrel where there are winners and there are losers, Ancients and Moderns. "Modern," is thus doubly asymmetrical: it designates a break in the regular passage of time, and it designates a combat in which there are victors and vanquished. If so many of our contemporaries are reluctant to use this adjective today, if we qualify it with prepositions, it is because we feel less confident in our ability to maintain that double asymmetry: we can no longer point to time's irreversible arrow, nor can we award a prize to the winners. (1993, 10)

The contemporaries that he speaks of may well be the villagers I interviewed on marriage as they describe how there are "traditional" and "modern" ways of doing marriage which coexist within their intimate experiences. One of the most striking aspects of villagers' talk on marriage is that they regarded no one a winner for *doing* marriage one way or the other.

Extending Latour's discussion of modernity as always set against a stable past, Anthony Giddens argues that "modern time" is based on "empty time" (1990, 17), while

Benedict Anderson clarifies this as "empty, linear homogenous time" (1991, 24). Both Giddens and Anderson associate "empty time" with the simultaneous rise of the nation-state and of a large-scale national, capitalist order. Both argue that modernity arose out of Enlightenment thought, which was strongly influenced by Christian thought. Modernity as a temporality unfolds in a logical sequence relying on reason and science rather than pure faith. Anderson compares empty, linear homogenous time against "Messianic time" (1991, 24) since the church was the large scale organizer of life prior to the nation-state. Under Messianic time there is "a simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present" (Anderson 1991, 24), while empty, linear homogenous time allows for the conception of simultaneity where time runs transversely "marked not by prefiguring and fulfillment" but "by temporal coincidence, and measured by the clock and the calendar" (Anderson 1991, 24). "To be modern" is to "be oriented to the future, as an untapped authenticity and freedom" (Felski 2000, 143).

The rise of the nation-state under industrialism implemented this idea of empty, linear homogenous time allowing one to move freely around in space, to make one's fortune as opportunity (or coincidence) availed itself, and to imagine that others around the world were engaged in similar activities in a "real time" that was simultaneously fleeting and able to traverse geometrical space. Thus "time" had to be seized upon for material gain within particular countries. Thus the idea of national competition or "nationalism" was born (Anderson 1991; Giddens 1990; Thompson 1963). Christianity, employing Messianic time, continues to deeply influence codified marriage and the nation-state in the U.S. and continues to be the wall against which modernity reflects its distinct temporal stance.

Yet modernity is actually "subject to the very discontinuities of time that its narratives seek to disguise: different 'times' coexist within the same discrete historical moment…Western modernity is shown to contain multiple traces and residues of the past, to consist of a complex, nonsynchronous blend of the old and new" (Felski 2000, 61, 71). Through the notion of "empty, linear, homogenous time" exemplified in clock and calendrical time, modernity becomes, as Latour suggested, "doubly asymmetrical" (1993, 10). Modern time goes straight ahead *insisting* on the "passage" of clock time and implicating humans as necessarily "progressing" or moving forward with the linear passage of time.

Thinking of that "traditional" rite of marriage continually practiced in *our* modern times (as opposed to mythic, stable yet past marriages) we begin to see the way that temporalities hybridize to create that, "complex, nonsynchronous blend of the old and new" (Felski 2000, 71). In this movement forward, discontinuity in the modern ethos is apparent. For example, both the clock (24 hours in each day, each hour repeating once a day) and calendar (365 ½ days per year all called the same date, even if they "fall" on different days) repeat themselves even as they are to be understood as all different, never repeating (see Boellstorff 2007). When we think of a birthday (the day you were born in the past) we incarnate on that day each year the moment you came into social being—the past event moves into the present, repetitively—even past our death, as is the case with revered leaders, thinkers or celebrities. Thus, a modern telos of historical consciousness always involves:

> dialectics, teleology, transcendence, and claims to neutrality…[It] links the past to the future and thus creates the illusion that there are overarching laws of development governing temporal progress. Furthermore, it is a cultural absolute, shaping the logic of diverse fields of modern life from physics to politics to narrative. Modern historical consciousness thinks of time as a neutral,

> homogenous medium, where all relationships can be explained in terms of a common horizon. History thus involves a perpetual transcendence of the concrete. (Felski 2000, 10)

This is what anthropologist Edmund Leach discussed above as the tendencies of humans to naturalize their particular ideas of time (1966). Such perpetual transcendence of the concrete toward some idea of "progress" propels the concerns of villagers who identify as "progressives." Likewise, the idea of modern progress butts up against an idea of ancient traditions of marriage on the subject of "same-sex" marriage. By combining Fabian's critique of the creation of the "Other," Bourdieu's discussion of institutions being based on ritual repetition that rely upon marking out some difference, and Leach's clarification that temporal claims to neutrality work to naturalize the past, the concept of temporality becomes a useful conceptual category with which to analyze marriage conceptions. Further, even as many villagers' identify with a more progressive temporality, this frame allows us to understand how they may quite easily allow for roughly modern and traditional marriages to co-exist in the same frame of possibility. Understanding a bit of postmodern theory will help to reveal this trick of modernity in regards to our subject of marriage.

Postmodern

The postmodern turn allowed for an interrogation of modernity as a temporality. As Carsten discussed above, this turn also created a critique of kinship that changed the kinds of questions anthropologists asked and focused us instead onto questions of gender, and later sexuality (Vance 1999). Postmodernity therefore challenges the modernist temporal assumptions around expected coherence and linear time sequences in regards to

all things related to sexuality and gender, including marriage as sexual contract and temporal rite.

As John Bender and David Wellbery assert, postmodernism "denotes an exponential intensification of modernity…our present does not leave modernity, but rather aggravates its difficulties, intensifies its concerns" (1991, 2). In this postmodern rendering then "time is the form of diversity…'otherness,' a radical heterogeneity" that allows new forms of it to emerge so that "time is *alter*-ation, the becoming of alterity, the creation and destruction of forms" (Bender and Wellbery 1991, 6-7). What many people refer to as history includes the confident modernist presumption

> of what really happened in the past and an imperious urge to organize the chaotic flux of time into a single streamlined story. In short, we can think of history as a modern mirage, an ephemeral fantasy spun out of words that tries to pass itself off as an objective account of how things really are. Postmodern thought shatters this apparently stable ground and radically alters our way of thinking about time…. In this view, individual groups have their own distinct histories, rhythms, and temporalities quite apart from traditional forms of periodization. History is not one broad river, but a number of distinct and separate streams, each moving at its own pace and tempo. (Felski 2000, 2-3)

In short, postmodernist thought has allowed for multiple *little-h* histories to be just as legitimate as the modernist grand narrative of History (or what many feminists refer to as patriarchal His-story) (Felski 2000, 26; Freeman 2011, xx). What then does such an understanding have to do with the meaning of marriage?

Postmodern temporality developed during the post-war period in the West emphasizing small, local narratives as alternatives to modernist grand narratives like the idea that the post-war ideal of marriage has been natural and unchanged for thousands of years (Felski 2000; Sarup 1993). These kinds of modernist grand narratives:

> have become associated with a political program or party, while little narratives are associated with localized creativity…For Lacan, the experience of temporality, human time, past, present, memory, the persistence of personal

> identity is an effect of language. It is because language has a past and a future, because the sentence moves in time, that we can have what seems to us a concrete or lived experience of time. (Sarup 1993, 146)

I observe the performativity of marriage by understanding its effect in context through identifying the temporal levels of large-scale (national discourse), life-time (or personal experiences), and the everyday (or material or pacing manifestations of these two other scales in context) in villagers' talk of marriage (Felski 2000, 18).

Temporal levels are translated in practice through reflexivity. As such, Giddens defines "traditional time" as any handling of time and space that "inserts any particular activity or experience within the continuity of the past, present, and future, these in turn being structured by recurrent social practices" (1990, 37). Thus, what becomes possible is a modern rendering of tradition reinvented via reflexivity by each "new generation as it takes over the cultural inheritance from those preceding it" (Giddens 1990, 37). A marriage under modern-traditional time then does not mean one unitary, enduring performance of marriage over time but one that changes slightly with subsequent generations over time. Placing marriage in the broad historical context of modern temporality, the "traditional marriage" that developed in post-war circumstances in the U.S. could only have happened in that context, reflecting the trauma of World War II, yearning for a stable present, erasing the painful, chaotic past of the Great Depression, and executing these things through a conception of the charmed circle of marriage (Coontz 2000, Rubin 1999). And many began to react against this, including queers.

Queer Temporality

Postmodernity supported the formation of the idea of queer temporality that is making its way into anthropological thinking (see Boellstorff 2007a, 2007b; Rooke

2009). Queer time occurs within modernity's linear time frame but can be conceptualized as the ability to reflexively conceptualize possibilities from multiple temporalities and the difficulties of modernity inspired by intimate sexual and gendered experiences of loss (see Freeman 2007, 2010; Halberstam 2005, 2011). In this way, queer temporality or "being queer" is not linked to one particular sexual orientation. Queer temporality embraces coincidence, alterity, transgression, "imbrications and contamination" (Boellstorff 2007a, 229). This temporality is grounded in the present moment as "a force…at once indefinite and virtual but also forceful, resilient, and undeniable" (Halberstam 2005, 11). Yet as Elizabeth Freeman adds, queer temporality also puts:

> the past into meaningful transformative relation with the present. Pure nostalgia for another revolutionary moment…will not do. But nor will its opposite, a purely futural orientation that depends on forgetting the past. Instead queerness…consists of mining the present for signs of undetonated energy from past revolutions. (2010, xvi)

As Tom Boellstorff, Judith "Jack" Halberstam and Elizabeth Freeman construct it, queer temporality allows the transgression of the modern impulse to continually overcome the past in order to question the "normative."

Through constant inquisition and deconstruction, the institutional boundary of marriage that magically demarcates some as normative and some as Other is broken down. In this way, we find Boellstorff tentatively proposing the possibility of a "queer theory that does not foreclose the support of what I provisionally term same-sex marriage," (2007, 228). Queer temporality allows for the various practices of marriage (as well as sex and gender and sexuality) to be held in the present as possible and contemporaneous with each other, even if conflicting. For example, the conjunctions "modern wife" or the "traditional, married gay man" inhabit hybrid temporal identities—the former supposedly integrating ideas of gender equality while inhabiting her role in

marriage with the later allowing himself to marry even as some societal proscriptions consider his sexuality deviant and so not allowed to cross the imaginary marriageability line. These examples upset the expected boundaries of behavior between subject positions and in so doing seem quite queer.

An important point of clarification between queer theory and queer or Gay Liberationist activism needs to be discussed before going further. When the evaluation of who is "right" or "wrong" for marrying begins to enter discussions then queer temporality is no longer operant and a political evaluation anchored at some specific temporal referent is being referred to. Queer time is basically the time of difference among sexual experience (Freeman 2007). Queerness as identity is the "range of political affect" (Halberstam 2011, 89) that emanates from a specific historical formation many take on as an identity or a transgression of that identity (Jagose 1997).

In queer theory, what is replaced are modern "grand narratives" about how women or men, "gay" or "straight," or married people should behave—wanting marriage, rejecting it, embracing it as inevitable, or genderqueering it. As Bourdieu reflects, "to institute, to give a social definition, an identity is to impose boundaries" (1991, 120) and to "queer" an institution or an identity *allows for* transgression, questioning, movement through modern reflexivity. Subject positions (i.e., married, homosexual, and divorcee as well as queer) are bound by such contextually-driven temporal assumptions. The temporal accounts based on queer theory allow for discontinuities inherent in the imperfect acts of instituting marriage, whether these are willful rejections/disidentifications (Muñoz 1999) or because one cannot perform the social role attached to the institution. Queer "ruptures" in marriage expectations allow one to fail as much as flourish—the emphasis here lies in allowing for alternatives in expectations of

sexuality and gender within the institution (Halberstam 2011). As I have shown, the temporalities of modern, postmodern and queer not only index each other but weave together in experience. Chapter five shows how these hybrid temporalities create sometimes surprising and sometimes mundane meanings of marriage among villagers.

American Marriage: Symbolic Relatedness and Intersectionality

The performativity of marriage and its institutionalization through rites hinge on the power of symbol. Anthropologist David Schneider's work forcefully took up the critique of the study of kinship discussed by Carsten above. He argued that since there are so many ways that humans construct kinship there can be no unitary theory that explains it all (1984). Instead of treating kinship as an actual thing, structure or institution, he argued kinship is more properly understood as an idiom or as a system of symbols and meanings. Marriage should then be understood as a cultural phenomenon not as a "natural" one occurring everywhere the same way or under even a similar logical syntax (Kuper 1999, 136; Schneider 1980, 8). Schneider's work moved the idea of marriage from the constraints of structuralism providing a way of understanding it as symbolic (Carsten 2000; Dolgin, Kemnitzer and Schneider 1977). Even as Schneider's 1968 *American Kinship: A Cultural Account* argued that anthropologists should take up the examination of kinship critically (and even abandon it), that study also interrogated U.S. marriage and family-making as symbolic. His findings there critically inform this study.

Schneider found that American kinship relations were understood symbolically through "blood" or marriage mitigated by a public understanding of who has/had sexual relations with whom (1968, 23). By making this argument, Schneider disengaged biology from kinship. In this way, taken for granted ideas such as "marriage" and "family" could

be examined as separate symbols not "natural law." This move also delinked marriage from child-bearing and allowed for studies, such as this one, to focus strictly on particular marriage meanings in context.

Schneider's critique was inspired by feminist approaches to marriage and kinship (Gough 1971; MacCormack and Strathern 1980; Rubin 1975; and Schneider and Gough 1961) that exposed the nature-culture assumption put forth by the earlier structuralist anthropologists as inherently androcentric and not actually natural (see Fortes 1969, Fox 1967, Goodenough 1970; Goody 1977; and Levi-Strauss 1969). Even as few anthropologists today would dispute that marriage is socially constructed, it is also true that "few have rigorously explored its implications" (Collier 1988, 198). Jane Collier called for such investigations in her 1988 collection on marriage in matrilineal societies because:

> any attempt to understand social inequality must begin by identifying the frames of meaning that lay actors draw upon in constituting and reconstituting their worlds, no analysis can end there. To record cultural values is not to penetrate frames of meaning. The analyst, therefore, must ask two further questions. First, what is the relationship between overt cultural values and the distribution of social rewards such as power, prestige, and privilege? Second, why do peoples have the particular cultural values they do? Few social scientists have bothered to ask the first question because they assume that cultural values determine the allocation of social rewards. (Collier 1988, 198)

As I explained earlier, I use temporality theory to investigate the "frames of meaning that lay actors draw upon in constituting and reconstituting their worlds" in order to examine how marriage helps to culturally allocate social rewards in the current economy (Collier 1988, 198). To do this, I take an intersectional approach to power relations that I explain more fully in the next chapter on methodology (see Bao 2005; Boellstorff 2007a, 2007b; Brodkin 2000; di Leonardo 1984; Fabian 2001; Franklin and McKinnon 2002; Friedman 2006; Goode and Maskovsky 2001; Hill Collins 2003; McCall 2001, 2005; Mullings

1997, 2005; Williams 1989). Intersectionality here means that we consider "the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations" (McCall 2005, 1771).

These power relations within kinship studies have become explicit in the recent revival of *critical kinship studies*, which considers all of the ways that people conceive themselves connected and obligated to one another and how they act on these conceptions (Blackwood 2005, 4). For example, we must account for time spent in care giving activities, food and room sharing, adoption, construction of the household, child-rearing practices, "blood" or genetic relational understandings and feelings of connectedness (Carsten 2000, 4).

Relatedness is an idea that has been developed since Schneider's criticism and emphasizes how the practice of kinship is inherently temporal (Carsten 2000). Since Schneider, anthropological works have focused on "blood"/genetic symbolic relations within the "new economy" (see Craven 2010; Luce 2010; Franklin and McKinnon 2001; Ong and Collier 2005; Strathern 1992) and largely avoided addressing the second symbol of American kinship, marriage (with notable exceptions to Kath Weston's 1991 *Families We Choose* and Ellen Lewin's 1998 work *Recognizing Ourselves: Lesbian and Gay Ceremonies of Commitment*). In response, this ethnography attends to how marriage is understood among villagers in terms of relatedness under the intersectional power relations of the "new economy" within the microcosm of the village.

Temporal Geography: The "New Economy" and Village Marriage

Any conception of time must be understood in context. Regarding contemporary marriage in the U.S., Borneman likewise emphasizes the importance of historical context:

> The issues of sexuality and love marriage are often framed as ones of choice, sexual or marital preference, but, of course, no form of human affiliation can be explained through individual choice alone. As humans, we make our own history, to paraphrase Marx, but not under conditions that we choose. (2005, 33)

Since this study is interested in distinguishing power relations as "processes which happen in time" (Gell 1992, 315) then it is imperative to understand the changing temporalities of the "new economy," better known as neoliberalism (Brash 2011; Harvey 2005; Moody 2007; Peck 2010). As Harvey defines it, neoliberalism consists of:

> Political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defense, police, and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action, if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. (2005, 2)

Here we are reminded of the rites that create institutions *ex nihilo*. What Harvey gestures at is that the ethos of neoliberalization has become the driving force for reimagining the purpose of basic institutions onto which Western society has been based—not just marriage but also money, banks, markets and the state. Considering neoliberalism as a process means that it should rightly be called *neoliberalization*, a term I adopt throughout this work (see Peck 2010, 20-21).

Scholars have shown how the word "choice" often appears as a discursive marker of neoliberalization (Apple 1996; Duggan 2003; Craven 2007, 2010; Davis 2006; Marzullo 2011). Temporally speaking, ideas of choice as much as marriage and sexuality are best understood as active processes directed by contextual circumstances as much as by human desires. Townsend's study of suburban of married men, discussed above, is

instructive here not only for his identification of what I call the checklist phenomenon but also for what his study did not do.

In relying upon script theory, he showed how the moral geography in the area of California where his research was conducted was reinscribed through men's marriage practices. In this excerpt, Townsend does acknowledged the effects of the economy on life possibilities, "Getting a job and becoming financially independent as a young man, for instance, depends on an economy that is generating enough good jobs, just as buying the home he wants depends on the state of the real estate market. The basic order of life events is culturally variable and variably evaluated" (2002, 38). The rest of his work though avoids talking about how this mention of the broader economy also affects the possibilities these men are presented with and purportedly "choose."

Other scholars examine broader economic effects while discussing marriage yet likewise stay away from examining causality (see Brandzel 2005; Brooks 2002; Culhane 1999; Mayo and Gunderson 2000; Morris and Nott 2005; South and Lloyd 1995; Stout 2003; Waite 1995; Waite and Gallagher 2001; Wedgwood 1999). Repeating the error of early structuralist anthropologists, such studies assume that a single way of doing marriage is understood among most people, no matter geohistorical circumstance or intersectional difference. This obscures how the distributive processes of power, prestige, and privilege impact the "choice" and practice of marriage in the new economy. As Emma and Paige articulate above, economic concerns strongly influence marriage options and ideas. These discussions of "choice" are not coincidental but are constitutive of a neoliberal ethos and temporality.

"Explanations of freedom in neoliberal thinking appear to concentrate on choice, in the very short run, and the anchoring notions of the distant future ('ways of life')"

(Guyer 2007, 414). In this way, proponents of neoliberalization have not only developed a new economic ethos but with it a temporality, a certain way of thinking about the past, present and future based on the fundamental tenets that underlie this ethos. For the U.S., neoliberal renderings of "choice" recast democracy and reduce all politics to narrow market concerns of "choice" and "consumption," while simultaneously valorizing the possibilities of the individual and downplaying the importance of public voice and organizing (Apple, 1996, 30; Duggan, 2003, 1-21). Isn't Emma "terrified about finances in regards to the future" because she does not think the family she and her husband are creating "will ever be ideally where I want to be with marriage and finances"?

Marriage scholars' inattentiveness to the local economic conditions created by the "new economy" means the relatively new phenomenon of "marriage choice" has been discussed uncritically. Divorcing marriage from the larger economic context means such scholarly works do not contend with the reasons that marriage has become a "choice" in the U.S. for some and not others (see Cherlin 2004, 2009; Peters and Kamp Dush 2009; Nock 2009). Treating neoliberalism as a process allows me to ethnographically examine its temporal manifestations on marriage decisions. Further, discussing it as a process means that neoliberalization is crafted and responded to by living people. Hence, I do not treat neoliberalization as an inevitable, hegemonic force but instead as open to ethnographic investigation and alteration by contextual forces (Guyer 2007; Kingfisher and Maskovsky 2008; Peck 2010; Sahlins 1972).

As L.A. Rebhun has observed of changing marriage in modernizing Brazil, it is usually imagined within a specific "temporal geography" (1999, 3). Time deepens the salience of geo-historic circumstance to construct various ideals of marriage and relatedness through these larger social, economic and cultural processes impacting the

everyday experiences of individuals. As this study shows, marriage in the village is likewise constructed through such temporal, historicized, contextually-bound cultural logics and circumstances. I conceive of marriage as temporal phenomena mitigated by geographic contexts at levels such as the local (the village), the national (the U.S.) and one's life-time imaginings (Felski 2000, 18) and I use these levels to structure the three analysis chapters four, five and six.

The importance of locale on timing comes through in the comments that begin this chapter. Emma's non-materialism is a revered aspect of village moral geography. I discuss the village setting more fully in chapter three, but for Emma, materialism is negotiated by her emphasis on being a "strong communicator and being happy with our life." Moral geography is "an interweaving of a moral framework with a geographical territory…through linguistic moves, community members position themselves and their neighbors within a kind of abstract moral 'grid'" (Modan 2007, 90).

Paige's assertion that "gay people who do want to get married…changes things a little bit too," shows how national-level marriage discourse has been reacted to by villagers who have drawn on their specific moral geography to create a consensus that "same-sex" marriage should be legal in the U.S. Villagers like Paige not only posture towards tolerance but use reflexively to consider marriage as a way of linking not only "gay people" who want marriage to other marriageable persons but as a reflexive commentary on "the changing stakes of…my social bonds" (Povinelli 2002, 231).

In Emma's discussions of her "visions" for her life and Paige's conflicted question, "I'm 26 years old, where's my picket fence…?", life-time temporal imaginings come to the fore in marriage discussions. These concerns have as much to do with timing, job availability, and the current state of the economy as with notions of the "right" age

for marriage as well as one's "biological clock" and gay people's and others' marriageability.

Village Fieldwork: Contextualizing Time and Neoliberalization

I undertook the fieldwork for this dissertation from June 2007 through December 2008 during the "Great Recession" in the U.S. (Elliott 2009; Elliott and Clark 2009). Many scholars have documented how the competition between multiple temporal impulses, for example, between work expectations, family pressures and marital expectations actually affect the everyday experiences of many Westerners. These scholars report that many people from all walks of life feel "stressed out" or deal with "time crunches" or "sandwich stress," meaning caring for multiple generations while attempting to maintain the nuclear family ideal (Hassan 2003; Menzies 2005; Perrons et al. 2005). These feelings of "stress" also pervade the affective realms of relationships and marriage like never before and were apparent in villagers' discussions of marriage. In response, I examine how the temporalities of the "new economy" or neoliberalization belong at and move affectively with local, intimately-regarded marriage decisions (Richard and Rudnyckyj 2009; Zelizer 2005).

The Village of New Paltz is germane to discussions of neoliberalization as the ethos was first implemented in the U.S. during the New York City budget crisis of 1975. The "New York Solution," as it became known, was then implemented full-force in the U.S. by President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s (Greenberg 2008; Moody 2007; Peck 2010; Tabb 1982:107-118). In regards to the 1997 SUNY New Paltz conference scandal, Duggan has argued that it was focused upon by neoconservatives in the state as a way of advancing neoliberalization tactics in higher education there (2003). Publicizing the racy

event reduced popular resistance to the replacement of key political appointees who in turn supported the defunding of state-sponsored higher education—a process that has increased in the SUNY system ever since (see Healy 2005; Schemo 2002).

The New York City fiscal crisis of the mid-1970s was the "tip of the iceberg, the visible part of a far more enormous and dangerous phenomenon: the decline of the industrial northeast and the transformation of its cities to suit the purposes of the corporations and service industries…Its crisis was both an augur and a cause of problems elsewhere" (Tabb 1982:1). The tip-of-the-iceberg that William Tabb first noticed and discussed in 1982, well before U.S. scholars began to define what was happening, was the early process of neoliberalization in the U.S.

Tabb accurately identified that the economic ethos is generally suggested as a solution in circumstances of crisis and when policy-makers, industry-leaders and citizens are most fearful. As celebrated neoliberal economist Milton Friedman stated of the ethos:

> Only a crisis—actual or perceived—produces real change. When that crisis occurs, the actions that are taken depend on the ideas that are lying around. That, I believe, is our basic function: to develop alternatives to existing policies, to keep them alive and available until the politically impossible becomes politically inevitable. (Friedman 1983, viii-ix *cited in* Peck 2008, 4)

Those crises—actual or perceived—and the neoliberally-based policies "lying around" or rather kept alive through the continuous generation of think-tank reports and media commentary, did respond to the 1975 New York City fiscal crisis. The struggle that then unfolded in New York began a battle over economic priorities:

> The policies put into place in the 1960s may be described as redistributive liberalism, and in the 1970s as neoconservative reprivatization. The redistributive liberalism of the 1960s saw the basic system as sound, and government as a transforming agency that could solve such long-standing social problems as discrimination and poverty. As long as the economy was growing, it seemed both possible and desirable to take part of the growth dividend and redistribute it to those who had been left out of the affluent society: jobs could be created and

> public works programs instituted, while money could be invested in education so that the children of ghetto residents could be given equality of educational opportunity. (Tabb 1982, 12-13)

Yet the 1970s saw the U.S. economy began to contract rapidly under President Carter, entering a period widely described as "stagflation," meaning the economy slowed and became "stagnant" while inflation rose steadily. The crisis that resulted from the exceedingly slow growth of the economy allowed a space for the suggestion of an economic strategy that replaced Keynesianism (redistributive liberalism) with laissez-faire liberalism as *the singular path* to overcoming the crisis. In the case of the New York City crisis that strategy sought to revamp New York policies and organizations to

> "reprivatize" the economy: services would be bought instead of received "free" from government (but paid out of tax dollars); resource allocation would be left to the market, more and better housing would be built, neighborhoods would be improved, and services would be more efficiently and cheaply brought to local communities. The idea came to be accepted that it was not the government's place to help the oppressed and exploited, but rather to see that markets worked efficiently. The benefits of growth would trickle down to the poor. (Tabb 1982, 12)

The key phrase here is "bought instead of received 'free' from government (but paid out of tax dollars)" (Tabb 1982, 12). In short, "The New York City Solution" had one main goal, "the aim of restoring power to economic elites" through rhetorics of privatization, choice and what would become the language of "gentrification" subsidized through tax dollars (Brash 2011, 6, 32; Craven 2007). This was accomplished through various public-sector policies that seek this end, especially through the limited taxation on wealthy individuals and corporate entities described as "corporate welfare" by the sociologists Donald Bartlett and James Steele (2003). Under this system, what tax money there is should be provided not to the poor but to private entities that are to "develop" programs, services and infrastructure to continually allow the shrinkage of government (Brash 2011,

25-27; Moody 2007, 57-60, 78). Under this plan, a diminished government for citizens should redistribute resources to private entities as was implied in Tabb's parenthetical remark that non-governmental corporations or entities should still be "paid out of tax dollars" (Tabb 1982, 12). In this way, government is not for the people but for private business entities.

Gérard Duménil and Dominique Lévy characterize the 2008 global recession as the "Great Contraction" (2011, 19). Between the 1970s through that year, neoliberalization ascended as the economic ethos driving the global economy. Improvements in information and communication technology (ICT) helped advance this ethos globally (Hope 2009; Tabb 1982; Brash 2011). "Through the convergence of neoliberal globalization and ICT revolution a new powerful temporality has emerged through which knowledge production is refracted: network time" (Hassan 2003, 225). Under ICT, time now operates "in a new all-encompassing temporal spectrum that extends from nanoseconds to millennia, clock time is no longer appropriate to the associated present-oriented transactions and futures are traversed in the dual sense of the word" (Adam 2006, 119). The rise of this networked society has implications across all aspects of life.

> ICTs are also conducive to more intense and longer working hours, with more critical interpretations of the "new economy" linking it with precarious, fragmented and insecure working patterns, all of which could make it more difficult to effect work–life balance policies and realize equal opportunities. Moreover, changes in educational attainment levels, lifestyle choices and family formation, together with the changes in working arrangements, have created a different context within which women and men decide how to combine paid and care work. (Perrons et al. 2005, 51-52)

"Care work" is the continuous and often repetitive effort (paid and unpaid) work usually associated with the feeding, housing, nurturing, and attaining medical care and education

for the young and putative family members. This work is often done by women and temporally indexed in the U.S. by the idiom "a woman's work is never done." Care work is often said to be "gendered" and its continuous temporal profile profoundly impact women's material security because their time-investment in unpaid or underpaid care work is never ending and done at the expense of time spent towards market-based earnings and saving for their future (Benoit and Hallgrímsdóttir 2011; DeVault 2008; Harrington Meyer 2000). The temporal changes Barbara Adam, Robert Hassan and Diane Perrons and company detail are based on ICT changes that helped spread neoliberalism. Yet these combine with the tensions inherent in care-work contribute to pervasive feelings of stress in Western culture (Menzies 2005; Virilio 2000).

The philosophical roots of neoliberalism stretch back to the end of World War II when the "traditional" idea of U.S. marriage found its inception (Coontz 2000; Hareven 1991, 1993; Harvey 2005; Lichtenstein 2006, Peck 2010, 16-20). Neoliberalism is a vastly simplified version of Adam Smith's concept of economic liberalism (1776). There Smith argued for laissez-faire economics, meaning that the government should not meddle in the economic affairs of private industry and that capitalistic free trade was the best way to allow nations to develop. Economist Friedrich von Hayek's 1944 work *The Road to Serfdom* (1944) best articulated this "new" or *neo*-liberal ideal (Hall 1986, 63).

Written during the waning years of World War II, *The Road to Serfdom* is essentially a treatise for the correctness of unregulated market capitalism in reaction to communist, socialist and fascist government central planning and authoritarianism. Neoliberalism began to take root after the war and was institutionalized in the Bretton-Woods agreements of 1944 that established a system of the international monetary exchange, rules for commerce and financial transactions, set the dollar as the global

reserve currency and fixed exchange rates among industrialized nations (Harvey 2005, 9-11). At the same time, the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Bank of International Settlements "were set up to help stabilize international relations" (Harvey 2005, 10). All of this was and remains supported by ICT advances and network time that impact life pacing.

Duménil and Lévy explain neoliberalization within the long history of modern capitalism:

> The three phases in the history of modern capitalism were punctuated by the occurrence of lasting and deep crisis, denoted here as "structural crises." They are the crisis of the 1890s, the Great Depression, the crisis of the 1970s, and the crisis of neoliberalism culminating in the Great Contraction. Structural crises are the combined outcome of the internal contradictions of each social order and class struggle. They mark sharp breaks in the history of capitalism but do not change underlying evolutions. (2011, 19)

What is important to note is that such "structural crises" or what economists call "adjustments" are part of capitalistic systems not arbitrary or aberrational. When these happen depend on historic circumstances, or "the social order and class struggle," but the fact that these will happen in such a system is unavoidable. Between the end of World War II (which resulted in the end of the Great Depression) and the stagflation crisis of the 1970s, neoliberalism was being theorized among Western countries and Japan even as they relied upon Keynesian economic theory by focusing efforts on "full employment, economic growth, and the welfare of its citizens, and that state power should be freely deployed, alongside, or if necessary, intervening in or even substituting for market processes to achieve its ends," (Harvey 2005, 10). Yet during the structural crisis of the 1970s, a revival of laissez-faire capitalism, even after its spectacular failure lead to the Great Depression, was argued as the only economically viable plan.

In the U.S., the group that most strongly advocated for neoliberalism was found at the University of Chicago's Department of Economics, exemplified in the works of Nobel laureates Milton Friedman and Gary Becker (Harvey 2005, 21-26; Peck 2010, 3-5, 10). Friedman's work sold neoliberalization as inevitable (Caldwell 2007, 29-30), euphemizing the era between the 1970s and the 2008 "Great Contraction" as the "Hayek tide" (Duménil and Lévy 2011, 19; Peck 2010, 272).

Jane Guyer traces the temporality of neoliberalism through the idea of monetarism, which was used to limit price fluctuations beginning in the 1950s:

> Under monetarism, the state assumes the responsibility of regulating the money supply so that the value of money itself—through inflation or deflation—does not run its own separate interference on price determination by consumer demand and supply. This, then, becomes the basis for recuperation of the long run as a viable working horizon: focus on a continuing stable value of money (particularly in capital markets, through the interest rate), faith in freed-up market forces to produce innovation, and calculation by increasingly sophisticated mathematics and model building, all complemented by a whole range of financial instruments that address (and take advantage of) market risk. (Guyer 2007, 412)

Guyer summarized that the most optimal use of state policy and financial institutions under monetarism are to control "extramarket influences on capital and profit, such as currency inflation and unstable conditions in the world" (2007, 412). Through such institutional controls "investment conditions" would then "favor the kind of growth and 'progress' through markets that Adam Smith predicted and that have been reiterated down through the ages since" (Guyer 2007, 412). That this system was created in the wake of WWII at the same time that a singular, national ideal of marriage of marriage was established and thought to create societal stability—this idea of marriage was part of the same project. Note Guyer's use of "progress" connects to the modern temporality driving neoliberalization, while her use of "down through the ages" essentializes laissez faire inspired monetarism. These essentialist, ahistorical framings are a tendency of

advocates for the ethos of neoliberalism yet as we see this system was closely orchestrated, contextually derived and not at all a "natural" occurrence of unrestricted market forces.

Guyer's definition of monetarism is very similar to neoliberalism as defined by Harvey above yet she avoids the actual term "neoliberalism" by arguing that anthropologists usually characterize neoliberalism as wholly negative, stopping at a "simple depiction of the 'undermining' of the state and the 'freeing' of markets" (Guyer 2007, 412). Responding and learning from this criticism, I use Guyer's work as inspiration for considering neoliberalism as neoliberalization, a complex temporal process that produces a range of ethnographically accessible effects not the least of which is an effect on temporality.

As Guyer suggests, neoliberalization mirrors Christian temporal discourses yet replaces God with the market (2007). Advocates of the ethos focus on the long run with zealous faith in the unlimited growth potential of markets (Guyer 2007). The attempt of neoliberalization to "render the current moment in time as subject to reason, whether by extrapolation from other times and places or by thinking through logical entailments, is explicitly rejected in favor of faith" (Guyer 2007:415). The emphasis on "faith" in the market exemplifies the ritualistic temporality of neoliberalization thereby justifying its institutionalization across public and private planning globally. In chapters five and six, I show how villagers integrate such neoliberal temporalization in their discussions of marriage.

Getting away from "simple depictions" of neoliberalization, anthropologist Aihwa Ong puts forth two definitions of neoliberalization and disagrees with Harvey's flat vulgar Marxist rendering of it as "an all encompassing condition under the hegemony of

unfettered markets" (Ong 2007, 4). First, she proposes that Harvey's definition above be treated as a capitalized Neoliberalism deployed as economic doctrine. Second, she argues that small-*n* neoliberalism be conceptualized as a political optimization, reconfiguring relationships between "governing and the governed, power and knowledge, and sovereignty and territoriality" (Ong 2006, 3). Through institutionalization, backed up by econometric modeling, neoliberalization becomes a governing technology and is deployed as such by

> calculative choices and techniques in the domains of citizenship and of governing. Following Foucault, "governmentality" refers to the array of knowledges and techniques that are concerned with the systematic and pragmatic guidance and regulation of everyday conduct. As Foucault puts it, governmentality covers a range of practices that "constitute, define, organize and instrumentalize the strategies that individuals in their freedom can use in dealing with each other." Neoliberal governmentality results from the infiltration of market-driven truths and calculations in the domain of politics. In contemporary times, neoliberal rationality informs action by many regimes and furnishes the concepts that inform the government of free individuals who are then induced to self-manage according to market principals of discipline, efficiency and competitiveness. (Ong 2006, 4)

To help conceptualize this process, I draw on Pierre Bourdieu's writings on the temporality of practice:

> Caught up in the "matter in hand," totally present in the present and in the practical functions that it finds there in the form of objective potentialities, practice excludes attention to itself (that is to the past). It is unaware of the principals that govern it and the possibilities they contain; it can only discover them by enacting them, unfolding them in time. (Bourdieu 1990, 92)

Neoliberalization is marked by its focus on the present, while diminishing the emphasis on the near past and the near future at the level of the individual (Guyer 2007, 410). Rendering the past this way marks neoliberalization as quintessentially modern. The point is for us all to keep moving ever forward towards market goals and profit in the "long run."

Drawing on this notion of temporality and the above review, I summarize the *tactics of neoliberalization* that I directly apply in the chapters to come (adapted from Brash 2011; Harvey 2005; Herdt 2009; Moody 2007; Peck 2010; Tabb 1982):

1. Prioritizing corporate investment and real estate development through government supported developmentalism, which moves local revenue outside of local economies;
2. Supporting the redistribution of public receipts (taxes) to private projects, especially in the forms of tax-breaks for big companies or projects, known colloquially as "corporate welfare";
3. Responding to "crisis"—real or perceived—with austerity programs designed to dramatically remove resources from public infrastructure, pensions and basic social programs exacerbating social problems and creating an environment of ruthless competition for basic resources and/or protest from citizens;
4. Continually cutting government funding in support of privatized public functions, like cutting housing subsidies, public higher education funding, public hospitals and clinics, public health and other government programs; privatizing parks, roads, libraries, and mass transit; and, the selling/long term leasing of government property to private entities. The impact of such taxation and developmentalism priorities is not discussed as reasons for the lack of available public funding;
5. Speeding up the removal of funding from public projects and justifying privatization or increased governmental surveillance and regulation of certain groups or behaviors based on moral panics. Certain groups are treated as "Other" or threats to society and public health like government workers as irresponsible, welfare recipients and immigrants as lazy and criminal, and "gays" as diseased and sinful;
6. Realigning government to protect private property and interests, ensure the value of money and the continued deregulation of industry, and using police to surveil the citizenry;
7. Defunding or eliminating social provisioning for citizens, such as welfare, Medicaid, Medicare, Social Security, public works programs, etc.; and,
8. Relying on private and religious charities and volunteerism to provide needed services in response to scaled back social provisioning.

As I show throughout the dissertation, these tactics are adapted as local conditions allow and on-the-ground effects are often contradictory and paradoxical, especially in regards to marriage.

Discussions of neoliberalization in the U.S. often conflate the neoliberal and the neoconservative (Boellstorff 2007b; Duggan 2003; Guyer 2007). Drawing on a

neoliberal-neoconservative conjunction, Guyer explains that both do "privatize the near future while socializing the present and the distant horizon in distinctive ways" (2007, 411). In so doing, Guyer identifies Messianic time as the foil against which modern, linear, market-time is conceived (Anderson 1991; Giddens 1991). Scholars reviewing Guyer's temporal hypothesis have countered that indeed neoliberal techniques, such as monetarism and securities that trade on "futures" through arbitrage and do have a distinct sense of the near present and near past (Miyazaki 2007; Thornton 2007). Arbitrage involves purchasing valued materials, securities or commodities in one market and rapidly selling these in another market to profit from the price differentials between the two (Miyazaki 2003, 256). Here I consider neoliberalization and neoconservatism as two separable strands of thought that engage different terrains of action but still work using the fundamental principles of privatization and a turn towards marketization as the final arbiter of claims and needs. Separating these two ideas is necessary to contend with the marriage discourses circulating in the village.

In Stuart Hall's discussion of the rise of neoliberalization in England under Thatcherism (which preceded its deployment in the U.S.), he notes two distinct streams in neoconservatism:

> The first, "organic" of this ideological formation draws directly on the ancient repertoire of conservatism, the second neo-liberal half derives, directly, from free market and libertarian traditions of classical liberalism and political economy. So, the survival of one half of the liberal programme within social democracy, so to speak, is matched, today, by the resurgence of the neo-liberal side of the original liberal programme—only now under heavy conservative disguise! (Hall 1986, 67)

To understand the conflicted social policies emanating from neoliberal governance, like those on marriage in the U.S., Ong characterizes those following neoliberalism as *neo*-conservatives for their focus on retaining the status quo power imbalances that were

challenged directly by the mid-twentieth century social movements in the U.S. (2006). I show how the neoconservative and the neoliberal are interrogated by progressive villagers on the subject of marriage (see Appendix C).

Service/Knowledge Economy and Marriageability

The result of the "New York Solution" on the economy in the State of New York as I found it during my fieldwork is what I call the "service/knowledge economy." Scholars and journalists often discuss these separate spheres of the "new economy" (for works on the *service economy* see: Bell 1973; Cogoy 2004; Gershuny 1977, 1978; Greenhalgh and Gregory 2001; Kowitt 2011; Lesourne 1984; Moutinho 1990; Veve 1995; Roseta-Palma, Ferreira-Lopes and Sequeira 2010; Salzman 1999; Schneider and Fernandez 1989; Ughetto 2004; Woody 1989; Williams, Nadin and Windebank 2011; and, for those on the *knowledge economy* see: Haskel 2007; Hassan 2003; Holley, Jain and Lyons 2008; O'Carroll 2008; Powell and Snellman 2004). *Service jobs* like restaurant, hotel and retail positions in the infamous "McDonald's economy" provide subsistence, or below-subsistence, level wages supported by workers bartering in *specialized knowledge* acquisition and training such as financial, information/technology or business managerial jobs and occupations. The jobs in the "service economy" include not only direct services jobs that feed material consumption but also include jobs that drive the consumption of "public goods." As Jansson explains, "These goods are all services, that is, national defence, law and order, custom administration, etc. During the 20th century so called 'merit goods', of which the trio of health, education and care (HEC) stands out, have taken over the leading part," (Jansson 2009, 186). I put these

together for this analysis because I contend that the "knowledge economy" and "service economy" dialectically support each other (O'Carroll 2008).

The preponderance of jobs in New York State during the 2007-2008 study period were mostly *service or knowledge* industry sector jobs. As shown in Figure 1 below, between 2006-2011 these sectors composed 75% of all jobs in New York State and 67% in the Village of New Paltz (U.S. Census Bureau 2011b and Village of New Paltz Marriage Survey 2007-2008). Taken together, these broad industrial sectors have been the main engines of job growth in the U.S. since the 1970s, accelerating after the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the internet boom of the 1990s.

I discuss the economic shift with an emphasis on *service* and *knowledge* because the distinction clearly shows how the jobs that most people *actually do* in the neoliberalized economy have shifted dramatically away from the manufacturing and agricultural based jobs prevalent during the era of industrial capitalism in the U.S. Such industrial manufacturing jobs were supported by neoliberal policies established in the post-war period and were especially important in the establishment of a sturdy middle class during that time resulting in the emergence of the stage-based, life trajectory ideal that included young marriage and the charmed circle marriage norm (Duménil and Lévy 2011, 14-19; Hareven 1991; Leicht 2008; Rubin 1999).

Yet, the split between service and knowledge jobs has created ever-widening income and material inequalities under neoliberalization (Duménil and Lévy 2011, 10-15; Jansson 2009; Leicht 2008; Skocpol 2000). Since the close of this research project, such inequalities spurred protests that began on September 17, 2011 in New York (Moynihan 2011). Known as "Occupy Wall Street," the movement reacted against the class-based retrenchment of neoliberalization, arguing that the "1%" are against the "99%" (Stelter

2011, A1). By December 1, 2011, the idea of the 1% effectively entered the American lexicon and captured the growing awareness that the "American Dream" of economic opportunity for all has wilted under neoliberalization (Porter 2012; Stelter 2011).

For the first time since the end of World War II, mean family incomes have declined for Americans in all but the highest income tiers (Pew Research Center 2012). The middle-income tier though (defined as all adults whose annual household income is two-thirds to double the national median) is the only one that also shrank in size, a trend that has continued over the past four decades. In 2011, the middle-income tier included 51% of all adults; back in 1971, using the same income criteria it included 61% (Pew Research Center 2012). As the New York Times reports of a survey taken in November 2011, four years into the "Great Recession" and a full year after the Occupy Wall Street protestors began:

> Forty one percent said that there was not much opportunity in America, up from 17 percent in 1998. Americans have been less willing to take from the rich and give to the poor in part because of a belief that each of us has a decent shot at prosperity. In 1952, 87 percent of Americans thought there was plenty of opportunity for progress; only 8 percent disagreed. As income inequality has grown, though, many have changed their minds. From 1993 to 2010, the incomes of the richest 1 percent of Americans grew 58 percent while the rest had a 6.4 percent bump. There is little reason to think the trend will go into reverse any time soon, given globalization and technological change, which have weighed heavily on the wages of less educated workers who compete against machines and cheap foreign labor while increasing the returns of top executives and financiers. (Porter 2012, B1)

Within the 28% change from 1952 to 2011 lies an incredible story about the changing economy in the United States implicating intimate perceptions of marriage as well.

Examining villager discussions on work and marriage allows an ethnographic contextualization of how the neoliberalized economy is experienced. The scholarly works that began to be generated when the service economy was on the rise focused on

consumption and desire for goods that translate such desires objectively into ideals of sexual citizenship and feelings of closeness (see Bell 1995; Evans 1993; Grosz 1997; Kasser et al. 2007). In chapter six, I examine how decisions to marry use the temporally oriented ideal of "marriageability" given villager work opportunities in either service or knowledge oriented jobs. As this line of inquiry suggests, the intimate effects of neoliberal temporality evoke:

> a new economic subject: one who can be rational, submissive, ingenious, and infinitely desirous all at the same time…The new indexing of diagnosis of the present to an "infinite horizon" in the future places people in emotional and sociological *terra nova*. The nesting of temporalities and their relative emphasis and mutual entailment for different populations, or for the same population in different affective states, becomes the ethnographic question. (Guyer 2007, 413)

This dissertation as well as chapter five are entitled "The Marrying Times" as I show how the nesting of various temporalities in the new economy create "sociological terra nova" on the subject of marriage.

Catherine Kingfisher also treats neoliberalism as a cultural formation, specifically "an approach to the world, which includes in its purview not only economics, but also politics; not only the public, but also the private; not only what kinds of institutions we should have, but also what kinds of subjects we should be" (Kingfisher 2002, 14). Kingfisher argues that discourse analysis lays bare the foundation of neoliberalism as "a naturalized and highly gendered construction of personhood on the basis of which statements about the nature and role of state, market and society are erected (pun intended)" (Kingfisher 2007, 94).

Together the work of Guyer and Kingfisher show the type of person (*kategorein*/categorization) considered most successful in the current economy by showing how neoliberalization has been institutionalized using gendered norms through

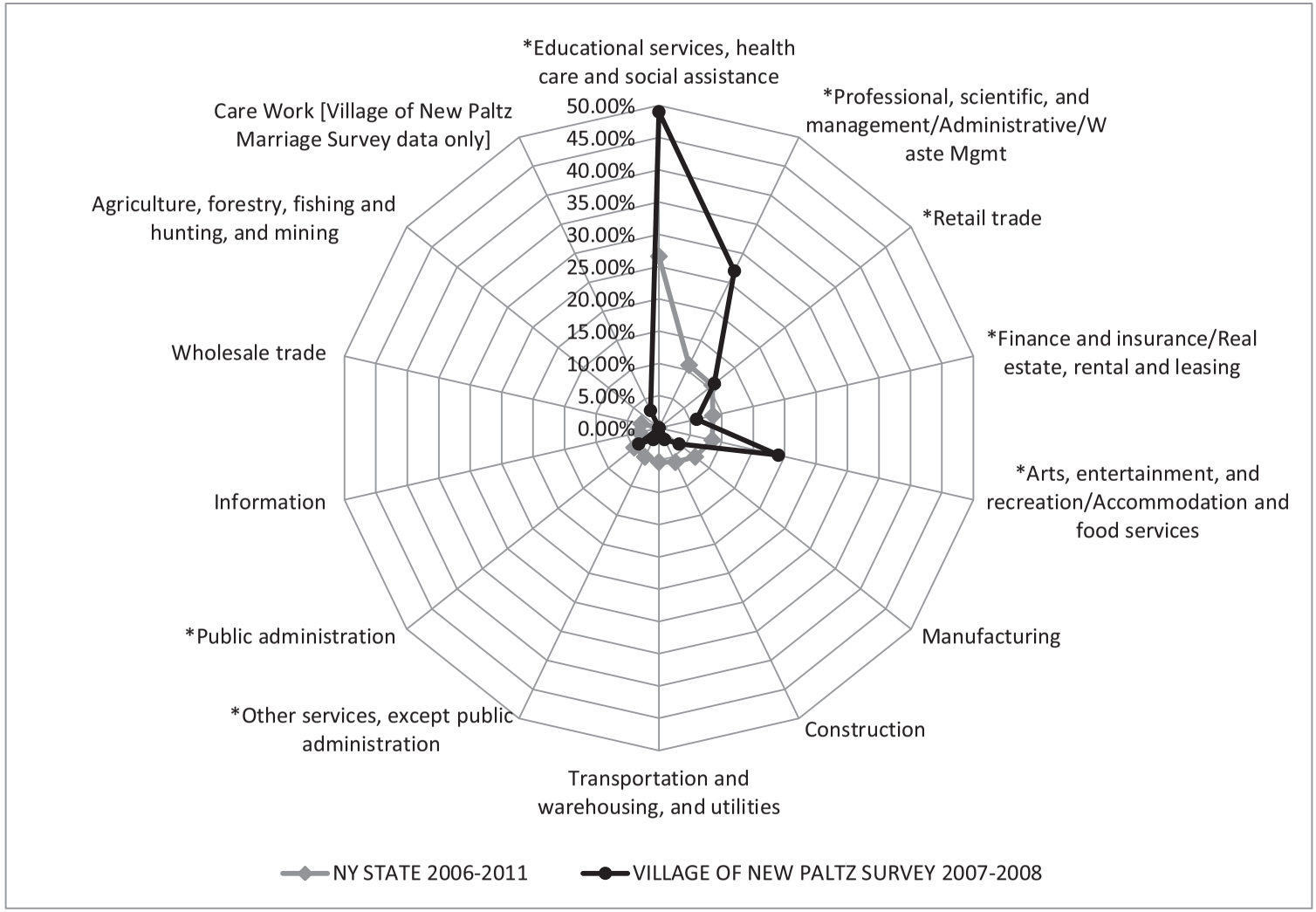


Figure 1. Percentage of Job Activity in New York State 2006-2011 Compared to Village of New Paltz by Sector (*Service Sectors; Sources: U.S. Census 2011b and Village of New Paltz Marriage Survey, Respectively.)

temporalization. Together, neoliberal temporality gives rise to a "neoliberal self" that on the individual level is "rational, submissive, ingenious, and infinitely desirous" and indexes historically specific gendered constructions of personhood as they were instantiated when neoliberalization was worked out in the post-war period. I link this novel yet naturalized sociological and emotional "terra nova" to understandings of marriages in the village.

Conclusion: Ethnography of Village Marriage

Since the end of World War II through the completion of my fieldwork in December 2008, nothing short of a revolution has occurred in marriage timing. In 1890, the median age at first marriage in the U.S. was 26.1 for men and 22 for women (Pearson Education 2010). With the advent of industrialization, this number began to fall to its lowest point in 1950 when it was age 22.8 for men and 20.3 for women. Beginning in 1976, during stagflation and the beginning of neoliberalization, the median age of first marriage began to rise precipitously (Simmons and Dye 2004). By the height of neoliberalization in 1991 in the U.S., the median age of first marriage was similar to the 1890s ages: 26.1 for men and rose to 23.9 for women (Pearson Education 2010). Remembering Duménil and Lévy's description of the three phases of modern capitalism, the crisis of the 1890s was the first structural crisis most recently bookended by the third crisis of the Great Contraction in 2008 with marriage rates directly reflecting these economic circumstances (2011, 19).

Notably, in 1991 Becker's *Treatise on the Family* was an instant neoconservative classic produced at the zenith of the neoliberal ascendancy. As noted by Guyer above, neoliberalization advanced through "calculation by increasingly sophisticated mathematics and model building" (2007, 412). Becker's treatise used such modeling applied to marriage, proposing post-war marriage norms were "proved" through economic statistical calculations to be applied as

appropriate for all Americans (Becker 1991). Just a few years after the publication of *Treatise*, both the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) and the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) were passed in 1996. PRWORA is popularly referred to as "Welfare Reform." Text of the actual law details how the federal government should promote marriage to impoverished women with children. Implicit in this effort was a racialized script about getting impoverished women of color to marry (Josephson 2005). DOMA prohibits the federal government from recognizing marriages between LGBTQ couples who had legal marriages in other states. It also allows states to not recognize marriages between gays and lesbians performed legally in other states. DOMA was historic as it was the first time a law was passed on the federal level to influence state-level marriage laws (Sustein 2004). Yet by 2010 we saw delays in first marriage unabated as men's median age of first marriage rose to 28.2 and women's 26.1.

D'Emilio discerned that:

> These changes are not aberrational, not temporary, and not reversible. Neither a decline in morality not the cultural turbulence of the 1960s explains them. They were not caused by a media culture that exploits sex. Instead, these changes are joined at the hip with the revolutionary growth in economic productivity and technological innovation to which capitalism has given rise and now have their own momentum. These new "lifestyles" (a word woefully inadequate for grasping the deep structural foundations that sustain these changes) have appeared wherever capitalism has long historical roots. The decline in reproductive rates and the de-centering of marriage follow the spread of capitalism as surely as night follows day. They surface even in the face of religious traditions and national histories that have emphasized marriage, high fertility and strong kinship ties. (D'Emilio 2006, 11)

In line with D'Emilio's assertion that deep structural changes impact marriage "as sure as night follows day" (what an essentialized, modern, progress-oriented temporal reference!), the thrust of my concern throughout the dissertation is identifying how neoliberalization, as the driver of the "new economy," reveals itself in villager's talk of marriage—why they marry, what marriage

means to them in this context, how educational and job attainment and the number of hours worked in this new globalized economy drive their decisions around "choosing" marriage and making one "marriageable"—and what all of this means to the LGBTQ marriages that villagers so adamantly support.

Overall, I discuss how the "new marriage norm" seems to be influenced by the joined discourses of neoliberalized "choice," the post-war stage-based "checklist" and of villagers' own experiences with what I call "progressive marriage" which integrates critiques of marriage vocalized during the middle 20th century social movements (Edin and Kefalas 2005). Chapter two will provide a review of the methodologies used. Chapter three sets the scene for the study by discussing the Village of New Paltz in detail. Chapter four examines the national contest to define marriage by exploring how politicians taking up neoconservative, neoliberal and progressive temporalities express very particular standpoints on marriage. Chapter five moves us to examine how those national discourses on marriage meet villager experiences with it. I use that chapter to show how particular temporalities hybridize in talk on marriage. Chapter six closely examines how the post-war staged discourse on life-time, including marriage, is still operant but is complicated within the everyday vagaries offered by the "new economy." The seventh chapter concludes by discussing how understanding the particularities of marriage in the village might help us to better understand the current "marriage movement" nationwide.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

As anthropologist Clifford Geertz once noted, the goal of anthropology is a "continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structures in such a way as to bring them into simultaneous view," (1983, 68). This chapter details the methodologies I used in my attempt to achieve that dialectic in the current study. My ethnographic study focuses on the meaning of marriage in the Village of New Paltz, New York and the overall approach sought to examine both marriage and the economy as processes. I chose to use both qualitative and quantitative analyses to gain the rich picture called for by Geertz.

I begin by discussing the mixed methods study design. In the introduction, I suggested that temporality is best analyzed through linguistic techniques with a focus on discourse. Therefore, the second section of this chapter details which linguistic and textual analysis techniques I use. In subsequent chapters, I remind readers of the operant theories and techniques as necessary. For readers uninterested in this detailed explanation, please skip to the last section "Organization of the Marrying Times: Large-scale, Life-time, Everyday" for a description of the remaining chapters.

Study Design

My ethnography relies on interview and focus group transcripts, field notes, quantitative data sets and archival research. In an effort to increase the power of the study, I selected interview subjects through a randomized village-wide survey. I used the survey data and other quantitative data to inform the qualitative findings where necessary. All questions asked of the quantitative findings were driven by initial impressions gathered during my first six months of participant observation in the field. In terms of recruiting interviewees, I was interested in those

who came of age between the years 1975 and 1991. This time frame brackets the time period in which neoliberalization was first implemented in the U.S. through its purported zenith, a few years after the fall of the Berlin Wall (Peck 2008; Tabb 1982). Using this span, I calculated that I was interested in interviewing people who were between the ages of 24 and 54 during my fieldwork period 2007-2008. I reasoned that this group would be most impacted by attempting to achieve their life goals within the current economy milieu. I did end up accepting some who were older and younger than the target age group but I used these interviews as background information and did not include these in the formal analysis.

In addition to being interested in randomizing my interview recruitment, I took a mixed methods approach to over-determine my data (Padgett 2008, 56).Out of 1862 residences invited to participate in the study, a total of 199 joined in on various aspects of the study yielding a total study response rate of 11% (survey, interview and/or focus group). All participants completed informed consent forms that complied with American University standards. The study design was approved by the American University Institutional Review Board (IRB) in Washington, D.C. This section details how I conducted the survey, the interviewing process, and the three focus groups. It also reviews the Circle of Relatedness exercise I used with interviewees and briefly discusses the materials collected during participant observation in the field.

Survey

The survey was announced via letter and then a reminder postcard was sent out two weeks later to households in the Village of New Paltz (see Appendix A - Study Materials for all materials referred to in this section). Village addresses were obtained by requesting a list of all registered voters as of September 1, 2007 from the Ulster County Records office. Since the village is a college town I anticipated that many of the registered voters might have moved, so I

created a generic, household-level mailing list from the voter list. To avoid collecting a biased sample of only registered voters, I drove down each street in the village adding addresses that were not listed. Once duplicates were removed and all addresses were checked, the household-level sampling frame for the study was established (N=1862).

The survey consisted of 87 questions and took on average 15-30 minutes to complete. Participants were incentivized to complete the survey. As noted in the initial recruitment letter (Appendix A), the first fifty people to complete the survey received a $5 gift certificate to a coffee shop in the village. Incentivizing study participation is known to significantly improve response rates (Church 1993). I chose to incentivize study participants in this population for two reasons. First, asking questions about marriage and opinions about sexuality are sensitive topics and incentivizing around such topics has been proven to moderately increase participation rates (Singer and Bossarte 2006). Second, I assumed that since the Village of New Paltz is a college town residents might be approached to complete multiple surveys and participate in various research projects, so I used incentivizing to mitigate the effects of research fatigue (Clark 2008; Sullivan et al. 2001).

A letter invited participants to participate in the survey and gave them the option to complete it online or on paper by request. Paper copies were sent and received back via U.S. mail. Such "mixed mode" (i.e. administered online and via paper) surveys vary greatly between study features.[1] Until enough studies are done with various feature combinations, a reliable average response rate cannot yet be accurately ascertained.

The total number of surveys completed was 139 (130 online/9 paper). The survey response rate was 7.5% (n=139/N=1862). The village-level survey asked basic demographic and attitude questions on marriage (Appendix C). It ended by asking participants if they would

volunteer to participate in an interview. I held the online survey open between January 10, 2008-December 25, 2009. The bulk of responses were collected between January 24, 2008-December 18, 2008. The survey was held open online for that time period because as I recruited people to the qualitative study from my participant observation in the village I asked them to complete the online survey. Eleven people out of 60 (18%) participating in the qualitative study (as interviewees, focus group participants and/or key informants) did not complete the survey.

Interviews

Of the 139 completed surveys, 78% (n=108) agreed to be contacted for an interview. Recruitment for interview participation was conducted via telephone and email messages sent based on contact information voluntarily provided in the survey. The response rate for interviews recruited from the 108 people expressing interested was 37% (n=40 completed interviews recruited from the survey or 70% of all interviews). The total number of people who completed interviews was 57 held over 105 individual interview sessions lasting between 20 minutes to 5 hours each with up to five interviews per interlocutor. The interview schedule consisted of 57 semi-structured interview questions (Appendix A).

Since saturation for in-depth qualitative research is minimally reached at ten to fifteen participants, I aimed to interview 45 individuals (Padgett 2008, 56-57). I tripled the interview goal because I was interested in ensuring both the heterogeneity of respondents and depth of the information. Oversampling in this way protected the study from technical errors, respondent non-cooperation and other natural setting complications. I used various study recruitment techniques to maximally randomize participation.

I allowed participants as much time as they felt necessary to answer all questions and followed additional thoughts as they occurred. Interviews were held in various locations around

the village as dictated by the informant, such as in restaurants, sidewalk steps or private homes, but most were held at a local coffee shop. All interviews were audio recorded. Everyone interviewed was given a pseudonym I use throughout the dissertation with the exception of Mayor Jason West. The interview with Mayor West focused on his personal thoughts about marriage and his experiences conducting the 2004 marriages between LGBTQ couples and the circumstances surrounding that (Jason West interviewed by author, January 19, 2008). Where I did cite Mayor West's personal reflections, I used a pseudonym and shielded his personal demographics and the date of his interview.

Appendix B lists the pseudonyms, the number of interviews I held with each person, and basic demographic information for my interlocutors. Where I excerpt interview data, I mark the text line from the transcript with the first initial of the pseudonym followed by a number that stands for which interview date the text was extracted from then a period after which the actual line number(s) are provided. For example, I held one interview with Morgan and so if I were to cite line 158, the notation beginning the quote would be: M1.158.

To improve the number of LGBTQ people and their allies interviewed, I targeted interview recruitment utilizing respondent driven sampling techniques (RDS) (also known as chain-referral or snowball sampling) (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004). These techniques are especially useful for attaining access to hidden-populations, like LGBTQ people who cannot be routinely pinpointed using standard sampling frame techniques. As Matthew Salganik and Douglas Heckathorn explain, RDS entails selecting participants:

> from the friendship network of existing members of the sample. The sampling process begins when the researchers select a small number of seeds who are the first people to participate in the study. These seeds then recruit others to participate in the study. This process of existing sample members recruiting future sample members continues until the desired sample size is reached. (2004, 196)

When any interlocutor mentioned having LGBTQ friends, I asked them to refer them for study recruitment. Some spontaneously referred their LGBTQ friends or family members before I asked. Once I had an interview with that friend, I would ask that person to refer his/her friends.

In addition to RDS techniques for attracting LGBTQ people to the study, I also employed two other techniques for identifying this hidden population: time-space and targeted sampling. Time-space sampling means that a sampling frame is constructed by "identifying times when members of the target population gather at specific locations…specific venue-day-time segments are the primary sampling units. These units are randomly selected, in some cases with probabilities based on the expected sample yield at the location, and members of the target population entering the venue" (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004, 198-199). Since June has historically been the month designated to celebrate and protest on issues of importance to LGBTQ communities in the U.S., I began such outreach in the village in June 2008. I set up a study recruitment table at the Village of New Paltz Pride March and Festival held on Sunday, June 1, 2008. Though interlocutors were not interviewed at the festival, the sampling frame was probabilistic (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004, 199).

During the month of June, I also used targeted sampling (Watters and Biernacki 1989), also called "street outreach" (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004, 198). I went to various clubs and functions for LGBTQ people in and around the village to recruit study participants. I also listed the study on the Hudson Valley LGBTQ Center's online event calendar and had an informational poster located in the center's lobby during that month. Additionally, I sent recruitment emails to a local listserv for lesbians. Seventeen, or 30%, of completed interviews were the result of such respondent driven, time-space and targeted sampling recruitment techniques. Though RDS, time-space and targeted sampling methods do not usually attain the statistical probability of a

quantitative study, this effect is mitigated by the study design since the initial people contacted for interviews (seeds) for the RDS recruitment were drawn from a randomized, population-based sample.

In regards to real-world problems with the study, I had recording fidelity problems with two interviews and could not use these. Coincidentally, these were the two interviews that did not comport with the targeted study recruitment age. Another person refused to answer questions directly and so that person was excluded from the data set. Also, one interview was unexpectedly done with a lesbian family of three. I excluded that group interview because it did not accord with the individual interview design but I did re-interview one adult family member. In total five interviews were omitted from the results analyzed here.

I relied upon transcripts from 52 individuals for the bulk of the data analysis. I used the qualitative data analysis software NVIVO 9.0 to create a dynamic data set including variables formed from questions and from other salient or repetitive themes and topics. I also conducted keyword searches (like "checklist" or "list") and collocation word searches (like "gay" directly adjacent to the word "marriage") to examine common themes clustered where repetitive phrases were noticed. These variables were used as makers of the interview transcripts within the software program enabling me to generated reports showing individual interview responses for each variable. This allowed me to produce a reliable data set that I examined using the linguistic analysis techniques discussed below.

Circle of Relatedness Exercise for Interviews

One way that I tried to understand how ideas about relatedness were connected to ideas about marriage was by asking villagers to complete an exercise I called "The Circle of Relatedness" (see Appendix A). I created this exercise to collect kinship information but to avoid

genealogical charting that overly privileges biological relatedness (see Carsten 2000, 2003 for this critique of traditional anthropological genealogical charting). I used the circle to understand the informant's social world and the types and numbers of relationships each person found to be important to them at the time of our interview. Their completed worksheet was also helpful for me to refer to both during the interview, when names were used without reference to their relationships, and during analysis to remind me of the important relationships discussed. This approach is distinct from social network analysis as it does not verify or quantify the actual structure of those people that are involved in or directly impact the lives of my informants (see Carrington, Scott and Wasserman 2005). My emphasis was on the affective balance of important people who create my informant's social and affective world thus impacting their individual meanings and decisions towards marriage.

After I explained the interview schedule at the beginning of each interview, I provided 5-10 minutes for informants to complete the exercise. Many continued working on the exercise throughout our interview. Some took it home to be sure they included everyone they felt was somehow related or important to them and returned it to me either via U.S. mail or at our next meeting. Some failed to return it. Forty three out of the final 57 interview cohort, or 75%, completed this exercise.

The exercise is laid out in two concentric circles on a page. The informant was asked to conceptualize themselves in the middle of the small circle (labeled YOU) that was inside a much larger circle extending to the outer edges of an $8^{1/2}$" X 11" sheet of paper. Respondents were to connect a line outward from the YOU circle to names and descriptors of all people who were living and who they felt were somehow related or important to them. The length of the line they drew outwards from themselves indicated their feelings of closeness to this person. For example,

the shorter the line then the “closer” the informant felt to that person indicating positive feelings of relatedness. The interviewees defined closeness and the lengths of closeness lines varied dramatically among the descriptors.

As I mentioned, my instructions asked people to only include “each living person who is important to you in some way.” The “person” and the “living” rules were quickly dispensed with by my informants. Most people considered their pets to be close living family members. Many people emphasized that though their loved ones may have died, many remain very important to them in their day-to-day lives. Many continued to consult with the deceased during difficult times and some on a daily basis. This sense of spiritual connectedness was everywhere in the village, which surprised me given the proudly secular, progressive identifications among many respondents.

Figures 2 and 3 are examples of completed circles. As shown, some people had very few people in their circle, while others had many. Liv is a bisexual, white-identifying 35-year old woman who is divorced and now dating a man and working in a government job. She feels closest to her father, sister and deceased mother, her ex-husband and step-mother are the next closest, and her current boyfriend is held at the same distance as her psychological therapist. Evan is a 22-year old heterosexual, white-identifying college student. Notice the number of people Evan includes in his circle compared to Liv. The line to his brother-in-law extends outside of the circle and he denotes his relationship to one friend with a wavy line indicating that they were recently close but had a disagreement moving them emotionally farther away. Evan included the wavy line to indicate that he would like the relationship to become close again.

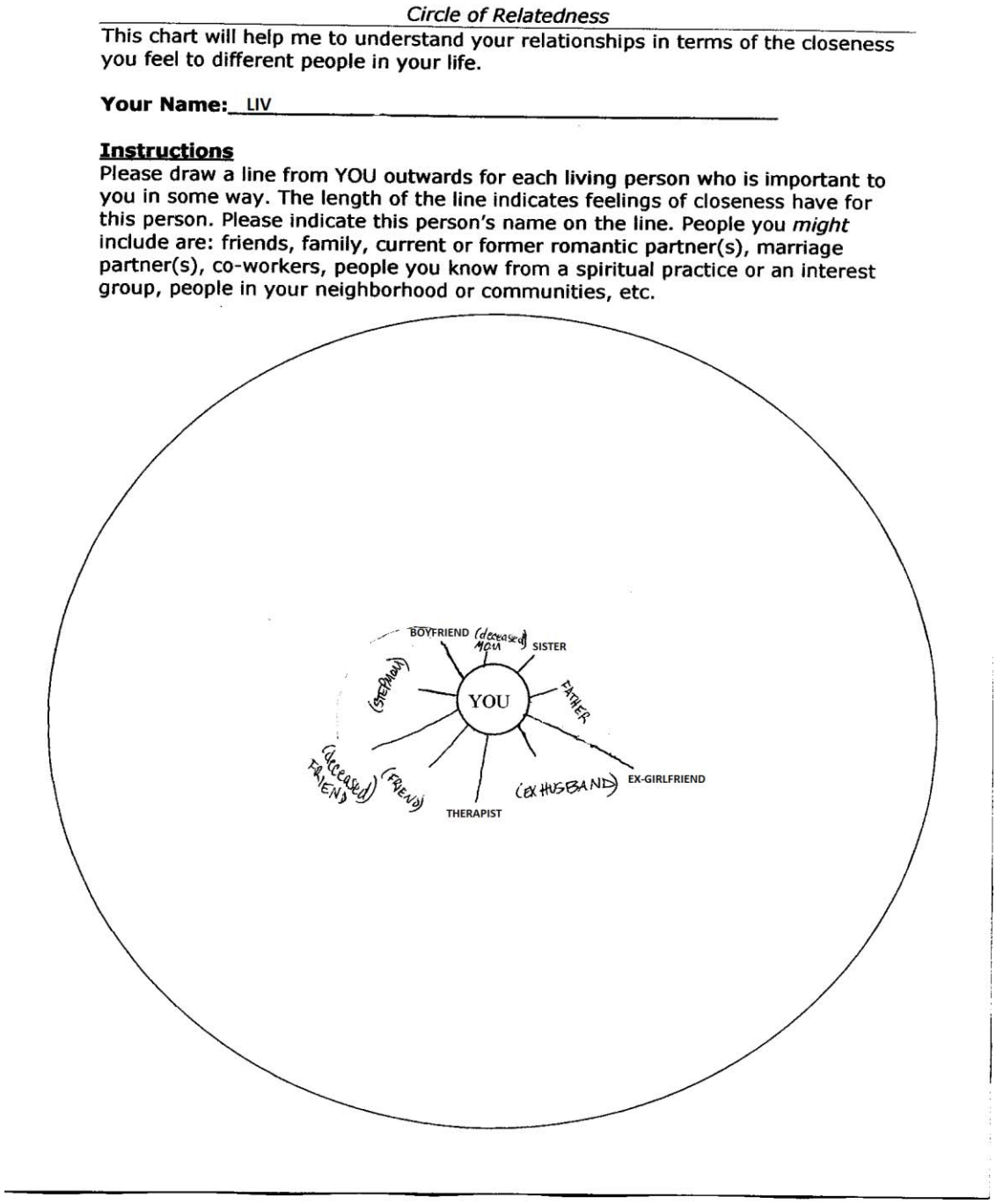


Figure 2. Liv's (pseudonym) Circle of Relatedness

Circle of Relatedness

This chart will help me to understand your relationships in terms of the closeness you feel to different people in your life.

Your Name: EVAN

Instructions

Please draw a line from YOU outwards for each living person who is important to you in some way. The length of the line indicates feelings of closeness have for this person. Please indicate this person's name on the line. People you *might* include are: friends, family, current or former romantic partner(s), marriage partner(s), co-workers, people you know from a spiritual practice or an interest group, people in your neighborhood or communities, etc.

