

**ON SCREEN**  
**CREATING GAY FAIRFAX AND TV FOR THE GAY COMMUNITY**

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Television was the last of the traditional media actively to record the life of the LGBT community in the Washington area. And it did so in a most unlikely location, suburban Fairfax County, Virginia in the studios of the local cable public access channel. Unlikely though it might have seemed, images and voices of Lesbian and Gay people grew and flourished throughout the 1990s and into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

Until recently, when some participants in these programs began to document their stories and programs on the web, the broader LGBT community has been largely ignorant of these pioneering efforts.

Phylis Johnson and Michael Keith introduced their study of gay and lesbian broadcasting with the following observation:

“ . . . the only way to ensure accurate messages about gays and lesbians and to create any sense of discussion was for the queer community to participate in the media and to seek to control it. Indeed, the LGBT community experienced significant progress during the 1990s, from which new alliances between a number of gay and lesbian media outlets and producers have already set the stage for a new era in queer broadcasting in radio, television, cable and the Internet.”<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, the authors missed completely the beginnings of the national capital’s venture in cable television. They did profile *Gay News Network*, the last and least local of the programs, but with little context for Joe Liberatore’s work.

As this paper will show, there is a rich and varied history of cable television in the Washington area. This history was created by hundreds of men and women, working without pay, largely behind the scenes, sometimes under assumed names, in order to say to their own community and to the straight community that they were here and that they had something to say.

This paper would not have been possible without the direct participation of Barry Robert (Bart) Forbes, Michael Claypoole, and Joe Liberatore, and the indirect participation of William Horten who has written two web essays on the programs discussed below.

The genesis arrived over the electronic transom with an email from Michael Claypoole to The Rainbow History Project, offering DVD copies of available programs of *Gay Fairfax* and *Gay Spectrum*.

These DVDs are the primary source for this paper. It should be noted at the outset that the complete runs of either program are not currently available. Nor are all the recording and airing dates preserved. The lack of a complete series renders some of the judgments regarding content provisional. The author did not have access to any copies of the other programs, so it is not possible to consider them in any depth.

In addition to the DVDs, the author interviewed Bart Forbes, Michael Claypoole and Joe Liberatore, used the web material written by William Horten and copies of newsletters and press clips provided by Bart Forbes.

## **The 1984 Cable Act and Public Access**

Congress adopted The Cable Franchise Policy and Communications Act of 1984 in order to bring order to the patchwork of local, state and Federal laws and regulations governing the cable industry. Since the creation of the first cable television system in 1949, cable TV had grown from a local system designed to provide rural areas better access to broadcast TV into a diverse system of local and national operations that not only carried broadcast stations but also provided their own programs in competition with broadcast TV.

Despite its national reach, cable TV was regulated at the local level through franchise agreements that cable TV providers negotiated with local government.

Franchise negotiations provided an opportunity for localities to require cable TV companies to provide locally-oriented programs and, more significantly, provide the public access to its facilities and its channels. This meant in effect that a cable franchisee provided one or more public access channels, channels devoted to locally produced programs.

When Congress approached its first major reformulation of Federal law governing cable television in the 1980's it was acutely aware of the role that public access channels played in local communities. In the Committee Report adopted by the House of Representatives there is a strong statement of Congressional support for public access:

“The legislation also contains provisions to assure that cable systems provide the widest possible diversity of information services and sources to the public, consistent with the First Amendment’s goal of a robust marketplace of ideas – an environment of ‘many tongues speaking many voices.’”<sup>2</sup>

Thus Congress mandated that cable companies continue to provide space on its lineup of channels for locally produced, community-oriented programs. Congress clarified its intent regarding diversity when it compared public access channels to a soapbox or a leaflet.

“They provide groups and individuals who generally have not had access to the electronic media with the opportunity to become sources of information in the electronic marketplace of ideas.”<sup>3</sup>

Finally, the Act clarified that cable operators served as conduits. They do not exercise their editorial discretion over the programming.”<sup>4</sup>

Taken together these provisions provided the broad parameters within which local individuals and organizations launched their own television programs on a wide range of issues.

Within five years of the Cable Act’s passage, lesbian and gay residents of Fairfax County, Virginia took advantage of this opportunity and proposed to create their own public affairs program to run on Fairfax County’s public access Channel 10.

### **The Origin of *Gay Fairfax***

In September, 1989 David Vanderbilt and Barry Forbes presented a proposal to the Fairfax Cable Access Corporation/Channel 10 (FCAC) to create a new program called *Gay Fairfax*. Vanderbilt and Forbes’ proposal was made on behalf of the Fairfax Lesbian and Gay Citizens Association (FLGCA). The Association had been in existence for barely a year at that point, having begun life as an outreach program of the Alexandria

Gay Community Association, of which Barry Forbes had been vice-president. He was completing his term as the first president of FLGCA at the time of the proposal.

David Vanderbilt, an instructor/producer at District Cablevision Public Access Corporation in the District of Columbia and a Virginia resident, approached Forbes with the idea of producing a local program in Fairfax. Vanderbilt had extensive experience as a field producer, facilities manager and instructor in various TV fields. Forbes, who was Director of Marketing at the Development Exchange, had worked in fundraising and marketing for public radio and TV stations and had served on the Board of Directors of a gay newspaper, *Gay Community News*.<sup>5</sup> The proposal was approved by FCAC the following month.<sup>6</sup>

In making their case for the program Vanderbilt and Forbes noted that *The Washington Blade* was not available at any location in Fairfax County. Because of the “discriminatory Virginia ABC liquor laws, no gay bar, club or restaurant exists in Northern Virginia.”<sup>7</sup> Nor was there any radio outlet. In short, there were limited opportunities available to the lesbian and gay population of Fairfax County.

