MOREboys: Generating and Expending Social Capital

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MOREboys: Generating and Expending Social Capital

Abstract
This study examines the concept of social capital that exists among gay males who belong to an artistic subculture located in the San Francisco metropolitan area. These men call themselves the MOREboys and surround the artist, drag queen, and socialite Juanita MORE. The MOREboys are Juanita’s entourage who participate in her artwork, her lifestyle, and help create and communicate her persona to the larger San Francisco gay and artistic community. In return, the MOREboys are provided with social recognition within the communities this directly and indirectly benefits each of the MOREboys’ needs within the social and economic market. The ethnographic research of the MOREboys illustrates an example of the value of social networks, the exchanges made in a community’s social market, the individual and group need and use for social recognition as currency, or social capital.

Document Type
Capstone Project

Degree Name
Bachelor of Arts

Department
Sociology, Anthropology, Social Work and Public Health

First Advisor
Cheleen Mahar, Ph.D.

Subject Categories
Anthropology | Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies | Sociology

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MOREBOYS: GENERATING AND EXPENDING SOCIAL CAPITAL

By

Jennifer H. Dworkin

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology

Pacific University

2005

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ABSTRACT

MOREBOYS: GENERATING AND EXPENDING SOCIAL CAPITAL

By Jennifer H. Dworkin

Chairperson(s) of the Supervisory Committee: Professor Cheleen A. Mahar, PhD
Department of Anthropology
And Professor Byron D. Steiger, PhD
Department of Sociology

This study examines the concept of social capital that exists among gay males who belong to an artistic subculture located in the San Francisco metropolitan area. These men call themselves the MOREboys and surround the artist, drag queen, and socialite Juanita MORE. The MOREboys are Juanita’s entourage who participate in her artwork, her lifestyle, and help create and communicate her persona to the larger San Francisco gay and artistic community. In return, the MOREboys are provided with social recognition within the communities this directly and indirectly benefits each of the MOREboys’ needs within the social and economic market. The ethnographic research of the MOREboys illustrates an example of the value of social networks, the exchanges made in a community’s social market, the individual and group need and use for social recognition as currency, or social capital.
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank Juanita More and her wonderful boys, for kindly accepting a stranger into their glamorous lives, Cheleen Mahar for her ceaseless patience, feedback, and support, Byron Steiger for his academic savvy and for allowing an isolated student of anthropology into his classroom of sociology, and finally Mathew Kent for his constant inspiration and for introducing me to Juanita More.
1. **Celebutante**: noun. A débutante who has become a celebrity, such as a famous heiress.


3. **Drag Queen**: noun. A man who dresses as a woman.


5. **MOREboy**: noun. The official title given to someone for their complete devotion to Juanita MORE.

6. **Tranny**: noun. Profane/slang term used for Transgender and/ or Transsexual.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

10 MOREboy Commandments:

1. Thou shalt always adore Juanita... even when she is on the rag.

2. Thou shalt always do what's right... or what feels good.

3. Thou shalt not ever be flaky, late will be tolerated.

4. Thou shalt not sleep with thy brother—another MOREboy. Unless previously done. When in doubt, refer to rule #2.

5. Thou shalt never decline a dinner at Juanita's; to do so is an act of sacrilege and stupidity.

6. Thou shalt always perform with Juanita whenever possible.

7. Thou shalt always be an outstanding escort for Juanita, picking her up from and returning her to her doorstep, even if she is drunk and belligerent.

8. Thou shalt always be on the lookout for new MOREboys.

9. Thou shalt always be pretty—inside and out. No exceptions to this rule.

10. Thou shalt always trust Juanita, her mantra will lead you on a path glittered with the freedom to enjoy the gifts of life, love of yourself and others, and vision to see beauty and glamour forever.
We have just arrived from a series of parties, clubs, and bars where Juanita and her boys were in the public spotlight. Her boys show off their beautiful looks and Juanita shows off the product of an illusion that she has created. Tonight it was Dionne Warwick, on stage, with a gorgeous man dressed as a kinky police officer by her side. She is the master of the crowd; they cheer her on and devour her every move. I am there to watch, an outsider, like most of the audience; I am someone who is in awe of much perfection and style.

The MOREboys seem more human as we are stumbling into her building, keeping our voices from the ears of sleeping neighbors. It is four in the morning. Antique mustard walls covered in glamorous vintage paintings shed a sexy light on our tired and buzzed faces. Joshua goes into the kitchen immediately, making vodka tonics and rum and cokes. "Jenn...?" he holds up a glass. "Water for me, please", my body is not used to partying like this. "This is where I sat naked with nothing but a banana", He points his finger out to the steel kitchen counter. All the boys relate, as they have all been subjects of her photography. "I remember that very well Joshua", she smiles, red lipstick perfect, face tanned and a 1970's orange polyester dress hugging her fake curves. The table is drenched in Yves Saint Laurent: nail polish, compact and gloss, all in the shade of vibrant crimson. The other boys sit around the table looking through books of photography, fashion magazines, flirting, and lighting cigarettes. The conversation is chatty: tattoos, art shows, boys, and of course, fashion. I am surrounded by artists from all areas; painters, choreographers, photographers, directors, designers, and dancers. We are sitting together in Juanita’s apartment; subterranean, bohemian, and drunk. “Jenn, have you seen Juanita’s closet... you have to see Juanita’s closet!” Matt jumps off the bed and tugs at my hand pulling me toward the bookshelves of turn tables and vinyl records: old blues, jazz, soul, and funk. I am in the presence of a diva.
Her closet is an extravaganza of couture, in hues of rich colors, shapes, intricate patterns and designs. The range of wigs, jewels, bags, and make-up punctuate this dreamland. Her closet reflects the personality of her world; each costume tells a different tale, and each accessory is as beautiful and original as the men who surround her. This world is a hidden jewel in the chaos of a cold city. It is the glittery mask of a modest humanitarian, someone who devotes her life to her art, her friends, and to charity. This is the world of Juanita MORE. Each item of Juanita’s comes together perfectly to weave a history of a glamorous fantasy. This fantasy is a public story, yet it is deeply personal and respected by those who have helped to imagine and produce it, by those who have stood by it, supported it, and learned from it. They are the devotees of this dreamland. They are the MOREboys.

This study is an examination of the lives of Juanita MORE and the MOREboys as they reflect the use and transformation of social capital. It is an ethnographic narrative which explores the public world of these men in the social space of the San Francisco gay community. Juanita MORE is a publicly known and celebrated artist and Drag Queen in the San Francisco metropolitan area. The MOREboys are her friends as well as the public entourage of Juanita MORE. They devote their time and emotions to helping the product of Juanita MORE without economic compensation. However, the MOREboys are provided with social compensation, otherwise known as social capital. The theory of social capital is taken from French anthropologist and social theorist, Pierre Bourdieu. Social capital in this study can be generally defined as the prestige, status, and swank that is generated and expended by those associated to the institutionalized titles Juanita MORE and MOREboy.

Aside from providing an illustration of Juanita and the boy’s lives as they are associated with social capital, this study provides an understanding of gay culture
and community in the San Francisco Castro area; thus, adding to the field queer theory and an understanding of postmodern identities.
Chapter 2

A VERY BRIEF BACKGROUND

The Castro of San Francisco

The Castro is the geographical space of where Juanita MORE and the MOREboys live. San Francisco, considered the "gay Mecca" of the West Coast by locals, is famous for its Castro area. This busy commercial area is covered in rainbow flags, stylish bars, cafes and restaurants serving up the avant-garde of cocktails and tasty small fusion plates, outside floral shops, European spas and beauty bars, leather stores, vintage apparel, and couture, wanton eyed men, women, polished twenty something's, the occasional sex shop and gym to fit those with every individual need, and desire. Outside of the commercial area rest steep hills of pastel colored Victorian homes, trolleys and the ever so typical San Francisco fog. Over all, the Castro area is a utopia for the senses.

The Castro was once called Eureka Valley; named in the late 1800's when European settlers took over the populated ranches and homes of Mexican land barons. With the birth of the San Francisco Cable Railway in 1887 and the abundance of Victoria style homes, Eureka Valley became an alluring and easily reached neighborhood. According to San Francisco's Queer Culture Center the first hint of queer culture appeared in 1889 when Oscar Wilde performed "When people disappear they always seem to turn up in San Francisco" in the public streets of the city. As the economy of the newly emerging city grew, settlers from all backgrounds, races and genders moved to San Francisco. During the time of World War II, minorities were segregated into separate neighborhoods. During this same time the law which enforced a dishonorable discharge from the United States military based on sexual preference was resulted in those who were gay to
self-segregate themselves into a separate neighborhood within the city, the Castro.

The fame earned by Eureka Valley for its plush Victorian Homes and homosexual residents drew white collared Caucasian gay couples from all over the country. As more people moved to the valley, the area was named, The Castro, after its main commercial street: Castro Street. Due to the politics of gender during a time of national homophobia the residents of the Castro kept to themselves and created their own businesses, bars, restaurants, shops, and community resulting in a lifestyle separate from those outside of the Castro area.

In the 1980's the birth of the AIDS epidemic mobilized, in a negative way, how the Castro community was regarded by the outside world and also heightened the public awareness of homosexuality in the city. The AIDS scare brought the Castro community closer together in the hope of starting programs for those infected as well as initiating prevention and educational programs for those who were unaware. Today the Castro area is saturated with charities, programs and clinics to support and enhance the community inside and out.