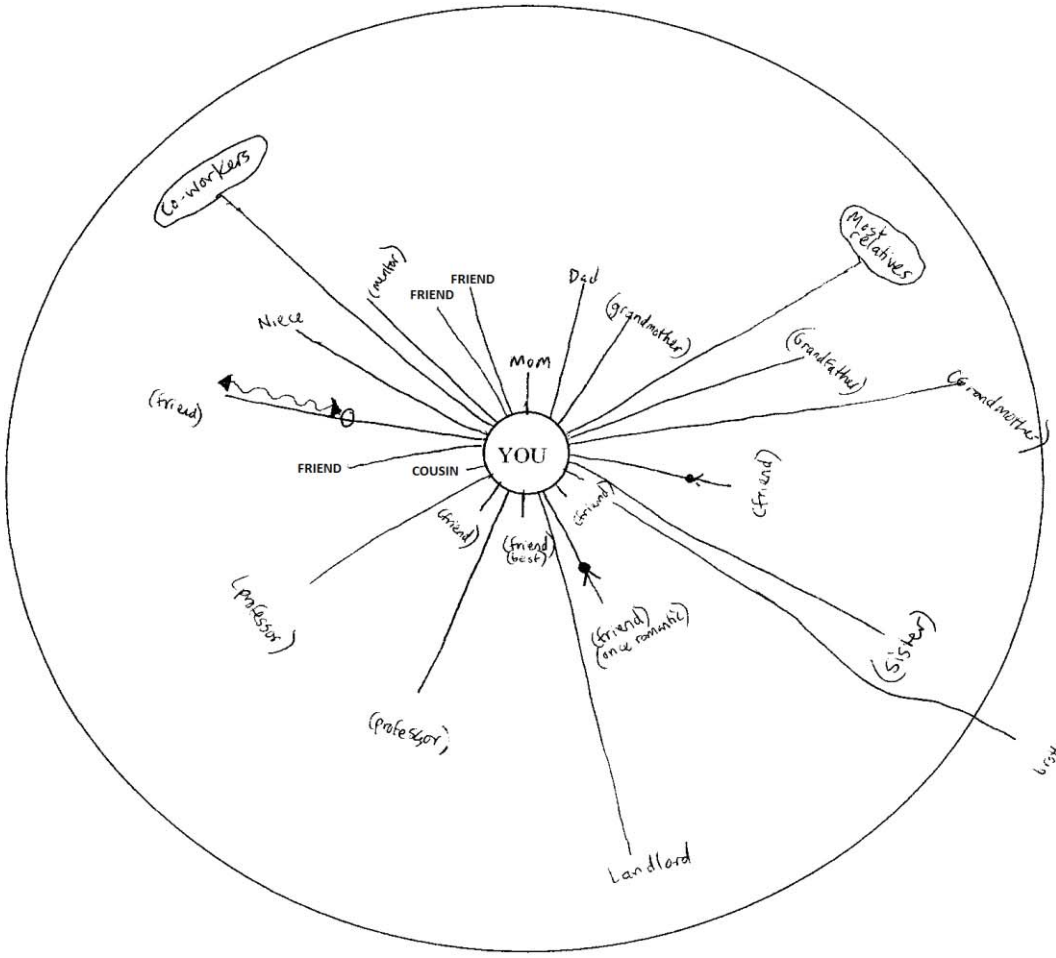


Figure 3. Evan's Circle of Relatedness

The descriptors of relatedness included by villagers were diverse, such as: father/mother, sister/brother, aunt/uncle, cousins, in-laws, grandparents, and children; but, also: friend/s; best friend/s; ex-lover and loves; the mother/father of their child/ren; the former partner/spouse of their current partner/spouse; past and present lovers and "hook ups" (casual sexual partners); step-parents; step-children; their current partner's children; their children's friends; neighbors; housemates; landlords; employees; co-workers; "political friends"; "social friends"; pets; therapists; half-siblings; step-children; adopted children (legally or socially); religious friends such as pastors, spiritual mothers, and godmothers; "straight friends"; former friends or estranged family members they still feel close to; school friends; teachers/professors; "Facebook friends"; the deceased; and, the partner, spouse, and child/ren of their friends.

Though many people did include immediate "blood" relatives with a short line, others did not depict relatives at all or depicted them with long lines away from themselves and even outside of the bounds of the circle, as is evident in Evan's example. Those indicating some people outside of the circle usually did so to simultaneously indicate that though these people were estranged from them at the moment they desired a closer relationship to them in the future.

This exercise proved to be extremely helpful for analyzing the meanings of marriage and relationships presented in chapter five. The important finding methodologically was that villagers held "blood" or genetic relatives on par with feelings of closeness with many others to whom relatedness was established through the temporal sharing of care giving; living with others either in roommate situations, cohabitation with romantic or domestic partners; time spent together in day-to-day work environments; and/or, experiencing intense phenomenological experiences with others in sexual, therapeutic, religious/spiritual, community (virtual or physical) and/or educational experiences. Most people included just as many, if not more,

“friends” as they did “blood” or legal relatives in their Circle of Relatedness. The importance of “friends” to villagers is analyzed in chapter five.

Focus Groups

The focus groups were held over the last month of the study in December 2008. The economic crisis and the historic election of President Barack Obama both preceded these and affected the discussions. I invited the 108 people to focus groups based on affirmative responses to follow-up interviews given in the village-wide survey and also invited the people who completed individual interviews but not surveys. The focus group response rate was 10.9% or 18 people out of 165 invited.

I held three focus groups in order to include everyone who was interested in participating. The focus groups were held on December 4, 7, and 9, 2008 at a meeting room in a local law office donated by the owner of the firm whom I met during fieldwork. The first group had six people attend, the second had eight, and the third had five. All focus groups were held in the evenings and lasted for exactly one and a half hours. Since the village is very small, I tried to ensure that there were no friends or relatives attending each other’s focus group. I purposefully kept separate those who I knew disliked each other. In the group instructions (see Appendix A), I asked participants to insure that if they saw a group member afterwards that their identity be kept confidential. American University approved consent forms were completed for each focus group subject. The transcripts from the focus groups were analyzed with NVIVO in the same way that the interview data set was analyzed.

Participant Observation, Archival and U.S. Census Research

This study was primarily an ethnography employing qualitative and quantitative research techniques supplemented with archival research and reports from various governmental agencies. During fieldwork, I read local newspapers and magazines on a regular basis. I watched many hours of the local public access channel that included various citizen-produced news shows, political debates and governmental meetings held at Village Hall (the municipal center of the village). I attended all the Village Hall and political meetings I could, voted in all elections and volunteered in a local anti-development campaign. During the warmer months, there is at least one local, community-wide event per month. I attended many of these. For example, the tongue-in-cheek New Paltz Regatta (a "race" that deploys barely-seaworthy float-like, artistically designed boats down the local Walkill River for fun); the Duck Race in which little yellow rubber ducks usually used in bathtubs "race" (float) down the river as a charity fundraiser; Earth Day Festival; Memorial Day Parade; New Paltz Pride March and Festival; New Paltz Challenge Half Marathon and Family 5K; Little League Opening Day Parade; Independence Day Celebration; Ulster County Fair; the Halloween Parade that ends at a local park entirely transformed into a haunted maze; St. Joseph's Festa, an Italian-American, Roman Catholic festival; the International Pickle Festival; and, various apple-picking day trips and hay rides in the autumn.

I frequented Main Street with various groups of people and attended functions and talks at the SUNY New Paltz campus. I went to every social function I could manage, including a weekly "Drawing Party" I was invited to by a local labor activist and artist (pseudonym Paige). It was hosted by members of a popular local musical band and at the time was held at a cooperative coffee house. The drawing parties were a typical village pastime. They involved an open

invitation to participate in an artistic endeavor that was tolerant of various skill-levels (I cannot draw to save my life) and sought to orient everyone around a genuine attempt at community-building outside of mediated communications (such as Internet, movies or other such media influences). During these parties, discussions ranged between intellectual debates, silly observations, politically important local issues, and always involved lots of laughter and, as what seemed to be a trademark of locals: self-deprecating humor.

Temporal Analytic Framework, Linguistic Techniques

How study findings were uncovered is the subject of this section. Here I discuss the linguistic theories and techniques used to uncover the temporal meanings that move ideas about marriage into spatially-bound actions and geographies. Since ethnography is at its core a language-based methodology (Gal and Irvine 1995, 971), I identified various discursive patterns to examine what marriage means to villagers. In the context of our neoliberalized economy, Edin and Kefalas have recently shown that U.S. marriage has become a non-verbal semiotic symbol increasingly signifying material success (Edin and Kefalas 2005, 111). Hence, this section also describes the temporality of neoliberalization and outlines the semantic features that are used to identify the presence of the economic ethos in villagers talk on marriage (see also Marzullo 2011).

Ethnographic Narratives and Temporality

The practice of ethnography is language-bound and the analytic materials produced are texts and narratives. Therefore, I use textual techniques developed to address temporality because “no consideration of narrative could avoid the question of time” (Bender and Wellbery 1991, 3). As Sarup continues:

> The experience of temporality, human time, past, present, memory, the persistence of personal identity is an effect of language. It is because language has a past and a future, because the sentence moves in time, that we can have what seems to us a concrete or lived experience of time. (Sarup 1993, 146)

Thus, uncovering meanings of marriage calls for a focus on understanding experiences of time. Though I use experience as a guide, I am careful to keep the analysis grounded in the everyday struggles and context of villagers in order to avoid charges of "navel gazing" (Kapferer 1988, 77; Jarvie 1988, 427; Sangren 1988) – which is the extrapolation from present-based experience to grand theorizing or conversely to "succumbing to the trivial, the kitschy, the gossipy, and the melodramatic and ignoring simplicity and profundity" (Fontana and Frey 2005, 719). "The temporalization of experience—this notion of time as a framework within which life forms are embedded and carry on their existence—is the defining quality of the modern world" (Bender and Wellbery 1991, 1).

Two main methodological implications flow from using a discursive temporalization of experience approach. First, symbols are most clearly rendered meaningful through their descriptions in language. Second, language symbols are indexical representations of certain phenomena with two basic temporal effects:

> One is when the logic of contiguity is interpreted as a logic of consequence—that is, when causation is taken to entail sequence….The second way an index can involve temporality is through its effect on an observer, who draws on past experience in interpreting it as a sign. As Peirce writes (1955:107), "[An index is] a sign, or representation, which refers to its object not so much because of any similarity or analogy with it…as because it is in dynamical (including spatial) connection with the individual object, on the one hand, and with the senses or memory of the person for whom it serves as a sign, on the other hand." Memory is treacherous, however, and easily influenced by theories—and ideologies—of how things "must have been." (Irvine 2004, 103-104)

The concept of "ideology" is examined below but, as Irvine asserts, these ideas of what "must have been" (a temporal referent) is the logic of contiguous thought as consequence and taken as causation. In line with Irvine's astute observation of this indexical slippage, I treat marriage

perceptions as being performative and formed within the contiguity of life-time narratives that are both individual and contextually influenced.

Whether marriage happens or it doesn't, whether it is rejected or critiqued and then decided upon—what varies is the point in the contiguity of our individually constructed life-time narratives that the consideration of marriage happens—within moments that are forced, elated, traumatic, bittersweet, an exasperated "finally"—these moments are just that. The meanings we ascribe to such moments for marriage are interpreted through "theories," "ideologies," and "memories"—the latter being a feedback loop based on moral geography. In other words, a "temporal logic is an ideological stance" which I discuss below (Leap N.d., 8). Marriage decisions change *with* reflections on experience, one's own and others, and from the moral geographies that one is exposed to. Marriage decisions may be said to be performative precisely because decisions are often reflected upon in memory after the fact *as consequence and causation* when in actuality these decisions are *effects of the contiguity* of experience in dynamic, discursive meaning-making events joined with accidents history. For example, many Americans think of child-bearing as a consequence of marriage yet current societal trends shows these two separate experiences as no longer linked and in so doing clearly highlight the error of taking as causation what is in effect contiguity (Irvine 2004). Hence, my analysis identifies this linguistic replacement error in order to lay bare the temporal ideologies shaping current marriage meanings and practices.

Marriage as Chronotype: Multiple Marriage Temporalities and Dialogics

The overarching frame of the dissertation relies on the concept of the "chronotype" (Bender and Wellbery 1991). The chronotype concept links time and historical context together

with my ethnographic evidence on marriage in the new economy. Literary theorist Mikhail Mikhaĭlovich Bakhtin used Albert Einstein's work to develop the chrono-*tope* idea as a broad narrative theory regarding the function of the novel (Bakhtin 1981). Chrono*topes* combine the temporality and spatiality of a

> particular envelope in the narrated universe of social space-time in which and through which, in emplotment, narrative characters move.…The effect draws two or more discursive occasions together within the same chronotopic frame, across which discourse seems to "move" from originary to secondary occasion, no matter whether "backward" or "forward" in orientation within the frame. (Silverstein 2005, 6-7)

Since my work is not an analysis of a novel but ethnography, I note that the chronotope idea has been developed for such research as the concept chrono-*type* by John Bender and David Wellbery (1991) and Michael Silverstein (2005).

A chronotype jointly emphasizes the terrain of action in which events unfold in a particular context, while placing an emphasis on human conceptions of time shaping context and regularity of meaning. Taking my analytic emphasis from discourse analysis not formal linguistics, the *types* within the idea of chrono*type* I am concerned with are not from *typological linguistics* (Comrie 1989). Rather I emphasize differences between *types of signs* linguistic and nonlinguistic (Agah 2006, 39) that symbolically inform marriage meanings.

The idea of "discursive figure" clarifies how marriage semiotics inhere at the level of the individual (Agah 2006, 39), which includes interpersonal figures contrasted against others to entextualize and contextualize the subject of marriage. In this rendering, the term voice is replaced with

> the term *figures of personhood* to speak of indexical images of speaker-actor in general terms….Voicing contrasts involve figures of personhood that are juxtaposed within structures of entextualization composed of many types of signs, including linguistic signs (whether written or spoken) and nonlinguistic ones. (Agha 2006, 39)

In this way, the dialogics of personhood are the central terrain for entextualizations of marriage symbolically involving individuals as indexical images standing for certain "like" temporalities on the subject of marriage even as their experiences are fundamentally social, hybrid and performative.

To capture these dynamics, I avoid either/or comparisons, like looking at only those "for" or "against" marriage. Using dialogics in place of a simpler two-way dialectic allows a complex reading of marriage meanings as discussed by people performing different social roles. Dialogics accounts for the ways that speakers act within multiple situations unfolding in a time-bound, contextualized event and helps us understand the multiple, even hybrid temporalities found in talk of marriage. Dialogics

> describes any structure of entextualization that juxtaposes images of speaker-actor as contrasting with or appearing to react against each other. Dialogic relations are manifest in oral conversation but also in a variety of other discursive and semiotic genres (Agah 2006, 39)

As linguist Norman Fairclough defines:

> Discourses are durable entities which take us to the more abstract level of social practices, and we must clearly include the question of how longer-term orientations to difference at this level are instantiated in particular social events—and interactionally worked upon, for, as I have stressed, events (and hence texts) are shaped by the agency of participants as well as social structures and social practices. Orientation to difference brings into focus degrees and forms of dialogicality in texts. What I am referring to here is an aspect of Bakhktin's "dialogical" theory of language: "a word, discourse, language or culture undergoes 'dialogization' when it becomes relativized, de-privileged, aware of competing definitions for the same things." (Fairclough 2003, 42)

Silverstein further discusses how inter-discursivity, reliant as it is on Bakhtin's concept dialogicality, works to create meaning from chronotopic events:

> Communicational interdiscurstivity is a relationship of event to event and is projected from the position of the personnel—authorial and/or animating senders, responsible receivers, nonresponsible monitors, et cetera—of some particular event in respect to one or more other. Intertextuality—from which we can caption the "intertext," a structural

> principal of textuality that remains constant or recognizable across discursive events—is a directionally neutral state of comparability. (Silverstein 2005, 7)

The temporal example "timelessness" is an intertext that can be used in various discursive frames and may generate different meanings based on the ideologies the person using it draws upon. Silverstein proposed that anthropologists should take up understanding the process of interdiscurstivity for understanding real-world events and that intertexts are actually generated "in events of communication through techniques of interdiscurstivity deployable as role strategies of the participants" (2005, 7).

I extrapolate from Silverstein's observation to create the term "role strategy," which I use throughout my analysis chapters to primarily understand political messaging in the U.S. marriage chronotype. A role strategy is the process of interdiscurstivity using sign relationships of icon-indexical types based on abstract semiotics (symbols as metrically or temporally paced and phenomenologically experienced) to iconically "stand for" "co-membership is a 'likeness' set, a class of objects 'like' one another in some respect, is, of course, an indexical relationship, a relationship of co-occurrence within a frame," (2005, 7). As a functioning institution, marriage does stand for co-membership and creates quite iconic "like" categories of people (objects to linguists), such as in the U.S. "wife," "husband" and now "partner." Second, these indexical relationships "establish the message's texture…via a structure of contextualization—beyond the indexicalities that conform to sentence grammar in the narrowest sense" (Silverstein 2005, 8). In other words, in the envelope of the chrono-type regarding spatiality these indexes of "like" categories are related via people in the contexts in which the event unfolds strategically. Since interdiscursivity unfolds in two or more situations within a chronotypic event, there is a relationship or a

> semiotic act of "pointing-to," which of course implies pointing-to from someplace (the arrow or pointing finger starts somewhere and ends somewhere else). In its situational locatability, interdiscurstivity can be seen to be a strategic positioning of the participants in a semiotic event such that an inter(co(n))textual structure emerges. It is the intersubjective cover under which participants give interpretability, significance, and causal consequentiality to any social action by stipulating its non-isolation in the domain of interaction. (Silverstein 2005, 9)

So, individual persons may take on role strategies that do not necessarily communicate their own beliefs or stances, instead they take "cover" in role strategies that are used to relate "interpretability, significance, and causal consequentiality" to an idea that is represented strategically, that is for some aim, as worthy and actionable.

For the purpose of my analysis, I use the term role strategy in chapter four to account first for the ways that politicians discuss marriage in the U.S. Second, I establish that these role strategies create identifiable intertexts on marriage that influence the meanings of it, i.e. the U.S. conservative (role strategy) who intimates that Christian marriage is timeless (an intertext) believes that this *should be* understood by all as such. The strategic purpose of the role strategy within a chronotypic event provides an evaluation of right or wrong, or what *should be or should not be.* The intertexts implied by the various role strategies on the subject of marriage are then observed dialogically in reflections on the meaning of marriage throughout chapters five and six.

As I show, many village informants' revealed contradictory positionings and meanings on the subject of marriage that often indexed different temporalities. What informants do when they speak of marriage is captured by the idea "multitemporal heterogeneity," (Canclini 1995, 1). The concept of "hybridity" reveals how multiple temporalities combine and reference each other in discourse (Kraidy 2005, vi-viii). Hence, I characterize the interdiscurstivity of marriage as multiple, hybrid temporalities. My analysis examines various voices dialogically, understanding

that one person might have multiple, competing ideas on marriage even as they assume a narrow definition or political role stance on marriage.

Methodologically, I operationalize the interdiscursive, multitemporal hybridity within talk on marriage with Judith Gal and Susan Irvine's concept of *recursiveness*, which

> involves the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level…the dichotomizing and partitioning process that was involved in some understood opposition (between groups or between linguistic varieties) recurs at other levels, either creating subcategories that include both sides but oppose them to something else. (1995, 974)

Different discourses on marriage index certain semiotic relationships between people and the symbol of marriage. For examples, "feminists" "against" marriage as a chattel-based institution draws on both past and present, while "(neo-)conservatives" "for" marriage to "uphold the 'traditional' family" draws on notions of past, present and future. Though these identities may be ideologically opposed these may become subsumed within each other to create various oppositions and partitions in context and experience through linguistic recursiveness.

At the level of the everyday and:

> within a single person, we are talking not about identities, but about oppositions between activities or roles associated with prototypical social persons. In any case, the oppositions do not define fixed or stable groups. Nor can the mimesis they suggest be more than partial. Rather, they provide actors with the discursive or cultural resources to claim and thus attempt to create shifting "communities," identities, and selves, at different levels of contrast, within a cultural field. (Gal and Irvine 1995, 974)

In this way, I am not concerned in this study with defining what marriage "means" for heterosexuals, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender, conservatives, or any other identity category. Instead, I observe how informants and politicians use "oppositions between activities or roles associated with prototypical social persons" to create marriage meanings. The semiotic materials examined here are interview and focus group transcripts, newspaper articles, debate

transcripts, and electronic and historical documents pertaining to experiences of marriage in the village.

Interrogating the multiple, hybridizing temporalities on marriage means that we consider time as resisting "homogenization and [this] calls for the construction of chronotypes capable of grasping the emergence of the other and the new" (Bender and Wellbery 1991, 6). In short, the chronotype concept makes the typological function of time explicit within the context of the neoliberalization and the moral geography of the village. I join the concepts *role strategy*, *multiple hybrid temporality* and *recursiveness* to show how the process of meaning making on the subject of marriage unfolds in the village context.

Notably for the subject of marriage, the chronotype idea also brings together the physical, chemical and biological realms as body geographies that interact with concepts of time even as these may be inseparable in human experience, or if cultural renderings of such times are deemphasized or are out of the direct control of human beings (Bender and Wellbery 1991, 2-3). Temporal conceptions linked with body geographies are rendered through idioms like: 1) biological time in regards to the ability to reproduce children ("the biological clock" in typical American parlance); 2) the cultural message that links marriage with sex and as a prerequisite of child-bearing ("no sex before marriage"); 3) the connected idea that marriage is an institutional rite allowing one to cross a symbolic rite of passage (the contrast between the identities "husband/wife" and "boyfriend/girlfriend" marks the difference between adult and youth mitigated by marriage); 4) the related concept that marriage performs a circularity of tradition such that those marrying in the present literally incarnate their ancestors who have come before them, so that performing the wedding ceremony using particular religious and ethnic rituals and symbolism brings the past into the present embodied by those *being married*; and, 5) "same-sex"

marriage as a moral panic theme used as a political timing device with rhetoric for or against it increasing in the months running up to an election in an attempt to garner political capital and votes (LaFrance and Frederick 2007; Marzullo and Herdt 2011; Mooney and Schuldt 2007).

Ideology, Language and Marriage

As Irvine mentioned in the passage above, an index stands semiotically for something in language through the work of ideologies (2004). Ideology is defined as representative of the imaginary relations of individuals to their "real" or material conditions of existence (Althusser 1971). Linguistic anthropologist William Leap refines the definition of ideology as a "socially privileged form of 'common sense,' and assume (borrowing from Woolard 2000, 27) that linguistic studies of the 'microculture of communicative action' offer useful insights into the 'political economic considerations of power and social inequality' relevant to the lives of particular subjects at particular sites" (Leap 2009, 219 n. 1). Hall contributes that ideology includes:

> 1. The whole range of concepts, ideas and images which provide the frameworks of interpretation and meaning for social and political thought in society, wherever they exist at the high, systematic, philosophical level or at the level of casual, everyday, contradictory, commonsense explanation
> 2. No ideology is wholly logical or consistent
> 3. An ideology cannot be reduced to its philosophical essence….There are always two distinct arenas in ideology-philosophy and common sense. An ideology only becomes "organic" to the broad contours of historical development when it is widely diffused through society. (Hall 1986, 36)

The way an ideology becomes "organic" or essentialized, or in Leap's terminology "common sense," is based on historical development through which *historicity*, or time-consciousness, derives power and logic. The ideological assumptions and evaluations that one draws on rely on ideological stances imbued with certain moral readings of temporality. As Leap clarifies, "temporal assumptions 'measure' the distance between 'past' and 'present' and assign moral

reading (backwardness, progress, achievement) to those distances and their significance" (N.d., 11).

Both temporality and ideology are instantiated through language use. Marnie Holborow discusses the importance of using language when considering ideology:

> Ideology can appropriately be described as meaning in service of power….Thus, rather than being the expression of what is objectively true, ideologies are true according to particular standpoints….The bias of an ideology also gives rise to contradictions within the ideology which become manifest at different levels.….There are competing and different ideologies that exist in society, which means that even dominant ideologies do not always hold sway and, depending on the weight of other forms of social contest, are open to being opposed in unpredictable ways….Language, particularly because it is everywhere in society and a highly sensitive indicator of social change, is an immediate (although not the only way) of grasping ideology. (2007, 52-53)

In other words, ideology describes systems of power and examining time with language shows us how certain important historical processes are reflected in the resemanticization and redeployment of key concepts, like marriage.

Recall that the definition of marriage I use is based on discursive performative symbolism. Thus, ideological engagements work on enactments of marriage (not just in the ceremony but in the day-to-day) through a "logic of contiguity…interpreted as a logic of consequence" (Gal and Irvine 1995, 103) and the basic work of an ideology makes us feel as if everything is going work out just fine (Althusser 1971, 181). As Hareven's work on the differences between the Great Depression and post-war cohorts revealed (1991, 1993), the logic of contiguity that links sex and marriage also follows through to the linkage of marriage and the economy. As I discuss next, scholars have identified certain temporal and discursive features of neoliberalization that I used to observe the operation of the economic ethos in the talk of marriage among villagers.

Discursive Features of Neoliberalization

Neoliberalism is frequently discussed as a discourse but with its hegemony well established, it is more accurately described as an ideology that produces what Catherine Kingfisher calls a "Big D" discourse, or a system of meaning and knowledge production (2007, 94). As I discussed above, ideologies actively "make things mean" (Hall 1997a, 64). These meanings show up clearly in what Kingfisher calls "little d" discourse (Kingfisher 2007, 94), which "provides the mechanisms and sites for the production, reproduction, modification, and/or contestation of discourse with a 'big D,'" showing how neoliberalization inheres even in seemingly intimate decisions like choosing a marriage partner (Kingfisher 2007, 94).

The ideology that characterizes neoliberalization does not only work within discourses but crucially it has altered the rhythm and functions of the world in clearly material ways (McDonough, Reich and Kotz 2010). Beyond the inferential subtext called up through Foucault's "discursive regimes," describing discourse as an end unto itself sets the subject apart from the very historical context and politico-economic circumstances that bring our attention to the matter (Hall 1997b). "The power of discourse is not of the same order as the power of capital, both in terms of experience and effect, and forgetting this fails to identify the driving force of the system as a whole, the drive for profits" (Holborow 2007, 57).

The Discourse of neoliberalization, in Kingfisher's sense, encapsulates the shifting meaning making and power relations that are apparent in discursive interactions on the subject of marriage. Many scholars have shown that the process of neoliberalization deploys specific discursive markers used in this work to show the Discourse of neoliberalization (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Bourdieu 1998, Brash 2011; Craven 2007; Duggan 2003, Giroux 2005, Harvey 2005, Kawai 2009; Marzullo 2011; Ong 1999, 2006, 2007).

The most often repeated discursive markers of neoliberalization are the words "choice," "responsibility" and some permutations of "privatization" or "the market" (as if the "market" has a mind outside of individuals or groups of humans acting with certain intentions) (Brash 2011, 6, 32; Craven 2007). Elsewhere I have discussed in detail the idea that many scholars identify the economic ethos of neoliberalization as having "resemanticized" some basic ideas Americans use to understand themselves and the world around them (Marzullo 2011). Semantics in linguistics is the study of how meaning and form change (Fairclough 2003). The re-indexing of four key concepts *autonomy, individualism, responsibility,* and *universality* track onto marriage discourses.

Under neoliberalism, the idea of "freedom" at the level of the individual is redefined as the autonomous ability to participate in the marketplace (Apple 1996; Duggan 2003). *Autonomy* under neoliberalization is not the freedom to be protected by certain basic human rights or citizenship rules. This autonomy is a particularly masculinist ideation of one's ability to move "freely" (as long as you are employed, spending and consuming) in society (Kingfisher 2007, 102). In terms of sexuality, gender and race and ethnicity, autonomy is constrained geographically by public policy protections individuals *might* receive.

Neoliberalization characterizes individuals as naturally accepting contract making as the terms of engagement in an ideal system of unregulated movement of goods and services (Kingfisher 2007, 96). This is a very specific definition of *individualism* based on possessions (termed *possessive individualism* by Kingfisher and Goldsmith 2001, 716). Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim argue that the term *individualization* should be used to stand in for individualism, which is usually associated with "orthodox economics and classical liberalism…as part of a broader contemporary compulsion 'to live a life of one's own'" (2002,

22–26). *Individualization* is a central tenet of neoliberalization (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. xxii). It works to negate the social such that individuals are arguably rendered wholly responsible for themselves, the net effect of which shifts all social risk (poverty, unemployment, disease prevention, etc.) to the individual citizen and, by proxy, to the family to bear or respond to (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Brodie, 2007; Ilcan, 2009; Wilson, 2007).

As I discussed in the introduction, the implementation and the expansion of neoliberalization is conducted through crises yet as Janine Brodie explains a resemanticized *"responsibility"* means that:

> Responsibility for social crises, which find their genesis in such macro processes as the globalization of production, geopolitical and environmental displacement, racism, or unequal gender orders to name a few, is shifted onto the shoulders of individuals. Living a life of one's own interpolates the entrepreneurial self who takes personal responsibility for her successes and failures, most critically the failure of not being able to go it alone. (Brodie 2007, 103)

Under neoliberalization, individual agency should not be an active engagement with the world in order to improve it but an engagement with the market to further one's material self-interest and ready oneself for the next crisis. Thus under neoliberalization, the idea of the "entrepreneur" and the term "entrepreneurial-spirit" replaces the idea of the citizen or even the consumer-citizen as the most successful, sought-after national figure.

As touched upon above, the responsible versus the irresponsible then becomes the guiding principal for regulating intimate behaviors under neoliberalism. It relies on a linear temporal logic that ignores the implications of emotion, chance, and structural inequalities that impact the power that one person actually has (Adam 2005; Ilcan 2009). Much recent incitement "to be responsible" holds as penalty very real consequences of disease, material deprivation and violence that currently garner little support from social safety nets in the U.S. The concept of responsibility builds on a resemanticized individualization such that "living a life of one's own"

actually "interpolates the entrepreneurial self who takes personal responsibility for her successes and failures, most critically the failure of not being able to go it alone," (Brodie 2007, 103).

Structural and historic prejudices are, of course, not a function of the past. Rather, people of color, poor people, marginalized lesbians, bisexuals, gays, transgender and transsexual people, especially those who do not conform their gender presentation or their outness to gender-normative comportment standards, still toil under conditions in which employment, housing and a basic freedom of movement is not guaranteed in the U.S. (Bailey, Kandaswamy and Richardson 2008; Duggan 2002; Embrick, Walther and Wickens 2007; Gray 2009; Herdt and Kertzner 2009).

This erasure goes in hand with *universality* under neoliberalization (Kingfisher 2007). The functional erasure of status quo power imbalances upholds the practice of neoliberalization and justifies inequalities through the semantic appeal to universality. In the neoliberal worldview "it is assumed that the world is the market in which people—atomized individuals who are detached from historical and socioeconomic contexts—have the 'freedom' to engage in various activities, where as social problems are personal issues for which each individual is responsible" (Kawai 2009, 17). This idea of detachment from context as an autonomous marketized individual is what makes universality, and thus erasure of history, possible under neoliberalization.

Guyer has noted that universalizing the morality of a radically politicized Christianity as has been a main driver of neoliberalization (2007). Universality also shifts responsibility "completely onto the other, often without admitting what is being done" (Adam 2005, 339–340). Discursive universality then hides power relations and the messianic undertones of neoliberalization even as claims to universality are "proven" with scientific reason via econometrics (more on this in the "norms" section below).

Reliance on individual responsibility and universality obscure the importance of identities as a basis for collective action (such as: African American, Black, gay, lesbian, transgender, feminist, union worker; see Duggan 2003) and urge the abandonment of identification with such affinity groups. The historically liberal protections known as civil rights provide some power to certain protected classes allowed to appropriately make claims on the state but under neoliberalization these categories should not exist. Under these terms, democracy is recast as a way to reduce all politics to the narrow market terms of "choice" and "consumption," while valorizing the possibilities of the individual constrained through social policy-making, the use of surveillance policies and police actions (Apple 1996; Duggan 2003; Wacquant 2009).

The review of neoliberalization in the introduction identified its tactics and discussed it as a process. Other meaning-making associated with neoliberalization use rhetorics of "austerity" and "reform" of public institutions reliant on American "boot-strap" ideology of rugged individualism and on "personal responsibility" argued in order *to replace* strong social provisioning. Thus, the constellation of discourses that define the ideology of neoliberalization are permutations of the words freedom, autonomy, individualization, responsibility, universality, choice, market, entrepreneur and privatization. The appearance of these words in talk of marriage cued me to the ideological work of neoliberalization in this study. For example, as discussed in the introduction, many marriage scholars use the word marriage "choice" uncritically and in a positive sense. I do not dispute this term to describe what is happening with marriage but understanding the work of the ideology of neoliberalization through semantics allows both an analysis of how this phenomenon has now become common sense or "natural" in the U.S. and provides a macro-level structure for understanding the pressures shaping such "choice."

Marriage Norms and Intersectional Analysis

This section discusses what I mean by "norm." Clarifying this is important since this study essentially examines the discursive appearance and conflicts between marriage norms that inform marriage meanings in context. I use Hareven's rendering of "normative" as temporal and not in a discriminatory, hierarchy-reinforcing sense. Normative is a societal expectation that member will undergo certain transitions, like marriage, "at certain points in their lives in conformity with established norms of timing" (Hareven 1991, 172-173).

John Modell critiques the use of age- or stage-based "norms" in many social and behavioral scientific studies because the term was used in a commonsensical way, so that researchers:

> tended to accept it with inadequate specification and empirical underpinning. Thus we know a good deal about what representative samples of Americans say when asked about the *best* age for marriage or retirement (for example), but we know far less about whether Americans think that age is actually a relevant criterion for decisions about marriage or retirement, and even less about the degree to which, for Americans today, age "permeates thinking" about transitions…To make good this theoretical gain, we need to delve into questions of *meaning*. (1997, 282-283)

Meaning, as I discussed above, inheres at the level of ideology as the power to shape the idea of marriage.

Modell, a scholar in human development, argues that quantitative survey research on "norms" assumes that everyone understands a certain ideal of timeliness (meaning timing and age norms) and thus "naturalizes" what are "(putatively) culturally validated 'shoulds' that guide actors in constructing their own pathways through life, individual but not uniquely patterned, dialectically reproducing and modifying society as they do so" (Modell 1997, 283). Hareven's work has shown how the stage-based model of life-trajectory emerged as "organic" (read "ideological" following Hall's definition) from the post-war historical period making young

marriage seem to be "natural" and "common sense" for later generations among both the "philosophical" and the "naïve," in Hall's words, or by many social scientists and laypersons.

In this way, Becker's *Treatise on the Family* (1991) conducted research laden with his cohort's preconceived notions of "correct" age-staged norms for marriage and childbearing "proved" through statistical modeling using such culturally specific "shoulds" as his basic assumptions. Becker's 1976 work applied statistics for the first time to understanding human behavior and cultural phenomena. It is cited as evidence in Townsend's work on the *Package Deal* (2002, 34). I discuss Becker's 1991 *Treatise on the Family* more fully in my subsequent chapters. Here I merely point out how preconceived notions of "correct" age-staged norms for marriage and childbearing have been tautologically "proved" through statistical modeling to naturalize post-war American "shoulds" about marriage and family timing (Modell 1997).

Instead of using modeling as a means of reinforcing social norms, norms should be understood through this series of questions:

> Do age norms dispose or do they just propose, or do they perhaps dispose for others but only propose for oneself? Or are they instead hopes, or mere verbal nods to a set of rules thrown off by the activities of the state and institutions, well-known but hollow? And they raise developmental questions. How does the taunt of "baby" affect the self of the timid 8-year-old who doesn't like to play hide-and-seek, or the discrediting glances directed at the 25-year-old lad in the North of England who has never worked a steady job? Are prescriptions held at arm's length, invoked as weapons against others but never against oneself? Or do they gently guide? Or harshly? (Modell 1997, 286)

Together, Lewin's caution in regards to "prescribing" ideas of marriage (2004, 1006) in social and behavioral studies join with Modell's implication that norms move within the intersections of historical context as well as gender, sexuality, age, race, work status, nation and citizenship. Both scholars argue that methods for analyzing norms must foundationally attend to articulating change within power structures. Since the specificity of cultural context and meaning making is especially important when discussing marriage, this methodological point matters greatly.

In response, I provide a depth of information on symbolic meaning making regarding marriage. To deal with the historic indexes that "norms" (as ideological temporalities regarding age and life-time scheduling) call up, this dissertation employs intersectional analysis to highlight where marriage temporalities come together in terms of villagers' conceptualizations of life trajectories in the face of their everyday struggles of achievement in a neoliberalized economy. As Ong clearly states:

> Our challenge is to consider the reciprocal construction of practice, gender, ethnicity, race, class and nation in processes of capital accumulation. An anthropology of the present should analyze people's everyday actions as a form of cultural politics embedded in specific power contexts. The regulatory effects of particular cultural institutions, projects, regimes, and markets that shape people's motivations, desires and struggles making them particular kinds of subjects in the world should be identified. (Ong 1999, 5-6)

Crucially, I pay particular attention to how intersectionality critically engages systems of power in the "new economy," especially how certain aspects of social relations concern the "shoulds" of marriage norms to produce certain types of subjects as effects of this context (McCall 2005).

Intersectionality means different things to different researchers based on their subjects but Shields has identified a common theme as:

> social identities which serve as organizing features of social relations, mutually constitute, reinforce, and naturalize one another. By mutually constitute I mean that one category of identity, such as gender, takes its meaning as a category in relation to another category. By reinforce I mean that the formation and maintenance of identity categories is a dynamic process in which the individual herself or himself is actively engaged. We are not passive "recipients" of an identity position, but "practice" each aspect of identity as informed by other identities we claim. By naturalize I mean that identities in one category come to be seen as self-evident or "basic" through the lens of another category. (2008, 302)

This dissertation works out some of the particulars of the sex/gender system (inclusive of sexuality, sexual orientation and gender identity/expression) as mutually constitutive, performative marriage norms and as *linked* and reinforced by other systems that are salient to

villagers such as economic, social and familial class, age, educational (degree/no degree) and job status (job/no job), debt, race/ethnicity, and geopolitical context (conservative/progressive moral geography, or colloquially "red state"/"blue state"). I do consider the practice of a person's positionality and complex identity as constituted through such social ascriptions and affiliations as impacting his/her stance on marriage quite directly.

Feminist analysis refined the practice of intersectional research given the critique that gender is just one axis of power informing and constraining life decisions (McCall 2005; Shields 2008). Researchers working on issues of sexuality and queer theory have recently begun to embrace intersectional research in light of similar critiques (Taylor, Hines and Casey 2011). Intersectionality research has contributed to a flourishing of methodological approaches (McCall 2005; Shields 2008; Taylor, Hines and Casey 2011). Leslie McCall characterizes three basic approaches to feminist intersectional analysis: intracategorical complexity, intercategorical complexity and anticategorical complexity.

The intracategorical approach:

> Inaugurated the study of intersectionality… it interrogates the boundary-making and boundary-defining process itself…acknowledges the stable and even durable relationships that social categories represent at any given point in time, though it also maintains a critical stance toward categories. This approach is called *intracategorical complexity* because authors working in this vein tend to focus on particular social groups at neglected points of intersection. (McCall 2005, 1773-1774)

The emphasis on points in time for the intracategorical approach makes the ethnographic approach of anthropology perfectly suited for this method. As the "boundary-defining process" suggests, much work on identity-formation in both women's and LesBiGay studies has taken this approach, especially as it examines the "silences" or to use McCall's language, the "neglected points of intersection" between socially salient categorical relationships. Examining intercategorical complexity within intersectional analysis means that "scholars provisionally

adopt existing analytical categories to document relationships of inequality among social groups and changing configurations of inequality along multiple and conflicting dimensions" (McCall 2005, 1773).

In her review of the methodological application of intersectionality in research, McCall discusses the idea of *anti*-categorical complexity. This "anti" stance is similar to a queer theoretical approach in that it takes a poststructuralist, deconstructive stance on social categories and norms. Anticategorical complexity approaches intersectional work as wholly overdetermined with social life "considered too irreducibly complex—overflowing with multiple and fluid determinations of both subjects and structures—to make fixed categories anything but simplifying social fictions that produce inequalities in the process of producing differences" (McCall 2005, 1773).

Though this dissertation does not approach the analysis with a wholly anti-categorical stance, I do employ a queer temporal theoretical approach to discuss some of the new ideas on marriage that appear in my informants' discussions. The queer approach to intersectional research is an emerging field of concern (Taylor, Hines and Casey 2011), but given Borneman's 1996 definition of marriage as symbolic and performative, it has been implicitly practiced for some time.

The feminist approach to anticategorical analysis is based on the idea that:

> Since symbolic violence and material inequalities are rooted in relationships that are defined by race, class, sexuality, and gender, the project of deconstructing the normative assumptions of these categories contributes to the possibility of positive social change….Feminist researchers take this stance even with the acknowledgment that it is impossible to fully escape the normalizing confines of language because new relations of power/knowledge are continuously reinscribed in new systems of classification, and yet it is impossible to avoid using categories strategically for political purposes. (McCall 2005, 1777)

Therefore, I take the radical political deconstruction put forward by the two projects of feminism and queer theory to understand the intersectional complexities of marriage in the lived experiences and discourse of villagers (Green 2002; Shields 2008). I allow that complexity to drive my insights into the symbolic and material ways that the institution has changed in the new economy even though, as many villagers have complained, the term marriage is quite limiting. Hence, a reason that I work to show hybrid temporalities is that, as discussed in the introduction, temporalities move ideas into actions and change meanings—even meanings of ideas like marriage that for many people seem timeless. Identifying temporalities and renderings of time (not just the right age for marriage but what age stands in to mean in terms of marriage) allow us to understand how intersectional meanings become inscribed on and within bodies and populations (or spatially). If marriage is often used as a ritual marking a boundary then it uses temporality to mark certain bodies with certain ideas in specific places and times.

Queer theory has been critiqued as deconstructionist in the feminist tradition but also as ignoring the very feminist currents that inform it. This dissertation does not repeat this mistake; instead I use a mixture of feminist and queer theoretical approaches to discuss my findings. I use intersectionality as a way of bridging these philosophical approaches and acknowledge the feminist currents in the queer approach that foster a distinct methodological practice. The queer approach to understanding "non-normative alignments" between sex, gender and sexuality, resisting the tendency to describe common sexual and gendered practices as "natural," understanding identity as one discursive formation among many and finally "treating the construction of intersectional subjectivities as both performed and performative" (Broad 2011, 196).

Using these joint theories as a guide has helped me to understand what it is that villagers are in the process of disassembling and reassembling in regards to marriage. This approach also allows me to acknowledge and analyze how the rules and regulations of the institution often move in the interest of power and how these machinations are responded to locally (Broad 2011, 196). This work examines how new groups are thought to become marriageable and shows how they are "continuously reinscribed in new systems of classification," so that marriage moves with practice. I do not perform intragroup analysis — only examining how heterosexuals or bisexuals or gays or lesbians or transgender people think of marriage. Instead, I examine the village as a specific community of practice that is geohistorically relevant to the marriage movement given the 2004 allowance of LGBTQ marriages by Mayor West and the subsequent village-wide defense of the mayor's actions (even if not everyone there agreed with him on the subject of marriage for LGBTQ couples, see Appendix C). In this way, intersectional research highlights how the "new relations of power/knowledge" are received by villagers and how LGBTQ couples seeking marriage may be socially comprehensible in that context.

Organization of the Marrying Times: Large-scale, Life-time, Everyday

These first two chapters have introduced time as a fruitful way to examine marriage meanings in the current neoliberalized moment. In this chapter I discussed the methods I used to analyze marriage as a chronotype, which connected the specifics of the moral geography of the village to changing meanings on marriage. The main analysis chapters use Rita Felski's three levels of time (2000) to demonstrate how this chronotype actually works to shape marriage meaning in the village. Chapter four uses *large-scale temporality* to sketch the national conversation on marriage. Large scale timings are:

> The ways we think about the long-term processes of time that transcend the limits of our personal existence. These larger time frames allow us to talk about shared pasts and collective futures and to fashion larger narratives around group identities such as nation, religion, or ethnicity. Indeed, the creation and survival of social communities rely heavily on the telling of such narratives. These stories may take different forms, from triumphal stories of social struggle or spiritual progress to melancholic reflections on inexorable decline from a lost golden age. Sometimes the shape of time is seen as essentially circular rather than moving upward or downward. (Felski 2000, 18)

Until now, I have uncritically described a "national" discourse on marriage yet one cannot directly experience a nation in all of its complexity. The experience of nationalism is experienced through the consumption of mass communication modalities, such as through newspapers, TV, internet blogs and websites, orchestrated political events and marches (Anderson 1991). This is how the large-scale temporal level instantiates in life-time and everyday experience. The national event that Mayor West reacted to by bringing the "national" discussion on "same-sex" marriage to the doorstep of the village was the 2004 State of Union Address by President George W. Bush, broadcast on network television (Quinn 2005). Chapter four dissects that political battle. There I characterize the temporalities at play as progressive, neoconservative and neoliberal to show how these shape both the national marriage movement (inclusive of those working "for" and "against" "same-sex" marriage) as well as marriage meaning among villagers.

As we saw in Paige's account, this national level discourse has changed her life-time conception of marriage "a little bit too." Chapter five assembles a picture of what marriage means within the Village of New Paltz by aggregating repetitive themes on the meaning of marriage from interview and focus group narratives framed using the life-time temporality that reflects the moral geography of marriage there. The life-time level of temporality imbues individual lives with:

> shape and meaning….This is the way we make sense of our identities by endowing them with a temporal Gestalt. It is the process of understanding one's life as a project that encompasses and connects random segments of daily experience. It is the creation of oneself as an autobiographical subject and the act of reflecting on one's existence and finitude. (Felski 2000, 17-18)

Obvious in this idea of life-time is the practice of reflexivity, which allows us to realize our ties to the contexts we experience and also indexes the late-modern context in which this study was based (Povinelli 2002). In chapter five, I talk about how villagers contextualize marriage based on their specific moral geography by identifying their *life-time* temporality and "shoulds" regarding marriage meanings and practices. That chapter demonstrates how villagers weave together, or recursively hybridize, temporalities in the construction of the meaning of marriage there. I call these "the marrying times" to signal the multiple temporalities present in discussions of marriage but to also spotlight the paradox of intensifying marriage discourse while the practice among heterosexuals has been deinstitutionalizing in the U.S.

To understand how marriage meanings are impacted by everyday economic realities, I frame chapter six using the temporal level of everyday time, which is:

> the phenomenological sense of time. This is the way we experience time on a day-to-day basis. Do we perceive time to be passing quickly or slowly, moving in fits and starts or according to the regular rhythm of the clock? Is our daily sense of time most strongly influenced by the relentless, impersonal regularities of clocks and timetables, by the frenzied, flickering pace of television or media culture, or by the subterranean flow of natural bodily rhythms? How are these experiences affected by our existences as embodied and sexed subjects with different social roles? Do we feel ourselves to be controlled by time or controlling time, does time flow in a certain direction or does it seem repetitive or cyclical? (Felski 2000, 17)

Chapter six as the last analysis chapter examines the *everyday temporality* of villagers balancing the demands of a neoliberalized economy while attempting to live out their life-time visions of marriage. That chapter closely highlights where the "checklist" informs the everyday meaning of marriage among villagers.

The large-scale, life-time and the everyday time levels are used to apprehend the temporal logics that the shade villagers' historicized experiences and meanings of marriage. I identify how the symbolic meaning of marriage plays out with the practical, everyday exigencies of relationships and achievement in a neoliberalized economic context "shifting 'communities,' identities, and selves, at different levels of contrast" (Gal and Irvine 1995, 974). This approach allows me to grasp the seemingly incommensurate standpoints I encountered among my informants, such as: how a lesbian couple with children might consider themselves "traditional" and therefore seek marriage, and why a feminist might desire marriage even as she identifies with the critique of marriage as a repugnant, chattel-based historic institution. In other words, I intend to show how temporalities move recursively to hybridize in discourse. In so doing, I show how seemingly incommensurate groups or individuals holding conflicting stand-points on marriage may be recognizable as contemporaneous of each other.

The conclusion of this dissertation ties together the study findings by employing Bender and Wellbery's concept of chronotype. That chapter focuses sharply on how these marriage temporalities move within the specific geography of New York—state, city and village—as part of the U.S. national imaginary. I propose that temporalities clarify what the push and pull over marriage has been about over the past few decades. I end discussing how this insight might allow us to reckon with the changes inherent in this venerated and excoriated institution. As the chronotype concept infers, how marriage is conceived across this vast territory we call the United States differs from place to place. It is to that description in chapter three, of the history of those people living in a tiny village nestled between two historic rivers under the shadow of a mountain that I now turn.

CHAPTER 3

VILLAGE OF NEW PALTZ: GUARDIANS OF THE LAND AND REVOLUTIONS

The Wallkill River flows through the Village of New Paltz. It is one of only 33 rivers in the world that flows south to north (World Atlas 2011). Such movement against the usual flow best characterizes the people of the area whose voices fill the pages to come. This work was largely inspired by Village of New Paltz Mayor Jason West, who organized marriages for LGBTQ couples in 2004. Mayor West managed to marry about 25 couples on February 27, 2004 before being charged with criminally violating the "New York State Domestic Relations Law by solemnizing marriages without a valid marriage license" (Quinn 2005, 40-42, 249). Also performing these marriages were Julia Walsh and Rebecca Roetzler, two village trustees who ran and won with Mayor West as Green Party members in 2003. Village of New Paltz resident Bob Hebel sought out representation by Florida's evangelical Liberty Council, headed by Reverend Jerry Falwell, to stop these officials from performing the weddings in New York. In the end, permanent restraining orders were issued to West, Walsh and Roetzler barring them from ever again performing marriages in the State of New York (Quinn 2005, xiii, 67). After Mayor West and his trustees were barred from performing weddings, Unitarian ministers Kay Greenleaf and Dawn Sangrey continued to perform them from March 6 through March 22 before being charged with

> thirteen misdemeanor counts for allegedly violating the Domestic Relations Law. These two women, both in their early sixties, with short hair and warm, generous faces, did not pack the star power that Jason did, but they certainly elicited from the crowd great empathy and respect as well as outrage that the DA had brought criminal charges against two women of the cloth. (Quinn 2005, xv, 69-70)

These charges were later thrown out of court (Quinn 2005, xv). The village marriages sparked

state-wide grassroots organizing and a series of legal and legislative events that culminated, after a long, serious and costly fight, with the passage of the "Marriage Equality Act" by the New York State Assembly on June 24, 2011 (Confessore and Barbaro 2011). Its passage made New York the largest and most populous state offering marriage to LGBTQ couples at the time.

I chose this area for this study to understand how villagers conceive of LGBTQ couples as marriageable and why. In this chapter, I argue that a certain moral geography operates in the Village of New Paltz, which impacts general marriage ideals. My definition of moral geography follows Modan's definition:

> An interweaving of a moral framework with a geographical territory. Through the use of various discourse strategies and themes, community members create alignments and oppositions among people and places. These alignments and oppositions are then evaluated positively or negatively in relation to various value and belief systems circulating in the community. In other words, through linguistic moves, community members position themselves and their neighbors within a kind of abstract moral "grid." (2007, 90)

This moral geography coupled with the national zeitgeist around marriage activism before and through the time of my fieldwork, made the village an ideal locale for understanding marriage.

Village Moral Geography: Of Revolutions, "Progressives" and Marriage?

The abstract moral "grid" (Modan 2007, 90) that creates the moral framework in the Village of New Paltz is heavily informed by themes emanating from past U.S. social movements and by the specific geo-spatial history of the place. This history includes but is not limited to the project of neoliberalization that has rolled through the state since the middle 1970s. The village has been characterized in many ways: as an activist hotbed, a college party town, a tourist town, home of America's oldest functioning street, a healing Mecca and spiritual center, a naturalist's dream, an artist's paradise, an organic farming homeland, a peaceful sojourn, and an outdoor

playground and an escape for many vacationers from New York City, some of whom own second homes in the area. It is a place that remains engaged with the bohemian idea that one should be "free" to live outside of 24/7, always-on, neoliberal worker norms (Harries 2000; Hassan and Purser 2007; Lause 2009; Wilson 2000).

Surrounding Geography, Area History

The Village of New Paltz is located in Ulster County, New York in the mid-Hudson Valley. Ulster County is surrounded by tony Dutchess County to the east across the Hudson River; Orange County to the south, which abuts the counties surrounding New York City; to the east are the rural, mountainous Sullivan and Delaware Counties; and, to the north Greene and Columbia Counties. The latter two counties are usually described by villagers as ultra-conservative areas that are "over the mountain" meaning "backward" rural areas or exurbs. These two counties run up to Albany County, where the state capital is located.

The village was settled in 1678 and takes its name from the experiences of early French Huguenot settlers. They came to America on a circuitous route after taking refuge in Mannheim, Germany when religious persecution chased them out of France. Mannheim in Germany was the capital of the region Rhineland-Palatinate called "Rhein Pfalz" (Village of New Paltz 2011). Pronouncing the word "Pfalz" without the "f" created the name of the village in the new world: "New Paltz" (pronounced pall-ts). Twelve families ultimately clustered along what became known as Huguenot Street and established the village. The street is a popular tourist destination, cultural center, an active archaeological site and a National Historic Landmark District. It is the oldest functioning street in the U.S. and still features most of the original stone structures built during the settling of the area.

Figure 4. One of Many Placards Along Huguenot Street, a National Historic Site in the Village of New Paltz. The Village was Settled by French Huguenots Driven Out of France for Their Religious Beliefs (Photo by Michelle Marzullo, 2007)

I lived on Main Street in the village for the year and a half of my fieldwork, directly across from two of over 15 official houses of worship in the tiny village whose population counts 6,818 residents with fewer than 2,000 registered voters (US Census 2011b; Ulster County Board of Elections 2007). The actual land mass of the village is a mere 1.72 square miles, so it is quite densely populated yet surrounded by sparsely populated high wooded mountains and low farmlands that abut the largely protected wetlands around the Wallkill River.

The organized religions with houses of worship there include: Reformed, Quaker, Episcopal, Methodist, Christian, Lutheran, Catholic, Judaic, Baha'i, Mormon, and a Jehovah's Witness meeting place. The preponderance of religions practiced are matched in the village with the mystics and shamans who are drawn from around the world to the healing vibrations of the large deposits of quartz rock that form the underlying structures of the local Shawangunk Mountain Range. Mountaineers and climbers lovingly refer these mountains as the "Gunks." The mountain woodlands are among the most biodiverse in the United States. Rising high over the

northwestern tip of the village, the Gunks comprise the northern most Appalachian Mountains. Legend has it that if the mountain casts its shadow over you then you are destined to return. A 2005 National Geographic Article about climbing the Shawangunk Mountains featured climber Dawes Strickler clinging to the face overlooking the Hudson Valley and begins "the Shawangunk mountains—the East Coast's greatest climbing area—are only 90 miles (145 kilometers) north of New York city and five minutes from a really good cup of coffee" found in the Village of New Paltz (see photo below by Alex Di Suvero; Source: Ranson, 2005). Continuing just north of these are the lower Catskill Mountains, which was a popular resort destination through the 1970s for summer vacationers "especially from Jewish families living in New York City and other northeastern cities" (Bérubé 2011, 31).

Figure 5. Climbing the Shawangunk Mountains (Photo By Alex Di Suvero; Source: Ranson, 2005)

A Pervasive Spirituality

At my attic apartment on clear crisp nights when the full moon shone brightly through the windows, I would often hear drum circles playing around a lit campfire at a nearby house that featured spiritual advisors, palm readers and the like. I was told of active Pagan, Wiccan and various New Age and Native American spiritual practices held in the area. These religious communities live quietly alongside the organized religious houses of worship and the spiritual

retreat centers, yoga practice spaces, artist colonies and functioning communes. This progressive community then is not only informed by a sort of liberal modernism but also by a deep, abiding spiritual and religious practice rooted in connectedness to each other, the land and planes of understanding that transcend linear reason. It is for this reason that locals continuously brought up Bob Hebel's name as transgression to the tranquil balance locals have created among the various religious and spiritual practices in the area by bringing in evangelicals based in Florida to litigate the village wedding event.

State University of New York at New Paltz

The rhythm of life in the village is also heavily influenced by the SUNY New Paltz campus, which composes half of its land mass yet is surprisingly self-contained, tucked away as it is from the heart of village life on a sprawling bucolic campus. The college is known for its arts department and many village residents attracted by the college try to stay in the area for the vibrant local arts community. A strong intellectual engagement and reverence for education among area residents has historical roots among the village's French Huguenot founders. The local college was established there because of this history (SUNY New Paltz 2003). It is this historic penchant for education that gives locals an edge for surviving in the neoliberalized service/knowledge economy.

The population in the Village of New Paltz rises and falls with the rhythm of the tourist season and the SUNY semester calendar. SUNY New Paltz had a student population of 6,224 students during the 2007-2008 academic year (SUNY New Paltz 2007). The village population coupled with the student population means that over 14,000 people are present on the tiny patch of village land when school is in session. Yet as registered voter numbers reflects, a large portion of that population is temporary. Many students rent apartments in the area and cycle in and out

with the semester calendar. Most landlords live in and around the New York City area, so the rental income does not usually stay in the local economy. Because of the wide-availability of rental properties and the economic challenges of the area, many people, students and non-students alike, live with roommates.

Village Politics

The Village of New Paltz is surrounded by the Town of New Paltz with a population of 11,300 spread over a sprawling rural, exurb landscape (SUNY New Paltz 2011). Townies are decidedly more conservative in demeanor than villagers. In New York State, a village is a legal designation chosen by citizens and must be less than 5 square miles. These function as general purpose municipal corporations providing municipal services like garbage collection, police, fire and street maintenance (State of New York 2009). Villages are not necessarily rural or small though the Village of New Paltz is both. Villagers pay higher taxes than townies because they maintain their own services. I use the term "village" throughout to refer to this municipal designation not to infer that the area is somehow not contemporaneous with other areas in the U.S.

As a result of the small and highly protective village governance, there is a distinction between "uptown New Paltz" and "downtown New Paltz." Uptown is near the Interstate-87 off-ramp and managed by the town. I-87 is the major highway connecting New Paltz to the rest of New York. It starts in New York City and runs into I-15 at the Canadian border ending in Montreal, QC. The uptown section of the town feature the kind of anonymous strip malls and large, corporate-owned, box stores found in so many towns and cities around the U.S. It is contrasted by "downtown New Paltz," which maintains a warm, neighborly feel featuring many locally-owned small businesses and historic two-story apartment buildings of wood and brick

accessible by walking along the narrow sidewalks of Main Street. This downtown section literally creates the heart of the village.

A survey question I asked to understand how active and politically engaged residents were during my study period asking was: "Do you consider yourself a supporter of or participant in a social movement which advocates for any of the following groups?" (Figure 6). Both the

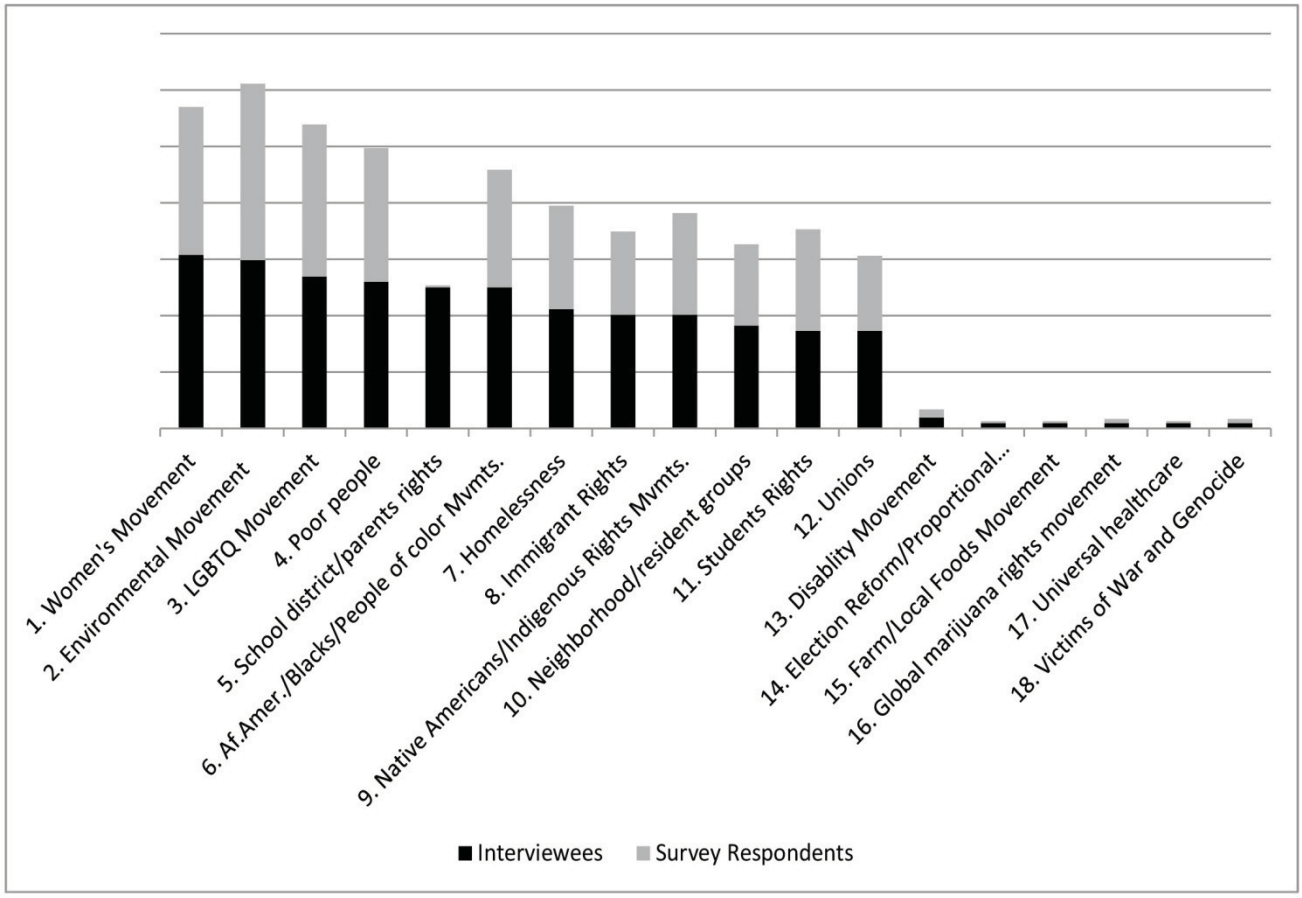


Figure 6. Social Movements of concern to Village of New Paltz Interviewees and Survey Respondents (Source: Village of New Paltz Marriage Survey, Appendix A)

interview and survey respondents marked as their top concerns in order: the Women's, Environmental and LGBTQ Movements (Interviewees: 62% are concerned with the Women's Movement, 60% Environmental, 54% LGBTQ; and, survey respondents: 53%, 63% and 54%,

respectively). On average, eight social issues were of concern to interviewees and five to survey respondents (see Appendix C, Table 3). The questions I asked in regard to the 2004 same-sex marriages performed by then Mayor West saw 63.5% of interviewees and 73.4% of survey respondents agreeing these weddings were in line with most people's values in New Paltz. A stunning 80.8% of interviewees and 91.4% of survey respondents agreed that gays and lesbians should be able to get married just like heterosexuals (see Appendix C, Table 3).

The politically engaged disposition of villagers was revealed as 73% of interviewees (80% survey respondents) reporting having voted in the 2004 presidential election and 81% (88%) planning to vote in the 2008 presidential election (see Appendix C, Table 3). When I asked their overall impressions of political parties, 57% (67%) reported that Democrats are very favorable and favorable; 53% (47%) thought this of Greens; and, 4% (6%) thought this of Republicans. These impressions were concordant with the self-identification of many in the area as "progressives."

Their fierce political engagement, joined by the day-to-day congeniality of villagers, creates a feeling that is simultaneously laid back and intellectually vigorous. Though the village is only 90 minutes north of New York City, living there becomes deeply sensory. There is time to stroll, breathe the fresh air, stand in the sunlight and talk to neighbors or friendly strangers who are all too willing to engage in an intellectually engaging and politically timely conversation.

New Paltz Equality Initiative and Village Spirit

When I came into town telling people that I was doing a study on marriage, the first story many told was in regards to the New Paltz Equality Initiative (NPEI). How NPEI was said to bring the village together exemplifies the atmosphere of the place. To get the full story, I was

told by a few people to meet with Jim Gordon, a local reporter who helped to organize the NPEI. Even though I spoke with Jim four years after the event, he still beamed retelling the story (Jim

Figure 7. Main Street in the Village of New Paltz (Photo by Emily Partridge; Source: Abel, 2010)

Gordon interviewed by the author, May 14, 2008). Jim said that the NPEI was organized in response to the Westboro Baptist Church's (WBC) plan to picket the 2004 village weddings. The Southern Poverty Law Center, an organization that tracks hate groups in the U.S., officially lists WBC as an anti-gay hate group (Southern Poverty Law Center 2011).

Ironically, the group, run by Reverend Fred Phelps and his family, consider themselves "Calvinists, to have been chosen as God's elite, and thus obligated to spread the message that the majority of the population was destined for hell, particularly, but certainly not limited to, homosexuals" (Quinn 2005, 122). Coincidentally, and I am sure unbeknownst to WBC, the Village of New Paltz was settled by French Huguenots who essentially followed Calvinism,

which is also known as Reformed theology. The New Paltz Reformed Church remains one of the best-attended churches in the village. With the formation of NPEI, progressives joined with the direct descendants of European Calvinists to preserve the hard-won lesson of religious tolerance kept alive there for over 300 years.

The NPEI planned their events based on the Phelps picketing schedule that was shared with them by the local police department. Rachel Lagodka, a local Green Party organizer, summarized the entire community's effort against WBC:

> Several of the churches agreed to make banners that will say, "God Loves Everyone." We agreed to put posters up in all of the local businesses that say, "Love is All You Need." Even Pastor Greg Ortiz, from Christ The King church, who admitted to us right off the bat that he in no way supported gay marriages, was totally willing to work with us to find peaceful ways of condemning the Phelps family's protests. (Quinn 2005, 123)

The last stop of the picketers in the village happened at the New Paltz Reformed Church, where the Phelps clan surrounded a group of Sunday School children conducting their annual Palm Sunday Parade. As local reporter Erin Quinn retells the event in her book *Pride and Politics: The Tale of a Big Story in a Small Town*, the WBC were screaming at the children:

> "Those dead reeds aren't going to save you…they aren't going to get you into heaven!" Then towards the counter-protestors they began their usual diatribe. "You're all a bunch of dirty feces eaters and fag enablers…" The counter-protesters began to sing louder. Jim Gordon ran alongside the children and kept saying, "Happy Palm Sunday." Others joined him, trying to smile and encourage the children and keep the rhetoric of the WBC from reaching them. (Quinn 2005, 136)

Locals communicated the story of the New Paltz Equality Initiative as the front story about the 2004 weddings because they used the "tragedy" they were witnessing to create more community dialogue and connectedness, not less (Quinn 2005, 133).

Indeed, most villagers I met drew on themes described by Hall as "liberal," meaning "an attitude of mind…liberals are open-minded, tolerant, rational, freedom-loving people, skeptical of the claims of tradition and established authority, but strongly committed to the values of

liberty, competition and individual freedom," (Hall 1986, 34). Characteristic of these themes and marking the moral geography, villagers drew on their historic religious tolerance to manage the situation. Though critical of tradition, they reacted to a direct attack on their collective liberty and individual freedoms. Years later, if the 2004 weddings put the village on the map for the world to remember, the New Paltz Equality Initiative burned the event into the hearts of residents as a seized moment that reinforced their community's moral grid in the face of what they perceived as bizarre religious intolerance.

Other examples of ongoing community organizing creating the pervasive activist feel of the place include the Women in Black who stand on the corner of Main Street and North Front Street each Saturday morning dressed in full black garb to mourn all ongoing U.S. military incursions. The vigil began as a silent protest of the Iraq War began during President George W. Bush's administration. When President Barack Obama officially ended active U.S. engagement in Iraq, it morphed into a continual, silent anti-war protest.

Environmentalists and conservationists also have a long history in the village. Beginning in the late-1800s, the Quaker Smiley brothers purchased 6,400 acres of land to preserve the area. They created the Mohonk Preserve and the Mohonk Mountain House. Locals refer to this simply as "Mohonk," which remains a popular destination for tourists and a steady local employer offering mostly service-type jobs. While I was in residence there, locals also launched anti-pesticide and anti-hydrofracking (natural gas drilling in shale rock) campaigns. The presence of many local farms means that the organic, locally grown food movement is strong in the area. The farm stands that dot the countryside are a particular attraction during the apple harvesting season when city-dwellers flock to the area to enjoy the autumn leaves and the hay rides through the fields.

The anti-racist tone of the community is continually reinforced through Sojourner Truth remembrances. She was held in slavery in different places adjacent to the village. Truth is probably the most famous woman who was once a slave in the U.S. She worked throughout her free life as an abolitionist and a suffragette (Nyquist 2009). The SUNY New Paltz library is named the "Sojourner Truth Library." A plaque dedicated to Truth marks a section of the village "Rail Trail." The trail marks what remains of the now-defunct railroad route, which used to deliver wealthy New Yorkers, like the Rockefellers, to Mohonk for vacations. The Rail Trail is now a maintained walking trail that follows the edge of the village to the bank of the Walkill River. It is dedicated to Truth as she was said to go to the river to steal moments of peaceful reflection during the time she was enslaved. The transition of the railroad to a heritage site marks the evolution of the area economy from a strong manufacturing center during the Industrial Revolution to one now dependent on tourism-related service jobs.

Aside from such monuments to historic anti-racist work, Paige related a story of anti-racist activism in the village. This activism was a response to racist literature distributed to village mailboxes by a local Neo-Nazi group in the early 2000s. Locals formed an Anti-Racist Action (ARA) chapter, which is a confrontational, direct action group said to be present "whenever fascists are organizing or active in public, we're there. We don't believe in ignoring them or staying away from them. Never let the Nazis have the street!" (Anti-Racist Action 2012). ARA is "an international network of people from all walks of life who are dedicated to eliminating racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, homophobia, transphobia, and discrimination against the disabled, the oldest, the youngest, and the most oppressed people. We want a free classless society" (Anti-Racist Action 2012). Paige recalled that those involved

mounted a counter-campaign to inform the hate group that their message was not welcome. This stance exemplifies the vigilant yet tolerant New Paltz aesthetic.

Added to the tourists, students and locals peppering Main Street are the guitar players and street vendors who pop up randomly along the sidewalk day and night. These people are joined by a rag-tag group of homeless youth dressed in roughly hewn, dirty clothes that mix punk-rock leather jackets, spiked belts and multi-colored hair with warm, practical clothes and blankets wrapped around themselves. Many people call them the "60 Main kids" as they are usually found in front of a cooperative coffee shop of the same name during the warmer months.

The standard meeting places in the village are the coffee houses, bars and restaurants that cater to these various populations. These places span the spectrum from student dance spots, a biker bar, sports bars, a friendly neighborhood spot to shoot pool, a microbrewery, and an upscale eatery and wine bar. Added to these sites are frequent parades, races, crafts fairs and showings of the latest progressive documentary. On the outside wall of P&G's Bar and Restaurant, which marks the beginning of the village Main St. strip, are rotating banners that announce upcoming parades, races and fairs. This general mix creates a lively hum along Main Street, while the rest of the village remains quiet.

The "New Paltz Regatta" is a good example of the kinds of lighthearted, community-centered events that happen continuously during the warmer months. In another town a regatta might be a tony event yet in typical village style it features "boats" competing in a short race up the murky Walkill River. Displaying the local sense of humor, these are ramshackle parade floats with villagers paddling like mad to motor the barely-seaworthy vessels. That more people usually end up in the river than cross the finish line sums up the laid back, friendly atmosphere of the village.

Figure 8. A Popular Lunch Spot in the Neighboring Town of Rosendale Features Bumper Stickers at the Front Counter that Capture the Moral Geography of the Area (Photo by Michelle Marzullo, 2008)

Many villagers reject television watching, choosing instead to read books, access the Internet, engage in lively exchanges in pubs and coffee shops. When they do watch TV, many tune in to the widely-viewed public access television station. Public access television, usually an afterthought in other places, produces a full slate of locally produced shows. It frequently airs public meetings and debates on politically hot topics. These factors all help to create a place that is active, engaged and highly opinionated yet open to new ideas. I found that freedom in the village means that many attempt to choose their life's trajectory outside of religious, cultural or market pressures, rejecting popular expectations with little regard to the judgments of others. They try to be open to learning, oppose violence, especially military violence, live on or close to the land, protect undeveloped lands as well as historic buildings in the area, cultivate or support local food growers, give space for each other's religious and spiritual practices, and are active citizens who critically engage government. Though not always successful, the aim of many

residents is to embrace the possibilities of democracy and to work as is necessary but not as a definition of one's life. This is the moral geography of the village.

Village Contradictions in a Neoliberalized Economy

Those living in this progressive moral grid often boast it is the birth place of tie-dye and the local shop called "The Groovy Blueberry" capitalizes on this legend by selling all things multicolored. The reverence for the histories of the U.S. social movements is joined with those who still live quietly on communes or in mountain houses to fulfill the intentions the "Flower Power" generation to "turn on, tune in and drop out" as Timothy Leary famously urged (1990, 260).

The Woodstock Music & Art Fair (informally known as The Woodstock Festival), billed as "An Aquarian Exposition: 3 Days of Peace & Music," was held just 30 minutes east of the village on a large farm in Bethel, New York in 1969 (Woodstock 1970). The show was tightly organized by two young idealists, Artie Kornfeld and Mike Lang, and financed by two young, New York City men, John Roberts and Joel Rosenman, who wanted to invest their inheritance (Woodstock 1970). The large tracts of farmland were easily accessibility by New York City day-trippers and reporters via I-87. The farm selected was offered when the nearby Town of Walkill reneged on a previous agreement because they did not want to host a bunch of "hippies" (Woodstock 1970). Walkill actually passed a law banning the concert from the area, thereby codifying this discrimination. An immigrant farmer named Max Yasgur then made his farm in Bethel available because he thought that all people should be treated equally in America and given a chance (Woodstock 1970). So, the scene for "3 days of Peace and Music" was set and made history.

Though music and marriage are at opposite ends of the progressive revolution manifested in those heady days, the impulses that would later drive the marriage movement resemble each other. Locals continue to draw on or react to the energy, wealth and influence offered by a neoliberalized, global economy that was establishing in the U.S. and in particular in New York City during the "flower power" generation.

Indeed, when I asked people to describe the village to me, most did so by saying "it's New Paltz!" or "you mean the hippies?" The conversation then usually turned to how people dress, revealing a ubiquitous local understanding that one may dress as one likes, though suits and ties as well as flashy designer clothing bring about a kind of light-hearted suspicion. The climbers who flock to the area for the best sheer face mountain climbing in the northeast are often characterized by locals as welcome outsiders because of their "conspicuous conservatism" (Sexton and Sexton 2011, 1), since they sport high-priced outdoor apparel found in stores like REI and Northface. These conspicuous conservationists are found alongside those wearing loose, flowing clothing, "hippie" tie-dyes and sandals, alongside people dressed in business casual clothes for work, alongside those wearing standard tee shirt-jeans-fleece-combinations. Indeed, as many locals joked, the "day trippers" from "the City" are easily spotted. One local disparagingly called this group "credit card hippies," meaning that they come to New Paltz to feel as if they are living local life but their heavy credit card use marks them as living a consumerist lifestyle that contradicts the moral geography of the village.