Yet, this community represented a significant segment of Media General Cable subscribers, a segment estimated in the proposal to be anywhere from 5 to 15% of the cable franchise subscribers. The proposed program, *Gay Fairfax*, had the potential to increase overall viewership of the franchise by bringing a new demographic as subscribers. FLGCA already had proven its ability to reach this community. Despite being a relatively new organization, it published a monthly newsletter with a circulation of 450, held monthly meetings and provided speakers for other local organizations. The

proposal noted that “the production of a regular informational cable television program is a natural extension and enhancement of the mission of FLGCA.”<sup>8</sup>

From the outset, Forbes brought his experience as an organizer to *Gay Fairfax*. He conceived of the program as a way to involve local gay men and lesbians in providing a service to the Fairfax community. He viewed *Gay Fairfax* as integral to the mission of FLGCA. The two would support each other. Of course, under the regulations governing FCAC any program on Channel 10 had to be sponsored by an organization located in Fairfax County. But Forbes viewed this as much more than a marriage of convenience. The two organizations shared a common mission: “To Foster a Sense of Lesbian and Gay Community”.<sup>9</sup>

The October, 1989 FLGCA newsletter reported the submission of the proposal and announced a meeting for people interested in producing the program. Vanderbilt wrote that

“(t)his is exactly the type of programming that cable access was created to foster: community programming for a group which is either ignored or sensationalized by the rest of the media.”<sup>10</sup>

Approval of the proposal by the Fairfax Cable Access Corporation in October, 1989 was just the beginning of the process. Approximately 15 people attended the October meeting to plan and develop the first program.<sup>11</sup> In addition to Vanderbilt and Forbes, two other individuals with extensive experience in media were involved in the early development of *Gay Fairfax*. Larry Kennedy and Kevin Kerdash had already begun to tape interview segments along with Vanderbilt with an eye to using them on a

yet-to-be-developed cable program.<sup>12</sup> Kerdash and Kennedy had their own video equipment with which they were working.<sup>13</sup> In order to work on a show at FCAC, volunteers had to take courses held at Northern Virginia Community College studios in various aspects of production. Vanderbilt and Forbes had already taken the producer course when they filed their proposal. Others took the courses as they came on board. Forbes commented that the producer course was not technically oriented but instead focused on the preparation of papers and documents for the program. In the early days, the technical expertise came from Vanderbilt, Kennedy and Kerdash, as well as staff at FCAC.<sup>14</sup>

Nine months after submitting the proposal, the first program of *Gay Fairfax* aired on Channel 10 on May 6, 1990.

Even before the program aired, *Gay Fairfax* produced controversy.

*The Washington Post* published a front-page story in its Metro section on April 24, 1990 reporting that Fairfax's Channel 10 would carry "(t)he Washington area's first television show produced by, for and about gay people."<sup>15</sup> The following day *The Fairfax Journal* reported, also in a front page article, that Richard Enrico, Executive Director of Citizens Against Pornography and the Foundation for Moral Restoration, was attempting to organize a boycott of Media General Cable for airing the program. Enrico told the paper, "(t)o air something that says this is an acceptable lifestyle . . . is like telling your kid to play Russian roulette with a gun."<sup>16</sup> The paper followed with an editorial beginning with the judgment "(t)here's a lot of garbage on television to begin

with” and going on to support the new show. The editorial concluded by echoing the 1984 Cable Act.

“Not everyone is going to want to watch ‘Gay Fairfax.’ Well, that’s the idea of cable – different programming for different groups and plenty of freedom to speak. If anti-gay forces are upset, they can put on a show of their own.”<sup>17</sup>

This controversy gave *Gay Fairfax* much greater media attention than it might otherwise have received. But it also allowed Media General Cable and FCAC an opportunity to make a case for other groups to offer their own programs. Fred Thomas, Channel 10’s acting Executive Director told *The Post* “(p)ersonally, I’m very excited about having something a little more controversial. It’ll spark a little interest in the station.”<sup>18</sup>

On May 7, the day the first show aired, *USA Today* published a short paragraph noting the show’s premiere and the accompanying protest.<sup>19</sup> Local broadcast channels 4, 7 and 9 all ran stories that evening. These stories reported that the program was airing on Channel 10 in Fairfax and noted the controversy. On Channel 9 anchor Maureen Bunyan asked whether public access TV is for all the public. In an interview, a “Fairfax Citizen” dressed in her best faux-Laura Ashley said

“(t)he title itself is offensive to me. *Gay Fairfax*. Fairfax is not a gay county. Most of the – the vast majority of citizens in Fairfax County are heterosexuals who believe in the family and God and are not gay.”

The last “gay” was delivered with raised eyebrows.

Channel 7 reported that calls to FCAC were running 5 to 1 against the program and that the studios had added extra security. Fred Thomas was interviewed and he defended the program.<sup>20</sup> Enrico also appeared and objected to a positive portrayal of

what he called a “deathstyle”. Forbes and Enrico appeared together the next morning on the local news, during which time Forbes said that no one had to watch the program.<sup>21</sup>

*The Washington Times*, late to the party, reported on the show the following day, covering most of the points made by other media, but it did report that Enrico was “working with local pastors to organize disgruntled cable subscribers to cancel their cable service.”<sup>22</sup> At the end of the week, *The Fairfax Journal* ran a short follow-up article noting that the reaction to the show was “probably more positive than negative” according to a Channel 10 official. Only about 15 calls were received. One caller said the show was boring. Thomas again used the opportunity to plug Channel 10’s open door to programmers and echoed once again the original intention of public access:

“We just told people if they had a problem they can start their own show on family morals or something like that.

“We’re more like a public park. It’s a First amendment principle we’re based on. If we shut off one group then we have to shut off others.”<sup>23</sup>

Nationally, other gay media followed up with an article written by gay activist and journalist John Zeh carried in papers in Wisconsin and Florida among others. Zeh focused on the controversy although he did provide some background on the show itself.<sup>24</sup>

## **The Program**

The program itself opened with a shot of its logo, a pink triangle against a black background and the words GAY Fairfax superimposed over it and the text “News Views Pride” running below. Forbes and Michelle Michaels, a local real estate broker, hosted

the first program and described the program as a monthly entertainment magazine. They cut to Vanderbilt who provided a short news segment on Jonas Salk's AIDS vaccine work, on the drug AZT, and on a seminar on home services for AIDS patients in Fairfax County. Vanderbilt turned the program back to Forbes and Michaels who introduced three segments. The first was an interview with Armistead Maupin at a reading at Lambda Rising Bookstore in Washington. This segment was recorded by Kerdash and Kennedy. The second feature covered Staff Sergeant Perry Watkins' speech at the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's "Creating Change Conference" of which Forbes had been an organizer.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, and in contrast to later programs, the venue was not identified in the introduction, although NGLTF's logo was visible on the podium. Watkins spoke of his experience as a career soldier who had been discharged from the military for being gay. The final segment was a report on the display of the Names Project's recent display of the Quilt on the Ellipse. This segment included film of the candlelight vigil. This too was a product of Kerdash, Kennedy and Vanderbilt. The show closed with the admonition "And remember to keep the pride alive." During the closing credits, the following message appeared:

"Appearance or involvement in Gay Fairfax is not indicative of a particular sexual orientation."

This first program illustrates one of the important elements of future programs: the opportunity that Washington provided by being the stage on which so many events of national importance happened. Over the future course of *Gay Fairfax* there were to be many features highlighting national organizations' events in Washington, just as there

would be the opportunity to interview many prominent figures in the community when they visited Washington.