The Castro is home to a variety of people of backgrounds from all genders, races, sexualities, and ages. It is Queer culture integrated with a straight culture. However within the utopia as seen from outside, there lives an unspoken social hierarchy which contradicts the egalitarian façade of the community. MOREboy informant Chris states; “The Castro is so hypocritical, it provides only for those who are at the top of the pecking order; you know those who are tan, fit, and blonde, like Abercrombie poster children. It’s unfortunate”. The haut monde of the hierarchy is dominated by those who are blessed by youth and fashionable, opulent, and un-denially male; who spend their time in swanky cafés, restaurants,

---

1 Abercrombie: retail store Abercrombie & Fitch. Abercrombie is famous for young, attractive, Caucasian, fit, and “all American” looking models who promote “all American” lifestyle to pop culture youth.
and clubs with friends chatting and engaged with the life of those around them. Chris states, "Kids move to the Castro from all parts of the country; when they get here they are sucked into the lifestyle and the unfortunate stereotypes that come with it". Used as marketing protégées, those who embody the characteristic of the stereotypical gay male provide the community with a (superficial) understanding of what the Castro culture should be, and what it should look like.

The norms of society’s white patriarchy affect the norms of subcultures within our society. The social hierarchy that exists in the Castro is defined by how those who live within the community differ from the characteristics of the hierarchy that exist in society’s white patriarchy. In consequence, the characteristics of those who reign from the top steps of the social ladder relegate Drag Queens to prevail at the bottom of the hierarchy. This is because Drag Queens do not embody anything similar to the characteristics celebrated by the gay community.

In an interview with Juanita MORE she speaks, from experiences as a Drag persona, about the breakdown of the gay community’s social structure:

*The class structure of society’s gay minority group unfortunately has its own hierarchy. Within this community Drag has sat at the bottom of the ladder. Looked upon as the last and worst thing you would ever want or aspire to be. Starting with Divine, who is probably the most important drag queen of our era, and the still ever-inspiring Cockettes and Angels of Light*² (who should be given status as saints within our community) drag has played an important role in expanding gender issues in society.

*My answer is by far not a universal one, nor is it written in stone at the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center at the San Francisco Library. It is just the opinion of one young underage*

---

boy, who often frequented gay bars after high school in his hometown. The 'Drag Queen' was always abrasive, loud, and bitchy, forward, and pushy in every sense of the word. Not something a bright, articulate young man would want to be. Especially one that already noticed he didn't fit into any of the groups or cliques that he was quietly witnessing. Yet, he wanted to be understood, loved and accepted by this intriguing and newfound 'club' of boys. Loved just as unconditionally as he was at home with his family.

Who is Juanita MORE...?

Juanita MORE's given name is Michael Rodriguez. Juanita is one of San Francisco's most recognized Drag Queens and one of the San Francisco gay community's most celebrated icons and artists. Look at Juanita MORE's colorful and provocative website and you will find that she labels herself as an artist, illusionist, model and muse. www.juanitamore.com. Among the gay community Juanita is known for hosting lavish parties, her charitable non-profit work, her photography, and her love for cooking and hosting at home dinners, and being seen nightly in some of the San Francisco community's trendiest clubs. All together, her resume of jobs, projects, interests and background has given her the title of the San Francisco Gay community's premier celebutante.

During an interview with Juanita she relates the history of how Michael Rodriguez first created and maintained her persona of Juanita MORE:

Over a decade ago, I decided to simply get-up in "her" on a typically outrageous Halloween night. It had never been something I dreamed or desired to do. Mr. David (my drag mother) was visiting from New York on holiday, and I asked him to put me in drag for the first time. He reluctantly did it, out of fear that I would be a complete disaster. Since that infamous walk down Castro Street that night, it is said that I have evolved into one of the more strongly felt drag personas in current San Francisco circles.
I have never been one to hide my light under a bushel. And, I am garrulously extroverted as Juanita. In the beginning I quickly graduated to performances at local comedy clubs, nightclubs and special events armed to the heels with a masterful lip-syncing ability that some have considered mimicking two sails flapping in the wind. The Juanita More character had become fully fleshed out. A bewildering array of accomplishments followed: founding the drag troupe Fishstix, helping produce the Trannyshack Pageants, appearances at the Folsom Street Fair, the Castro Street Fair, Bimbo’s nightclub, the Warfield Theater, Wigstock West, the Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-Transgender Freedom Day Parade, as well as solo and group performances across the country.

My instinctive love for the coin of the realm, coupled with an almost lunatic altruistic bent, compelled me to loan my talents to a variety of fundraisers over the years, among them Visual Aid, AIDS Benefit Counselors, Academy of Friends, Larkin St. Youth Center, Tom Ammaino for Mayor, Lyric, Positive Resource Center, AGULAS, TARC, and countless others. It is said that my efforts helped raise over a million dollars to date for such causes.

My approach to each event, no matter how large or small, has become a total art project. Every detail – fabric, color, shape, music, hair and makeup – is considered at the outset of the creative process and is constantly revised and refined throughout. Forever the consummate perfectionist, I surround myself with the most talented collaborators around to create the final, fantastical illusion.

Including a bunch of fine ass young men as accessories. My MOREboys.

Aside from her public persona and her charitable efforts Juanita is widely recognized by her flock of attractive, devoted, fashion forward and publicly available young men, the MOREboys.

3 Trannyshack: Drag Queen nights at San Francisco club The Stud, located at 399 9th street and Harrison, San Francisco.
The MOREboys:

The entire MOREboy world is sometimes indefinable and sometimes it is very clear. There are 11 of us onsite and then there are tons of boys who follow, or MOREboys in training. ...MOREboy Santiago

Santiago, Peter, Chandler, Isaac, Jason, and Joshua are all bound by the official title of MOREboy. They are just a few men out of many friends and wannabe’s that surround Juanita, who have been given the official title. Some MOREboys have been friends with Juanita for over eleven years; some have known her for as few as three. They range from forty years of age to the early twenties. They are all attractive gay men, some with dominant careers, some in school. They live in California, Hawaii, and New York. They all have separate interests, separate friends, and separate lives. But they all have one thing that deeply unites them: the absolute devotion for Juanita MORE. In an interview with Juanita she describes how the MOREboys first received their official title:

The MOREboys got their title years ago when I was in production for a big show here in San Francisco. The boys were becoming popular being seen with me at various benefits, clubs, and events. It was at this time that I wanted them to have the recognition they deserved for their philanthropic efforts. I remember sitting with Mr. David over an evening gown, trying to figure out how we were going to bill them (the MOREboys) for this one specific event we were participating in. We threw a lot of ideas around that day; the one that kept coming back was MOREboy. And it stuck.

4 AGUILAS: Asociación Gay Unidos Impactando Latinos/Latinas A Superarse or Association of United Gays Impacting Latinos/Latinas towards Self-Empowerment. TARC: Tenderloin AIDS Resource Center.
There are two unspoken generations of MOREboys; the “elders” including informants Peter, Rob, Chandler, and Santiago and second generation MOREboys including informants Isaac, Jason, and Joshua. The generational split is due to the age difference between the boys. The first generation of MOREboys has known Juanita for an average of ten years. The second have known Juanita for an average of three years.

Both generations of men define their title “MOREboy” as having two parallel meanings. The first definition is someone who is in complete devotion to Juanita MORE. The second definition is someone who is a friend of Michael. MOREboy Chandler defines the MOREboys;

*MOREboys are friends of Michael who also go out with Juanita and participate in her performances and projects. I want to say that MOREboy has become something totally different in SF than it used to be. But, I have a feeling, or at least from what Juanita has told me and I've seen, that it still attracts good people who have a soft place for Michael and get excited by art, people, culture, and our place in it. The MOREboy thing was sort of a pet name for us friends. And it still is, between Peter, Wailana, Jay, Rob, Santiago, and I. And I'm sure it is also between the MOREboys now, like they all connect like family through that common thread of MOREboydom. Peter, Wai, Jay, and I have our conversations about Juanita usually consisting of “Have you talked to or seen JAMORE lately?” And then “Yeah, she was visiting a while back and then MICHAEL and I went shopping to a fashion show/went out till 4 am/ or I had dinner over at Michael's place…”*

Those who are not graced with the title MOREboy are considered MOREboys in Training, or colloquially called ‘MTS’. My informants Cole, Chris, and Steven are all MOREboys in training out of many other MOREboys in training. They have known Juanita for about 2 to 3 years and all live in the San Francisco metropolitan area. They are all in their twenties. Some have been MOREboys in training for years; while some have just begun. Either way they are in pursuit of
their official acceptance into the fantastical world Juanita has created. MOREboy Joshua explains the desire to be accepted by Juanita and crowned an official MOREboy:

I remember one day I was at Juanita’s house and she said to me “Joshua, you know there is a new MOREboy being announced. You have to go and tell the other boys and tell them that there is going to be a new MOREboy announced and ask them who it is going to be”. And I was like “No, fuck that. No, I am not doing that”. And she asked why. “Because some of the boys will get so excited and then get their feelings so hurt when they are not named MOREboy”. And she pretended to ask “oh, really... like who?” in surprise. But that woman knows damn well who would get hurt, I mean really hurt. There are boys who definitely need to be crowned a MOREboy.

What separates a MOREboy from a MOREboy in training is interpreted differently from different MOREboys, MOREboys in Training, and Juanita. One of the most common responses to the question of what it takes to enter ‘MOREboy-hood’ is that Juanita ‘crows’ a MOREboy when they are no longer in need for the validity of the name MOREboy. This can be best explained by first generation MOREboy Santiago:

One of my more recent jokes is that Juanita crowns a MOREboy when she is ready to put them out to pasture. That is when there is no need for a title anymore. Some people want to be MOREboys for so long they want to be validated as a MOREboy. Once they have been around for so long they no longer seek the validation of a MOREboy... and that’s when she (Juanita) gives you validation and makes you a MOREboy and then it’s not that she wants to see less of us and vise versa but then there is less need for us to prove that we need to be around all the time.