The collocation of the terms "credit card" and "hippie" is so stark that it marks the neoliberal/progressive contest that invigorates much current political and activist work in the area. "Conspicuous conservationists" semiotically mark their social capital and moral high-ground through their use of high-end outdoor clothing and hybrid cars thereby embodying a

neoliberal/progressive melding (Hirsh 2011; Sexton and Sexton 2011). Understanding where the liberal/"hippie"/progressive impulse to freedom might come together with a neoliberal credit card wielding, Prius-driving consumerism animates the study findings.

As touched upon in the above section, village progressivism does seem to draw on a sense of "freedom" that is markedly different from a neoliberal freedom, which may be defined merely as free participation in the market (Duggan 2003). As my discussion of conspicuous consumerism reflects, I do not consider it as completely separable from village progressivism.

Through a confluence of economic events that follow the logic of neoliberalization and the connected effects of globalization, the area has shifted towards a more progressively-oriented population over the last twenty years. The massive layoffs at the local IBM in the 1990s joined by the off-shoring of manufacturing and industrial jobs since have adversely affected many middle class and educated workers all over the area, causing many to move away and others to find new jobs with lower pay and status (New York Times 1994; Wolf 2012).

Behind the quaint village charm and belied by the tidy neighborhoods, there are many in the area who struggle with poverty. Coupled with the struggling economy and job market, migrant laborers toil on the area farms during the warmer months. A project begun in 1979 called the Migrant Education Outreach Program (MEOP) provides education, medical, language-assistance and other programs to migrant workers and their families in New Paltz and ten other areas around New York State (see www2.cortland.edu/community/outreach/migrant-education). Over my time in the field, the global recession of 2007-2008 bore down on the lone non-religious food bank called "Family of New Paltz," referred to simply as "Family" by villagers. Family struggled to keep up with demand well past my balance of time there.

In addition, many locals also reported the area absorbed thousands of urbanites fleeing the New York City area northward after the September 11, 2011 terrorist attacks (Keen 2011). In the wake of job offshoring and neoliberal globalization, the local deindustrialized zones and struggling towns in the surrounding areas repopulated with urbanites looking to settle in a safe place they could afford. Those who found their way to the village have slowly remade the political landscape there resulting in a much more progressive, engaged population.

As discussed in the introduction, this moral geography unfolds in a state that has been the seat of neoliberal retrenchment since the New York City fiscal crisis of 1975, when neoliberalization techniques touted as the "New York Solution" were first implemented in the U.S. (Tabb 1982). These tactics began a specific process marked by developmentalism and debt-driven consumerism—processes that are fiercely contested in the village even if they are now accepted as unavoidable. When I queried villagers on whether the term "neoliberalism" was generally good thing, generally bad thing, or unfamiliar, 17% of interviewees thought this it was good, 31% bad, and 33% were unfamiliar with the term (Appendix C, Table 4). For such fiercely "liberal" villagers, the root term in neo-"liberal"ization might not have seemed negative.

Some terms describing the *tactics* associated with neoliberalism were better known by villagers: "privatization" came in at 12% good, 50% bad, and 17% unfamiliar; "free-trade" at 48% good, 21% bad, and 10% unfamiliar; "job outsourcing" at 2% good; 71% bad, and 8% unfamiliar; and "deregulation" at 13% good, 40% bad, and 25% unfamiliar. The amorphous "globalization," often used in popular parlance to gloss neoliberalism as wholly positive, garnered an indecisive 33% good, 33% bad, and 12% unfamiliar. That even highly educated and politically engaged villagers were evenly split on the term is not accidental. Downplaying the

deleterious effects of neoliberalism by using such amorphous descriptive terms is central to the implementation strategies of neoliberal advocates.

Scholars call this "neoliberal erasure" (see Marzullo 2011 for a review of that work). The process of neoliberalization works because its advocates fundamentally downplay or deny the tactics I discussed in the introduction. Practices like removing governmental social provisioning for reasons of technocratic "efficiency" or placing decision-making into the hands of political appointees and away from elected officials when private entities are set to profit from public programs and projects have been said to undermine democracy. The strategy allows decision-making by those who are not directly affected by voter approved decision-makers (Davis 2006; Duggan 2003; Wacquant 2009). Privatization of the government is often coupled with denials that these moves might have deleterious effects and moral panics are used to create support for unpopular budgetary issues or policies through politically-manufactured "crises." As I show throughout, this practice has become common sense even in places like the village that actively attempts to avoid neoliberalization.

Tensions in the Village: Intersections of Race, Class, Gender and Sexual Orientation

As scholars have noted, neoliberalization often strategically retains status-quo tensions, such as racial or classed institutional barriers, to protect bottom-line profits (Duggan 2003; Wacquant 2009). Exploring some of the class- and race-based tensions that emerged during my fieldwork in the village show how the village moral geography interacts with the everyday pressures of a neoliberalized economy that exacerbates such historic tensions.

Friends who came to visit me during my fieldwork said it felt like I was living in a "time warp." In my interactions with villagers, this distinct temporal sensation has as much to do with

their being open to embracing newness yet stubbornly holding onto that very liberal trait of being skeptical of tradition and newness alike. The sense of the village being a time warp does not necessarily mean that one is moved back in time. Rather, a liminal feeling is created by the binding together of various histories that are continuously present and in contest. Such "alignments and oppositions are then evaluated positively or negatively in relation to various value and belief systems circulating in the community," (Modan 2007, 90). Though the community is generally accepting, there are negative alignments based on historic hierarchies of race, class and gender as well as the location of the village that are sources of tension there.

Ulster County is sandwiched between the tony Dutchess County to the east and the economically struggling Sullivan County to the west. The north side of the Gunks was usually characterized as staunchly conservative and impoverished. A number of private, liberal arts colleges like Vassar and Bard are located in Dutchess County. The area also hosts the summer homes of the elite of Manhattan, who often helicopter in from "the City." Chelsea Clinton, daughter of President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, got married at a leafy estate in Rhinebeck, NY in 2010—just over the Hudson in Dutchess County. The Mohonk Mountain House is located on the southern side of the Gunx from the village and has been a vacation getaway for wealthy New Yorkers since trains and carriages carried them to the area during the nation's Gilded Age in the late-1800s.

Coincidentally, the village is crossed by four police jurisdictions that include the Town of New Paltz Police, SUNY New Paltz Campus Police, Ulster County Sheriff's Office and the State of New York Police. Lewis, an area resident since graduating from SUNY New Paltz in the 1970s, related that the intense policing does not only come from the class tensions that come with the territory but also from the college party-town reputation earned when he was a student

(Interviewed by the author, June 20, 2008). The mix of retail stores, eateries and the handful of bars that dotted the Main Street I found in 2007 did not exist in the 1970s. Instead, Main Street was lined with bars that catered to the student population and drew young partiers from far and wide. Many still consider New Paltz a "party town" and villagers continue to struggle with the alcohol and drug use there.

These issues are not limited to students, even if they are the most rambunctious patrons on Friday and Saturday nights. The local reverence for drug use seems at the very least a continuing homage to Timothy Leary's vision of counterculture. Leary himself continued his work on psychedelics and spirituality in the nearby town of Millbrook, New York after he was fired from Harvard University for such experiments (Sante 2006, 1). Many villagers with children told me that on weekend nights they are sure to be home early as intoxicated patrons often become a public nuisance. These are experiences I had once too often there.

During a late night out, I witnessed a fight between two college-aged men that moved from a bar and out into the traffic on Main Street. It culminated in one man being thrown into and shattering the plate glass window of the local Chinese restaurant. The response from the police was one I was accustomed to seeing on the weekend evenings from my apartment window. For any given call, multiple police cars often responded with lights flashing wildly and sirens muted, moving at speeds so high cruisers seemed to barely hold onto the street. From my vantage point, this display always seemed to be a dangerous overreaction given the narrow roads and sidewalks. The police response that night was indeed frightening. At least five police cruisers surrounded the incident, blocking off all traffic, and creating a spectacle of force that far outweighed the severity of the crime.

This run-of-the-mill show of force is joined by police racial profiling, which is startling in a place that prides itself on its anti-racist work and history. Two stories illustrate this practice. The first regards the supposed drug dealer sweeps that joined police and local "bouncers," who are private security guards hired to monitor patron behavior. When I lived there, the talk around town was that there was a problem with "drug dealers from Newburgh" in the village. Newburgh is a working class city about a 30 minute drive southeast of the village. It is a deindustrialized city that is struggling economically with a 72% non-white population compared to the 19.5% of non-whites residing in the village (City of Newburgh 2007 and U.S. Census 2011b, respectively).

When I asked directly about the "dealers from Newburgh," many locals confirmed the story, even though word on the street was that there were many types of drugs to be purchased in the village, town and on the SUNY campus—"Newburgh drugs" aside. This racial profiling meant that during my time there I noticed few people of color at the village bars on the weekends, even though the student population on campus was 43% non-white during the 2007-2008 academic year or about 2,676 students (SUNY New Paltz 2007).

The second story of police racial profiling is of a more personal nature. During the warm months, thunderstorms are frequent in New York. On one particular Saturday night in early summer 2008, I waited hours to pick up an African American friend visiting me from California. Her plane was being held on the tarmac in Atlanta because of storms. When I finally collected her at the local Stuart International Airport, we found ourselves getting back onto Main Street at around 1 am. We were both exhausted but laughing about the ordeal, when a police cruiser passed my car going in the opposite direction. We both noticed it.

Less than a minute later and as I was pulling into my driveway, the same cruiser was tailing me with lights flashing. We were both stunned and I immediately wondered what I had done wrong. We both stayed in the car. When the officer approached, I asked him what I had done wrong. He told me that he noticed the lights around my rear license plate were out and that this is a violation of New York State Law. As I recalled that he passed us going in the opposite direction and then turned around to pull us over, it was apparent that burned out license plate lights were not the reason he stopped us.

Instead, he grilled us about where we were coming from. He asked me to step out of the car and flashed his flashlight into my eyes to see if I was intoxicated. When he did that, he noticed that I was trembling slightly and asked why. To which I replied, "I don't get pulled over every day and I've been drinking that cola to stay awake." I gestured to the caffeinated cola bottle in the cup holder inside the car. As I glanced over I noticed that his partner was simultaneously using a flashlight to look at my friend through the passenger side car window and around my car's backseat. Once they were satisfied about the reasons we were there and where we had been, he gave me a warning to fix my lights and was off.

This incident allowed me to intimately understand the racial profiling and college-town policing of the village, which was corroborated through casual conversation by several people. For example, I met one young African American man while waiting outside of a local brunch shop with his friends who were also African American. He was about to graduate from the college and I asked him if he would be staying around the village. Giving me a look that conveyed that he thought I might have something wrong with me, he turned to my African American friend saying the area is not friendly to people like him and that he really wanted to go home to Long Island.

This feeling among students also came out in my interview with Dulci, a 23 year old woman of Puerto Rican and German descent. She moved to the village because she likes "the vibe." Before moving to the area Dulci was warned about the village's racial problems by her aunt, who grew up in Puerto Rico and attended school at SUNY New Paltz ten years prior. As Dulci relates:

> I didn't go to school, I just moved here, but my aunt went to school here and she's in her 30s. When I moved here she goes, "Oh, New Paltz is a great town, just, it's so segregated." And I'm like, "What do you mean segregated?" And she goes, "You'll fit in, that's just your personality, that's the way you are but…" Like, she had a hard time fitting in and she never felt like she did. She found herself very segregated in this town because it's like [there are] the black kids that go to the college and then everybody else. You have to hang out with each other and there's nothing really appealing in the town or open, like forums that are open to all different kinds of people. (D2.253-561)

As these comments relay, Dulci "fits in" because of her mixed-racial appearance but also because she dresses concordant with the semiotic code of belonging in the area. As she relates, "I'm kinda trapped in the middle because I'm tan but I hang out with hippie kids but I was raised by inner city parents, so I know that culture. So I'm kinda like always trapped in the middle," (Interview with Dulci, June 8, 2008, D2.328-329). These classed and raced tensions among villagers went largely unspoken, even as issues of gender and sexual orientation were discussed openly. The above story of the ARA action against area neo-Nazis was only recounted by Paige because I explicitly asked about race relations in the village.

In total, these stories and events communicated an essential point that went on to inform my analysis. Though village residents intend to literally live out the progressive ideals inspired by the multiple social movements in the U.S. and efforts toward economic equality for all, there are strong contradictions present. The conspicuous consumption many villagers use to signal their moral standing shows the ubiquity of neoliberal consumption practices. The meta-narratives of U.S. racism, classism and homophobia are exacerbated by neoliberalization and placed against

the progressive "vibe" of the area that draws on the revolutionary energies of the past. This means that living there often feels like being in a time warp. The moral geography meeting the pressures of supply-side, consumerist society is predicated on buying things to uphold status quo power imbalances that invigorate various discriminatory behaviors even as classical liberalism holds equality as fundamental though not ensured (Hall 1986). These contradictory influences underlay the moral geography of the Village of New Paltz and shape the meanings of marriage and efforts within the marriage movement there.

The Marriage Movement and Infidelity in New York: 2007-2008 (or Thereabouts)

This section reviews the pertinent marriage-specific events occurring in the years leading up to and through my fieldwork creating the broader historical background of this study. Between 2004 and 2011, marriage was heavily lobbied for in New York State. The actions by villagers in 2004 created the forward momentum that resulted in the passage of marriage for LGBTQ couples there in 2011. Over the course of my fieldwork, the heated 2007-2008 presidential race between Senators Barack Obama and John McCain was happening in the midst the worst financial catastrophe since the Great Depression known as the "Great Recession." In that election, Proposition 8 entitled "The California Marriage Protection Act" and generally referred to as "Prop. 8" was passed into law by voters in the same election that saw Barack Obama become the nation's first African American president. Prop. 8 added Section 7.5 to the California State Constitution, which reads "Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California" (Los Angeles Times Editor 2008). For many Americans who delighted in casting their now historic vote for President Obama and who also supported LGBTQ marriage rights, the election results of November 4th 2008 were bittersweet.

Before the passage of Prop. 8 and for a few short months in 2008 when marriage in California was legal for LGBTQ couples, the energy of the marriage movement focused on that state. Many residents from New York and elsewhere flocked there to both support the grassroots organizing against Prop. 8 and to be married there (McKinley 2008a and 2008b). One of my main informants, Levi and his partner Jamie, were married in California during this time. Prior to the Prop. 8 vote, the California State Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional Proposition 22 on May 15, 2008. Proposition 8 supporters (those against LGBTQ marriages) seized on the news that Prop. 22 was struck down by increasing efforts to collect signatures and subsequently qualifying Prop. 8 for the November ballot. A little background on Prop. 22 is that in 2000 voters added a section to the state's Family Code (Section 308.5) to read "Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California" (In re Marriage Cases, 43 Cal.4th 757 2008, 28). Since this was simply an addition to Section 308.5 of the California Family Code, it could be and was undone by the courts eight years after passage (Wildermuth 2008). The wording of Prop. 8 was taken directly from Prop. 22 (Los Angeles Times Editor 2008).

In the liminal phase between the striking down of the policy Prop. 22 and the passage of the law Prop. 8, roughly 18,000 LGBTQ couples, meaning about 36,000 individuals, were married in California (Holton 2008; McKinley 2008a). Though Proposition 8 passed and functioned to outlaw future marriages between such couples, those 18K marriages granted licenses between June 16, 2008 and before November 5, 2008 remain valid in the state today (Holton 2008; Franchise Tax Board 2010).

In November 2008, the passage of California's Proposition 8 spurred massive, worldwide demonstrations as a show of sympathy and solidarity for the LGBTQ community. The Prop. 8 protests, known for the logo "Stop H8," meaning "stop hate through Proposition 8," were

organized five days after the election by Amy Balliet and Willow Witte. Using the name "*Join the Impact*, a Web site built the morning of Friday, Nov. 7. has rallied hundreds of thousands of people who are gathering this weekend in eight countries, 50 states and 300 cities," for protests held on Saturday, November 15, 2008 (Cain Miller 2008, italics added for clarity). The simultaneous nature of the *Join the Impact* protest with several other unaffiliated protests around the country focused anger about the passage of the measure during the weeks following the November 4th vote.

The *Join the Impact* protests show how ICT network temporality works to impact marriage meanings. The November 15, 2008 protests collapsed into a single action as hundreds of thousands of protestors joined together across the world to stand against a voting majority who codified the denial of future marriages and haphazardly cordoned off over 36,000 LGBTQ married individuals as exception in a state without marriage or divorce rights for those like them. The virtually instantaneous marshalling of hundreds of thousands of people around marriage was the largest protest for LGBT rights ever held. The protests subsequently lead a New York Times reporter to dub it "Stonewall 2.0" (McKinnley 2008d). This organizing marked marriage in the internet age as a flash point for issues of citizenship, recognition and social belonging for LGBTQ people worldwide (McKinley 2008c; McKinnley 2008d).

New York Marriage and the Village

External protests like *Join the Impact* usually spur advocates within the legal system, but the 2004 Village of New Paltz marriages were inspired by local government taking a decisive stand on the issue (Pinello 2006). The 2004 village event was orchestrated to incite a legal precedent in New York, so that lawsuits could be brought by couples attempting to win the right

to obtain a marriage license (Interview with Jason West, January 15, 2009). The many cases that were subsequently brought were combined into one, *Hernandez v. Robles*.

In the year that preceded my fieldwork, New York State's highest court decided in *Hernandez* that the state could continue to deny LGBTQ couples' marriage licenses based on what has become known as the "reckless procreation" argument for marriage. A week later, in a New York Times opinion piece, gay legal scholar Kenji Yoshino summarized the decision:

> "Heterosexual intercourse," the plurality opinion stated, "has a natural tendency to lead to the birth of children; homosexual intercourse does not." Gays become parents, the opinion said, in a variety of ways, including adoption and artificial insemination, "but they do not become parents as a result of accident or impulse." Consequently, "the Legislature could find that unstable relationships between people of the opposite sex present a greater danger that children will be born into or grow up in unstable homes than is the case with same-sex couples." To shore up those rickety heterosexual arrangements, "the Legislature could rationally offer the benefits of marriage to opposite-sex couples only." Lest we miss the inversion of stereotypes about gay relationships here, the opinion lamented that straight relationships are "all too often casual or temporary." (Yoshino 2006, A2)

Yoshino ends by saying that the decision was phrased this was because "it sounds nicer to gays" (2006, A2). I think the decision did something more.

The *Hernandez* decision essentialized sexual orientation as natural and then linked it to sexual behavior. As Lewin reviews, "the notion that homosexual and heterosexual are non-overlapping, deeply different categories isn't new, any more than binary categorizations of gender are. Historically, narratives of gay life long framed 'family' and 'gay' as mutually exclusive" (2009, 3). U.S. marriage as a rite remains an act of "communication, but of a particular kind: it signifies to someone what his identity is, but in a way that both expresses it to him and imposes it on him by expressing it in front of everyone (*kategorein*, meaning originally, to accuse publicly) and thus informing him in an authoritarian manner of what he is and what he must be" (Bourdieu 1991, 121). Until the deinstitutionalization of U.S. marriage and the claims

on marriage by LGBTQ couples, the signifier of marriage had only ever been a mutually exclusive logic because of the erroneous temporal interpretation of "logic of contiguity…as a logic of consequence" (Irvine 2004, 103). In other words, heterosexuals were thought to stabilize within marriages because of the correlation of marriage with children, while homosexuals were thought to be less stable in their relationships because that correlation was missing.

Here we understand both the power of the word "marriage" that supporters of the post-war "traditional" ideal hold as true as well as Paige's assertion that "gay marriage" changes marriage "a little bit too." The Hernandez decision structurally codified the four categories "gay/straight" and "parents/non-parents" through marriage denial (D'Emilio 1996; Green 2006). Marriage, being a magical institutional rite, is a line in the sands of time, a becoming or not, performative of certain identities and not others—but these are not consequences of the institution. Instead, these are equations that join the word marriage as an institution with a certain sexual identity. Resistance to using the word "marriage" as one that describes a qualified "gay marriage" does so in spite of, without recognizing that marriage and sex or marriage and reproduction are no longer always joined together in the American imaginary. This unhinging of these terms is what Cherlin meant when he said that American marriage is deinstitutionalized (2004).

The binary identity descriptions that spin off from understanding contiguity as consequence where "gay/straight" or "husband/wife" are said to be hard and fast does not mean that sexual interactions between people of different sexual, or even marital, identities do not happen. The reason that the sentence, "but he was married when he had that affair with the other man!" is at all shocking to some is because of the sexual and marital identities being taken as fact (consequence instead of contiguity) rather than as discursive temporal markers that are

institutionalized, "resignified and prioritized only at the occasions in which they are performed and symbolized," (Borneman 1996, 229). Ironically, then, the *Hernandez* decision used deinstitutionalizing American marriage or the unlinking of reproduction and marriage as a reason to deny LGBTQ marriages. The conflicted message in the *Hernandez* decision avoided a direct decision in the matter by referring it to the State Assembly which immediately began the long fight to gain support for the measure (Hartocollis 2006).

That fight could have been much shorter if a case of marital infidelity did not stall internal political pressure for LGBTQ marriage in the state. A scandal involving then-Governor Elliott Spitzer occupied the airwaves and talk show circuit during my time in the field. In March 2008, the FBI revealed that a phone tap caught the New York governor ordering escort services from an international prostitution ring (Times Topics 2011). Before the scandal broke, Governor Spitzer intended to lobby for the passage of LGBTQ marriage in New York.

Underscoring the political nature of marriage, Governor Spitzer was against LGBTQ marriage before he was for it. During the 2004 Village of New Paltz weddings, then-Attorney General Spitzer directed state clerks to *not issue* licenses to LGBTQ couples married there. He also ordered a meeting with Mayor West in his Manhattan office (Jason West interviewed by author, January 15, 2009; Quinn 2005). The intention of the meeting with Mayor West and his lawyers was to apply political pressure to stop the weddings. During that meeting, Mayor West basically relayed to A.G. Spitzer that he was doing what he thought was the right thing to do. He left the meeting having succeeded in not revealing whether the village weddings would stop or continue. Mayor West played off of the mixed messages sent by Mr. Spitzer and then-Governor George Pataki, who both declined to state formal positions on LGBTQ marriage in 2004 because of their political aspirations. As Mayor West recalled:

> Politically neither George Pataki, the governor, or Spitzer had taken a stance on same-sex marriage at all. They'd just refused to, outright, for roughly the same reasons. Spitzer didn't want to. Spitzer wanted to run for governor and he couldn't afford to come out against gay marriage to alienate the progressives, couldn't come out in favor for alienating the conservatives.
> *Michelle: Right.*
> Pataki had presidential cabinet aspirations so he couldn't be in New York politics and be against gay marriage, because the Evangelical Christian movement never took over the New York Republican party. So, still Rockefeller financed Republicans not Evangelical social conservatives. But he couldn't come out in favor of same-sex marriage because he wanted to have national Republican ambitions. So he basically wanted to not say anything either. So us, in this little small town, basically forced the governor and the attorney general to take a position. (J1.84-97)

Less than a year after the 2006 *Hernandez* decision was announced and two years after his meeting with Mayor West, gubernatorial candidate Spitzer promised to fight for the passage of same-sex marriage (Hakim 2006). In April 2007, shortly after winning the race, Governor Spitzer announced his intention to introduce a bill to legalize marriage for LGBTQ couples in the state (Confessore 2007).

With that work unfinished and after having served only 16 months of his four-year term, Governor Spitzer stepped down from his post amid the prostitution scandal (Powell and Confessore 2008). Lieutenant Governor David A. Paterson took over from Spitzer as governor and continued Spitzer's agenda. Less than two months after being sworn into office, Governor Paterson issued a directive to:

> All state agencies to begin to revise their policies and regulations to recognize same-sex marriages performed in other jurisdictions, like Massachusetts, California and Canada…In a directive issued on May 14, the governor's legal counsel, David Nocenti, instructed the agencies that gay couples married elsewhere "should be afforded the same recognition as any other legally performed union." (Peters 2008, A1)

This meant that New York became the first state to bar marriage to LGBTQ couples on a constitutional basis, while allowing such marriages to be granted state rights if they were performed elsewhere. So New York residents like Levi and his partner, who were married in

California during the short period in 2008 when such weddings were legal, became legally married in the State of New York under the Spizer Administration's plan and prior to the 2011 legalization of same-sex marriage. What a twisted web we weave. The sheer spectacle of these combined events throws into stark relief the fact that marriage is an inherently political institution, although usually decided upon based on intimate feelings (Berlant 2000; Cott 2000).

Conclusion

The legal circumstances reviewed above work to clarify the contest over marriage as one of cultural and personal contingency and change. Indeed, many of the LGBT couples who have been seeking marriage over these years reported to me that they are fatigued by the repetition and the emotional wear of performing their marriage ceremonies multiple times in various jurisdictions, of the push-and-pull of being granted marriage only to have it rescinded, and by the discomfort at being the rare couple allowed marriage when close LGBTQ friends and family are denied. This weariness is joined by a cynical awareness of the tired proclamations and forgiveness-seeking for marital infidelity or divorces among married persons, elected officials or not. Collectively, this critique of marriage figures into so many villagers prefacing their stated support of "same-sex" marriage with the sarcastic remark, "let gay people get married—then they'll suffer like the rest of us!"

During my fieldwork in the village, this sort of weary jubilation around marriage was joined with the ideal that there should be a better way of doing relationships and marriage, and even a better way of performing the gendered and sexual expectations usually policed through marriage. In the midst of an over-heated national marriage discourse, of stark economic, class, racial, gender, sexual, geographic and other divisions, and of changing gendered and sexual constellations within relationships and marriage, this analysis of marriage meanings with

villagers unfolds. The next chapter examines the national discourse on “same-sex” marriage to identify the large-scale temporal discourses on the subject.

CHAPTER 4

DEFENSE, EQUALITY AND CHOICE:

U.S. MARRIAGE TEMPORALITIES

> The time of the conservative often takes the form of a future created by moving the past into the present: a 'morning in America,' to use the rhetoric of Ronald Reagan, in which tradition provides the model for the future itself. In contrast, the time of the progressive often takes the form of a present created by moving the future into the present: a claim that we should see "progress," and thus efficacy, in terms of what Jacques Lacan and Jacques Derrida, among others, would call a future anterior temporality—a time within which we "will have been" successful in our political aims. (Boellstorff 2007a, 230-231)

I introduce the national story of marriage by characterizing it as a chronotype activated in the Village of New Paltz during the 2004 weddings there. This chapter examines national, or "large-scale," temporal discourses on marriage. Large-scale timings are:

> The ways we think about the long-term processes of time that transcend the limits of our personal existence. These larger time frames allow us to talk about shared pasts and collective futures and to fashion larger narratives around group identities such as nation, religion, or ethnicity. Indeed, the creation and survival of social communities rely heavily on the telling of such narratives. These stories may take different forms, from triumphal stories of social struggle or spiritual progress to melancholic reflections on inexorable decline from a lost golden age. Sometimes the shape of time is seen as essentially circular rather than moving upward or downward. (Felski 2000, 18)

Temporalities are used to understand our place: in the universe, in regards to our expectations for the future-horizon of our lives, and how we excavate, evacuate or extend past, presents and futures into each other. Closely examining large-scale discourses allows us to comprehend how it is that the ideologies on marriage are put to work politically. As I have argued in the introduction, the national marriage debate unrolled in the historic context of neoliberalization. This is significant because, as I show in this chapter, supporters of this economic ethos have a specific temporality that directs ideas about how marriage should be thought of and used nationally. In this chapter, I show how the progressive temporality

corresponds to the progressive identity to account for why villagers supported the mayor in 2004 and continue to support the idea of "same-sex" marriage in the village, the state and the country. I use Boellstorff's descriptions of "tradition" and "progress" above as way to analytically characterize these temporalities. Thus, I characterize the large scale temporalities informing the marriage debate in the U.S. as progressive, neoconservative and neoliberal.

Chronotypic logic operates through communicative "techniques of interdiscurstivity deployable as role strategies of the participants" (Silverstein 2005, 7). I show how the progressive, neoconservative and neoliberal temporalities are enacted as role strategies to communicate certain ideals on marriage nationally. A role strategy is the evaluative process of using sign relationships of icon-indexical types based on abstract semiotics and interdiscurstivity (like what husband and wife means, evaluations of marriage pacings like when to marry in life, or how marriage should be phenomenologically experienced as good, ambivalent or tentative) (Silverstein 2005, 7). People (particularly in the political arena) stand in as icons representing these abstractions to propose ideas about what marriage is, should be or might become. The next chapter uses the neoconservative, progressive and neoliberal role strategies as a starting point for deeply engaging villagers' beliefs and experiences of marriage.

A Marriage Chronotype

The temporalities that animate the marriage debate in the U.S. were extremely evident in 2004. In 2003 and already concerned with the issue of "same-sex" marriage, Mayor West was approached by Billiam van Roestenberg, a local apple farmer, with a request to marry his partner Jeffrey McGowan, a decorated Major serving in the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) U.S. Army (Hulse 2010; McGowan 2005). When I asked Mayor West five years later why he performed the Village of New Paltz marriages, he perfunctorily stated that it was "just kind of

common sense, really" (Jason West interviewed by author, January 15, 2009). As Hall notes, when the term "common sense" appears, we know that we are dealing with a specific ideological standpoint (1986, 35). Temporal logics join with ideological standpoints to shape our reactions to specific ideas and behaviors in contexts (Leap N.d., 10-11). This chapter discusses where these temporalities are invoked in talk of marriage to demonstrate how these ideologies are deployed in practice.

After weeks of considering Billiam's request, Mayor West ordered then-Village of New Paltz Attorney Spencer McLaughlin to research the possibility of marrying LGBT couples. McLaughlin found that these marriages were not *explicitly* outlawed in New York State Domestic Law (Quinn 2005). Mayor West then began to quietly plan and seek out support for conducting these weddings in the village. He enlisted pro bono legal representation for the village from Joshua Rosenkranz, a New York City civil rights attorney. Considering the possible legal ramifications and the media attention the couples to be married might contend with, he also secured the assistance of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to provide media training and legal representation for them. The mayor then began to plan for the weddings to happen in June 2004 when the weather would be best for outdoor weddings in Upstate New York (Jason West interviewed by author, January 15, 2009).

Meanwhile in early 2004, Mayor Gavin Newsom of San Francisco announced he would marry LGBTQ couples in San Francisco because of his disagreement with then-President George W. Bush's announced support of the Federal Marriage Amendment (FMA) (Bush, 2004a). The FMA had been proposed to change the U.S. Constitution with the addition of "two sentences: One says that 'marriage in the United States shall consist only of the union of a man and a woman,' and the other upholds states' rights to decide policies for unmarried couples or groups"

(Fagan and Wetzstein 2004, A4). Mayor West, agreeing with Mayor Newsom's stance against the FMA, hastily announced and then orchestrated the weddings roughly four months before he intended. As a poetic gesture, van Roestenberg and McGowan were the first couple married by the young mayor. They were not alone.

At least seven localities that I know of around the U.S. married or considered marrying

Figure 9. Mayor Jason West (left) Married Jeffrey McGowan (middle) and Billiam van Roestenberg (right), February 27, 2004 (Photo by Rachel Lagodka; Source: Feinstein, 2007)

LGBTQ couples during the early months of 2004. Under Mayor Gavin Newsom's authority 4,037 couples married in San Francisco's City Hall between February 12th and March 11th. Next, under Victoria Dunlap, the Sandoval County Clerk in Bernalillo, New Mexico, 66 couples married on February 20, 2004. Third, under Mayor West of the Village of New Paltz, New York around 25 couples married on February 27th. Lastly, under Diane Linn, Chair of the Board of Commissioners for Multnomah County in Oregon, which includes Portland, 2,968 couples married between March 3rd to April 14th.

The City of Cohoes and Town of Olive, both in New York, inquired into whether such marriages could be legally certified by their clerks (Halligan 2004). John Shields, mayor of the small town of Nyack near New York City, considered marrying LGBTQ couples. Instead, during

the same time period that the village weddings were taking place, Mayor Shields brought a civil suit against the New York State Health Department for "refusing to provide those licenses to gay couples and for ordering town and city clerk's not to do so" (Quinn 2005, 124). All these officials faced strong resistance for these weddings. They were threatened with arrest, had restraining orders placed on them personally, were threatened with death, and were castigated by the citizens they serve and by officials in the highest state and national offices. Most moved to marry couples without knowing that the other localities were doing so. The fact that these weddings were not coordinated yet occurred during roughly the same time period demonstrates the chronotype at work.

The idea of the chronotype is useful for thinking about how local officials found themselves stepping up across the vast territory of the United State to actually move together within a specific idea of history on the subject of marriage. Gabriella Modan's discussion of how *moral geographies* are instantiated in time through "discourse strategies and themes…within a geographical territory" is instructive here (2007, 90). The 2004 marriage events were a way for officials to respond locally *and* add to a national conversation on marriage dominated by the *neoconservative* temporal discourse and role strategy on marriage lead by President George W. Bush. They attempted to bring to bear a different way of thinking about time (*chrono-*) and place *(-type)* to frame the conversation on marriage in a way that was different from that large-scale marriage discourse. Describing the characteristics of the progressive temporality, as identity and process, shows the logic these officials relied upon to perform the weddings.

Progressive Temporality

This section sketches the large-scale temporal orientation and role strategy of progressives on marriage. Given their emphasis on the multiple people and histories that should

be included into the American imaginary, a primary feature of the progressive standpoint is that many relationship forms and kinds of marriage are allowed and possible. As Abby puts it, "New Paltz is kind of a nice mix. I mean there are still, you know, there are conservative people here and you know, that's fine. There's a place for everyone. But it is, it is becoming, I feel, more and more progressive" (A1.127-130). I then ask, "Rather than liberal?" to which she responds, "I'm not quite sure what liberal means. I mean, I would identify with the term liberal but I kind of prefer progressive. I don't know why. I mean liberal has gotten a bad rap, a bad connotation from the right-wingers…I think New Paltz is beginning to kind of self-identify as a progressive community" (A1.132-134).

In popular parlance, "the term liberal usually denotes, an attitude of mind rather than a political creed" (Hall 1986, 34). Abby's comments respond to how this "liberal attitude" has been denigrated and mischaracterized by "right-wingers" through the creation of moral panics for political gain since the "Conservative Restoration" began in the U.S. in the 1980s (Apple 1996; Herdt 2009). Stanley Cohen coined the term "moral panics" as "a condition, episode, person or group of persons who becomes defined as a threat to societal values and interests" (1980, 9). Cohen emphasized that the mass media transmits and enlarges facts and turns these usually local matters into national issues. As I show later in this chapter, "liberals" are often charged by neoconservatives as responsible for all manner of social ills. As Felski discussed above, a focus on social decline rhetoric shows a large-scale temporality at work. Reflecting on the 2004 village marriages, Bailey, a lesbian-identified village resident, said, "I definitely feel like this area's liberal and you know people are supportive of it. Supportive but questioning, just more like, 'Oh that's cool but how is this happening and what's going on really?'" (B1.47-49).

The *skepticism to tradition and authority* articulated by Bailey are key features of a progressive temporality that draws on the liberal attitude even in the face of neoconservative denigration.

Lots of little-h Marriages

While a neoconservative "right-winger" temporality is at pains to constrain the definition of marriage because of the conservative interest in setting "definite limits on the free play of values of individual liberty with the contrary ideas of authority" (Hall 1986, 58), the progressive is at pains to tolerate, and even embrace, a multiplicity of relationship forms and rituals, child bearing possibilities, and living arrangements. The four local officials marrying LGBTQ couples in 2004 invoked many American histories to justify their actions. This passage features Mayor Newsom's reaction to President Bush's 2004 State of the Union address, which he attended in person.

> I listened to the president of the United States talk about the three most important issues on his agenda: steroids, abstinence and gay marriage. Hardly were they consistent with the top of my issues that I believe the president should be focused on. But I realized then and there that the issue of gay marriage was going to be front and center in this political campaign, and I felt compelled to stand up on the principle that I fought for, and that was to stand up for people that were going to be, I think, used and abused as a political wedge. (O'Brien 2004)

As one of the most densely populated areas in the U.S. for gay, lesbian, transgendered, queer, bisexual, and so many others sexual and gendered identities, Mayor Newsom was indeed acting in the interest of his constituency (Gates and Oats 2004). His decision to marry these couples uses American history coupled with the idea of ordinary citizens defending their times against a certain nationalist imagining (Glennie and Thrift 1996; Puar 2005).

Mayor West also invoked the American past to understand and focus action on newness in the present.

> Activism doesn't begin in the 60's…There's the labor movement in the 30's. There's anarchism in the early part of the last century. The populist movement in the 1880's.

> Reconstruction. The suffragists, and all the way back to the Revolutionary War. It's all part of the same movement. (Sullivan 2004, 38)

Showing that Mayors West and Newsome occupy the same progressive role stance in the discursive emplotment of this marriage chronotype, Mayor Newsom goes on to reference Bobby Kennedy when discussing why he did what he did. "There's some convictions and values that I closely identify, particularly with Bobby Kennedy in social conscience" (O'Brien 2004). Bobby Kennedy, or Robert F. Kennedy (RFK), was of course famous for his advocacy for civil rights and support of the existence of Israel during the 1960s—Sirhan Sirhan cited the later as justification for his assassination of Mr. Kennedy in 1968 (Issenberg 2008). Commissioner Naito from the Board of Commissioners for Multnomah County in Oregon shows the importance of such political leadership to combat such moral panic strategizing, "I believe people are less afraid when they see something that happens, and that in fact did happen" (Editorial 2004, C1).

Together, these officials attempted to assuage fear of "same-sex" marriage by ensuring that people *saw* LGBTQ people getting married to articulate a different narrative of American marriage and American history than the one touted by the "defenders" of "traditional" marriage. In regards to the Village of New Paltz, Erin Quinn, a local reporter covering the 2004 weddings there, sums it up like this, "it was such a heightened time. I had never before had the sensation of being part of such a big story. It wasn't Iraq or the presidential election and it wasn't Watergate or the OJ trial, but it *was* our small, modern-day version of Selma, Alabama—thankfully without the police dogs or the violence" (Quinn 2005, 63).

The progressive politicians performing these marriages did so by perceiving LGBTQ persons as allies not threats. In an neoconservative atmosphere that made every attempt to frame the idea of the homosexual as the shameful, sinful folk devil of family life and thus unmarriageable (Herdt 2009)—ideas that some homosexuals themselves internalize using

various rationales (Lewin 2009)—these politicians literally stood up for this group and in doing so foisted the progressive role strategy into the public on the subject of marriage. In all these discourses there was a distinct sense of wanting to shift into a new politics, of supporting the multiple voices and experiences in America, and of breaking with the way that politics and the social were being practiced at the federal level.

What villagers and others were reacting to was a particular rendering of sexual and racial hierarchies that are "central to the development of the modern; they are not primordial remnants of an irrational past, but an integral part of the history of the Enlightenment" (Felski 2000, 62). In so doing, the politicians marrying LGBTQ couples in 2004 brought into the American imaginary the couples themselves, an expanded idea of marriage possibilities, and the idea that politicians can explicitly support these vilified groups. Through highly symbolic, public and affectively rich wedding ceremonies, these officials did so unapologetically.

New Over Old, Not New Instead of Old

Upon my asking what villagers thought of "same-sex" marriage, many began by saying the current year with exasperation as in "This is 2008!" Marking the year in this way discursively shows the progressive role strategy is at play. For many, this expression summed up their opposition to the various conservative marriage laws that have been on the rise in recent years, including the federal Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), which allows states to refuse to recognize same-sex marriages performed elsewhere. There are also so-called mini-DOMAs, which use constitutional amendments at the state level to define marriage as only between one man and one woman and super-DOMAs that bars the recognition of any type of same-sex relationship or other contracts like legal adoption (Pinello 2009). Covenant marriage is a recent type of marriage a couple may choose adopted by handful of U.S. states. It makes getting

married and getting divorced much more difficult and is based on biblical marriage (Nock, Sanchez and Wright 2008). Covenant marriage exemplifies the neoconservative temporality, which attempts to move the past into the present.

In Boellstorff's words, a progressive temporal orientation moves the future into the present. The aim of a "future anterior temporality—a time within which we 'will have been' successful in our political aims" (Boellstorff 2007, 230-231), means that there is a constant looking back to assess the present moment but it is a looking back that is concerned with "progress" or change to be made in some near-future time. The essence of modernity as communicated through the progressive temporal orientation is a "heartfelt conviction that the present involves an overcoming of past illusions and its championing of new knowledge over old" (Felski 2000, 12). This is exemplified in Mayor West's argument that, "unlike the quote-unquote 'Defenders of Marriage,' you know marriage is something that constantly changes" (J1.160-161).

At the time that I interviewed him in 2009, Mayor West was 32 years old. When he performed the village marriages in 2004 he was just 26 and was the youngest mayor in village history. Here he discusses the "sermon" he created to historically justify marriage for LGBTQ people. In it he refers to the arc of history as the reason to allow and even to expect such marriages.

> Marriage obviously has changed, whether it's Abraham and his dozen wives in the Old Testament to up until about AD 1000 or 1100 to where, and for most present communities, marriage is simply a property arrangement. It's an alliance between families, it's a matter of merging farms, and it's a method of division of labor. It wasn't until the popularity in the upper classes in the Renaissance when chivalry started to be seen as a major force, where you have romantic love being seen as the central reason for marriage. And that was even just with the upper classes; the poorer classes have always until recently been a property arrangement, like arranged marriages. Love comes later, maybe, but that's not the reason to get married. And then you have, even in the 20th century, it wasn't until 1967, in Loving versus Virginia, where the last miscegenation

> laws were stuck down. It's living memory when blacks and whites couldn't marry each other. So, I mean, marriage is. And then, you know, in the 70's and 80's, you start to have no-fault divorce laws and, so marriage is something that's constantly changing. Like everything else, it's up to each generation to interpret what it means in this time and this place. (J1.169-184)

This "living memory" (future, anterior temporality) is important to actively share in the present as a way to achieve a further liberal opening of the idea of marriage "in this time and place." To the progressive Mayor West, LGBTQ marriage may feel like the "inevitable" next step in unearthing and frontally challenging marriage as a tool to reinforce sexual and racial hierarchies.

In the quote above, Mayor West conveys Giddens' idea that tradition within our modern epoch actually continually changes between generations even as it is paradoxically understood to always remain the same. This progressive role strategy was "just kind of common sense, really" to Mayor West. Indeed, "progressives" in the U.S. are as much informed by the linear thinking of modernity as they are by the social democratic history of the U.S. "justifying their right to rebel" (Hall 1986, 56). Mayor West recounted, "when you take an oath of office, you take an oath to uphold the constitution of the United States, of New York, and the U.S., not the laws" (J1.96). Many progressive villagers thus name themselves "activists" or "organizers" whether *acting* within the government or as external agitators for future political change. Accordingly, Mayor West was a community organizer before getting elected.

Marking Time and the Progressive Moral Imagination

In 2004, a local pizza shop owner said that most villagers were supportive of the weddings. He explained that "the most common comment I hear is 'We're living history'" (Smith 2004). This sentiment was reflected in Quinn's quote above and is in line with everyone I spoke with in the village during my fieldwork. It is also consistent with my survey findings that put support for "gay and lesbian marriage" at 91.4% in 2008 (see Appendix B, Table 7). The

2004 wedding event was a "future anterior temporality" – it was a moment in which villagers felt that their actions in the present would be recalled as significantly changing history. In other words, this temporality is *not necessarily* informed by ideas of religious or philosophical destiny but of action in the present towards changing the future, even as they have full knowledge of the contingent, malleability of the historical record both past and future. What do villagers draw upon in order to mark time with an exasperated "This is 2008!"?

The underlying temporal assumption among progressives is modernity itself premised on accepting logical, reasoned thought as exemplified in scientific understandings and the scientific method as much as it is based on the idea that all time moves only forward towards improvement, never backward (Anderson 1991; Felski 2000). Those who do not agree with progressives are therefore usually characterized as somehow outdated thus literally living today in the past. In the spirit of America's little-h histories, this hoped for progress is towards improvement of social conditions.

This progressive temporality actively makes "a place for everyone" yet it is tempered by modern reason and skepticism. As Boellstorff summarizes in the opening quote, a progressive temporality moves the future into the present with the aim of a "future anterior temporality" premised on a modern idea of historical time as linear and never repeating (2007a, 230). The past is often seen as something one should be overcoming, which is also in line with a modern disdain for tradition (Felski 2000). Logical thought is relied upon with the assumption that humans can intervene in the present with reasoning and doing so will mean that as time progresses so should society.

It was during the Great Depression that many Americans developed what conservative historian Gertrude Himmelfarb characterizes as a "moral imagination" focusing on relieving the

"pauperism and rampant poverty" associated with early capitalist industrialization (Brodie 2007, 96; see Himmelfarb 1984). At that time, the idea of social justice in the U.S. was born and

> rested on the premise that justice was a virtue that could be applied both to the collective and the individual and, moreover that social institutions and social positions could and should be assessed as being just or unjust…In contrast to liberalism's promise of individual dignity, autonomy and rights, the economic inequalities generated by unregulated market forces were deemed as being unjust, the product of structural flaws that modern "just" societies could ameliorate through redistribution. (Brodie 2007, 97)

The history of American social democracy as witnessed through "liberal" social welfare programs established in the aftermath of the Great Depression and World War II in the U.S. Beginning with President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" through President Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society," laws and policies such as Social Security, Medicare, Head Start, and the Higher Education Act were the historical antecedents to what I am calling the "progressive" ethos in the U.S. (Levy 2003; Schulman 2007).

This "moral imagination" was present in Mayor West's and the other officials' little-h discourses explaining why they did what they did in the passages above. The progressive dream of marriage equality in the village was activated to move such a future into the present to achieve a political aim of opening marriage to LGBTQ couples and in a small way to actively challenge the legal marital system. I do not believe that they were doing this as a hollow-gesture to pose progressive politics. Instead, I think villagers were refining the progressive narrative around marriage meanings. Citizen organizing through social movements has been advanced through liberalism's "promotion of collective intervention to mediate structural inequalities" (Brodie 2007, 99). An important point here is that this call to social justice is not necessarily a call to demolish the capitalist system as in Marxism or socialism, which is a common neoconservative charge for those seeking social democratic remedies.

The progressive call to marriage seeks to make the system more humane and "equal." This history is visible in the current movement for "same-sex" marriage. The mathematical equal sign (=) symbol has been adopted as the logo of the Human Rights Campaign (or HRC), which is the largest LGBT political lobbying firm in the U.S. Likewise, the group that organized to protect village weddings was called the "New Paltz Equality Initiative" (as discussed previously). This concern with "equal" rights is used to protect family inheritance and property exchange as well as care and decision-making entitlements when end of life issues arise. These are central reasons that LGBTQ people seek marriage (though of course this is not the only reason such couples seek marriage, see Badgett 2009 and Lannutti 2007). Paradoxically, then, the history of marriage integrates the historic use of marriage as a patriarchal exchange of property and women between families with the quite modern idea of the homosexual subject (Bech 1997).

I say paradoxically as the term "gay" has been said to connote a temporality linked with a globalized cosmopolitanism and Western modernity disdainful of such antiquated uses of marriage or even of marriage itself as a ritual and institution (Binnie 2004). Felski summarizes Henning Bech's argument in his book *"When Men Meet: Homosexuality and Modernity"* (1997) that homosexuals are

> distinctly modern. He points to the weakening of moral norms, the instability and permeability of family structures, urban anonymity, the increasing theatricality of everyday life, and above all the "omnipresent, diffuse sexualization of the city" as allowing new experiences of closeness and distance, freedom and danger. Bech suggests, provocatively, that homosexuals are at the vanguard of modernity, paving the way for a broader cultural transformation. Thus, before others and more than others, homosexuals have experienced the distinctive pleasures and dangers, anxieties and risks of the modern world. Yet at the same time, he claims, the world is becoming more and more "homosexualized," such that the identity of the homosexual will eventually disappear. (Felski 2000, 65)

"Gay-as-modern" or "Gay/Modern" is a "historical signifier that reorganizes the temporality of homosexuality and society according to a sequence that places gay culture as a reference to the present, to the 'now' — a present defined in global terms" (Benedicto 2008, 325; Giorgi 2002, 62). Importantly as D'Emilio reminds us:

> Gay men and lesbians exist on social terrain beyond the boundaries of the heterosexual nuclear family. Our communities have formed in that social space. Our survival and liberation depend on our ability to defend and expand that terrain, not just for ourselves but for everyone. That means, in part, support for issues that broaden the opportunities for living outside traditional heterosexual family units: issues like the availability of abortion and the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, affirmative action for people of color and for women, publicly funded daycare and other essential social services, decent welfare payments, full employment, the rights of young people—in other words, programs and issues that provide a material basis for personal autonomy. (D'Emilio 1996, 270)

Here D'Emilio, a gay critic of "same-sex" marriage (see D'Emilio 2006), invokes the same history of American progressivism as progressive supporters of such marriages do.

The theme of "equality" has been a perennial undercurrent of social democratic organizing and has become a fundamental rallying cry based on the moral imagination and yearning for social justice born from the suffering of the Great Depression. The application of the "gay/modern" to this progressive, social justice role strategy signifies more than ever the temporal movement of the progressive into the now and in so doing also updates the idea of marriage in the "now."

"Natural" Citizens, Reason and the Individual

In her 2005 book on the village weddings, Quinn recounts a conversation she had with Mayor West after the case brought by former village trustee Bob Hebel. The conversation was about a local judge, Judge Kavanagh, who barred Mayor West from performing more marriages.

> "Contrary to what Bob says to the press, the lawyers he has hired to speak for him speak of 'natural law' and its insistence that a marriage should be between a man and a

> woman," countered Jason. "According to this logic, gay couples are 'unnatural.' Judge Kavanagh himself argued that same-sex couples already have the right and authority to raise children together [in the State of New York], either biologically or adopted. So what's at stake here? Two people who love and are committed to each other? That's not part of natural law?" (Quinn 2005, 197)

Unpacking Mayor West's rhetorical statement allows an examination of progressive natural law as the final temporal features of the progressive role strategy. Here Mayor West reacts to the neoconservative role strategy that considers gay, lesbian and bisexual couples "unnatural" based on a post-war "traditionalism." In contradiction to this, Mayor West's "natural law" are based on New York soil given the legal right of "same-sex couples" to "raise children together."

To start to unpack the temporality of this statement some history is warranted. Liberty in classical liberalism was originally premised on the idea of "natural rights" as "belonging to individuals as individuals in the state of nature and therefore prior to entry into society, (Locke). Liberalism later abandoned this theory of 'natural rights': but this did not undermine the essentially individualist premises on which its theory was predicated" (Hall 1986, 40). The "naturalness" invoked in neoconservative discussions of "natural law" is premised on the idea that sex is the central tenet to the American family such that it joins law with "blood" through marriage (Schneider 1980, 27, 37-39). Under a neoconservative temporality, the idea of "natural law" stops at the idea of "procreative" sex (the use of the Christian term "procreative," meaning *to procreate God's children* rather than to biologically reproduce offspring, is intentional here). Leading queer theorist Lee Edelman critique this idea of "procreative sex" as "reproductive futurism" (2004). Therefore, the kind of non-procreative, "unnatural" sex that "homosexuals" presumably engage haunts the neoconservative and forms the base of protests against marriage for LGBTQ couples. Such logic also disdains any other form of sexual contact outside of

marriage, such as adultery. Notably, this logic has also been used in other Western countries, like France, as the rationale for stigmatizing children born "out of wedlock" (Fassin 2001, 231).

The progressive claim to the universal liberalism for "all human beings at all times in all places" emanates from conceiving the individual as "already endowed with rights and liberties outside of society…constructing our common sense or 'spontaneous' awareness of ourselves today as separate, isolable and self-sufficient beings" (Hall 1986, 41). It was the image of LGBTQ people as human beings and individual selves contemporaneous with heterosexual married persons that forms the basis for a progressive reading of "natural rights" through universal liberalism (a logic also present in "neo-" liberalism). This idea of "natural law" is premised on a critical understanding of the various histories, rights, policies and programs that create the history of America. It was to this idea of the natural citizen that President Bush sought a constitutional amendment to "protect" marriage (Bush, 2004b).

Progressives allow (even if to only tolerate) for example gays, lesbians, bisexuals, divorcées, adulterers, mixed-race couples, genderqueer, transgender, and cohabitating heterosexuals *to exist* within their imaginary as contemporary with each other. The idea of "family" as a "natural unit" then is based on the idea that something is added to the "natural fact" of sex: human reason as emanates from U.S. law (Schneider 1980, 36). In other words, "natural" rights are made so by the addition of human reason, experience and history in law to create the "natural" order of humanity. As Mayor West points out, this experience includes the experience of falling in love and by extension the sexual desire and behaviors that demonstrates these feelings (whether or not these are performed to reproduce children). Therefore, those citizens born or naturalized in the U.S. who are "in love and committed" should be recognized under force of law thus opening the possibility of marriage.

Two definitions of liberty impact this idea of "naturally" given legal equality: a negative one and a positive one (Hall 1986). A "negative" definition of liberty means "freedom *from* constraints on participating in the market" as operant in neoconservative and neoliberal temporalities (Hall 1986, 40). The progressive temporality is noted in the positive concept of liberal equality but subsumed under this negative definition. So, the progressive individual is considered equal because:

> They are born with *the same* rights…Note that it does not mean that people must have equality of condition so that they can compete equally; or that those who start from a poorer position should be "positively advantaged" so that they can really, in fact, compete on equal terms; and certainly it does not mean that everyone should end up in roughly equal positions. Liberalism has always accepted that those who compete successfully must succeed. But since the fear of failure is the spur to competition, all cannot succeed. Hence, inevitably, many must lose in order for some to win. From its inception classical liberalism was identified with the "free market" and opposed to any intervention by the state to remedy the unequal consequences of market competition or to distribute goods, resources and opportunities more equitably between the competing classes. This is an inherently inegalitarian position if we conceive liberty in a more positive sense. The tension around this point constitutes a recurring contradiction within liberal discourse. (Hall 1986, 41)

Claims to marriage work with this progressive temporal rendering of equality. Yet marriage also works to support neoliberalism since claims to "marriage equality" use the legal obligations of the institution to alleviate the state from intervening upon the "unequal consequences of the market" through private marriage (Hall 1986, 41). The recurrent contradictions around the ideal of equality are a central critique of "same-sex" marriage critics (Bailey, Kandaswamy and Richardson 2008). In other words, since progressivism indexes and grows out of a concept of "freedom" still anchored the contradictions of Classical Liberalism, the progressive role strategy produces irresolvable contradictions in practice by providing a right for some and not for all (Polikoff 2008, 2009).

As I show in chapter six, the different readings of "marriage equality" by those deploying the progressive and neoliberal role strategies have contradictory consequences for villagers and their families in the everyday. As D'Emilio argues:

> The relationship between capitalism and family is fundamentally contradictory. On the one hand, capitalism continually weakens the material foundation of family life, making it possible for individuals to live outside the family, and for a lesbian and gay male identity to develop. On the other hand, it needs to push men and women into families, at least long enough to reproduce the next generation of workers. (1996, 270)

Neoliberalism intensifies the contradictions found under Classical Liberalism through its aggressive, global capitalistic practice. Thus, progressive marriage as both practice and institution actively integrates changing notions of sexuality and gender as well as changing notion of the self, family, nation and world through the progressive temporal orientation yet does so from the same theoretically flawed basis as neoliberalization proceeds (Brown 1995). Here is where the progressive temporality is most distinct from the progressive identity, which is much more malleable and able to eschew such logical contiguities. It is on the terrain of marriage that such changes and contradictions are most visibly articulated, challenged and reinforced. So in effect:

> One could choose a spouse, regardless of his or her gender. This was the way to circumvent the absence of antidiscrimination laws…same-sex marriage was about discrimination in terms of sex. Whether gay marriage contributes to undermining gender roles or, to the contrary, helps impose a heterosexual norm upon gays and lesbians, gender, or sexual difference, has thus proved the best weapon in the hands of gay rights proponents in the United States. (Fassin 2001, 228)

The progressive role strategy supporting the U.S. marriage chronotype integrates the progressive ideal of "naturalized" citizens allowing a claim to liberal civil rights through the exercise of a tolerant, open "moral imagination" allowing difference to coexist. In terms of marriage, sex discrimination that had heretofore been translated to "blood" is now focused on the act of whom has sex with whom given the fact that U.S. marriage has unlinked reproduction and marriage. As

Fassin notes above, this provides an opening for the consideration of marriage regardless of gender yet in reaction to sex discrimination and thus inclusive of LGBTQ couples.

Neoconservatism: Historic Influences, Strategic Alignments on U.S. Marriage

The development of "the modern" integrates ideas of tradition even if the two are continually characterized as adversarial with the word "modern" always being thrown into "the middle of a fight" (Felski 2000, 62; Giddens 1991; Latour 1993, 10). The current "fight" over marriage was actively conceived during the ascendancy of neoliberalization and condensed in the role strategy I have been calling neoconservatism. In the 1980s, under President Ronald Reagan's administration, the economic strategy known as "Reaganomics" began dismantling the state social provisioning put in place through social democratic liberalism after the Great Depression (Davis 2006; Hall 1986; Perrow and Guillen 1990). During this period, the vocabulary of "family values" was developed to integrate a neoliberal ethos aimed at marriage practices. Enormous political success was realized during this time by combining evangelical Christian religious fundamentalism and nationalism backed by neoliberal corporatism. This effort produced the "Religious Right" and the "Christian Coalition" headed by Pat Robertson and Reverend Jerry Falwell, an evangelical Christian televangelist. Together they were prominent leaders of what became known as the "Religious Right" voting bloc and close advisors to neoconservative politicians like President Reagan.

The neoconservative role strategy I review here was refined from the early 1980s through the early 1990s, not coincidentally at the same time that neoliberalization was reaching its peak in the U.S. (Peck 2010). It was during these years that the term "culture war" was born in the U.S. with over 1,500 newspaper articles referencing the term between 1993 and 1995 (Baker 2005, 5). Importantly, the 1992 presidential race also witnessed Pat Buchanan declaring a

"religious war, a culture war, a war for the soul of America" promoted on the idea of the "traditional family" used to rhetorically incite a moral panic among citizens by demonizing those identifying as LGBTQ (D'Emilio and Freedman 1997, 363–364, 368; di Mauro and Joffe 2009; Herdt 2009).

In the United States, the "culture war" idea is

> often used to define neoconservatism against liberalism–progressivism through political maneuvering. Its proponents use the term tradition to index conservative, jingoistic fundamentalist (usually Evangelical) Christian values employed for deciding policy issues. In the 1990s, this meant that politicians like Mr. Buchanan would use the term culture war to index that value system as justification for political attacks on freedom of expression among artists and feminists as well as those advocating for sexual freedom and rights, environmentalism, abortion choice, and gun control. (Marzullo and Herdt 2011, 529)

"Family values" rhetoric was advanced by those employing the neoconservative role strategy by ignoring economically marginalized groups (and their little-h histories) who could not afford to performatively execute the middle-class trappings that go with the prescribed "package deal" (Townsend 2002). Instead of focusing on this economic contradiction (the same one that makes some LGBTQ people not supportive of "same-sex" marriage goals), the neoconservative role strategy invoked a "culture war" that worked on moral panic logic to defend a very specific idea of "traditional" family. "Culture war" discourse thus hides the temporal features of neoliberalization.

Neoconservative(Neoliberal) Role Strategy and Historicity

The neoconservative appeal to marriage combined a "traditional" post-war, script-based marriage ideal with the temporalities inherent in neo-liberalism as reintroduced laissez-faire economics (Hall 1986, 64). Temporal features of neoliberalism are the continuous desire for

material security, process-oriented market risk-taking in the present and a loss of certainty involved with market dealings (Giddens 1990; Guyer 2007).

At the individual level, neoliberal temporality features the evacuation of the near past and the near future as a response to material insecurity, while the immediate present creates a field of action in which risk-taking behaviors orient one toward earnings (and thus market growth) (Giddens 1990; Guyer 2007). For example, the "mail room clerk" who "worked his way up the ladder" to become the president of a company is a popular rags-to-riches story in America. The implication is that the risk it took to begin at a low-paying, menial job through which the company (and by extension the market) financially benefits pays off because future individual success can (and purportedly will) occur. Neoliberal temporality thus shows its "liberal" basis as advocates "always accept that those who compete successfully must succeed. But since the fear of failure is the spur to competition, all cannot succeed. Hence, inevitably, many must lose in order for some to win" (Hall 1986, 14). This is the message that underlies the myth of "mail room worker" success.

A neoliberal temporality at the level of the everyday worker veils this hard fact with a promise premised on such "boot-strap" stories. As Guyer argued, it moves the concern of the worker-citizen from the near-present and near-future to the immediate present and distant future (2007). The risk inherent in market participation is premised on faith and a hope that things will be provided for in the distant future by God and/or the market. This last aspect of neoliberal temporality integrates U.S. neoconservatism as it developed in the latter half of the 20th century. Joining these two temporalities was not accidental nor was the neoconservative role strategy that ultimately uses marriage as a tool for disciplining this particular worker-citizen subjectivity.

The strategy of using marriage in this way traces back to a book entitled *The Dream and The Nightmare: The Sixties' Legacy to the Underclass* written by Myron Magnet during the height of global neoliberalization (1993). Magnet's book and his subsequent advice was relied upon by Karl Rove and President George W. Bush to establish social policies like marriage promotion and the FMA (Borger 2000, 4; Gumbel 2001, 19; Hadnot 2001, F1; Helmore 2001, 2; Ringle 2001, C1; Roberts 2000; 8A). Magnet was among a handful of advisors for President George W. Bush's "compassionate conservatism," the term was coined by

> a longtime Bush adviser from Texas, Marvin Olasky, who believes welfare is useless without religious input - no material food without spiritual food, as he puts it. Other gurus of the anti-welfare movement beloved by the Bush team include Myron Magnet, a New York neo-conservative who has invoked a revival of the Victorian categories of deserving and undeserving poor, and Charles Murray, who has argued that blacks are genetically inferior to whites and that welfare is only an incentive for morally deficient people to fail. Already Mr. Bush has said the White House will have an Office of Faith-Based Initiatives, which will look at constitutionally permissible ways of giving federal money to fundamentalists and other religious groups. (Gumbel 2001, 19)

During the early 1990s, Magnet was a journalist for *Fortune* magazine and researched his book during the waning years of the first Bush presidency. It was published during the second year of President Bill Clinton's administration when the "culture war" rhetoric was at its most fevered pitch. Magnet's book features a caricatured version of "liberalism" written for the "haves" (both "liberals" and "prosperous" ones) as opposed to the "have-nots" who in this book alternate between the homeless and those on welfare usually assumed to be "black" (1993, 13-16). Widely employed throughout the book is the racist "welfare queen" moral panic trumpeted by Candidate Ronald Reagan, which used the racism and frustrations of the American white working class to successfully drive them to the polls to vote President Reagan into the White House. Voters then unwittingly voted against their own material interests by reacting to this

created moral panic and allowing an executive into office to launch neoliberalization as official federal policy (Herdt 2009; Jansson 2012, 332).

Written after "Reganomics" was in full-effect in the U.S., Magnet's book attempted to continue this moral panic strategy but in a very focused manner. The book placed guilt on the "haves" via disgust based on disparaging stereotypes of the "have nots" and attempted to leverage that guilt-disgust toward the "haves" supporting certain social policies. Revealing the large-scale neoconservative temporality at work, Magnet's book essentially argues that the government should get out of the business of providing social welfare altogether and leave it to religious and charitable institutions—as was supposedly done in the past.

As Andrew Gumbel, a reporter for the British newspaper *The Independent*, wrote in 2001:

> Myron Magnet's book *The Dream and The Nightmare* (which argues that poverty is the fault of 1960s liberals imposing their godless morals on the underclass) is a favourite of Mr. Bush's chief political adviser, Karl Rove. "The welfare system by itself," Mr. Magnet writes, "is enough to account for the nonmarriage, bastardy, and some of the nonwork that makes up the pathology ailing the underclass." (2001, 19)

Magnet was not just an advisor to presidents. He was/is also a long-time employee of the Manhattan Institute, one of the first U.S. think tanks dedicated to promoting neoliberalization through research, political organizing and policy efforts (Peck 2010, 140-151).

Magnet served as the editor of the Manhattan Institute's policy magazine *City Journal* from 1994 to 2006. As of 2012, he remains listed as a staff member of the institute (Manhattan Institute 2012). Located on the island from which it takes its name, the Manhattan Institute's mission is to "develop and disseminate new ideas that foster greater economic choice and individual responsibility" (Manhattan Institute 2012). With the use of the key words "choice"

and "individual responsibility," we understand that a neoliberal ethos is at play (Craven 2010; Marzullo 2011).

The institute was established in the 1970s during the implementation of the "New York Solution" by former Wall Street analyst Bill Hammett who "had little use for the old-line Republicans of the city, who he said were, 'just a bunch of rich brain-dead assholes who like to complain about things.' The Manhattan Institute would publish neoliberal economic studies" to create plans that were there to be implemented in times of crisis or moments of opportunity (Moody 2007, 127).

A newspaper article, written just two weeks after President George W. Bush's first inauguration and titled "Bush Gurus Show Little 'Compassion'" summarized the neoconservative and neoliberal links in the new president's "compassionate conservatism."

> Far from suggesting that the free market needs to be tempered by lots of government social programs, as the campaign rhetoric led voters to believe, the term is actually shorthand for the privatization of welfare and parts of the education system. Government should not be in the business of feeding, housing and offering medical treatment to the poor, the argument goes; that should all be left to charitable organizations, particularly those run by the kind of right-wing evangelical churches which helped elect Mr. Bush in the first place.(Gumbel 2001, 19)

From this, the main social aim of the neoconservative project as envisioned through the neoliberal tactic of privatization (as reviewed in the introduction) and implemented through neoconservative "culture wars" becomes clear—the bald marking of some individuals as worthy for help while others are not, while getting the state out of the business of caring for the neediest of its citizens.

Feminist legal scholar Nancy Polikoff reviews how the neoconservative cum neoliberal role strategies began to focus on governmental marriage promotion to serve strategic economic aims.

> By the time George W. Bush took office in 2001, there was a self-described "marriage movement" emphasizing the urgency of tying children to fathers through marriage. Advocates again used the language of social science, this time to argue that marriage made people live happier, longer, and healthier lives filled with more sex and more money. When welfare reform came up for congressional reauthorization, President Bush shifted the goal to encourage the formation and maintenance of two parent *married* families. He obtained $750 million in funding for "marriage promotion" activities as part of the welfare reauthorization bill. (Polikoff 2009, 541)

Here we see how the neoliberal and neoconservative role strategies tag team marriage. The neoconservative strategy uses government to promote a version of "traditional" marriage as the ultimate societal solution to all unhappiness and want. Those deploying the neoliberal role strategy emphasize charitable giving for those who might need social provisioning backed by the "language of social science" with underlying expectations being that one should marry to mitigate financial need and the state's responsibility to certain citizens. This stance was evident in Gary Becker's 1991 *Treatise on the Family* and sociologists Linda Waite and Maggie Gallaghers' 2001 book *The Case for Marriage: Why Married People Are Happier, Healthier, and Better Off Financially*. The tactic continues through the writing of this dissertation with Maggie Gallagher's *National Organization for Marriage*, or NOM, a Washington, DC-based political action committee using the logic assembled in Magnet's book to work against "same-sex" marriage laws nation-wide.

In effect, this means that politicians implementing the neoconservative stance are to divert public money away from social programs to ill-conceived, governmentally-funded "marriage promotion" programs that have been shown to be ineffective (Lichter, Batson and Brown 2004; Lichter, Graefe and Brown 2003). The needy among us are to be helped by charities based on voluntary giving (usually used as tax write-offs) by the wealthy to private civic or religiously based institutions. This giving is reliant on sympathetic feelings for certain groups and also on available extra monies for donations—which is unreliable in the times of

economic contraction when economically marginalized people would need the help the most. These neoconservative/neoliberal strategy on marriage was incredibly influential during the Reagan, Bush, Clinton and G.W. Bush Administrations. In particular, the George W. Bush Administration divested from social programs to fund charity and religious services with billions in tax revenue used to support the divestment from social provisioning (Barrett and Clover 2004; Gumbel 2001).

Under this neoliberal/neoconservative logic, many people are deemed "undeserving": LGBT people who are roundly vilified, economically disenfranchised people and people of color who are discriminated against using raced and classed stereotypes, the mentally ill, former inmates, immigrants, combinations of these groups, and others who for various cultural reasons may become the "undeserving." As Gumbel summarized of this "Compassionate Conservatism," "The fear is that many of the 100 million or so Americans struggling to make ends meet - even with a full -time job - could suddenly find their housing or access to food stamps threatened because of their religious or political affiliation" (Gumbel 2001, 19). And with the poor vilified so thoroughly by neoconservatives why would those "haves" want to give to such "have nots"?

The contradictions of neoconservatism on the subject of marriage now becomes clear: the strong promotion of marriage for poor women receiving welfare as a way to control their sexuality, while so vehemently denying marriage to LGBT couples because of the inherent fear and "cultural anger" emanating from efforts at sexual freedom sought out and promoted during the 1960s and 1970s (Herdt 2009, 30)—anger so acute as to support an amendment to that most sacred national document, the U.S. Constitution. The reasons behind these two are the same: marriage used as Patriarchal, race-based social control.

Messianic, Market Time

A messianic orientation provides the faith necessary for risking market participation premised on the hope that things will be provided for in the distant future by God and/or the market (Boellstorff 2007a; Giddens 1990; Guyer 2007; Miyazaki 2003, 2007). As a "born-again" evangelical Christian himself, President Bush's 2004 State of the Union Address exemplifies this role strategy in this passage:

> A strong America must also value the institution of marriage. I believe we should respect individuals as we take a principled stand for one of the most fundamental, enduring institutions of our civilization. Congress has already taken a stand on this issue by passing the Defense of Marriage Act, signed in 1996 by President Clinton. That statute protects marriage under federal law as a union of a man and a woman, and declares that one state may not redefine marriage for other states. Activist judges, however, have begun redefining marriage by court order, without regard for the will of the people and their elected representatives. On an issue of such great consequence, the people's voice must be heard. (Bush, 2004a)

He ends referring to Christianity as properly defining state-based marriage using the "same moral tradition that defines marriage [and] also teaches that each individual has dignity and value in God's sight" (Bush, 2004a).

A future orientation based on messianic time anchors to future apocalypse (Boellstorff 2007a, 228; Crapanzano 2007, 423). To review, there is a period in the arc of evangelical Christian time that discusses the loss of certainty and chaos before Judgment Day (the end of the world). "Rapture," or salvation, are desired and said to be imminent when this chaotic period comes to an end. For marriage under neoconservatism, since Christ will sort out all human problems on their day of reckoning then no intervention (like charity or social programs) are necessary save entry into the Godly institution of marriage as the only way to live the right, true life (Crapanzano 2007, 424). For evangelical Christians, the present is a constant effort to remain in God's good graces, while avoiding temptation and sin where "little security is felt except through biblical study" (Crapanzano 2007, 423).

The neoliberal/neoconservative role strategy joins messianic and market time to hail the preferred neoconservative subject who is an: autonomous, achieving, deeply religious (in this case Christian and church-going), heterosexually married man, guiding the marketplace to infinite growth, and supported at home by a woman raising his children to do the same. These are the people populating the neoconservative nation imagined in President Bush's use of the term "our nation." Those in romantic relationships that do not follow these rules are thoroughly Othered as morally repugnant to be avoided or internal state threats to be vehemently defended against. This was the large-scale temporality communicated through President Bush's bully pulpit.

"Defending" Marriage

During the 2004 presidential election cycle, the defense rhetoric around marriage was depicted in media accounts using the slogan "God, Guns, and Gays" (see Tiger 2004 for this usage). This "defense" mentality is exemplified in President Bush's statement, that "our nation must defend the sanctity of marriage" (Bush, 2004a) and in the title of the 1996 U.S. federal law the "Defense of Marriage Act" (DOMA). DOMA was passed under democratic President Bill Clinton even though Clinton was the first presidential candidate to outwardly court the gay and lesbian vote—underscoring my point that a neoliberal role strategy is separate from a neoconservative one (D'Emilio and Freedman 1997, 368).

The beginning of President Bush's 2004 speech focused on "parents" protecting their children and used the state to pass on the values and standards of conduct expected under a neoconservative temporality.

> Decisions children now make can affect their health and character for the rest of their lives. All of us – parents and schools and government – must work together to counter the negative influence of the culture, and to send the right messages to our children. A strong America must also value the institution of marriage. (Bush, 2004a)

The neoconservative role strategy integrates the vocabulary of a triumphal masculine subject fighting a perpetual (culture) war to *"defend"* the now-changed idea of marriage, changed since its codification under the cult of domesticity in the 1950s via the social movements of the 1960s and the 1970s. This is obvious in the awkward wording "decisions children now make can affect their health and character for the rest of their lives. All of us – parents and schools and government – must work together to counter…" (Bush, 2004a). We might as well replace the word "counter" with "combat" in this sentence.

The message is clear: "husbands" and "wives" who comport to the preferred neoconservative subject guidelines must work with government to ensure that the "decisions" made by their children "now" are the ostensibly "correct" ones and that they "must work together to counter the negative influence of the culture" (Bush, 2004a). The neoconservative role stance discursively sets forth a diminished state capacity yet are also "guided by a vision of the strong state in certain areas, especially over the politics of the body and gender and race relations, over standards, values, and conduct, and over what knowledge should be passed on to future generations" (Apple 1996, 29). Such ideas are backed by gendered discourses of neoliberalization in which men are to actively conquer the market, women to purposefully raise the children, both are to recursively reiterate the importance of this particular subjectivity and LGBTQ people are thought as unmarriageable and, by extension, not able to have children.