The second program introduced a purely local segment with a feature on the Lesbian and Gay Chorus Ensemble. One of the common themes of subsequent programs surfaced in this feature – discussion of coming out. Many of the features throughout the run of *Gay Fairfax* include individuals recounting their experiences of coming out – to their families, friends and colleagues – the difficulties they encountered and the importance of the support they found among their gay and lesbian peers and organizations. Another important element of this particular segment was that the interview was conducted by Michelle Michaels, who was a member of the Lesbian and Gay Chorus. Many of the local features originated from suggestions of program volunteers who were either members of these organizations or were interested in the events or programs.<sup>26</sup> The other two segments, in addition to the news segment, were excerpts from gay film historian Vito Russo’s appearance at the NGLTF “Creating Change” conference and a second segment on the AIDS Quilt. This program introduced a new feature that continued in subsequent programs, a promotion for the Fairfax Lesbian and Gay Citizens Association along with information on how to contact FLGCA.

The opening news segment appeared in the first two shows only. Not long after that Vanderbilt left the show, joining Kerdash and Kennedy and John Moore in producing a cable show for the District of Columbia’s cable station. According to Forbes their departure resulted from their differing concept of the role of *Gay Fairfax* in the community. As indicated above, Forbes saw the program as a vehicle for organizing the local gay and lesbian community in Fairfax County, a view reflected in the original

proposal. If someone suggested a feature for the program, they were encouraged to develop the idea and work on its production. The more experienced members of the team would teach them how to do it. In this way, the pool of technical expertise could be expanded and the links between FLGCA, its members and the show would be strengthened. Kerdash and Kennedy in particular favored a different model which was more centralized, in which the producers would determine the content and would do work of producing and editing the segments. Their focus was not on developing the program as a community activity.<sup>27</sup> This is a tension that continued throughout the life of the program.

The third program introduced a new logo, in which there was video footage in the pink triangle and new lettering for Gay Fairfax. It also initiated another new element in the form of an in-studio interview with Beth Goodman, Forbes' successor as president of FLCGA. The fourth program brought another new facet, taped excerpts from a public meeting of the Fairfax County School Board considering the county's family life education curriculum. At issue was the curriculum's treatment of birth control and homosexuality. Members of FLGCA testified at this hearing, yet another way in which the show advanced the work of its sponsoring organization.

The sixth program featured film from the 1990 Gay Pride celebration in Washington, including interviews with individuals at the festival and scenes from the stage performances. To produce this segment, a number of *Gay Fairfax* volunteers trained in portable camera use and Channel 10's remote van was used.<sup>28</sup> Throughout the next year footage shot at the 1990 Pride Festival aired on various shows. A new introduction, featuring full screen video footage and an electronic logo appeared on the

seventh program, by which time the production values had improved markedly and more on air talent was evident. Forbes said that “in the first three or four programs we existed on the kindness of straight strangers”, the staff of FCAC.<sup>29</sup> That was changing.

With the 9<sup>th</sup> show in January 1991, *Gay Fairfax* went weekly. This was possible because of an increase in the number of volunteers, more story ideas and greater organization. Before the first show aired team members produced “Bumper -- Newsletter for the Team Members of GAY FAIRAX”. The first number appeared in February 1990. As the show developed “Bumper” became a way to schedule events, distribute production schedules and tasks and float ideas for new program ideas.<sup>30</sup>

New features aired in the next year including a short Gay Trivia quiz that opened and closed the show introduced by program writer Peg McCraw. Initially a light, amusing feature, the trivia quiz developed into a more serious part of the show that made a point about gay identity or culture. A book review segment appeared periodically, sometimes tied to the subject matter of one of the show’s segments.

Throughout its life *Gay Fairfax* tried to present to its viewers some sense of the breadth of the gay and lesbian community. It did this by recording events, interviewing notable individuals from the local and national community and representatives of local organizations and institutions, and covering candidate forums and meetings of government agencies relevant to the community.

*Gay Fairfax* interviewed Harry Hay, legendary gay pioneer and founder of the Mattachine Society<sup>31</sup> and James Moran during his first campaign for Congress.<sup>32</sup> Craig Dean and Patrick Gill appeared on the show after they filed suit in Washington to be

allowed to be married.<sup>33</sup> In December 1991, Michelle Michaels interviewed former Air Force Captain Greg Greeley, who led the 1991 Gay Pride parade in Washington. He had been interviewed by a *Washington Post* reporter. The story appeared in the paper. As a result Greeley was under investigation by Air Force authorities because of his homosexuality.<sup>34</sup> In 1993, the program aired an interview with Lieutenant Tracy Thorne who faced discharge from the Air Force after coming out in an interview with Ted Koppel on ABC.<sup>35</sup>

*Gay Fairfax* campaigned to change Virginia's restrictive liquor laws and to add sexual orientation to Fairfax County's human rights ordinance, both major causes of FLGCA. Indeed, Forbes credits the program with building support for the change in the liquor laws.<sup>36</sup> Members of FLGCA testified at a local hearing of Virginia's Alcoholic Beverage Control Board against the current law and their testimony was shown in a show in spring 1991.<sup>37</sup> In a show that aired on June 18, 1991, the show covered the opening of the French Quarter Café, Alexandria's only gay restaurant. The segment included interviews with the owners and customers.<sup>38</sup>

The proposal submitted to FCAC in 1989 noted the diversity of Fairfax's lesbian and gay community and subsequent programs explored various elements of the community. For instance, an early program reported on a meeting of the newly organized group Gays Against Abortion during which pro-choice protesters arrived and challenged the speaker's views, questioning how gays or lesbians could oppose abortion. In an interview after the meeting, Gays Against Abortion founder Tom Sena expressed satisfaction with the meeting and the ensuing controversy, stressing that gay people should be able to think as they want.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, *Gay Fairfax* covered a rally in support

of Operation Desert Storm in which Gays Against Isolation and Appeasement marched. Their support of the First Gulf War was contrasted with the position of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force which had adopted a position opposing the war.<sup>40</sup> The 100<sup>th</sup> show reported on the first Black Pride Celebration taped on site at Banneker Field in Washington.

These were some of the programs that stand out among the programs cablecast over the course of more than two years. Among community organizations appearing were Lambda Squares, the Lesbian and Gay Chorus of Washington, the Gay Men's Chorus, the DC Feminist Chorus, Dignity, the Metropolitan Community Church, INOVA Health Care System's HIV Center, NOVAM, Food and Friends, Whitman Walker's HEART Project, SMYAL, P-FLAG, the Mautner Project, Black and White Men Together, the Celtic Society, the Gertrude Stein Democratic Club, Free State Coalition for Justice and Virginians for Justice.