There is a social difference between MOREboy and MOREboy in training. It is reflected in the way one is treated among the group and the understanding that
one has been given the recognition of being someone who is important in Juanita's life, and among the group. Joshua best describes the difference:

The difference between a MOREboy and a MOREboy in training... besides getting your picture on the website...? Hah, you have seen us out! I mean we all love each other but at the same time we give each other a lot of shit. And when you are the MOREboy, you can turn around and you have the right to say 'you, shut the fuck up'. And if you get shit back then you can say; "well, I'm the fucking MOREboy". Nothing can be said after that. It's a closing statement. It is all a matter of respect. And when you are the MOREboy of the minute then you can do everything with Juanita, if she is on stage, you are on stage next to her. It is social power, but not only from within the group, from within the community as well!

Peter, one of the first generation MOREboys, is considered a "MOREGod". He is credited to be the number one MOREboy by Juanita, and the other boys, (as well as himself. Peter is said to have been around the longest and been the most involved. He states:

"I am the number one MOREboy. But at the age of 40 no one should be a MOREboy, so I am a self proclaimed MOREGod. I have been there since day one, and I am not going anywhere but I have to pass the torch of the number one MOREboy to the next. At this point in my life I am not going to get naked on stage for Juanita. I will be there for her, but if she needs that done than she can ask the new boys... they will do it with their tongues hanging out and waggling.

Peter resides in Hawaii; however, he speaks with Juanita and the first generation boys regularly. He is highly respected by the younger generation MOREboys and MOREboys in training. He is the author of the MOREboy Commandments.
Figure 1: Juanita MORE with fellow MORE boys, 2005
Figure 2: Map of San Francisco and Castro Area
Chapter 3

Literature and Theory: Social Capital in the Queer World

"Being Fabulous Was Hard Currency"
-Fiona Buckland 2002

This study examines the social capital (prestige, status, and swank) that exists among the gay male members of an artistic subculture, which surrounds the drag queen artist and socialite Juanita More. This group is called the Moreboys. They are her entourage who participate in her artwork, her persona, and lifestyle. Juanita's underground Moreboy clique was birthed in San Francisco, California, and has spread into an international phenomenon. In a San Francisco Examiner article, writer Bill Picture describes Juanita More, "she travels with her own gaggle of devoted young hunks, whom she calls her "Moreboys," and regularly rubs shoulders with some-bodies across the social and class spectrum-- it is her very willingness to cross boundaries (and the relative ease with which she does it)"
(p.2).

Three major concepts hardwire this study: social capital, queer theory and gay identity (self and social) through postmodern analysis. Social capital is an extremely important aspect in my study of the Moreboys. It is through one's social capital that gives the individual MOREboy prestige, favor, status, and swank with in a social network or community. The use of queer theory in my study argues for the study of sexuality and gender as they are related to history and culture and goes against the mainstream and historically sociological view that there exists a collective homosexual identity. Author and professor of sociology, Steven Seidman (1996) defines the purpose of queer theory, "Queer theory has accrued multiple meanings, from a merely useful shorthand way to speak of all gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered experiences to a theoretical
sensibility that pivots on transgression or permanent rebellion” (p.11). The notion of gay identity— the self and the social through a postmodern analysis is a result of the argument for Queer theory. My study further develops the past studies, explained below, in examining the difference of queer self and social identities by adding the experiences of the Moreboys to the field of cultural studies. A postmodern analysis further demonstrates that queer identity is based on the private experience of difference rather than collective identity. Defending the right to be identified by experience Carol Queen (1997) states, "The problem with any ascribed and adopted identity is not what it includes, but what it leaves out. Indeed, there are so many ways to live in the world, countless sources of affinity, that our sexualities and gender/identities only go so far in describing, constructing, and supporting us". (p.21).

Recognizing Social Capital in Gendered Networks:

The principle theorist of social capital is French anthropologist and social theorist Pierre Bourdieu. When referring to ‘capital’ Bourdieu looks to the various social meanings of value rather than the normal economic meaning value. According to Mahar and Wilkes, 1990, “For Bourdieu, capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange, and the term is extended to all the goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation’ (1977:178)” (p. 13). He defines social capital as it can be related to individual status with in the social network of the Moreboys in the San Francisco gay community. According to Pierre Bourdieu in “Le Capital Social: Notes Povisiores” (1980), social capital is defined as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (p.248). This definition can be analyzed as the use
of social capital in order to build up an individual's economic capital or social status. In his article "The Forms of Social Capital" Bourdieu (1986) states:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition... which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them. They may also be socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of a common name... and by a whole set of instituting acts designed simultaneously to form and inform those who undergo them; in this case they are more or less really enacted and so maintained and reinforced, in exchanges (p. 248-49).

Few studies have been done concerning the focus of gender using social capital. In their 2004 article "Social Capital and the Human Psyche: Why is social Life Capital?" Joanne Savage and Satoshi Kanazawa examine the differences in social capital among the sexes: male and female and propose for the traditional definition of social capital to be revised. According to Satoshi and Kanazawa, social capital can be defined as "any feature of social relationship that, directly or indirectly, confers reproductive benefits to a participant in that relationship" (p. 504). Through their analysis of social capital, using the principles of evolutionary psychology in social research, Savage and Kanazawa suggest that there is a changing nature of social capital:

Situational factors affect what constitutes capital for any given individual, and this creates a problem for conducting research on social capital where we seek to establish general laws of social behavior. If we take into account these situational factors and fail to ground our definition of social capital in motivating forces common across human beings, we end up with a limitless set of individual definitions of social capital (p.520).
Social Capital depends on the social fields, (in this case, the Castro district) and the needs of the individual. In gendered settings one's habitus5 is bounded by particular gendered structures. Males and females are socialized into society and culture differently, learning and understanding different norms and expectations; therefore, they are socialized to understand the need for social capital and to obtain social capital separately (Savage, Kanazawa, 2004). Social scientist Ronald S. Burt also argues in favor for the revision of the definition of social capital. In his 1997 article, “The Contingent Value of Social Capital”, Burt demonstrates “an individual’s position in the structure of these exchanges can be an asset in its own right” (p.340). He argues that social capital depends on the ecological setting of the people rather than the number of people involved. Burt states; "Number of peers per se does not affect the value of social capital" (p.346). The study which took measured social capital among a population of task office managers from large corporate firms proved that when measuring social capital "the casual variables are competition and legitimacy, which are correlated with number of peers. The contingency prediction is that peers erode the value of social capital to the extent that disorganization among peers intensifies competition between the peers and elicits behavioral guidelines for higher authority" (1997 p.346).

To better understand capital as it relates to the gay community “Capital must exist within a field in order that the field may have meaning” (Mahar, Harker, Wilkes, 1990, p13). Although social capital has never been defined as being a part of gay culture; within studies completed on gay community and identity, hints of social capital emerge within dialogues of past observations which prove its' powerful existence among kinship systems in gay communities. In Fiona

5 Habitus refers to a set of dispositions, created and reformulated through the conjuncture of objective structures and personal history. Dispositions are acquired in social positions within a field and imply a subjective adjustment to that position. For instance, in the behavior of a person, such as an 'adjustment' is often implied through that person's sense of social distance or even in their body postures. Thus one's place and one's habitus form the basis of friendship, love and other personal relationships, as well as transforming theoretical classes into real groups. (Harker, Mahar, and Wilkes, 1990 p. 10).
Buckland's book *Impossible Dance: Club Culture and Queer World-Making* (2002) she explores the social geography of New York's queer club culture and what she defines as queer world-making from starting from the 1980's to present day. Buckland states: "Being Queer in and of itself does not guarantee entry to queer clubs or even the desire to go" (p. 3). Fiona's statement provides information that there resides a social market in the New York club scene. The undefined theme of social capital is revealed in her descriptions of New York queer club culture. "Clubs operated within economies of desirability based on ideals of beauty, status, race, gender, sexuality, and age" (Buckland, 2002, p. 4). To further describe the ideals of 'fabulousness' and status Buckland defines fabulousness as currency and discusses how it is correlated with social networks. She states; "because in a queer lifeworld, being fabulous was hard currency. It was exchanged for belonging to a peer group, for being loved and desired, and for self esteem" (p. 37). Michael Bounds (2004) explains the uses of social capital as currency in transactions among social networks in his book *Urban Social Theory: City, Self, and Society*:

Social capital reduces the costs of cooperation, as it provides assurance of the bona fides, the abilities, and the trustworthiness of contractual partners. Social capital is thus materially productive. It is not a membership per se that achieves this, but rather the capacity of individual actors to mobilize their resources of the network and other individuals within it. The mobilisation of social capital transforms all the parties to the interaction (p.110).

The ability of the individual to actuate their peers as currency resources in the social market, for example those in Buckland's 2002 study (see above), allowed for a less problematic increase in material and non-material ends, for example entrance into New York clubs.

In his ethnographic article "Gay Female Impersonators and the Masculine Construction of "Other" Steven P. Schatch observes the drag royalty of the
Washington based Imperial Sovereign Court of Spokane and Eastern Washington in a duration of four years (2000 p. 247-68). The court includes drag kings, drag queens and those who come to watch and participate. The roles of the drag kings are considered subordinate to those of drag queens in the setting (p. 262). However, "the relational mark that all three of these participants... situationally share is one of signifier to the importance and power of drag queens. In seeming contrast to the dominant culture, this inverse location means that masculine images embodied by the drag kings literally serve as pillars for the significance of feminine images embodied by drag queens (p.262). The drag queens use of the drag king and participants as resources gives them status. The drag kings and spectators "provide appropriate contrast for the veiled meaning and magnitude of the drag queens"; thus, the drag queens obtain a great deal of status, or social capital, by expending their social capital, those supporting them (p.262).