The temporal features of neoconservative marriage index the post-war, stage-based ideology of marriage. In this construction, marriage should occur at a young age, last "forever," and hold the promise of "reproductive futurism," or the possibility of producing children. Conservative marriage then is used as a way of imposing "an ideological limit on political discourse as such, preserving in the process the absolute privilege of heteronormativity by

rendering unthinkable, by casting outside the political domain, the possibility of a queer resistance to this organizing principal of communal relations" (Edelman 2004, 2). Thus we often witness neoconservatives using the term "homosexual" rather than the term "gay" or "lesbian" to explicitly deny the significance of the Gay Liberation Movement as large-scale attempt to make public claims of inclusion on the U.S. imaginary and marriage (D'Emilio and Freedman 1997; Goldberg-Hiller 2002). The use of the words "homosexual marriage" thus serves as a neoconservative temporal discursive feature emphasizing shameful, repugnant and sinful sexual practices that must be defended against under the neoconservative temporality.

This vigilant defensive stance was obvious in the ending of President Bush's 2004 address:

> If judges insist on forcing their arbitrary will upon the people, the only alternative left to the people would be the constitutional process. Our nation must defend the sanctity of marriage. The outcome of this debate is important -- and so is the way we conduct it. The same moral tradition that defines marriage also teaches that each individual has dignity and value in God's sight. (Bush, 2004a)

In the last part of this quote, President Bush attempted to hedge his dismissal of LGBTQ people as marriageable. As Yoshino quipped of the 2006 decision in New York denying marriage for these couples based on "reckless procreation," President Bush added that last sentence to avoid outright bashing of LGBT people and because "it sounds nicer to gays" (Yoshino 2006, A2). Yet even as his stance on "homosexuals" might be shifting, his neoconservative *past-present* temporality remains premised on traditionalism rooted in a post-war marriage ideal bridging the past to the present through this recurrent institutionalized practice.

Neoconservatism is conceptualized within the modern sense of linear historical time and naturalizes marriage as it was imagined in the immediate years after World War II in America. In response to fears of socialism and totalitarianism emanating from that war and the cold war that

followed, this temporality continually focuses on diminishing state power yet supports a strongly interventionist state to shore up certain ideas of the right, good and virtuous marriage. This hailing of a certain kind of defense masculinity has been recently joined by the invocation of a similar type of neoconservative femininity, most potently expressed by Sarah Palin. Republicans created the term "security mom" to invoke a "militarized" mother defending the nation (Morin and Balz 2004; Rodin 2005, 381). In short, mothers were enlisted as defenders of

> two conjoined theaters of war: one at home, one abroad…Media coverage of security moms illustrates how women are deployed to boost support at home for military action abroad…a practice that is perhaps as enduring as it is tragic. By advocating war and a "war president" to protect the nation and its children, "security mom" draws on the essentialist notion of "preservative love," the maternal drive to preserve life and maintain conditions suitable for psychological and moral growth. (Rodin 2005, 380, 382)

It is unclear whether this neoconservative tactic joining "blood" and "soil" to agitate would-be "security moms" to vote worked but the tactic illustrates the broader context for the continued neoconservative role strategy linking certain gender ideals with marriage and defense rhetoric.

As touched on earlier, defense rhetoric was also employed in the title of the 1996 "Defense of Marriage Act" in which politicians circulated a moral panic over "same-sex" marriage as an internal state threat *if* Hawai'i legalized marriage for gay and lesbian couples (Herdt 2009). This moral panic was revived after the September 11th terrorist attacks by Reverend Jerry Falwell, who decried on Pat Robertson's "700 Club" television program that efforts to secularize the U.S. legal and public education systems along with the legalization of abortion mean:

> that the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People for the American Way – all of them who have tried to secularize America – I point the finger in their face and say, "You helped this happen." (Carlson 2001, F1)

In his comments, Rev. Falwell focused on the groups that he characterizes as challenging the "Godly" neoconservative subject and family by using "family values" and Magnet's "haves/have nots" rhetoric to vilify "liberals," homosexuals and feminists as threats to national stability.

Two weeks afterwards, Rev. Jerry Falwell apologized for his inflammatory remarks through a fundraising letter sent out by his son, Rev. Jonathan Falwell.

> The letter charged that "Satan has launched a hail of fiery darts at dad" and that "liberals, and especially gay activists, have launched a vicious smear campaign to discredit him." The younger Falwell suggested that supporters could assuage the elder Falwell's "personal hurt" by sending "a special Vote of Confidence gift for Jerry Falwell of at least $50 or even $100." (Carson 2001, F1)

The fact that Rev. Falwell brought that attention to himself with verbal attacks to which "gay activists" and "liberals" responded is not discussed by Jonathan. Instead, a present-oriented, neoliberal profit motive is cloaked in a neoconservative evangelical Christianity.

Rev. Falwell capitalized on the neoconservative role strategy, indexing as it does neoliberal tactics that *work to profit* from every angle, attempting to make money in *moments of opportunity*. Televangelists like Falwell historically appeared with the rise of technological advances in cable television and the internet, which fostered the reach of global neoliberalism to advance the very political neoconservative temporality constraining the actions of subjects within specific ideas the right, true and good subjects and citizens. In the age of the internet, this is also a tactic used by NOM fundraising whose donations web page is titled *Protecting Marriage and the Faith Communities that Sustain It* (see https://donate.nationformarriage.org).

During the 2004 reauthorization debate on DOMA, the representation of homosexuals as threats to be defended against appears again. In the first reconsideration of DOMA after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the U.S., neoconservatives' characterized homosexuals as threats through the

use of the words "rogue," "plot" and "plotting." As Steve Chabot, the Chairman of the Subcommittee on the Constitution, voiced during DOMA's reauthorization debate in this quote:

> This issue has been pushed to the forefront by liberal activists who have challenged traditional marriage laws in the courts, by rogue judges legislating from the bench and ignoring the will of the people, and by a handful of elected officials from New York to San Francisco who have disregarded their own State laws regarding marriage, laws they were sworn to uphold. We are here today because of those actions and events, not because of a political agenda or election year plot. (Subcommittee on the Constitution 2004)

Here, he denies that the 2004 DOMA debate is a "plot" or election year vote-getting ploy used by neoconservative politicians—as media reports surmised happened in the analysis of the 2004 elections. The next two passages, though, use "plot" to characterize "liberal activists" as plotting against the state:

> While a State can choose to bend its own important political policies to the judgments of sister States without constitutional grief, the plotted intention was to force States to bend their will and abdicate their important public policy interests by weight of the Full Faith and Credit Clause of the United States Constitution. (Statement made by Vincent P. McCarthy, The American Center for Law and Justice, Inc., New Milford, CT)

> It is one level of constitutional consideration whether a State may define for itself what constitutes a marriage. It is another level of constitutional dimensions entirely to have the right of decision-making in one State foreclosed by an earlier, conflicting decision in another State. While a State can choose to bend its own important public policies to the judgments of sister States without constitutional grief, the plotted intention was *to force* States to bend their will and abdicate their important public policy interests by weight of the Full Faith and Credit Clause of the United States Constitution. (DOMA Section 3a(7), Amendment to the definition of marriage). (Subcommittee on the Constitution 2004)

Here again we see the idea that judges, public officials and even states are supposedly capriciously "choosing" to allow LGBTQ marriage. The neoconservative role strategy discursively labels supporters of "same-sex" marriage as facile, impulsive and temporary rather than strategic, calculating or permanent. The words "*to force"* in the last excerpt were italicized

in the original transcript by this subcommittee to justify their reaction to LGBTQ marriage as something to be defended against.

The crux of President Bush's argument for the FMA hinges on the idea that DOMA might be overturned, which would have meant that, under the Article IV of the U.S. Constitution known as the "full faith and credit clause," "every state would be forced to recognize any relationship that judges in Boston or officials in San Francisco choose to call a marriage" (Bush, 2004b). So internal "rogue" terrorist-like judges, politicians and LGBTQ advocates would "plot" against and "force" neoconservatives to actively "defend" U.S. marriage, which even without "same-sex" marriage has been deinstitutionalizing for decades.

The "choice" of localities to marry gay and lesbian couples invokes the neoliberal usage implying that states nonsensically choose to marry gays and lesbians, the way you might whimsically purchase a pair of shoes. Such whimsical choice is rhetorically contrasted to a popular neoconservative catch-phrase: law should be read literally and not interpreted by "activist judges." This is a literalist practice is consistent with fundamentalist interpretations of religious texts and now extended to legal precedents regarding social policies through the neoconservative role strategy. As research in various parts of the world has detailed, religious fundamentalism has gone in hand with neoliberalism using particular ideas of "tradition" to unabashedly politicize religion for vote-getting and politico-economic gains (Aslan 2010; Bandarage 2004; Giroux 2005; Herriot 2008; Kiely 2005). For this reason, the practice has been dubbed neocolonialism since colonialism used similar tactics.

Scholars have shown that "same-sex" marriage rhetoric has increased in presidential election years since 1996 by politicians deploying the neoconservative role strategy to invoke moral panics to justify defensive temporal stances as vote-getting mechanisms (LaFrance and

Frederick 2007; Marzullo and Herdt 2011; Mooney and Schuldt 2007). This was what President Bush did in 2004 with his support of the FMA.

Timelessness and Neoliberal Universality

In the next passage from his 2004 Federal Marriage Amendment (FMA) statement, President Bush hits his temporal stride by invoking the modern sense of linear historical time and the Christian calendar of roughly 3000 years and authorizing this temporality through America's legal tradition:

> After more than two centuries of American jurisprudence, and millennia of human experience, a few judges and local authorities are presuming to change the most fundamental institution of civilization. Their actions have created confusion on an issue that requires clarity…The union of a man and woman is the most enduring human institution, honoring – honored and encouraged in all cultures and by every religious faith. (Bush, 2004b)

Marriage thusly constructed by the neoconservative role strategy is supposed to be timeless and practiced the same way around the world for "millennia" no matter religious, cultural or national context.

The implicit assumption is that married persons are "civilized" since marriage is the most fundamental institution of "civilization." With "homosexuals" barred from crossing the line into the institution, they are by implication uncivilized. This rendering of timelessness abstracts the identities of both heterosexuals *and* homosexuals to suppress the similarities within each group by denying that "tradition" can be based in Enlightenment logic or rationality (Fairclough 2003, 144). Such hybrid temporal recursiveness has been "central to the development of the modern; they are not primordial remnants of an irrational past, but an integral part of the history of the Enlightenment" (Felski 2000, 62).

If we understand *conservative temporality* as setting up 19th century moral ramparts that work to keep people apart (Virilio 1997, 50) and of perpetually setting "definite limits on the free play of values of individual liberty with the contrary ideas of authority" (Hall 1986, 58), then we have the ingredients for understanding timelessness in U.S. neo-"conservatism." These attempts are rooted in the specific presentation of the history of marriage used to stop a progressive temporality that also roots itself in specific historical context.

This timelessness is reinforced with a neoliberal temporality that utilizes logic and, as Polikoff discussed above, strategic calculations to support their particular ideological role stance. As a result of the neoliberal current running under such neoconservative claims, timelessness does not necessarily follow party lines. This was apparent when Republican Victoria Dunlap, the Sandoval County Clerk in Bernalillo, New Mexico stepped up to issue marriage licenses to 64 LGBTQ couples on February 20, 2004 inspired by Mayor Newsom (Pinello 2006). As was the case with West, Dunlap contacted multiple attorneys and state agencies to find out whether it was illegal to perform marriages for LGBTQ couples. She found no legal statute in the State of New Mexico preventing the marriages and thus proceeded with them. When she received an expedited letter on February 20th from the New Mexico Attorney General, Patricia Madrid, a Democrat, it referenced "court cases that refer to 'man' and 'woman'," and from the 1961 New Mexico matrimonial application "referring to the 'male applicant' and 'female applicant'" (Pinello 2006, 16) to halt the Sandoval County marriages.

Discussing the Sandoval County marriages and marriage license verbiage is significant here for two reasons. First, it highlights that the temporalities discussed in this chapter do not follow the party lines. U.S. Republicans usually use the call to "tradition" to argue against "marriage equality," but not always. Democrats usually support a "progressive" ethos yet do not

line up neatly behind the marriage equality issue and have refused its addition to their party platform for years. Unlike the two major parties, the Green Party explicitly supports marriage equality in their platform (Green Party Platform 2010). Mayor West and his trustees Rebecca Roetzler and Julia Walsh were all Green Party members in 2004, allowing us to understand why performing these marriages was "common sense" to West. Second, the big-D discourse of *universality* as a discursive characteristic of neoliberalization is exposed here. The barring of gay and lesbian couples from marriage because of the titles on a marriage application, uses bland technocratic detail to obscure the messianic timelessness and patriarchy impelling the neoconservative standpoint on marriage.

This technocratic tactic was also used to deny LGBTQ marriages in New York State in 2004. In a memo responding to an inquiry made jointly by the New York State Cities of Olive and Cohoes attorneys of whether "same-sex marriages" were constitutional in the state, Attorney General Spitzer's office deferred forming a legal opinion but refused the marriages using gender references within New York Domestic Relations Law (DRL).

> While the legislative history of the relevant DRL provisions does not address same-sex marriage, that silence is presumably due to the apparent lack of any practice of same-sex marriage at the time of enactment and amendment. In general, "the literal meaning of the words used must yield when necessary to give effect to the intention of the Legislature." Statutes § 111, 1 McKinney's Cons. Laws of N.Y. at 225 (1971). Accordingly, even absent an express prohibition, courts could read such a restriction into the DRL to give effect to the Legislature's apparent intent. The inclusion of gender-specific references to married persons in the DRL is consistent with this conclusion. (Halligan 2004, 8)

A.G. Spitzer's team referenced eight DRL sections citing the words "husband," "wife," "bride," and "groom" to justify the barring of marriages in New York (Halligan 2004, 8). The "literal meaning" of marriage tactically relied on the implicit meanings found in the multiple examples of gendered titles used historically throughout the DRL.

This is essentially a "timelessness" argument using history to justify and universalize New York's decision. Victoria Dunlap's research brought up "application wording" as a reason to not allow the marriages, but she said "an application does not make the law. We can't deny people rights based on an application" (Pinello 2006, 3). Yet the memo from A.G. Spitzer goes further than the New Mexico reasoning, moving from seemingly benign, neoliberal technocratic reasoning to barring LGBTQ couples from the institution because of "the apparent lack of any practice of same-sex marriage at the time of enactment and amendment" (Halligan 2004, 8). In short, A.G. Spitzer assumed the neoconservative role strategy rendering marriage as tool for social exclusion "such that the human is produced not merely against the inhuman, but through a set of foreclosures, radical erasures, that are, strictly speaking, refused the possibility of cultural articulation" (Borneman 1996, 217 *citing* Butler 1993, 8). A.G. Spitzer alludes to this as a strategy and not a historical fact by using the word "apparent" in the memo—he is not saying there were no such couplings going on in American history but that no such couples got legally married. He justified barring LGBTQ couples from the institution using the joined logics of neoconservative and neoliberal temporalities reliant upon the circular, "magical" reasoning of institutions.

In the case of U.S. marriage, A.G. Spitzer and President George W. Bush both relied upon historical sexual and racial hierarchies in the U.S. to stigmatize and denigrate individuals like "homosexuals" and by extension those of other racial and ethnic categories denied the rite in the past (Cott 2000). President Bush's use of "the people" erases LGBTQ people from existence, and by extension from citizenship rights, in his State of the Union address even as they are the subject of his talk, "If judges insist on forcing their arbitrary will upon the people, the only alternative left to the people would be the constitutional process" (Bush, 2004a). Indeed all other

subjects are left without contemporaneity as *"negative influences"* and simultaneously blocked from taking legitimate action in the political sphere. Given President Bush's emphasis on "parents" and on reproductive futurism, single mothers, divorcees as well as LGBTQ couples are all implicitly invoked as present, ongoing threats to the security of the "timeless" neoconservative family (see also Edelman 2004). U.S. neoconservative temporality uses marriage to justify the removal of social welfare programs but also denies entry to the institution for many others who should be *unmarriageable*. Social stratification reinforced by corporate capitalism frames a "timeless" marriage with messianic and market timings deployed by the neoconservative politician as the active "defender" of the universal (read historically-based) political and cultural status quo in the U.S.

Conclusion

Talking about "marriage discourses" in this chronotypic formation puts forward the claim that marriage has entered the level of discourse in the U.S. In asking villagers what they teach their children (hypothetical children for some who did not want or yet have children) about marriage, most quickly responded along the lines of "you don't teach marriage, you model it." This is not only important for the next chapter's discussions but also provides an opening for considering how these large-scale temporal rhetorics on "the institution of marriage" recursively instantiate it in the present for villagers.

The institution of marriage is reproduced from certain durably adjusted ideas that Bourdieu calls "generative schema" (1990, 57) premised on the plural, or as Guyer puts it "the recurrent-reproductive and historical-disruptive sense of that concept. One aims to understand how such templates may be created, how framed, how transposed from one practice of life to another" (Guyer 2007, 411). As I have argued, the temporal discourses on marriage discussed

here *are* such schema deployed by those drawing on specific role strategies based on particular historical understandings that foster the repetition of specific ideas of "authentic" U.S. marriage.

The New Paltz marriage event was a response to the exclusion of LGBTQ couples from marriage but importantly, it was (and still is) a continuation of the struggle to use marriage as a way to include the different groups who have historically been denied access to the national American imaginary. The push of progressives towards marriage for LGBTQ couples is simultaneously symbolic of the (neo-)liberal and modern push toward universality and sameness, while critiquing a traditionalism instantiated during post-World War II anxieties and updating marriage through the "gay/modern" signifier.

In line with Butler's 2002 argument in the article "Is kinship always already heterosexual?", the defensive limiting of marriage under a neoconservative temporality means marriage becomes a fantasy, a splitting off of "family" from the increasing pressures that inhere in the fiercely neoliberal economy. As Coontz argued in 2000 and Butler continued, marriage became a nostalgic escape "from existing social complexity in the hope of becoming 'socially coherent' at last" (Butler 2002, 135). The paradox of the large-scale marriage chronotype is that "the norms of recognition supplied by the state not only often fail to describe or regulate existing social practice but also become a site of articulation for a fantasy of normativity, projecting and delineating an ideological account of kinship, for instance, precisely at the moment when it is undergoing social challenge and dissemination" (Butler 2002, 135). This is so for the progressive stance as well as the neoconservative and neoliberal role strategies on marriage.

Thinking about marriage performatively means that we accept that it changes under continued challenge and experience. Doing this work begs that we examine the negative space opened when a single temporality of what marriage is or how it should be performed is replaced

by multivalent experiences. The ways villagers actually conceptualize marriage and behave toward it or with it is a much more complicated endeavor than large-scale role strategies can capture. The task of the next chapter is to examine how marriage meanings are understood in the Village of New Paltz, while paying attention to how the neoconservative, progressive or neoliberal temporalities move recursively with the *how and why* of marriage enactments, apathy and avoidance there.

CHAPTER 5

THE MARRYING TIMES

The temporality of the marriage movement, like that of any social movement, is "a product of an emotional engagement in self-identification in opposition to the larger world, one in which the present is redefined as contingent and the future as absolute. In this inversion, the real becomes imaginary and the imagined real" (Friedman 2007, 428). The last chapter discussed how different large-scale temporal discourses foster certain national marriage ideals in the U.S. thus motivating political action in response to the "imagined real" of the marriage movement.

This chapter uses those large-scale discourses as the broad landscape onto which the progressive-oriented villagers I spoke with imagine their marriages and relationships. The argument that grounds this chapter is that marriage is actually perceived and enacted by indexing multiple temporalities, though the national discourses on it attempt to bifurcate groups as simply supporting "traditional" marriage or not.

This chapter shows a much more complex and nuanced picture of what marriage means to villagers at the life-time level. Here I explore the rationale for marriage now being a choice rather than an expectation or obligation. As a theoretical heuristic, "life-time" is used to understand how national temporalities are made sense of at the level of the individual. *Life-time* "is a process of understanding one's life as a project that encompasses and connects random segments of daily experience. It is the creation of oneself as an autobiographical subject and the act of reflection on one's existence and finitude" (Felski 2000, 17). Far from staking out those "for" and "against" marriage, the temporalities uncovered in the last chapter are shown here as entwining to create novel shifts in marriage and relationship meaning at the level of intimate experience.

As many of my New Paltz informants discuss here, marriage has been decentered as *the* universal rite of passage into adulthood. To contend with this, this chapter reads Anthony Giddens' 1992 book *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies* against Elizabeth Freeman's 2010 book *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories*. Together, these sources provide a theoretical framework for understanding the tectonic ruptures my informants express regarding why relationships and marriages *should* form, changing commitment and communication norms, how it is that they explore and experience sexuality in relation to decentered marriage, and why marriages *should* end or stay together. To use Guyer's term, I continue to explore how gays and lesbians figure into such marriages as *terra nova* (2007). This chapter in particular answers the ethnographic question regarding "the nesting of temporalities and their relative emphasis and mutual entailment for different populations, or for the same population in different affective states" (Guyer 2007, 413). I suggest that queer temporality is one of those nested temporalities that may account for how sexual and relationship experiences inform a deinstitutionalized U.S. marriage.

By focusing on progressive ideals of marriage in this chapter, I am not saying that antecedent understandings of marriage are not still in play in the village. Instead, I show how the multiple marriage temporalities discussed in the last chapter actually weave together. The best way of thinking about these marrying times is through the concept of "hybridity" as the intertexual combining of temporal discourses and strategic rhetoric (Fairclough 2003, 35; Kraidy 2005, vi-viii). Garcia Canclini's idea of "multitemporal heterogeneity" is also useful, which means that "traditions have not yet disappeared and modernity has not completely arrived" (1995, 1). If we remember the discussion of Latour from the introduction, we understand that modernity does not signal a triumphant eclipse of tradition but instead that tradition and

modernity actually co-exist to create new affective intensities and indexes of possibility. By discussing marriage as a hybrid of multiple temporalities unfolding in the moral geography of the village, I show what *ideal* progressive marriage means to the people of the Village of New Paltz. This chapter tries to account for how the progressive dream of marriage has appeared to challenge the neoconservative fantasy of it, while the next chapter matches that dream with everyday economic circumstances.

These temporal orientations alone or in combination can be observed entwining in discussions of dating, courtship, cohabitation and marriage. As we shall see, the progressive view on marriage benefits from a direct acknowledgement of the influence of modernity to tolerate the various temporalities people draw on for marriage, which may be for: happiness, companionship, "tradition," "equality," religion, death, money, status, romance, sex, convenience, children, or a fantasy of "happily ever after" or combinations of these.

Progressives and American Ceremony

The hybrid marriage temporalities that I will detail throughout this chapter are apparent in Mayor West's emphasis that, when planning the LGBTQ weddings in 2004, he was especially keen to emphasize that "folks have invited their family and they have white dresses, and the suits, and the band. Make it as much of a traditional wedding as possible. So that the thing unusual was the gender of the couple involved" (J1.23-24). Emphasizing the traditional American/Western semiotics and performativity of a wedding joined with "same-gender" bodies accentuated the ritual importance of a traditional wedding with the progressive notion that LGBTQ couples should be able to be married.

An unexpected finding from my research was that people reported that they did not feel pressure to marry from their closest circles of friends and family but did feel pressure from

coworkers, neighbors, relatives such as aunts and grandparents, and indirectly from attending or participating in weddings. I explore a lack of pressure to marry further below but want to focus for a moment on reports of indirect pressure to marriage. In line with much research on the topic,[2] villagers discussed how weddings are an affirmation of the couple's belonging and a signal of their commitment to one another and their communities. Rituals are by definition temporal representations that, through their repetition, powerfully reinforce cultural saliency through bodily and symbolic enactments. Ellen Lewin's 1998 ethnography of these ceremonies among gays and lesbians and Elizabeth Freeman's 2002 study of how the wedding is utilized as queer critique affirm this function of the wedding ritual for those Americans as well.

Accordingly, in various temporal keys, we witness all sorts of weddings in contemporary America: weddings staged outside of a house of worship, some using multiple religious traditions or symbols to sanctify the union, officiants ranging from close friends to state workers to religious figures to combinations of these, and ceremony used for artistic, social and political critiques about marriage as no longer the lynchpin for family-making and belonging on the whole. These examples show how traditionalism is applied through a progressive temporality for the institution: the definition of innovation is rethinking something old to create something novel—it is not invention but is more akin to Giddens' definition of tradition in a modern key (1990, 37).

In short, the wedding ceremony becomes a mechanism of societal pressure to marry because it is a ritual of belonging. The ability to literally create wedding rituals that are unique, while still remaining socially legible as a wedding ceremony, exemplifies the hybrid, multiple temporality of progressive marriage. By continually engaging with the semiotics of past ceremonies, progressives remain implicated in marriage as a traditional ritual that makes people

socially recognizable to others through repetition so that "the wedding can conjure up sites other than the state within which relationships of many kinds might become visible and preserved in cultural memory" (Freeman 2002, 210). In 2004, the Village of New Paltz got behind an idea that cultural memory should also include gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender and various others. In so doing, villagers integrated the old with the new to call up an idea of "modern marriage."

The Village of New Paltz: Moral Geography, Gender and Progressive Marriage

The moral framework of villagers remains heavily informed by the 1960s social movements and various other social movements and causes. Residents report involvement in movements as diverse as the environmental movement, conservationism, a general effort against corporatization, the organic food movement, anti-hydrofracking, feminist/women's movement, the LGBT movement, anti-racist and civil rights work, immigrant and migrant workers rights movement, and many, many more (see Figure 6). A local and key informant, Peyton, once apologized when she was thirty minutes late for our dinner engagement because she kept bumping into people who wanted to pin her down to discuss the various community and activist activities she was involved in—she lamented that she usually avoids Main St. in the village when she is in a rush. Though most villagers are active and engaged, the village is generally characterized as "laid back," referencing the progressive role strategy that tolerates many life possibilities.

It is a place that remains engaged with the bohemian idea that one should be "free" to live outside of dreams of being a neoliberal professional (Harries 2000; Lause 2009; Wilson 2000). For New Paltz and the surrounding areas in upstate New York, the new neoliberalized economy brought rampant deindustrialization over the decades of the 1980s and 1990s, leaving the

majority of residents with the options of working in industries that do not rely upon large corporations or manufacturing, which intensified anti-corporate sentiments that have a long history there. By far, the most respected people in the area are those who work as artists, farmers and artisans, such as woodworkers, carpenters, landscape architects and painters (both in fine arts and the trades). Service industry jobs remain the largest employers in the area (see Figure 1). The next best option is working at the local State University of New York campus or working in and around the New York City area to which many people either telecommute or physically commute.

Tellingly, Abby, a 48-year-old real estate agent, has a "joke" she makes sure to share with potential home-buyers new to the area: "bring your own job [laughs]! Cuz you can't get a job that's gonna pay your mortgage up here. You'll have a hard time, anyway" (A1.153-155). The ability for people in the village to live that "laid back" life under the progressive temporality means that there is a dedicated effort to keep the area's commitment to social democracy alive alongside a Weberian capitalistic spirit. Villagers challenge a neoliberal temporality urging the evacuation of the near present and the near future through intense local community engagement. Instead of striving toward the mailroom clerk ideal of continual personal deferral for market gains, most villagers understand "boot-strap" individualism as a myth. They seek to actively engage in the creation of a place that exemplifies a supportive moral framework which holds the wellbeing of those around them as just as important as work.

In Dulci's answer to my question of what it's like to live in the Village of New Paltz, she rehearsed the standard responses that I received to the question. At 23 years old, she has no intention of marrying and lives in a rented apartment in the village with a man she calls her

"boyfriend" but who is also her legal domestic partner. Dulci enjoys the "tiny" village, noting that it has

> a lot to offer. You can walk around and meet different people and go to fun places. And here people have no problem saying "hello" to you and having, striking up conversation with you wherever you go. It's really friendly and open and I don't feel like people are extremely judgmental. (D1.168-171)

After rehearsing all of this, she suddenly noticed a man walking into a nearby shop with his child on his shoulders and hinted at the changes that have been working on U.S. marriage and family for decades now.

> I love the fact that when I walk around here I see like dads super involved. And that makes me so happy. And I'm like, yea, you be a dad [laughs]. Cuz you don't see it many places where the dad's takin' the kids out and going to the grocery store and doing that kinda stuff and being a parental figure and not the play figure [laughs]. So, that was a big thing I've noticed being here. (D1.180-184)

Villagers encourage and embrace different kinds of engaged, expressive masculinities. Lewis, a struggling, 56-year-old freelance photographer, identifies as bisexual. He has been heterosexually married three times and articulates this moral geography as applied to marriage.

> Marriage is not something you're expected to do anymore than you are expected to be gay, straight, bi, transgender, whatever you want to be. You are what you are. Your job, should you choose to accept it, is to find out what that is. I think that has more to do with luck than anything else. I think the job is to find out who you are. If you are not happy, as long as you know who you are should you ever have a hope of being able to change that. (L1.284-289)

Combined, Dulci's and Lewis's observations provide the framework for considering marriage in the progressive context of the Village of New Paltz.

Though there are a plethora of choices available in such a moral geography, as Lewis emphasizes, one must figure out a way "to accept it." As Dulci adds, New Paltz is also a place where one can "do" and "be a dad" with *do* and *be* marking the category and performativity of men *as* dads who should be involved in the day-to-day running of the household as well as

raising their children. Further, Lewis's comment that "you are what you are. Your job, should you choose to accept it, is to find out what that is" (L1.285-287) suggests that marriage, gender, sexuality, desire and sexual behavior are tied up in shifting behavioral norms and expectations that are still being intimately worked out among villagers. So "individuals can no longer rely on shared understandings of how to act. Rather they must negotiate new ways of acting, a process that is a potential source of conflict and opportunity" (Cherlin 2004, 848).

As background, the Gay Liberation movement opened sexuality as a whole "as a quality or property of the self. A person 'has' a sexuality, gay or otherwise, which can be reflexively grasped, interrogated, and develop. Sexuality thereby becomes free-floating; at the same time as 'gay' is something one can 'be,' and 'discover oneself to be,' sexuality opens itself up to many other objects" (Giddens 1992, 14). The feminist movement allowed women to control their own reproduction by allowing them to imagine a life outside of domestic and child-rearing responsibilities. The feminist idea that "anatomy is not destiny" is the temporal metaphor marking a shift to a progressive temporality in which a woman's life trajectory may be thought of outside her reproductive capacity. It began the germination of the idea that gender as a whole may be experienced outside of a rigid link to biological sex determinants opening the door to trans- identities and expression (see Kessler and McKenna 2003), as Lewis alluded to above.

These social movements along with the entrance of companionate marriage in the earlier part of the century in the U.S. meant that

> sexual identity more and more becomes a life-style issue. Sex differences will continue for at least the near future to be linked to the mechanics of the reproduction of the species; but there is no longer good reason for them to conform to a clear break in behavior and attitudes. Sexuality identity could become formed through diverse configurations of traits connecting appearance, demeanor and behavior. The question of androgyny would be settled in terms of what could be justified as desirable conduct – and nothing else. (Giddens 1992, 199)

This is not the "lifestyle" of the neoconservative, which temporally relegates everyone outside of the heteronormative charmed circle of marriage as inauthentic and less than fully human. Instead, it is the glimmer of possibility of a legitimized plurality of choice for relationships and marriage. I take Giddens' "question of androgyny" as his rudimentary way of proposing that trans- people (those identifying as not having the gender associated with their biological sex as well as those who "transcend" gender categories altogether) could engage in marriage based on the history of changing desirable gender conduct in marriage and elsewhere (Halberstam 2005; Kessler and McKenna 2003; Valentine 2007).

Since marriage is no longer the only goal for one's life trajectory, Giddens characterized emergent understandings of "how to act" in relationships as the "pure relationship" which

> has nothing to do with sexual purity, and is a limiting concept rather than only a descriptive one. It refers to a situation where a social relation is entered into for its own sake, for what can be derived by each person from a sustained association with another; and which is continued only in so far as it is thought by both parties to deliver enough satisfaction for each individual to stay within it. Love used to be tied to sexuality, for most of the sexually "normal" population, through marriage; but now the two are connected more and more via the pure relationship, with many ensuing consequences. The pure relationship, to repeat, is part of a generic restructuring of intimacy. It emerges in other contexts of sexuality besides heterosexual marriage; it is in some causal ways parallel to the development of, [non-reproductively[3]] oriented sexuality. (1992, 58, brackets added for clarity)

Thus, a pure relationship is "freed from the needs of reproduction…molded as a trait of personality and thus is intrinsically bound up with the self. At the same time – in principal – it frees sexuality from the rule of the phallus, from the overweening importance of male sexual experience" (Giddens 1992, 2). Dulci's insight relies on the contemporary expectation that men will take an active role in their relationships as well as in their children's lives and not expect to be the central figure in the family. This implicates both men and women in a ongoing, negotiated process of relationships, sex, marriage and child-rearing in contradistinction to the

neoconservative 1950s cult of domesticity that assigned very rigid gender roles to married partners with men serving as bread-winner, playmate or task master and wives as sexually focused on the reproduction of children and as the primary caregiver responsible for the moral education of the future citizenry and maintenance of the domestic sphere. By extension, the neoconservative role stance on marriage regarded all unmarried people as "abnormal," especially lesbians and gays who were banned from the institution and then tautologically rendered as deviant or pitiful.

When older villagers, those born before 1954, reflected on the marriage rules they grew up with in the decades after World War II, they told me that "traditional" marriage had to be religious and done for the benefit of having children or it was not considered a marriage at all. Other forms of marriage such as contractual, ritual, and common-law marriages were not seen as "real" and were usually considered sinful.

Dylan, a gay 73-year-old retiree who has lived in New Paltz for over three decades after growing up in pre-World War II Brooklyn, New York, reported that those not in religious marriages were considered as thoroughly sinful and were shunned. At that time, if someone was divorced they were tolerated but not allowed to interact socially, especially with children. He emphasized that he was told that one should marry "your own kind" meaning someone of the same ethnicity and religion. A similar story was reported by Dulci, whose family members do not consider domestic partnerships, like the one Dulci has, nor LGBTQ marriages to be "real." That American marriage and cohabitation have come to mean so much more than this, as Cherlin has emphasized, these changing ideas remain potent agitators for disagreements between those who ascribe to such neoconservative marriage ideas and those who now approach marriage as only one choice among many.

Hybrid Temporalities, Contemporary Marriage

Below, I show how the idea of the pure relationship enters into talk of marriage and relationship decision making. I discuss themes that recurred in my interviews with villagers about marriage, such as their expectations of sexual behavior and relationship satisfaction, improved and continuous communication, and, finally a drive towards continued self improvement that may render marriages and relationships no longer supportive of self-development. As the above passage from Giddens makes clear, relationships should be "continued only in so far as it is thought by both parties to deliver enough satisfaction for each individual to stay within it" (1992, 58). When this is no longer the case divorce and break-ups are likely. These shifts result in marriage now being a very active engagement, an agitator for disagreement and "a signifier of commitment, rather than just the determinant of it" (Giddens 1992, 192). Just how the progressive stance on marriage updates traditionalism in the moral geography of the village is a focus of this chapter. I also discuss how villagers think of relationships and family given the decentering of marriage. These narratives show how life-times recursively index "shifting 'communities,' identities, and selves, at different levels of contrast" (Irvine and Gal 1995, 974).

Progressive Sex and Slow Marriage

Responses to the "no sex before marriage" trope provide an excellent entry for detailing how progressives now experience marriage as terra nova given that the pure relationship and any ensuring marriages now have "nothing to do with sexual purity" (Giddens 1992, 58). My question: "*What do you think about the idea that people should wait to have sex until marriage?*" was intentionally based on the traditional prescription "no sex before marriage," reliant as it is on ideas of "sexual purity" before the moment of virginity "loss." This figure of speech "loss of

virginity" defines the best potential marriage mate though a "double standard" (Giddens 1992, 28) that treats men's sexual exploration as healthy and normal, while simultaneously expecting women to be guarded from sexual experience to prevent an objectified female virginity from being "lost" – a wandering, lonely temporality indeed.

The practice of no sex before marriage for women works to ensure marriage is a tool used to control women's sexuality. No villager I interviewed obeyed this sex proscription. The typical progressive and tolerant retort to my question is epitomized in the response by the married, 41-year-old Conrad.

> If people chose to do that, that's fine with me. I think that, otherwise, that's a stupid idea [laughs]. You know, I don't even necessarily see why in the ideal society there would be this sort of exclusive association of sex and marriage. (C1.94-96)

Thus, a progressive temporality slows down, not sexual experience, but marriage. In this changed idea of "society," where marriage is being entered into later and later in life, the association of sex and marriage seems, as other villagers put it in temporal terms "way outdated" or "old school."

This is not to say that everyone who has sex before marriage lives the progressive role strategy or identifies as such. What it does show is how a progressive temporality integrates the historic lessons of the U.S. feminist movement by splitting sex and prerequisite marriage, especially where women are concerned. In national discourse, temporality (defining action) and role strategy (defining category, identity or standpoint) are often presented as if they are one consistent thing, while in practice these may be experienced separately and recursively indexed in life-time imaginings that create various sexual and marriage potentials.

Most villagers also agreed that sexual satisfaction within a relationship is a core reason that waiting to have sex until marriage is no longer expected. Instead, sexual experience before marriage is preferred, as the 25-year-old Campbell explains.

> I mean if you're not able to fulfill that side of your relationship in a way that everyone's really happy with, that's such a, it's a big part of your relationship. And I think, you know, people make confessions and that, you know, translates into other parts of the relationship and things start to go wrong. Whereas, you know, I feel like it's so hard being committed to someone. It is always going to be a work in progress that anything you can kind of work out before the fact, like, why wouldn't you want to do that? Like, it gives you that much better chance of sustaining the relationship [laughs]. (C1.189-195)

The "confessions" she is discussing here are admissions that one is not sexually satisfied, interested, or even that someone has desires for or experiences of sexual encounters outside of the relationship. For the progressive, sexual dissatisfaction and "cheating" are major obstacles to relationship satisfaction and avoidance of this is an aim of open communication. Instead of "cheating" being tolerated, divorce is a clear possibility in progressive marriage.

The "deal breakers" causing divorce in instances of "cheating" in progressive marriage are not necessarily sexual behavior outside of the relationship but rather a breakdown in communication, trust and respect that such omission entails. Progressive villagers clearly conveyed that that open and honest communication is the most important factor in marriage and familial satisfaction. Campbell goes on to emphasize the split between sex and the pure relationship in her summary of the importance of communication.

> Communication is really a big thing. And I feel like if you, you know, can't trust someone, you're not going to have positive communication with them and you know, be able to kind of adjust to different things that come up. And, so knowing that you can trust them and communicate with them freely and be comfortable doing that is probably one of the biggest things for me. And it's not trust in the, "Oh is he seeing someone else?" sense or anything like that. It's more, you know, just a one to one. Like just a respectful, open, honest communication about what, and self awareness about, what you want, what the other person wants and how you're going to reconcile this as you, in some senses, become merged in this committed relationship. How, you know, different priorities are going to be balanced and how things are going to work out. (C1.421-431)

The presence or absence of freely shared and honest communication was said to make or break relationships and marriages in the village. An emphasis on communication includes a sense of self, of "trust," and has implications for sexual openness.

Progressive Traditionalists and the Paradox of "Timeless" Marriage

Traditional assumptions of marriage entwine with the progressive stance through a continuously engaged, reflexive process. In this way, the paradox of "timeless" marriage shows through. As discussed of the neoconservative temporality, a "traditional" timeless marriage renders participants as static, their futures decided: marriage, then kids, then death, or so goes the ideology of "happily ever after." Thirty-nine-year-old Samantha tersely describes her marriage to her current husband since age 19, "I was expected to get married and have children and then die" (S1.63). Bourdieu's discussion of the gift exchange is instructive for understanding Samantha's dead-pan critique of traditional marriage.

Gift exchange, "which substitutes the objective model of the cycle of reciprocity for the experiential succession of gifts, is clearly opposed to the subjectivist view. The former privileges practice as seen from the outside, timelessly, rather than as it is lived and enacted in an experience which is summarily relegated to the state of pure appearance" (Bourdieu 1990, 104). This timelessness is a core feature of the neoconservative strategy to control the definition of marriage. It also inspired the feminist critique that such "objectivist" marriage plugs women into the public contract of marriage to control her sexuality (virginity loss exemplifies this) and her childbearing. The aim of this type of "objectivist" marriage was towards the growth of the workforce and strengthening the nation by tying women to children in the household and through the teaching and nursing professions (Cott 2000; Goldberg 2002; Pateman 1988). As such, the "objective gaze" as Bourdieu calls it, summons the neoconservative figures of husband and wife

that, seen from "the outside," look static, unchanging, and unchangeable. It is exactly this concept of "timelessness" that those advocating a "progressive" temporality on marriage interrogate.

Germano Pàttaro, writing on the "Christian Conception of Time" in 1976, describes the Christian appeal to timelessness as occurring within a historical timeline of Christ as "first and last" (1976, 171). Christian time is measured by the birth of Christ and will end with his second coming. This "timelessness" comes to mean a particular assumption of behavior within a certain historical epoch, which sounds very similar to the modern conception of time. It reveals the timelessness argument of marriage as paradoxical—as underlined by understanding tradition as responsive to changing social experience through reflexivity (Giddens 1990, 37). Importantly, the discrepancies found on the stance of LGBTQ marriage among Christian denominations hinge on these differing conceptions of timelessness.

By recalling a sermon given by an evangelical preacher at a progressive church in Southern California, anthropologist Jon Bialecki describes how a traditional Christian temporality joins the delinking of sex and marriage with a progressive commitment to liberal equality. The passage begins with Bialecki relaying the words of the pastor at the church where he conducted his fieldwork.

> "Genesis one constrains my definition of marriage, but the reason that I think that civil rights are important for gay people is that I believe that it is important for me. My life is sexually broken, it is broken in all kinds of ways, it's getting wholer and wholer praise the Lord—ought one kind of people be denied civil rights because of what's in their hearts, because of their brand of brokenness? That cannot be the way forward." …. The pastor took homosexuality's status within proper evangelical sexuality as, at best, another type of sin, and he relabeled it "brokenness," the evangelical term for the sinful weakness that leads a person to God; this move gave homosexuality an affective charge that transformed it into an identity rooted in the most sacred space in charismatic folk biology—the heart—and put forward a basis of rights derived not from righteousness but, instead, from one's fallen nature. (Bialecki 2009, 112)

Hence, some Christian progressive traditionalists use the idea of process and overcoming adversity to argue that LGBTQ marriages can be aligned with Christian thinking and enacted reflexively to integrate changing notions of marriage, sexuality and gender and in this way sustain a commitment to the legal rights of these groups.

Joining reflexivity with tradition, progressives allow for LGTBQ persons who heretofore were considered shameful, sinful, and degenerate to be marriageable. Many LGBTQ couples now lay claim not only to marriage but also to being "traditional." For example, Naomi, a 43-year-old lesbian marriage activist who lives in a town near the village, has repeatedly married her female partner in various cities and states around the country. Though her yearning for marriage is to bring her family both rights and recognition, she sees her life as "traditional." Neoconservative "family values" rhetoric upsets her because she always describes her "relationship as very traditional and I can get ruffled when people talk about 'non-traditional' lifestyles" (N1.274). To her, traditional means

> old values and a way of living your life. You know Kristin and I are monogamous. We are. We just think of what it means to be traditional for us. I always say that it means having three meals a day and our kid doesn't watch television during the week. *Michelle: Mm-hmm.* You know, we are. We don't have a lot of technology in our house. We're not racing through life. We're slow. I think we're slow-paced and that feels traditional to me, including, you know, our values. We're very involved in our daughter's school. (N1.276-281)

In answer to my question, "What's the difference between traditional marriage and modern marriage?" Naomi goes to the heart of my argument here that multiple temporalities hybridize understandings of marriage and thus challenge any singular role strategy.

> A modern marriage doesn't necessarily mean the opposite of those things. I think that we are not bound by old ideas. So, as much as we relate in certain ways, we're modern in that we really are based on love and respect. We really want to be here. We don't bicker. I don't even know if I would even call that modern. It's different. (N1.311-314)

This different way of doing marriage is not linked to tradition as sexual purity or sexual control but works toward the goal of a satisfying, reflexive and, in Giddens' term, "pure" relationship in which both parties "want to be here" and outside of the rule of the phallus.

By the rule of the phallus, I do not mean the rule of the penis, meaning men. Instead I mean outside the rule of patriarchal systems, often represented by men but no longer necessarily. Such patriarchal systems have operated to limit the freedom of women and others in marriage over the course of history (Radstone 2007). This is the reason Naomi's lesbian marriage provides such a clear example of how progressive marriage works in contradiction to neoconservative "timeless" marriage strategy yet shows how these temporalities recursively hybridize. In this way, the idea of tradition, though also used to score political points in large-scale "family values" discourse, is integral to life-time marriage conceptions and is "central to the development of the modern" (Felski 2000, 62). The application of the "gay/modern" used in the last chapter to discuss the progressive, social justice role strategy is also germane here as it continues to signify the progressive updating of the idea of marriage in the "now."

In contrast to the progressive traditionalist idea of marriage, neoconservative temporality relies upon a messianic narrative uniting "one man and one woman" together as "virgins" to have sex towards reproduction only after marriage. Tyler is a Christian-conservative-identified, heterosexual man from Georgia. He was on contract to work in the Village of New Paltz for a year at the time of our interview and was living in a roommate situation with a lesbian couple. Tyler disclosed that though he and his current long-distance girlfriend were sexually experienced, they were waiting to have sex with each other before marriage because:

> Growing up that's all I heard: "abstinence, abstinence, abstinence, abstinence." But once you get, I would say, out of the parents' house, out of the influence, I would say the views kind of change. Whereas you know, it's something that I would say if I was giving someone advice I would say, "Yeah that's the way to go." Have I followed that in past

> relationships? NO. [STERNLY] Am I trying to now? YES. [STERNLY] So it's something that I haven't done in the past, but this time though I'm trying to stick by my views and actually implement them in the relationship. *Michelle: Um, so why did you think that it wasn't a possibility?* Well selfishly you look at it…I mean, if it had worked out I probably would've viewed it a little differently. But it didn't work out, and I have, you know, look what I gave to someone that I'm not going to spend the rest of my life with. That was Elizabeth. *Michelle: Had you had…did you lose your virginity to her?* No. [Pause] It was something. I mean there was a couple before that, so it wasn't like I waited for her and then things didn't work out. (T1.47-T1.59)

Crucially for this discussion, sex happened outside of the controlling mechanism of marriage for this neoconservative young man who yearns for tradition. This narrative also layers the fundamentalist evangelical Christian temporality that continually urges adherents to avoid temptation and sin but that also understands everyone as inherently broken. Tyler's narrative positions marriage in the way Bialecki's Progressive, evangelical pastor discussed marriage for gay and lesbian couples.

Tyler used his past sexual "brokenness" in a thoroughly modern, progressive way to overcome the past through appealing to discontinuities in older systems of classification (e.g., heterosexuals may marry, homosexuals may not). This temporal rendering affects Tyler's life-time visioning for future marriage and sex as it

> allows for the possibility of new systems of classification to be brought into being, systems that, because they are not beholden to existing powers, can be driven by a universal, hence, emancipatory logic and that allow subaltern elements, present but not politically marked in the old system, to be given their just space in a newly forged scheme of representation. (Bialecki 2009, 114)

By emphatically saying, "I'm trying to stick by my views and actually implement them in a relationship," Tyler makes the past irrelevant, a modern temporality. He then creates a present based on updating "traditional" Southern-style courtship since he is "not taking it to the point where courtship is kind of a preemptive 'before-you-get-engaged' taking that track" (J1.26-28). He is loosely interpreting the Southern U.S. courtship rules he learned as a boy. Though in so

doing he is performing modern tradition and making the marriage ritual his own. As Tyler began his reference, he remembers chants of "abstinence, abstinence, abstinence" by his parents when he was younger. This waiting (a temporality) to have sex until marriage is about avoiding sin and Tyler implicitly admits to being "broken" in Bialecki's terms, though he now seeks to make things "right." This reinterpreted tradition, "basing everything on my past experiences," is a retreat to tradition in a way that attempts to anchor his life trajectory loosened by marriage becoming a choice because it has been separated from sex, sexual control and gendered norms.

In short, what Tyler is attempting to do is the exact opposite of what Naomi is doing yet they are both drawing on the same repertoire of temporal references that create certain life-time imaginings on marriage based on where people feel "in their heart" they belong. As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, even as it deinstitutionalizes marriage remains a powerful symbol of belonging in the U.S.

The important difference between Tyler and Naomi are the moral geographies in which they were raised. Naomi enjoys living her life in a progressive area of New York, even if it means that she has to fight for traditional marriage, while Tyler wanted to and then did move south again after his contract was over. As Lewis remarked in the beginning of this chapter, the idea that one may choose traditional ideas of marriage as much as one may choose progressive marriage illustrates the social constructedness of marriage premised as it is on human conceptions of time (see Gell 1991 and Leach 1966).

Progressive marriage then becomes a vehicle for a renewal of sexual exploration rather than a guardian of its loss. Many villagers report they rely on modern erasure of the past, a cleansing of the time before the marriage. Therefore many avoid discussing their past relationships and sexual experiences. As Naomi revealed, "we are very respectful of each other

and wouldn't bring things in that don't belong in our marriage like flirtations with other people, or, you know, discussions about past lovers, or anything like that. We just kind of have this old-fashioned sense of respect for each other" (N1.304-307). The hybridizing of traditional timelessness and modernity may create contradictions in sexual practice within progressive marriage. Tyler and Naomi, a southern gentleman from Georgia and a lesbian activist New Yorker, are strange bedfellows indeed. They deploy these hybrid temporalities to revive a sense of "traditional marriage" by emphasizing overcoming and forgetting the past in some instances, while using "old values" as standards by which to behave in other instances.

In regards to Naomi's emphasis that she and her partner have a very "old-fashioned sense of respect of each other" defined by not talking about or entertaining discussions of lovers, we see an inversion of the idea of marriage as traditionally used to control women's sexuality. Notice her re-connection of sex with marriage such that marriage again signals sexual fidelity but within a lesbian relationship. This re-linking of sexual control to marriage is the main argument that conservative gay men like Andrew Sullivan, a staunch proponent of "same-sex marriage," rely upon to justify marriage as a way to control men's sexuality (see his 1995 book *Virtually Normal: An Argument About Sexuality*). It is also an argument that many of my more vehemently progressive informants see as false, based on the sexual infidelities that have broken up many marriages.

Progressive marriage may be reenvisioned as a refuge from modernity for gays, lesbians and bisexuals but only because ideas of sexuality have been delinked from marriage by those practicing a progressive role strategy. In this way, marriage may be reintroduced to the idea of sex yet without regard to gender expectations. This reflexive temporal hybridization occurs through recursivity and further underlines the historic temporal vestiges that collect when

marriage is practiced as process and not objectification. In other words, this is what marriage meant to villagers when I worked with them but does not mean that it will be so in ten, twenty or fifty years from now.

A traditional neoconservative stance on marriage does not rely on experience and learning (as a progressive stance does) in order to understand relationships and assess future marriage. Instead, neoconservatives rely on a strong faith that the institution should work, no matter how sullied its history or unsatisfying its experience. Most villagers I spoke with reported dreaming of marriage from a young age in a static, timeless objectified temporal key. These marriage dreamers included LGBTQ people though many reported that, as they realized their sexual orientation, they came to understand that marriage would be denied. Amber, a 45-year-old lesbian who was once married to a man to make her mother "happy," explains:

> But, um, I think everybody whether gay, straight otherwise, somewhere in their mind dreams of marriage. You know, I mean maybe when they're younger, you know, we all had that dream we're gonna marry and ride off into the sunset kind thing. And, um, I think it gets idealized. I think that a lot of people think that, you know, we get married, problems are over. (A1.23-27)

Integrating this "idealized" way of thinking marriage in terms of tradition, marriage among progressives can therefore be a rebirth, a cleansing, a linear straightening of the chaotic timeline of one's dating, marital and sexual past, as was evident in Tyler's discussion above.

Through a delinked sex and marriage, those engaging in this sort of "different" marriage may then attempt to forget intensely passionate sexual experiences, including same-sex experiences, as well as dashed future possibilities when cohabitation or marriage ends. In this temporal frame, marriage itself may be used as a way of coping with feelings of betrayal from a cheating ex-fiancée, as is evident in Tyler's comments below.

> *Michelle (asking if he requested his fiancée stop seeing her lover): And then she wouldn't stop?*
> And then she wouldn't stop, but then, they ended up getting married, so I guess that's fine. Well it's not with me. But that's good for her. It legitimizes things in my life.
> *Michelle: Their relationship?*
> Their relationship. Because if she broke up with me for her future husband then, that's fine. (T1.105-110)

Though the heartrending emotive tone in his voice belied the idea that Tyler was "fine" after this split, marriage legitimized his emotionally traumatic break-up through because it is a ritual of belonging that now symbolizes a couple's commitment to one another. As villagers relay regarding marriage, they "no longer rely on shared understandings of how to act. Rather they must negotiate new ways of acting, a process that is a potential source of conflict and opportunity" (Cherlin 2004, 848). Deinstitutionalized marriage is marriage as reflexive process not simply as an institution.

In answer to my question "*What will you teach your children about marriage?"* Alejandro, who is a Mexican-American, married, father of two, alludes to the "conflict and opportunity" of modern marriage and to its cleansing effect in regard to the divorce of his first wife.

> I have thought about it. I've seen the results of their growing, of their experiences and I don't know if it will ever come out to tell them that I was married once before already, or maybe just avoid it completely. They don't have to know. It's not important, I guess now. So those are things that are, that come up every time, will I show them this? What for? Does it make a difference? Maybe if it comes to it, because it happened to me, it would be hurtful. But I do plan to have a close relationship with them where they can talk to me freely and hopefully be able to role model with this marriage a serious engagement and advocacy for the coming generations. And more than anything, I, that, it's going to get them to think seriously about marriage as a major, major commitment. (A1.97-105)

To Alejandro, divorce functions as way to obscure the past and as an opening to future possibility through re-marriage. Importantly though, for such progressive traditionalists, marriage is an institution that remains based on faith as matched against experience (as opposed

to pure faith that marriage will work out) and sustained through open communication. It remains an open question whether Alejandro will use his experience of divorce to advise his children on taking marriage as a serious "major, major commitment" or if he will rely on more traditional explanations of marriage as a religious commitment that should not be broken or that should be entered into for "the sake of children." As Lewis emphasized, the choice is his to make.

Slow Marriage and the Rolling Contract

The divorces villagers have participated in or witnessed in their families and among friends were reported as reasons to very carefully consider future marriage. Like Alejandro's sentiment above, marriage is now something that should be taken very seriously as a "major, major commitment" given the realities of divorce. Most villagers were almost overly cautious about potential marriage given this looming possibility. Mirroring the sentiments of many informants, Morgan, a 42-year-old statistician, doctoral candidate, and mother of two, who remains married to her husband of two decades, discusses the difference she observes between her friends and her parents' generation in terms of marriage.

> There's less divorce that there was in our parent's world. Probably because we got married later and we acknowledge that it's a lot harder and we don't. Not that I don't have friends that are divorced. But, most of my friends are married and if they're not, they wanna be married. And I tell them, if, you know. Well, I don't say marriage is overrated. I say kids are overrated. [laughs] (M1.50-54)

Responding to the question, *"What should your friends think of marriage?,"* Dulci explains:

> If they're going to do that then really think about it. Think about it in perspective of romance, think about it in perspective of the future, think about it in perspective of finances, like people really love having these huge weddings. Like, can you afford that? What are you doing? You're starting a life together, which is what married people are believe to be, that you're starting a life together. You're becoming. You're two people who are starting a life together and continuing on. Why the hell are you gonna spend fifty thousand dollars on something that you can't wake up to the next day?! So, I think it's something that should be thought about in a lot of different perspectives. (D1.68-76)

This progressive, life timing of marriage is further expanded upon by Natalie.

> But I feel like marriage should only happen once. So, I would say to them that I hope they were picking the right guy. [laughs] […] A facet of it is that they're picking the right person. Like, I feel like it should be somebody that really listens to them and that they get along with really well and see themselves with, I guess, forever. (N1.41-44)

Most progressives did mention that they would like marriage to last "forever" but also agreed that divorce should not to be avoided if one is not satisfied. From my village survey, 63.5% of interviewees and 75.5% of general survey respondents disagree with the statement, "Divorce has caused most of the family problems in the U.S." (Appendix C, Table 3). This does not mean that the progressives I spoke with support quickie divorces any more than they support quickie marriages. As the excerpts above clearly show, progressive marriage is a substantial, almost grave decision that, in light of the pure relationship, should only be chosen if one is almost certain the relationship will be intrinsically satisfying.

As has been traditionally the case, marriage to progressives still signified "belonging" and starting a new life together. In fact, another village survey finding indicated that 57.7% of interviewees and 75.5% of general survey respondents agreed with the statement, "Couples who marry should make a lifelong commitment to one another to be broken only under extreme circumstances" (Appendix C, Table 3). The standard temporal register for neoconservative discussions of marriage is that, once entered, a marriage should last "forever" or until the partners die. "Riding off into the sunset," "until death do us part," "always and forever" are the idioms my informants used to index this temporality.

The progressive ideal does integrate this ethos so that once married one should keep working for the marriage. Yet since the focus on satisfaction is paramount, "forever" in marriage is re-indexed to mean as long as it lasts. As Levi, a 49-year-old married gay man, explains, "Marriage is a show of allegiance and commitment to a partner until it isn't, until you walk

away, or you do something that tears it asunder" (L1.13-14). As a result of this marriage-divorce calculus, Giddens characterizes modern marriage as a "rolling contract."

> So far as heterosexual relationships go, the marriage contract used to be a bill of rights, which essentially formalized the "separate but unequal" nature of the tie. The translation of marriage into a signifier of commitment, rather than a determinant of it, radically alters this situation. All relationships which approximate to the pure form maintain an implicit "rolling contract" to which appeal may be made by either partner when situations arise felt to be unfair or oppressive. The rolling contract is a constitutional device which underlies, but is also open to negotiation through, open discussion by partners about the nature of the relationship. (1992, 192)

In this way, "starting a life together" does not mean starting life together as a young couple as a post-war "stage-based" rationale of marriage prescribes. Rather, to progressives, marriage *may* come at any age and if it does then that's when "life together" begins. Importantly, a couple's life may also "begin" with cohabitation as a critique of marriage and a way of slowing marriage desire down in order to take it more seriously.

Cohabitation: A Life-Time Practice

To avoid possible divorce, many villagers reported turning to cohabitation to assess future marriage partners. As recent research shows, cohabitation in the U.S. is a growing trend (Cherlin 2004; Peters and Kamp Dush 2009). Villagers found this practice to be crucial to the hoped-for success of their future marriages or committed relationships, though they were also realistic about the potential that an intimate living situation may not continue for a variety of reasons.

On these break-ups, they usually report a mix of feelings that included relief that the living situation, rather than the marriage, turned out be wrong for them. As 29-year old Sara puts it, "'Well, I got pretty close to marriage and thank God I dodged that bullet.' [laughs] You know? And I'd make jokes like that. And, I really, I really enjoyed being with Doug for a while but then I didn't enjoy it anymore, so I'm glad that we didn't get married, you know?" (S1.62-

65). In telling this story, Sara discussed how "weird" it was that her co-worker, who has "the most like traditional, traditional hang ups with marriage," thought that Sara was lying about being "glad" she was not married to Doug (S1.61). Holding to a progressive role strategy on marriage may seem disingenuous to neoconservatives who ascribe marriage as the transition ritual between youth to adulthood. Thus, Sara's neoconservative co-worker thinks she is lying about being happy that her marriage plans fell through.

Cohabitation was reported as important by villagers for understanding how money and bill paying responsibilities are handled; especially in light of the financial responsibilities spouses become legally liable for once married. This is reflected in Dulci's emphasis that one should think about marriage "in perspective of finances" (D1.70). To ensure financial independence, many women reported that their parents advised them to keep separate bank accounts from their partner or husband in case the relationship did not work out. As Haley, a 22-year-old unmarried, heterosexual woman reports, "My mom, I think, based on her first marriage and her second marriage, what she's told me is that, 'You need to live with a person before you get married to them because you need to realize what they do in the middle of the night. How they clean up after themselves or how they handle money and how they handle rent'" (H1.195-198). The temporal reference to "the middle of the night" metaphorically stands in for everything a person does not know about someone before cohabitation.

The practice of establishing a household together and living with each other then is the cornerstone for building "trust" in a progressive relationship. Such trust should accrue slowly over time by witnessing actions before marriage decisions are made. This "slow" marriage decision is in contradistinction to a neoconservative fantasy that magically constructs marriage as a stabilizing institution as if once entered, to quote Amber from above, "problems are over"

(A1.27). Every person I spoke with in the village remarked that thinking of marriage as a way to find financial security was a nice idea but not actually the reality for most marriages. Most went further to say that thinking of marriage as a way to stabilize finances could be deleterious to the couple. This stance is actually backed up by village survey responses showing that 59.6% of interviewees and 63.3% of survey respondents agree that "Economic worries are a big reason people divorce" (Appendix C, Table 3)—if marriage stabilized finances then there should be next to zero divorces based on economic troubles.

Cohabitation was also important to villagers in order to understand other practical, everyday considerations such as cleanliness, chores and the need for a compatible sex life. Jack, a 39-year-old married father of two, agrees with Haley's mother and says that it is good to get these things "out of the way," otherwise keeping it all for after the wedding feels like "too much. Too many transitions if you're first living together and being married at the same time. It's better to sort of slow it down a little bit or at least get the living together daily out of the way before you, you know, sign on the dotted line" (J1.64-67). If the life-time temporal level "is a process of understanding one's life as a project that encompasses and connects random segments of daily experience," then the practice of cohabitation allows villagers to connect their daily experiences to decide whether a partner is right for them into the future (Felski 2000, 17).

The Two Year Rule

Responses to my question: *"What is the minimum and what is the maximum amount of time you would consider living with someone before marriage?"* expand on these ideas about cohabitation. Most reported that there is no maximum time one should live with another, only that it should always feel "comfortable," with comfort meaning open communication, protecting one another's emotions as much as possible, and ensuring the couple has similar standards for

cleanliness. Further, if one is reticent, there should be no pressure to marry, though this was sometimes reported to be difficult in practice. In light of this, many thought that knowing a partner's views on marriage (whether they support the idea or not) before you began living with them was crucial, especially if the views are divergent.

Most villagers I spoke with agreed that the *minimum* amount of time one should live with another was about two years, especially if marriage is of interest. Lily responded that, "at that point if you have not figured out that you are for each other, relationships tend to end" (L1.41). Two years brings in a kind of temporality that I have not yet discussed here—clock time. This sort of time has been implicated in, but does not define, the ontological temporality that I have been discussing as progressive marriage.

The two year standard was so often repeated that I added a prompt to my semi-structured questionnaire. Abby, who is now in a long-term relationship with a man and considering heterosexual marriage after raising two children with her lesbian partner, explained:

> Two years? It's the magic number.
> *Michelle: It is. [laughs]* [laughs]
> Not too short, not too long. You know? By then you know what the morning breath smells like. You can poop in their house or you know, without worrying. You know their routines. Morning breath. I mean, the warts, you know everything warts and all at that point. The honeymoon is still not over. (A1.34-38)

Here again, we see the importance of ensuring a compatible, satisfying sex life before marriage is considered in her quip "the honeymoon is still not over." To progressives, the "honeymoon" signifies that liminal period of intense sexual attraction coupled with frequent sexual behavior that now happens before the marriage and is expected to continue within marriage. Carl, a single, 30-year-old heterosexual, agrees and says more along these lines.

> You need to see, people's moods change, people have mood swings, people have times when they are pissed off, stressed out and you need to see how that affects the relationship. And if you are not with them 24/7 or for any extended period of time then

> you are not going to see that stuff. And so then if you say, "Yeah I am going to be with you for the rest of our lives," without having seen that stuff, then you could be in for a problem. ["24/7" means twenty four hours a day, seven days a week] (C1.120-125)

The importance of understanding each other's emotions is crucial here. Cohabitation under the two-year rule is used to assess a partner in term of financial, sexual and cleanliness compatibility but also to understand whether a person can be trusted with protecting their partner's emotions.

Some had no minimum or maximum time limit for cohabitation because: they were not interested in or had not seriously considered legal marriage as an option; had already been in a relationship beyond two years; or, were older when they met the person that "felt right." Under these circumstances the two year rule became moot. This was especially true of the LGBTQ-identifying villagers I interviewed. Levi, the 49-year-old gay man who was married by Mayor West to his long term partner in 2004, reported that when he was young he desperately wanted to move in with a person quickly because he wanted to be wanted by another in response to his own internal homophobia and the sexual prejudice he endured as he "came out" during the 1980s at the beginnings of the HIV/AIDs scourge in New York City (Interviewed by author, February 20, 2009). As a result of being shut out of marriage and family formation, LGBTQ people have found ways to create and protect their relationships through other legal mechanisms such as power of attorney, living wills, healthcare proxies, and more recently domestic partnerships, civil unions and legal marriage (Lannutti 2007). Yet, given the two decades old push for marriage equality for LGBTQ couples, many younger LGBTQ people now find those former solutions unsatisfying (Marzullo and Herdt 2011).

Bailey, a 24-year-old lesbian in a long term relationship, reported that the two-year minimum most of her heterosexual friends follow before marriage was nothing compared to the amount of time that her relationship has lasted. This two-year rule clearly frustrates her, as is

apparent here. “To me two years doesn’t sound like a lot because I’ve been with Zoe for four years. It’s like ‘Oh, you’ve only been together two years and you’re going to get married in January?! Oh, that’s crazy!’” (B1.53-55). What is “crazy” is not the idea that this couple was getting married after the two-year standard. Instead it was that she had lived with her partner for so many years and the possibility of marriage was denied. This frustration was shared by many LGBTQ people who wish to marry, recently spurring a new movement to boycott all heterosexual weddings until marriage equality is attained nationwide (see Benjamin 2011). Similarly, some single and coupled heterosexuals I met in New Paltz reported that they would not actually marry until the institution is available to all and still others reported feeling guilty for planning their upcoming marriages in light of the fact that their LGBTQ friends could not legally marry.

Even though Bailey was frustrated and saddened by being denied the option of marriage, as she reflected on her prior two serious relationships, one with a woman and one with a man, her time frame for assessing those relationships was still two years. The two year cohabitation rule shows how utterly changed the idea of marriage has become. “Living together” is not sinful, or “playing house” as one of my informants said her father disparagingly remarked about her living with her boyfriend. Instead, the progressives I interviewed hold cohabitation as a crucial first step for assessing several factors important for making relationships last. These included day-to-day compatibilities like cleanliness, their own comfort with their partner’s family and friendship circles, and assessing partner’s relationships and communications style with themselves and these groups during mundane everyday moments and stressful holiday and ceremonial periods.

"You Time": Progressive Marriage, Age and the Self

The general slowing down to a minimum two-year cohabitation period before marriage or long-term relationship decisions also reflects the progressive emphasis on continued reflexive, self-development (Giddens 1990, 1992). Most villagers I spoke with agreed that "you time" is important both before engaging in a committed relationship or marriage and during it. This idea of the "self" being important in marriages is often criticized by neoconservatives who hold that such a focus might move attention away from children in the family leading to poor outcomes. Yet childrearing, parenting and the time and quality of attention that children receive from their parents are considered as separate issues by the villagers. Most spent lots of time engaged in activities with their children, even if the relationships or marriages in which these children were born or brought into no longer existed.

As marriage norms have changed to a comment on the commitment of the couple, so too have childbearing norms changed in the U.S. (see Edin and Kefalas 2005). In fact, my survey results show villagers disagreeing with the statement, "Couples who have children ought to be married," (59.6% interviewees and 63.3% general survey respondents). An in-depth discussion of this would take us far away from the subject of marriage that is the focal point of this work. Instead, though marriage and childbearing have been linked as a way to control women's sexuality and to definitively establish paternity for men, here I treat them as separate issues given the fact that villagers treat these separately.

Amber, a 45-year-old disabled lesbian in a domestic partnership, summed up this progressive idea of marriage that pushes against androcentric traditional marriage indexing the post-war ideal of marrying young, "You don't wanna go from the cradle to the husband or wife. You know, it's a little time, a little 'you time' to find out who you are because I think it's

important to know" (Interview with the author, September 8, 2008). Lewis also alluded to this when he said that "knowing who you are" is important to making yourself "happy." This progressive ideal indexes the temporal debate of "free will" over religiously-inflected "destiny" continued since the Enlightenment began.

"You time" coupled with the two-year standard cohabitation period has important implications for the age of first marriage rising continuously since the middle 1970s (Simmons and Dye 2004). In answer to my question on what timing and age have to do with marriage, most people reported that waiting to marry and delaying child-bearing was important so that could "developed themselves." Twenty-seven year old Paige relays a story about her very traditional aunts disapproving of a close family member's first marriage at the age of 39.

> I heard like, "Oh, she decided to tell us she wants to get married!" And everyone's like, "what is she even bothering for any more?" *[and I'm like,]* "What are you talking about? Why can't she want that anymore? What's she exploded? Why can't she want those, want that anymore? What's she too old? She should, "Oh, you're gettin' old, need to hurry up!" What the hell is gonna happen? I can just imagine this like crumbling platform and you're gonna fall into the abyss [laughs]. "She's 39, why does she even want those things anymore?" [exasperated] [Bracketed italics added for clarity] (P1.218-224)

Here we see progressive marriage as emphatically separate from reproductive futurism. There is no need to "hurry up!" to marry, as post-war traditionalists hold, as no one is going to "fall into the abyss" if marriage or childbearing do not happen. This same logic implies that progressives accept marriages between older couples, gay and lesbian marriages, people who do not want children, and various other arrangements that do not follow the "marry young for kids" prescription.

As I mentioned at the beginning, most villagers I spoke with reported that their closest family members and friends do not pressure them to marry as they *are* given "time to develop." The expectation that one should develop the self before and during marriage, or without regard to

marriage, implied all manner of pursuits villagers were engaged with: educational achievement, recreational hobbies, bodily wellbeing and fitness, volunteerism/advocacy, entrepreneurial and spiritual endeavors.

Many women and some men reported worrying about their "biological clocks" and future family aspirations in light of the "you time" they were spending. For those reporting that they did feel pressure to marry, most said it was because of this desire for children, indexing a reproductive futurism that still ties expectations of marriage to biological reproduction. A few did get strong pressure to marry from parents and close relatives, especially those whose families were first generation immigrants to the U.S. and/or very religious.

Gender, Marriage Timing and Financial Independence

A lack of pressure to marry from parents usually meant that villagers were urged to attain higher education in order improve the possibility of individual financial security. This has class implications that I explore in the next chapter. Here I focus on the fact that this was reported most by the women I spoke with. Many women revealed that their family emphasized educational attainment to ensure that they would be able to live independently of marriage. As Haley, a 22-year-old PhD student in psychology, communicated, she and her parents "don't quite talk about marriage. I think everybody is pretty resigned to the fact that I'm staying in school forever. [laughter] I don't think they're expecting [it]…But, my mom has very candidly told me that it's OK if I don't get married. It's OK if I don't have a kid" (H1.121, H1.143). As is apparent here, a concern with reproduction is implicated in ideas of marriage for progressives—even if they do not want to have children they definitely understand the expectation that links childbearing to marriage.

Haley said that her parents did not allow her to date in high school as they wanted her to finish college before having children and getting married. Progressives guarding *and* understanding that women have sexual desires that should be managed until after college and achieving financial independence is different from the guarding of virginity before marriage as discussed earlier. Such guarding of a woman's reproductive capacity shows that no matter how progressive American standards for relationships and marriage are becoming, it is still mothers who are expected to assume the financial and time burden for bearing and raising children. Thus, progressives often unwittingly (yet some may say realistically) continue the control of female sexuality. This practice further underlines how examining marriage shows the continued recursiveness of tradition within modernity.

As talk of the "biological clock" reveals, villagers are also concerned with age as a index of temporality. Yet consistent with their allowance of marriage at an older age, the villagers I interviewed also communicated worries when a person marries very young. Some cited the lack of maturity for those who wish to marry as teenagers. Others reported that they themselves were "too young" when they married, which contributed to their divorcing. Many shared that their concern stems from the reality that if the marriage ends in divorce it would be the woman who bears the brunt of the split by being responsible for the day-to-day rearing of children born during the marriage. This was because most villagers worried that a woman who married young then had children might not have attended college or gained marketable skills in the interim thus she would have difficulty independently raising her children. Here again we see concern for financial independence among women as an important lynchpin for progressive marriage decisions.

Additionally, many villagers reported that their family members "jokingly" told their daughters or nieces not to marry men because they did not want them to lose their birth surname or because they were suspicious of men's ability to satisfy women's sexual or financial needs in marriage, further distancing women from traditional ideas of marriage. For example, Abby's father never expected her to marry. She said proof of this was the lack of his saving money for her wedding, though her professional father could have afforded it. As the 48 years old Abby recalls, her divorced father was

> once bitten, twice shy. I never. I was expected to go to college. I was expected to do well in school and I did what I was expected to do. And, and those were like non-negotiable expectations but marriage was never one of them. And I remember he was like getting my goat when I was younger. He's saying that, "Oh well when you, when you have children." I was like, "Dad. I'm not gonna have children." He's like, "It's your biological imperative." And I was like, "What?!" I like lost my mind. You know? I was like, "How dare you? You know? That's disgusting! You know? Women today don't have to have children to be fulfilled!! Blah, blah, blah." And I've changed my mind about a lot of that stuff. But, you know, at that time I thought everything was, you know, self-determination, which I'm getting further, much further away from at this point. But, see so he did expect me to have kids, which I did, but he didn't expect me to get married. (A1.59-69)

She reports that her divorced father, who never remarried, was "once bitten, twice shy," an instructive temporal metaphor equating learning to avoid sources of from physical injury, such as a dog bite or marriage.