National organizations profiled during these programs include the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the Human Rights Campaign Fund, the Names Project, the National Committee of Gay Veterans, the Network for National Gay and Lesbian Alumni Associations, NOW's Lesbian Project, and the Steering Committee for the April 25<sup>th</sup> 1993 March on Washington. Each of these features closed by providing contact information for the individual organization.

There were also service-oriented features including one on estate planning for gays and lesbians, cosmetic surgery, vacation cruises and dealing with the effects of child sexual abuse.

Finally, there was a healthy dose of entertainment. In addition to the stage acts from the 1990, 1991 and 1992 festivities, Romanovsky and Philips, the Flirtations, Steve Langley and excerpts from the documentary *Tongues Untied* appeared on shows.

*Gay Fairfax* ventured far afield in some shows. In March, 1991 *Gay Fairfax*'s cameras followed Virginians for Justice to Richmond for the organization's first lobby day. The program showed Virginians for Justice as they met with state Senators, Delegates and staff in support of legislation on reform of the ABC laws, hate crimes and AIDS funding.<sup>41</sup> Forbes said that he made financial cutouts with *Gay Fairfax* and the logo for the microphone and signs for the sides of the camera. It was important not just to record the event but also to show the legislators and their staff that these visits were being recorded and would be shown on local TV.<sup>42</sup> A little over a year later, the program traveled to Rehoboth Beach, Delaware for a program on the gay resort community with its strong ties to the Washington metropolitan area.<sup>43</sup>

There were limits to the show's diversity. Despite the important role that the drag community had long played in the greater Washington area, it was impossible to see that reflected on the show. Nor was the leather community, another vital component of the area's gay and lesbian life, prominent.<sup>44</sup> The show opened with a female co-host and the producers worked hard, and successfully, to bring more women on board. However, until Eric Randall came aboard as a co-host in 1992, there was no African American presence.

To some extent this was a reflection of the Fairfax Lesbian and Gay Citizens Association. But, at least with regard to drag and leather, it reflected a sensitivity and

conscious choice on the part of the show's producers. In the *Post* article cited above this was clear.

“We're able to show sides [straight people] aren't used to seeing,' said the show's floor director, an Arlington resident who asked that his name not be published. 'When the general media covers gay events, they tend to stereotype . . . they focus on the drag queens.'”<sup>45</sup>

Similarly, when asked about the absence of segments featuring drag or leather performers from the various Pride festivals, Forbes responded that it was deliberate. Traditional media would show the drag acts and floats in their Pride coverage. *Gay Fairfax* tried to counter these images by showing the communities normally not shown in the mass media. He returned to his fundamental conception of the show, that there couldn't be a program without a community and that there can't be a community that's not covered by the program.<sup>46</sup>

“*Gay Fairfax* was essentially self-service television. People produced segments on topics that interested them. During my tenure, not a single drag queen or leatherman volunteered to help produce *Gay Fairfax* programming. We never once turned down anyone who wanted to produce a segment on any topic – including the drag or leather community – nor did we turn down any community interview”<sup>47</sup>

This question would come back at the time when *Gay Fairfax* was ending its run.

The anonymous floor director cited by Masters points out another element of the program. A number of staff, including on-air talent, worked under assumed names, presumably because of concerns about being identified as gay or lesbian.

The value of *Gay Fairfax*'s ties to the Fairfax Lesbian and Gay Citizens Association was demonstrated when Barry Forbes decided to run for a seat on the board of the Fairfax Cable Access Corporation. Apparently, a slate of candidates, supporters of

the former executive director of the Corporation, wanted to emphasize “high production quality” by more “staff-produced programming”. Forbes and *Gay Fairfax* saw this as a challenge to community produced programming which they embodied. They believed it was possible to ensure high quality by training local community members. *Gay Fairfax* ran two candidates for the board, Rob Wilson and Forbes. The show’s newsletter rallied their supporters.<sup>48</sup> All members of FCAC/Channel 10 were eligible to vote and most staff of *Gay Fairfax* and many members of FLGCA were members of FCAC.

The campaign was successful. Forbes was elected to the Board with 170 of over 250 votes cast. This victory was important for the future of the program. “We clearly have friends among the other members of FCAC – and ye (sic) no longer need (sic) to fear censorship from the Board.”<sup>49</sup> The other successful candidate was involved with a golf show.<sup>50</sup> It is worth noting that *Gay Fairfax* had been up and running for less than half a year when Forbes was elected to the Board.

As indicated in the “Bumper” article, there was concern that a new board might impose some form of censorship on the program. Forbes election made that a more difficult proposition. But this was not the only reason Forbes wanted a seat on the Board. He had served on boards previously and had been active as a fundraiser and consultant to other not-for-profit and public interest organizations and he wanted to improve the professional standards of FCAC’s board. As a producer of a show, he also wanted to make sure that show producers had copyright interest in their shows. He was successful in negotiating a mutual non-exclusive copyright arrangement whereby both FCAC and an individual show’s producer held the copyright.<sup>51</sup>

In September, 1991 Forbes successfully ran for a second term on the board and his first term was summed up in “Bumper” in this way:

“Your help is needed in re-electing our own Barry Forbes to the Board of Directors of the Fairfax Cable Access Corporation! Barry has been instrumental in securing copyright for program producers, developing a strategic plan for FCAC – and raising the consciousness of the other Board members!”<sup>52</sup>

In the event, Forbes did not complete his second term. In 1992, he was named the general manager of KPFT-FM, the Pacifica Radio station in Houston. During his tenure, *Gay Fairfax* had become a regular feature on Channel 10. It was also shown on cable systems in Washington, Montgomery County, Arlington, and Baltimore, as local organizations could be found to sponsor the program. It won the award as Best Gay/Lesbian program in the national Hometown USA Video Competition, sponsored by the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps of even greater significance, when Forbes left the program, it was staffed by at least 29 volunteers, all of whom had completed some form of training at FCAC.<sup>54</sup>

Forbes’ involvement with public access TV did not end with his move to Houston. Eventually he became the Executive Director of the Alliance for Community Media, the successor organization to the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers. In addition, Joe Liberatore, the founder and producer of *Gay News Network*, one of the many shows to grow from *Gay Fairfax*, said that Forbes was a reliable resource as he launched his own program.<sup>55</sup>

Rob Wilson took over as Executive Producer of the program on Forbes’ departure. The show continued to develop and evolve. Unfortunately beginning in mid