Queer Identity, Theory and Postmodernism:

A central argument made by anthropologists, sociologists and queer theorists is that there exists a marriage between gender identity and postmodernism. According to many social theorists queer identity can not be collectively defined. In his work Contested Knowledge (2004) Steven Seidman states, "The questioning of the notion of a core homosexual identity is at the heart of queer theory. The case against a unitary gay identity is both analytical and political. Every attempt to define what it means to be a lesbian or gay man is partial and incomplete and misrepresents" (p. 253). The focus of gender identity, gender-role, and their cohesiveness is critical to understand the need for the postmodern analysis in queer theory. In his 1985 journal article “The Conceptual Neutering of Gender and The Criminalization of Sex” J. Money speaks of the unique and private experience of gender:
The Gender Identity Role (GI/R): Gender Identity is the private experience of gender role, and gender role in public manifestation of gender identity. Gender role is everything that a person says and does to indicate to others or to the self the degree that one is either male or female, or ambivalent. GI/R includes, but is not restricted to sexual arousal and response (Money 1985). 

In the work PoMoSexuals Carol Queen and Lawrence Schimel (1997) piece together stories written by those of "queer genre" to illustrate the difference in all of those who historically have been grouped together. The work is a "backlash toward this community-- or rather, to certain assumptions widely held within and/or about it, essentialist assumptions about what it means to be queer" (Queen p.20). Michael Bronski, author of The Pleasure Principle: Sex, Backlash, and the Struggle for Gay Freedom (1998) views gay culture and "identity" as a backlash against society's heterosexual norms in a postmodern era:

The evolution of a contemporary gay identity and community is complicated. Its manifestations reflect the cultural differences of individual members... Homosexual desire cuts across race, nationality, class, ethnicity, and religion. The coming together that occurs is instigated by a shared sexual desire and a rebellion against oppression. An individual's sexual identity may evolve over time, and it is only one aspect of a conglomerate of personal identities. As a result there is no single "gay identity". (p. 55).

Historically, "recognizing the existence of a plurality of homosexualities has been, and remains, a slow process. One major source of the resistance to this recognition has been the naturalization of sex with its commitment to concepts of the sexual as a matter of organs, orifices, and phylogenetic legacies" (Simon, William. 1996 p. 27). The center of much sociological research and knowledge of sexualities "lies in the work of what might be called the "social constructionist turn"" (Plummer, 2003, p. 515). Sociologists have never argued sexuality as a biological trait; however, sociologists have treated sexuality and sexual identity with a positivistic approach. For example in the 1930's the Chicago School first
started to open its doors to the field of queer studies in urban culture. However, the researchers tended to "overestimate the cohesiveness and uniformity of homosexual experiences and identities" (Heap, 2003, p. 468). The early sociologists, however, brought the notion of social sexuality to the public view: "in contrast to thinking about sexuality as biological, "natural" with the prime goal of reproduction, (social) constructionists have aimed to show the myriad ways in which human sexualities are always organized through economic, religious, political, familial and social conditions" (Plummer, 2003, p. 515).

Linguistically oppressed by the collective identity of queer, Schimel and Queen argue:

*What we have been called has helped to construct who we were, whether the terms were the doctors'--homosexual, trans, "sexually intermediate type" (Sexuelle Zwischenstufen)--or our own: homophile, gay, lesbian, LGBT&F. Even words laced with opprobrium (fag, dyke, queer) have been co-opted and used against the hetero world, serving to bind and configure us in our divergent lives. Once named, language has shaped us, both nurtured and circumcised our lives (1997 p.19).*

In his book *Postmodern Sexualities* William Simon (1996) argues that it "is not to say that strong group identities do not exist, but rather to note that most of us experience these identities commonly as partial, where the experiences of collective membership almost instantaneously become occasions for consciousness difference with other group members" (p. 6). Simon, Schimel, and Queen argue identities are never fully understood when fraternized with collective and positivistic definitions.

_Au contraire_, author Ken Plummer argues against the postmodernists taking over studies in sexual and gender identities and suggests that a better, more empirical analysis could take place through a symbolic interactionalist view (2003, p. 516). Plummer compares symbolic interactionism and postmodernism by saying that,
"both accounts of the world highlight localism, ambiguity, differences, instability, signs, and symbols.... they withdraw from accounts of the world that... seek totalism and closure, stress homogeneity and unearth heavy structures" (p. 520). Later Plummer states "But interactionalism-- unlike much postmodernism-- does not wish to lose its grip on the "obdurate empirical world" and it's search for a truth that will at least hold for the time being" (p. 520).

**Queer world making: Identity, Art, and Persona:**

Few ethnographic studies have previously been carried over in the field of gay culture. In 2002 author Fiona Buckland completed an ethnographic study on queer club culture and queer world making in New York City. In her book *Impossible Dance: Club Culture and Queer World-Making* she addresses the societal need for queer communities:

*As queer are often denied access to state, church, media, or private institutions, they constitute life-worlds in a variety of sometimes contesting ways that cannot assume a taken-for-granted social existence. Many people who identify as queer are made worldless, forced to create maps and spaces for themselves, without the support of these more traditional realms* (p. 3).

Jonathan Alexander, in his journal article “Beyond Identity: Queer Values and Community” historically traces the queer community and its value forming strategies (1999, p. 293-314). Queer communities in urban areas provide for norms, rules and roles to develop outside mainstream societies normative spectrum. "Simultaneously, strategies of queer world-making produced spaces where people could exist as queer and make pleasure" (Buckland p. 19)

Gay culture has historically been affiliated with the arts. The connections between the art world and gay culture have impacted the norms, fashion, and communication in queer communities. In his book *The Pleasure Principle: Sex,*
Backlash and the Struggle for Gay Freedom, author Michael Bronski writes of the communal norms developed by those involved in gay culture:

The need to create codes and alternative realities is a major component of gay culture and sensibility. The image of the male homosexual as "creative"—a stereotype ranging from serious novelist to interior decorator, from film maker to dress designer, from renowned stage performer to drag queen—is well established. Indeed, a great deal of gay male culture has been centered upon the creation, cultivation, and appreciation of the arts (p. 56).

Artistic celebrities have always been associated with the same trends as those of the gay community, especially in trend-setting cities such as New York and Paris. Historically, "New York's cultural capital was further augmented as its clubs were playgrounds of culture, as the ground from which celebrities such as Madonna, Bette Midler, RuPaul, Lou Reed, John Zorn, Talking Heads, Keith Haring, Kenny Scharf, Jean-Michael Basquiat, and Fab 5 Freddy emerged" (Buckland p. 129). The popularity of such celebrities, especially the females, and their acceptance of gay freedom and lifestyle has influenced the female impersonators or drag queens. Drag queens normally embody a famous female persona (Schatch, 2002, p. 247-269). In his article "Gay Female Impersonators and the Masculine Construction of "Other" Steven P. Schatch (2002) reflects upon his ethnographic work; "I explore a cultural context where such individuals (drag queens) reign supreme and are held in the highest regard" (p.249). Drag queens, in their elaborate costumes and characters, give the queer clubs a system of social stratification, outside of the norms society's stratification systems produce. In New York queer club culture the drag queens costuming are "aimed to produce a glorious character and to attract the attention of an appreciative audience. It also produced status, which in a queer club was broadly bifurcated between those who made the scene and those who came to admire them" (Buckland, 2002, p.39) These shows transform drag queens are the local celebrities of gay communities.
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Chapter 4

Methodology

"You are writing your final senior research project on Juanita and us? I can't believe no one has ever done that before... I love it, absolutely love it"

-MOREboy Joshua

This study was conducted using a cadre of qualitative, narrative, and ethnographic design approaches. The research for this study took place between the months of December 2004 and February 2005 in the metropolitan area of San Francisco California, U.S.A. Interviews with informants who no longer lived in the San Francisco area took place via e-mail and through phone interviews. During my time of active research I became a participant observer in the lives of Juanita MORE, her MOREBOYS, her MOREBOYS in training, and her acquaintances within the San Francisco community. Participant observation took place within the gay community of San Francisco, typically on nights out with Juanita and the MOREBOYS to art events, club openings, and drag performances. I chose a group of 12 informants for interviews: Juanita MORE, seven MOREBOYS, three MOREBOYS in training, and one close, outside friend of the clique. The interviews with my informants started out as unstructured, open ended interviews from which I developed a protocol of structured questions. All informants signed an informed consent form before they became a research participant. All interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed for data analysis; each informant gave his consent for the tapes to be used in this study. Tape recorded interviews were destroyed and transcribed data was burned onto a locked disc for purpose of confidentiality.

See back Appendix for Interview protocol.
My research began with an e-mail on Juanita's website sent out to Juanita MORE and all of her MOREboys. The website stated: "Do you have what it takes to be a MOREboy, or do you just want to sleep with one? Either way, contact the woman in charge, Miss MORE!" [http://www.juanitamore.com/moreboys.htm]. I apprehensively sent out an e-mail to Juanita and her boys, without knowing if whether or not they would accept the idea of some strange girl (who some had met over the previous summer) prying into their lives to question and to search their world and to try and understand it from their point of view. I knew Juanita had knowledge of my interest in research; however, I had no insight as to whether or not the boys knew of my project. A few days later I received a few e-mails from men who were not listed on her website as MOREboys, yet, who were interested in participating in the study. I quickly returned e-mails to those who responded to the question if they could meet for a coffee and interview, and if they, in fact, were MOREboys since none of them were listed on the website.