In her father's chiding, "It's your biological imperative," lies the feminist critique that "biology is not destiny" with which Abby identified strongly as a young woman. As she relayed, Abby's father did expect her to have children but did not at all expect her to marry. Yet, as I will discuss later in this chapter, Abby's ideas linking childbearing to marriage to expectations of women have changed over her lifetime. That change is part of the progressive temporality that not only tolerates modern marriage but also the development of the self to change over time,

even if to become more “traditional.” As Naomi suggested above, “we are not bound by old ideas” (N1.312), meaning traditional stances may well inform one’s behavior but should not determine it.

Running through this section is a modern shift to intimacy without prerequisite marriage implicating not only the expectations of men and women in relationships but also those of parents and close friends. In terms of the lack of pressure for marriage by one’s closest friends, the 28 year old Emma sums up the most common response.

> Just for me to be happy. The friends that I do have now, I’m extremely honest with. They actually probably know just a little bit more about me than my boyfriend might, in terms of certain things. Yeah. He knows...Not lately. Again, the past six months to a year, my boyfriend has been very honest, very committed, very...When I’m talking about, committed I’m not talking about fidelity. I’m talking about emotional and mental. I think my friends, they just know when I’m lying. The friends that I have now know when I’m lying to myself, and they’ll call me on it. (E1.36-42)

Here we see the progressive influence on marriage as well as the emphasis on friendships and the expectation of guarding one’s emotions. This idea of communication and friendship expectations are also extended to one’s partner—yet as I mentioned above, Emma is not talking about sexual fidelity but rather emotional fidelity. When I asked what the “perfect relationship scenario” was most mentioned that they wish to be with or marry their “best friend” (Appendix A). I discuss the importance of friendship in the conclusion of this chapter.

Along with clock time, another temporal aspect of marriage is pacing, or timing within the trajectory of one’s life time. Given the progressive temporal logic of two-year cohabitation and of developing the self before marriage, the timing for marriage has become a delicate matter. Katya, a 37-year-old naturalized Russian-American who is a single mother of two, reports a typical response to marriage timing.

> Well the timing could break or make a marriage, because if people are too young, they might not be ready for it, and I know older people always encourage to wait, “If you’re

> really happy with each other, they'll be there in a year from now, two years from now. Wait!" Don't rush too quickly, but if you wait too long, that also doesn't make any sense. (K2.255-258)

Samantha continues this line of thought. "If you get married when you're too young you're, you're most likely not gonna make it or you're gonna have a harder time identifying yourself with your partner. If you wait until you're too old, you know, you might feel like you missed out on the boat. You know? I mean, it's, it's all a matter of timing" (S1.158-160). So, being "too young" does not only apply to bearing children at a young age but also ensuring that the couple can "identify" with each other regarding personal and emotional affinities as the "pure relationship" requires. Samantha also invokes reproductive futurism in her views on couples who are past their child-bearing years and feel they might have "missed the boat." This pacing of when marriage is appropriate has to do with life-time ideals such as the two year rule and the appropriate age of first marriage as discussed above.

As I mentioned above, marriage pacing also has to do with external pressures like the ability and pacing of becoming financially secure. Interestingly, when I queried villagers about whether financial independence and marriage differed geographically between New York City and either the village or their own hometown, most everyone responded it did. For example, Levi explained why he and his partner moved to the area from New York City in the middle-1990s.

> New York City was becoming something we didn't like. I mean granted, New York City always changes but certain values and the, the rents and the old neighborhoods being systematically destroyed by the chains moving in. It was turning into a mall, an outdoor mall. It was just, you know, we didn't like it. So, we started looking. We knew that we could only rent, initially. (L1.73-77)

Levi's final comment that "we could only rent initially" means that the checklist item of buying a house became a possibility once they moved out of the neoliberalizing city (Brash 2011; Tabb

1982). Emma who grew up in New York City, sums up the achievement pressures in a place that has since become so expensive to live in.

> Oh my God! 'Cause I grew up down there, and I see some of my friends, who have been living with their parents for many years now. They're "saving up to get my apartment in the city." And I'm like, "What the hell's the big deal about the apartment in the city? Why don't you just forget that?" [….] Like she's got a script. Where if you asked her this question [her answer would be], "Well I want to live in the city, at least a year on my own. Or, otherwise, it's getting a car and having a job and earning X amount of salary for X amount of years before I buy the ring..." I don't. None of that comes into play with me anymore. None of that has any value to me anymore. I don't know why. I'm glad I left [laughs], I'll be honest. (E1.170-178)

Jake, who is a 32 year old married heterosexual, responded that now

> it's a lot harder to be self-sufficient in New York City, just because of economic factors…Albany is pretty easy actually to just get a halfway decent, you know, anyone can get a job in Albany, and the rents there are so cheap that it's almost impossible not to be self-sufficient. So I guess it is different from place to place, just because of economic factors (A1.126-129).

Living in urban areas has become so much more expensive given neoliberal developmentalism that has caused "gentrification" of inner city areas (Brenner and Theodore 2002).

Given these changing urban economic pressures, it takes more time and resources to "become independent" in those areas, which changes when one considers themselves ready for marriage. Since she grew up there and most likely gets asked by friends and family to return, Emma responds to her ability to escape such financial pressures by apologetically saying, "I'm glad I left [laughs], I'll be honest." She is interested in marriage however unlike her New York City friends, she moved to the village attempting to avoid a "script" that links financial achievement with marriage but to hedge her bets she has a profession of her own that allows her to support herself outside of marriage without worrying about those checklist items before buying "the ring."

Break-ups and Divorce: Possibilities Not Failures

Progressive relationship and marriage timing ideals also imply that when it is over, one should not consider it a failure, even if it does feel terrible. Instead one should learn from the experience to continually improve yourself *for yourself* as well as *for your next relationship*. Jack, reflecting on the divorces in his family and among his friends, sums this up.

> I guess because, because of the divorces and stuff. Like I don't, I would never say something was a bad marriage, even if it ended badly or something like that. Like I wouldn't, I wouldn't view it in that criteria. Like, just because something ultimately ends or fails. Or actually, I wouldn't use the word fails. Just because it ends, it doesn't mean it was a failure because there were obviously lots of good things in that period. (J1.169-173)

Levi, reflecting on his own relationship history, expands on this.

> They did not take the spark of who you are. They left it with you because they didn't know what to do with it or they couldn't accept it or whatever. So, you're better off than when you were. You didn't lose anything. You gained. You have a relationship under your belt, maybe a failed one, but who's to say? If it happened, even for five minutes, then it was a success. A relationship should not be based on how long it happened. There have been successful relationships that lasted two weeks and there's been very shitty relationships that have gone on for forty years. (L1.177-183)

The idea of the rolling contract is apparent here. As Giddens explains, "all relationships which approximate to the pure form maintain an implicit 'rolling contract' to which appeal may be made by either partner when situations arise felt to be unfair or oppressive" to end the relationship (Giddens 1992, 192). The progressive temporality combines the rolling contract with a commitment to self-development and happiness over one's lifetime within which marriages and relationships happen. This sets up an active, process oriented engagement with relationships *and* marriage.

Progressive marriage as described by villagers represents a vastly different ethos as compared to the neoconservative marriage temporality enshrined after World War II and before the mid-20th century social movements that gripped the U.S. Describing marriage in the early

1960s, Schneider says that "one hopes for the best but takes what one gets" (1980, 54). Instead, progressive marriage as a rolling contract underlines the immense social and economic changes that the institution has *developed with* over the handful of decades since in America. Villagers discuss marriage critically and vibrantly, taking it as a weighty commitment, if chosen at all.

Progressive Family-Making and Decentered Marriage

As shown above, friendship was important to many who did not ascribe to marriage, could not marry or put marriage off for an extended period of "you time." Given this, the majority of villagers defined family as a core group of people who love, care for and support each other consistently over time and this includes friends. A small number of villagers narrowed their definition of family to those one is genetically related to or who become kin through marriage. Referencing modern influences on such progressive family-making means that geographically far-flung relationships were facilitated by technological innovations, such as mass communication and social networks which allow the maintenance of feelings of closeness over time and space. To most, the traditional obligations of blood and kinship usually remain, for some grudgingly, and are legally enshrined. But the "families" of the progressives I interviewed composed a very broader network of affinities not necessarily limited to, but often including, the nuclear family.

This progressive idea of family-making is similar to the bonds described in Kath Weston's 1991 ethnography *Families We Choose* examining how gays and lesbians, many of whom were abandoned or abused by their biological families, managed to construct kinship and belonging in spite of that rejection. Campbell actually brings up that book in conversation about her definition of family as being more about friendship and less about "a blood relationship thing, 'cause I feel like that has given me such a bigger support network. And, you know, it's

allowed me to be that for other people too, which I think is really important" (C1.533-535). She explains,

> And I really identified with that *["Families We Choose"]* book because, you know, it was talking about, you know, gay couples, and kind of how they...You know, a lot of times they'll be estranged from your parents or whatever and how you create that network and that's what I feel like I've always done. Like, you know, like the ex-boyfriend? Totally family. You know? Love/hate relationship. It's like, fight like cats and dogs but, in the end of the day, like, if you need anything, it'll be there. So to me it's more of a support thing. So I kind of, you know, whether or not you're related to someone means less to me, in terms of family, than how you interact with them. And to me, you know, at the end of the day, like, unconditional love and just being there to support someone that, to me, is family. [italics added for clarity] (C1.523-532)

Notice, Campbell unconsciously shifts from "they'll" to "your parents" and in so doing directly relates the kinship experiences of the lesbians and gays Weston spoke of to her own. She emphasizes the novel ways gays and lesbians have learned to construct family in the face of abjection and overt violence to their existence as a template for how she may go about constructing family outside of traditional proscriptions on marriage and nuclear family.

Robert, a 32-year-old single, heterosexual and veteran, mirrors Campbell's definition of family, "It's whatever. It's whoever is closest to you in your life. It could be your parents. It could be extended family. It could be brothers and sisters. It could be people who aren't biological. Military, people you served with" (R3.1116-1117). As Robert continues, "But, really, it's whoever is closest to you in your life: who you connect with" (R3.1118). Conrad, a heterosexually married man, continues in a similar vein.

> Firstly that family needs to have, you know, emotional bonds between them. And I think that you know, if there isn't that then it's not, you know, then I wouldn't consider it to be a family. I guess, that most people still define themselves to be, be having a family with people they have no emotional connection to but I don't think that's likely. (C1.224-227)

Here emotion may stand in for many things but it also means continual communication as is indicated in Conrad's use of "connection." A related understanding is made clear in Katya's discussion of those who *feels* like family.

> I don't consider cousins as relatives because they don't act like relatives, I don't know. They're distant. I mean people get together on holidays or they get together once in a while, reunions, but there's not connection to keep them together. But parents, brothers and sisters generally communicate. If not every day, every week. They keep that bond going to help each other. It's kind of. It's a family that, has a rubber band. You know, yes, they move away but there's still that connection and they could still come right back. (K2.655-660)

To Katya, family generally follows the traditional meaning of blood or marriage, as we see the importance of the progressive emphasis on open communication sustaining this bond. This commitment to communication is the "rubber band" flexibly linking progressive pure relationships together as a broad family network able to move and change over time.

One way that I tried to understand progressive family-making was by asking villagers to complete the "Circle of Relatedness" exercise (see Appendix A). I devised this exercise to collect kinship information outside of genealogical charting that overly privileges biological relatedness and disparages the non-biological relationships villagers may cherish yet are usually described as "fictive" in traditional anthropological kinship charting (see Fox 1967).

As we see below, the difference between this exercise and more sociological social networking devices is the additional information collected on affective connection, since the length of the line indicates the person's *feelings* of closeness to those within their inner circle of relatedness. I essentially used the circle to allow villagers to show me all those who are important to them and whom they *feel* are somehow related to them. Two examples of these completed exercises are found in Figures 10 and 11, below. Notice that I omitted the names of those in the figures except for the first initial of the first name but I did retain the relationship

labels as originally expressed.

Robert's circle stands out because of his attention to detail (Figure 10). He depicts the various realms of his life, while indicating those people he feels closest to. Notice that his feelings of relatedness also include "uncles and aunts" in the section "family friends" next to his "family (immediate, extended)" section but these people have no genetic or legal relation to him. Also notice that Janel, a 29-year-old married bisexual mother of two, lists three women as her "mother" (Figure 11). Janel, along with many other villagers, also included deceased[4] friends and family. Many villagers revealed feeling that the deceased are still with them, still informing their lives, and some still have conversations with them when making important life decisions. In addition, many lines touched the outer ring or even went outside of the entire circle. These "outsiders" were usually included to show that there were still feelings of closeness, even if the relationship was strained, estranged and/or the person was deceased.

Crucially, progressives anticipate open and mutual communication with the expectation that all relationships will follow the pure relationship caveat of sexual, marital and familial satisfaction. In the course of this progressive life-trajectory, family may be inclusive of "traditional" blood and legal kin as well as those met along the way, like people with whom one has incidental contact with including work, school, religious, community, political meetings, roommate situations, and former lovers or domestic partners—the key to all of this is the maintenance of the bond. Those closest to a person often take it as their responsibility to provide honest feedback on a potential partner. A romantic-partner-as-friend is expected to be committed in terms of emotional fidelity to the relationship indexing a trust that means honest communication. Even if that communication may be painful or embarrassing at times it should nonetheless be performed.

These constellations of factors coalesce to define the new relationship and marriage norms many in the village communicated to me.

Importantly, as I repeatedly met with people over the course of my research, some indicated that their circles had changed—new people entered, others were dismissed or were allowed back, some left or died. This rendering of progressive relatedness seems to be as actively

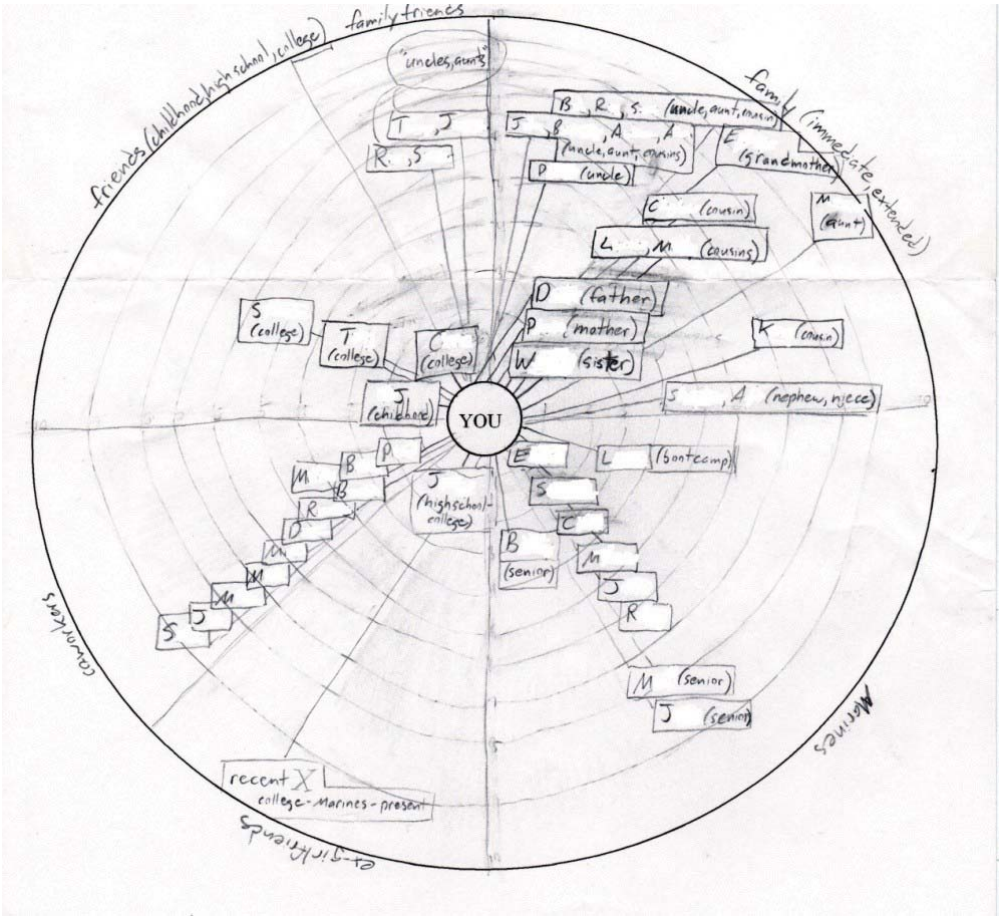


Figure 10. Robert's Circle of Relatedness

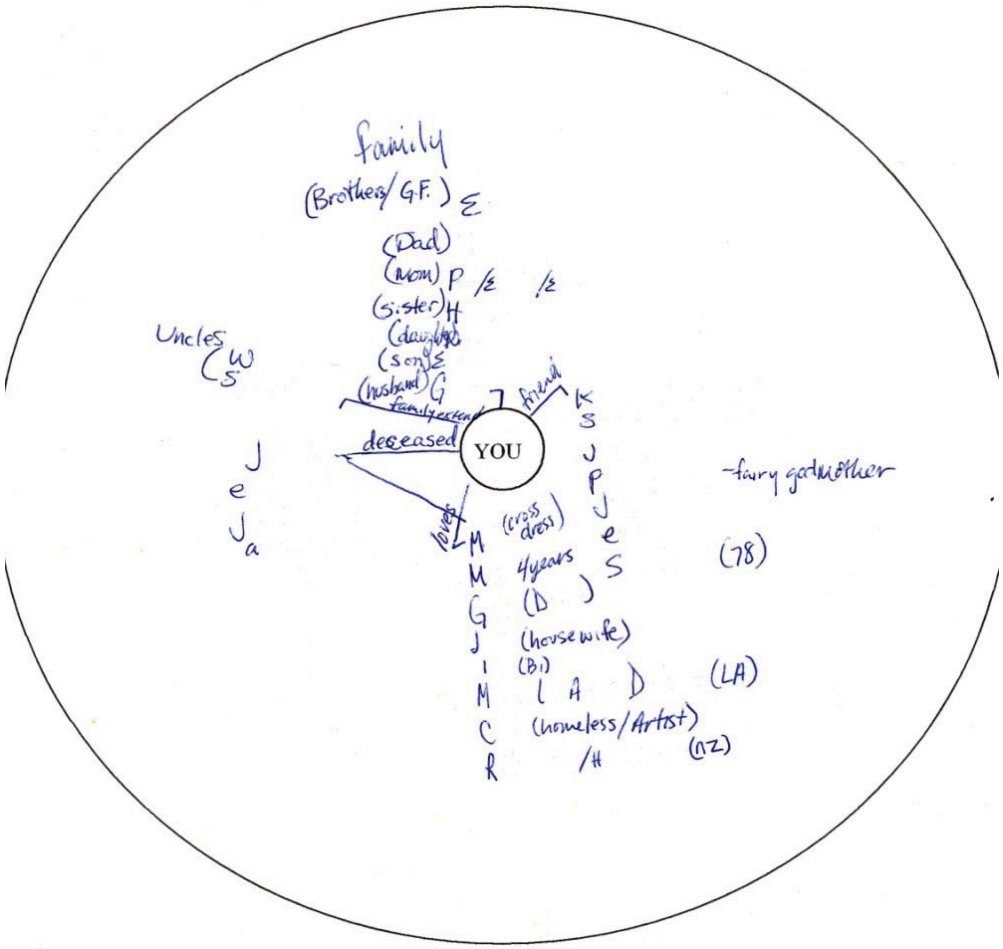


Figure 11. Janel's Circle of Relatedness

vibrant and engaged as the progressive marriage ideal itself. And it is explicitly understood as such. Cycles of beginnings and endings, though discussed with much emotion, were seen as necessary and embraced by most. This progressive process integrates friends, blood and extended families in a way that shows innovation and a continual remaking of tradition in marriage and family.

In further examining Janel's circle of relatedness, notice the line that connects her list of lovers is slightly shorter than the line that connects her extended family. The fact that Janel drew a line depicting her feelings for her lovers as actually closer to herself (a shorter line) than that of

her extended family lines is instructive. Janel is bisexual and heterosexually married who has two children with her husband. A neoconservative timeless marriage might objectify her as living the reproductive futurism that defines her life as the static and knowable "happily ever after" fantasy of a married person. But upon asking, we see that her lovers include a person who "cross dresses," a partner of 4 years, a housewife, simultaneous affairs with a bisexual man and woman who was "a debutante from Louisiana," "a homeless artist," and a lover from the time she spent in New Zealand studying at college. These are not all of the lovers or sexual encounters she has ever had. They are people whom she still feels close to and continues to communicate with. In so doing, she maintains their presence in her *present* (temporally speaking). As Conrad described above, "having a family with people they have no emotional connection to," is possible but unlikely. Janel integrates her past with her present in a way that helps her move forward in her future by continually tending to and integrating past emotional connections in her present intimate life experiences. These are experiences that she does not hold back from discussing with her husband. In light of this, I would argue that Janel is not expressing the modern-progressive relationship that erases the past, as shared by Naomi and Tyler but a queer-progressive relationship as I explain next.

Queer Temporality and Progressive Marriage

Unlike Naomi, Janel identifies more with being progressive than traditional—even though an objectified neoconservative "timeless" marriage might read her as just another "wife." As I discussed above, progressive marriage inflected by modern traditionalism can erase the past and render past sexual experiences unspeakable toward creating a marriage as a place for further sexual exploration. Yet a progressive temporality that unmoors sex from marriage/relationships allows discussions of sexual experiences between partners and even allows sexual exploration

within those relationships. Some scholars have called this "queer temporality" (Boellstorff 2007a; Dinshaw et. al. 2007; Freedman 2010; Halberstam 2005; Liu 2012). The body of scholarship arising in the late1980s known as queer theory articulated the experiences and possibilities that were opened through neglecting and relegating as inferior many who were deemed unmarriageable (Jagose 1997).

Scholars have said that such denials essentially block sexual citizenship, or diminish citizenship rights based on sexual/gender identities and behavior (see Bell and Binnie 2000; Richardson 1998). Queer theorist Michael Warner has infamously warned that the institution of marriage itself necessarily discriminates through our society's reluctance to deal directly with sexual shame (1999). I agree with him that sexual shame is still operant in many marriages and relationships, even in the village, but disagree that this must necessarily be so.

Instead of throwing marriage out because sexual shame still exists, many progressive villagers intentionally attempt to innovate and redefine its practice. This section presents some tentative reflections on how progressives align themselves with queer experiences of marriage denial in order to recoup the potential of the ritual and institution. We have already seen Campbell drawing on the gay and lesbian kinship experiences in order to more fully understand her own kinship-making. The point I am trying to flesh out here is that queers may relate to many others on the subject of marriage and vice versa. To interpret marriage through queer theory though, a clarification is in order.

Sexual Shame and Transgression: Not Just Queers

Sexual dissidence does not solely affect queers, gays, lesbians, trans, bisexuals and other sexual minorities that neoconservatives might wish us to believe are the Other, the sexual folk devil of the moment (Herdt 2009). Warner's book *The Trouble with Normal* opposes marriage on

the basis that it is used in the neoconservative tradition to cordon off certain sexualities as right and good, while others, such as, "adulterers, prostitutes, divorcées, the promiscuous, single people, unwed parents, those below the age of consent" all become queered or Othered (1999, 89). Using Fabian's critique of the Other in early anthropological work (1983), this means that those groups are considered less than fully human and undeserving of full citizenship rights based on their sexual behaviors or lack thereof.

Warner bases his critique of the "same-sex marriage movement" upon his idea that the Gay Liberation Movement in the late 1960s is *the movement* for sexual justice and freedom. Yet sex happens and not just among queers. People have sex for all kinds of reasons not linked to identity categories, sometimes in spite of these, and not only within monogamous marriage. This is a central lesson of queer theory. "Sexual transgression" works against neoconservative temporality as I described it in the previous chapter. As Warner remarks, the result of being shut out of society's institutions, such as marriage, is that queers, transgender, bisexuals, gays and lesbians have created ways of relating to each other that are inclusive of "unprecedented kinds of commonality, intimacy and public life" (1999, 88). As Campbell's, Janel's and Robert's narratives above demonstrate, many relate to this way of forming family and relationships outside of marriage and reproduction for reasons that have to do with disidentification with the institution or because their family or community does not support their relationships for reasons like being in a interracial or interreligious partnership. In short, ways of relating that create kinship in spite of refusal for some to marry or even to have children has never solely been under the authority or province of queer, trans- or lesbigay experience or influence, even if neoconservatives continue to vilify gays and lesbians as responsible for the decline of our society in national discourse.

Sexual exploration goes on among many people and in many marriages, even among those who may be objectified as the "timeless" husband and wife by neoconservatives. Since gays and lesbians are stereotypically defined by their sexual behaviors and desire, this lesson becomes a central reflection upon *and* a threat and promise of "marriage equality." The power of sexual shame linking sexual desire with self-annihilation is present for many people, even if such shaming hits queers, gays, lesbians, bisexual, transgender and other sexual and gendered renegades hard and is ripe for queer theorization.

However, following Warner, I would agree that queer thought generated by the Gay Liberation movement linked gays and lesbians with a critique of marriage that began to circulate with other critiques of marriage. This stance was made all the more urgent and public during the beginning of the HIV/AIDS epidemic when Gay Liberationists were radicalized as queers in a literal fight for their lives claiming, "We're here! We're queer! Get used to it!" (Goodman 2012). Over the past forty years, the feminist critiques of marriage along with the queer incitement to be considered fully human in order for the epidemic to be taken seriously updated the moral imagination of social democrats who often turn to the liberal state as a tool for social welfare and equality (see France 2012).

Warner's constructing of the state as always at battle with people who are sexually transgressive is the same kind of straw-man politics deployed by neoconservatives like Jerry Falwell who scapegoat "the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and lesbians" to reinforce their political agendas (Carlson 2001, F1). Instead, a progressive role strategy that has been championed by supportive politicians means marriage, family and relationship policy is continually challenged and changed in the US—for better and for worse. These changes should not give one a sense of security but, deploying a progressive temporality,

law and policy in the US *are* considered as historically open to intervention. Even Warner, departing for a moment from queer nostalgia, admits that gays and lesbians have been seeking marriage since at least the heady times of the 1970s (1999, 90). With this contradiction, Warner epitomizes a morality battle between queers that has splintered these groups on the marriage issue: those who eschew marriage against those who want it against those who now feel completely ambivalent or alienated given the struggle (see Polikoff 2008, 2009; Yep, Lovaas and Elia 2003 for a review of this intra-community debate). Understandings that marriage is no longer the prerequisite for sex avoids the continual revival of the idea that marriage is always only about a state-sanctioned monitoring or sexual control or about reviving strict neoconservative tradition that puts a brake on action and decision-making. As I show next, many villagers intimately understand this lesson.

Queer, Progressive Marriage

Among those I interviewed in the village, I did find people between the ages of 30 and 50, like Janel, who were married but still sexually dissident. For example, I interviewed those who engage/d in open relationships that allowed new lovers into their marriages for short periods, polyamorous relations, and those who retain sexual and relationship connections with past lovers. Some like Samantha have a, "marriage of convenience" (S1.22-23) for supporting each other and raising children, while continuing with other relationships and lovers. As Boellstorff has suggested queer theory might be supportive of marriage based on shifting norms of intimacy (2007). If monogamy under the progressive temporality is now based on consent and trust rather than sexual control then sexuality becomes detached from that "age old subservience to differential power" (Giddens 1992, 147). Differential power here means sexual control

exercised by men on women in marriage, while simultaneously allowing men to individuate and have sex outside of marriage—the double standard (Giddens 1992, 58).

In two quotes discussed above, two women emphasized, unprompted by me, that the "fidelity" and "trust" they were concerned with in their relationships are not sexual fidelity. For Emma, it is "emotional and mental" fidelity and for Campbell, "it's not trust in the, 'Oh is he seeing someone else?' sense or anything like that. It's more, you know, just a one to one. Like just a respectful, open, honest communication about what, and self awareness about, what you want, what the other person wants and how you're going to reconcile this as you, in some senses, become merged in this committed relationship" (C1.425-429). I do not believe that all such women would be open to discussions of non-monogamous arrangements while in a relationship or marriage but the idea is clearly present. There is still a long way to go to realize progressive relationships and marriage outside of sexual shame as is evident in the hybridizing of various traditions within progressive temporality as described throughout this chapter.

Yet I say all of this to suggest that the thing theorized as queer temporality may be applicable to more and more people in terms of their relationships, even if they do engage in marriage. Indeed the possibility of divorce, coupled with the tremendous changes in the rules of intimacy and the rising importance of cohabitation, have ultimately led many villagers to assume a critical stance on marriage. Meaning they now have much in common with queers who have come to their own realizations about the limitations of the marriage from their own little-h histories of denial to the institution and full citizenship.

Such critique is found in the voices that populate this chapter. Especially in one mother's prescription that her daughter should live with a person to be sure she knows "what they do in the middle of the night." Those parents who do not support their daughter's marrying for a

variety of reasons implicitly understand the kinds of "gender trouble" marriage has been criticized for and queer theory has deconstructed (see Butler 1990).

Queer temporality primarily differs from progressive temporality in terms of its treatment of the past. It does not seek to fully overcome the past as progressives do. Neither does it crave nostalgia as a way of bringing the past into the present and future to reinvigorate tradition in the way that neoconservatives fantasize. Instead a queer temporality puts

> the past into meaningful transformative relation with the present. Pure nostalgia for another revolutionary moment…will not do. But nor will its opposite, a purely futural orientation that depends on forgetting the past. Instead queerness…consists of mining the present for signs of undetonated energy from past revolutions. (Freeman 2010, xvi)

Queer time occurs within modernity's linear time frame but can be conceptualized horizontally to include breadth of experience in context rather than a moving only ahead and forgetting or "overcoming" context and pasts as under a modern temporality.

Narratives and performances of normativity-as-sameness under modernity are destabilized by "queer time" as shown villagers' allowance of difference among sexual experiences (Freeman 2007). In relationships, this means an embrace of "imbrications and contamination" (Boellstorff 2007a, 229) that many now experience in terms of sexual experience and marriage as opposed to the traditional perception of marriage that dictates its singular importance because of its link with sex. I am not talking here of cheating in marriage though that is part of it. Instead, this is the allowance of individuals to have a sexual past and still be married and for an understanding within marriages that sexual desires still happens. This stance is not only premised upon the progressive interest in open communication and consent but a sort of queer sexual aesthetic that has developed over the years. This means exactly what Boellstorff gestures to—an embrace of contamination—so a person with a "checkered past" becomes an

acceptable partner (2007a, 229). Anthropologists have detailed various ways of dealing with rejection, death and mourning in various cultures around the world (Robben 2009). Queerness allows us to understand how it works within the sexual and gendered identities arising out of the U.S. historical context.

As I have observed in the sections above, progressives slow down, stop or reverse the "normal time" (read post-war neoconservative "traditionalists" in the U.S.) expectations of relationships and marriage (Boellstorff 2007a, 229). This slowing is a temporal modality that scholars have articulated as post-modern and that serves as a "counterpoint to modern time," (Freeman 2010, xii). This way of conceiving history mounts a fundamental challenge to marriage possible outside of the Grand Western narratives of marital History that feminists and now queers critique (see Manalansan 2003). It renders neoconservative normativity as but one right, good and true temporality onto which life-time plays out in context. As Abby reminded us in the previous chapter, "there are conservative people here and you know, that's fine. There's a place for everyone" (A1.127-130).

Progressive marriage meanings approach the queer relationship form that, by dint of exclusion from the institution, have developed based on mutual consent. The assumption of consent cannot be brokered without trust, which means that communication must happen along with some semiotic clues or agreement in the face of sexual prejudice and violent "gay bashings." Trust entails

> the trustworthiness of the other – according "credit" that does not require continual auditing, but which can be made open to inspection periodically if necessary. Being regarded as trustworthy by a partner is a recognition of personal integrity, but in an egalitarian setting such integrity means also revealing reasons for actions if called upon to do so – and in fact having good reason for any actions which affect the life of the other. (Giddens 1992, 191)

Trust does not mean only sexual fidelity within a relationship but it also comes to mean that the sexual orientation/gender identity of a person who enters into a relationship or marriage is what she/he says it is. If what the partner says changes or is updated (either when the partner shares different feelings, cheats, or comes out as a sexual orientation or gender identity that was not communicated at the start of the relationship) and their partner/spouse is not informed then the pure relationship consent agreement is broken.

Asynchrony, Loss and Possibility

In discussing queer temporality, Carolyn Dinshaw and others muse on the ways that temporality may be read through their works on queer theory, emphasizing how "temporal heterogeneity" allows us to understand the "present's irreducible multiplicity" (Dinshaw et al. 2007, 190). This chapter has worked to parse some of the hybridized temporalities that work on villagers' life-time marriage meanings to form a sense of progressive marriage. My analysis has shown these multiplicities split apart yet often create a certain standpoint on marriage that may be surprising or seem novel. In experience though, these may be described using the ideas of temporal heterogeneity and the multiplicity of the present—meaning that multiple temporalities exist to be drawn upon for meaning making and innovation in any present moment.

Though there has not yet developed a common language for discussing this multiplicity, the heterogeneity of experience produced against large-scale role strategies confer certain "shoulds" or norms of behavior around marriage and contribute to the "felt experience of asynchrony… such feelings can be exploited for social and political reasons: the evangelical Christian movement in the United States, for example, works off of people's feeling out of step with contemporary mores" (Dinshaw et al. 2007, 190). Yet progressives and queers also evaluate some as cosmopolitan, (post-)modern, urban and others as anachronistic or backward—temporal

asynchrony cuts both ways. Interpreting what "should" and "should not" happen in moments of loss, death, failures and refusal are derived from cultural expectations.

In an effort to get at feelings of temporal asynchrony, I asked my informants to expand on why some people feel "like time just stopped" with divorce or the end to a meaningful relationship, no matter its length. Many reported being "shell shocked," "sideswiped," "shaken," "ripped apart," "in a whirlpool of despair," "devastating," "feels like death" when this "happened" to themselves or others they knew. Haley reports that "your entire world breaks down. No matter how individualistic you think you are, you kind of get this illusion that tomorrow might not be a good thing. It's terror. It's absolutely terror" (H1.200-201). Any talk of "worlds" allows one to understand that temporalities are working to construct cultural meanings. In this way, Boellstorff's idea of queer time "falling" upon one is apropos (2007).

Reflecting on the weddings she has performed, Bethany, an area minister, characterizes ideal progressive marriage as consisting of three identities, symbolized by

> three candles on the table. And the middle candle, the big candle is the marriage candle, where you are one. But you maintain your individual identities. But it's in this oneness where we also have an identity because it's a relationship with someone and when that breaks, uhhh, "I lost a piece of myself. Yeah, so who am I? And, and where am I going from here and what's important?" (B1.139-143)

This brokenness is similar to that discussed earlier by Bialecki in his study of progressive evangelical traditionalists. Brokenness is "an affective charge that transformed it into an identity rooted in the most sacred space in charismatic folk biology—the heart—and put forward a basis of rights derived not from righteousness but, instead, from one's fallen nature" (Bialecki 2009, 112).

Experiences like the realization of desire for someone, the death of a loved one, break-ups and divorce, and the "what now?" that follows are not things that *feel* as though they flow

seamlessly in a modern, linear, logical timeframe, even if in hindsight our personal, life-time narratives construct these to be so. Culturally these might *not supposed to be* anticipated. As Boellstorff terms it, these things feel as though they "fall" upon us as "'May 23rd 'falls' on a Tuesday'" (2007a, 228). This queer "falling" onto expectations of a progressive or traditional time is operant in the meaning of "luck," loss, desire and also in the "surprise" some convey about newfound marriage possibilities or a queer identity. A queer, progressive temporality does not see sex as loss as in the "loss of virginity" but as exploration and potential even if in contamination—meaning disease, pregnancy, death or contact with that forbidden Other.

Joining a queer temporality with the progressive emphasis of possibility in loss and failure, these things are understood as distinct possibilities rather than shockingly impossible even if still greeted with feelings of loss, mourning and asynchrony (Dinshaw et al. 2007; Halberstam 2011). Queer temporality does less than "negate than to prevaricate, inventing possibilities for moving through and with time, encountering pasts, speculating futures, and interpenetrating the two in ways that counter the common sense of the present tense" (Freeman 2010, xv). This queer time implicates all those who have become critical of marriage through its denial and those who come to such a temporality by way of insights emanating from the failed promise of traditional marriage. As Christopher Nealon articulates of queer tradition, "It takes us to a zone between articulate tradition and inarticulate yearning, and stages the becoming-articulate of something that had seemed too simple or obvious or painful to survive passage into language" (2008, 621).

Remembering Samantha's candid assessment, "I was expected to get married and have children and then die" (S1.63). This is a static timeless, sexless picture of "traditional marriage," which is dramatically different from the kind of marriage described in this chapter. Swimming in

possibility, built on trust, consent, open communication and jouissance, this is the basis of progressive marriage. Queer temporality expands our understanding of these shifting normativities allowing for marriage to become a performative process in which sex and sexuality exist. In other words, a queer temporality paradoxically provides temporal coherence to gays, lesbians and divorcées as much as to the swingers, the polyamorous, the hustlers, the prostitutes, those in consensual "open"/non-monogamous sexual relationships, those who engage in sadomasochism (S/M), bondage and domination (B/D), public sex, and especially those who do all of these things at various times in their histories—all within, instead of, or without regard to marriage (Boellstorff 2007a; Freeman 2010). It is the reason that Levi suggests that "gay marriage" might "point out all the fallacies and all the hypocrisies of marriage, and let's show you how we've made it work as gay and lesbian people, you know, by mixing it up a little bit. By maybe, breaking some of those rules and being honest about them" (L1.109-111).

LGBTQ folks getting married *might* now serve as a model for trust, consent and a vibrant sexuality within marriage. This consent, while primarily protecting the spouse's self-identity and supporting their further development also allows for sexual exploration in marriage. This is not to say that all LGBT people strive for such progressive understandings of sex and marriage as was evident in Naomi's very modern-traditional temporal stance.

Yet it is in moments of falling, of intense ruptures and future possibilities that the best progressive scenario for relationships, marriage and divorce are conceived. It is where the neoconservative fantasy of marriage and courtship—the everything-will-work-out-if-you-just-stay-together idea—becomes critically apparent as just that. This point of rupture and possibility laden with abjection, mourning and crisis is where various experiences of marriage—the irreducible multiplicity of the present—results in an intense critique of marriage. This is where

there is a possibility of gaining a deep, affective understanding of life outside of the inebriated promises of "happily ever after" for many sexual and gendered subject positions so that the idea of marriage may be revisited as something other, something with possibility—"checkered past" and all. In this way, we finally understand what the heterosexually-identifying Paige meant in the introductory chapter when she said "gay marriage" changes her understanding of marriage "a little bit too."

"Lucky in love" is revealed by Lewis to be a challenge, if we accept it, to no longer being defined by marriage expectations and sex within marriage but rather to reflexively grasp the self, to "find out who you are. If you are not happy, as long as you know who you are, then you have, only once you know who you are should you ever a hope of being able to change that" (L1.288-290) and this "has more to do with luck than anything else" (L1.287). Change and hope for something better propels the future anterior temporality of progressive marriage, underlined here in Lewis' emphasis on queerly going horizontal in time, or intimately understanding the context for the development of the self both before relationships or marriage and within them.

Emma, who is now suddenly considering marriage when she did not expect to marry at all, says her impending marriage to her boyfriend has her "growing apart from a lot of my friends, at this point" because of some of her friends do not agree with marriage as an institution (E1.84). Lily, who lives with her boyfriend and has no intention of marrying, is in the process of creating an intentional community in commune-style living on a plot of nearby rural land. She further explains,

> Well, some of my closest friends are gay and fought for gay marriage. Some of my friends are heterosexual and got married and had very non-traditional weddings. Some of my gay friends have gotten married and some of my friends feel the same way as I do, which is they would not participate in such a thing. I'm always surprised though, because I do have a lot of close friends over the years who have gotten married and changed their names and I'm always surprised. It shows what they think. (L1.24-29)

These hybrid discourses function to describe the contours of difference towards the arrival of marriage as a context for "shared premises, beliefs and vocabularies [such] that dissent becomes possible" (Felski 2000, 127, brackets added for clarity)—and I would add that discovery also becomes possible.

Temporally hybrid marriage is a surprise to many, including Lily and Emma, because it is asynchronous with the expectations of their lives. Such hybrid temporalities have implications for the ways that family is now experienced: blended families that, through divorce/s or reproduction outside of marriage, now see two or more sets of parents available for children, communal living, the maintenance of past relationships toward future family, creating marriages that have little to do with reproduction or children for straight people as much as for queers, the idea that one could marry at an advanced age, and much more.

Conclusion

This chapter detailed the progressive vision of marriage as communicated by those living in and around the Village of New Paltz, New York over the time of my fieldwork there. It documents the *life-time* created through the merging of multiple temporalities to help us understand the ways that various identities can be said to come to a "progressive" notion of relationships and marriages. Villagers articulate three gender expectations which inform their ideas of marriage: supporting an autonomous sexuality for women; making room for the flourishing of a LGBTQ identity; and, creating an "unfinished revolution" for men in regards to both confronting the "double-standard," which is sexual freedom is for men and not women, and accepting expectations of open communication in their intimate relationships (Giddens 1992, 28). As Cherlin notes, such gendered expectations produce social changes contributing to the deinstitutionalization of marriage because these produce

> situations outside of the reach of established norms, individuals can no longer rely on shared understandings of how to act. Rather they must negotiate new ways of acting, a process that is a potential source of conflict and opportunity. On the one hand, the development of new rules is likely to engender disagreement and tension among the relevant actors. On the other hand, the breakdown of the old rules of a gendered institution such as marriage could lead to the creation of a more egalitarian relationship between wives and husbands. (Cherlin 2004, 848-849)

It is no wonder then, given the process-oriented, active requirement of a progressive temporality that such negotiated changes to marriage and family making are worked out in places like the Village of New Paltz.

In such places marriage is thought of as a vibrant process. Sexual identity and practices, which developed in the negative space of heteronormative marriage denial, have created new ways of understanding relationships for villagers. As the quote that opens this chapter reveals, the marriage movement is an "emotional engagement in self-identification in opposition to the larger world" (Friedman 2007, 428). Though I rely upon his work throughout this chapter, my main disagreement with Giddens is his overemphasis on the notion that a modern temporality will imminently reign supreme (1992). Rather, a point of this chapter is that temporalities are not as encapsulated or as neat and tidy as many politicos, high-modern or even queer fantasies might wish them to be. It is the process that matters here—the continuous push against an ever-moving idea of tradition in order to define something else, something better, something more—this is what Mayor West and villagers engaged when they brought the fight for marriage to their front door. This chapter showed the critical intention, the luck, the love, the sex, the satisfaction and the turmoil that meet these hybrid temporalities in a life-time narrative that endeavors upon marriage as at once unnecessary and a critically engaged process. This composes one part of the chronotype that drives action around village marriages. It is how the new economy entwines with the everyday practice of marriage for villagers that I turn to next.

CHAPTER 6

"ONLY WHEN WE'RE READY": MARITAL ARBITRAGE IN THE VILLAGE OF NEW PALTZ

Marriage is a traditional institution because it is recursively and performatively revived in the everyday "through a repetition of acts (which are themselves the encoded action of norms)" (Butler 1997, 14). I have shown throughout this work how levels of time are conceptually separable, how each discursively establishes a different temporal register in which marriage and relationships are considered and how explicitly discussing these as temporalities allows us to apprehend reasons for action in ethnographic context (Felski 2000, 17-18). Chapter four dealt with the ways that *large-scale* temporalities are deployed in the national marriage debate, while *life-time* was discussed in the previous chapter. The last chapter exposed the work of multiple temporalities on marriage to show how progressive marriage unfolds in life-time towards "grasping the emergence of the other and the new" in the marriage chronotype I am describing (Bender and Wellbery 1991, 6). Discussing "progressive marriage" was how I characterized the different ideas of time that inform both the marriage movement and life-time conceptions of marriage and relationships. I held that these assume a certain contextually-bound significance because of time's explicit typological function on the subject of marriage within the specific moral geography of the village (Bender and Wellbery 1991, 3, 15).

The purpose of this chapter is to show how marriage is enacted at the level of the everyday. *Everyday* time involves how individuals perceive time to be passing and how they make sense of its queerness and the "fits and starts" of time (Boellstorff 2007; Felski 2000, 17; Freeman 2010). The everyday is a temporal level articulated by Felski (2000) and shows where people adjust their own ideal life-time to unfolding events—like to the surprising opportunity of marriages for LGBTQ couples in the village but also to the loss of a job, pregnancy and a sexual

or intimate experience. Surprise, of course, indexes a pleasant temporal rupture—one that is within one's realm of possibility. Shock is based on a similar rupture but one which is outside of expectation or possibility, like divorce, rejection by a loved one, the loss of a job, illness, murder or the September 11th terrorist attacks in the U.S. These affective temporal responses drive expectations and realities on marriage and family creation. In short, this chapter on marriage in the village shows how the life-time and large-scale levels as ideologically informed meet the unexpected and everyday struggle for survival in the current economy.

This chapter also highlights how talk about the checklist contextualizes neoliberalization in the village. As I discussed in the introduction, villagers conceptually order their life-time in the everyday by means of a "checklist" or "the list." It is an index of the post-war, stage-based idea of marriage. The checklist works as an organizational heuristic around achieving life-time goals. Closely examining it here shows how villagers shift these goals in response to everyday struggles but also how their life-time ideals allow a different engagement with it.

As I discuss in chapter three, neoliberalization generally remains unnamed in the village (see Appendix C, Table 4) at the same time that its logic saturates intimate and financial interactions (Brin Hyatt 2001; Goode and Maskovsky 2001; Marzullo 2011; Wilson 2007). My definition of neoliberalization as a process is characterized by several tactics used in different combinations. In the case of upstate New York, this has resulted in deindustrialization and the simultaneous reduction or elimination of manufacturing jobs replaced by professional, managerial or service jobs. In New York State between 2006-2010, jobs in the retail trade sector accounted for 10.6% of all jobs there and ranked as the third largest job sector there behind the professional/managerial (10.8%) and educational/healthcare (26.6%) sectors (U.S. Census Bureau 2011a; see Figure 1). I refer to the economy as the "knowledge/service economy" since

this combination speaks to the kinds of jobs that are now most readily available thus characterizing the most concrete way villagers experience the economy in the everyday (a similar usage deployed during the heyday of industrialism capitalism referred to the "manufacturing economy").

Part of living in the moral geography of the Village of New Paltz meant allowing space for the 2004 marriages of LGBTQ couples. Given the local inclusion of these groups as part and parcel of a progressive historic imaginary of marriage, I examine the forces driving marriage perceptions and enactments between all respondents to show the frictions between the politico-economic ethos of neoliberalization and the on-the-ground, local attempts at understanding, changing, challenging and living one's life through (or in spite of) marriage (Kingfisher and Maskovsky 2008; Tsing 2004).

I begin the chapter by showing how ideas of marriage show up in talk of the "checklist." I then move on to consider how ambition and "choice" work on ideas of marriage in the current economy. The bulk of the chapter focuses on how marriage relates to two elements of the checklist: "Get an education" and "Get a job." The "Get an Education" section examines how the neoliberalization of public higher education appears to influence ideas on achievement, marriageability and marriage "readiness" among villagers. The "Get a Job" section further examines how everyday work temporalities associated with the new economy impact marriage in the village. The chapter ends in the way my fieldwork ended. It ties together villager reflections on marriage while they navigated the 2008 crisis of neoliberalization that resulted in the global recession.

"The Checklist": Neoliberalization and Marriage Perceptions

This section shows how the idea of the "checklist" comes through in talk of marriage among villagers. I argue that villagers use the checklist to guide actions and reactions to situations. Even if they do not follow it, the checklist helps to shape a cohesive life-time narrative by integrating the chaotic unfolding of neoliberalization in everyday life. Progressives in the Village of New Paltz considered marriage an ongoing, active process and a choice. As discussed in the last chapter, these factors render marriage as a "rolling contract" (Giddens 1992, 192). This process shapes villagers' ideas of their own "readiness" for marriage as well as the perceived "marriageability" of others.

Bailey defines the most common "checklist" articulated by villagers.

> I think in general it's just more like, finish school, you know, and then, traditionally, it there would be, you know, marriage then kids. Err, like, um...You know finish school, then secure some sort of job, then marriage then kids. And I feel like that's still, you know, my order, but I feel like, just the marriage and kids part will be probably be scooted down a little further, you know? Like I am, my friends are getting married and having kids now, and that's not where I'm at at all, um, hopefully someday I will be, you know? (B1.37-43)

This stock statement including "marriage and kids" might be expected from a heterosexual but instead is spoken by a lesbian-identified woman. Notice Bailey's shift of consciousness in the utterance "err, like, um" (B1.38) when attempting to explain "traditional" expectations around marriage and family creation: in that moment she literally updates the post-war script of "marriage then kids" for women by inserting "secure some sort of job," while also placing gays and lesbians as affected by the social and economic shifts that contribute to the new marriage norm.

Conrad, a married heterosexual man in his early forties, also articulates this traditional list but adds that in the current economy people go about these factors in more "contingent,"

"fluid" ways (below C2.183 and C2.190, respectively). Nonetheless, the checklist is still operant in Conrad's talk of marriage.

> I think that relative to our parents, we're more likely to think that employment as always being contingent. I think that would be one fundamental difference. I also think that, probably our parents were, or, ah, orientated towards a sort of stable material, stable material standard of living. You know, that people of that generation had more explicit ideas. I think people still have it today, but I think people of that generation had more explicit ideas about, you know, "I'm going to grow up. I'm going to go to college. I'm going to get married. I'm going to own a house and I'm going to have children. I'm going to retire and then I'm going to die." I think that people of this generation have a more fluid sense of what they, what their lives are going to be like. (C2.182-190)

Conrad's discussion shows how checklist items have become movable based on contingent, on-the-ground economic circumstances. There he defines the current approach to actualizing life, marriage and family-making aspirations in a progressive environment within the crisis-fueled neoliberalized economy. Again, marriage is but one factor and not at all the central point of decision-making as Conrad perceives it to have been in his parent's generation. Instead, marriage is now found at the tail end of a preferred list of middle class accomplishments like getting a college degree, getting a (well-paying) job, getting a house, perhaps marrying and perhaps having children.

Conrad's narrative demonstrates both the temporal operation driving the neoliberal affective economy and underlines key aspects of the neoliberal self that contribute to the achievement of the checklist, such as being rational, ingenious, responsible, autonomous, self-sufficient, independent and entrepreneurial (Guyer 2007, 413; Kingfisher 2007, 96). This kind of self is called upon to respond to a less stable material standard of living with a "more fluid sense of what their lives are going to be" (C2.190-191). This approach to marriage is similar to the way that the Great Depression cohort of Americans living in the aftermath of an earlier iteration of laissez-faire capitalism conceived of marriage (Hareven 1991, 1993).

The contingencies of the checklist come through most clearly in the fact that marriage and children, as Bailey puts it, are usually "scooted down" (B1.41). As I reviewed in the last chapter, queer temporality best characterizes the ways that progressives deal with such contingencies with "fluid" ways of family-making that generate unprecedented ways of knowing and being. The 27-year-old Paige explains.

> So you never know whether a minor or a major disaster is, is gonna throw everything in a flux. Or your husband or wife doesn't love you anymore and doesn't wanna be with you anymore. There's no such thing, so it's silly. I would say that it's unwise to engage in marriage if you think that's what you think it's gonna be like [that]. Because that's gonna make you less prepared to handle any problems that do come along. So, yeah. And like, don't ever think you're okay. Don't ever think you're secure. Be prepared to handle crazy stuff that can happen, cuz it could happen. (P1.144-150)

Along with being flexible and allowing personal goal setting to be contingent upon education and work, one should also be financially ready to ensure that when unpredictable "crazy stuff" occurs in a marriage, whether in the control of the couple or not, individuals are able to survive without it or the partnership.

As Paige reveals, most villagers agreed that security in the new economy is hard to come by and marriage should not be turned to as ameliorative of this circumstance. Contemporary marriage is not a panacea from the ravages of the market and the extraneous "crazy stuff that can happen" as it was sold to be in mid-twentieth century when the post-war economy was booming and the checklist developed. As I have noted in the introduction, May characterized the turn toward marriage after World War II as a way to ensure security at home in a cold war environment that seemed on the precipice of self-annihilation (1999, 164). It was also during that period that Guyer discussed neoliberal monetization as established "in the era of National Socialism and Stalinism….Currency inflation and unstable conditions in the world, can be limited by state policy and financial institutions, then conditions for investment can favor the

kind of growth and 'progress' through markets that Adam Smith predicted and that have been reiterated down through the ages since" (Guyer 2007, 412). In this way, Guyer shows how the naturalization of neoliberalization was established through fear of attack and responded to with a Western ideal of progress moored in the temporality of modernity supposedly reiterated as it has been "down through the ages" of the last four decades. The idea "economy of affect" usefully connects the current neoliberalization of the economy with marriage as an affective, performative temporal transaction (Butler 1997; Richard and Rudnyckyj 2009, 59).

What I am interested in showing here is how both the naturalization of marriage and the naturalization of neoliberalization join together to shape the meanings of marriage in the village. As Richard and Rudnyckyj tentatively discuss, "economies of affect" are ethnographically locatable through examining "specific practices through which economic transformations are enacted and the ways in which they are experienced and reflected upon in the everyday lives of individuals" (Richard and Rudnyckyj 2009, 57). A focus on the individual's expense in terms of continually delaying marriage or serious relationships *for* checklist goals is a temporal-affective manifestation of the neoliberalization of the economy that I refer to as "econo-affective." Affect here is not perceptible emotion but "a way of acting on other actions" in a dynamic, reflexive manner. "It is the transitive and reflexive capacity of affect—actions that affect others and oneself—that makes it particularly useful for documenting how subjects are mutually constituted" within certain economic conditions (Richard and Rudnyckyj 2009, 59; see also Sedgwick 2003). The "checklist" concretizes the hybrid temporalities discussed in the previous chapter but this is now done through its "fluid" or contingent application in the everyday under the conditions set by global neoliberalization.

The Ambitious Self and Marriage as "Choice"

Responses to the fear of crisis given the boom/bust characteristics of an economy based on neoliberal principles (see Duménil and Lévy 2011) are evident in gendered marriage discourse, particularly a woman's experience of impoverishment from divorce and/or of being a single mother (Davis 2006; Lane 2008; Mink 1999). This was especially evident in discussions of the checklist, reliant as it is upon the ideal of the "ambitious self" even as pertains to women. The previous chapter showed many women reporting that their parents, especially their mothers, urged them to be financially independent. At the level of the everyday, this means obtaining an education and a "good job" so marriage is not necessary for financial security.

Adding to this gendered expectation, the heterosexually-identifying men I interviewed in the village reported expecting their partner to be ambitious in either the marketplace or through higher education. Robert put across this sentiment when discussing whether he would like his future-wife to go to school or work, "do you need a degree? It would really have to be about what their ambitions were. What they're pursuing? Are they content to work retail for the rest of their life? Or, do they plan to move up in that job or whatever" (R2.486). Backed by this ideal of ambition among both men and women, most villagers expected to live in dual-earner households. *Ambition* was a key word used by many villagers in describing the affective characteristics of someone who is marriageable. It is an econo-affective marker with which potential partners were assessed as likely to achieve financial independence through the attainment of higher education or marketplace ingenuity.

"Marriagability" then functions as a signifier of commitment and financial independence, so the institution may be a means for emotional support and for someone to rely upon only when the going gets tough but not as a permanent situation or an obligation. As Jack, a married man, puts it, "you're not alone. That certainly helps. You can make decisions with somebody else and

if I get fired I know she's got a job. We can help each other through rough patches" (J1.120-121). Marriage does lend some sense of security, even if the life-time temporality of progressive marriage means it is *not* to be entered for financial security.

Along similar lines, I asked whether or not villagers agreed with the statement, "some people say that marriage as an institution gives them the feeling that their future is defined and somehow more manageable" (see Appendix A – Marriage Semi-structured Interview, item 22). No one I interviewed in the village agreed that marriage should be used as a way to obtain financial security. Everyone agreed that one should work for their own security and financial independence, adding that marriage has the benefit of legally protecting a spouse and children from the effects of divorce or death. Still others thought marriage was a useful tool for protecting assets purchased during a romantic partnership, a protection not available to cohabitating couples no matter their sexual orientation.

Most villagers hedged these ideas by emphasizing that marriages should not be entered into with the idea of divorce in mind since progressive marriage still indexes "traditional" ideas of "forever" yet does so by slowing down marriage decisions to try to ensure the decision is a good one that will "last." Others cited their avoidance or delay of marriage for reasons that revolved around the restriction of "choice" and cost. As Carl told me, "I am afraid of getting into something that I am going to end up not liking. And being forced to choose between the problems associated with getting out of it and starting over or staying with something that I am not really happy with" (C1.219). Happiness is paramount in the progressive relationship as shown in the last chapter. It is one reason for delaying marriage but it is coupled with a concern for being financially ready for marriage, the costliness of a ceremony, and the possible costs associated with children and divorce. These financial factors weigh on the decision to marry but

they are distinct from "marrying for money" that in a reformulated neoconservative ideal driven by tenets of neoliberalism would have one marry for "financial security."

In her book *The Purchase of Intimacy,* sociologist Viviana Zelizer concludes her investigation on how economic activity and intimacy entwine by finding that the monetization of U.S. economic life since the end of World War II has "marked profound differences in our experiences of intimacy….There has never been the sort of time that separates spheres enthusiasts dream about, where intimacy's purity thrived uncontaminated by economic concerns" (Zelizer 2005, 294). Recall that Guyer uses the term "monetization" as a way to get around discussing the larger project of neoliberalization (2007). Thinking about the levels of "time" implied by "separate spheres enthusiasts," we understand that Zelizer is discussing the large-scale role strategies examined in chapter four. Even if marriage is rhetorically presented as separable by politicians, pundits and others assuming such role strategies, large-scale temporalities on marriage entwine with everyday intimate settings that "do not stand out from others by absence of economic activity. Nor do they lack connection to the commercial world" (2005, 291). Instead,

> The world of intimacy is not, as some theorists of social behavior imply, peopled with characters playing out fixed roles based on gender, sexual orientation, religion or ethnicity. Nor is it a world, as other theorists would argue, in which each single individual is busily strategizing how to maximize his or her own self-interest. Yes, we do find continuous bargaining and negotiation between couples, caregivers, and care recipients, as well as among household members, but not one strategic actor moving against another. Instead, we find people locating themselves within webs of social relations, working out their places by means of interaction with others, and constantly taking into account the repercussions of any particular relation for third parties. (Zelizer 2005, 306)

In this way, marriage is a place where intimacy, customs, rituals and the current neoliberalized economic conditions meet. Villagers are attuned to these social interactions, which make the prescriptions of certain role strategies in marriage seem flat within everyday negotiations.

In answer to the statement "some people say that marriage as an institution gives them the feeling that their future is defined and somehow more manageable," villagers provided a consistent response best articulated by Robert, "You are going to work. You are going to make babies. You are going to raise children. Then, at that point, who in the hell knows what's going to happen? But for a period of time, for at least the next five to ten years, ideally, you are more or less defined" (R2.317). Beyond the assumption of reproductive futurism in Robert's excerpt, the next "five to ten years, ideally" is how he refers to marriage. By focusing not on the line (as Bourdieu discusses of the function of institutions such as marriage) but on the indeterminacy surrounding the line of marriage, Robert is keen to understand the function of progressive marriage "choice" as liminality rather than permanence. Marriage and family in everyday experience are explicitly realized as possibly filled with the chaos that comes with day-to-day negotiations of life under neoliberalization, rather than as a nostalgic, protected separate sphere that marriage "enthusiasts dream about" (Coontz 2000; Zelizer 2005, 294).

Thirty-two-year-old Robert also clarifies the increasing financial strain he now feels in terms of his marriage aspirations while discussing his parent's retirement or, as he puts it, "their second honeymoon,"

> But nowadays, they're living like their second honeymoon right now. In the last 10 years my dad bought a Harley Davidson and they get on their Harley every weekend. They haven't gotten back to me from this weekend, because they're probably away [SMILING]. They're probably away. So, they're gone all the time. To them, financial security was something that was more like accumulated over time rather than something you had to have before you could start a family.
> *Michelle: Right.*
> They both had good jobs.
> *Michelle: Right. Right.*
> Which they were both committed to, but they're part of a different generation. You didn't buy things on credit. You saved up. Then, you bought the new dryer. You didn't have to have a whole new...I mean, yeah. You had a whole, basic, living end set up. You didn't have a high end...You weren't $20, 000 in debt the first year you were married. (R2.568-578)

Robert's parents were not expected to "have a whole new" anything before they were married. Instead, they worked to "accumulate over time." With the consumerist society firmly in place and along with the ideal that one should slow down marriage to develop oneself, "nowadays" waiting to marry until one feels materially ready is a strong undercurrent informing marriage perceptions among villagers.

As a result of such consumerist pressures, getting a degree and a job are constituent parts of the checklist while buying a house, marrying and having children have come to be contingent. When I asked Bailey how purchasing a house figures into her friends' checklists, she said that most would live together and rent for a little while. She added that many would buy a house after they were married, but that some want to buy a house before marriage or committing to a long-term relationship. This is a distinctly different expectation than Robert remembers his parents having. He nostalgically indexes the 1950s ideal that a couple should marry young and work together toward material security but many now delay marriage or getting into serious relationships until they feel they have achieved some sort of security.

Jesse is a 40-year-old lesbian who commutes 2 hours each way to her public school teaching job in New York City. She is interested in finding a long-term partner but recently moved "upstate" when she bought her first house. During our interview in her new, spacious home, she told me she was not interested in future commitment at the moment, because

> all of the money was going into this house. Every piece of furniture is brand new, except for that TV. That's the oldest thing I have. That's from my first apartment, with my brother. So yeah. So, I felt it would be unfair if you, you know, going out and you're going to be, you know, penny pinching or whatever, just a cheap date type of thing. You know, for me, you know, getting a house and getting it furnished, has been my top priority. And once I'm done with this place, and I'm settled and know what I want. (J2.481-486)

Many like Jesse use a neoliberal temporality focused on consumerism and the long run, while attending to the material trappings of the checklist and suspending concern with intangible, near-future goals, such as finding and sustaining a relationship as she doesn't want to be considered "a cheap date" (J2.485). The focus on the long run for satisfying desires with debt (temporally this is borrowing from the future) and a hoped-for professional boost based on educational achievement or ingenious marketplace success means that finding a relationship and getting married gets "scooted" further and further down the "checklist." Yet as people age they may still hope for a "traditional" marriage.

As shown in chapter two, the moral geography of the villager has many trying to live their lives outside of the always-on, 24/7 worker norm. They desire a freedom that has little to do with freeing the market or bottom line profits, as Janel discusses.

> It's really the quality of life, you know how much you work, how much you don't work, how much time you spend with your partner. And, in other countries there is paid vacation, there's eight hour workdays, which means eight hours workdays, not paid salary for eight hour workdays, five days a week when in reality you're working six days a week and anywhere from four to 12 hours a day. You know but, until citizens are treated as citizens rather than commodities of the labor force, we're not going to get a change. So that's the relationship problems! That's why people fight! That's why people break- up! (J2.240-247)

Indeed, most villagers I spoke with reckon with these everyday work and economic pressures in their relationships and marriages. "Growth" of the liberal self may be attained by self-improvement, education, innovative creativity and consumerist participation in the market, which are characteristics that are indexed within a neoliberal self that is "rational, submissive, ingenious, and infinitely desirous," (Guyer 2007, 413). Yet ethnographically, the crux of the difference between the neoliberal self and the liberal self diverge on *where* everyday actions should be directed.

"Liberals" in the village focus on the free person defined by endeavors inside *and* outside of work, while the neoliberal self focuses effort on market participation and by extension keeping the market growing. Both liberalisms rhetorically draw on the Latin base "*liber"* meaning free, unrestricted, unrestrained, unimpeded, unembarrassed, unshackled (Lewis 1890, 469). The progressive liberal self was disciplined and educated by the Great Depression, providing a "moral imagination" that inspired American progressivism and inspired the 2004 weddings held by Mayor West (Brodie 2007, 96; Schulman 2007). Janel affectively indexes a progressivism born of this moral imagination to discuss "why people fight! Why people break up!" invoking "other countries" that help "citizens" and purportedly do not treat workers like "commodities of the labor force" (J2.241-242, 245-246). The neoconservative-neoliberal ideal that marriage should be "chosen" as financial security or to avoid social provisioning differs from a progressive ideal that envisions economic equity and moves to ensure this among social relations, even in marriage. To avoid turning to "marriage choice" as financial security, villagers said that higher education was a crucial tool for achieving financial independence and for some, marriageability.

Get a Degree

That villagers repeatedly emphasize the importance of the "Get a Degree" portion of the checklist is no surprise given that the Village of New Paltz is geographically halved by the local SUNY college campus. Yet coincident with my study period, marriage rates in the U.S. reflect college educated people marrying more frequently than others for the first time in U.S. history (Fry 2010). My fieldwork context is then auspicious for examining why marriage trends have changed.

The Calvinist history of the village, which emphasized education and citizen engagement combines with the feminist legacy among progressives there. This means that many think of higher educational achievement as "permanent," while marriage is seen as indeterminate and tentative, "a rolling contract" that could be "reversed" or cancelled through divorce. This distinction is pointedly articulated by 23-year-old Dulci, "I'll go to school and get a degree and [laughs] get a job. That'll give me that sense of stability and security that I need not necessarily doing something that's not, that could be reversed" (D1.41). The 22- year-old Haley is from the same generation as Dulci and continues, "I mean, my mom's always talking about, you know, along with the college degree like you always must be financially set yourself. You don't have to rely on someone" (H2.389). In Haley's mother warning against relying on others is also the implicit message that women should not longer go to college to look for someone to marry, an American practice marked with the idiom the "Mrs. degree." Under the new marriage norm, attaining an education and financial stability is central for marriage to be a progressive "choice" not a financial option as offered under neoliberalization.

Underscoring this point, many villagers report that their partners become more attractive to them if they decide to go back to school, especially when their jobs were unfulfilling, as Robert voiced earlier of the "ambitious" woman who would be attractive to him. As Andrew, a 32 -year-old, single heterosexual explains,

> I would rather be with that person that's looking to find happiness in as many elements in their life as they can. I have a lot of respect for people like that. That are willing to say, you know, "Well, I've done this for a long time, and I like it but I don't love it. I would like to find something I love doing."
> *Michelle: Right.*
> You know, I've got no problem being like, "Well you know what, we can afford to do it." (A1.1358-1362)

Accordingly, married or committed progressive couples often support each other financially and emotionally through their education, alternating who works as their ambitions are met through life. Morgan, a 41-year-old married mother of two, builds on Andrew's willingness to support his partner through school.

> Declan and I have always been very good about understanding our own unemployment when it need be. Like, I worked full-time when he went to Culinary. He let me quit, "let me," ohhh! [laughs] Quit my job, you know? He was cool with that, you know, cuz he knew it was a disastrous relationship, so. We very much, with our schooling, balanced like who's working, who's not working. (M1.241-245)

Morgan's husband Declan completed his training as a professional chef while she worked a professional job that she loved but later became "disastrous" (M1.244) because the owners of the firm were "two crazy workaholics" (M1.221). Once he graduated, she quit her job to pursue a PhD program on a full-time basis.

In the segment above, Morgan laughs at her turn of phrase, "he let me quit" (M1.243), because it implies that she needed permission from her husband to go to school, which is in contradiction to the progressive ideal of independent womanhood. She discussed the decision to pursue higher education with her husband, relying on the open communication and emotional support characteristics of progressive marriage implied in when she said, "Declan and I have always been very good about understanding our own unemployment" (M1.241). Education is used by progressive couples as a way to improve their skills and work capabilities but also towards self-development and personal happiness.

Villagers also understand that educational attainment increases one's social capital and status among others, especially potential marriage partners. Here, 28-year-old Sara reflects on conversations with her two ex-fiancés after entering graduate school for a Master's degree at SUNY New Paltz.

> It was weird when I came here because….you know, Jim and I were together four years. Keith and I were together six years. I consider them both like ex-fiancés in a sense and they were both so happy for me that I was goin' to grad school. They were so supportive and they were both like emailing me and calling me like every other day and it was very weird. It was a little emotionally unsettling for me cuz it's like, it's like wait a second. Cuz Jim and I had had like kind of like spotty contact since we, we broke up. '90? '98.
> *Michelle: Okay.*
> Yeah, so we had like eight years, we had spotty contact and all of the sudden he's emailing me every other day like, "I'm so happy for you, I'm so happy for you." Like, he's living in Madison but it makes you think a little bit like, "wait, what's going on?" (S1.60-69)

The link of education and romantic attraction is not so "weird" to Katya, a 37 year old divorced mother of two.

> If a person can finish a university, they must have patience. If people can't finish and they drop out, that says something to me. If you can't be patient with education, how are you going to be patient with a human being? So that to me is a turning point and definitely one of the alarms, so to speak. So we have education. We have the economic earnings, wages. (K1.316-320)

The gendered expectations here are clear. As a "traditional" heterosexual woman interested in finding a man to help support her and her two children, Katya is looking for someone with education and potentially capable of earning what has been termed the "family wage." For Katya, a college education has come to stand in for such a "marriageable" man, so those who are attractive to her have education, economic earnings (or active participation in the market) and wages. This is similar to the expectation placed on Sara by her ex- fiancés but feels "very weird" to her.

Gender, Education and the Econo-Affective Shift

These affectively "weird" feelings speak to the dramatic econo-affective shift in gendered work expectations under neoliberalization. Part of the new marriage norm is that women as much as men are expected to become financially independent before marriage. As Jack discussed earlier, he and his wife "help each other through rough patches" (J1.121). Hence, progressive

marriage is not used for financial security per se but it does help one to feel secure when, in an insecure marketplace, both spouses are able to be gainfully employed.

In exploring current musings on the idea of the "Mrs. degree" in various blogs online, a comment by user name "Batllo" stands out in a discussion thread entitled, "Going to College for an Mrs. degree." Batllo's quote reflects just how dramatically ideas on gender, marriage and education have changed in response to neoliberalization, "In these uncertain economic times, a smart young man should be looking for his Mr. degree. The new trophy wife is a high earner" (Khipper 2011). This idea of the "Mr. degree" and the "new trophy wife" attempts to use marriage to counter the flattening of wages and a general increase in stratification in the US over the decades since U.S. neoliberalization was adopted, which is coupled with a general shift to support women's participation in higher education and the workplace (Autor, Katz and Kearney 2008; Guvenen and Kuruscu 2012; Partridge and Weinstein 2012; Western, Bloome, Sosnaud and Tach 2012).

The downward pressure of the current economy moving more people to lower income brackets than higher ones have villagers adjusting to the everyday by flexibly approaching the formerly linear checklist narrative (Aguiar and Hurst 2007; Guvenen and Kuruscu 2012; Leicht 2008; Skocpol 2000). Marriage in this economic context is predicated on achieving a college degree and dislodging the gender roles enshrined as post-war matrimonial bliss. Indeed, the neoliberal self may be based on post-war masculine ideals but these ideals are now to be practiced by everyone who is to be *rational*, *submissive*, and *ingenious* as demonstrated through the attainment of higher education, while also being "*infinitely desirous*" of success and likewise "marriageable."

Educational Debt and Marriageability

Though she cannot quite verbalize the linkage of potential economic achievement within her intimate relationships, Sara effectively reacts to how the neoliberalization of the economy shapes her experiences with love and school and feels "weird." Given the centrality of liberal education and critical civic engagement for progressives in the village, the challenge of the *financial-security-equals-education-(perhaps marriage)-equation* was discussed by villagers as asides like Sarah's "weird" comment or embarrassed stories about heated arguments between lovers or potential spouses.

The most obvious tensions were between students or recent graduates in mixed relationships: "mixed" here means one partner who graduated with no debt from school and the other partner who incurred educational debt. This is evident in 22-year-old Haley's descriptions of her boyfriend Brandon.

> He paid for college with loans, so he's in debt. You know I don't have that. He has a credit card. I don't. He has to pay bills and stuff, you know, it's just very different. And like he doesn't have a lot of cash, so I pay for a lot of stuff. I pay for the gas that goes in the car when we're driving somewhere. If we want to go out to dinner sometimes, more often than not, I'll pay…And he always kind of like gets me back with it, reciprocates in some way or another. But it's different from what my mom would, or different from the way I grew up, because my dad paid for everything. (H2.389-396)

Haley is aware that educational debt has altered the gendered expectation that her masculine partner should pay for her dinners and entertainment but given the expectation that everyone regardless of gender should be financially independent she does not expect that her boyfriend pay for everything in the relationship as was the case for her mother and father. Instead, as long as her boyfriend "reciprocates in some way or another" (H1.396) perhaps by cooking a meal at home, Haley hopes this situation to be temporary until her PhD candidate beau gets a job.

In regards to educational debt, the traditional gendered expectation that married partners financially support one another proved to be a major point of contention in the relationship of

Bailey and Zoe. At the time of the interview, this lesbian couple of four years had been living together and both just graduated with Master's degrees in teaching from the local college. At 25 years old, Zoe was searching for a job while being financially supported by her parents during her search. The 24-year-old Bailey was gainfully employed but making payments on a $60,000 educational loan.