1992, copies of recorded programs are not as available nor are the existing ones as easy to date. Michael Claypoole, who joined the show in this period, reports that unless someone from the production team actually secured a copy of each program, they were not saved by the team.<sup>56</sup>

In 1992, not only did the program cover the Gay Pride parade, but it participated in the form of a float depicting the set.<sup>57</sup> During this period, the introduction was enlivened with more chat between the co-hosts. The program traveled further afield with the trip to Rehoboth already cited and a visit to Boons, Maryland in upper Montgomery County for a segment on the relocation of Open Hands Metropolitan Community Church from Rockville.<sup>58</sup>

Even more adventuresome, *Gay Fairfax* produced a special show on the Clinton inauguration and another on the 1993 March on Washington, leading up to it with a segment interviewing two of the march organizers.<sup>59</sup>

The first segment on that program featured an interview with the attorneys who designed the successful campaign to include sexual orientation as a protected category in Arlington County's Human Rights ordinance. Beth Robinson, the attorney who worked on the legal strategy for the effort, thanked *Gay Fairfax* for being on the air and helping to create a positive atmosphere for the effort.

### **The End of *Gay Fairfax***

Even as the program earned greater recognition and became more polished it began to come apart. In this period, staff explored new ventures, some of which took off

and formed their own identities. In the fall of 1993, *Gay Fairfax* went dark. A new program, *Gay Spectrum*, aired in its time slot.<sup>60</sup>

*Gay Fairfax* from the outset was conceived as part of the outreach effort of the Fairfax Lesbian and Gay Citizens Association. Forbes was quite explicit that he built the program on an organizing model. He believed one word – empowerment – lay at the heart of the program.<sup>61</sup> The program attracted new volunteers. The program grew. Volunteers developed their talents behind the cameras, on the set and in the editing room. As the program grew, people joined the program team because of their interest in the program, not necessarily because of interest in FLGCA and its Fairfax-centered mission.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, in late 1992 the by now customary sponsor announcement for FLGCA was changed to urge viewers to join the organization no matter where they lived.<sup>63</sup> In 1993, in an interview, the editor of “Prism”, the organization’s newsletter, made the point that the newsletter was regional and national in scope.<sup>64</sup>

Nonetheless, the two entities were grew apart. Claypoole, who worked on *Gay Fairfax* in its last year, said there was an increasing tension between the program staff and FLGCA. A number of the volunteers, including Claypoole and Steve Futch, envisioned a regional reach for the program. They wanted a program that would be on all the cable outlets in the area and would cover the whole range of the community. FLGCA’s sponsorship, which had made the program possible in the first place, was becoming an obstacle. It controlled the budget for the program and was unwilling to seek outside sponsorship.<sup>65</sup>

FLGCA acted as a reluctant sponsor, unwilling to let go, but equally reluctant to allow the program to grow. These tensions had been present for some time, even during

the later part of Forbes' tenure. According to Forbes, some FLGCA members saw the program as a drain on its funds, while he believed that it was a way to build the organization and a "perfect way" to use the funds. Forbes observed that the Fairfax Lesbian and Gay Citizens Association did not long survive the demise of its TV program.<sup>66</sup>

Two issues seemed to drive the split: sponsorship and content. Sponsorship by additional entities around the region would ease the budgetary issues and allow the program to go truly regional. Futch actively worked to find a new sponsor, although it is not clear that he intended this as a replacement for FLGCA. He approached Deacon Maccubbin, proprietor of Lambda Rising in Washington, who agreed.<sup>67</sup>

Claypoole raised the content issue. He worked on the remote camera crew during the 1993 Pride celebration. Three remote cameras covered the crowd and the stage acts. During drag and leather acts, the producers in the van, members of FLGCA, stopped recording because they were not going to air them on the show. Claypoole felt that this editorial judgment was a disservice to the community. In his view, while FLGCA was trying to build support for gay and lesbian issues they were censoring what the community saw.<sup>68</sup>

Over the course of its life, *Gay Fairfax* had made its mark. Joe Liberatore said that when he was newly arrived in Washington, he watched it every week on DC Cable. "It told you what to do, and who was who, and where to go."<sup>69</sup> The show introduced local gay and lesbian organizations to a wider audience and allowed these organizations

to explain their purpose, their interests and their needs. It allowed individuals from these organizations to speak for themselves. It provided contact information.

*Gay Fairfax* covered political issues as well, including reports on liquor laws, hate crimes legislation, human rights ordinances, gays in the military, gay marriage, family life education and employment discrimination. By covering black-tie events such as the Human Rights Campaign Fund or the Gertrude Stein Democratic Club dinners or national conferences, the producers gave their audience a chance to sample speeches by prominent national figures. Recording these events also allows us to see changes in these organizations. It was striking to watch as the crowd at the Human Rights Campaign dinner in 1992 cheered wildly as Geraldine Ferraro said she was running against Senator D'Amato<sup>70</sup> and to realize that just six years later that same organization endorsed Senator D'Amato's re-election.

The program provides valuable insight into the mindset of the gay community at a time of great optimism. It is striking to see the sense of possibility with regard to controversial issues. Regarding gays in the military, the features, while depicting the individual struggles of gay servicemen, convey a sense that the ban on gay men and lesbians serving in the military is bound to end soon, within a matter of a few years. Similarly, gay marriage seemed to be just over the horizon.

Finally, watching these programs over the course of several weeks rather than week by week as they aired, the technical development of the show is striking. In a relatively short period of time the production values improved. There were more segments produced outside the studio, the set was upgraded, new people joined the on air

talent. By the time the 100<sup>th</sup> show aired in 1993, the look and feel of *Gay Fairfax* had changed markedly. The stage was set for a new show with a new look.

### ***Gay Spectrum***

The split between FLGCA and the TV show became final in the fall of 1993 with the first show of *Gay Spectrum*, produced by Six Plus One Productions, with Steve Futch as Executive Producer and Lambda Rising as a sponsor, and shown on Channel 10. Many of the volunteer staff from *Gay Fairfax* carried over.<sup>71</sup>

The difference between the two shows was clear from the outset. The first *Gay Spectrum* was preceded by the following message:

“The following program contains material produced for adult audiences. Viewer discretion is advised.”

Hosts Eric Randall and Angela Judy introduced the show by explaining that this was a new show whose intent was to reflect the diversity of the community and to reach beyond Fairfax County. Rather cryptically, Randall said that the need for change happened sooner than expected, and Judy added that the same production team was at work but it was not the same show. Finally, Judy expressed the hope that the show’s viewers would become active participants in their community. The opening credits followed rolled over new footage including a drag performer, shots of Jesse Jackson, Jim Graham, Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelley, a banner from the Third Gay and Lesbian Black Pride Celebration, among others.