I started my interviews right away, choosing a cozy and quiet café located in the heart of San Francisco's Castro district to meet my informants in a semi-private location. My first interview was with Chris, he entered the café with a warm smile in stylishly fitted winter apparel covering his tall, tanned, and thin frame. He sat down comfortably with his large coffee, where I was nested in the dark corner; all of my papers, audiotapes and notebooks covered the wooden table. Chris appeared welcoming and incredibly attractive. My confidence grew as I sipped a glass of red table wine to soothe my edgy nerves in what would be my first interview with my first MOREboy informant. During the beginning of the interview Chris told me that he, in fact, was not a MOREboy, but a “MOREboy in training”. My interest in their lives grew as I thought to myself “I have to get

7 Letter to informants is located in back of Appendix.
8 Café Flore: Where beginning interviews took place. Café Flore is located at 2298 Market Street and Noe Street.
to know this woman, Juanita MORE. Not only does she have MOREBOYS, men who trail behind her in the spotlight in absolute devotion to her and her cause, but Juanita has men who are training to devote their lives to her. This is incredible! My first interview lasted about forty-five minutes until my second informant, Steven arrived in the café. Chris and I made plans to meet for a second interview a week later. However, I would see him at an event that Juanita and the MOREboys were attending later that weekend. Chris, Steven, and Cole were my first informants; all three of them charming, intelligent, handsome, and completely devoted to Juanita. All three of them were MOREboys in training.

A week had passed and I had not heard back from any official MOREboys. My interviews with my informants were going as planned; however, I was only hearing half of the story: the story from those who were in training. A few days later I received a polite e-mail from Juanita asking how things were going and who I had spoken to:

Hi Jennifer...

How is it going? Are the boys cooperating? I hope so. Let me know if not I'll get the whip out and crack it on their bare butts.

Let me know who you've spoken to— I might have some other boys that would be great to chat with too.

Love, J

I sent her a list of the names of the boys, of whom I was interviewing, and rapidly I received an e-mail listing the boys who I should have been interviewing:

Rob: Rob has been around the longest of the MOREboys— partying all over the country with me. Great support and great friend.
MOREboy X⁹: MOREboy X is the newest of the MOREboys and truly devoted. He loves to buy me Dior jewelry and smoother me with other gifts of luxury. He is the doctor of the family.

Santiago: Santiago and I have ran in the same circle of friends for years. Over the past few years we realized our work ethics were the same. Together we have produced some amazing events together. He is unbeatable in designing a set-- from start to finish in no time at all.

MOREboy Y¹⁰: MOREboy Y is a MOREboy in training. He wants to be a MOREboy, and has followed pretty much all the tasks it takes to be one without having to be told. He is on his way. And, he has traveled with Juanita out of SF on more than one occasion. He has helped to coin the phrase “popsnort parachute” with Juanita (ask him about it).

Josh: Josh is a MOREboy in training. And, of all the MOREboys in training (besides Steven) he has a lot to say. Truly devoted and on his way to having his little picture on the site. I think you should talk to Josh for sure. He is full of Juanita bullshit.

I of course have more dirt on all of these boys and more... but also the ones you have already interviewed. I shall share that with you later.

Love, J

Before I had the chance to send out a second e-mail, my laptop screen was filled with messages from these boys and others telling me that Juanita had given them a “gentle reminder” to partake in my study. Within minutes of my online conversation with Juanita my list of MOREboy informants expanded from 3 to 12. Audio-taped interviews that once started in the remote corners on Café Flore expanded to swanky dinners, cocktails, and welcoming invitations into the homes and art studios of my informants.

⁹ Name changed to MOREboy X (Y, Z...) because no formal consent form was signed prior to research.
¹⁰ See previous footnote.
I spent forty-five minutes to three hours interviewing each of my participants. All seemed eager and pleased to talk about themselves, their personal experiences and thoughts in relation to Juanita More, her artwork, her cause, her lifestyle, and her appeal. Really they all loved to talk about their lives.

During the period of my research I was given the opportunity to go out with Juanita More and her entourage on a weekly basis. New Year's Eve was my first night of fully experiencing the flavor and spark of a night out with Juanita and her boys. I arrived with friends 30 minutes before the New Year at a famed night club in San Francisco, The Edge\(^1\). After waiting 20 minutes in the cold rain to get into the loud, booming, and overcrowded club, we fought our way through the cluster of attractive 20-something club kids dancing, chatting and flirting, to reach the stage where Juanita was going to put on a small performance with a group of her MOREboys. As we made our way to the stage, my friend Matt, who had accompanied me, was bombarded with cheek kisses and hellos from a group of men who seemed so familiar, all sophisticatedly dressed alike as 1920's rude boy gangsters, in chic pinstripes, high cheekbones, and hats. They were spread out in front of the stage, talking only amongst themselves, drinking a variety of mixed concoctions and vodka tonics; each one seemed eagerly awaiting the exhibition that was about to take place on stage. Suddenly, a few minutes before midnight the club lights dimmed and the pounding electro-pop music was put to an end... all eyes, and lights were geared toward the stage. The song began. Juanita appeared larger than life in the limelight, drenched in gold and five inch heals, with her provocative escorts behind her, dancing and singing. The strike of the New Year happened during the end of that song. The countdown was off, I don't think anyone noticed. All eyes were on Juanita.

\(^1\)The Edge: San Francisco nightclub located at 4149 18th Street.
Chapter 5

Data Analysis

What does it mean to be a MOREboy? Why do young gay men want to be MOREboys? What is it about being a MOREboy that gives the title its prestige and swank within the community? Can the concept of social capital explain the existence and attraction of this subculture? These are questions all posed in the beginnings of my research. Through my time of participant observation, collecting stories and, thoughts expressed to me, I was able to gain an understanding of the world in which these boys live. The following data analysis can be divided into three main parts: the social capital exchange made in the community market due to a hierarchy of cultural norms and expectancies, the personal relationships that intricately tie the MOREboys to Juanita MORE as they are associated with queer theory, and later a discussion of the MOREboy identity; the self and the social. This includes: the social construction of the MOREboy identity including what it takes to become a MOREboy and the sense of brotherhood within a small community that being a MOREboy brings to each individual.

Social Capital and the San Francisco Market of Notoriety:

*Being a MOREboy gives you social power. It gives you admiration and acknowledgement from within the gay community. When we go out the rope at the door is lifted, kisses are given, the doormen know us, the bartenders give us free drinks... well... most of the time, and the crown is in awe of us. (Joshua)*

The theme of social capital is discernibly apparent in the history of the MOREboy’s lives. As stated in the literary analysis the definition of social capital is taken from Pierre Bourdieu’s “Forms of Capital” (1986),
Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition... which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them. They may also be socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of a common name... and by a whole set of instituting acts designed simultaneously to form and inform those who undergo them; in this case they are more or less really enacted and so maintained and reinforced, in exchanges (p. 248-49).

Social capital among the MOREboys can be broken down into several areas. The first area being the social capital the MOREboys generate from having the official title MOREboy and being seen with Juanita MORE. The second area of social capital is the capital expended by the group, including Juanita MORE, the MOREboys, and anyone else involved as a marketed product to the audience of the San Francisco gay community. The third area is the social capital generated by Juanita MORE for having a group of individuals, who advocate her persona, that already rank at an affluent position, in the San Francisco social market, in consequence to their embodiment of the physical characteristics celebrated by the gay community.

Juanita and the MOREboys can be analyzed as a product in a world where popularity is hard currency. The world is the San Francisco queer community where population and geographical space is limited. In a small setting people are recognized for the personas they provide and distil to the public. The status accumulated by these personas is based on the effect the personas have on the public. The more the persona embodies the desires and norms of the community the higher the persona will be placed in the hierarchical divide of the community's social ladder. In an interview taken with MOREboy Joshua he...
touches upon the San Francisco's night scene and what creates the allure of Juanita and the MOREboys to the queer public:

*The MOREboys are socialites and Juanita is the celebutante. There are a lot of those in San Francisco. San Francisco is not a huge city. It is a small community, especially in the gay community, in the young gay community. When you go out at night you run into many of the same people. There are so many personas and characters in the community; like club kid personalities. People know who you are when you go out based on what you bring to them. From the way you dress, who you surround yourself with, how you present yourself and what else you have going on as well. If you are providing something else for the community then you become known for that and respected. Juanita MORE and the MOREboys; they are known for being incredibly fashionable, fashion forward, genuinely interesting and fun to be around, extremely good looking, and devoted to Juanita. To be devoted to Juanita means to be devoted to the community, the club scene, the party scene, and knowledge. It means to be a well rounded and attractive person inside and out. In return, you get to be part of the San Francisco glitterati, and get recognized for it. And I mean, really... who would not want that...?

The allure of the MOREboy reality is a relatively new façade that has emerged through the preparation of the illusion with the first generation MOREboys and then produced by the second generation MOREboys and MOREboys in training. Santiago states:

*The entire MOREboy thing has become a bit more commercial from when it was Juanita and the first generation of MOREboys. The entire MOREboy thing is kind of a simple evolution in the sense that it started with very special people and deep friends of Juanita, or Michael, who got the title MOREboy to now it is sexy to be a MOREboy. It has become commercial because it is seen as a status symbol among those who are aware of Juanita and the boys.

The MOREboys generate social capital within the gay and artistic community as a result of being a part of the social network Juanita and her first generation boys
have produced. The network of the MOREboys can be divided into two parallel parts: the network of the gay community, of which, the MOREboys are perceived as the glitterati of San Francisco’s gay community. Second, the artistic networks which the MOREboys accumulate which benefits each individual in their own personal area of creativity and then the benefit of having a varied and available network of people from all different areas of the art spectrum together to polish the produced whole of the Juanita MORE persona.

MOREboy Santiago states:

The group of boys Juanita hangs out with tends to be a little bohemian. They are not necessarily the straight and narrow tracked sort of artists, which is very San Francisco. They each compliment each other on sort of a multi purpose bohemian network. If someone wants to do something, for example, put together a performance piece, you have people from all sides of the artistic spectrum ready, available, and willing to help you out. Whether it is couture design, lighting, photography, prop making, grant writing, art directing, choreography, photography, and people with talent to use as extras... everyone is available. This makes everyone’s job much easier. We all sort of do what we can to encourage each other’s art.