The tension of this educational debt was first raised when I queried Bailey on where purchasing a house fit into her "checklist." The higher educational debt that Bailey incurred, but her partner did not, figures into her desire to buy a house later in her checklist and sometime in the future. When she spoke of this tension she framed it as a "joke" she made which uncovered a serious conflict regarding her "mixed" partnership. She prefaced her explanation of the conflict by discussing the fact that her parents had a joint bank account though they always lived "paycheck-to-paycheck." Accordingly, this too was her relationship expectation. As Bailey recounts,

> We were talking about college loans and how long it was gonna take me, um, to pay them off and stuff. And I was like, "what does it matter, you'll be helpin' me pay 'em off anyway..." like some sort of, some joke that insinuated that our money would be together and would be going towards my thing because it's something that we would have to pay, as far as, like, our money being, you know we were a couple and our expenses. Like, what I thought was kind of a harmless joke and I remember her being, not upset, but like enough that she was thrown off by it and just kinda like, "well, your money's your money and I didn't, I didn't start off college in debt!" and you know, like blah... (B1.74-82)

"Blah" indeed. Whereas Haley's inversion of the traditional gendered expectation has societal precedent in the feminist critique of patriarchal dating and marriage rituals, Haley's paying for her boyfriend is not so surprising to her. Bailey's heated argument with Zoe, on the other hand, though indexing the same history, takes both by surprise. Important to underscore here is the fact that these ideas on marriage, traditional or progressive, also shape the expectations of gays and lesbians in committed relationships. As Bailey tells it and Zoe later confirmed in a separate

interview, Zoe will not "take their relationship to the next level" because Bailey's school debt hinders their ability to save money for a house and fulfill the checklist. Later Bailey talks about how she struggles to make her rent each month and sometimes does not make her student loan payment.

Ultimately, Bailey uses this financial struggle to come around to agreeing with Zoe about putting off marriage. She clearly conveyed interest in being married to Zoe in the previous chapter when she compared the length of her relationship to her heterosexual friends. At the time, heterosexuals were then the only ones legally allowed to get married in New York and usually did so after the now standard two year cohabiting courtship. Now though, Bailey may desire marriage and understands that she has fulfilled the two-year cohabitation minimum yet she still did not feel ready "maybe because I'm a lot more money in debt, but I feel like I'm, I'm just, I don't know, maybe feeling younger or whatever, like I feel like I'm not in a place where I'm really thinking about like, 'Oh, I have to save money to buy a house?!'" (B1.100). Clearly, neoliberalization shapes her views about marriage—she wants it, she shouldn't because she's in debt and first needs to satisfy material needs like purchasing a house, which was something that was worked for over time in Robert's parent's generation. What Bailey and Robert are voicing is the everyday influence of the new marriage norm on the changing gendered calculus of marriage and marriageability. This new norm is joined by educational and work opportunities as well as social capital mitigated by the economic class one is born into, which all conspire to form conflicting feelings about marriage.

Haley reinforces Zoe's concern with being in debt in a relationship or marriage. "That's a big deal. When you go into a marriage like that...I understand college debt, but then like that parental thingamajig. Some people do that. That's a lot to bring into an early marriage"

(H2.181). Though she discusses debt directly, she distances herself from the structural disadvantage of those who incur debt for school versus those, like herself, who are not in debt and thus marriageable. In the middle of her explanation, Haley slips into the realm of affect—using indirect, amorphous language that moves her away from articulating her advantage, "*that* parental thingamajig" or "thing" standing in for her source of educational funding. This linguistic move is called unmarked deixis and works rhetorically to remove "the speaker's social status and rank" (Levinson 1983, 64). This linguistic slight-of-hand is an attempt to erase the familial class advantage that allows Haley her financial independence, which concomitantly moves her towards marriageability and her partner away from it because of his educational debt.

Abby, the 48-year-old real estate agent who used to be in a long-term lesbian relationship, thinks of marriage "one of the most heinous, chattel slavery constructs by the patriarchy" (A1.36). She and her female partner never held a marriage ceremony or attempted legal marriage. Instead they set up different legal mechanisms that worked in place of marriage, for example joint checking accounts, power of attorney and healthcare proxies that name each other as able to make important financial and medical decisions. Upon my prodding about the expense of this legal process she tersely agreed, "It is. But so is getting married" (A1.36).

This is the difference between the symbolic shift of marriage meaning and making legal apparatus of marriage available. Abby's response was an affective pivot away from considering the cost of piecemealing together such protections for LGBT couples. In pivoting away from the cost, she does not deal with her own social and financial class status and the fact that some cannot afford these maneuvers and still others do not have the legal authority to simply name non-kin as executors. Instead, marriage serves as an inexpensive way to establish such rights

through a legal contract. This effort goes against the new marriage norm of thinking marriage as only for those who have symbolically "made it."

Combined, the voices of Abby and Haley underline the difficult emotions that arise out of the intimate contradictions of marriage under the condition of neoliberalism (Hall 1986). The relationship of levels of higher education to prospects for job security means education is essentially a class marker that makes one marriageable or not, since attaining a college education is not at all a guarantee of success. The decision to marry for emotional security, support and a show of commitment were the preferred answers for progressive villagers over these more discursively buried financial concerns. I point out these insights not to blame progressives struggling in the current, consumerized version of the American Dream. Many Americans are drunk on the illusion of "choice" and a faith that in the long run it will all work out.

The linguistic hedges and erasure of class status above show complicity with debt and hoped for achievement that in its abstraction allows for emotional distance from the everyday impacts of neoliberalization (Williams 2004, 6). As reviewed above, neoliberalization in New York is partly defined by "public privatization" that has worked to limit the possibility of attending college. If one is "unlucky" enough to take up debt to pay for school or to have accrued credit card debt designed to be perpetual debt, this economic process merely provides an illusion of choice. In so doing it limits marriage possibilities for many. For progressives, the temporal prevarications between educational debt, everyday time investments and affective ambition seem to be the reason that higher educational debt burdens do not cause short-term relationship failure because the skills gained in school give people the idea that they are capable of achievement in the current economy.

As discussed in the last chapter, the pressure to be financially independent and "responsible," along with negative evaluations of those who are not, become possible only through the neoliberal resemanticization of responsibility (Marzullo 2011). Thus, neoliberalism carries forward classical liberalism's basic challenge by rhetorically erasing the structures that optimally benefit only a few. The temporal focus on long-term individualization through the obtainment of education, while real wages and opportunities wax and wane with laissez-faire economic boom-bust cycles mean that one's marriage hopes should be movable and flexible.

For those pursuing higher education toward "financial independence" and the marketizing of themselves the costs are great: an ever-increasing cost of public higher education, accrued loan debt, and the time investment of deferred actual lifetime earnings means four to ten years to finish undergraduate and/or graduate school. This affects the reproductive plans for those who desire children. For those unlucky ones working full or part-time while working on a degree, the years spent towards becoming financially independent are extended, with a parallel extension of the age at which people may feel "ready" for marriage.

When I asked whether higher education actually helped villagers attain jobs, their answers were usually "no" or "not really." Though I discuss this more fully in the next section, exceptions were voiced by those seeking graduate training. In response to my compound question, "What work opportunities were presented to you because of college? Which did you pursue? Which did you turn down?" (Appendix A – Marriage Semi-structured Interview, item 33), a few reported finding work in the areas they studied as undergraduates but most reported not finding jobs in their field. Twenty-nine-year-old Alexandra's answer to my question was amusing to her, "Definitely none. [laughs] Definitely not offered any jobs" (A3.514). She is now

pursuing a Master's degree. Campbell observes of her current graduate training, which she refers to as "college," similarly.

> If I hadn't gone to college I wouldn't be able to get a job, ever. Because I think even when I had my bachelor's degree it was hard. Like, I feel like, you know, back years and years ago it was like you have to get your high school diploma or else you couldn't get a job. And now it's like if you don't have a bachelor's you're working at McDonald's, like it's not going to happen. (C2.445-449)

What's "not going to happen" in Campbell's estimation is getting a job without graduate school "ever." She is avoiding, as Robert put it, being stuck working "retail." Attaining a higher education has become, as Erik, a 32-year-old PhD educated, bisexual man, put it, "the demarcation. You know, a B.A., having a career, having that salaried job as opposed to, you know, punching a clock" (E1.264). As their comments illustrate, though villagers understand that such service jobs usually do not provide the wages and benefits necessary to live a respectable, middle class life finding a different path takes an enormous amount of time, financial support, planning and training.

In the current economy, higher education at the Master's level or above seems to be the new higher educational standard among villagers, while the four-year, undergraduate degree stands in for a high school education as the most basic way of securing something more than a retail job or "working at McDonald's" (C2.449). Dulci adds that the difference her B.A. made was that

> I can apply for jobs that said, "B.A." But even in that, it was, "B.A. with X- amount of years of experience," and the only good part about that was I had a lot of internships in college so I had experience…So, opportunities, yes. You can apply for jobs that you couldn't before but then you're competing with people for, with experience. So, it's like a double edge, Catch-22. (D2.306-310)

On the subject of this "Catch-22," or a dilemma that offers only disastrous choices of action, Paige reported that she actually talks people out of pursuing a college education because of the

lack of jobs available, the high unemployment rate among highly educated and experienced workers in the area, and the probability of incurring educational debt. She explains,

> So you've got people who had really stable, high-paying jobs working like shit jobs that like a college student would normally take or somebody who didn't have a college education. So, they're getting pushed out of those jobs. So, how can I sit there and tell people, "Yay. You know what? You're gonna have to take out a lot of student loans. College is getting more expensive every time you turn around. Don't worry about it." Like, how can I say that? Because, I'm like, "you know what? Don't go to school. Don't do it." I own the government forty thousand dollars and I'm workin' at a grocery store or I'm working at some restaurant in town making like minimum wage. So, don't go to college. I'm telling you. It's not a good idea. Just when it's more accessible for people to go to college. People who, thirty years ago, wouldn't have the ability, wouldn't have that access to go to college. Now they do. Now there's avenues and financial aid and loans for them to get here but it's like, when they graduate and it's hurting the economy too. So, so yeah, jobs, the whole like, there just not being enough and not enough jobs that pay enough. I mean, yeah, minimum wage is $7.15 now but that's still not enough. That's still not a living wage. (P1.172-186)

While attaining higher education fits the liberal preference for improving the self, the neoliberal privatizing of public higher education through the joint tactic of increasing the availability of college loans while dramatically increasing the cost of this education is the paradox of neoliberal "open institutes." Education is only a "choice" if one can afford it.

The failure of college-educated people to find financial independence under neoliberalism deindustrialization is intensified by educational debt as seen in Paige's discussion of her unstable work opportunities in grocery stores and restaurants. The geographic area around the village used to provide really "stable, high paying jobs," but now offers low-paying service sector "shit jobs that a college student would normally take or somebody who didn't have a college education" (P1.173-174). This reality forces a critically aware Paige to the realization that boot-strap individualism does not ensure stable employment or a secure future in the new economy. We see this awareness as well in Dulci's emphasis that she's in a "Catch-22" as age, experience, familial background, social support and a tolerance for the risk of indebtedness are

all factors that underlie success in the marketplace (D2.310). That Paige is also an ambitious artist yet now "works retail" places her in a precarious position in terms of marriageability. Underlining the intense stress between the progressive and neoliberal self situated within the village, Paige urges people to abandon the checklist. Everyday life is just too precarious in the new economy.

Jake speaks of how the "public privatization" of higher education works through the generations as he reflects on educational "choice" and financial independence. He is a 39-year-old, married, heterosexual lawyer who earns between $50 and 75K per year, which is a generous salary for the area. In the midst of discussing how he is paying down debt to improve his credit rating in the hope of buying a house soon, Jake revealed his calculations for saving for his young daughter's college education. "Initially, I was, I wanted to save $700 a month, [chuckle] just because I calculate I'm going to need, if she goes to a private university, roughly $250,000 dollars [chuckle], so she can go to a graduate school, which Liz thinks it's ridiculous that we would have to save that much" (J1.291). Jake's smiling and chuckling throughout this dialogue clearly shows his affective agreement with his wife's assessment that a quarter of a million dollars saved for his daughter's future undergraduate education and supposed future independence is ridiculous. But he wants to be a responsible father and so is attempting to save for this educational dowry. He goes on to discuss how the educational investment account he's been contributing to for his daughter's education is "doing horribly" (J1.308) – more chuckling. Those seeking education now and in the future are to invest with "the market" (in this case most likely an educational "investment tool"). Individuals, like Jake and his daughter are left to the mercy of their investment account "fluctuations" over time as the only way to contend with the neoliberalization of public higher education, while Paige, Dulci and Bailey struggle to find a

livable wage while paying off educational indebtedness with interest. Inevitably "the market" stands to gain, while villagers are left with their hopes that it will all work out "in the long run."

Get a Job

This section discusses how the marriage norm has shifted based on the kinds of work villagers are able to attain. The "Get a job" section of the checklist is another way of understanding the neoliberal tactic of deploying the government to prioritize the protection of private interests over citizen protection. Drawing on the earlier discussion of the new marriage norm, here I look closely at what villagers consider "good jobs" and how they view their own and others marriagability in terms of the jobs they hold.

In 1975, the age of first marriage began to rise sharply in the U.S. at the same time that the country was experiencing stagflation, while neoliberalization was on the ascent as a national economic strategy (Figure 12. Comparison of Data on Median Age at First Marriage). These economic shifts, combined with the social shifts that I discussed in chapter five, contribute to how villagers think about the proper age at marriage or about marriage "readiness."

When I asked about the timing of marriage in terms of age, some said that marrying young is more acceptable in rural places where the opportunity for market participation is limited or when people are "responsible" enough to work hard and care for themselves and their families, pay bills and live on their own. This age-graded view of "responsible adulthood" seems to be spatially determined as most respondents agreed that it is more difficult to achieve in urban areas because of the level of income it takes to live independently. Most villagers used New York City as the yardstick for understanding the relative cost of living in the village.

Indeed, Morgan referred to this struggle as her "tour of duty in the city" (M1.27) and shared a sort of exasperated relief that she now lives in the village. This was also evident in

Levi's discussion of leaving New York City in the middle 1990s during the dot.com boom when the "values" changed to support private corporate interests over those of the citizens of New York (Brash 2011; Tabb 1982). Levi and his boyfriend bore witness to affordable city rents and old neighborhood businesses being "systematically destroyed" and replaced by "an outdoor mall" of corporate-owned stores, restaurants and services (L1.75). Though Emma grew up in the city, she agrees with Morgan and is "glad" she left, especially given the intense pressures of the new marriage norm that emphasizes vigorous market-participation and financial success *before* one can think about "the ring" (E1.177). As I discuss here, a new script for marriage indexes the

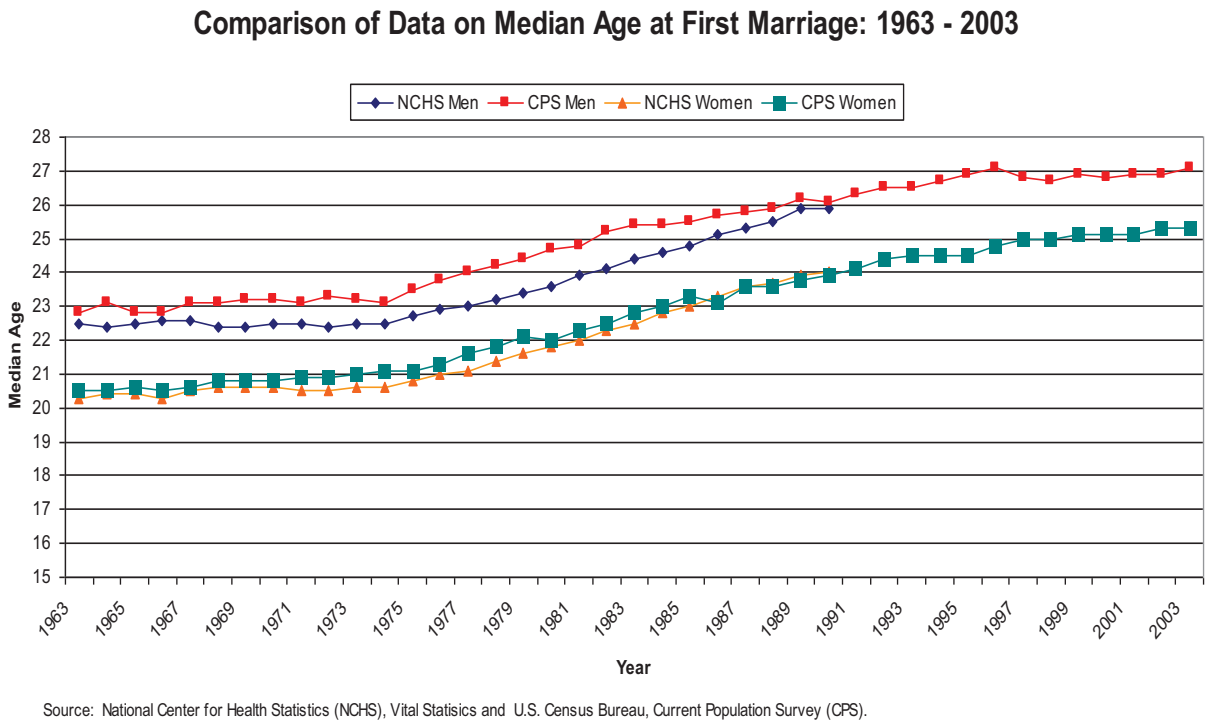


Figure 12. Comparison of Data on Median Age at First Marriage: 1963-2003. Notice Age of First Marriage Began to Noticeably Climb at 1975 (Source: Simmons and Dye, 2004).

values and pacing of neoliberalization.

Consequently, even though many tolerant, liberal villagers agreed that one should be able to marry at any age, most avoided economic reasons for delaying marriage and instead relied on

the progressive norms about the development of the self to justify this delay. Recall that "maybe feeling younger or whatever" was Bailey's final justification for delaying her desire to marry Zoe even though it seemed that debt and the inability to purchase a house were the driving reasons for this delay. This links a cultural definition adulthood with financial responsibility *and* financial independence which conspire to delay marriage or feelings of "adulthood" and thus "readiness" for marriage. These are temporal orientations instantiated through financial and educational timings justifying the contingent, fluid checklist and the consequent new marriage norm.

Resemanticized "Responsibility" as Neoliberal Governing Method

Being "responsible" in fact turns out to be the most common factor in villagers' definition of adulthood as many spontaneously described adulthood using some variation of the word "responsibility" (n=22/50 or 44%). Carl, a 30-year-old single heterosexual man, summarizes the idea by building on a concern with financial independence.

> I think they need to be able to be responsible and function by themselves if they have to. I am not saying people have to be an island, but they have to be able to take care of themselves. If someone can't go out and earn enough money to live by themselves if they have to, that's a problem.
> *Michelle: Is this true for men and women?*
> Yes. (C1.128-131)

As Ayana, a 34-year-old single parent, describes it, "the cultural definition of adulthood has to do with financial independence, credentials, and you know I think the real world is considered to be the material world in our culture" (A1.90). As discussed in the previous chapter, the mention of "world" in this capacity is a reference to temporality.

In the introduction, Ong discussed neoliberalization as a governing technology in which "rationality informs action by many regimes and furnishes the concepts that inform the

government of free individuals who are then induced to self-manage according to market principals of discipline, efficiency and competitiveness" (Ong 2006, 4). Discussing temporalities shows where the activation pin for this rationality lies. This logic is observed in 28-year-old Emma's discussion of the age for responsible adulthood.

> Having a sense of a future or how you're going to take care of things, we say in the immediate future, is being part of an adult. Meaning you know anywhere from a month to a year.
> *Michelle: Ok.*
> There is also being a responsible adult which means you know having financial planning for X amount of years. I'm not at that level yet. I'd love to be but I'm not. (E1.142-146)

So being an adult is about projecting financial independence from at least a month (like Bailey's parent's behavior of living "paycheck to paycheck") to a year outwards.

Together Carl, Ayana and Emma articulate how neoliberal temporality spurs them to action and in so doing provides a framework for understanding how the governing technology of neoliberalization works. Men and women are now expected to be "responsible adults" at the least employed in the market and at the most on a path to a successful career. Those villagers not meeting these standards usually laughingly report not considering themselves "adults." In a culture that valorizes youth, this did not strike most as a bad thing. Yet beneath such tolerant postures operates the resemanticized idea of responsibility under neoliberalization evident in villagers' tacit acceptance the liminality of social adulthood when one is not "financially secure" in the sense articulated by Emma.

Gender, Responsibility and Marriage Readiness

The expectations of the checklist speak to the tension between the neoliberal and the progressive self especially in regards to how one achieves "readiness" for marriage. When I asked most villagers when people should marry, most responded that they should do this only when they are "ready." As 27-year-old Alejandro explains during a conversation on how he met

and fell in love with his second and current wife, “Being ready is something that comes to you and you will sense it. Like you will, you will have to consider many, many things. But more than anything it’s the feeling of feeling ready… it all happened in a strange magical way” (A1.212-216). Earlier in our conversation he stressed that “the feeling of feeling ready” was not about economics but that it is important “to be able to support your family and so on. It wasn’t the priority, I think it was more of the emotional, ‘to be ready’” (A1.204-205).

He ends by saying that he cannot explain this feeling further because this feeling of “readiness” is at the level of affect. American men are often said to define their sense of masculinity through success in the marketplace (Kimmel 2011); therefore, it not surprising that Alejandro would preface his idea of readiness with an implicit assumption of being “able to support your family.” The fact that he hedged this as “not the priority” emphasizing instead the importance of his emotional readiness for marriage (especially after his first marriage ended in divorce) demonstrates that he has progressive relationship ideals supported by the moral geography of the village.

The importance here is the erasure of how the market affects intimate decisions like readiness for marriage. Many of my informants were surprised that I asked them to reflect on how work might impact their relationships and marriages. Most said that they had never consciously thought about the linkage between work, relationships and marriage. This affective side of marriage “readiness” is denied unless asked about directly and “magical” is certainly a descriptor that *feels* better. Neoliberally-inflected market success prior to feeling “ready” for marriage is now expected of men and women. This readiness often comes out in talk of “responsible adulthood” as the attainment of education or gainful employment that, in the best

scenario, is secured through entrepreneurial, professional, or so-called "creative" pursuits (see Florida 2004) that make one "marriage material."

I discussed earlier how Sara described her "very weird" experience with her ex-boyfriends who suddenly and intensely restarted communications with her, how Zoe's expectation that she and Bailey would each separately be responsible for their own finances, and how Dulci's exhortation that marriage be carefully thought about among multiple perspectives like "romance, think about it in perspective of the future, think about it in perspective of finances" (D1.69-70)—each implicates the economy and commercial concerns in intimate realms. Gendered expectations and the idea that neither gender nor sexuality *should* dictate market participation certainly shape experiences of school, job and relationships among villagers in the new economy. Yet, as discussed in the "Get an Education" section, the new economy has distinctly gendered aspects that create a new calculus of power relations that temporally index the strict post-war gender role expectations of men as sole earners and women as homemakers. These conflicting messages produce equally conflicting feelings about marriage and relationships.

Many working women in the village feel more "responsible" than the men they date. This came out very strongly in Liv's discussion of how she has been putting off getting more serious about the man she is currently dating because of his poor financial situation, "Well, I put off getting serious about my boyfriend partly because he doesn't make any money. I mean. He has the painting [business] but it's not that. He's broke all the time and I'm just, I've had it with that. And I know he sometimes probably thinks I'm shallow or materialist but I'm not. I'm just tirrrrred of being the responsible one" (L1.171, brackets added for clarity). Liv is a 35-year-old bisexual woman who was previously married to a man. Lauren, a 27-year-old heterosexual, adds

that she was dating a "really nice and sweet" (L1.178) man who was the manager of a retail store but she broke up with him because of what she perceived as his lack of ambition to further develop himself. Saying that she "learned from that" (L1.180), she found her current boyfriend who is

> pretty much what I want, except. He does have a career and he's educated and stuff, but at the same time, too, he's in debt, really in debt but, at least, he does have the ability to make a lot of money. At any point he can make a lot of money, but he still is pretty much in debt. He does have a lot of trouble paying his bills on time and all this other stuff. I'm always the one to takes care of the rent when the rent check comes, the bills, you know? (L1.185-189)

Here we again see the impact of educational debt. Though her boyfriend is a physician, he has a crushing amount of student loan debt and, though she "learned from" her prior romantic experiences regarding the challenges of "working retail" to attain financial independence, she hopes that her doctor will at some point become more financially stable. She tries to reassure herself on her choice by saying, "at least, he does have the ability to make a lot of money. At any point he can make a lot of money" (L1.186-188).

That both women are the "responsible ones" is certainly a shift from the domestic ideology that dictated only men be active in the market and that the American home should provide "sexual enjoyment, material comfort, well-adjusted children" through clearly defined gender roles of mother as homemaker and father as market maker (May 1999, 164). This emphasis on responsibility was true of men in the 1950s and 1960s—that long decade that still temporally informs marriage perceptions among villagers even as it no longer paces it. At that time,

> Much of the more insightful writing examined the dehumanizing situation that forced middle class men, at least in their public roles, to be other-directed "organizational men," caught up in a mass, impersonal white-collar world. The loss of autonomy was real…industrial laborers were even less likely to derive intrinsic satisfaction from their jobs. (May 1999, 16)

Now for both men and women the everyday mitigating factors for marriage participation rests on the ingenious neoliberal self gaining employment that still risks dehumanizing of oneself for market interests. It is important to point out that not only have women's roles changed as more pursue education and jobs but men's roles have also changed in response to the shifting kinds of stable earning positions that might allow them to follow the strict gendered expectations of post-war domesticity in which women were commonly objectified in terms of physical attractiveness or domestic ability. The new trophy wife now hangs a degree instead of (or in addition to) hanging curtains on the wall.

This is a different kind of marriage ideal than what has been advanced by neoconservatives fighting to preserve a specific ideal of marriage and working against "same-sex" marriage. Many coming of age in post-war America married young but this was a historical anomaly supported by social provisioning via the G.I. bill that supplied higher education and mortgages to young families with men as head of household given the barring of women from getting G.I. Bill benefits (Edin and Kefalas 2005; May 1999; Schneider 1982). The history that supported this marriage ideal has been erased by tropes of "individual responsibility" by neoconservatives for neoliberal economic aims. This was exemplified in the ideas found in Magnet's book *The Dream and the Nightmare* (1993), which was a driving force behind George W. Bush's marriage and family policy, Federal Marriage Amendment included.

The kind of responsibility offered since has everything to do with financial planning using private financial firms for near term gain. It codifies yet denies the social and economic discrimination rampant during the post-war era. That discrimination was somewhat ameliorated after the progressive movement and the mid-century U.S. social movements as some people in marginalized groups rose to more economically advantaged positions thus elevating the trope of

"responsibility" through tokenism (Zinn 1980, 443-468). Tokenism thus legitimates and culturally individualizes poverty, making it seem the "fault" of the person suffering it. The effect of this is that many in economically disadvantaged circumstances put off marriage even as they have children (Edin and Kefalas 2004).

Thirty-nine-year-old Jack puts into historical perspective the reason many in his parents' previous generation took the jobs they could get.

> I think we're more fortunate. I think it was, uh, a grimmer time when they were, you know, working in the '70s, there weren't as many jobs. We've seen more of a economic upturn ourselves. Both my wife and I came from not very, uh, neither one of our families have much money. Jobs were, it wasn't like a sure thing, you know? For our families. So, I think that while both of us have that in our background, umm, we kind of a little bit take for granted that there's gonna be work. (J1.193-198)

The "upturn" that Jack and his wife experienced was an effect of his educational ambition and his own luck in the marketplace but he remembers the period of stagflation his parents survived in the early 1970s, which also ushered in the neoliberal turn in the U.S. Villagers report that their college education provides them more "flexibility" in the workplace than their parents had even if it does not guarantee a job. As 23-year-old Dulci explains, "My parents didn't have that kind of flexibility or anything like that. It was a job, it wasn't, like, a life love. Like, 'Oh I love my job! And oh, I'm doing this because it's something I want to be doing!' You do it because you have to put food on the table, you have to support yourself and your family. Period" (D2.317-320). Kelly bluntly recalls how market exuberance influenced her "choice" to incur educational debt during the heady days of the dot.com boom in the early 1990s in New York City.

> Technology was really changing, and coming about and computers and everything... And we could see the Internet starting, and that blew up and the [Inaudible 2:07:58] ...and I get to the point where I'm ready to get a job, and all of that has leveled off and started to decline. So, it was like growing up, it was like, "all right, I'm going to go to college. I don't care if I have the debt. I'll get out, I'll get a job. Everything will be great. I'll get health-insurance," and that's not happening. So, I mean, it's just that if you're a single person and trying to live alone, it's virtually impossible. Even up here. I mean my

> brother's making, I think, $45,000 year, which is not less than what my dad was making when he first came here and bought a house. And my brother can't even afford an apartment by himself. It's horrible. (K1.538-547)

Dulci, Jack and Kelly came into the working world during the dot.com bubble experiencing what has come to be called "irrational exuberance" or "excess optimism." The "I'll get a job. Everything will be great" (K1.543) idea marks the temporal highs of a crisis-based, boom-bust economy driven by a neoliberal ethos (Duménil and Lévy 2011). Yet the group of those considered "responsible" marriageable adults is narrowed because of the burden of debt and the dearth of stable employment opportunities.

At age 28, Emma would be considered an adult to earlier generations yet she claims that she's "not at that level yet" (E1.147) as she has not yet achieved financial stability through "financial planning." Based on the neoliberal trope to privatize everything, financial planning implicates the marketizing of retirement (like saving for retirement in 401K instruments and proposals to moving social security into similar market-based instruments) and higher education making each a tenuous proposition subject to market failures as well as upswings. "Responsible adulthood" is predicated on such market fluctuations making an uncertain future for most Americans that likewise bode poorly for marriage stability.

At the time of my fieldwork, villagers were all living through the crumbling of the "housing bubble" economy, which caused the 2008 "Great Recession". In the years leading up to this failure, Kelly's brother could not even "afford an apartment by himself" (K1.548), let alone buy a house, living as he was on less salary than his father was making decades before. During neoliberal laissez-faire boom times, the idea that the economy is always going to be strong and that there will always be enough work to go around backgrounds the anthropomorphized "invisible hand" of the market that ideologically supports Guyer's hunch that the temporality of

neoliberalization features the evacuation of the near present and the near future for workers in the everyday allowing for faith that it will all work out eventually (2007). The key word here is "eventually," which may provide a rationalization for the economy but not food or housing in the everyday.

Some villagers did use this ideal of excess optimism reliant upon American rugged individualism and entwined with a temporality of work from times past to base their hopes upon. This temporal hybridity became visible when I asked the 27-year-old heterosexual Tyler what that perfect job is in regards to a relationship.

> It would be something where I'm able to advance my career, enjoy what I'm doing, challenge myself and be able to do all that while still getting to spend all the time with my significant other. And still bein' able to have the best of both worlds. So, you get to spend time with them, you get to experience life with them but you also get to advance yourself and hopefully keep climbing up the ladder of success. (J.181-185)

The "best of both worlds" is the split between the "worlds" of work (public) and family (private) that has never actually existed (Scott and Keates 2004; Zelizer 2005). In the context of this chapter, the split implicates marriage with shifting economic temporalities that once taught workers to split these "worlds" under capitalist industrialism, but now disciplines them to go it alone to eventually be ready for marriage through hard work, faith and luck.

Tyler tacitly agrees with the idea that the market makes possible his hoped-for future family. In his narrative, the progressive ideal of job satisfaction entwines with his faith in the market, which is visible in his use of "getting to," or being allowed, to have a family while advancing in his job. In terms of the marriage debate for gays and lesbians, Neoliberal capitalism directly impacts family cohesion as articulated by Tyler above. This stance is in line with D'Emilio's argument that "gays" are used as scapegoats to move attention away from larger-scale economic pressures on family cohesion (1996). Yet in the moral geography of the village

that moral panic tactic falls flat. Instead, an affective yet critical engagement with the new economy shapes how villagers perceive marriage and relationships.

"Forever Marriage" Under Neoliberalization

Given the high divorce rates they have witnessed, my informants vacillated between 2 to 10 to 30 years to "forever" on the question of what "longtime" meant for a marriage. On the question of what "longtime" meant in terms of a relationship though, the analogy with the current job market clearly appears. Most people thought a long relationship was between 1-5 years (n=33 out of 45 who answered this question or 73 percent).

Expanding on a quotation used in the last chapter regarding the optimistic idea that marriages are not "failures" if they end in divorce, Jack continues,

> Just because it ends, it doesn't mean it was a failure because there were obviously lots of good things in that period. It's like a job. You can have a great job that you leave for a better job or something.
> *Michelle: That's a good way to put it.*
> Jack: I guess. But who wants to say that marriage is a job? [laughs]," (J1.171-175).

Analogizing marriage as a job that you might simultaneously learn from and leave is both a literal and metaphorical comparison.

Many villagers reported that the biggest difference between themselves and their parents was the absence of expectation that a job would last for 25-30 year or that a pension would be there to take care of them at retirement. Many reported that they expect a job to last only a handful of years, while recalling that their parents and grandparents who worked in the post-war industrial-manufacturing sector expected jobs to last until retirement. Though they still want a job to last to retirement as they similarly want a marriage to last "forever," villagers understand this will not be the case for most. Remembering Abby's warning to those interested in moving to the village, the economy in the area is unlikely to provide stable, high-paying jobs and new

residents are encouraged to bring their own jobs—an incitement to entrepreneurialism I discuss below.

The similarities of job length expectations to the shifting expected length of marriage is not coincidental. A passage from Schneider's work on marriage with middle-class (and mostly white) Americans in suburban Chicago in the early 1960s illustrates the idea of marriage prior to the neoliberal turn.

> Where an employee is held to rigorous standards of performance within a specific domain of relevant actions, a spouse is not, but instead is held to standards of diffuse solidarity. A spouse is either loyal or disloyal, faithful or unfaithful. There is no measure of efficiency in a spouse's fidelity. There is no measure of skilled accomplishment in a spouse's loyalty. One hopes for the best but takes what one gets. (1980, 54)

To villagers, there is definitely a measure of efficiency linking skill-based work and accomplishments to marriage. Here, 29-year-old Sara goes on to directly equate relationship expectations (married or not) to the length of time one might wish to hold a job.

> I don't think, like, people are necessarily meant to live, to be together for their entire lives….Where you have a committed, long term relationship—you're not happy anymore—you have another committed long term relationship and then you're not happy anymore...you know? I think that just fits in with the way society is, the way people are. Nobody wants to do the same job for, ya know, 40 years, ya know? [laughs] (S1.118-122)

This "job" metaphor is important to illustrate the neoliberally-inflected shift to "readiness" for marriage that titles this chapter—though this now "just fits in with the way society is, the way people are" (S1.122); "who wants to say marriage is a job?" (J1.175).

The conflict exemplified by Sara and Jake speaks to the different foci of freedom discussed earlier—progressives seek to free the person to strive for a life of engagement and happiness (with or without marriage), while a neoconservative role strategy seeks freedom of the market and individuals are to link together in marriage as a financial solution to material need

left in the wake of the boom-bust market. The neoconservative indexes the neoliberal yet this neoliberal self is also clearly present in the way that villagers go about discussing the efficient achievement of a degree toward satisfying their "checklist" and marriage as a job. Most villagers though prefer to conceptualize marriage as emotional security, support, a show of commitment and even love. Love is what Schneider was referring to in his discussion of "diffuse solidarity." Villagers go about everyday life grappling with both the expectation of financial independence before marriage and the inherent economic pressures that make independent living more and more difficult under neoliberalization.

Marital Arbitrage: Neoliberal Temporality and Everyday Marriage

At the temporal level of the everyday, neoliberal temporality urges a reliance on faith to focus long-term market gains and hold the future in a sort of hopeful limbo that one day it will all work out—that a stable marriage and a prosperous retirement *will be* possible (Guyer 2007; Miyazaki 2007). As a reminder, this chapter deals with understanding how villagers make sense of their life-time with everyday economic achievement pressures under neoliberalization. This section examines how they adjust their work and marriage expectations and desires to the increasing uncertainty of the neoliberalized market.

The temporal influences of neoliberalization are clearly present in villagers' talk of marriage with the importance laying in marriage *delay*, or continual postponement. In the current economic moment, marriage remains a temporal hedge against an uncertain future but it is often delayed until some sort of financial independence seems assured. This is an over-determination of financial options as Jack noted above, "If I get fired I know she's got a job. We can help each other through rough patches" (J1:120-121). The new marriage norm is marital arbitrage: faith

that in the long run it will all work out (even if with another relationship or marriage), while relying on calculated, ambitious reasoning toward near term success that is not at all guaranteed.

As I discussed in chapter 4, marriage is now usually consent-driven not obligation-driven and no longer includes expectations that sex will only happen while married. Yet for marriage there is an additional meaning that layers onto ideas of consent as a function of the rhetoric of "choice" and is based on the difficulty of achieving "responsible adulthood" in the new economy. Thus marriage as "choice" seems constantly tethered to a financial independence that is more and more out of reach for villagers at the same time as people are to turn to it for social provisioning. This is the paradox of the contemporary marriage movement that sees both progressives and neoconservatives turning to marriage (using different morally-based temporal justifications, i.e., "gaining rights" versus "retaining tradition") under neoliberalization.

The tensions for progressives to "make it" in an environment so fiercely moving against the middle class villagers interviewed here makes marriage, which is already critically regarded among villagers, a perplexing issue—not because they do not understand its current conflicted terms but because *they do*. Marriage may be turned to in this neoliberal moment for economic support but this goes against the progressive ideal of it as entered into once one is *already* financially independent.

The "Good Job": Marriage, Dating and Work in the New Economy

In this section I consider the idea of the "good job" among villagers as informed by the changing economic calculus of neoliberalization. I show how the contingencies of the contemporary workplace in the U.S. carry over to marriage practice in the village.

Villager conceptions of "a good job" essentially index the minimal expectations of the industrial-age worker. For example, 28-year-old Emma's estimation of a "good job" is one that indexes the "ideal" temporality for workers based on rights won during the progressive era. For example, this means an 8-hour work day that provides both enough money for a decent standard of living with time left over to spend with family and a way to retire with some savings or a pension (among other legal protections).

> *Michelle: It also has regular hours?*
> Emma: Right. For family time. That's what I mean by ideal. Not like I need someone who is a lawyer or an executive, which I don't find glamorous at all. But, that's what society thinks is glamorous. Just a job that pays well and has benefits and a retirement plan. That's ideal to me. [laughter] (E1.55-58)

Importantly, neoliberalization strategically chips away at a respectable pay-base as well as "benefits and a retirement plan." From the linking of health insurance with employment, marketizing retirement with 401K plans, and recent proposals to marketize Social Security, the caprice of "the market" dictate *when and if* one is able to afford healthcare, retirement and even leisure time (Aguiar and Hurst 2007). In this way, the flexible "fluidity" of the checklist is joined by temporal remnants of a time past jointly informing approaches to actualizing life, marriage and family-making aspirations in the new service/knowledge economy.

The "good job" also lies in the difference between the ideas *job* and *career*. To villagers, a career would ostensibly span a number of years and include skill-building toward self enhancement along with social capital enhancement. A job is what May discusses as lacking "intrinsic satisfaction" (1999, 16). Emma explains, "You can have a really good job but that's not necessarily what you think of as a career. To me a career is going to have an emotional attachment to that I could see me doing, I could see me doing for the rest of my life" (E1.144-147). Though villagers generally reject materialistic standards of living, they yearn for

happiness, social respectability, stability and purpose in work. In fact, the New York City breed Emma lives where she does to avoid working a materialistically-focused "glamorous" job that draws on the new economic subject whose everyday temporality has been described as "infinitely desirous" (Guyer 2007, 413). The progressive temporality essentially rejects such a neoliberal self that exists to prop up market gains and consumerism.

As I discussed above, just finding stable, well-paying work usually means extended training periods along with the economic reality of multiple job and career changes, which define long-term work expectations for most villagers and delay feelings of "readiness" for marriage. Just one year younger than Emma, Tyler talks of such "sacrifices," while discussing how frustrated he is with maintaining his current long-distance relationship between New York and Texas.

> I'd say that, just takin' this job here. It's not, it doesn't pay me financially. It's not the best money-wise, so it kinda hurts opportunities. Like when can I fly, when can I go down. Even to the point of, even if I wanna send flowers then I have to make a sacrifice here, make a sacrifice there, to give gifts in a relationship. And then in terms of time, my job limits the time that I can go down and see her because if I had a normal job where I had weekends off then I'd be able to schedule time to go down but since I work 50-60 hours a week, seven days a week, there's no time.
> *Michelle: Is that going to get better?*
> I think it's the nature of the job. (T1.163-170)

As we saw in the discussion of the house as a contingent part of the checklist, the sacrifices of financial stability through low-paying or unpaid internships on the way to a career contributes to relationships and marriage hopes now being liabilities in the new economy.

This contingency of work and relationships is clear in 21-year-old Natalie's reconsideration of her boyfriend because he is now applying for jobs "everywhere that he possibly can…so we don't know exactly what will happen with the relationship" (N1.211-213). Since Natalie is in graduate school at SUNY New Paltz, the relationship is literally in a state of

limbo. Job mobility impacts progressive couples hoping to have two earners on career paths in line with the ambitious self-development aiming at both emotional attachments to work and two financially independent partners.

Emma, Tyler and Natalie simultaneously give voice to desires for careers, or as Tyler put it "a normal job" (J1.168) that provides emotional investment and a vocation to sustain one financially through life (a distant future-oriented temporality). In their careerist aspirations, each negotiates everyday economic circumstances that encumber the possibilities of finding long-term jobs and by extension relationships and marriage. Robert somberly sums up the temporal split they are struggling with. "Well, my job. I seem to be, in my generation, most of us have normal jobs, where we have weekends off, and the other half has jobs where you don't. One thing, in my last relationship, I was ridiculed constantly for the fact that I didn't have a job with normal hours" (R3.637-640). These two basic temporal work distinctions were discussed earlier by Erik as "the demarcation" line between "having that salaried job as opposed to, you know, punching a clock" (E1.264).

"Normal" jobs generally included salaried positions as well as the hourly positions implied in the 9-5 job because workers reported being able to flexibly schedule social or family affairs, usually having weekends off, and would sometimes even be allowed to work at home. Those working these types of jobs in the area were, for example, college professors, staff at the university, real estate agents or computer IT professionals, some of whom commuted to the New York City area daily for work. The second group (the one that Robert belonged to when I interviewed him) had constantly changing shifts or hours worked per week, non-schedulable work hours, or unpaid internships (sometimes along with shift work). As a result, instead of having the potential to work between other activities, such "shift" workers conceptualized their

everyday lives around set hourly work obligations. Those working these types of jobs in the area were waitresses, care workers, hotel employees, security guards and retail workers and many worked more than one such job.

Janel is a married, bisexual mother of two who dropped out of college because of her severe dyslexia. Throughout her long work history starting at age 15, she has always held shift jobs. To Janel, a local resort is "a big, number one employer. Feudal lords. Pay you just enough so that you stay but then do horrible hours and whatever" (J1.145-146). Here she discusses how that job impacted her relationship with her now-husband Theo.

> I'm surprised that Theo and I's relationship survived with me being a security guard. Yeah [laughs]. When we met, I was a security guard at the resort working the overnight shift. *Michelle: Oh my goodness.* And he stuck with me. [laughs] The man's a saint. [laughs] Yeah, because that's the kind of job that puts you in a very, "I'm right! I can wave my hand and 18 wheelers go in the direction I point. I am right, and that's the way it is." It's not conducive to good relationships. (J2.483-488)

The "I'm right!" mood she is discussing regards the stress of working a shift job that constantly changes her schedule and impacts her personal obligations and desired activities. Such inconsistent or late-night schedules were often reported to create problems in relationships. As Robert reported of his recently ended 5-year relationship, he was "ridiculed constantly" (R3.639) for his hours because he was a college educated, former military man who was dating a woman whose gendered expectations were for him to be the stereotypical masculine worker with a "normal" 9-5 job.

Such shifting schedules do not only impact steady relationships and gendered expectations but they also impact, as Paige discussed earlier, when, whom, and if one can date. Alejandro is now on his second marriage and finishing his Master's in Education. To finance his education, he worked as a waiter over an 11 year period. During the times that he was single, Alejandro told me, "I was trying to be responsible with the work and before I used to work

many, many hours. So they would ask if I wanted to come out on Saturday and I would be like, 'I have to work on Saturday, it is a busy night for me, it's when I make most money'" (A1.247-250). He emphasized that he would never put off his job for a relationship as making money was most important. As Janel put it, "I think it was the quantity of work that affected it more than any distinct description. Yeah, I think it's more about how much you do, but some jobs do put you in a head-space so that you're not lookin' for love" (J2.478-480). Indeed, with marriage and relationship commitment now predicated on financial independence such "feudal," unskilled jobs requiring one to work their lives around work, often holding multiple jobs without control of their schedule and with little financial security put many in "a head-space so that you're not lookin' for love." Feudalism is the medieval economic practice of using a labor contract to purchase land. Yet the terms of that contract would often change creating indentured servitude for most. Janel was keen to make this observation as some scholars have criticized the neoliberal shift from the welfare to the contract-based state as creating a neo-feudalism, which is a trend witnessed with the subprime housing loan scheme that helped cause the 2008 global recession and stole the credit-worthiness of millions of Americans (see Cohen 2008; Davidson and Bligh 2001; Murray 2006).

"Normal" 9-5 jobs that are often found at corporations or larger institutions like the local university also provide temporal challenges for relationships and marriages. The corporation that hires and fires workers with little regard for employee wellbeing, loyalty or time served has come to stand in as the proxy for neoliberalization in the village and the corporate worker has become emblematic of the process. The most evident resistance to neoliberalization articulated by villagers was not only their disdain for corporations but a general agreement to not date or marry a person who works for a corporation.

This general moral stance against corporations saw most villagers also trying to avoid working corporate jobs. Instead they sought out jobs that provide the intrinsic satisfaction of a career or artistic vocation, choosing to work at jobs in small companies, or in government jobs that allow them to serve their fellow citizens in some way. Some did though report taking corporate jobs to provide a stable source of income once they had children, but for most villagers such jobs are viewed as a major sacrifice they seek to change. As 37-year-old Katya remarks,

> We were planning for a baby and everything. So I was there for less than a year. The most tedious job you ever want to have. I promised myself I will never abuse myself, ever, like that again. Data entry, full time. I'll do data entry today. Yeah. Constantly the same thing, the same information. The same thing. It might work for some people but not for everybody. I find that artistic people who need to create and write. I love to write. I love to create. I like to change things. There was none of that there. And being there for eight hours doing the same thing was just killing my energy. (K1.399-405)

Scholars have discussed how lower paid workers, who are often female, are surveilled by computerized techniques that count and graph their "efficiency" (Collins 2002, 164). Such Taylorist-timing and identity-erasing drudgery work is perceived as "abuse" by Katya and has been studied as such (Ong 1991). At the time of my interview with her, Katya worked at a 9-5 hourly job at the college. As she reports, she'll "do data entry today" but it is not the sole focus of her job. She reported feeling a level of independence and respect from her manager that gave her a sense of security bolstered by the idea that working for a state university might better protect her from the caprices of market fluctuation and the feeling of being, as Janel put it earlier, a commodity as she felt herself to be in her former corporate data entry job.

Katya was interested in such a secure job to provide a respectable life for her two children independent of their abusive father, her former husband. The progressive distinction between 9-5 jobs shaped by the moral geography of villagers seem to hinge on the idea of the "good job" but is further differentiated by jobs that feature repetitive, highly surveilled work

versus “creative,” public service or independent work that is perceived as “changing things” or at the minimum contributing to some higher goals, instead of merely collecting a paycheck and providing profits for a far-away corporation.

For those working higher-skilled 9-5 salaried jobs, the hours often prove to be more like 50-80 hours per week and as many as 100 hours per week as some area lawyers and professors report. The financial independence purchased through such time sacrifices make those who worked such jobs highly desirable “marriage material.” Most such people I met were either married or in long-term, committed relationships. For single people, the time constraints on such professions often worked against the ability to develop of a life outside of work, either in terms of a social or romantic life. In response, some villagers working high-skilled, long-hour salary jobs reported that they avoid dating. Others purposefully engaged in long-distance relationships to better control their personal time obligations or sought out sexually casual relationships that do not require “regular” relationship time commitments. Still others carried on intimate relationships at work, sometimes in addition to their marriages or committed romantic relationships.

In regards to the “regular,” or consistent, time commitment the 27-year-old heterosexually-identified Paige wants for a relationship, she also reported that her prior political organizing job had her working sporadic events and office hours in excess of 80 hours per week, preventing her from dating.

> I would say it limited my opportunity of like finding a person to be in a regular relationship with, like, because of my limited time I would find myself in these like little fling relationships of convenience. Not so much like really taking the time to develop a relationship with somebody. Ummm, and maybe just like limiting the time that I would otherwise be spending, being like social, and like out there, meeting people. So in that kind of a way, it may be limited me. But I never put off a serious relationship because of work or anything like that. I just limited my opportunities of finding one. (P1.198-204)

Here we see Paige taking individual responsibility when she says, "I just limited my opportunities of finding one" (P1.204-205). This resemanticized responsibility functions to support the constriction of leisure time for many workers under neoliberalization. She says, "It maybe limited me. But I never put off a serious relationship because of work or anything like that. I just limited my opportunities of finding one" (P1.203-205). At the end of that segment, we might expect her to use "it" in place of "I" as she did at the beginning of this passage. Yet Paige subconsciously shifts the "it" of the market away from being at all responsible for limiting her opportunities to find a "serious relationship." Remember, most villagers reported never thinking of the link of work with their relationships or marriages. In Paige's case, working as the individualized neoliberal self, she takes full "responsibility" saying, "I just limited my opportunity…" (P1.204-205). Though she had a "good" 9-5 job that made her marriageable, as Janel said marriage is affected most by "the quantity of work…than any distinct description" (J2.478). Paige worked 80 hours per week, while desiring a "regular relationship," but says she "never put off a serious relationship because of work or anything," which further denies the impact of her ambitious participation in the market.

Since experiencing this "normal" job, Paige resigned. Just after I interviewed her she found a job as a grocery clerk and she is trying to start a jewelry design company. This shift provides her intrinsic satisfaction even though she is not yet making enough money to quit her retail day job. The contradictions seen in Paige's discussion are symptomatic of the affective pressures of the neoliberally-based economy on Americans' desires for stability, intimacy and achievement in a chaotic, crisis-fueled economy.

Most villagers at least wanted to work a 9-5 job with benefits but these jobs are increasingly rare. Available shift jobs have many villagers working multiple jobs or working

multiple hours at a "normal" job in order to keep it. The resultant timings for relationships and marriages are delayed or frenetically juggled and as Janel emphatically put it, "not conducive to good relationships" (J2.490). So against their progressive temporality, some villagers quite literally live for (and some at) work.

In discussing a joke circulated over email about ways to identify your "office husband" or "office wife" (that person at work one goes to with the gripes and delights of the day), 41-year-old Morgan jokingly laments about corporate policies that prohibit co-workers from dating, even while they are spending inordinate amounts of time together.

> I don't have any of these like work place romances. Maybe cuz I never worked corporate.
> *Michelle: Uh huh.*
> No, cuz I think it's ridiculous that they say you can't have a relationship but they say you have to work 80 hours a week. Of course, people are gonna be doin' it in the copier room. You know? They're not goin' anywhere else. (M1.246-249)

Agreeing with Morgan, Samantha, who managed a resort in the area for over 20 years, verifies that long hours at work can lead to romantic relationships. Samantha is in an open relationship with her husband Nate. She reported spending most of her waking hours at work with Julie, her co-worker and long-term romantic partner. As she put it, "when I worked at the resort it was 8am every morning 'till 10, 11 o'clock at night. I ate dinner there most times with the children. The kids were raised there. Um, Nate was never there but, um, Julie was always there" (S1.247-248). In this case, we clearly see how work hours directly influence everyday relationships and marriages.

Many local self-employed people reported not having problems seeming marriageable because of the entrepreneurial, ambitious implications of their jobs. As a 32-year-old publishing professional who works so much he has little time for dating, Andrew reported, "When you tell most people you own your own business, I think a lot of, a lot of people actually look at it as,

you know, they realize you're not going to be rich, but they think, well, here's somebody that has goals" (A1.1343-1345).

Of course, LGBTQ people report dealing with similar pressures in terms of job status. Liv, a 35 year old divorced, bisexual woman, connects this entrepreneurial spirit and the ability to flexibly schedule work hours to her feelings of happiness while she was married because of her ability to have more time for her relationship.

> I know when I'm freelancing and I'm making money, even if I'm poor, I'm happier. And also, when I was writing at home, my husband would come home and I'd have dinner ready and I'd dress up kind of nicely and I'd clean the house. I love that and I think it probably did some good things for our marriage. (L1.181-184)

The time spent working for oneself is perceived as holding "intrinsic satisfaction" because of the ability to *schedule work*, rather than living for the *work schedule*, or quite literally at the workplace. Lewis is a bisexual 55 year old, thrice divorced from women, man who has been self-employed as either a musician or a photographer in the village for the past thirty years. He responds to the difficult balance between work and relationships by extending the progressive distinction between job and career, "It's always been a lot of work. Never been all good. And it really comes back to the relevance of the notion of job" (L1.609-610). In this way, he mirrors Liv's emphasis that money is often a continual concern to entrepreneurs, even while their time is their own. As Amber, a 45-year-old disabled lesbian, reports of a time before her disability occurred, "I have encountered one person who did not want to date me simply because I wasn't a fit, you know. Um, what's the word? Wasn't an employee in a, a, as a 'real' job, you know?" (A1.665-666). Like Paige and Robert, Amber was derided for "not going somewhere nine to five" everyday (A1.667). Not having a "real job" or *being* a "real" worker as in "an employee in a, a, *as* a 'real job'" is a linguistic slip supplementing *in* for *as*. Thus the status of one's job relays whether or not one comports to the preferred neoliberal self (rational, ingenious,

responsible, autonomous, self-sufficient, independent and entrepreneurial). Not doing so or not being able to do so proves to be a definite impediment to finding a potential marriage partner. I discuss the additional impact of employment discrimination among LGBTQ-identifying people in the conclusion.

Artists in the area also contend with these economic pressures. They often work shift jobs as most artists are known to do, find 9-5 "normal" jobs that might make them marriage material but do not necessarily make them happy (as Katya relayed), or they live together in artist communes to share space and resources. These artists avoid getting married to solve their financial problems, revealing an adherence to a progressive understanding of marriage.

Indeed, the most striking aspect of living in the area was the time people intentionally take to stop and talk with each other. This could just be a small-town effect but joined with the active interest in the social movements there I believe this intentionality is central to the progressive temporality that helps create the moral geography of the village. Among their working-time commitments, most villagers are deeply engaged with various other time investments, such as being civically engaged in the community, local government, raising children, activist, health or spiritual pursuits or being an artist or musician (or more than one of these things). The most striking example of this intentionality comes through in 36-year-old Lily's discussion of how she and her partner Ethan came to support each other as artists.

> When I meet Ethan he was an artist and he has made decisions in his life up until that point to not follow the path that was laid out for him for what he studied in college, which was to be an art teacher. Then he decided to follow his bliss to play music and work as an illustrator. He changed his job every couple of years because playing music was important to him and the job was secondary. I think what he was modeling for me was to follow your bliss and follow your passion. That has been life altering for me and I'm happier than I've ever been. I don't think I would have had the courage to do that if my partner was not doing that as well. When I was working as an educator at Planned Parenthood, I took home a lot, in my mind. I couldn't let go of so much that I was seeing

> everyday, working with young people who were underprivileged and in very bad conditions and I would take home a lot and I think so much of my life was not joyful. (L1.83-93)

Lily's apparent burn-out from her social service job was ameliorated in the everyday by an intentionality she and Ethan created together. Through emphasizing the progressive relationship ideals of supporting each other emotionally and financially through their entrepreneurial, creative pursuits (even if that means taking random jobs to make ends meet), couples like Lily and Ethan have mixed work endeavors making their home a base of operations and working elsewhere when necessary.

As Lewis, Lily, Liv and Andrew attest, the trade-off with self-employment is that financial security is often a worry. Here villagers struggle with keeping relationships and marriages focused on emotional support and not financial security, while making a living and contending with the expectations of the checklist. A problem with the much vaunted neoliberal entrepreneurial self for most villagers is that there is either *a lot of money and not much time* or *not much money and a lot of time.* A sort of boom-bust relationship cycle modeled after the temporality of the neoliberalized market often follows. This is a very different relationship pacing expectation than the nostalgic "regular relationship" desired by Paige and many others indexing the static, checklist-like temporality of the long-past industrial-manufacturing-based economy. Instead, we see the workers in this section responding "flexibly" to the current economy and in so doing moving their relationship and marriage aspirations accordingly.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to understand how progressive marriage meanings come together at the level of the everyday to further define the local economic conditions contributing to the new marriage norm. Given the everyday pressures of the economy, the new marriage norm

has vast influence across socioeconomic classes that is now becoming visible in demographic trends (Edin and Kefalas 2005; Fry 2010; Gavanas 2004). In this chapter, I focused on the way that the checklist works as heuristic to intimately articulate everyday responses to the neoliberalization. I discussed how the new economy produces conflicted impulses towards marriage that villagers are well aware of and that make large-scale rhetorics of the marriage movement seem quite remote and immaterial to on-the-ground experiences of dating, relationships and marriage.

The articulation of the checklist is an instantiation of the overarching chronotype formation that has included the national discourse on marriage after it unfolded in the post-war cult of domesticity. The neoconservative role strategy continually attempts to reinvest Americans with the idea that this singular understanding of marriage remains central, thus becoming the subject of intense national and intimate concern (Coontz 2000; May 1999). This chronotype establishes at the three levels of time I have parsed throughout this work. Yet these temporal realms "intermingle and merge together" orienting individuals to "many different time references and time measurement and embrace the past, present and future" shaping diverse marriage meanings in situ (Felski 2000, 17).

Marriage in the village has come to function as a signifier of commitment and a "choice," a source of emotional support but not a permanent situation or obligation. The temporal emphasis of the new marriage norm is *delay or continual postponement.* "Responsible adulthood" is spatially determined under neoliberal developmentalism based on the amount of income it takes to live independently in an area. Neoliberally-inflected market success based on responsible adulthood is necessary to support feelings of "readiness." The best scenario to make one "marriage material," then, is to secure "normal" employment through entrepreneurial,

professional, or so-called “creative” pursuits as opposed to low-skilled, chaotic shift employment. All the while, the “normal” job still essentially universalizes 24/7, post-war masculinist worker norms.

The debt and personal risk incurred to compete in this economy is generally not discussed but affects who is perceived as “marriage material.” Most focus on and hope for their “checklist” goals in the long run. Delay of checklist items often happen at great personal expense either in the debt accrued for educational achievement, a sacrifice to reproductive fecundity, or the amount of deferred financial resources a “responsible parent” invests to ensure the next generation has “opportunity.”

In the progressive village, “ambition” is a discursive econo-affective marker by which potential partners are assessed. Individuals respond to market conditions with ambitious affect in hopes of achieving financial independence through the attainment of higher education and marketplace ingenuity or some lucky break that might bring them success in the service/knowledge economy. As I have characterized, villagers work hard to do this and to simultaneously avoid the neoconservative and neoliberal moral temporalities that offer marriage “choice” *as* financial security. The new marriage norm can be viewed temporally as marital arbitrage: faith that in the long run it will all work out (even if with another relationship or marriage), while calculated, ambitious reasoning toward near-term success is not at all guaranteed. I discuss what I mean by “moral temporality” and what these findings mean for the marriage movement in the last chapter.

At the close of this study, the 2008 global “recession” was reported as immediately felt by many of my informants in terms of the availability of jobs but also in regard to their marriages

and relationships—familial and sexual/romantic. As Liam, a 55-year-old, single and divorced man, reports,

> For most of the last six months, I've, I. I've been saying that I don't have time for a woman [laughs]. And I, and I, it's true. I haven't. Because I, I took on more work than I knew I could do, um, because I, because I saw the recession last winter and felt it and thought, okay, this is not a short term thing. (L1.229-232)

The work slow down envisioned by Liam, who works as a local handyman and has a second job working manual labor at a local corporation, was in full swing by winter 2007. Abby, the 48-year-old real estate broker who advises those purchasing homes the area to bring their own job, perceived the recession as beginning over the spring and early summer of 2008. At that time, she began noticing a leveling off of people buying houses and a rise in foreclosure rates.

Indeed over 2007-2008, a new neoliberal "bust" period had begun undermining the dream of buying a house, which had become a contingent checklist item until the financial markets made these "available" by figuring out a way to place the risk of bad loans at the doorstep of the government and the individual, literally. In this way, neoliberalization again drew on a culturally salient value to make profits. The dream of homeownership that most villagers thought was a long way off given their depressed earning capacity came into reach through a deregulated "financial services" industry and so-called exotic derivatives conjured up and essentially destroying this dream for millions of Americans. The mortgage defaults were deferred to insurance companies that mortgage companies then bet against to fail (Hartwig and Bartlett 2009). When people were no longer able to make their mortgage payments (a contract) and foreclosures happened, an entire swath of lower income (many minority) borrowers entered a rentier society in which their labor now goes to property fealty that will never be their own but will contribute to capital gains to the wealthiest among us. Here again we are reminded of the scholars and some villagers who perceive this as neo-feudalism, which is a cruel irony since a

main architect of American neoliberalism devised the economic strategy to supposedly avoid such an outcome for the average citizen as was forcefully argued in the classic book *The Road to Serfdom* (Hayek 1944). The educational loan market has been indicated as the next boom-bust cycle as people attempt to retrain themselves in light of the current economic crisis—and Paige is already onto this and telling her friends to avoid college and associated educational debt (Chadwick 2012; Lieber 2012; Martin and Lehren 2012; Martin 2012a, 2012b; Prosser 2012).

At the end of 2008, the local "entrepreneurs" and those working shift jobs were hit first and hardest during the latest crisis period. Over that year, many village shops and restaurants closed, short-term contract work reportedly was hard to come by, real estate agents were left with lots of time on their hands "to spend with family," gas prices were topping out at near $4.00 a gallon, and the media spinning the "economic crisis" had us all dreading the future.

Working as a public social worker with caseloads throughout two counties, Dulci drove 30 miles roundtrip on average to each location. She reported spending over $200 per month of her own money, in addition to a paltry gas mileage reimbursement program that did not keep up with the on-going "fuel crisis." In focus group discussions, many villagers discussed taking steps to protect themselves the best they could, some against their preferred life-time temporalities, as foreclosures, lay-offs and plunging 401K retirement plans forced them to adjust their ideas of the near and distant future. Some relocated and others were planning moves—either to move in with their extended families, taking in family or friends who had become homeless or jobless, or moving to more rural areas with cheaper rents but longer commutes. In short, during the beginning of the 2008 economic crisis people were left turning to the social provisioning that four decades of neoliberalization had left them, namely, each other.

CHAPTER 7

MARRIAGE AS SEMAPHORE

Levi is a gay, white Jewish man who, at the time of our interview, was 49 years old and living in a town adjacent to the village. He told me about his participation in the 1980s with the activist group *AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power!* Commonly referred to as ACT UP!, the group was formed by hundreds of scared and angry gay men and their supporters (France 2012; Goodman 2012). Levi recalled ACT UP! New York's turn toward marriage by recounting an action staged in 1989 at the New York City Wedding Bureau.

> Because we're members of ACT UP! we didn't really believe in anything as conventional as marriage! [laughs] But we did recognize for other people, marriage was an important issue and that the lack of it was causing second class citizenship, especially the, you know, the phenomenon, the social phenomenon that was happening was that couples all over America, um, you know, like gay couples, one of them would die and then because the other one had no legal paper rights about their relationship he would be thrown out of the apartment. And the parents of the deceased usually didn't like the fact that the deceased was gay anyway and wanted to obliterate any memory or any evidence that they were in a relationship. So, the parents would just swoop in take over the apartment or whatever and take back all of the possessions because this other person had no right to the possessions and this other person is usually so grief stricken that he wouldn't even fight back. And the parents would just, you know, take everything, close the apartment and go away. So, not only does this person lose his lover but he loses his entire, you know, livelihood, possessions and everything like that. So, that is why we went to the municipal building, to the bureau, the Wedding Bureau and then we had this demonstration. (L3.253-269)

The mention of "second class citizenship" here clearly invokes the feminist critique of marriage but the intention was to marry in the face of crisis.

Within the early context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in New York City, I locate the first stirrings of the marriage movement in the state. Yet this began after neoliberalization emerged there. As I have discussed, U.S. neoliberal policies are devised

to be implemented in times of *crisis* or *moments of opportunity* (Moody 2007, 127). As celebrated neoliberal economist Milton Friedman stated of the ethos:

> Only a crisis—actual or perceived—produces real change. When that crisis occurs, the actions that are taken depend on the ideas that are lying around. That, I believe, is our basic function: to develop alternatives to existing policies, to keep them alive and available until the politically impossible becomes politically inevitable. [Friedman 1983: viii-ix as cited in Peck 2008: 4]

Those crises—actual or perceived—and the neoliberally-based policies "lying around" are actually kept alive through the continuous generation of think-tank reports and media commentary.

D'Emilio's article "Capitalism and Gay Identity" originally published at the height of AIDS hysteria in 1983 articulated the economic, political and social changes fueled by a fear of the disease, the newly installed neoliberal governmentality and the neoconservative "culture war" rhetoric that justified institutionalized sexual prejudice. During this period, the atmosphere of fear, hysteria and stigma surrounding many people with the disease as well as their families and friends was noted by scholars and journalists alike (Altman 1986; Black 1986; Cahill 1984; Clendinen 1983; Fee and Fox 1988; Germani 1985; Goldstein 1983; Greer 1986; Shilts 1987; Specter 1985; Starr and Gonzalez 1983; see Treichler 1988 for the meanings the disease generated in popular discourse during that period). The crisis and homophobic hysteria that follow was used to legitimize the neglect of gay men with the disease, exacerbating its social trauma, which lead to the reactionary formation of ACT UP! (many of whom were influenced by Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality*; see Turner 2000). The hopeful futurity of sexual identity politics exemplified during the Stonewall uprising in 1969 and communicated publicly through early Gay Liberation Movement organizing shifted dramatically.

> In the 1980s, however, with the resurgence of an active right wing, gay men and lesbians face a future warily. Our victories appear tenuous and fragile; the relative freedom of the past few years seems too recent to be permanent. In some parts of the lesbian and gay male community a feeling doom is growing; analogies with McCarthy's America, when "sexual perverts" were a special target of the right, and with Nazi Germany, where gays were shipped to concentration camps, surfaced with increasing frequency. (D'Emilio 1996, 263)

For example, in 1985,

> hospitals have refused to admit AIDS patients; schools have kept out children with the disease; employers have threatened to screen job-applicants for AIDS before hiring; local authorities have proposed screening employees in certain job categories, such as food-handling; and some have even suggested making transmission of the disease a felony. (Germani 1985, 3)

A few years ahead of the identification of the epidemic in 1981, the big-N neoliberal alignment of New York City was achieved under Mayor Ed Koch's administration. In 1978, Mayor Koch began working through a detailed plan provided by New York City bankers and wealthy elites that began an aggressive austerity program to close the budget shortfall. The program entailed making drastic moves away from social welfare in the closing of public hospitals and clinics, and restricting public housing options for the poor, sick and elderly (Perrow and Guillen 1991; Tabb 1982). Though these efforts did not actually work to close the budget shortfall, they created a more competitive employment environment that drove down costs for business in terms of wages and opened up public revenue programs for private profit. Yet the strategy also caught gay men, the first group of victims killed by AIDS, floundering in the face of a new crisis: early public health warnings, medications or governmental-funding of rigorous research into the causes of and treatments for the illness were absent.

As Perrow and Guillen document, the apathetic response of the Koch and then the Reagan Administrations to this public health threat was intended to help them avoid "big government" and meant avoidance of

> any increase in spending for human services—or most governmental activities other than defense. We count this as important because this resistance to what was called "big government" occasionally overrode ideological considerations and even interfered with life saving efforts directed toward people for whom there was wide-spread sympathy. (1990, 50)

Through all of this politicking, the HIV/AIDS pandemic was killing hundreds and then thousands of gay men in New York City per year (Shilts 1991).

Once the scope of the epidemic became apparent, Mayor Ed Koch lamented the passage of a 1988 appropriations bill in a New York Times editorial. It included language added by neoconservative Senator Jesse Helms to keep the "Federal Centers for Disease Control from funding AIDS programs that 'promote, encourage or condone homosexual activities'" (Koch 1987, 27). Helms objected to the Gay Men's Health Crisis program that taught gay men ways to avoid getting the disease by using materials featuring sexual pictures as well as counseling to educate gay men about the disease with explicit language.

In Koch's editorial, we see the difference between large-scale Neoliberal (as policy), neoliberal (as economic ethos that impacts governing techniques), and neoconservative temporalities that still drive the marriage debate today. Koch's editorial argues, "What can't be undone can be uncovered. That alone may insure that future Congressional action on AIDS ignores the homophobes by supporting programs and policies that have proved so effective in fighting this tragic disease" (1987, 27). Here we see the joint and often conflicted temporal impulses of neoliberalism and

neoconservatism in the U.S., which Perrow and Guillen above call "ideological considerations" (1990). With an emphasis on the inevitability of progress and logical reason to overcome prejudice, Koch argues that the homophobes will be "uncovered" supposedly by historical progress.

Yet the hysteria whipped up around homosexuality during that period instantiated a neoconservatively-driven moral panic strategy around sex, sexuality and especially homosexuality that is still used to remove government funding with aims toward privatization. For example, federal politicians made headlines decrying the sexually explicit photographs exhibited by gay artist Robert Mapplethorpe in 1991 and attempted to reduce National Endowment for the Arts funding by a full 50% (Associated Press 1990; Genocchio and Goldstein 2012; Rosenberg 2012). By 1994, this culture war hysteria swept Republicans into office, allowing them to take control of the U.S. Congress while the Democrat Bill Clinton was president. In 1996, neoconservative state-level political appointees focused on a SUNY New Paltz conference using similar culture war tactics that trumpeted against information on sex and sexuality as reason to justify removal of public higher education funding with the long-term aim of privatizing those functions (Duggan 2003; Healy 2005). Again in 2010, the tactic with successfully used in a call to censor a 1987 video at the National Portrait Gallery by HIV-positive artist David Wojnarowicz or face removal of Congressional funding (Gopnik 2010). Wojnarowicz created writings and art that were "elaborate, imaginative social vignettes that captured the topsy-turvy nature of the world in the late 1980s - the fear of nuclear holocaust, the increasing moral faith in untrammeled capitalism" and the Catholic Church's ban of the

use of condom during an epidemic contained only through condom use (Kennicott 2010; Trescott 2010).

This was the atmosphere summoned by Levi's story. LGBTQ people were living in fearful indignation in the 1980s when ACT UP! activists challenged, with protests and in-your-face activism garnering wide media attention, not just homophobia but the deep economic restructurings under the New York Solution (Tabb 1982). In the early days of the disease, restructuring caused all levels of government and organizations in the state to notoriously ignore the "gay cancer" until it was a full-blown epidemic (Perrow and Guillen 1990). It was to such neglect and persecution that ACT UP! responded.

Levi recalled that ACT UP! members began to imagine marriage as a resource in a time of crisis and against the "blood imaginings" of American kinship because of the case of Miguel Braschi. In July 1989, Braschi won a 4-2 decision by New York's Court of Appeals allowing him to remain in the rent-controlled apartment that he and his lover, Leslie Blanchard, who died of AIDS in 1986, shared for over eleven years (Gutis 1989; Polikoff 2009). In the wake of his tragic loss and mirroring Levi's account above, Mr. Braschi had to fight to remain in his New York City apartment since the lease was in Mr. Blanchard's name. Rent-control guidelines at the time used a very specific, biological or legal definition of "family" that Mr. Braschi did not meet since, at the time, gay men were barred in New York State from legally marrying each other.

The epidemic exposed the problems with kin-based inheritance systems, reliant as these usually are upon biologically-related, "blood" family members. This focus generated an interest in marriage. To be "blood-identified" as a family member hinges on a mother declaring a genitor present at the "moment" of fertilization of an egg, either

implicitly assumed through a marriage or, more recently, explicitly declared on a birth certificate by the birth mother[5] certifying the genitor. Once so legally established, the so-called biological next of kin obtains the material assets of the deceased absent a state-licensed marriage and even in the face of familial estrangement. But the Braschi case successfully broadened the legal definition of *family* in the state (Tran 1989) and inspired ACT UP! to think of marriage as a way to mitigate rising institutionalized discrimination of gay men in the 1980s.

There were good reasons to do this. A 2004 report by the non-partisan United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) attempted to count all the federal laws in which "marital status is a factor in determining or receiving benefits, rights, and privileges" (Shah 2004, 1). The GAO found 1,138 such federal statutory provisions as of December 31, 2003. The relevant laws included those in the categories of

> Social Security and Related Programs, Housing, and Food Stamps; Veterans' Benefits; Taxation; Federal Civilian and Military Service Benefits; Employment Benefits and Related Laws; Immigration, Naturalization, and Aliens; Indians; Trade, Commerce, and Intellectual Property; Financial Disclosure and Conflict of Interest; Crimes and Family Violence; Loans, Guarantees, and Payments in Agriculture; Federal Natural Resources and Related Laws; and Miscellaneous Laws. (Smith, Palmer and Cross 2009, 5, *fn28*)

The use of marriage as a right allowed under modern contract law is *a* reason that these LGBTQ activists turned to marriage, even as many people were engaged in the societal contest regarding the usefulness of the institution, its legal basis and its use to exclude people from state-based social provisioning founded on income pooled among married couples (see Polikoff 2008, 2009 for arguments attempting to move us "Beyond Marriage").