The changes kept coming. The first feature was an interview with Daryl Grant of the Dignity Defenders, a local leather/levis organization affiliated with Dignity. The interviewer, Joanne Skilling, and Grant engaged in a lively discussion of the leather community, its role in fundraising for gay and lesbian local charities, the Mr. Bacchus contest and the Rites of Spring Festival. Grant was dressed in jeans, tee shirt and a leather vest. Skilling was dressed in a white polo shirt, chinos and white socks, a departure from the less emblematic dress of *Gay Fairfax*'s women hosts. A new look had arrived on the set of Channel 10.

The second segment came from the stage of DC Pride and this too was much different than previous Pride segments. For one thing, it featured San Francisco school board member Tom Ammiano's politically barbed comic introductions. And among the stage performances was the drag act, Onyx.

In the closing credits another new feature appeared: "Floral Arrangement Provided by Reed's Flower Shop", and the credits closed with a graphic for Lambda Rising accompanied by the voice-over "Made possible in part by".<sup>72</sup>

*Spectrum*'s third show was devoted to highlights of the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation. Host Eric Randall abandoned the host's desk and narrated from a backstage set while viewing a video monitor. Just as *Gay Fairfax*'s production team strove to find new ways to present the show, to avoid talking heads,<sup>73</sup> so too did the new program's team. A feature on the planning for 1995 Pride was filmed at the new site of Pride, Freedom Plaza on Pennsylvania Avenue, months before the actual event.<sup>74</sup>

Although comparison between the content of the two shows is difficult given the fact that there are not complete runs of either show, it does appear that *Gay Spectrum* gave greater prominence to AIDS and AIDS-related events. The show on the 1993 AIDS walk not only showed excerpts from Tipper Gore's speech, but included an interview with Mrs. Gore in the pouring rain. It made for an effective visual. A number of shows featured AIDS Action Council and its Foundation's annual award show. The interview with Nell Carter in 1994 was particularly funny and moving.<sup>75</sup>

The 1993 program that carried the interview with Tipper Gore paired it with an interview segment with Mame Dennis, president of The Washington Academy, one of the area's premier drag organizations. It also included footage from that year's Miss Gay America pageant, another first.<sup>76</sup>

The show's producers had to walk a fine line with the management of FCAC. The Corporation's program director previewed *Gay Spectrum*, although she did not preview other shows, even though *Spectrum* aired in a 10:00 pm slot. Claybrooke said that they had to be careful around the sexual side of things in the community and that it was unfortunate because he felt they missed an opportunity to do a better job in dealing with some of the health issues.<sup>77</sup> Nonetheless, *Gay Spectrum* did air public service spots from America Responds to AIDS, including those for condoms.

In 1996, *Spectrum* returned to a monthly format. Eric Randall left the show to move to New York. Steve Futch, the original executive producer, also left. Michael Claypoole took over. By this time, many of the people who worked on the program had been involved for several years, starting out on *Gay Fairfax*.

Returning to a monthly show brought with it problems. There was often a gap between the time a feature was shot and the show on which it aired. It was difficult to keep the show fresh. Claypoole also said that volunteer interest was beginning to flag. The 1993 March had been a high point for those involved in both shows and interest in gay issues was high. *Spectrum* rode that wave for two years, but ultimately the interest and enthusiasm dissipated. Claypoole, who was executive producer, said it was difficult to decide to close the show, but it had achieved a great deal, as had its predecessor.<sup>78</sup>

The last show, in the summer of 1996, opened with a reprise of the opening credits of the very first *Gay Fairfax* show back in 1990, which host Bob Connelly described as “our very first show, then known as *Gay Fairfax*, almost six years ago.” Michelle Michaels, a host on that first show, returned with an interview segment. Bob Connelly and Melissa Anderson closed the show with a dialogue that honored the pioneers of the show and the richness and diversity of the community. They noted that people’s interest had shifted to other shows and other mediums, but there was still a commitment to the community. When the final credits rolled, the names of all those who had worked on *Gay Fairfax* and *Gay Spectrum* were projected over clips from both shows. Over 100 names rolled.<sup>79</sup>

## **Other Shows**

There were indeed other shows, one of which began shortly after *Gay Fairfax* went on the air. *The Third Side* was produced by Larry Kennedy, Kevin Kerdash and David Vanderbilt, who left *Gay Fairfax* after two shows. The on air hosts were Michelle

Michaels and John Moore. The hour show was produced for DC's public access channel. Six one hour shows ran from January through June 1991 and were picked up by a number of other public access channels across the country. The program encountered two obstacles. First, Washington was at this time largely an uncabled community a fact noted by Forbes<sup>80</sup>. In addition, the show's producers found it difficult to get volunteers to work on the program.<sup>81</sup> This was in contrast to the Fairfax program whose producers spent a great deal of effort developing a cadre of volunteer staff, reflecting Forbes organizing vision.

[www.rainbowhistory.org](http://www.rainbowhistory.org)

*One in Ten People* was the next to emerge and was produced at Channel 10 in Fairfax. From its inception it was conceived as a national program, focused on "personalities, lifestyles, and arts & entertainment of interest to the gay community."<sup>82</sup> Karen Pearson Brown, an original crew member of *Gay Fairfax*, produced the hour-long show for two years. *One in Ten People* focused less on community events and news. Forbes described it as "glitzy."<sup>83</sup> It was more of an entertainment program, according to Joe Liberatore, who joined the program as the host of the second show. He continued until Brown "pulled the plug" after twenty-four programs in 1995. The show was picked up by various cable stations across the country and won numerous awards.<sup>84</sup>

Like *One in Ten People*, *Inside/Outside the Beltway* ran contemporaneously with *Gay Fairfax* and *Gay Spectrum* and was produced on location around Washington and in FCAC's Channel 10 studios. The difference was that *Inside/Outside the Beltway* was a soap opera. It began production in April 1992 and was first shown in September. News Channel 8, the local cable news channel, reported on the show's premiere.<sup>85</sup> *Gay Fairfax* excerpted a number of episodes and *Gay Spectrum* reported on the second season

premiere.<sup>86</sup> The soap ran for five years and 32 episodes and won many awards. The cast and production list contains many of the same names that appear in credits for *Gay Fairfax*, *Gay Spectrum*, *One in Ten People*, and *The Third Side*. Rob Wilson, a producer for *Gay Fairfax* produced early shows of *Inside/Outside*. Pearson Brown was involved and Michelle Michaels had an onscreen role. Dennis Brooks and Jack Ellison, the creator/writers of the show, tried unsuccessfully to interest major cable networks, including Showtime and HBO, in the program. The show closed in 1997.