Rob is an artist in San Francisco. He comments:

I love collaborating with Juanita and making projects happen. I think Juanita and I have a strong artistic connection. I think as an artist who is trying to establish himself, and Juanita obviously being an established artist I think it is a continual inspiration of energies together and lifting and inspiring each other to do more, to do better, and do something else new. I do find connections with Juanita in the art world. I think Juanita knows so many people in the art world; she is like Oprah. There are always people that are coming into the circle and it always works out that someone is working on something that helps someone else... There is always someone who has expertise in a grey area. It is always collaboration and always a network. There is always someone who is working on something that could help you, whether through
inspiration, technically creating something, promotion, design, or networking. It is always a collaboration of partnerships. In my case, shows are always successful when Juanita is involved. There is a huge turnout always. Everyone knows about it, the best of people are there, and it is always a party.

Juanita, who is already established with the social capital associated to her name, further generates social capital through the expenditure of the MOREboys who participate in her persona. This, in part, is due to the characteristics which the MOREboys embody infused with the characteristics celebrated by the gay community of San Francisco. In an interview, Juanita states;

The gay community is filled with an insatiable desire to be loved. The boys represent things that people want: Sex, Youth, Beauty, and Brotherhood. These things in my eyes do not epitomize happiness. This entourage of boys are constantly adored and wanted. It is much more satisfying to know each and everyone of them at heart. With this said, and with drag still sitting at the bottom of the pecking order—it was an obvious and selfish choice to push the MOREboys to the front of the line. Our culture thrives on the young and beautiful. Thus, opening the door and the eyes to those within the community that would have otherwise dismissed the beauty of Miss Juanita MORE.

At first I did see a rush to procure a collection of hot young things from the drag queens that I admired. Some just mocking or emulating what I was doing. Some of them tried desperately to tag cute and creative names to their new posse. But over the years and though these 'girls' still maintain a great fan base, none of them continued to nurture the idea of a family. I have created deep, intimate relationships with each of the boys. At times, guiding them through relationships, work, school, and sex. I am a part of their lives and see love and admiration as our true bond.

There is an awesome personality trait that has been passed on to me by my father. It is the ability to find love and joy in every person he meets. No one is judged by looks, size, or color. Including the belief that everyone has something inside of them that is beautiful. With this as my
silent mantra, and one that I am bestowing into the hearts of each of the boys – barriers and walls of separation will hopefully someday come crumbling down.

There is an egalitarian exchange of social capital as illustrated by Juanita and the MOREboys. The exchange is defined as equal owing to the MOREboys realization that if they were not part of Juanita’s social network there would be others (boys) in their place. Additionally, the MOREboys stated that they would take part in the social network without the gratification of the MOREboy title, which would rid them of the social capital benefits they have been provided with.

The following are field notes taken after an interview with MOREboy in Training informant, Cole, in answer to the question of whether or not Juanita would be the same without the MOREboys and whether or not the MOREboys would be there without the institutionalized title;

Cole lightly laughs at my question of whether or not Juanita would be the same with out her group of boys. We are sipping Mojitos at a stylish Castro restaurant on a Thursday night. I am struggling to hear him over the deep house music playing throughout the sound system. “I can’t imagine Juanita without MOREboys. Not in the sense that Juanita wouldn’t be Juanita without MOREboys, but I cannot possibly imagine Juanita not having a group of young attractive gay men following her around”. Is it addictive? I pondered in search of validity to his response. We are going to an opening private party that night, one which Juanita had e-mailed everyone to attend. I have two hours to get ready, one interview to finish, one friend to meet, and no idea of what I am going to wear. Cole is sitting in front of me, flawless, in a black hooded sweatshirt that reads “MISS MORE”. I looked down to my pink stilettos and boring sweater and I just thought to myself… I have to get one of those shirts.

In response to the same question informant Santiago states:

A lot of what Juanita gets from her MOREboys is a passion and a sense of family. There would be boys around Juanita doing what they are doing now even without the title of
MOREboys. *I can't imagine Juanita MORE without the MOREboys.*

In reflection to her boy's stature without her persona, Juanita further suggests that the community's response to her boys would be different without her presence: "Earlier this week I bowed out of an event I was scheduled to perform at. And, though I didn't make it out, all of the boys did. First thing the following morning someone called to say, "last night the boys seemed just lost without you"."

The theme of social capital is understood by the MOREboys and Juanita MORE. It is understood in it's relation to the social ladder of the Castro community. Juanita already established, uses the social capital the MOREboys provide her to further propagate acceptance from the gay community from those who would otherwise overlook the persona of a drag queen artist and illusionist. The MOREboys recognize the social capital they are provided with as being a part of Juanita's illusion, as they also understand their position in the social hierarchy of the Castro, based on the physical features they exhibit. The collection of Juanita's artwork, charitable efforts, public persona and company of MOREboys interweaved with the social hierarchy of the San Francisco community reify the name Juanita MORE and MOREboys as an object of desire expended to the community. Thus, permanently institutionalizing social capital in the MOREboy name and answering why boys around the Castro have a pressing infatuation with being a part of the social network of Juanita MORE.

Relationships with Juanita MORE: celebrating queer theory

It is not just social capital that links the MOREboys to Juanita MORE. Each MOREboy shares a particular relationship with Juanita MORE. This personal relationship is individually bound and determined by time, place, interest, race,
and age. Thus, giving the MOREboy title two separate identities: the MOREboy ‘social’ identity, which is understood through the concept of social capital and the MOREboy ‘self’ identity, which can be understood through the postmodern analysis given by the paradigm of queer theory. Social capital gives a public meaning to Juanita and the MOREboys in the gay community as well as helping to understand the social construction of the MOREboy name; however, it does not explain the self and personal identity of each network member. There does not exists a collective MOREboy self identity. Each identity is based on a historical and idiosyncratic story intricately shared with Juanita MORE. Many of the first generation MOREboys and a few of the second associate this relationship to Michael Rodriguez, rather than the persona, Juanita MORE. This supports the main concept of queer theory; that a gay identity can not be bound nor understood through collective definitions. A gay identity can be understood through the narrative of each man’s story, through the comparison of their differences rather than their similarities. The syntheses of their autonomous stories prove that there is no single MOREboy identity. Santiago was the first one to point out that the MOREboys relationships with Juanita were all very intimate and very particular:

We are all family, but we have our own separate relationship with Juanita and they are all very personal and very different. This I have observed in just thinking about my relationship with Juanita and then looking at the other boys. Juanita and I have a very special relationship. We haven’t slept together and that makes the relationship to me seem almost pure. We have done many projects together... some great projects... she puts in her ideas, I put in mine... we collaborate artistically very well.

Chandler is one of Juanita’s first MOREboys. He was around when Juanita first began to call her close friends MOREboys. He reminisces about first meeting Juanita MORE as Michael and the heavy impact of their first encounter:
I met Juanita as Michael. A friend had told me about this drag queen he knew who needed performers for a drag show called "The Fishsticks" at Wigstock West 1995. Michael was having practice for it, wearing a button down blue homeboy shirt. I remember being surprised at how cute Michael looked. I didn’t think I would ever find a drag queen attractive. He saw me sitting on the step, I remember looking at him as he double-took when he saw me. It was like I suddenly entered his radar and there was no return. Then I just found myself hanging out with her more and more. And then I found out that Peter knew. We met her around the same time. Eventually Jay did a photo shoot with her and then Wallana was introduced and they hit it off great. So there is this family connection thing that makes me feel like Michael is in my life for a reason. For sure, he is extremely important to me. Today I had a rare moment of tears thinking about the possibility of ever losing him (he has had cancer twice since I’ve known him).

MOREboy Isaac voices the relationship he shares with Michael Rodriguez as a reason for his title MOREboy. Isaac states:

I think that part of the reason I am a MOREboy is because of the connection that Michael and I made. I must say that I loved, love, and will love him always. I would love him even if Juanita’s persona disappeared. We are both photographers and connected very deeply at the art level. He is much better at producing art where I am really good with the technical aspects. I can do the work, but I am not good at getting my ideas out. So when we collaborate things just work out.

As well, the relationships the MOREboys share with each other are just as private and different as the relationships the MOREboys share with Juanita MORE. In an interview Chandler describes first being introduced to the other MOREboys:

Juanita had MOREboy Z ¹² (who I’ve never met and is supposedly, technically the first boy Juanita was hanging with) and then there was and BlankI, who to me is the unsung

¹² Names have been changed for privacy purposes.
MOREgirl, BlankII and BlankIII\textsuperscript{13}, who sang a song about Juanita, and they actually traveled to like Japan or something to sing it, weird. And there was BlankIV, who I totally thought was hot, we fooled around, he had a kid and was always hanging around Juanita, styling her. And then there is this guy BlankV, who runs “Space\textsuperscript{14}” in SF who was always styling Juanita, too. I guess that’s kind of how it all began, it felt like everyone had a hand in styling Juanita and somehow it became Peter, MOREboy A, MOREboy B, Me, and Rob who started doing more and more work and fun stuff with Juanita. It was like we were building something for her and for our own artistic careers too, sort of. The MOREboy thing just kind of birthed from all the attention we were giving to Juanita. She was fun, like a Barbie we were all getting to play with. It was a conversation that turned into something concrete. We were trying to label our posse, our gang. And Juanita really loved us hanging around her, so it was nice to have a little “label”, a string of connection. And we also wanted to attract more MOREboys and get more people excited about Juanita because we were all starting to move on to other things in our lives and getting more and more busy. My initiation was years of being her hot date and taking her challenges on to do things for Juanita, like do her website, make her business card, etc...