Finding for the plaintiff, the court said "they regarded one another and were regarded by friends and family as spouses" (Tran 1989). This decision essentially broadened the legal definition of a family using a marriage analogy in New York State. The Braschi case established the criteria for legal family in the state as:

1. Exclusivity and longevity
2. Level of emotional and financial commitment
3. How a couple has conducted their daily lives and held themselves to society
4. The reliance placed upon one another for daily family services (Gutis 1989, A1)

The court's reliance on the length of time that a couple has invested in each other and their daily care-giving actions toward one another gives recognition to forms of family-making taken on by many LGBTQ people (Weston 1991). This way of *doing family* is another way of creating kinship and belonging. In the Braschi case, it was used to create a legal precedent for establishing relationships outside of marriage or blood based instead on the amount time and financial investment we literally commit to each other. The ruling has been relied upon in other cases for determining which relationships qualify as "family" (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1989).

LGBTQ couples and families can be denied such familial status through discrimination requiring redress from the legal system, therefore such groups seem to be doing family in a novel manner yet my analysis from the "Circle of Relatedness" exercise reveals something more. Over the period of my fieldwork, many villagers articulated that U.S. culture now allows for the legitimate conceptualization of relatedness outside of "traditional" or legal marriage and "blood" family (see chapters 5 and 6). Such re-conceptualization was born through critiques of marriage and the changing economy impacting the deinstitutionalizing of heterosexual marriages over the past four decades in

the U.S. In Levi's comments, the age-based post-war large-scale temporal discourse is evident yet so too is the queer, progressive discourse on marriage. He was a young gay man living in New York City during the turbulent HIV/AIDS era. Since then, he and his partner have moved north, bought a small house (fulfilling the checklist) and sought marriage in several jurisdictions, finally legally marrying in California during the short period between June 16 and November 5, 2008 before Proposition 8 passed (Franchise Tax Board 2010). This ability to change, to be able to continue to be a "badass" gay man, even while married, is a complicated social reality that high-level legal and political rhetoric about "family values" or "the right" to marry does not adequately capture. The point is that the everyday and lifetime experiences of progressive marriage articulate such complexity.

Levi's recollection of a story that happened in 1989 here also demonstrates a sort of "canary in the coal mine" effect. Gay men who were dying of AIDS in New York City during the early years of neoliberalization were among the first group of Americans to be hard hit by the newly installed economic policy that offers marriage *as* social provisioning. It was within such shifting economic priorities that ACT UP! staged sit-ins at the New York City Marriage Bureau to demand marriage. They did not believe that marriage would solve all the problems of homophobic violence, stigma and discrimination. Instead, marriage could be turned to in a moment of crisis as an imperfect, already-existing resource. Though marriage codified discrimination against alternative family formations and intimate relations, it also provided some legal protection during a period in which sweeping institutional changes away from supportive social programs were increasing the pace at which people became marginalized.

It is not inconsequential that in 1984 Rubin articulated the concept of the "charmed circle" and D'Emilio linked gay identity with capitalism at the same time that gay men were dying in droves from HIV/AIDS, including Michel Foucault who died of the disease in 1984. I do not think that Rubin, D'Emilio, Foucault or even Wojnarowicz were explicitly linking neoliberalization with the disease. I do think they were responding to the atmosphere that was later captured by Charles Perrow and Mauro Guillen's book *The AIDS Disaster: The Failure of Organizations in New York and the Nation* (1990). The impulses of theorists forming the economic ethos of neoliberalization out of the trauma of World War II were not inconsequential to the tragedy such LGBTQ scholars and activists responded to. Indeed, the neoconservatives declaring a culture war, along with ACT UP! members doing the same in a fight for their very lives, were each responding with their own sources of cultural anger, failure and trauma forming a contest around the basic definitions of marriage, family and citizenship (Herdt 2009).

This struggle still shows up in the discourse of progressives on the subject of marriage like when Conrad verbalized his quandary over whether or not to marry his longtime girlfriend, who was then a citizen of another country. Conrad was against marriage because he does not believe that individuals should enjoy fewer rights and privileges than married people. He is basing his criticism on the thousands of rights conferred on married couples and the very "the right to marry" rhetoric that the LGBT marriage movement has utilized (Marzullo 2005). Aptly, Conrad illustrates this unfair treatment by using an example of the graduate training his now wife would have been denied if they did not marry.

> She was able to get in-state residency, get in-state tuition and be able to afford to go to graduate school and get higher education. You know, so I think that all of

> these things that we have, all of these "rights" that we allegedly have that you only get by being married, should just be universal rights to begin with, and therefore marriage should have no place in that. (C1.35-39)

Since turning to marriage for economic support goes against the progressive ideal of marriage, Conrad closely considered whether or not to marry her.

He sought out opinions from people who were not ardent marriage supporters, exemplifying the classical liberal attitude of being suspicious of tradition. As he puts it, one of these people "I knew to be sort of very cynical and critical, who subscribed to a radical feminist ideology against marriage and, and another one who was not married but who had been with his partner for decades at that point" (C1.50-52). Conrad called the latter "a radical, progressive guy" (C1.108) who was in his late 50s.

> And it turns out actually, one of the funny things is the guy who was living with the woman for decades without being married, had, I think just shortly before that, maybe two or three years before that, they actually went to the town, to the justice, got married because they realized that there was some issue with their health insurance or something like that where they realized that technically, if something catastrophic happened [being married was important]. (C1.58-63)

This most "radical guy" has now turned to marriage for healthcare since other social provisioning for individual insurance did not exist. In addition, "the radical feminist one, she was like, 'You know this is the world we live in.' You know you're not going to screw her out of higher education because you want to take a principle stand on this. You know there's other ways to fight, you know, to fight even on this issue" (C1.128-130). The progressive delay of marriage is about meeting the new marriage norm of financial independence. Yet progressives like Conrad and his friends implicitly understand that marriage has been proposed under neoconservatism as a way to find security in a neoliberal economy that systematically attempts to deregulate, defund and scale back social provisioning.

Contextualizing the comments by his radical progressive friend, Conrad continues by recalling his argument hinged on "securing people's access to, you know, food and you know, a decent standard of living, and you know, you know, freedom of speech - I think he just prioritized a whole bunch of other issues and thought, you know, we should just go along with the marriage thing" (C1.114-116). To a neoliberal imaginary and naturalized market, the concepts of public health care and other social provisionings are radically threatening to bottom-line profits. Likewise marriage is radical to the progressive temporality as long as that imaginary is split from the economic contingencies of the everyday—once the neoliberalized context is acknowledged, marriage "choice" becomes more of a last resort, a hedge against an uncertain future. This is marital arbitrage.

Conrad's sentiments sum up the progressive stance invigorated since the Great Depression and reinvigorated since the 2008 global recession that very publicly supports the "right to marry" among LGBT couples in the village. Indeed, he responds to the multiplicity of the present moment demonstrating how one might simultaneously turn toward marriage without forgetting other progressive priorities.

The continuing implementation of neoliberalization moves with elite decision-makers at corporations and financial houses. Supporters of this ethos have pushed the government over the years to systematically move key decision-making positions away from voter-approval and in this way neoliberalization contributes to undermining American democracy (Duggan 2003; Soss, Fording and Schram 2009; Venn 2009). The kind of unfettered capitalism promoted through neoliberalization means more rapid periods of "expansion" and "contraction" under which "booms" as well as recessions and

depressions of the economy appear (Dumenil and Levy 2011; Harvey 2005). In newspapers and on market analysts' graphs such tidy renderings of flux represent not just "market swings" but dramatic swings in human prosperity and suffering that do directly affect marriage decision-making. Though many against "same-sex marriage" couch their disapproval as opposition to a certain type of sexual desire, as I have shown and other scholars have argued, the forces changing marriage are linked to these economic swings (D'Emilio 1996; Whitehead 2011a, 2011b; Zelizer 2005).

The so-called "crisis" of marriage and family that has dominated the attention of scholars and politicians alike find progressives engaging very local, intimate decision-making as an avenue for continuing to find "other ways to fight" (C1.128-130). Now villagers approach marriage as either a last resort through arbitrage-like decision making or intentionally as a "choice" conditioned by the market even as this type of decision making goes against their preferred meanings of marriage as signaling happiness and emotional readiness to undertake this commitment. To those who want marriage, the institution has become a symbol of marketplace achievement for those who can afford it.

Symbolically then marriage still does what institutions do—it draws a magical line beyond which only the deserving should pass. Under the new marriage norm, large numbers of people are kept from being considered marriageable. By resemanticizing the basic terms Americans use to understand ourselves, neoliberal self-making and the financialization of social adulthood are often tacitly accepted. This is the reason that both Bailey and Kelly feel "too young to be adults" given their indebtedness and lack of marketized retirement savings. It is also the reason that Abby and Haley avoid naming the fact that their economic security was the driving reason for their marriagability.

Though marriage in a neoliberal context seems to have become a "choice" for everyone (see Cherlin 2004, 2009 and Nock 2009), its new symbolic meaning construes it as only for those who are successful in the marketplace or through other means, i.e., inheritance or, tautologically, by "marrying well," which implicates the classed dimensions of marriage in the current economy. Such rhetorical "choice" does not account for the much more complex motivators and vulnerabilities that characterize real human interaction such as emotional and economic dilemmas that go against rational-actor economic estimations. These dilemmas include navigating race-, sexuality-, gender-, class-and age-based discrimination and hardships as much as sexual desires conspiring with the increasingly fierce, globalized job-market and dampened economic achievement possibilities (Adam 2005, 344; Tolman 2005; Zelizer 2005).

In this an atmosphere, the post-war ideal of marriage is no longer equated by villagers as security and well-being. Under neoliberalization people are *explicitly* evaluated as marriageable based on their ability or ambition to earn in the marketplace. This evaluation is often tacitly accepted and contingently applied based on one's class, racial, sexual orientation, gender, age, educational status and birth right. Abby was a 48-year-old, bisexual villager who had children with her lesbian partner of 20 years yet was never interested in marriage as the "most heinous, chattel slavery constructs by the patriarchy" but she *was* contemplating marrying her boyfriend in the latter half of her life (A1.51). Given her proclaimed feminist leanings, she insightfully explained how U.S. marriage now functions as a "semaphore" (A1.84) in our neoliberal economy—*marriage is now a signaling system relaying information about the financial, career and social success of individuals within a couple*.

In short, the "new marriage norm" means marriage is either a semaphore of achievement or deployed in moments of need as arbitrage. Now, along with the age-old use of marriage for retaining property within families and for the control of women's reproduction, materially becoming a good "prospect" (as in gold prospecting) for marriage is key: one is "free" to "choose" marriage and literally becomes "marriage material" through access to higher education and ambitious participation in the market. In this atmosphere, what becomes clear is that the pace of marriage deinstitutionalization should increase as fewer people are found to be symbolically marriageable, while marriage is simultaneously offered as a practical replacement for social provisioning for lower income people who seek the economic protections of the institution. This is the Catch-22 of the new marriage norm serving as another clear example of the contradictions that appear with neoliberalization.

Though my study was conducted in a relatively homogenous area among mostly white, middle-class, highly-educated and politically-aware villagers, this symbolic meaning has been found among other populations. The "new marriage norm" can be seen in Edin and Kefalas' findings among a racially diverse group of lower-income, less-educated Americans (2005). Also, Jaye Cee Whitehead's recent study of the push for "same-sex marriage" among "the left" found a distinctly neoliberal role stance among LGBTQ marriage advocates (2011a). In a New York Times Op-Ed Whitehead argued that

> supporting marriage on economic grounds dehumanizes same-sex couples by conflating civil rights with economic perks. Americans should be offended when the value of gays and lesbians is reduced to their buying power as consumers or their human and creative capital as workers. Why can't same-sex couples have access to the same rights and protections as their straight neighbors simply because they are citizens? (Whitehead 2011b, A21)

The answer is that LGBTQ people do not stand outside of the new marriage norm as much as they do not stand outside of the neoliberalized economy. These equations are not unique to LGBTQ people seeking marriage.

Such marriage meanings though are usually relayed symbolically as most of the villagers I asked insisted that you do not teach marriage, you show it. As many scholars, activists and LGBTQ citizens have argued, the marriage movement, weighted with such tremendous symbolism, is indeed embroiled in a fierce, emotional contest to define citizenship (Brandzel 2005; Culhane 1999; Goldberg-Hiller 2002; Hull 2001; Wedgwood 1999; Whitehead 2011a; Yamin 2005). Now LGBTQ couples are also subject to the intimate, competitive pressures our current neoliberal economy places onto marriage *and* marketplace participation.

As my ethnographic data demonstrate, marriage remains a valiant yet incomplete effort to shore up material protections and resources for some couples who are "marriageable" in this changed neoliberal moment. For LGBTQ people and many others who have not "made it" economically or worse are pushed to marry in order to receive welfare, promoting marriage is a misdirected goal, or worse a "shame" or a "a slap in the face to everyone who continues to experience institutionalized oppression in this country" (Boellstorff 2007a, 227 and Bailey, Kandaswamy, and Richardson 2008, 118, respectively).

Moral Temporalities and the Marrying Times

Over the course of analyzing villagers' perceptions on marriage in the current economic moment, I realized that the various temporal role strategies and the hybridizing of these in life-time and everyday enactments of marriage may best be described as

"moral temporalities." The section weaves together the idea of moral temporality with the study findings.

The term "moral temporalities" was coined by philosopher Manfred S. Frings in a footnote in his 1987 work, *Philosophy of Prediction and Capitalism*, though he began to develop the concept in his 1979 work as well. Frings dedicated his life's work to exploring and elucidating German philosopher Max Scheler's writings. Frings first discussed the idea of "moral temporality" as "the temporality of the moral good." He credits Scheler "for having paved an important way toward this question in the foundation of ethics," (1987, 144, fn 6). Frings' articulation of "moral temporality" is the *pacing* of "moral goodness" foundationally discussed in his introduction to a book by the Catholic religious leader Pope Johannes Paul II (Wojtyla 1979). Two scholars since Frings have used the term "moral temporality," yet neither credit his work (Kertzer 2009; Hayes and Carpenter 2012).

Moral temporalities link with moral geographies on different salient scalar conceptions of space, such as various ideas of the self, family, village, state, and nation. These scalar conceptions are salient in the U.S. but may be different elsewhere. Human conceptions of time, especially correct pacings and urgencies, are influenced by these broader moral geographies that instill cultural, religious and societal messages about right and wrong. These are also impacted by more internal phenomenological temporal processes (such as aging, desire, illness, child birth/reproduction, and various other chemical/biological influences like consuming food and drugs or being exposed to environmental toxicants) that are both culturally and phenomenologically understood. If we understand that the concept of morality is not just linked with religion, but instead that

"contemporary Western societies consider feelings the core of the self, they are constructed as a site of truth and ethics [and] are 'the main field of morality'…emotions are deeply socially constructed, from the outside in" (Irvine 2009, 235-236). These moral temporalities and physiological experiences are interpreted through various moral geographies to affect human perception and drive action.

Over time, moral temporalities build on each other based on an individual's experience and the historical circumstances they live through. The Marriage Movement is about a feud over the ability to define the "moral good" for everyone. This is one reason why, whenever I asked villagers about what marriage *should be,* I was met with hesitation. Many would qualify their answers by saying something to the effect of "well, I mean this for *here* but in the South the answer would be different." In the contiguous United States, there is no reason that the soil, air or water flowing in "the South" would change people's perceptions so dramatically. Instead, the confusion between moral temporality and moral geography makes it seem that the geography has caused the differences when in fact these work together and are driven by different conceptions of time and the historical justifications. Place informs and buoys understandings in particular moments and of particular social constructs, like institutions and marriage, yet the moral temporalities that one understands provide the frameworks for action.

Drawing upon particular temporal role strategies articulated by people in positions of power and leadership, such as politicians, parents and religious leaders, moral temporalities are the evaluations that accrue in one's memory and function to orient oneself in a particular time and drive action in space. Thus, moral temporalities and geographies are recursively instantiated in discourse. In this way and over a person's

lifetime, moral temporalities build a repertoire regarding different ways of justifying correct action. As such, moral temporalities are durable and individual yet provide a cohesive cultural framework within which context and history is understood.

Based on a large-scale historical event (like the 2004 marriage event) and interpreted from a particular moral geography (like the progressive, deindustrialized neoliberally informed village), ideas of accurate meanings and correct action coalesce. As I discussed at length in chapter four, the basis of each large-scale temporality and role strategy draws upon particular moral imaginations that are integrated reflexively by individuals in conceiving their life-times in specific geohistorical contexts. Indeed, the difference between how marriage was conceived in cohorts raised during the Great Depression versus those raised after World War II were based on economic and historic circumstance just as these are understood very specifically by villagers during the "Great Recession" of 2008 (Hareven 1991, 1993). The everyday pacing changes of these different circumstances altered "life-course" expectations and material circumstances so that the post-war group essentially lived a stage-based ideal novel for their particular times (Hareven 1991, 167-168). Hareven's concept of the "life course" (in which individuals conceptualize their potentials within their particular historical context) is very similar to the life-time concept I applied from Felski's 2000 work.

Since moral geographies are contextually malleable over time, moral temporalities may change. Also, moving from place to place provides exposure to different moral geographies and allows for the expansion of the repertoire of moral temporalities one may draw upon. This is why those who live in or travel to different places are often said to be "exposed" to different ideas and ideologies and often draw

distinctions between how they felt or thought prior to and afterwards. It is also why those who have moved around a lot in life may have to try to learn about those who have not or to reach back into their memory to understand their standpoints. This latter reflection was apparent when so many of my informants who were not from the village paused and struggled to find the words for why people from their hometown married. They didn't only have to remember which people married but they had to draw on a repertoire of meanings for why those friends and family members married when they did as compared to how they currently think about it given the moral temporalities and geography/ies they experience/d. This was apparent in Emma's affective emphasis on being so glad she left NYC because it was all about achievement and "the ring" but now "none of that comes into play with me anymore. None of that has any value to me anymore" (E1.177-178). Likewise the layering of moral temporalities directing marriage decisions was apparent in Tyler's discussion of his reflexive revision of "Southern courtship," especially since his experiences living with lesbian roommates in New York.

The difference between the generations that have grown up in a place yet at "different times" (moments that accrue via historical and personal events) is that messages shared may change based on geohistorical circumstances that shift the local moral geography, so inhabitants will have different moral temporalities from their experiences in different time periods but in the same place. This was obvious in the changing circumstances regarding race relations in the village when Dulci compared her experiences to her aunt's reported experience of greater racial intolerance there four decades ago.

The large-scale temporalities of progressivism and neoconservatism serve as other examples of the moral temporalities that drive the current U.S. marriage movement. These have become the most prominent ones in media accounts and those offered by politicians and advocates as role strategies "for" or "against" "same-sex marriage." Yet several of these large-scale role stances exist. Neoconservatives would vilify Levi and his ACT UP! group members. The neoliberal role stance suggests marriage for economically disadvantaged people like women on welfare. Those upholding the Gay Liberation movement as the movement for sexual freedom charge LGBTQ people who want to "shake up" marriage as being "homonormative." Progressives suspect couples using the label "traditional" to describe their marriage of being somehow backward. These are all specific evaluations, each drawing on a distinct "moral temporality" based on the spatial/geographic contexts in which they are considered.

Mayor West invoked a progressive moral temporality in his "sermon" on marriage. There he drew upon queer temporality by invoke the power of past social movements and little-h histories for justifying the stand that gays and lesbians should be married. This moral temporality moved him to act within the moral geography of the village in the space-time equation of what I have been calling this marriage chronotype. The mayor was reacting against the neoliberal and the neoconservative temporalities that often work together on the subject of marriage. Neoliberal moral temporality "constructs human actors as rational, adult, contract-making individuals in a free market of options" (Adam 2005, 344). Neoconservative temporality draws on a specific manifestation of "traditional" marriage born during post-war anxieties in the U.S. and presented as the only right, good, timeless and moral marriage. Yet as I demonstrated in chapter five,

temporalities hybridize within a particular moral geography, in the case of this study, that is the Village of New Paltz.

The concept of moral temporality also helps to clarify the implicit temporal influences that shape marriage meanings. For example, many queer theorists and activists alike draw upon an ethics and a history born of neglect and family disruption, which was most acutely demonstrated during the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Queer theory emerged out of that hysteria. ACT UP! activists drawing on Foucault subverted canonical representations of heterosexuality, masculinity and femininity to shock the public about the need for free, accessible condoms, medicine and research into the epidemic (Turner 2000). But the epidemic did something more; it demonstrated how arbitrary sexual identity labels were/are. As the disease spread between people who ostensibly were "only" gay or "only" straight, it became clear that "normal" sexual and gendered identities were much more behaviorally complicated than previously conceived. Queer theory has subsequently developed a dual interest in constantly deconstructing categories of sexual/gender identity, showing how historically contingent these are *and* destabilizing notions of "normativity" (Turner 2000).

Yet, queer theoretical works are often criticized because they use a particular ideation of queerness inflected with white U.S. (usually male) experience to deconstruct and then infer a notion of sexuality based on Gay Liberationist and sexual freedom rhetorics (Puar 2007, 28). To sum up the particular idea of sexuality that has been vaunted by LGBTQ people who are against "same-sex marriage,"

> a number of benefits accrue from being unencumbered by the norms of heterosexual society: These include less restrictive gender roles; nonmonogamous intimate relationships and more freedom for sexual experimentation; family units that are chosen, not biological; and new models for parenting. But most

> important, homosexuality offers a vision of sexual pleasure completely divorced from the burden of reproduction: sex for its own sake, a distillation of the pleasure principle…A number of authors have argued similarly that to attempt to recreate the straight, ostensibly monogamous nuclear family is to lose what is valuable in less sexually constraining lifestyles. Warner suggests we remember the "important pleasures and intimacies in promiscuous sex"; enjoying nonmonogamous relationships need not be a means of "rejecting all of society–only a hostile and restrictive version of morality." (Yep, Lovaas and Elia 2003, 55)

Queer temporality, emerging as it did "most spectacularly at the end of the twentieth century, from within those gay communities whose horizons of possibility have been severely diminished by the AIDS epidemic," became not only a "way of life" or a specific "relational system" but an approach to life and thought (Halberstam 2005, 1-2).

I spend time elucidating these points because those executing a queer-identified role strategy, as much as the other temporalities discussed, implicitly index a certain history onto which they then base ideas of "correct" sexual morality as opposed to "only a hostile and restrictive version of morality" (Warner 1999, 137; see also Däumer 1992; Glick 2000; Huffer 2001; Weston 1991). The difference here is between queer temporality advanced largely by academic queer theorists and those occupying a queer identity (a non sequitur to queer theorists). Many times these are one and the same thing, especially in early writings that did not focus on a scope wider than Western experience. For current queer theorists, many now work out queer temporality to form an approach to sexuality "that cannot be reduced to individual or group identity, and so allows for a broader analysis of dissident sexualities across cultures and historical moments" (Freeman 2007).

In terms of the intra-community debate, queer identity drawing on a very specific ideation of moral sexuality indexes a particular historical moment to argue against

marriage (see Warner 1999). Queer temporality allows a broader analysis, such that now thinking and doing transgressive sex, relationships, family and now marriage as well are not at all specific to LGBTQ identities. Those with stakes against marriage based on their indexing of the neoconservative or queer sexual morality articulated above though might use such temporality to hash out a role stance that does evaluate marriage as right or wrong. This is the difference between a broader temporality and a role strategy that draws upon a moral temporality in situ.

Drawing on these various moral temporalities, people think ideas of marriage differently, even if still objectified *as* somehow normative given the historical connotative freighting *the word* carries. Such ideations of marriage move against simplistic renderings of "homosexuality" as merely "a vision of sexual pleasure completely divorced from the burden of reproduction: sex for its own sake, a distillation of the pleasure principle" (Yep, Lovaas and Elia 2003, 55).

What I am arguing is that queer temporality can split from queer identity, so that many people can draw on its deconstructive ethos and questioning of the normative to powerfully redefine relatedness outside of evaluations of right and wrong. Simply put, the discussion of "same-sex" marriage implicitly extends to matters of sex, gender and sexuality *and* family and reproductive capacity as not mutually exclusive. The public discussion of this has ostensibly just begun because of LGBTQ people engaging in marriage *and* family/reproductive endeavors.

Levi goes on to discuss how his ideas on marriage have changed over his lifetime:

> I mean, you know, none of us at the time really had any interest in it. You know. We really saw marriage as, just part of the status quo and part of, um, mainstream heterosexual living and, you know, I'm sure a lot of us changed our ideas down the line but at the time we were bad assess. You know? We couldn't be bothered

> with anything so conventional. But we understood, you know, the importance of it as a cause. And so, you know, we put aside whatever our, our, um, individual feelings were to rise to the occasion and work on, you know, work on the issue.
> *Michelle: Right, right, right. Great. So, um, have you and Jamie gotten married in New York?*
> Oh yeah. Several times. (L3.389-397)

The importance here is that a "badass" like himself has simultaneously occupied various social positions on marriage over his lifetime drawing on moral temporalities and moral geographies he has and still does experience. Neither sexual identities nor normativity nor marriage are fixed but instead performative and process-oriented in the most fundamental sense.

The overarching theme joining together my argument as a whole was the idea of the chronotype. I argued in the introduction that the 2004 village marriages and the national-level marriage debate as a whole are examples of Bender and Wellberys' 1991 concept. A chronotype emphasizes the terrain of action in which events unfold in a particular context, while placing an emphasis on human conceptions of time in shaping those contexts. The analysis linked together how villagers conceptualize marriage meaning and performances in various contexts (national, intimate, local). It also briefly touched on biological realms because temporalities such as future reproduction and the conception of our physical end/death do also drive the meaning of marriage (Bender and Wellbery 1991, 2-3).

My discussion of temporality used Modan's definition of moral geography in order to frame marriage as a chronotype. To explicitly consider *how* notions time (temporality) work in the current struggle over changing marriage, I applied the concept *moral temporalities*. Doing so shows just how "much of the discussion on contemporary

marriage takes place within this imagined temporal geography" of these marrying times (Rebhun 1999, 3). As Guyer has argued, anthropological investigations must take this "nesting of temporalities and their relative emphasis and mutual entailment for different populations, or for the same population in different affective states" as the ethnographic question (2007, 413). This study shows how these temporalities nest together within the moral geography of the village in order to examine how marriage helps to culturally allocate social rewards. Together, this approach has also allowed an investigation of the "frames of meaning that lay actors draw upon in constituting and reconstituting their worlds" (Collier 1988, 198).

"Both/And": Village of New Paltz and the New York Marriage Movement

Developed during the post-civil rights era by advocates seeking to critique something "so conventional as marriage" is what feminist legal expert Polikoff calls the "both/and" strategy for marriage (Polikoff 2009, 537). This "both/and" strategy means that marriage is used "both" to gain a set of rights that already exist through entrance to the private marriage contract "and" as a way to move society towards a place where we critically assess marriage—legally and culturally (Polikoff 1993, 2008, 2009). I argued above that this strategy emerged as a response to the dual crisis that began when neoliberalization attacked social provisioning and by the HIV/AIDS epidemic in New York City. "Both/and" was clearly present in Levi's characterization that the partner of the deceased had "no legal paper rights" (L3.259). Notice that he did not say the partner did not have a marriage license. The focus was on legal mechanisms to help with tragic life events like illness and death.

Polikoff goes on to lament the "both/and" strategy in law, asserting that in the push towards marriage "equality" the legal establishment has to set on certain principles that favor marriage to the exclusion of other ways that the law might protect various kinship and relationship formations (Polikoff 2009, 537). What she is gesturing at is something that neither legal analysis nor legislation can capture. The law is a broad, dull instrument. Though such changes may be legislated or judged into law, juridico-legal decisions rarely change hearts and minds.

I argue that the movement to marry has stimulated a conversation about marriage and sexuality that was long buried in either outright rejection of marriage by so-called radicals or outright acceptance of it by those at the top of the sexual hierarchy or seeking entrance to it, like neoconservative gay men such as Andrew Sullivan (1995). Instead, the "same-sex marriage debate" may be seen as an effort to deepen the conversation on marriage and subsequently on sex that has been happening for decades in the U.S.

In the village context, this move to delink sex and marriage occurred during Woodstock. Since then, it has continued through the free love, Gay Liberation and feminist movements (including the now international "SlutWalk" protest marches; see Najar 2011; Nguyen 2011; Toronto Star 2011a, 2011b) to overcome rampant sexual shame. Progressive villagers vehemently support these movements and more. Further, they have a history of resisting neoconservative moral panics by understanding that the logic that links sex to marriage to responsible citizenship is now disambiguated. In drawing on and living out this distinction with the 2004 marriages, villagers created the cultural precedent necessary to begin movement towards New York State's passage of marriage in 2011.

There were two local, spatial outcomes of the 2004 village marriages from this chronotypic intervention. The first is the establishment of the Hudson Valley LGBTQ Center on Wall Street in Kingston, NY. The center is located in a beautiful, two-story building in the middle of downtown Kingston. When I began my field research in 2007, it had recently opened and was functioning on a limited schedule as it built programming and fundraised. Since then, it has become the hub of LGBTQ community functions and support for a roughly 135-mile radius over the vast, mountainous terrain of rural, upstate New York. It created a queer public meeting place for villagers outside of the SUNY New Paltz campus that serves students on campus and the sporadically-open queer dance club found along a desolate, industrially-zoned, rural route on the outskirts of town. The center's history posted on their website clearly cites the village weddings as the impetus for their existence.

> For many years gay and lesbian residents of the Hudson Valley lived their lives as contributing members of the larger community and in doing so laid the foundation for today's vibrant lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) community. In February 2004 the same-sex weddings in New Paltz pushed the LGBTQ community to the forefront of the media. We recognize ourselves as a large and diverse group within the larger Hudson Valley community. (Hudson Valley LGBTQ Center 2012)

The second ongoing manifestation of the 2004 weddings causing local LGBTQ residents and others to "recognize" themselves was the inaugural 2005 New Paltz Pride March and Festival that now annually flows through the middle of the Village of New Paltz in early June.

The fact that LGBTQ community has been built around the marriage movement there is heartening. Many scholars and activists critical of the movement have long worried that marriage has the potential to destroy LGBTQ community building and

Figure 13. New Paltz Pride March and Festival Revelers, Main Street, Village of New Paltz, June 1, 2008. (Photo by Michelle Marzullo, 2008)

consciousness-raising activities through assimilation (D'Emilio 2006; Ettelbrick 1996, 2008; Warner 1999). In this case, the exact opposite has become the case. Even when organizing around something "so conventional" as marriage, the passions, yearnings and drive behind such movement building is not any less vigorous or intentional than in the past. Given the evidence of how villagers very carefully consider marriage under the "both/and" rationale, the move towards supporting marriage does much more than provide rights and benefits to LGBTQ couples. It has moved the progressive moral temporality on marriage explicitly into intra- and inter-personal as well as national discussions on what marriage *should be*, not just what it has been.

Weaknesses of the Study, Surprises and Future Work

This ethnography utilized interview and focus group materials coupled with 18-months of participant observation, textual, quantitative and archival evidence to explore the meanings of marriage in the Village of New Paltz in the context of New York neoliberalization and the "same-sex" marriage movement. As Harvey explains, neoliberalization entails

> much "creative destruction," not only of prior institutional frameworks and powers (even challenging traditional forms of state sovereignty) but also of divisions of labour, social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life and thought, reproductive activities, attachments to the land and habits of the heart. In so far as neoliberalism values market exchanges as "an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide to all human action, and substituting for all previously held ethical beliefs," it emphasizes the significance of contractual relations in the marketplace. It holds that the social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market. (Harvey 2005, 3)

This study used temporality to examine this "creative destruction" to clarify how progressive villagers reckon with the meaning marriage in the neoliberal context. The village setting was appropriate in this regard because it was the site of marriages of LGBTQ couples and continues to support such marriages, while being historically affected by the New York Solution. Using temporality as a lens helped me to clarify why it is that "gay marriage" has become *thinkable* by progressive villagers even while they remain heavily critical of the institution.

There are weaknesses in this choice of context. Those areas of the U.S. that are not college towns, that do not have such intentional engagement with social movements, and that are more conservative will hybridize their stances on marriage differently. I conducted a mixed methods study, so that I could generalize the findings more easily, but the findings might still only apply to areas with similar demographics. This study was done among a mostly white population, while areas with a different ethnic and racial balance would have produced somewhat different results.

I came to this study interested in time and temporality after reading articles on why some people were against "same-sex" marriage. These articles featured politicians and citizens marking some people *as* "traditional" and one idea of marriage as "timeless" with lots of finger-wagging and derision involved—some of which deny that there is a moral temporality driving their pontifications. To avoid taking an ethical stand here, I chose to rely upon Borneman's definition of marriage as performative, which took inspiration from Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity (1993). Based on this, my study not only draws on the queer discussions of and the feminist critique of marriage to conceptualize it as moveable and changeable.

As I have communicated, I wholly disagree with the assumption, under queer theory's destabilizing ethos, that "marriage" is always-already normative and that only "homonormative" and "heteronormative" subjects choose it. Instead, the moral temporality upon which this theory of normativity grew, at least in the case of the U.S., still often surreptitiously indexes the "taxonomic association" (Berlant 2000, 2) with the post-war marriage and family ideals Rubin articulated with her rendering of the "Charmed Circle" and the "Outer Limits" (1999, 153). This taxonomic association still forms the current basis for the neoconservative-neoliberal tag team on marriage.

I point out this association to reveal the moral temporality of queerness-as-identity in the U.S. in which there has developed *a way* of being correctly queer, even while the theory that has developed and called "queer theory" explicitly rejects such normalizing and moralizing tendencies. Such black-and-white queer renderings of marriage have the potential to leave many LGBTQ people who desire marriage feeling rejected, asynchronous and at a loss. This is the same feeling of loss and asynchrony discussed about neoconservative role strategists working to win over evangelicals who are "feeling out of step with contemporary mores" (Dinshaw et al.

2007, 190). As Latour said of modernity (1993), it seems to me that the term *normativity*—whether hetero- or homo—is also always contentious. Instead of structuring my analysis around this implicit ethical stance, here I worked to show how understanding multiple temporalities at the national/large-scale level are used to elevate one moral definition of marriage above all others—even if that definition of marriage supports its annihilation from the lexicon as anachronistic. Instead of getting into that fray, I focus on how life-time affect, desire and experience met competing moral temporalities to create a cohesive cultural meaning on marriage in the village as much as it creates surprising, individually hybrid stances on the institution.

Another surprising effect of this work was that many of the villagers I interviewed wrote or called me after our meetings were complete, some months or years afterwards. They revealed how surprised they were that my interview allowed them to continue to reflect on their marriage aspirations and their relationships. In this way, the reflexivity inherent in the progressive temporality became apparent as an unexpected effect of the interview process. Such reflections on their relationships and marriages produced mixed reactions. Some people told me that their marriage became stronger after our interview because the questions I asked moved them to communicate with their partner on aspects of marriage they had never consciously considered. Others said that they rethought assumptions about supporting or not supporting marriage as an institution and in so doing reconsidered their desires to marry. Still others reported that in articulating their relationship history and then discussing it with their current partner, they reassessed their relationship altogether. These were researcher effects that did not impact the findings but did affect the intimate lives of my informants. Given the fact that villagers see possibility in endings, everyone who shared such stories with me thought that the interview had a wholly positive effect on their lives.

While interviewing and analyzing these data, I had to work hard to keep a focus on marriage, not on marriage and parenthood as most villagers conflated the two. A future study could examine the "reproductive futurism" that inheres among progressives in the context of discussions of marriage. What I also did not explore more deeply were villagers' thoughts on polyamorous relationships or other relationship and family formations or whether these combinations would be considered in their imaginary as marriageable. Even though I understood that a main critique from LGBTQ people resisting marriage is that it diminishes the legitimization of such relationships (Ettelbrick 1996; Polikoff 2008), I steered clear of the conversation to avoid seeming as though I was providing a titillating ploy to gain readers while attempting to discuss broader concerns with how neoliberalization links with intimate decision-making. In short, I was interested in how sexuality and gender shape marriage meanings and decisions in the village context for the majority of people there.

Anthropological studies regarding how the shifting economic base impacts kinship systems are not new but given what has recently been called the "metanarrative" of kinship, these are rarely examined within the U.S. Susan McKinnon and Fenella Cannel have recently described the "enduring metanarrative" of kinship within modernity in social theory over the past century and a half as existing

> between pre-state societies (characterized by kin-groups, status and religious ceremony) and territorial state-based societies (featuring individuals, contract and secular law). It also differentiates the overall structure within societies: in pre-state societies, kinship is said to organize political, economic and religious relations; whereas in state-based societies kinship is understood to be relegated to the domestic domain—thus irrelevant to the workings of politics and economics—and to become, inevitable, more secularized...The enduring power of this model in both academic and popular circles has rendered kinship invisible and made it virtually impossible to ask questions about the significance of kinship in contemporary politics and economics or to reassess its relation to religion in a supposedly secular age. (2012, 12)

In their discussion of the metanarrative of kinship within the temporality of modernity, McKinnon and Cannel implicitly explore the feuding temporalities that mark "those societies deemed 'backward' (where economic relations are presumed to remain embedded in kinship relations)" (2012, 12).

They insightfully note that work discussing such topics "has not disrupted the developmental narrative that places kinship and contract in distinct historical moments or social domains" (McKinnon and Cannel 2012, 12). Further, they argue that economy/kinship/nation-state/religion/trans-national corporate structures are, in fact "densely intertwined" (McKinnon and Cannel 2012, 13). This impetus to not *mark* people who prefer some idea of traditional marriage as "backward" inspired this analysis and helped me to avoid skewing my discussion toward supporting or rejecting marriage based on the metanarrative articulated by McKinnon and Cannel well after my analysis was complete. Their argument is resonant with my explication of the hybrid temporalities that invigorate marriage perceptions and enactments and point to affective intensities and unforeseen lines of affinity in the U.S. economic context of neoliberalization. McKinnon and Cannel conclude by discussing the power of the "myth of modernity," arguing that understanding this temporal myth contributes to "a less deterministic view of contemporary social forms…[for] both those who fear complete secularity and those who consider it essential have sometimes acted as though it were an attainable project; the same could be said of the myth of the pure market, with well-known and often disastrous results" (McKinnon and Cannel 2012, 13). Their emphasis on the myth of modernity working on both ideas of kinship and the "myth of the pure market" coincidentally prefaces the concerns of this conclusion.

In this study I focused on how investigating temporality fruitfully explains how villagers perceive and *do* marriage, since "time is an object of power relations…contingent upon particular cultural and historical conditions…[and] control of time is necessary to the exercise of power" (Rutz 1992, 1). The marriage chronotype I explored here has generated intense social conflict in America and shows "the struggle or resistance that ensues when one group attempts to dominate the time of another in the interest of power" (Rutz 1992, 1). Marriage as ritual "sanctions the distinctions established by the social imaginary. Every act of instituting pretends, through cultural staging, that an arbitrary social organization is that way and cannot be another way. Every act of institution is 'a well-founded delirium,' Durkheim said, and 'an act of social magic,' concluded Bourdieu" (Kuechler, Keane, Rolands et al. 2006, 444). The hybrid, scalar temporalities discussed throughout show how the "well-founded delirium" of neoliberalization has rubbed some magic off of marriage, even as villagers purposefully continue to craft their own relationships and marriages under such conditions.

APPENDIX A

STUDY MATERIALS

Recruitment mailings

Invitation Letter Sent to All Village of New Paltz Residents

January 10, 2008

Dear Resident of the Village of New Paltz:

I am writing to invite you to participate in an important research study on marriage in the United States. I am a cultural anthropologist and I moved to New Paltz to conduct this research as a part of my training at American University. This study is supported by American University in Washington, DC. It has no political party affiliation and is not a political poll.

The purpose of this study is to collect information on what factors go into people's decisions to marry or not. You *do not* have to be married to participate. This study is of vital significance as marriage is a much talked about and legislated issue, while at the same time fewer people in the U.S. are getting married. Your participation will help me to understand why this trend is happening.

Below is a link to the user-friendly, online survey. It will take less than 30 minutes of your time to complete. If you do not have internet access but wish to participate in this study, please call the number below and I will mail you a paper copy of the survey. I will keep your responses completely confidential and your name will not be attached to any reports. I may ask you to participate in a follow-up interview after you complete this survey.

The first 50 people to take this survey will receive a $5 gift card to the Muddy Cup coffee shop at 58 Main St. in New Paltz.

To begin, please go to the survey URL below.

Survey URL: http://www.surveyshare.com/survey/take/?sid=64546

If you have any questions, please contact me at (845) 633-8063 or marzullo@american.edu.

Thank you for your participation!

Sincerely,

Michelle Marzullo

Follow-Up Post Card Sent to All Village of New Paltz Residents

Village of New Paltz
Marriage Study

Dear Resident(s) of the Village of New Paltz:

I am writing to remind you that you received an invitation letter to join my study on marriage. Your help on this study is still needed. This study is solely authorized through American University in Washington, DC. Though I have been extended the courtesy of a research base at SUNY-New Paltz this year, the research does not have any official institutional support from SUNY-New Paltz.

If you would like to participate in this study, please contact me or go to: http://www.surveyshare.com/survey/take/?sid=64546

Thank you for your help!
Michelle Marzullo

Anthropology Department
American University
marzullo@american.edu / 845-633-8063

Survey and Interview Consent

INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY
Study Title: Shifting Perceptions and Enactments of Marriage in the United States since 1976
Principal Investigator: Michelle Marzullo

What are some general things you should know about research studies?
Thank you for agreeing to participate. You are being asked to take part in a research study. Joining the study is voluntary. You may refuse to join, or you may withdraw your consent to be in the study, for any reason, without penalty.

Research studies are designed to obtain new knowledge. This new information may help people in the future. Details about this study are discussed below. It is important that you understand this information so that you can make an informed choice about being in this research study. You will be given a copy of this consent form. You should ask the researchers named above any questions you have about this study at any time.

What is the purpose of this study?
The purpose of the study is to collect information on how people think about marriage and to understand what factors go into decisions about marriage. I will look closely at the differences between how people think about marriage and the economic conditions that impact whether or not people actually decide to marry. I will interview you and will ask questions about what you think about marriage, family, relationships, sexuality and children. I am also interested in how much you consider political debates and religion when thinking about marriage. Importantly, I will ask you about the people in your life who have been influential in shaping the ways you think about marriage. In a few months, I will ask that you participate in a focus group discussion of marriage with other people involved in this study.

What will happen if you take part in the study?
The way this will work is that:

- I will ask you to fill out a survey.
- I may ask you to participate in 2-3 open-ended interviews. Each interview will last for approximately 1 to 2 hours and may be audio recorded for research purposes only. These interviews will take place as you find time to schedule these with me.
- I may ask you to refer relatives or friends who have strongly influenced how you think about marriage and who may be interested in participating in this study for a brief 30 minute phone interview.
- I may ask you to participate in a focus group in July 2008. Therefore, I will ask you to provide an email and/or telephone number at the end of this form. This is so that I may contact you in June 2008 to ask for your participation in the focus group.
- You may stop your participation in this study at any time without penalty. I invite you to decline to answer any question or stop it if you become uncomfortable. If your decision to stop participation is made after your survey, interview(s) and/or the focus group occurs, I will completely destroy all records of your interest or participation in this study as soon as I learn of your wishes.

What are the possible risks in the study?
Risks: The risks involved to participants in this study are minimal. These involve participants learning of others involved in the study and discussing their interviews with each other. This might lead to people talking about study participants in ways I cannot control. An additional risk concerns the sensitive nature of the subject matter, which may make you uncomfortable or emotional at times during the interview process.

Costs: There will be no monetary costs to you as a result of participating in this study. No compensation of any kind will be provided for participation in this study.

How will your privacy be protected?
Every effort will be taken to protect your identity as a participant in this study. All research information will be kept in locked files and only the researcher working on the study will have access to the information. My computer will be password

protected. You will not be identified in any report or publication of this study or its results. Your name will not appear on any transcripts; instead, you will be given a pseudonym. The list which matches names and pseudonyms will be kept in a locked file cabinet. All notes and audio recordings taken during the study will be stored separately from the names or other identifying information of the participants.

What are the possible benefits from being in this study?
There is no guaranteed or direct benefit involved in participating in this study, other than having an opportunity to reflect upon observations and experiences related to marriage. This study is of vital significance as marriage is a much talked about and legislated issue, while at the same time fewer people are choosing to get married. The direct benefit of this study is that we will learn more about how people perceive and choose marriage.

What if you have questions about this study?
If you have any questions or concerns about this project, please contact:

Michelle Marzullo
Department of Anthropology
American University, Battelle-Tompkins, Room T21
4400 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20016-8003
(202) 489-5122 / (202) 885-1830
marzullo@american.edu

William L. Leap
Project Advisor
Department of Anthropology
American University, Battelle-Tompkins, Room T21
4400 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20016-8003
(202) 885-1831
wlm@american.edu

What if you have questions about your rights as a research participant?
All research on human volunteers is reviewed by a committee that works to protect your rights and welfare. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject you may contact, anonymously if you wish:

Dolores Koenig
Institutional Review Board Representative
Department of Anthropology
American University, Battelle-Tompkins, Room T21
4400 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20016-8003
(202) 885-1832
dkoenig@american.edu

I have been given a copy of this informed consent form to keep for my records. Participation in this research study is voluntary. I am free to refuse to participate in this study or may withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.

Name _____
Research Participant

Data Collection Instruments

Village of New Paltz Marriage Survey

The purpose of the study is to understand how New Paltz Village residents think about marriage and what factors go into decisions about marriage. The questions below are focused on collecting very general information about you and your family as well as understanding your attitudes on issues of marriage, politics, the economy, gender, sexuality and citizenship.

The information you provide here is completely confidential. Your name will never be linked with the data you provide in any written reports or presentations. Participation in this research study is voluntary. You are free to refuse to participate in this study or may withdraw from participation at any time without penalty. This survey will take about 30 minutes to complete.

Before completing the survey, please be sure you have indicated your consent to participate in this study on the enclosed consent form.

Please contact me with any questions while completing this survey at:
Michelle Marzullo, American University
Phone: (845) 633-8063 / Email: marzullo@american.edu

Which of the following best describes your relational status? [Choose one of the following]
- ❍ Single
- ❍ Living with a romantic partner
- ❍ Married (legal)
- ❍ Married (common law)
- ❍ Civil Union
- ❍ Domestic Partner
- ❍ Separated
- ❍ Divorced from a marriage
- ❍ Divorced from a Civil Union/Dissolution of a Domestic Partnership
- ❍ Widow(er)
- ❍ Other:

How important is each of the following qualities of a spouse or romantic partner? Someone who... [Please rank in order of importance with one (1) being the most important and seven (7) being less important.]

___ Is a good companion

___ Is a good sex partner

___ Is faithful

___ Has a good economic situation

___ Is passionate about our relationship

___ Is a good communicator

___ Is physically attractive

Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option, choose either Agree or Disagree]

	Agree	Disagree
Most women stay faithful to their partners/spouses.	❍	❍
Woman should be home to play the primary role of raising children.	❍	❍
Most men stay faithful to their partners/spouses.	❍	❍

Men are safer than women when walking down a dark street at night.	❍	❍
Women make better teachers than men do.	❍	❍
Men make better managers than women.	❍	❍
A woman who is a feminist is probably less feminine than one who isn't.	❍	❍
Men should help out with household chores.	❍	❍
Men and women's expected roles have changed for the better in the past 30 years.	❍	❍

Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option, choose either Agree or Disagree]

	Agree	Disagree
Marriage is about love not money	❍	❍
Couples who marry should make a lifelong commitment to one another to be broken only under extreme circumstances	❍	❍
Legal civil unions are best for those interested in legally joining their households.	❍	❍
People should wait to have sex until marriage	❍	❍
Divorce has caused most of the family problems in US	❍	❍
Gays and lesbians should be able to get married, just like heterosexuals	❍	❍
Working women are more likely to delay or avoid marriage	❍	❍
Couples who have children together ought to be married	❍	❍
Economic worries are a big reason people divorce	❍	❍
The 2004 same-sex marriages performed by then Village of New Paltz Mayor Jason West were in line with most people's values in New Paltz	❍	❍
I do not believe in religious marriage.	❍	❍

Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option, choose either Agree or Disagree]

	Agree	Disagree
Gay, lesbian, and bisexual people are normal	❍	❍
There is less prejudice against gays and lesbians than there used to be	❍	❍
Religious leaders denouncing homosexuality are correct	❍	❍
Homosexuality is an illness	❍	❍
Gays and lesbians should be able to adopt children, just like heterosexuals	❍	❍
Most adult men have had at least one same-sex, sexual experience	❍	❍
Most adult women have had at least one same-sex, sexual experience	❍	❍
This section of questions makes me somewhat uncomfortable	❍	❍

How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person]

	Very Seriously	Seriously	Somewhat Seriously	Not Very Seriously
Your spouse or significant other	❍	❍	❍	❍
Your mother	❍	❍	❍	❍
Your father	❍	❍	❍	❍
Your sibling(s)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Your child(ren)	❍	❍	❍	❍

A male relative	❍	❍	❍	❍
A female relative	❍	❍	❍	❍
A teacher/mentor	❍	❍	❍	❍
A colleague	❍	❍	❍	❍
A neighbor	❍	❍	❍	❍
A clergy person/religious figure	❍	❍	❍	❍
A male friend	❍	❍	❍	❍
A female friend	❍	❍	❍	❍

Since people grow up in different family situations here in the US, please indicate who you would consider as "Parent 1" and "Parent 2" below. I will use YOUR definition to understand the next few questions about your parents.

For example, if you said that as a child you were primarily raised by your grandmother but had some contact with your mother then you might choose your grandmother as "Parent 1" and your biological mother as "Parent 2."

	Parent 1	Parent 2
Biological Mother	❍	❍
Biological Father	❍	❍
Step Mother	❍	❍
Step Father	❍	❍
Adoptive Mother	❍	❍
Adoptive Father	❍	❍
Grandmother	❍	❍
Grandfather	❍	❍
Legal Guardian/Foster Care Mother	❍	❍
Legal Guardian/Foster Care Father	❍	❍

What is/was your Parent 1's main occupation/job? _____

What is/was your Parent 2's main occupation/job? _____

What is/was your Parent 1's mother's main occupation/job? (For example, your mother's mother's main job through her lifetime.) _____

What is/was your Parent 1's father's main occupation/job? (For example, your mother's father's main job through his lifetime.) _____

What is/was your Parent 2's mother's main occupation/job? (For example, your father's mother's main job through her lifetime.) _____

What is/was your Parent 2's father's main occupation/job? (For example, your father's father's main job through his lifetime.) _____

What is the highest level of education parent 1 has completed?

❍ 8th Grade
❍ Some high school
❍ Twelfth grade
❍ Some college
❍ Associate's degree
❍ Bachelor's degree

❍ Some post-graduate courses
❍ Master's degree
❍ PhD
❍ Law degree/JD
❍ MD
❍ Other advanced degree

What is the highest level of education parent 2 has completed?

❍ 8th Grade
❍ Some high school
❍ Twelfth grade
❍ Some college
❍ Associate's degree
❍ Bachelor's degree
❍ Some post-graduate courses
❍ Master's degree
❍ PhD
❍ Law degree/JD
❍ MD
❍ Other advanced degree

Where were you born? (Please answer in this format: town/city, state, country)

_____

Where do you consider your hometown (the place that you spent most of your childhood)? [Please answer in this format: town/city, state, country]

_____

Approximately when did you or your family immigrate to the US?

	Parent 1, You and/or Your family	Parent 2, You and/or Your family
Years 1620-1699	❍	❍
Years 1700-1799	❍	❍
Years 1800-1899	❍	❍
Years 1900-1949	❍	❍
Years 1950-1959	❍	❍
Years 1960-1969	❍	❍
Years 1970-1979	❍	❍
Years 1980-1989	❍	❍
Years 1990-1999	❍	❍
Years 2000-2008	❍	❍
I am Native American	❍	❍
I don't know	❍	❍

In how many different places have you lived? (For example in how many different cities, towns, villages, etc.)

❍ 1
❍ 2
❍ 3
❍ 4
❍ 5
❍ 6
❍ 7
❍ 8
❍ 9
❍ 10+

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

❍ 8th Grade
❍ Some high school
❍ Twelfth grade
❍ Some college
❍ Associate's degree
❍ Bachelor's degree
❍ Some post-graduate courses
❍ Master's degree
❍ PhD
❍ Law degree/JD
❍ MD
❍ Other advanced degree

Please list your last five job titles with the first being the most recent. [Separate these job titles with commas. For example: accountant, CEO, president]

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

In what industry/industries do you work? [Separate these with commas. For example: health care, higher education, agricultural, telecommunications, service]

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

In which sectors do you currently work? [Choose all that apply.]

- ❍ Private employee
- ❍ Public/governmental employee
- ❍ Self employed
- ❍ Employed informally (For example, if you ever work
- ❍ Unpaid domestic work
- ❍ Paid domestic work
- ❍ Intern
- ❍ Unemployed
- ❍ Retired
- ❍ Collect a Pension
- ❍ Collect Social Security benefits (retirement or disability)
- ❍ Volunteer Work
- ❍ Other: _____

Please select the type of health insurance you have.

- ❍ Not Covered By Any Insurance
- ❍ Private Health Insurance through Employment and/or School
- ❍ Private Health Insurance through Direct Purchase
- ❍ Public Health Insurance - Medicaid
- ❍ Public Health Insurance - Medicare
- ❍ Public Health Insurance - Military
- ❍ Other:_____

On average, how many different jobs do you work per month?

- ❍ 1
- ❍ 2
- ❍ 3
- ❍ 4
- ❍ 5
- ❍ 6
- ❍ 7
- ❍ 8
- ❍ 9
- ❍ 10+

How many salaries make up your combined household income (combining all incomes)? [Choose one of the following]

- ❍ 1 salary

- ❍ 2 salaries
- ❍ 3 salaries
- ❍ 4 salaries
- ❍ 5 salaries
- ❍ Other: _____

What is your own yearly income (before taxes)?
- ❍ Less than $29,999
- ❍ $30,000 - $49,999
- ❍ $50,000 - $79,999
- ❍ $80,000 - $99,999
- ❍ More than $100,000

What is the total yearly income of all earners in your household? [Average all before-tax incomes for your household.]
- ❍ Less than $29,999
- ❍ $30,000 - $49,999
- ❍ $50,000 - $79,999
- ❍ $80,000 - $99,999
- ❍ More than $100,000

Does your household receive some form of public assistance support (for example, food stamps, ODTA welfare assistance, TANF assistance, SSI disability, child health insurance)?
- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

How many of each does your household have?

	HOW MANY?		HOW MANY?
Cars	____	Bathrooms	____
Computers	____	Refrigerators	____
Phones (landlines and cell)	____	Televisions	____

Please indicate the first age at which you have experienced or identified with the following terms. This question captures how you have changed over your lifetime. There is no standard definition for each term, so just go by what each means to you.

[Choose as many ages for each category as appropriate. For instance, if your family was Middle class growing up you would choose age 1, but if you went to college and had to work your way through you might choose Working poor for age 18, and then if you got a great paying job a few years out of college you might consider yourself Upper middle class at age 27, etc.]

- ❍ Poor and sporadically employed [AGES:]
- ❍ Working poor [AGES:]
- ❍ Lower class [AGES:]
- ❍ Lower middle class [AGES:]
- ❍ Middle class [AGES:]
- ❍ Upper middle class [AGES]
- ❍ Upper class [AGES]
- ❍ Independently Wealthy [AGES]
- ❍ I don't identify with any of these terms
- ❍ Other [SPECIFY]: _____

Which of the following best describes your living situation? [Choose one of the following]
- ❍ I own the house I live in
- ❍ I pay rent and DO NOT own any property

❍ I pay rent and DO own property
❍ I live there without paying rent and DO NOT own any property
❍ I live there without paying rent and DO own property
❍ Other: _____

Which of the following best describes how much time you spend at your residence? [Choose one of the following]
❍ I sleep there every night of the week
❍ I sleep there about 5-6 nights per week
❍ I sleep there about 3-4 nights per week
❍ I sleep there about less than 3 nights per week

How many people live with you at least half-time? (Half-time means at least 4 days per week or 6 months per year)
_____

Do you have people in your life who do not reside with you but for whom you consider to be members of your household?
❍ Yes
❍ No [If you answer "No" to this question please SKIP questions XX and XX]

Please name your relationship to those household members not living with you. (Choose all that apply)
❍ Husband
❍ Wife
❍ Son(s)
❍ Daughter(s)
❍ Mother
❍ Father
❍ Friend
❍ Other: _____

Do those household members not living with you send (formal or informal) monetary support or remittances to help you out?
❍ Yes
❍ No

Do you have children?
❍ No [If you answer "No" to this question please SKIP questions XX and XX]
❍ No, but I want them in the future. [If you answer "No" to this question please SKIP question XX]
❍ Yes

How many children do you have (living or deceased)?
_____

Do you have health insurance to cover your dependents?
❍ Yes
❍ No
❍ I don't have dependents

How many children would you like to have?
_____

If your child had a gay or lesbian teacher, what would you think or do? [Choose one of the following]
❍ I wouldn't have any problem with this.
❍ I wouldn't like it, but I wouldn't do anything.
❍ I wouldn't accept this and I'd do something about it.
❍ Other: _____

Does your household subscribe to a cable television service?
❍ Yes
❍ No

How much television do you watch per week (on average)? [Choose one of the following]

- ❍ I try not to watch TV
- ❍ Less than 2 hours per week
- ❍ Less than one hour per day
- ❍ 1-3 hours per day
- ❍ 4-5 hours per day
- ❍ 6-8 hours per day
- ❍ 8 or more hours per day

What television show(s) do you watch most frequently? (Separate these with commas. For example: The Golden Girls, 60 Minutes, Law & Order)

[SPECIFY]: _____
[SPECIFY]: _____
[SPECIFY]: _____
[SPECIFY]: _____
[SPECIFY]: _____

Do you watch television news channels on a regular basis?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel]

	Most Frequent	Frequent	Less Frequent	Never
ABC News	❍	❍	❍	❍
BBC News	❍	❍	❍	❍
CBS News	❍	❍	❍	❍
CNN	❍	❍	❍	❍
Fox News	❍	❍	❍	❍
Headline News	❍	❍	❍	❍
MSNBC	❍	❍	❍	❍
NBC News	❍	❍	❍	❍
Public Access	❍	❍	❍	❍
New York 1	❍	❍	❍	❍
Local News Station	❍	❍	❍	❍
Non-English speaking news service	❍	❍	❍	❍

Which newspapers do you read on a regular basis? [Choose all that apply.]

- ❍ New Paltz Times
- ❍ Time Herald-Record
- ❍ New York Times
- ❍ New York Post
- ❍ Wall Street Journal
- ❍ Other: _____

During the past week, how much radio did you listen to on average per week?

_____

Do you use the Internet?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

Do you have regular access to the Internet?
❍ Yes
❍ No

Is email a primary way in which you communicate with others?
❍ Yes
❍ No

How frequently do you use social networking Internet websites, such as MySpace, Facebook, Friendster, LinkedIn, etc?
❍ Never
❍ A few times a week
❍ Check it once daily
❍ Check it around 3 times daily
❍ Check it 4-8 times daily
❍ Use it too frequently to count

Do you use the Internet as your main source of news and information?
❍ Yes
❍ No

Which websites and/or blogs do you read daily?
[SPECIFY]: _____
[SPECIFY]: _____
[SPECIFY]: _____
[SPECIFY]: _____
[SPECIFY]: _____

Did you vote in the 2004 US presidential elections?
❍ Yes
❍ No

Did you vote in the November 6, 2007 New York State elections?
❍ Yes
❍ No

Will you vote in the 2008 US presidential elections?
❍ Yes
❍ No
❍ Undecided

What is your overall impression of these US political parties? [Choose one selection for each party]
[CHECK ONE OF THE FOLLOWING OPTIONS]

	Very favorable	Favorable	No opinion	Unfavorable	Very unfavorable
Democratic Party	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Republican Party	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Green Party	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Libertarian Party	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Do you consider yourself a supporter of, or participant in, a social movement which advocates for any of the following groups? [Choose all that apply.]
❍ African Americans/Blacks/People of color
❍ Native Americans/Indigenous people
❍ Homeless people
❍ Neighborhood residents
❍ Poor people
❍ Immigrants
❍ Students
❍ The environment

❍ Gays/Lesbians/Bisexuals/Transgenders
❍ Women
❍ Unions
❍ Other: _____

How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding politics?

	Very Seriously	Seriously	Somewhat Seriously	Not Seriously
Your spouse or significant other	❍	❍	❍	❍
Your mother/parent 1	❍	❍	❍	❍
Your father/parent 2	❍	❍	❍	❍
Your sibling(s)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Your child(ren)	❍	❍	❍	❍
A friend who is a man	❍	❍	❍	❍
A friend who is a woman	❍	❍	❍	❍
A teacher/mentor	❍	❍	❍	❍
A colleague	❍	❍	❍	❍
A neighbor	❍	❍	❍	❍
A religious leader	❍	❍	❍	❍

The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.]

	Generally a good thing, something I support.	Generally a bad thing, something I do not support.	I am not familiar with this term.
Democracy	❍	❍	❍
Neoconservatism	❍	❍	❍
Affirmative Action	❍	❍	❍
Capitalism	❍	❍	❍
Exporting Jobs	❍	❍	❍
Globalization	❍	❍	❍
Deregulation	❍	❍	❍
Neoliberalism	❍	❍	❍
Privatization	❍	❍	❍
Socialism	❍	❍	❍
Free-trade	❍	❍	❍
Job Outsourcing	❍	❍	❍
Citizenship	❍	❍	❍

What does the term "citizenship" mean to you? [Choose all that apply.]

❍ Being aware of important national issues
❍ Doing what my community asks of me
❍ Fulfilling civic duties that the government requires (for example, paying taxes, voting, obeying traffic laws, etc.)
❍ Having certain rights and privileges
❍ Living in a democratic society
❍ Living in a society where certain basic rights are guaranteed
❍ "Voting with my wallet." (Buying goods and services from companies that are in line with my political concerns)

How long have you lived in the Village of New Paltz?
❍ Less than a year
❍ 1-4 years
❍ 5-9 years
❍ 10-19 years
❍ 20+ years

Do you know the name of the mayor of the Village of New Paltz?
❍ Yes
❍ No

Are you a member of or participate in any of the following? [Choose all that apply.]
❍ Fitness club
❍ Labor Union
❍ Children's play group
❍ Musical group/band
❍ Political party/action committee
❍ Religious or church-affiliated group
❍ Residents Association
❍ Senior citizens' group
❍ Sporting or recreational club
❍ Other: _____

Do you have any friends, relatives, colleagues, or neighbors who are gay, lesbian, homosexual, or transgendered/transsexual?

	Yes	No
Friend(s)	❍	❍
Relative(s)	❍	❍
Co-worker(s)	❍	❍
Neighbor(s)	❍	❍
Parent(s)	❍	❍

Are you aware of any organizations or groups in New Paltz that work on behalf of gays, lesbians, homosexuals, transgenders, or bisexuals?
❍ Yes
❍ No

During the past year, did you attend any of the following events? [Choose all apply.]
❍ Taste of New Paltz
❍ New Paltz Halloween Parade and Haunted House
❍ New Paltz Regatta
❍ Memorial Day Parade
❍ Gay and Lesbian Pride Festival
❍ July 4th Fireworks at SUNY New Paltz
❍ Ulster County Fair
❍ New Paltz Chamber Golf Tournament

What is your age?
_____

What is your date of birth? [Please use the mm/dd/yyyy format.]
_____

What is your sex?
- ❍ Male
- ❍ Female
- ❍ Other: _____

What is your gender?
- ❍ Woman
- ❍ Man
- ❍ Transgender Woman (M-to-F)
- ❍ Transgender Man (F-to-M)
- ❍ Other:

What is your sexual orientation?
- ❍ Heterosexual/Straight
- ❍ Lesbian/Gay/Homosexual
- ❍ Bisexual
- ❍ Other: _____

What is your race? [Choose all that apply]
- ❍ White
- ❍ White, Non-Hispanic
- ❍ African-American
- ❍ Hispanic
- ❍ Asian-Pacific Islander
- ❍ Native American
- ❍ Other: _____

What is your ethnicity?

_____

What is your religious affiliation? (Choose one)
- ❍ None
- ❍ Buddhist
- ❍ Christian
- ❍ Roman Catholic
- ❍ Evangelical Christian
- ❍ Hindu
- ❍ Jewish
- ❍ Muslim
- ❍ Sikh
- ❍ Taoist
- ❍ Other: _____

What is the religious affiliation you were raised in as a child? (Choose one)
- ❍ None
- ❍ Buddhist
- ❍ Christian
- ❍ Roman Catholic
- ❍ Evangelical Christian
- ❍ Hindu
- ❍ Jewish
- ❍ Muslim
- ❍ Sikh
- ❍ Taoist
- ❍ Other: _____

May I contact you for an interview within the next three to six months?

❍ Yes
❍ No

What is your last name?

_____

What is your first name?

_____

What is the best telephone number at which to reach you? [Please enter in this format (XXX) XXX-XXXX]

( ) _____ — _____

What is the best email address at which to reach you?

_____

What is your mailing address? (town/city, state, zip code)

_____
_____
_____
_____

What did you think of this questionnaire?

❍ Very Enjoyable
❍ Enjoyable
❍ Ambivalent or No Opinion
❍ Unpleasant
❍ Very Unpleasant

Is there anything that you would like to add or say more about? (Please use the back of this sheet for additional writing space.)

Marriage Semi-structured Interview Questionnaire

Marriage – Ideas, beliefs, influences

1. What do you think marriage is good for? [Probe: Could you give me a brief history of your relationships, like when you began dating, when you lost your virginity, who the most important relationships have been to you, etc.]
2. What's your definition of marriage?
3. What's the difference between a marriage sanctified by the state or by a religion?
4. What do you think of common-law marriage? Of domestic partnerships? Of civil unions? [For LGBTQ: Some gay and lesbian couples say that marriage makes their relationships feel more "real." What do you think about that?]
5. What do people your age think of marriage? What should they think of marriage?
6. What is/was the expected behavior around marriage for you from:
    a. Family?
    b. Your closest friends?
    c. What you will/do teach your children about marriage?
7. What do you want for yourself in terms of a relationship and/or marriage? What's the perfect scenario?
8. Who/what has influenced your ideas on marriage the most?
9. What does race and class have to do with marriage? In terms of who gets married and why? Would you marry someone of a different race or class?
10. What do you think of living with a partner without being married? What might be or are some conflicts that may arise in such a situation?
11. How long would you live with a person before considering marriage (what's the minimum and what's the maximum?) [PROBE: If 2 YEARS is mentioned: what is it about the 2 year mark?]
12. What do you think about the idea that people should wait to have sex until marriage?
13. Tell me the script about the things that people must accomplish to be considered adults. What ages go with them? Does marriage have anything to do with this? [PROBE: Does this differ from place-to-place, say in terms of New Paltz as compared to New York City? Why?]

New Paltz Marriage Event

14. What did you think of the New Paltz gay marriages that happened in 2004 under Mayor Jason West?
15. Did people around here agree with that? What were people saying about it? Did you agree?
16. There does not seem to be a visible Gay and Lesbian Community here, why do you think it happened here? Did the Green Party have a specific impact on that event?
17. Do you think that gay and lesbian people should be able to get married in New York? In the country?
18. Now I'd like to shift focus to New Paltz in particular, I've heard many people say "Oh, it's just New Paltz." I'd like you to reflect on the rhythm of life here and tell

me a little about New Paltz. [Probe: Is there a difference between the myth of the place and the actual place?]

19. How do you explain the stark difference between how people define a "New York minute" in New Paltz as compared to New York City [or some other city]?
20. What's the economy like here in New Paltz? Are people doing well or struggling?

Time and Marriage

21. What do the terms "traditional" marriage and "modern" marriage/relationship mean to you?
22. Some people say that marriage as an institution gives them the feeling that their future is defined and somehow more manageable. What do you think of that?
23. What's timing have to do with marriage? How about age?
24. Can you tell me about anyone you know who has recently (last 2-3 yrs.) been married? What do you think of them as partners? Will they last into the future? Why/why not?
25. Have you ever heard the saying "time just stopped when we broke up…" or "I didn't know who I was, I was completely thrown off"? Why do you think people feel that way? What is that about?
26. Tell me about the areas of conflict that have arisen in your relationships, past and present. Could you share any events that are significant in terms of these conflicts? What were the core issues about?
27. What sayings do you know in relation to time and relationships/family? Example: Family time, Quality time, etc.
28. What are some terms that describe a romantic interest, partner or spouse? What do you call a romantic partner before you know the relationship will turn into something more serious? How soon into a relationship do you "define" the relationship?
29. What does the term "longtime" mean to you in regards to a romantic relationship? To marriage? Has this changed for you as you have aged?
30. What does being "in a relationship" mean to you and does this term differ from the term "committed relationship"?
31. What factors would you consider when thinking about committing or not to a partner?

Economics and marriage/relationships

32. What do you do for a living now? Do you travel for work?
33. Did you go to college? What work opportunities were presented to you because of college? Which did you pursue? Which did you turn down?
34. In a perfect world, the type of job a person has shouldn't effect whether or not you might consider them as a partner. But since this isn't a perfect world, what kinds of jobs or lifestyles would you or your friends and/or family consider to be inappropriate for you in terms of marriage or a relationship? [Probe: FOR MEN—would you expect your partner to work?]
35. What has changed since your parent's generation in terms of how you think about work and the future?

36. What messages did you receive from your parental figure/s about working?
37. Did you ever put off dating or being in a relationship because of employment concerns?
38. Did you decide not to marry because of employment concerns?
39. Did anyone ever break-up with you or turn you down romantically because of employment issues?
40. During which jobs did you find yourself the happiest with in terms of a romantic relationship? During which jobs did you find yourself the least happy?
41. Did you ever expect that finances should impact your relationship? Marriage? Why or why not?
42. How does work impact your relationships or who's available to date? How about in terms of your time and money available for relationships?
43. Ideally, do you think finances should impact marriage decisions?
44. If you have been married, what job were you working when plans were made to marry? [PROBE: What did you think your opportunities for advancement or for switching to a better job were when you actually got married?]

Family and sexuality

45. What is it that all families need? How might we as a society help them to get there if they are struggling to meet these needs?
46. Should there a better alternative for getting rights than through marriage?
47. How do you define the term "family"?
48. Who is considered a relative? What's marriage have to do with this? How might this change with domestic partnership, common-law marriage, civil unions?
49. Have your sexual experiences changed your ideas on relationships? On marriage? How so?
50. [REMEMBER THEIR ORIENTATION] Have you ever engaged in sexual relations with someone of <u>the same sex OR the opposite sex</u>? Does thinking about this impact how you think of marriage possibilities? What does it change?
51. How much has your family influenced your choices in regards to sexuality and relationships?
52. Where have you received most of your information on sexuality from?

Media influences

53. The media has also been using the term "culture wars." What do they mean by this? Do you think there is such a thing as a culture war in the US at present? How do you feel about this term and do you ever think about it in your own life?
54. The media, politicians, and pundits often use the term "family values." What do you think they mean by this? What's your definition?

Nationality, Destiny and Marriage

55. What did you think about the destiny of the US when you were younger? How about now? Do the two relate?

Last question

56. What new forms of marriage and relationships are emerging? Are these good for the community? For the country?
57. Can you share your ideas of what family and marriage might be like in New York in the year 2050? What would be the best scenario?

Contact information for two (2) relatives or friends who have strongly influenced how you think about marriage:

Person 1
Name: _____
What is your relationship to this person?
_____
Phone: _____
Email:_____
Town/City, State in which they live :
_____

Person 2
Name: _____
What is your relationship to this person?
_____
Phone: _____
Email:_____
Town/City, State in which they live:
_____

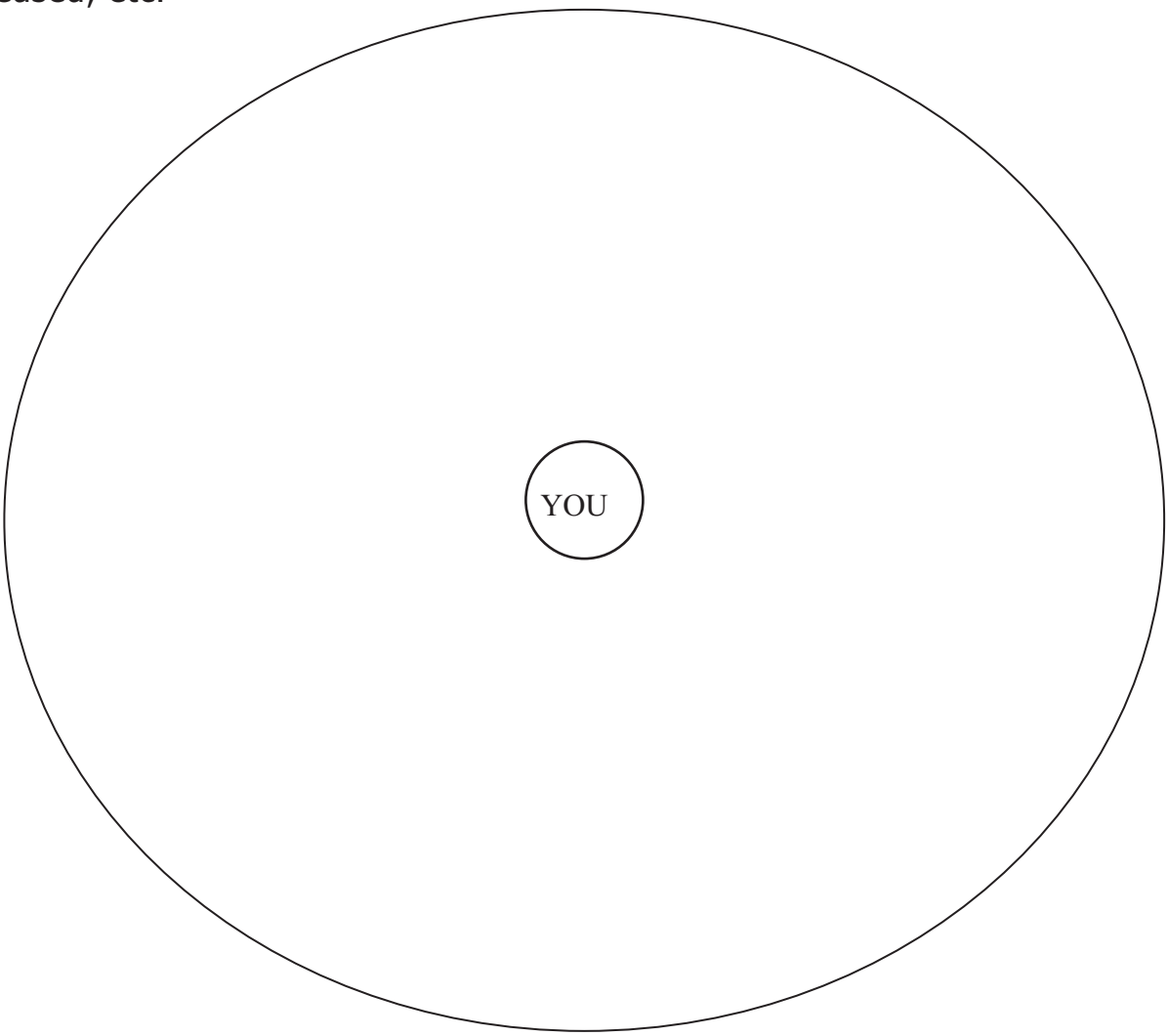
Circle of Relatedness

This chart will help me to understand your relationships in terms of the closeness you feel to different people in your life.