*Gay News Network* was the last of the run of shows to emerge. Joe Liberatore, one of two hosts on *One in Ten People*, decided to start a new program once Brown ended her program. Neither he nor others involved with *One in Ten* had any idea that the twenty-fourth show was to be the last, according to Liberatore. Within three months, work started on a new show. He launched *GNN* as a quarterly show late in 1995, with the help of many of those who had been mainstays of earlier shows. These people “were like heirlooms, passed from show to show.”<sup>87</sup> But it was not only the people Liberatore inherited. He bought all the footage from *One in Ten*.<sup>88</sup> He wanted footage from any available source as file material to fill in segments so that he did not have to rely solely on talking heads.<sup>89</sup>

The show ran for ten years before Liberatore decided it was time to end. In that period it aired on fifty stations across the country, carried by a network of friends who were interested in the program. In that ten year period, thirty editions of *GNN* aired. Liberatore faced the problem of how to keep the program relevant given the long lead time between an event and the report. His solution was to develop an angle on the story that would explain the background or look into the effect or outcome of the event so that

the report would not be dated by the time a viewer saw the report. In an effort to keep some local focus, he originally included a segment on local events, which he eventually spun off as a separate show, called *Gay Agenda* and that aired on alternate weeks.

Although many of the same people were engaged in *GNN*, it was a very different show from *Gay Fairfax* in one important aspect. “*Gay News Network* is NOT supported by a community organization or a business but by members of its own support organization.”<sup>90</sup> In fact, Liberatore largely supported the program himself, describing it as a hobby, and a financial loss. “It was my money, to please me.”<sup>91</sup> He made the editorial decisions. When he vacationed abroad he filmed local stories, which is part of the way he was able to achieve international coverage. Liberatore was very conscious of the look of his program. He imposed a very strict code of how his on camera talent should look and act. They had to be attractive, and no jewelry. He was “not going to have a drag queen reading the news.”<sup>92</sup>

### ***Gay Fairfax Beyond Fairfax County***

What began in September 1989 with a proposal from the Fairfax Lesbian and Gay Citizens Association finally came to an end in 2004 when the lights went dark on the set of *Gay News Network*. It had been a long run of shows with a surprisingly long-lived cast of people producing a variety of shows.

Liberatore described the progression: *Gay Fairfax* started out as a monthly then went to a weekly show with a local focus. *Gay Spectrum* started as a weekly, then went monthly, with improved production values and a more regional focus. *One in Ten* went

national, was monthly, and greatly improved production values. Finally, *Gay News Network* launched as a quarterly and, according to Liberatore, had an even better look. From Forbes's perspective as an organizer, successive incarnations and spin-offs moved further and further from his ideal, the ideal expressed in the original proposal, of a program that was an integral expression of the interest of the Fairfax lesbian and gay community.<sup>93</sup>

A number of questions arise from this experience in community and media.

Who actually saw these shows? What was the audience? Cable viewership is notoriously difficult to gauge. Public access even more so. Claypoole related a story that he had bought 100 laminated AIDS ribbon stamps when the US Postal Service issued the AIDS ribbon stamp. *Gay Spectrum* offered the laminated version to anyone who wrote requesting it. That might be a way to gauge its viewership. They had two requests.<sup>94</sup>

When asked about the number of people who saw *Gay Fairfax*, Forbes replied "I don't care." What was important, he said, was that the program was available, that it was part of Channel 10's program line-up. It represented the empowerment of people to know that they could take a camera, shed light on an issue and then have it shown on TV. For Forbes, it was the process rather than the number of people who saw the program. After all, he concluded, when Channel 10 mailed out its program guide, everyone could see that *Gay Fairfax* was there.

Is there still a role for locally produced and aired shows such as *Gay Fairfax* and *Gay Spectrum*? As *Gay Spectrum* wound down, Michael Claypoole explored the idea of producing a program focused more on AIDS, a sort of HIV/TV. He had established good

working relationships with Whitman Walker, and in fact had produced the AIDS Walk public service announcements before Channel 4 did so, with Jay Fiset of Whitman Walker's Northern Virginia program, and with AIDS Action Council and its Executive Director, Daniel Bross. However, the concept did not materialize. As Claypoole noted, today people have a much greater expectation of any focused show. Logo and *Noah's Ark*, for instance, set a high standard. And there are so many other ways to provide information to the community, especially with the internet.<sup>95</sup>

Was the result worth the effort? Forbes, Claypoole and Liberatore have no doubt that it was. Claypoole said "if you can help one person, it's worthwhile." At the end of its run, he told *Gay Spectrum's* crew that they should "be very proud of what you have done here." Forbes noted that *Gay Fairfax* established a presence for the community in Fairfax which was important. Just by being on, people can see the community and can also see that the community is watching what is happening in the larger Fairfax community.

At the end of the day, despite the hundreds of people who worked on these shows, it comes down to a small group who focused the creative energy and shaped the image of these varied shows: Barry Forbes, Rob Wilson, Michelle Michaels, Pearson Brown, William Horten, Larry Kennedy, Kevin Kerdash, David Vanderbilt, Michael Claypoole, Steve Futch, Joe Liberatore. They created something new and important in the Washington area LGBT community.

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<sup>1</sup> Phylis A. Johnson and Michael C. Keith: *Queer Airwaves – The Story of Gay and Lesbian Broadcasting*. Armonk, M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2001. p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> U.S. House of Representatives, 98<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, Committee on Energy and Commerce, "Cable Franchise Policy and Communications Act of 1984", H. Rep. 98-934, p. 19. The author appreciates the assistance of Steve Vest of the National Cable Telecommunications Association who provided background information on the 1984 Cable Act.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Fairfax Lesbian and Gay Citizens Association: “Gay Fairfax – Sharing News, Views and Pride with Fairfax Lesbians, Gay Men and Their Friends”, 29 September 1989, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Interview with Bart Forbes, 9/30/2006.

<sup>7</sup> FLGCA: “Gay Fairfax”, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. and Forbes Interview.

<sup>10</sup> FLGCA: FLGCA Newsletter, October 1989, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Forbes Interview.

<sup>12</sup> Bill Horten: “Gay Fairfax: A History” at [www.gayfairfax.org](http://www.gayfairfax.org) p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Forbes Interview.

<sup>14</sup> Horten: “Gay Fairfax”, p. 1 and Forbes Interview.