MOREboy Joshua recalls first entering ‘MOREboyhood’ and meeting the MOREboys while out with Juanita:

The first time I met Juanita was when I went over to her apartment to take part in her Booty Call\textsuperscript{15} photo shoot, and afterwards she called me and I remember I was like “Oh my God! Juanita MORE is calling me”!!! During the day, out of all times!!! I said to her “Oh my God, Juanita… so like what do you want to talk about” I was so excited. She said she was going out that night and would love to see me. So I met her out with MOREboy Peter and some other guy. When I showed up she was all done up and larger than life. I was like, this woman

\textsuperscript{13} Names have been changed for purposes of privacy.

\textsuperscript{14} Space: nightclub located at 550 Barneveld Ave. San Francisco.

\textsuperscript{15} Booty Call: Name of Juanita MORE’s photography exhibitions. There are four Booty Call collections in total. Can be seen by visiting website http://www.juanitamore.com.
is crazy! I couldn't believe it. We went to Trannyshack and then all of the sudden the entire world changed because all of these boys just started showing up. And soon there were like fifteen boys who had just popped up around her. I kept thinking “am I totally hammered and seeing double or are there really this many hot boys”. They were all so fucking hot. They all looked sort of the same, and they were all dressed alike. Oh God, and I was having such a hard time of keeping track of all of their names and then deciding on which one I wanted to make out with first. I remember Juanita having me linked to one of her arms and telling everyone “oh, this is the new one” The boys were like “is this the banana boy?” “Are you the banana boy?” because my first photo shoot for Juanita was just so dirty.

We had never met and I had heard that she had wanted to take my photo. So she told me to bring over some cute underwear to her apartment. Juanita is not in drag when she does her photos. So here I was, I had never met Juanita MORE before, let alone, Michael. But I had seen photos of Juanita in flyers and photos all around the city. But when I got to her apartment, she opened the door, and here was a dude. Duh, it's not like she goes around in drag 24 hours a day. So she told me “this is my concept for the picture. Just you, naked, on the kitchen counter, with maybe a bowl of fruit”. And I was like, perfect, I love it, done. The final photo used was me, naked, holding a banana in-between my legs. It was no big deal. She made me feel so comfortable when I came in to do the photo. I had never posed nude for a photo before, ever. I just don't do that. I was so blown away by Michael. He looks so different from Juanita. He is much darker and really tiny. After the photo shoot we sat around and talked for a long while, I told Michael that I couldn't wait to meet Juanita. He invited me out that weekend. And that is how it all started.

MOREboy Jason reminisces about meeting Juanita MORE:

I have known Juanita for about four years now. I first met Juanita through my good friend Peter, who is the first and number one MOREboy. I was at Mecca with some friends from

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Trannyshack: Drag Queen nights at local San Francisco club, The Stud, located at 399 9th Street and Harrison Street.
work just having a drink when Juanita showed up. I remember being completely amazed by her appearance. The outfit she was wearing was one she had created, of course. This one was a paper mache of newspaper. I was blown away. She told me to come along to Trannyshack, so I went. While we were there I picked up the end of her dress so no one would step on it because it was dragging along behind her. She thought that what I did was pretty exceptional considering that I didn't know her. I guess it was probably about three months later that she told me she wanted me to be a MOREboy. And I didn't even know what that exactly meant. So when she told me I asked her, "Well what does that mean?" and she told me "well, you will just have to find out". There was a ceremony for me. It was at the VIP lounge of the Palladium7. Everyone was there, all the MOREboys and friends of. She gave me a ribbon with a picture of her and me on it. I still have it. There was alcohol involved so the entire night was a little fuzzy; but, that was my entering of MOREboy-hood.

Each of the boy's memories of meeting each other and becoming a part of the group illustrates a different story, a different example about what 'MOREboydom' feels like. Why the MOREboys maintain status as a part of Juanita's social network is as personal as the self identities they previously expressed. However, one of the most common responses for the reason of socially being a MOREboy in the San Francisco Castro is the sense of brotherhood and community that it presents to the individual. Each MOREboy addresses the need for a sense of community in the Castro. Santiago states:

7 The Palladium: San Francisco nightclub located at 1031 Kearny Street and Broadway.
that we are loved, even if I don’t talk to her for six months. Some of us need that official sense of family and some of us don’t.

Juanita gets a lot of new kids in the city who take interest in her and the lifestyle because these kids are new and trying to find themselves. There is a real family feel when hanging out with her which attracts many. Then of course there is her website and her Booty Call photos. So I think it has become more commercial because it is so much more available... kids having easier access to Juanita and the boys.

MOREboy Jason looks to the sense of family provided by the MOREboy network as a way to escape the frustrations that come with the social norms posed by the Castro gay community. During an interview Jason States:

The gay community lacks a lot. The community is extremely hypocritical. The Castro is much more lacking than the circles and places where Juanita and our crowd runs. The places we go are a lot more mixed. However, you can only mix so much. There will always be a majority from a certain demographic. So many places in the Castro try and cut out minorities, elders and/or women. They want to keep is stereotypically “gay”. They want to keep it young, attractive, gay, and they want to keep it male. This has always been frustrating. I am pretty jaded by the entire gay community.

The stereotypical gay male is slender, fashion conscious, young, mostly white—and by this I mean not really just Caucasian—but light skinned, you could be mixed...whether you are a mix of Asian, Black, or Indian...est. you can’t be anything that sets you far away from the light skin spectrum. You just can’t stand out too much.

The Twin Peaks is one of the oldest Castro bars. When you go in the bar just look around at the clients inside. Kids in the Castro call it the “glass coffin”. It’s called this because all the

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18 Twin Peaks Tavern: colloquially known as the “Glass Coffin”. Located at 401 Castro Street and 17th Street, San Francisco.
clients are older. They are sitting there waiting to die. I think that is so hateful. Could you imagine being a fifty or sixty year old gay man and not have anywhere else to go because you won’t be treated equally at any other bar and everyone will just stare you down because you don’t look like you will fit in. So then, you are forced to go to this bar named after your future death by the community of which, you live. You would think all the young boys know that eventually they are going to age.

Santiago addresses the feeling of brotherhood attached to Juanita and the MOREboys:

*It is interesting when it is really just the MOREboys around Juanita. There is just this sense of “oh, she picked you, she picked you, and she picked me”. And whether I really notice it or not I have this connection with them because Juanita is like a mother, she is just such a loving and caring person —that for her to put her finger out to someone and say your someone special in my life, I want you to remain a large part of my life, and I want you to know that and to have all these people know that and understand that from a similar position—it’s really very comforting.*

As previously stated the MOREboy self identity can only be defined and expressed in each individual’s words. However, collectively the MOREboys suggest that there is an unsaid rulebook of what it takes to become a MOREboy. Although there are not any written rules to becoming MOREboy etiquette, aside from the 10 MOREboy Commandments which every boy must honor, there are expectancies and necessities pinpointed at anyone interested. According to Santiago entering MOREboyhood is a big deal that doesn’t occur often:

*Normaly there is a big crowning at a club and every boy in the country, state, and city is there waiting on who’s going to become the next MOREboy. Juanita sometimes talks confidentially with me telling me “I have to do this, he needs it and if he doesn’t get it he is just NOT going to be happy with me”.*
Santiago speaks of how one can become candidate for a MOREboy crowning:

What does it take to be a MOREboy? It takes a grounded love for Juanita. For me, it is about knowing who I am and being able to nurture and feed her when she is hungry. I think it takes an understanding of where she is coming from. She has been around for a while. It is all about the love though. I think she picks really good people and all of the people are always artistic. There is always an overwhelming sense of creativity and expression among herself and her boys. And I think a little bit of goofiness and playfulness. It takes the ability to laugh at yourself. Of course it takes devotion and commitment to Juanita. There is a difference between “oh I like you and I really want to be around you and then knowing that when you go out she is wearing six inch heels and she can’t bend over if she drops her purse. It’s not force, but whatever Juanita wants, Juanita gets. And with reason and certainly for attention being out in a club with Juanita versus having dinner with Juanita or going shopping with Juanita are all very different. When she is in a club she is in the light, and it is all about encouraging that and helping it become the reality. It takes quietness, too. There are times when you just need to listen. Juanita is very creative and has a lot of creative direction. So you have to have the ability to put down your absolute ego or whatever and listen to what she wants and how she wants it… and just do it. I never feel like I’m being degraded or being anything less than me even though I am doing things that I probably wouldn’t otherwise be doing if I wasn’t a MOREboy when I am with her. Because I am there for her anything she does is for the better of me.

Juanita surrounds herself with talented people. She thrives on that. She enjoys finding that in people. I don’t know if she is actually out there looking for that in people. But, for the most part, most of the people around Juanita are very creative. And it is not just the MOREboys; it is everyone else as well.

MOREboy Jason states:

I think we each have our own element, of which, we add to the mix. I think if you were to look at some of the other MOREboys you would see that we are all so completely different but we all
have and share similar qualities. One of the main things that we share is this incredible respect for Juanita. We understand the façade. The amount of effort, work and preparation that goes into the illusion and the art that Juanita creates is magnificent. Juanita is the definition of the expression “above and beyond”. I think that the major role of the MOREboys is to compliment that. And I think Juanita carefully picks her boys based on how they would compliment the work that she does. Juanita is very careful about who she chooses, because they have to embody what it is she is looking for.

Santiago further explains how Juanita should be treated when out at night:

When you are out with Juanita you are out as her escort, you are not there to hook up or make yourself out to be a drunken fool; you are there with Juanita. You do not leave Juanita at a bar or club to go satisfy your own sexual needs. That is a big black check in her book. I think it is written in the MOREboy commandments as well.

Joshua articulates of the rule of MOREboy etiquette while out with Juanita MORE:

To hang out in our circle you can’t just be the cute new kid in town. We will try you out. You can come out with us once or twice but after Juanita will call and ask us “so, what do you think” and we will respond with “well, we are hot for this person or we aren’t”. In order to be one of Juanita’s boys, who regularly hang out, you have to have your shit together.