Your Name:_____

Instructions

Please draw a line from YOU outwards for everyone who is important to you in some way. The length of the line indicates feelings of closeness have for them. Please indicate this person's name and relationship along the line. You *might* include: friends, family, current or former romantic partner(s), marriage partner(s), co-workers, people you know from a spiritual practice or an interest group, people in your neighborhood or communities, pets, the deceased, etc.



Focus Group Consent

INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A FOCUS GROUP
Study Title: Shifting Perceptions of Marriage in the United States since 1976
Principal Investigator: Michelle Marzullo

What are some general things you should know about research studies?
Thank you for agreeing to participate in this focus group. You are being asked to take part in a research study. Joining the study is voluntary. You may refuse to join, or you may withdraw your consent to be in the study, for any reason, without penalty.

Research studies are designed to obtain new knowledge. This new information may help people in the future. Details about this study are discussed below. It is important that you understand this information so that you can make an informed choice about being in this research study. You will be given a copy of this consent form. You should ask the researchers named above any questions you have about this study at any time.

What is the purpose of this study?
The purpose of the study has been to collect information on how people think about marriage and to understand what factors go into decisions about marriage, family, relationships, sexuality and children. The focus group will help me to understand where people agree and disagree on these topics.

How long will your part in this study last?
Your participation in this focus group will last approximately one and a half hours.

What will happen if you take part in the study?
No questions will be directed to you individually, but instead will be posed to the group. You may choose to respond or not respond at any point during the discussion. The focus group discussion will be audio recorded so I can capture comments in a transcript for analysis. You may stop participation in this focus group at any time without penalty. I invite you to decline to answer any question or leave if you become uncomfortable. If your decision to stop participation is made after the focus group begins or has occurred, I will completely destroy all record of your responses and participation as soon as I learn of your wishes.

What are the possible risks in the study?
Risks: The risks involved to participants in this study are minimal. Participants in the focus group will meet you and learn your first name and might know you. Even though I will emphasize to all participants that comments made during the focus group session should be kept confidential, it is possible that participants may repeat comments outside of the group at some time in the future. Therefore, I encourage you to be as honest and open as you can, but remain aware of my limits in protecting your confidentiality.

Costs: There will be no monetary costs to you as a result of participating in this study. No compensation of any kind will be provided for participation in this study.

How will your privacy be protected?
Every effort will be taken to protect your identity as a participant in this study. All research information will be kept in locked files and only the researcher working on the study will have access to the information. My computer will be password protected. You will not be identified in any report or publication of this study or its results. Your name will not appear on any transcripts; instead, you will be given a pseudonym. The list which matches names and pseudonyms will be kept in a locked file cabinet. All notes and audio recordings taken during the study will be stored separately from the names or other identifying information of the participants.

What are the possible benefits from being in this study?
There is no guaranteed or direct benefit involved in participating in this study, other than having an opportunity to reflect upon observations and experiences related to marriage. This study is of vital significance as marriage is a much talked about and legislated issue, while at the same time fewer people are choosing to get married. The direct benefit of this study is that we will learn more about how people perceive and choose marriage.

What if you have questions about this study?
If you have any questions or concerns about this project, please contact:

Michelle Marzullo
Department of Anthropology
American University, Battelle-Tompkins, Room T21
4400 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20016-8003
(202) 489-5122 / (202) 885-1830
marzullo@american.edu

William T. Leap
Project Advisor
Department of Anthropology
American University, Battelle-Tompkins, Room T21
4400 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20016-8003
(202) 885-1831
wlm@american.edu

What if you have questions about your rights as a research participant?
All research on human volunteers is reviewed by a committee that works to protect your rights and welfare. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject you may contact, anonymously if you wish:

Dolores Koenig
Institutional Review Board Representative
Department of Anthropology
American University, Battelle-Tompkins, Room T21
4400 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20016-8003
(202) 885-1832
dkoenig@american.edu

I have been given a copy of this informed consent form to keep for my records.
Participation in this focus group is voluntary. I am free to withdraw my participation in this discussion at any time without penalty.

Name _____
Research Participant

Signature _____ Date _____
Research Participant

Signature _____ Date _____
Michelle A. Marzullo

Focus Group Script and Questions

Marriage Focus Group - Introductory script

Thank you all for meeting with me today to talk about marriage.

Reminders:
- Bathrooms/ bathroom helpers upstairs
- No cell phones
- Break at one hour mark

I'm taking a "focus group" approach today and will ask a few open ended questions. I'd like you to respond and discuss each question with each other. These questions are generated from your interviews—they are aimed at more deeply understanding certain themes that have arisen out of my conversations about marriage with many locals since the beginning of this study. I will be audio recording this discussion so that I can pay more attention during the discussion. The recording will only be used by me for transcription purposes. No one else will listen to it and everything you say is confidential.

The risks involved to participants in this study are minimal. Since this is a small town, the only risk that I can foresee is a loss of anonymity as a result of participating in this group. I would like to emphasize here that all comments made during this focus group session ***should be*** kept confidential. Can we all agree that what is said in this room, stays in this room? On my end, I will protect your identity in the write up by changing your name or creating a composite of similar people into one person.

I hope you feel free to say whatever you think: if you have something critical to say, please say it. If you don't understand a question or need me to rephrase it or expand, please ask me to. There is no turn taking, so please don't wait your turn, just jump in, respectfully, of course. For the sake of the recording, please try not to talk over each other.

I want to make sure that I hear everything you want to tell me, but I also need to make sure that everyone who wants to, gets a chance to talk today. I also want to make sure I get a chance to ask all of the questions. So please don't be offended if I have to cut any one discussion short—I'll catch up with you at another time if you'd like to more fully discuss a particular idea.

So, let's begin.

Focus Group Questions

From many of the interviews I have conducted, it seems like marriage has become a mid-life or end-of-life issue rather than a beginning of life issue. Why is that? Why do people put off marrying at younger ages? Why are so many people only interested in marriage much later in life, if ever?

1. Why isn't marriage a prerequisite for adulthood any longer?
2. Gay and lesbian couples say that marriage makes their relationships feel more "real." Why do you think this is so? Have you ever experienced this feeling or heard heterosexual couples express this?
3. What do you think of the changing the word "marriage" to "civil unions" for gay and lesbian couples, if this includes all of the same rights and privileges of marriage?
4. Many people say that most marriages end in divorce. Does this idea influence your ideas on marriage? How so?
5. In part, I chose to do this study in New Paltz because of the same-sex marriage event here in 2004. Did you think these same-sex marriages were carried out in a politically strategic way? What did you and others think of these marriages?
6. On the question about expectations about marriage, many have said that they do not usually get much pressure from their closest friends and family members about marriage. Instead, many report the pressure comes from neighbors, co-workers, relatives they see occasionally, etc. They ask questions like "when's the big day?" or "when are you marrying so and so?"

   Have you ever done this or heard of such comments? Why is it that such people don't have a problem asking about marriage?
7. I have heard from various people that the economy in New Paltz and the greater Hudson Valley has changed in the past decade or so. Can you comment on when it changed? Was it from the closure of IBM? What impact did 9/11 have on the area? Etc.
8. How has the recent economic downturn impacted your family, plans for marriage, plans for children, other ideas for the future, etc.?
9. In my interviews with local residents, many commented that, prior to November 4, 2008, they thought the US was headed in the wrong direction.
10. Has the election of Barak Obama as president changed your views for the outlook of the US? How so? How do you think this will impact the same-sex marriage debate in the US?
11. Is there anything additional you would like to add? Anything you thought I'd ask about but didn't?

THANK YOU!

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWEE INFORMATION AND PSEUDONYMS

Pseudonym	Partner 1 Pseudonym	Partner 2 Pseudonym	Child Pseudonym	Interview Dates (Sessions on that date)
Abby				10/25/2008 (1)
Alejandro				6/2/2008 (1)
Alexandra				8/22/2008 (2), 9/5/2008 (1)
Amber				9/8/2008 (1)
Andrew				2/29/2008 (5)
Ayana				9/23/2008 (2)
Bailey				10/20/2008 (1)
Bethany				6/25/2008 (1), 6/30/2008 (1)
Bev				10/23/2008 (1), 11/17/2008 (2)
Cai	Nate	Julie		8/5/2008 (1)
Campbell				3/2/2008 (1), 4/12/2008 (1)
Carl				1/13/2008 (1)
Chloe				4/8/2008 (1), 5/12/2008 (1)
Conrad	Henry			7/15/2008 (2)
Derek				6/21/2008 (1)
Dulci	Brandon			4/27/2008 (1), 6/8/2008 (1)
Dylan				6/16/2008 (1)
Emma	Ethan			2/29/2008 (3)
Erik				12/7/2007 (2)
Evan				4/29/2008 (2)
Gail				4/15/2008 (2)
George				11/13/2008 (4)
Haley	Jamie			4/17/2008 (1), 6/11/2008 (1)
Jack				6/17/2008 (1)
Jake				3/16/2008 (1)
Janel				10/21/2008 (2), 11/10/2008 (2)
Jesse				11/15/2008 (1)
Joe				6/24/2008 (1)

Pseudonym	Relationship Status at Interview	Age	Class	Sex	Gender
Abby	In a relationship with one person	48	PoorSporadicEmp	Female	Woman
Alejandro	Married (legal)	27	WorkingPoor	Male	Man
Alexandra	Married (common law/ritual)	29	LowerMiddle	Female	Woman
Amber	Living with a romantic partner	45	UpperMiddle	Female	Woman
Andrew	Single	32	Middle	Male	Man
Ayana	Single	34	WorkingPoor	Female	Woman
Bailey	Living with a romantic partner	24	LowerClass	Female	Woman
Bethany	Divorced from a marriage, Widow	69	Middle	Female	Woman
Bev	Married (legal)	38	UpperMiddle	Female	Woman
Cai	Single	65	LowerClass	Female	Woman
Campbell	Single	25	LowerMiddle	Female	Woman
Carl	Single	30	Middle	Male	Man
Chloe	Engaged, Living with a romantic partner	36	IndepWealthy	Female	Woman
Conrad	Married (legal)	41	UpperMiddle	Male	Man
Derek	Single	31	PoorSporadicEmp	Male	Man
Dulci	Living with a romantic partner	23	LowerClass	Female	Woman
Dylan	Single	73	IndepWealthy	Male	Man
Emma	Single	28	Middle	Female	Woman
Erik	Living with a romantic partner	32	Middle	Male	Man
Evan	Single	22	Working Poor	Male	Man
Gail	Divorced from a marriage	53	UpperMiddle	Female	Woman
George	Living with a romantic partner	45	Did not answer	Male	Man
Haley	In a relationship with one person	22	WorkingPoor	Female	Woman
Jack	Married (legal)	39	Middle	Male	Man
Jake	Married (legal)	32	Middle	Male	Man
Janel	Married (legal)	29	Middle	Female	Woman
Jesse	Single	42	UpperMiddle	Female	Woman
Joe	Married (legal)	39	WorkingPoor	Male	Transgender

Pseudonym	Sexual Orientation	Race	Ethnicity	Current Religious Affiliation
Abby	Bisexual	White	Welsh Irish English French	None
Alejandro	Heterosexual/Straight	Hispanic	latin american	catholic
Alexandra	Bisexual	White		None
Amber	Lesbian/Gay/Homosexual	White --- White Non-Hispanic	caucasian	Christian
Andrew	Heterosexual/Straight	White	Mutt	None
Ayana	Bisexual	African-American	white	pagan
Bailey	Bisexual	White		None
Bethany	Heterosexual/Straight	White	German/French/Swiss	Christian
Bev	Heterosexual/Straight	White	Irish/Polish	None
Cai	Bisexual	White	White	Roman Catholic
Campbell	Bisexual	White Non-Hispanic	English Italian Irish Scottish	Atheist
Carl	Heterosexual/Straight	White	American	none
Chloe	Heterosexual/Straight	White	german/polish	None
Conrad	Heterosexual/Straight	White	German/Scottish	None
Derek	Heterosexual/Straight	African-American	Carribean	
Dulci	Heterosexual/Straight	Hispanic	puerto rican	None
Dylan	Lesbian/Gay/Homosexual	White	Irish	Reformed
Emma	Heterosexual/Straight	White	Western European mix	None
Erik	Bisexual	White	German	Christian
Evan	Heterosexual/Straight	White	Swedish German Irish	None
Gail	Heterosexual/Straight	White		None
George	Lesbian/Gay/Homosexual	White	WASP	None
Haley	Heterosexual/Straight	White	Italian	Roman Catholic
Jack	Heterosexual/Straight	White	half-Jewish some Polish and Russian descent	Christian
Jake	Heterosexual/Straight	White --- Hispanic	Puerto Rican/Irish	None
Janel	Bisexual	White --- Native American	i would like to consider my self native american but i am 75% caucasian and never lived on a reservation but my skin tone is not quiet white so…	polytheistic agnostic
Jesse	Lesbian/Gay/Homosexual	African-American	African-American	Taoist
Joe	Bisexual	White	Italian	

Pseudonym	Religious Affiliation as a Child	Highest Level of Education Completed	Personal Income	Household Income
Abby	Buddhist	Some post-graduate	$50 000-79 999	$50 000-79 999
Alejandro	catholic	Bachelor's degree	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Alexandra	None	Some post-graduate	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Amber	Christian	Some college	Less than $29 999	$80 000-99 999
Andrew	Unitarian	Some post-graduate	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Ayana	bahai	Some college	Less than $29 999	$30 000-$49 999
Bailey	Christian	Some post-graduate	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Bethany	Roman Catholic	Master's degree	$30 000-49 999	$30 000-$49 999
Bev	None	Some college	More than $100 000	More than $100 000
Cai	Roman Catholic	Some college	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Campbell	None	Some post-graduate	$30 000-49 999	$30 000-$49 999
Carl	Catholic	Bachelor's degree	$30 000-49 999	$30 000-49 999
Chloe	None	Master's degree	$30 000-49 999	$30 000-$49 999
Conrad	Christian	PhD	$50 000-79 999	$80 000-99 999
Derek				
Dulci	Roman Catholic	Bachelor's degree	Less than $29 999	$50 000-79 999
Dylan	Roman Catholic	Associate's degree	$30 000-49 999	$30 000-$49 999
Emma	Roman Catholic	Some post-graduate	$30 000-49 999	$30 000-$49 999
Erik	Christian	PhD	$50 000-79 999	$80 000-99 999
Evan	Roman Catholic	Some college	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Gail	Jewish	Some post-graduate	$30 000-49 999	$30 000-$49 999
George	None			
Haley	Roman Catholic	Some post-graduate	$80 000-99 999	$50 000-79 999
Jack	Christian	Bachelor's degree	$30 000-49 999	$50 000-79 999
Jake	Roman Catholic	Law degree/JD	$50 000-79 999	$80 000-99 999
Janel	rastapharian	Associate's degree	Less than $29 999	$30 000-$49 999
Jesse	Christian	Master's degree	$50 000-79 999	$50 000-79 999
Joe		High School	$30 000-$49 999	$30 000-$49 999

Pseudonym	Partner 1 Pseudonym	Partner 2 Pseudonym	Child Pseudonym	Interview Dates (Sessions on that date)
Katya				3/8/2008 (1), 3/15/2008 (1)
Kelly				6/12/2008 (1)
Laura				7/31/2008 (1), 10/22/2008 (2)
Lauren	Declan			4/13/2008 (2), 4/21/2008 (1)
Levi				2/20/2009 (1), 3/25/2010 (1), 1/5/2012 (1)
Lewis	Jim	Keith		6/20/2008 (1), 6/29/2008 (2)
Liam				6/22/2008 (2), 11/15/2008 (1)
Lily				11/10/2008 (1)
Liv				10/26/2008 (1)
Lucy				3/6/2008 (1)
Mackenzie				6/10/2008 (2), 6/19/2008 (1)
Morgan				11/11/2008 (1)
Naomi	Theo			2/21/2009 (1), 3/9/2009 (1), 3/17/2009 (1)
Natalie				4/10/2008 (1)
Paige	Liz			6/3/2008 (1)
Peter				3/11/2008 (1)
Peyton	Kristin		Maya	5/8/2008 (1), 10/17/2008 (1), 1/21/2009 (1)
Robert				3/1/2008 (1), 3/3/2008 (1), 3/9/2008 (2), 3/16/2008 (1)
Sam				8/22/2008 (1)
Samantha				6/16/2008 (4)
Sara				5/1/2008 (1)
Steven				6/30/2008 (1)
Tyler				3/5/2008 (1)
Zoe				10/20/2008 (1)

Pseudonym	Relationship Status at Interview	Age	Class	Sex	Gender
Katya	Divorced from a marriage	37	LowerMiddle	Female	Woman
Kelly	Living with a romantic partner	25	LowerClass	Female	Woman
Laura	Divorced from a marriage, In a relationship with one person	44	LowerMiddle	Female	Woman
Lauren	Living with a romantic partner	27	PoorSporadicEmp	Female	Woman
Levi	Married (legal)	49	Middle	Male	Man
Lewis	Married (legal)	56	WorkingPoor	Male	Man
Liam	Divorced from a marriage	53	WorkingPoor	Male	Man
Lily	Living with a romantic partner	36	LowerClass	Female	Woman
Liv	Divorced from a marriage	35	LowerMiddle	Female	Woman
Lucy	Married (legal)	29	Middle	Female	Woman
Mackenzie	Single	46	Middle	Female	Woman
Morgan	Married (legal)	41	IndepWealthy	Female	Woman
Naomi	Married (legal), Married (common law/ritual)	48	Middle	Female	Woman
Natalie	In a relationship with one person	21	Middle	Female	Woman
Paige	Single	27	WorkingPoor	Female	Woman
Peter	Single	27	PoorSporadicEmp	Male	Man
Peyton	Single	29	Middle	Female	Woman
Robert	Single	32	LowerMiddle	Male	Man
Sam	Living with a romantic partner	25	UpperMiddle	Male	Man
Samantha	Married (common law/ritual)	40	PoorSporadicEmp	Female	Woman
Sara	Single	29	Middle	Female	Woman
Steven	Single	32	LowerMiddle	Male	Man
Tyler	Single	27	Lower Middle	Male	Man
Zoe	Living with a romantic partner	25	UpperMiddle	Female	Woman

Pseudonym	Sexual Orientation	Race	Ethnicity	Current Religious Affiliation
Katya	Heterosexual/Straight	White	Russian	Christian
Kelly	Heterosexual/Straight	White --- White Non-Hispanic	German/Swiss/Irish/English	None
Laura	Heterosexual/Straight	White Non-Hispanic	eastern european	Buddhist
Lauren	Heterosexual/Straight	White	Irish Swedish Danish	Christian
Levi	Lesbian/Gay/Homosexual	White	Jewish	
Lewis	Bisexual	White Non-Hispanic	Frisian-Dutch-German-Anglo	Atheist
Liam	Heterosexual/Straight	White	Irish/Northern European	Catholic
Lily	Bisexual	White		
Liv	Bisexual	White	Eastern and Western European	Agnostic
Lucy	Heterosexual/Straight	White --- White Non-Hispanic	American	None
Mackenzie	Heterosexual/Straight	Native American	human	None
Morgan	Heterosexual/Straight	White	irish	None
Naomi	Lesbian/Gay/Homosexual	White	Jewish	Jewish
Natalie	Heterosexual/Straight	White	german hungarian russian	Jewish
Paige	Heterosexual/Straight	White --- Native American	100% Mutt - 25% Hungarian Irish Italian the other 25% American Indian Dutch British	None
Peter	Lesbian/Gay/Homosexual	White	White Euro-American mostly Italian and Irish	Christian
Peyton	Bisexual	White	irish polish hungarian	closest to indigenous spirituality not pagan
Robert	Heterosexual/Straight	White	caucasian western european ancestry	Roman Catholic
Sam	Heterosexual/Straight	Hispanic --- eastern europian jew	Jewban (Cubish)	New York Football Giants
Samantha	Bisexual	White	Irish	not sure
Sara	Heterosexual/Straight	White --- White Non-Hispanic	caucasian	None
Steven	Heterosexual/Straight	White	northern european	None
Tyler	Heterosexual/Straight	White		Evangelical Christian
Zoe	Lesbian/Gay/Homosexual	White	Greek and Spanish	Christian

Pseudonym	Religious Affiliation as a Child	Highest Level of Education Completed	Personal Income	Household Income
Katya	None	Bachelor's degree	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Kelly	None	Bachelor's degree	$30 000-49 999	$50 000-79 999
Laura	Presbytrian	Master's degree	$50 000-79 999	$50 000-79 999
Lauren	Christian	Master's degree	$50 000-79 999	More than $100 000
Levi	Jewish	Bachelor's degree	$50 000-79 999	$80 000-99 999
Lewis	Christian	Some post-graduate	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Liam	Catholic	Bachelor's degree	$50 000-79 999	$50 000-79 999
Lily		Bachelor's degree		
Liv	Atheism	Bachelor's degree	$30 000-49 999	$30 000-$49 999
Lucy	Roman Catholic	Some post-graduate	Less than $29 999	$50 000-79 999
Mackenzie	Roman Catholic	Bachelor's degree	$30 000-49 999	$30 000-$49 999
Morgan	Roman Catholic	Master's degree	$80 000-99 999	More than $100 000
Naomi	Jewish	Master's degree		
Natalie	Jewish	Associate's degree	Less than $29 999	More than $100 000
Paige	Roman Catholic	Bachelor's degree	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Peter	Roman Catholic	Bachelor's degree	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Peyton	Roman Catholic	Bachelor's degree	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Robert	Roman Catholic	Some post-graduate	$30 000-49 999	$30 000-$49 999
Sam	catholic and jewish	Some post-graduate	$30 000-49 999	$50 000-79 999
Samantha	Roman Catholic	Some college	$30 000-49 999	$30 000-$49 999
Sara	Christian	Master's degree	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Steven	Roman Catholic	Bachelor's degree	Less than $29 999	Less than $29 999
Tyler	Evangelical Christian	Master's degree	Less than $29 999	
Zoe	Christian	Master's degree	$30 000-49 999	$30 000-$49 999

APPENDIX C

SURVEY RESULTS TABLES AND DATA DICTIONARY

Table 1. Demographics Data

	Interviewee Value	Interviewee %	Survey Value	Survey %	Interview Comments	Survey Comments
Age Avg.	36.4	--	38.6	--		
Age Median	27 and 32	--	27	--		
Sex						
Female	32	62%	100	72%		
Male	20	38%	37	27%		
Trans	0		1	1%		
Did not answer	0		1	1%		
Gender						
Man	19	37%	37	27%		**I am one gender of man, there are many**
Transgender	1	2%	3	2%		
Woman	32	62%	98	71%		
Did not answer	0	0%	1	1%		
Sexual Orientation						
Heterosexual/Straight	30	58%	93	67%		**Straight but I am dating a Transgender male (F-M)**
Bisexual	14	27%	23	17%		
Lesbian/Gay/Homosexual	8	15%	20	14%		
Queer	0	0%	2	1%		
Omnisexual	0	0%	1	1%		
Race						
White -- Non-Hispanic	42	81%	118	85%		
African-American	3	6%	2	1%		
Hispanic / White-Hispanic	4	8%	4	3%		
Native American	1	2%	3	2%		
Asian-Pacific Islander	0	0%	1	1%		
Mixed Race	2	4%	8	6%		
Human	0	0%	2	1%		
Did not answer			1	1%		
Current Religious Affiliation						
None	21	40%	57	41%	**Polytheistic agnostic**	**Eclectic paganish**
Christian	8	15%	24	17%		**Pantheist Neopagan (in New Paltz this should probably have its own category :)**
Atheist	2	4%	2	1%		**Polytheistic agnostic**
Catholic	5	10%	15	11%		**Romano-Celtic Wiccan (Wicca+Christian)**
Jewish	2	4%	11	8%		
Agnostic	1	2%	2	1%		
Buddhist	1	2%	5	4%		
enous spirituality not pagan	1	2%	1	1%		
Evangelical Christian	1	2%	1	1%		
New York Football Giants	1	2%	1	1%		
Pagan	1	2%	1	1%		
Reformed	1	2%	1	1%		
Spiritual	1	2%	0	0%		
Taoist	1	2%	3	2%		
Unitarian Universalist	0	0%	3	2%		
religious tradition observed	1	2%	6	4%		
Lutheran	0	0%	1	1%		
Secular humanist	0	0%	1	1%		
Not sure	1	2%	1	1%		
Did not answer	3	6%	3	2%		
Childhood Religious Affiliation						
None	7	13%	18	13%		**Unitarian/Quaker**
Atheism	1	2%	1	1%		
Baha'i	1	2%	1	1%		
Baptist	0	0%	1	1%		
Buddhist	1	2%	1	1%		
Catholic	20	38%	55	40%		

	Interviewee Value	Interviewee %	Survey Value	Survey %	Interview Comments	Survey Comments
Christian	10	19%	35	25%		
Evangelical Christian	1	2%	1	1%		
Jewish	4	8%	17	12%		
Presbytrian	1	2%	1	1%		
Rastapharian	1	2%	1	1%		
Secular Scientist		0%	1	1%		
Unitarian	1	2%	2	1%		
religious tradition observed	1	2%	3	2%		
Did not answer	3	6%	0	0%		
Highest Educational Level Completed						
High School	1	2%	4	3%		
Some college	6	12%	21	15%		
Associate's degree	3	6%	10	7%		
Bachelor's degree	15	29%	40	29%		
ɔme post-graduate courses	12	23%	22	16%		
Law degree/JD	1	2%	2	1%		
Master's degree	10	19%	32	23%		
PhD	2	4%	7	5%		
Did not answer	2	4%	1	1%		
Relationship Status	does not equal 100%	does not equal 100%				
Single	18	42				
elationship with one person	4	8				
ving with a romantic partner	11	26				
Engaged	1	4				
Domestic Partner	0	4				
Civil Union	0	3				
California Gay Marriage	1	2				
Married (common law/ritual)	3	3				
Married (legal)	11	29				
Separated	0	1				
Divorced from a marriage	6	18				
Widow	1	3				

Table 2. Class, Income and Mobility Data

	Interviewee Value	Interviewee %	Survey Value	Survey %	Interview Comments	Survey Comments
Current Class Identification						
IndepWealthy	3	6%	3	2%		
Upper class	0	0%	3	2%		
UpperMiddle	7	13%	25	18%		
Middle	15	29%	50	36%		
LowerMiddle	8	15%	21	15%		
LowerClass	5	10%	6	4%		
WorkingPoor	9	17%	12	9%		
PoorSporadicEmp	4	8%	10	7%		
Did not answer	1	2%	10	7%		
On average, how many different jobs do you work per month?						
1	25	48%	90	65%		
2	12	23%	22	16%		
3	3	6%	9	6%		
5	2	4%	3	2%		
Retired/not working	1	2%	6	4%		
Did not answer	9	17%	9	6%		
Personal Income						
Less than $29 999	20	38%	49	35%		
$30 000-49 999	16	31%	39	28%		
$50 000-79 999	9	17%	27	19%		
$80 000-99 999	2	4%	10	7%		
More than $100 000	1	2%	6	4%		
Did not answer	4	8%	8	6%		
Household Income						
Less than $29 999	14	27%	28	20%		
$30 000-$49 999	16	31%	37	27%		
$50 000-79 999	10	19%	27	19%		
$80 000-99 999	5	10%	14	10%		
More than $100 000	4	8%	25	18%		
Did not answer	3	6%	8	6%		
Does your household receive some form of public assistance support?						
no	42	81%	125	90%		
yes	7	13%	13	9%		
Did not answer	3	6%	1	1%		
In how many different places have you lived?						
1	1	2%	4	3%		
2	6	12%	21	15%		
3	4	8%	20	14%		
4	6	12%	16	12%		
5	6	12%	20	14%		
6	5	10%	11	8%		
7	3	6%	9	6%		
8	4	8%	12	9%		
9	1	2%	3	2%		
10+	8	15%	23	17%		
Did not answer	8	15%	0	0%		

Table 3. Political Engagement

	Interviewee Value	Interviewee %	Survey Value	Survey %
Did you vote in the 2004 US presidential elections?				
No	6	11.5%	27	19.4%
Yes	38	73.1%	111	79.9%
Did not answer	8	15.4%	1	0.7%
Did you vote in the November 6, 2007 New York State elections?				
No	22	42.3%	63	45.3%
Yes	22	42.3%	75	54.0%
Did not answer	8	15.4%	1	0.7%
Will you vote in the 2008 US presidential elections?				
No	1	1.9%	4	2.9%
Undecided	1	1.9%	13	9.4%
Yes	42	80.8%	122	87.8%
Did not answer	8	15.4%	0	0.0%
Do you consider yourself a supporter of or participant in a social movement which advocates for any of the following groups? (Choose all that apply)				
1. Women's Movement	32	62%	73	53%
2. Environmental Movement	31	60%	87	63%
3. LGBTQ Movement	28	54%	75	54%
4. Poor people	27	52%	66	47%
5. School district/parents rights	26	50%	1	1%
6. Af.Amer./Blacks/People of color I	26	50%	58	42%
7. Homelessness	22	42%	51	37%
8. Immigrant Rights	21	40%	41	29%
9. Native Americans/Indigenous Rig	21	40%	50	36%
10. Neighborhood/resident groups	19	37%	40	29%
11. Students Rights	18	35%	50	36%
12. Unions	18	35%	37	27%
13. Disablity Movement	2	4%	4	3%
14. Election Reform/Proportional Re	1	2%	1	1%
15. Farm/Local Foods Movement	1	2%	1	1%
16. Global marijuana rights moveme	1	2%	2	1%
17. Universal healthcare	1	2%	1	1%
18. Victims of War and Genocide	1	2%	2	1%
19. ACLU	0	0%	1	1%
20. Animal Rights Movement/PETA	0	0%	1	1%
21. Farm Worker Rights Movement	0	0%	1	1%
22. Hate crimes	0	0%	1	1%
23. Illegal drug users	0	0%	1	1%
24. Older Worker Discrimination/Ag	0	0%	1	1%
25. People with HIV/AIDS	0	0%	1	1%
26. Prison Rights Movement	0	0%	1	1%
27. Sexual Freedom Movement	0	0%	1	1%
28. Whistle-blower Rights	0	0%	1	0%
Many people chose more than one movement.		Values do not equal 100%		
Median	9 (n=5) and 11 (n=5)		1 (n=24) and 3 (n=17)	
Average	8		5	
Range	1-12		1-13	
Did not answer	15	29%	19	14%
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: The 2004 same-sex marriages performed by then Village of New Paltz Mayor Jason West were in line with most people's values in New Paltz.				
Agree	33	63.5%	102	73.4%
Disagree	7	13.5%	30	21.6%
Did not answer	12	23.1%	7	5.0%

	Interviewee Value	Interviewee %	Survey Value	Survey %
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: Marriage is about love not money.				
Agree	32	61.5%	118	84.9%
Disagree	12	23.1%	21	15.1%
Did Not Answer	8	15.4%	0	0.0%
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: Couples who marry should make a lifelong commitment to one another to be broken only under extreme circumstances.				
Agree	30	57.7%	105	75.5%
Disagree	14	26.9%	33	23.7%
Did not answer	8	15.4%	1	0.7%
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: Gays and lesbians should be able to get married just like heterosexuals.				
Agree	42	80.8%	127	91.4%
Disagree	2	3.8%	11	7.9%
Did not answer	8	15.4%	1	0.7%
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: Couples who have children together ought to be married.				
Agree	13	25.0%	50	36.0%
Disagree	31	59.6%	88	63.3%
Did not answer	8	15.4%	1	0.7%
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: I do not believe in religious marriage.				
Agree	15	28.8%	41	29.5%
Disagree	27	51.9%	93	66.9%
Did not answer	10	19.2%	5	3.6%
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: Legal civil unions are best for those interested in legally joining their households.				
famValuesCivilUnionsBest				
Agree	26	50.0%	92	66.2%
Disagree	16	30.8%	42	30.2%
Did not answer	10	19.2%	5	3.6%
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: People should wait to have sex until marriage.				
Agree	3	5.8%	11	7.9%
Disagree	40	76.9%	126	90.6%
Did not answer	9	17.3%	2	1.4%
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: Divorce has caused most of the family problems in the U.S.				
Agree	10	19.2%	31	22.3%
Disagree	33	63.5%	105	75.5%
Did not answer	9	17.3%	3	2.2%
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: Working women are more likely to delay or avoid marriage.				
Agree	23	44.2%	83	59.7%
Disagree	21	40.4%	55	39.6%
Did not answer	8	15.4%	1	0.7%
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: Economic worries are a big reason people divorce.				
Agree	31	59.6%	88	63.3%
Disagree	13	25.0%	50	36.0%
Did not answer	8	15.4%	1	0.7%
What is your overall impression of these U.S. political parties: Democractic Party				
Very Favorable	8	15.4%	24	17.3%
Favorable	22	42.3%	70	50.4%
No Opinion	4	7.7%	17	12.2%
Unfavorable	6	11.5%	20	14.4%
Very Unfavorable	4	7.7%	6	4.3%

	Interviewee Value	Interviewee %	Survey Value	Survey %
Did not answer	8	15.4%	5	3.6%
What is your overall impression of these U.S. political parties: Republican Party				
Very Favorable	1	1.9%	2	1.4%
Favorable	1	1.9%	7	5.0%
No Opinion	2	3.8%	15	10.8%
Unfavorable	15	28.8%	43	30.9%
Very Unfavorable	24	46.2%	69	49.6%
Did not answer	9	17.3%	5	3.6%
What is your overall impression of these U.S. political parties: Green Party				
Very Favorable	7	13.5%	15	10.8%
Favorable	21	40.4%	50	36.0%
No Opinion	10	19.2%	52	37.4%
Unfavorable	4	7.7%	14	10.1%
Very Unfavorable	1	1.9%	4	2.9%
Did not answer	9	17.3%	5	3.6%
What is your overall impression of these U.S. political parties: Libertarian Party				
Very Unfavorable	5	9.6%	4	2.9%
Favorable	6	11.5%	14	10.1%
No Opinion	20	38.5%	76	54.7%
Unfavorable	9	17.3%	25	18.0%
Very Favorable	2	3.8%	15	10.8%
Did not answer	10	19.2%	5	3.6%
What does the term 'citizenship' mean to you?				
Having certain rights and privileges	35	95%	106	80%
Living in a society where certain basic rights are guaranteed	29	78%	102	77%
Fulfilling civic duties that the government requires (for example paying taxes voting obeying traffic laws etc.)	27	73%	97	73%
Living in a democratic society	23	62%	84	64%
Being aware of important national issues	19	51%	81	61%
Doing what my community asks of me	13	35%	52	39%
"Voting with my wallet." (Buying goods and services from companies that are in line with my political concerns)	9	24%	39	30%
Did not answer	15	29%	7	5%
		Values do not equal 100%		
Number of citizenship definitions				
1		14%		15%
2		3%		9%
3		24%		12%
4		19%		17%
5		8%		13%
6		16%		14%
7		16%		14%

Table 4. Familiarity with Political Concepts

The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.]

Generally a good thing, something I support.	**Interviewee %**	Survey %
Democracy	**18%**	96%
Neoconservatism	**6%**	4%
Affirmative Action	**67%**	71%
Capitalism	**35%**	51%
Exporting Jobs	**4%**	4%
Globalization	**33%**	42%
Deregulation	**13%**	19%
Neoliberalism	**17%**	16%
Privatization	**12%**	15%
Socialism	**58%**	54%
Free-trade	**48%**	63%
Job Outsourcing	**2%**	7%
Citizenship	**73%**	88%

I am not familiar with this term.	**Interviewee %**	Survey %
Democracy	**0%**	1%
Neoconservatism	**8%**	25%
Affirmative Action	**4%**	7%
Capitalism	**2%**	5%
Exporting Jobs	**4%**	9%
Globalization	**12%**	12%
Deregulation	**25%**	23%
Neoliberalism	**33%**	45%
Privatization	**17%**	21%
Socialism	**4%**	12%
Free-trade	**10%**	9%
Job Outsourcing	**8%**	10%
Citizenship	**2%**	4%

Generally a bad thing, something I do not support.	**Interviewee %**	Survey %
Democracy	**2%**	1%
Neoconservatism	**69%**	68%
Affirmative Action	**10%**	19%
Capitalism	**37%**	36%
Exporting Jobs	**73%**	81%
Globalization	**33%**	40%
Deregulation	**40%**	52%
Neoliberalism	**31%**	34%
Privatization	**50%**	58%
Socialism	**15%**	28%
Free-trade	**21%**	22%
Job Outsourcing	**71%**	78%
Citizenship	**6%**	6%

Table 5. Data Dictionary

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
N/A	1	Respondent			
N/A	2	Question 1) [ConsentYes] INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY	**consent**		
				yes	1
				no	0
1	3	Question 2) [status] Which of the following best describes your relational status? [Choose one of the following]	**status**		
				Single	1
				Living with a romantic partner	2
				Married (legal)	3
				Married (common law/ritual)	4
				Civil Union	5
				Domestic Partner	6
				Separated	7
				Divorced from a marriage	8
				Divorced from a Civil Union/Dissolution of a Domestic Partnership	9
				Widow(er)	10
				Other	11
				Engaged	12
				In a relationship with one person	13
				In a relationship with more than one person	14
				Separated	15
2	4	Question 3) [spouseQual] How important is each of the following qualities of a spouse or romantic partner? Someone who... [Please rank in order of importance with one (1) being the most important and seven (7) being less important.] Is a good companion	**SpouseQual**	--	Rank Ordered 1-7
2	5	Question 3) [spouseQual] How important is each of the following qualities of a spouse or romantic partner? Someone who... [Please rank in order of importance with one (1) being the most important and seven (7) being less important.] Is a good sex partner	**SpouseQual**	--	Rank Ordered 1-7
2	6	Question 3) [spouseQual] How important is each of the following qualities of a spouse or romantic partner? Someone who... [Please rank in order of importance with one (1) being the most important and seven (7) being less important.] Is faithful	**SpouseQual**	--	Rank Ordered 1-7
2	7	Question 3) [spouseQual] How important is each of the following qualities of a spouse or romantic partner? Someone who... [Please rank in order of importance with one (1) being the most important and seven (7) being less important.] Has a good economic situation	**SpouseQual**	--	Rank Ordered 1-7
2	8	Question 3) [spouseQual] How important is each of the following qualities of a spouse or romantic partner? Someone who... [Please rank in order of importance with one (1) being the most important and seven (7) being less important.] Is passionate about our relationship	**SpouseQual**	--	Rank Ordered 1-7
2	9	Question 3) [spouseQual] How important is each of the following qualities of a spouse or romantic partner? Someone who... [Please rank in order of importance with one (1) being the most important and seven (7) being less important.] Is a good communicator	**SpouseQual**	--	Rank Ordered 1-7
2	10	Question 3) [spouseQual] How important is each of the following qualities of a spouse or romantic partner? Someone who... [Please rank in order of importance with one (1) being the most important and seven (7) being less important.] Is physically attractive	**SpouseQual**	--	Rank Ordered 1-7
3	11	Question 4) [genderRoles] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Most women stay faithful to their partners/spouses.	**GenderRoles**	--	1
3	12	Question 4) [genderRoles] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Woman should be home to play the primary role of raising children.	**GenderRoles**	--	2

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
3	13	Question 4) [genderRoles] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Most men stay faithful to their partners/spouses.	**GenderRoles**	--	3
3	14	Question 4) [genderRoles] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Men are safer than women when walking down a dark street at night.	**GenderRoles**	--	4
3	15	Question 4) [genderRoles] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Women make better teachers than men do.	**GenderRoles**	--	5
3	16	Question 4) [genderRoles] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Men make better managers than women.	**GenderRoles**	--	6
3	17	Question 4) [genderRoles] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] A woman who is a feminist is probably less feminine than one who isn't.	**GenderRoles**	--	7
3	18	Question 4) [genderRoles] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Men should help out with household chores.	**GenderRoles**	--	8
3	19	Question 4) [genderRoles] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Men and women's expected roles have changed for the better in the past 30 years.	**GenderRoles**	--	9
4	20	Question 5) [famValues] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Marriage is about love not money	**FamValuesMarrAboutLoveNotMoney**	--	1
4	21	Question 5) [famValues] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Couples who marry should make a lifelong commitment to one another to be broken only under extreme circumstances	**FamValuesMarr4Life**	--	2
4	22	Question 5) [famValues] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Legal civil unions are best for those interested in legally joining their households.	**FamValuesCivilUnionsBest**	--	3
4	23	Question 5) [famValues] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] People should wait to have sex until marriage	**FamValuesNoSexTilMarr**	--	4
4	24	Question 5) [famValues] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Divorce has caused most of the family problems in US	**FamValuesDivorceMeansProbs**	--	5
4	25	Question 5) [famValues] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Gays and lesbians should be able to get married just like heterosexuals	**FamValuesGayShouldMarry**	--	6
4	26	Question 5) [famValues] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Working women are more likely to delay or avoid marriage	**FamValuesWomenDelayMarr**	--	7
4	27	Question 5) [famValues] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Couples who have children together ought to be married	**FamValuesMarrAndKids**	--	8
4	28	Question 5) [famValues] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Economic worries are a big reason people divorce	**FamValuesEconomicWorriesDivorce**	--	9
4	29	Question 5) [famValues] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] The 2004 same-sex marriages performed by then Village of New Paltz Mayor Jason West were in line with most people's values in New Paltz	**FamValues2004SSMvillageValueAgreement**	--	10

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
4	30	Question 5) [famValues] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] I do not believe in relgious marriage.	**FamValuesNoReligiousMarr**	--	11
5	31	Question 6) [homphobia1] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Gay lesbian and bisexual people are normal	**Homophobia1**	--	1
5	32	Question 6) [homphobia1] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] There is less prejudice against gays and lesbians than there used to be	**Homophobia1**	--	2
5	33	Question 6) [homphobia1] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Religious leaders denouncing homosexuality are correct	**Homophobia1**	--	3
5	34	Question 6) [homphobia1]] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Homosexuality is an illness	**Homophobia1**	--	4
5	35	Question 6) [homphobia1] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Gays and lesbians should be able to adopt children just like heterosexuals	**Homophobia1**	--	5
5	36	Question 6) [homphobia1] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Most adult men have had at least one same-sex sexual experience	**Homophobia1**	--	6
5	37	Question 6) [homphobia1] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] Most adult women have had at least one same-sex sexual experience	**Homophobia1**	--	7
5	38	Question 6) [homphobia1] Please state whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [For each option choose either Agree or Disagree] This section of questions makes me somewhat uncomfortable	**Homophobia1**	--	8
6	39	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] Your spouse or significant other	**marriageInfl**		1
6	40	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] Your mother	**marriageInfl**		2
6	41	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] Your father	**marriageInfl**		3
6	42	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] Your sibling(s)	**marriageInfl**		4
6	43	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] Your child(ren)	**marriageInfl**		5
6	44	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] A male relative	**marriageInfl**		6
6	45	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] A female relative	**marriageInfl**		7
6	46	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] A techer/mentor	**marriageInfl**		8
6	47	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] A colleague	**marriageInfl**		9

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
6	48	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] A neighbor	**marriageInfl**		10
6	49	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] A clergy person/religious figure	**marriageInfl**		11
6	50	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] A male friend	**marriageInfl**		12
6	51	Question 7) [marriageInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding relationships and marriage? [Choose one option for each type of person] A female friend	**marriageInfl**		13
7	52	Question 8) [Parent1or2] Since people grow up in different family situations here in the US please indicate who you would consider as 'Parent 1' and 'Parent 2' below. I will use YOUR definition to understand the next few questions about your parents. For example if you said that as a child you were primarily raised by your grandmother but had some contact with your mother then you might choose your grandmother as 'Parent 1' and your biological mother as 'Parent 2.' Biological Mother	**Parent1 / Parent2**		1
7	53	Question 8) [Parent1or2] Since people grow up in different family situations here in the US please indicate who you would consider as 'Parent 1' and 'Parent 2' below. I will use YOUR definition to understand the next few questions about your parents. For example if you said that as a child you were primarily raised by your grandmother but had some contact with your mother then you might choose your grandmother as 'Parent 1' and your biological mother as 'Parent 2.' Biological Father	**Parent1 / Parent2**		2
7	54	Question 8) [Parent1or2] Since people grow up in different family situations here in the US please indicate who you would consider as 'Parent 1' and 'Parent 2' below. I will use YOUR definition to understand the next few questions about your parents. For example if you said that as a child you were primarily raised by your grandmother but had some contact with your mother then you might choose your grandmother as 'Parent 1' and your biological mother as 'Parent 2.' Step Mother	**Parent1 / Parent2**		3
7	55	Question 8) [Parent1or2] Since people grow up in different family situations here in the US please indicate who you would consider as 'Parent 1' and 'Parent 2' below. I will use YOUR definition to understand the next few questions about your parents. For example if you said that as a child you were primarily raised by your grandmother but had some contact with your mother then you might choose your grandmother as 'Parent 1' and your biological mother as 'Parent 2.' Step Father	**Parent1 / Parent2**		4
7	56	Question 8) [Parent1or2] Since people grow up in different family situations here in the US please indicate who you would consider as 'Parent 1' and 'Parent 2' below. I will use YOUR definition to understand the next few questions about your parents. For example if you said that as a child you were primarily raised by your grandmother but had some contact with your mother then you might choose your grandmother as 'Parent 1' and your biological mother as 'Parent 2.' Adoptive Mother	**Parent1 / Parent2**		5
7	57	Question 8) [Parent1or2] Since people grow up in different family situations here in the US please indicate who you would consider as 'Parent 1' and 'Parent 2' below. I will use YOUR definition to understand the next few questions about your parents. For example if you said that as a child you were primarily raised by your grandmother but had some contact with your mother then you might choose your grandmother as 'Parent 1' and your biological mother as 'Parent 2.' Adoptive Father	**Parent1 / Parent2**		6
7	58	Question 8) [Parent1or2] Since people grow up in different family situations here in the US please indicate who you would consider as 'Parent 1' and 'Parent 2' below. I will use YOUR definition to understand the next few questions about your parents. For example if you said that as a child you were primarily raised by your grandmother but had some contact with your mother then you might choose your grandmother as 'Parent 1' and your biological mother as 'Parent 2.' Grandmother	**Parent1 / Parent2**		7

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
7	59	Question 8) [Parent1or2] Since people grow up in different family situations here in the US please indicate who you would consider as 'Parent 1' and 'Parent 2' below. I will use YOUR definition to understand the next few questions about your parents. For example if you said that as a child you were primarily raised by your grandmother but had some contact with your mother then you might choose your grandmother as 'Parent 1' and your biological mother as 'Parent 2.' Grandfather	**Parent1 / Parent2**		8
7	60	Question 8) [Parent1or2] Since people grow up in different family situations here in the US please indicate who you would consider as 'Parent 1' and 'Parent 2' below. I will use YOUR definition to understand the next few questions about your parents. For example if you said that as a child you were primarily raised by your grandmother but had some contact with your mother then you might choose your grandmother as 'Parent 1' and your biological mother as 'Parent 2.' Legal Guardian/Foster Care Mother	**Parent1 / Parent2**		9
7	61	Question 8) [Parent1or2] Since people grow up in different family situations here in the US please indicate who you would consider as 'Parent 1' and 'Parent 2' below. I will use YOUR definition to understand the next few questions about your parents. For example if you said that as a child you were primarily raised by your grandmother but had some contact with your mother then you might choose your grandmother as 'Parent 1' and your biological mother as 'Parent 2.' Legal Guardian/Foster Care Father	**Parent1 / Parent2**		10
8	62	Question 9) [parent1job] What is/was your Parent 1's main occupation/job?	**parent1job**		text
9	63	Question 10) [parent2job] What is/was your Parent 2's main occupation/job?	**parent2job**		text
10	64	Question 11) [parent1momjob] What is/was your Parent 1's mother's main occupation/job? (For example your mother's mother's main job through her lifetime.)	**parent1momjob**		text
11	65	Question 12) [parent1dadjob] What is/was your Parent 1's father's main occupation/job? (For example your mother's father's main job through his lifetime.)	**parent1dadjob**		text
12	66	Question 13) [parent2momjob] What is/was your Parent 2's mother's main occupation/job? (For example your father's mother's main job through her lifetime.)	**parent2momjob**		text
13	67	Question 14) [parent2dadjob] What is/was your Parent 2's father's main occupation/job? (For example your father's father's main job through his lifetime.)	**parent2dadjob**		text
14	68	Question 15) [parent1ed] What is the highest level of education parent 1 has completed?	**parent1ed**		
				8th grade	1
				some high school	2
				twelfth grade	3
				some college	4
				Associate's degree	5
				Bachelor's degree	6
				some post-graduate courses	7
				Master's degree	8
				PhD	9
				Law degree/JD	10
				MD	11
				Other advanced degree	12
15	69	Question 16) [parent2ed] What is the highest level of education parent 2 has completed?	**parent2ed**		
				8th grade	1
				some high school	2
				twelfth grade	3
				some college	4
				Associate's degree	5
				Bachelor's degree	6
				some post-graduate courses	7
				Master's degree	8

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
				PhD	9
				Law degree/JD	10
				MD	11
				Other advanced degree	12
16	70	Question 17) [birthPlace] Where were you born? (Please answer in this format: town/city state country)	**birthPlace**		text
17	71	Question 18) [hometown] Where do you consider your hometown (the place that you spent most of your childhood)? [Please answer in this format: town/city state country]	**hometown**		text
18	72	Question 19) [immigrateYear] Approximately when did your family immigrate to the US? (You/Parent1 & You/Parent2)	**immigrateYearP1**	Years 1620-1699	1
18	73		**immigrateYearP1**	Years 1700-1799	2
18	74		**immigrateYearP1**	Years 1800-1899	3
18	75		**immigrateYearP1**	Years 1900-1949	4
18	76		**immigrateYearP1**	Years 1950-1959	5
18	77		**immigrateYearP1**	Years 1960-1969	6
18	78		**immigrateYearP1**	Years 1970-1979	7
18	79		**immigrateYearP1**	Years 1980-1989	8
18	80		**immigrateYearP1**	Years 1990-1999	9
18	81		**immigrateYearP1**	Years 2000-2008	10
18	82		**immigrateYearP1**	I am Native American	11
18	83		**immigrateYearP1**	I don't know	12
			immigrateYearP2	Years 1620-1699	13
			immigrateYearP2	Years 1700-1799	14
			immigrateYearP2	Years 1800-1899	15
			immigrateYearP2	Years 1900-1949	16
			immigrateYearP2	Years 1950-1959	17
			immigrateYearP2	Years 1960-1969	18
			immigrateYearP2	Years 1970-1979	19
			immigrateYearP2	Years 1980-1989	20
			immigrateYearP2	Years 1990-1999	21
			immigrateYearP2	Years 2000-2008	22
			immigrateYearP2	I am Native American	23
			immigrateYearP2	I don't know	24
19	84	Question 20) [relocation] In how many different places have you lived? (For example in how many different cities towns villages etc.)	**relocation**	One to 10+	1-10
20	85	Question 21) [education] What is the highest level of education you have completed?	**education**		
				8th grade	1
				some high school	2
				twelfth grade	3
				some college	4
				Associate's degree	5
				Bachelor's degree	6
				some post-graduate courses	7
				Master's degree	8
				PhD	9
				Law degree/JD	10
				MD	11
				Other advanced degree	12
21	86	Question 22) [jobTitle] Please list your last five job titles with the first being the most recent. [Separate these job titles with commas. For example: accountant CEO president]	**jobTitle**	--	text [separate with commas]
22	87	Question 23) [industry] In what industry/industries do you work? [Separate these with commas. For example: health care higher education agricultural telecommunications service]	**industry**	--	text [separate with commas]

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
23	88	Question 24) [jobSector] In which sectors do you currently work? [Choose all that apply.]	**jobSector**		
				private employee	1
				public/government employee	2
				self employed	3
				employed informally (for example, if you ever work under the table)	4
				unpaid domestic work	5
				paid domestic work	6
				intern	7
				unemployed	8
				retired	9
				collect a pension	10
				collection social security benefits (reitrement or disability)	11
				volunteer work	12
				other	13
24	89	Question 25) [healthIns] Please select the type of health insurance you have.	**healthins**		
				not covered by any insurance	1
				private health insurance through employment and/or school	2
				private health insurance through direct purchase	3
				public health insurance - medicaid	4
				public health insurance - medicare	5
				public health insurance - military	6
			healthinsOther	other	7
25	90	Question 26) [noJobs] On average how many different jobs do you work per month?	**noJobs**		
				--	1
				--	2
				--	3
				--	4
				--	5
				--	6
				--	7
				--	8
				--	9
				--	10
				--	10+
26	91	Question 27) [NoSalariesHH] How many salaries make up your combined household income (combining all incomes)? [Choose one of the following]	**NoSalariesHH**		
				1 salary	1
				2 salaries	2
				3 salaries	3
				4 salaries	4
				5 salaries	5
				other	6
27	92	Question 28) [income] What is your own yearly income (before taxes)?	**income**		
				less than $29,999	1
				$30,000 - $49,999	2
				$50,000 - $79,999	3
				$80,000 - $99,999	4
				More than $100,000	5

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
28	93	Question 29) [hhIncome] What is the total yearly income of all earners in your household? [Average all before-tax incomes for your household.]	**hhincome**		
				less than $29,999	1
				$30,000 - $49,999	2
				$50,000 - $79,999	3
				$80,000 - $99,999	4
				More than $100,000	5
29	94	Question 30) [pubAssist] Does your household receive some form of public assistance support (for example food stamps ODTA welfare assistance TANF assistance SSI disability child health insurance)?	**pubAssist**		
				yes	1
				no	0
30	95	Question 31) [assets] How many of each does your household have? Car		Car	1
30	96	Question 31) [assets] How many of each does your household have? Computer		Computer	2
30	97	Question 31) [assets] How many of each does your household have? Landline Phone		Landline Phone	3
30	98	Question 31) [assets] How many of each does your household have? Cell Phone		Cell Phone	4
30	99	Question 31) [assets] How many of each does your household have? Bathroom		Bathroom	5
30	100	Question 31) [assets] How many of each does your household have? Refridgerator		Refridgerator	6
30	101	Question 31) [assets] How many of each does your household have? Television		Television	7
31	102	Question 32) [classChange] Please indicate the age at which you have experienced or identified with the following terms. This question captures how you have changed over your lifetime. There is no standard definition for each term so just go by what each means to you. [Choose as many ages for each category as appropriate. For instance if your family was middle class growing up you would choose Ages birth to 18 but if you went to college and had to work your way through you might choose Working poor for ages 18-25 etc.]	**classChange**		
31	103			Poor and sporadically employed	1
31	104			Working poor	2
31	105			Lower class	3
31	106			Lower middle class	4
31	107			Middle class	5
31	108			Upper middle class	6
31	109			Upper class	7
				Independently Wealthy	8
				I don't identify with any of these terms.	9
				Other [Specify]	10
32	110	Question 33) [rentOwn] Which of the following best describes your living situation? [Choose one of the following]	**rentOwn**		
				I own the house I live in	1
				I pay rent and DO NOT own any property	2
				I pay rent and DO own property	3
				I live there without paying rent and DO NOT own any property	4
				I live there without paying rent and DO own any property	5
				Other	6
33	111	Question 34) [daysSleep] Which of the following best describes how much time you spend at your residence? [Choose one of the following]	**daysSleep**		
				I sleep there every night of the week	1
				I sleep there about 5-6 nights per week	2
				I sleep there about 3-4 nights per week	3
				I sleep there about less than 3 nights per week	4

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
34	112	Question 35) [crowdingHH] How many people live with you at least half-time? (Half-time means at least 4 days per week or 6 months per year)	**crowdingHH**	--	numeric value
35	113	Question 36) [HHsoj] Do you have people in your life who do not reside with you but for whom you consider to be members of your household?	**Hhsoj**		
				yes	1
				no	0
36	114	Question 37) [sojourners] Please name your relationship to those household members not living with you. (Choose all that apply)	**sojourners**		
				husband	1
				wife	2
				sons(s)	3
				daughter(s)	4
				mother	5
				father	6
				friend	7
				other	8
37	115	Question 38) [sojournersRemit] Do those household members not living with you send (formal or informal) monetary support or remittances to help you out?	**sojournersRemit**		
				yes	1
				no	0
38	116	Question 39) [kids] Do you have children?	**kids**		
				no	
				no, but I want them in the future	
				yes	
39	117	Question 40) [KidsNow] How many children do you have (living or deceased)?	**KidsNow**		numeric value
40	118	Question 41) [depIns] Do you have health insurance to cover your dependents?	**depIns**		
				yes	1
				I don't have dependents	2
				no	0
41	119	Question 42) [kidsFuture] How many children would you like to have?	**kidsFuture**	--	numeric value
42	120	Question 43) [Homophobia2] If your child had a gay or lesbian teacher what would you think or do? [Choose one of the following]	**Homophobia2**		
				I wouldn't have any problem with this	1
				I wouldn't like it, but I wouldn't do anything about it	2
				I wouldn't accept this and I'd do something about it	3
				other	4
43	121	Question 44) [cableTV] Does your household subscribe to a cable television service?	**cableTV**		
				yes	1
				no	0
44	122	Question 45) [TVhours] How much television do you watch per week (on average)? [Choose one of the following]	**TVhours**		
				I try not to watch TV	1
				Less than 2 hours per week	2
				Less than one hour per day	3
				1-3 hours per day	4
				4-5 hours per day	5
				6-8 hours per day	6
				8 or more hours per day	7
45	123	Question 46) [TVshows] What television show(s) do you watch most frequently? (Separate these with commas. For example: The Golden Girls 60 Minutes Law & Order)	**TVshows**	5 fill-in spaces	
46	124	Question 47) [TVnews] Do you watch television news channels on a regular basis?	**TVnews**		

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
				yes	1
				no	0
	125	Question 48) [TVnewsPref] Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel] ABC News	**TVnewsPref**	ABC	1
47	126	Question 48) [TVnewsPref] Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel] BBC News		BBC	2
47	127	Question 48) [TVnewsPref] Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel] CBS News		CBS	3
47	128	Question 48) [TVnewsPref] Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel] CNN		CNN	4
47	129	Question 48) [TVnewsPref] Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel] Fox News		FOX	5
47	130	Question 48) [TVnewsPref] Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel] Headline News		HLN	6
47	131	Question 48) [TVnewsPref] Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel] MSNBC		MSNBC	7
47	132	Question 48) [TVnewsPref] Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel] NBC News		NBC	8
47	133	Question 48) [TVnewsPref] Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel] Public Access		PUBACC	9
47	134	Question 48) [TVnewsPref] Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel] New York 1		NY1	10
47	135	Question 48) [TVnewsPref] Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel] Local News Station		LOCAL	11
47	136	Question 48) [TVnewsPref] Which television news channels do you watch most frequently? [Choose one for each channel] Non-english speaking news service		NONENG	12
48	137	Question 49) [newspapers] Which newspapers do you read on a regular basis? [Choose all that apply.]	**newspapers**		
				New Paltz Times	1
				Times Herald Record	2
				New York Times	3
				New York Post	4
				Wall Street Journal	5
				Other (List)	6
49	138	Question 50) [radioUse] During the past week how much radio did you listen to on average per week?	**radioUse**		
				Hours	numeric value
				Minutes	numeric value
50	139	Question 51) [internetUse] Do you use the Internet?	**internetUse**		
				yes	1
				no	0
51	140	Question 52) [internetAcc] Do you have regular access to the Internet?	**internetAcc**		
				yes	1
				no	0
52	141	Question 53) [emailComm] Is email a primary way in which you communicate with others?	**emailComm**		
				yes	1
				no	0
53	142	Question 54) [networkSites] How frequently do you use social networking Internet websites such as MySpace Facebook Friendster LinkedIn etc?	**networkSites**		
				Never	1
				A few times a week	2
				Check it once daily	3
				Check it around 3 times daily	4

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
				Check it 4-8 times daily	5
				Use it too frequently to count	6
54	143	Question 55) [internetNews] Do you use the Internet as your main source of news and information?	**internetNews**		
				yes	1
				no	0
55	144	Question 56) [internetNewSites] Which websites and/or blogs do you read daily? [Separate these with commas. For example: blog 1 blog 2 blog 3]	**internetNewSites**	Fill-in	
					1
					2
					3
					4
					5
56	145	Question 57) [2004presElect] Did you vote in the 2004 US presidential elections?	**2004presElect**		
				yes	1
				no	0
57	146	Question 58) [2007NYelect] Did you vote in the November 6 2007 New York State elections?	**2007NYelect**		
				yes	1
				no	0
58	147	Question 59) [2008presElect] Will you vote in the 2008 US presidential elections?	**2008presElect**		
				yes	1
				no	0
59	148	Question 60) [partyOpinion] What is your overall impression of these US political parties? [Choose one selection for each party] Democratic Party	**partyOpinionDems**		
				Very favorable	1
				Favorable	2
				No Opinion	3
				Unfavorable	4
				Very unfavorable	5
59	149	Question 60) [partyOpinion] What is your overall impression of these US political parties? [Choose one selection for each party] Republican Party	**partyOpinionRepubs**		
				Very favorable	1
				Favorable	2
				No Opinion	3
				Unfavorable	4
				Very unfavorable	5
59	150	Question 60) [partyOpinion] What is your overall impression of these US political parties? [Choose one selection for each party] Green Party	**partyOpinionGreens**		
				Very favorable	1
				Favorable	2
				No Opinion	3
				Unfavorable	4
				Very unfavorable	5
59	151	Question 60) [partyOpinion] What is your overall impression of these US political parties? [Choose one selection for each party] Libertarian Party	**partyOpinionLibert**		
				Very favorable	1
				Favorable	2
				No Opinion	3
				Unfavorable	4
				Very unfavorable	5
60	152	Question 61) [socialMvmt] Do you consider yourself a supporter of or participant in a social movement which advocates for any of the following groups? [Choose all that apply.]	**socialMvmt**		

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
				African Americans/Blacks/People of color	1
				Native Americans/Indigenous people	2
				Homeless people	3
				Neighborhood residents	4
				Poor people	5
				Immigrants	6
				Students	7
				The environment	8
				Gays/Lesbians/Bisexuals/Transgenders	9
				Women	10
				Unions	11
			socialMvmtOther	Other	12
61	153	Question 62) [politicInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding politics? Your spouse or significant other	**politicInfl**	Spouse or significant other	1
61	154	Question 62) [politicInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding politics? Your mother/parent 1		Mother/parent 1	2
61	155	Question 62) [politicInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding politics? Your father/parent 2		Father/parent 2	3
61	156	Question 62) [politicInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding politics? Your sibling(s)		Sibling(s)	4
61	157	Question 62) [politicInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding politics? Your child(ren)		Child(ren)	5
61	158	Question 62) [politicInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding politics? A friend who is a man		ManFriend	6
61	159	Question 62) [politicInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding politics? A friend who is a woman		WomanFriend	7
61	160	Question 62) [politicInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding politics? A teacher/mentor		Teacher/mentor	8
61	161	Question 62) [politicInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding politics? A colleague		Colleague	9
61	162	Question 62) [politicInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding politics? A neighbor		Neighbor	10
61	163	Question 62) [politicInfl] How seriously do you take the opinion of the following people regarding politics? A religious leader		Religious Leader	11
62	164	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Democracy	**economyTerms**	Democracy	1
62	165	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Neoconservatism		Neoconservatism	2
62	166	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Affirmative Action		Affirmative Action	3
62	167	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Capitalism		Capitalism	4

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
62	168	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Exporting Jobs		Exporting Jobs	5
62	169	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Globalization		Globalization	6
62	170	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Deregulation		Deregulation	7
62	171	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Neoliberalism		Neoliberalism	8
62	172	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Privatization		Privatization	9
62	173	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Socialism		Socialism	10
62	174	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Free-trade		Free-trade	11
62	175	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Job Outsourcing		Job Outsourcing	12
62	176	Question 63) [economyTerms] The following is a list of terms that I would like to know your opinion of. You might not know some of the more technical terms and that is understandable. Just try to remember if you have ever hear the term and whether you feel that this is generally a good or bad thing. [Please select one of the three responses for each term.] Citizenship		Citizenship	13
63	177	Question 64) [citizenship] What does the term 'citizenship' mean to you? [Choose all that apply.]	**citizenship**		
				Being aware of important national issues	1
				Doing what my community asks of me	2
				Fulfilling civic duties that the government requires (for example, paying taxes, voting, obeying traffic laws, etc.)	3
				Having certain rights and privileges	4
				Living in a democratic society	5

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
				Living in a society where certain basic rights are guaranteed	6
				"Voting with my wallet" (Buying goods and serices from companies that are in line with my political concerns)	7
64	178	Question 65) [NPZres] How long have you lived in the Village of New Paltz?	**NPZres**		
				Less than a year	1
				1-4 years	2
				5-9 years	3
				10-19 years	4
				20+ years	5
65	179	Question 66) [mayor] Do you know the name of the mayor of the Village of New Paltz?	**mayor**		
				yes	1
				no	0
66	180	Question 67) [commPart] Are you a member of or participate in any of the following? [Choose all that apply.]	**commPart**		
				Fitness Club	1
				Labor Union	2
				Children's play group	3
				Musical group/band	4
				Political party/action committee	5
				Religious or church-affiliated group	6
				Resident's Association	7
				Senior citizen's group	8
				Sporting or recreational group	9
			commPartOther	other	10
67	181	Question 68) [knowGay] Do you have any friends relatives colleagues or neighbors who are gay lesbian homosexual or transgendered/transsexual? Friend(s)	**knowGay**	Friends	1
67	182	Question 68) [knowGay] Do you have any friends relatives colleagues or neighbors who are gay lesbian homosexual or transgendered/transsexual? Relative(s)		Relatives	2
67	183	Question 68) [knowGay] Do you have any friends relatives colleagues or neighbors who are gay lesbian homosexual or transgendered/transsexual? Co-worker(s)		Co-workers	3
67	184	Question 68) [knowGay] Do you have any friends relatives colleagues or neighbors who are gay lesbian homosexual or transgendered/transsexual? Neighbor(s)		Neighbors	4
67	185	Question 68) [knowGay] Do you have any friends relatives colleagues or neighbors who are gay lesbian homosexual or transgendered/transsexual? Parent(s)		Parents	5
68	186	Question 69) [NPZgayOrgs] Are you aware of any organizations or groups in New Paltz that work on behalf of gays lesbians homosexuals trangenders or bisexuals?	**NPZgayOrgs**		
				yes	1
				no	0
69	187	Question 70) [commEvents] During the past year did you attend any of the following events? [Choose all apply.]	**commEvents**		
				Taste of New Paltz	1
				New Paltz Halloween Parade and Haunted House	2
				New Paltz Regatta	3
				Memorial Day Parade	4
				Gay and Lesbian Pride Festival	5
				July 4th Fireworks at SUNY New Paltz	6
				Ulster County Fair	7
				New Paltz Chamber Golf Tournament	8
70	188	Question 71) [age] What is your age?	**age**		numeric
71	189	Question 72) [DOB] What is your date of birth? [Please use the mm/dd/yyyy format.]	**DOB**		mm/dd/yyyy
72	190	Question 73) [sex] What is your sex?	**sex**		

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
				Male	1
				Female	2
				Other	3
73	191	Question 74) [gender] What is your gender?	**gender**		
				Woman	2
				Man	1
				Transgender Woman	4
				Transgender Man	5
				Other	3
74	192	Question 75) [sexOrient] What is your sexual orientation?	**sexOrient**		
				Heterosexual/Straight	1
				Lesbian/Gay/Homosexual	2
				Bisexual	3
				Other	4
75	193	Question 76) [race] What is your race? [Choose all that apply]	**race**		
				White	
				White -- Non-Hispanic	
				African-American	
				Hispanic / White-Hispanic	
				Asian-Pacific Islander	
				Native American	
				Mixed Race	
				Other	
76	194	Question 77) [ethnicity] What is your ethnicity?	**ethnicity**	--	text [separate with commas]
77	195	Question 78) [religiousAffil] What is your religious affiliation? (Choose one)	**religious Affil**		
				None	1
				Buddhist	2
				Christian	3
				Roman Catholic	4
				Catholic	5
				Evangelical Christian	6
				Jewish	7
				Muslim	8
				Sikh	9
				Taoist	10
				Pagan	11
				Reformed	12
				Spiritual	13
				Agnostic	14
				Not sure	15
				Other	16
				Did not answer	17
78	196	Question 79) [religiousAffilChild] What is the religious affiliation you were raised in as a child? (Choose one)	**religious AffilChild**		
				None	1
				Buddhist	2
				Christian	3
				Roman Catholic	4
				Catholic	5
				Evangelical Christian	6
				Jewish	7
				Muslim	8
				Sikh	9
				Taoist	10

Paper Ques#	Database/ Online Item Number	Variables	Variable Name	Data Labels	Data Values
				Pagan	11
				Reformed	12
				Spiritual	13
				Agnostic	14
				Not sure	15
				Other	16
				Did not answer	17
79	197	Question 80) [interviewPoss] May I contact you for an interview within the next three to six months?	**interviewPoss**		
				yes	1
				no	0
80	198	Question 81) [lastName] What is your last name?	**lastName**	--	text
81	199	Question 82) [firstName] What is your first name?	**firstName**	--	text
82	200	Question 83) [phone] What is the best telephone number at which to reach you? [Please enter in this format XXX-XXX-XXXX]	**phone**	xxx-xxx-xxxx	numeric
83	201	Question 84) [email] What is the best email address at which to reach you?	**email**	--	text
84	202	Question 85) [address] What is your mailing address?	**address**	--	text
85	203	Question 86) [qnr] What did you think of this questionnaire?	**qnr**	Very enjoyable Enjoyable Ambivalent/No opinion Unpleasant Very unpleasant	
86	204	Question 87) [moreInfo] Is there anything that you would like to add or say more about?	**moreInfo**	--	text
DUMMY FIELD			**classNow**	Data for this field is taken from the classChange data for the class cooresponding to their age at the time of the survey/interview.	
DUMMY FIELD			**Respondent ID**	This is the survey identifier (n=139)	
DUMMY FIELD			**InterviewerID**	This is the interview identifier (n=57)	
DUMMY FIELD			**FocusGroupID**	This is the focus group identifier (n=18)	
DUMMY FIELD			**STUDY ID**	This is the identifier given to anyone who participated in either an interview or a focus group. (n=60)	

NOTES

[1] Some aspects of the study design that impact response rates are: *option design* meaning how instructions state completion options; *delivery format* meaning whether notification of the survey is sent via mail or web; *mode delivery order* meaning whether the mode options (web vs. paper) are offered simultaneously or one is offered and then the other; whether respondents are *incentivized*; and finally, whether and how many *follow-up reminders* are sent (Couper 2011; Shih and Fan 2011, 68-69).

[2] I did not ask about wedding ceremonies as this has been examined extensively in the U.S., see for example Freeman 2002, Howard 2006, and Lewin 1998. Interrogating the ceremony has limited impact on people's decisions to marry each other or not, except perhaps in terms of those delaying marriage to finance a lavish wedding.

[3] Giddens refers to any non-reproductive sexuality and the technologies that assist with reproduction outside of sexual intercourse as "plastic sexuality." I do not think that he had any ill will towards people practicing this kind of sexuality but I also do not deploy this term as, in the context of this examination, it would rhetorically diminish non-reproductive sex as unnatural—which I wholly disagree with. See Roger Lancaster's "The Trouble with Nature: Sex in Science and Popular Culture" for an exploration of the effect of such essentializing rhetorics regarding sexuality (2003).

[4] On the issue of deceased friends and family, the instructions on the "Circle of Relatedness" ask people to only include, "each living person who is important to you in some way," (Appendix A). This rule was dispensed with early into my interviewing as so many people emphasized that though their loved ones may have died they remain very important to them in their day-to-day

lives. Investigating this active feeling of connection with the deceased would be an interesting study regarding the temporality involved with death and dying among progressive, secular families in the U.S.

[5] The exception to this is surrogacy.

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