<sup>15</sup> Brooke A. Masters: “Cable Show on Gays Set in Fairfax”, *The Washington Post*, April 24, 1990, p. B1. This and subsequent newspaper clippings were provided by Bart Forbes.

<sup>16</sup> Kevin Bushweller: “Gay Cable TV Show Prompts Boycott Talk”, *The Fairfax Journal*, April 25 1990, p. A1.

<sup>17</sup> “Tuning In”. *The Fairfax Journal*, April 25, 1990, p. A12.

<sup>18</sup> Masters: “Cable Show” p. B1.

<sup>19</sup> *USA Today*, May 7, 1990. p. 6A.

<sup>20</sup> News segments included on DVD Program 1. The available programs have been transferred to a series of DVDs and have been provided to The Rainbow History Project by Bart Forbes and Michael Claypoole. Program citations that follow will refer to the program number, since recording and airing dates were not always available.

<sup>21</sup> Horten: “Gay Fairfax” p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Jennifer Spevacek: “TV Channel Introduces Gay Show”, *The Washington Times*, May 8, 1990, p. B2.

<sup>23</sup> “Gay Show Reactions Positive”, *The Fairfax Journal*, May 11, 1990, p. A4.

<sup>24</sup> John Zeh: “Fundamentalists in N. Virginia Up In Arms Over Local Gay/Lesbian Group’s Cable TV Show”, *TWN*, Florida, June 6, 1990, p. 10; “Cable Programs Attached in Virginia”, *Wisconsin Light*, June 29/July 11, 1990, p.10; “Gay Fairfax TV”, *In Step* (Baltimore/Washington) June 15, 1990.

<sup>25</sup> Forbes Interview. Forbes was actively involved with NGLTF and many of its activities.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Horten: “Gay Fairfax” p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Forbes Interview.

<sup>30</sup> Issues of “Bumper” from February 1990 to September 1991 are available at [www.gayfairfax.org](http://www.gayfairfax.org)

<sup>31</sup> Program 14, March 1991.

<sup>32</sup> Program 7.

<sup>33</sup> Program 25, May 21, 1991.

<sup>34</sup> Program 45, December 12, 1991.

<sup>35</sup> Program 93A.

<sup>36</sup> Forbes Interview

<sup>37</sup> Program 24, May 4, 1991.

<sup>38</sup> Program 30, June 18, 1991.

<sup>39</sup> Program 18, April 1991.

<sup>40</sup> Program 20, April 16, 1991.

<sup>41</sup> Program 17, March 1991.

<sup>42</sup> Forbes Interview.

<sup>43</sup> Program 92D, June 1992.

<sup>44</sup> The one exception among the shows available came in Program 12 in February 1991 with an interview with Leatherella O. Parsons, who appeared representing the International Association of Gay/Lesbian Pride Co-ordinators.

<sup>45</sup> Masters: “Cable Show”, p. B7.

<sup>46</sup> Forbes Interview.

<sup>47</sup> Email from Bart Forbes to author, 10/24/2006.

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- <sup>48</sup> “Public Access Under Attack: Your Vote Needed for Board of Directors”, “Bumper”, September, 1990, p.1.
- <sup>49</sup> “Barry Forbes Elected to FCAC Board of Directors!”, “Bumper”, October 1990, p. 1.
- <sup>50</sup> Forbes Interview.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>52</sup> “FCAC Annual Meeting (and Victory Party)”, “Bumper”, September, 1991, p. 2.
- <sup>53</sup> Horten, “*Gay Fairfax*”, p. 5.
- <sup>54</sup> From crew schedules published in “Bumper”, December, 1990, March 1991, September 1991. “Bumper” also published schedules of FCAC course offerings so that the crew could be certified in new skills.
- <sup>55</sup> Interview with Joe Liberatore, 10/12/06.
- <sup>56</sup> Interview with Michael Claypoole, 9/12/06.
- <sup>57</sup> Horten: “*Gay Fairfax*”, p. 6.
- <sup>58</sup> Program 93A.
- <sup>59</sup> Program 93B.
- <sup>60</sup> Horten: “*Gay Fairfax*”, p. 8, and Claypoole Interview.
- <sup>61</sup> Forbes Interview.
- <sup>62</sup> Forbes Interview and Claypoole Interview.
- <sup>63</sup> Program 92E.
- <sup>64</sup> Program 93A.
- <sup>65</sup> Claypoole Interview and Horten: “*Gay Fairfax*”, p.8.
- <sup>66</sup> Forbes Interview. Equality Fairfax has taken its place.
- <sup>67</sup> Horten: “*Gay Fairfax*”, p. 8 and Claypoole Interview.
- <sup>68</sup> Claypoole Interview.
- <sup>69</sup> Interview with Joe Liberatore, 10/12/06.
- <sup>70</sup> Program 44, 10/9/91.
- <sup>71</sup> Horten: “*Gay Fairfax*”, P. 8, and Claypoole Interview, and Bill Horten: “GFX Spinoffs”, p. 7.
- <sup>72</sup> *Gay Spectrum*, Disc A, Show 1, 1993. The collection of *Gay Spectrum* donated to The Rainbow History Project consists of six DVDs and each is labeled by number on the disc, not consecutively across the discs. There is no specific air date on the discs.
- <sup>73</sup> Forbes Interview.
- <sup>74</sup> Disc F, Show 1, 1996.
- <sup>75</sup> Disc C, Show 3, 1993; Disc E, Show 1, 1994.
- <sup>76</sup> Disc C, Show 1. 1993
- <sup>77</sup> Claypoole interview.
- <sup>78</sup> Claypoole interview and Horten: “GFX Spinoffs”, p. 7.
- <sup>79</sup> Disc F, Show 3, 1996.
- <sup>80</sup> Forbes Interview.
- <sup>81</sup> Horten: “*GFX Spinoffs*”, p.1.
- <sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 4.
- <sup>83</sup> Forbes Interview.
- <sup>84</sup> Liberatore Interview, Claypoole Interview and Horten: “*GFX Spinoffs*”, p. 4.
- <sup>85</sup> News Channel 8, September 29, 1992. Segment included in *Gay Fairfax* collection of 1992 shows.
- <sup>86</sup> Disc C, Show 1, 1993.
- <sup>87</sup> Liberatore Interview.
- <sup>88</sup> Johnson and Keith: *Queer Airwaves*, p. 192.
- <sup>89</sup> Liberatore Interview.
- <sup>90</sup> Horten: “GFX Spinoffs”, p. 9.
- <sup>91</sup> Liberatore Interview.
- <sup>92</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>93</sup> Liberatore and Forbes Interviews.
- <sup>94</sup> Claypoole Interview.
- <sup>95</sup> Ibid.