As a MOREboy you are not just representing yourself but you are representing the entire house of MORE. This also means that you can’t get totally inebriated when you are out with us, you have to be semi-composed. Otherwise you will be spoken to, by Juanita and/or several of us. For example if *blank* is to fucked up, then we would say to him “get your shit together! You are so fucking drunk and asked out of your head, your jaw is popping back and forth like a typewriter, you can’t even see us when you are walking by, and your making out with fat ugly
people in the corner... get your shit together"!!! That is no way to represent the house of MORE!

Juanita snaps the whip when you're out together. She is always like "don't do this, get me a drink, don't touch him... Joshua, I have my eye on you..."! Or she will just give you the 'one eyebrow' and you just know. Everyone knows that there are certain things that you can and cannot do when you are out with Juanita. See the MOREboy Commandments. Do not put your hands on Juanita's date!! Do not use her name when you have f*cked up your shit!

As the data demonstrates, the MOREboys are connected through their devotion to Juanita MORE as well as their desire for professional lives; for example, the desire to become established in the art, non-profit world, or even in the San Francisco socialite scene. We can summarize the major themes in the interviews by stating that Juanita MORE and the MOREboys reify the 'MORE' image through the transformation of social capital. By the institutionalization and legitimization of the 'MORE' name in the social space of the Castro area Juanita MORE and the MOREboys are benefited socially\textsuperscript{19} and economically through their association to each other.

\textsuperscript{19} The 'MORE' image encompasses Juanita MORE, the MOREboys, and other material and non-material symbols and culture they are associated with. The 'MORE' image is sometimes defined by the MOREboys as the 'House of MORE'.

\textsuperscript{20} There is a duality in the social benefits provided by the association to Juanita MORE and the MOREboys. Each individual benefits from their possession of social capital and the emotional and idiosyncratic relationships that they share with each other.
Chapter 6

Conclusion

The MOREboy phenomenon is best understood through Pierre Bourdieu's social capital and the concept of understanding identity through a postmodern analysis of queer theory. The uses and transformation of social capital is an excellent tool with which to analyze how the MOREboy identity creates and sustains the fame and illusion of Juanita MORE and each MOREboy personally. An understanding of the boy's individual responses and reason of joining MOREboy network further proves that their does not exist a collective MOREboy self identity except as a larger collective group which is reflected in the Castro District's responses to Juanita MORE and the MOREboys.

Each of my informants appeared to have a subconscious understanding of social capital. The MOREboys understand that they generate social capital by being associated with the institutionalized tide MOREboy and Juanita MORE. Likewise, Juanita MORE understands the social capital she generates through the public use of her MOREboys as accessories. We can then conclude social capital, in this study, was only understood through its' relation and meaning to the social hierarchy of the gay community, meaning that the social system is dominantly understood by those who live within it. Juanita MORE and the MOREboys manifest their gay identities through their manipulation of social capital, which helps them further scale the social ladder. The boys publicly play the role of the MOREboy to gain social capital. As well, social capital is transformable; it leads the MOREboys to other forms of capital, such as economic capital, as well as giving the boys the ability to expend social capital in place of economic capital with in the gay community. For example, the MOREboy's stature gives them the ability to gain free entrance into San Francisco clubs, free drinks, and an exposed social network of artists who help establish the boys with in the art world.
The MOREboy self identity can not be easily defined; however, is best explained by MOREboy in Training Cole:

A MOREboy is not your typical gay man. He is someone who has seen the gay scene, the Castro scene, and agrees that being a part of that scene is not what being gay is about. He is someone who sees Juanita as an amazing person with respect for the work that she does. He is someone who uses himself, his art and expression as social charity without compensation. A MOREboy must be someone who sees that humility and want to take part in it. A MOREboy must be someone who wants to be publicly seen; but, it is not just about dressing up with Juanita and becoming part of the illusion. It is about wanting to help out in every way possible: from preparing for an event, dressing up, and being there for support. I think, in return, it is almost like a mentorship. Juanita is teaching us about life, herself, art, awareness, friendship, family, and community through her life, her friendship, her love, and what she does. Juanita teaches us how to be better people, how to embrace who we are, especially in a straight world.

There is another aspect of Juanita MORE’s social capital in the Castro which is recognized but rarely experienced by the MOREboys; but, which is recognized by outsiders. That is the tremendous generosity to several of San Francisco’s charities. Juanita MORE is not only an artist, illusionist, and muse—but a face for good in the Castro. Aside from her photography and entourage of lovely and talented MOREboys, it may be that she will always be remembered proudly for her charity work. This work along with the gorgeous boys are structurally opposite from the “low” status of drag queens in general. In fact her “giving” to the community has established her symbolic capital—her prestige and the respect she engenders. Her work in the community parallels similar values that are recognized in the larger “straight” world. As the Castro has historically been a refuge for gay San Franciscans, Juanita MORE follows in that tradition: offering help as well as a little swank to the city. What is more appealing is that she does
not publicize her charity work—which is surely indicative of the higher levels of social and symbolic capital. Bourdieu would probably assume that she knows the field of social relationships in the Castro and manages the vanity it offers with masterful ease.

I would like to sincerely thank Juanita MORE for the inspiration for this study, and commend her for the glamour and love she has revived in our wonderful city by the bay.
Appendix

Interview Protocol with Juanita MORE:

1. When did you first decide to call your good friends MOREboys? For what reasons?

2. What does it take to be a MOREboy? Do you have certain standards and expectations? Are there rules? How do you choose?

3. Has the process of choosing a MOREboy changed over the years from the first generation of MOREboys to the new boys?

4. When did you decide to have MOREboys in training? What do these individuals have to prove to receive the official title MOREboy?

5. Could you give the general definition of a MOREboy?

6. Do you believe that, aside from being your friends, the MOREboys have helped market your persona to the larger artistic and gay community?

7. Would you be Juanita MORE without the boys? Would your persona be the same? Your artwork? Your social life?

8. What is the general reaction from the community about your boys? Do people ever comment on your attractive entourage?

9. Do you have to be hot to be a MOREboy?

10. On a deeper level, is there something emotional or of interest that binds your boys together, that binds your boys to you, and finally you to your boys?
11. In the previous interview you stated that the aspiration to be and the identity of a drag queen are looked down upon within the gay community? Could you further explain why the identities of drag queens sit at the bottom of the community’s social stratification ladder?

12. Do you feel the MOREboys make it “sexy” for young hot men to be seen with drag queens or just sexy to be seen with Juanita MORE?

13. Obviously your boys have marketed the identity of the MOREboy as sort of a sex symbol within the gay community (on a totally surface level); however, do you think it has branched out to other boys in the community or even to other drag queens in the community? This is a really hard question to word...sorry. I guess what I am trying to say is what yourself and your MOREboys have developed seems like a great business strategy to branch both polar opposites of the social ladder...those who rein top (the hot boys)...with those who sit at the bottom (the drag queens). I know the relationship between yourself and your boys is way deeper than this but do you think the method that yourself and your boys have developed is a way to “heal” the separation in the gaps of the social ladder? Could this or has it sparked a trend with other drag queens and young gay men?

14. Do you have a favorite MOREboy story; something that illustrates the glamour and fun of being Juanita MORE and the MOREboys?

15. Finally, how did you become Juanita MORE?

Interview Protocol with MOREboys and MOREboys In Training:

Name:
Age:

Hometown:

Job:

Educational Background:

Economic Background:

Time spent in San Francisco:

Time knowing Juanita MORE:

Time being a MOREboy or MOREboy in training:

1. How long have you known Juanita MORE?

2. Do you remember first meeting Juanita or any of her boys? What was it like?

3. When did Juanita first tell you that you were going to be a MOREboy or MOREboy in training? How many other boys were there when you became one? Where you already friends with the other boys? Was there an initiation?

4. Could you give me a general definition of a MOREboy? Has the definition or what it means to be a MOREboy changed over the years?

5. Are there responsibilities to being a MOREboy? If there are responsibilities are these geared towards Juanita or to the other boys (MOREboys) as well?
6. Are there social rewards to being a MOREboy? Were you socially recognized as a MOREboy when you were/as you are living in San Francisco? Did/do people come up to you and comment on it? What would they say?

7. What is it like going out with Juanita MORE? Do you feel like you are playing a role as a MOREboy?

8. Are you close friends with the other boys?

9. Is there anything that unites the MOREboys as friends besides the 'devotion for Juanita'?

10. Do you take part in, or help in anyway with Juanita’s artwork?

11. How do you feel about the MOREboys in training?

12. Why do all of these boys want to become MOREboys?

13. Is it socially prestigious to be a MOREboy?

14. Do the younger MOREboys have to treat the first generation MOREboys with respect?

15. Has being a MOREboy influenced or impacted any area of your life outside or your social life (for example: art, work, income, relationships,…)
Letter Sent to MOREboys:

To Whom It May Concern:

I am a student of anthropology looking to write my thesis on the lives of the Moreboys in San Francisco. I am familiar with some of you through the association of friends and think the study of the Moreboys would be a wonderful addition to the field of anthropology and cultural studies. In order to perform the research I need consent from you guys. If you chose to participate in the study you will be asked to sign a consent form and you will be involved in a series of interviews with me where you will pretty much be talking about yourself. Unfortunately, due to the fact that I am a student, the research is not compensated but I am able to offer a cocktail or two during the interviews scheduled. The research (face to face interviews) will take place, at your convenience, from December 27th 2004 to January 30th 2005. Online and on the phone interviews can take place from February 1st 2005 to March 1st 2005. There is also a series of dates in the late spring where I will be presenting the thesis; you are more than welcome to attend any of these dates. Please let me know if you are interested in participating, and please pass this on to any others associated with the Moreboys and Juanita More who would be interested in participating as well. I look forward to meeting you.

-Jennifer

JenniferH.Dworkin
Student of Anthropology/Sociology
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WORKS CITED


