

## Not Gay Enough So You'd Notice: Poaching Fuffy

Jennifer DeRoss

When *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1997-2003) came out, it immediately resonated with a wide population of viewers, and a new fandom was born. As the series progressed, different “factions” arose within fandom; one such faction became based around the idea that Buffy had had a lesbian relationship of some kind with fellow Slayer Faith Lehane, making them both bisexual characters. These fans came to identify themselves with the “ship” name associated with the theory: Fuffy. This paper will explore the reading methods used by Fuffy fans. Through the application of active reading methods to both the television show and the canonical comic series, fans have produced evidence that shows us how their previous queering of Buffy influenced the way in which Buffy’s sexual relationship with another Slayer in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer: Season Eight* (2007-2011) would later be understood. Nevertheless, a majority of fans, writers, and critics continue to address only the moments where Buffy is described as straight, while ignoring the moments of lesbian attraction that complicate this reading. This omission is crucial to recognize because it places Buffy within a heteronormative system that is not indicative of the character as a whole, and thereby limits the stories that can be explored with her. Unfortunately, this bi-erasure is replicated across the Buffyverse. Thus, Fuffy fans are forced to search for queered

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meanings in a text that disavows them, embedded in a mass culture industry that systematically denies realistic and diverse representation. The fan practice of queering *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* through poached evidence reveals unintended yet valid possibilities for the story-world and opens up conversations that lead to a wider understanding of sexuality in the television show itself, the persons consuming it, and even the culture from which it has sprung.

In “Textual Poachers,” Henry Jenkins analyzes the way in which fans interact with their chosen media through active reading strategies, which includes the creation of fan works; Fuffy fans use active reading methods in order to find the evidence that supports their understanding of the relationship between the two Slayers, including strategies that are commonly known as “poaching” and “queering.” While not all of the Fuffy fans produce fan works, many early fans did spend time hunting for evidence of the relationship and posting it online, thus creating a queer narrative that supplemented and even supplanted the one the wider audience had access to. In fact, this lesbian subtext is still being documented and shared, with one of the most thorough current examples being Passion of the Nerd’s Buffy Guides with his “Lesbian Subtext Bell” used to signal viewers of his videos when this subtext appears (“Buffy Episode Guide”). The primary lens Jenkins uses to talk about this type of active reading is Michel de Certeau’s concept of “poaching,” which highlights the sometimes quarrelsome relationship between fans and the producers of the text they love as they each struggle for control over the text and the meanings therein.

### **Queering Buffy**

The fact that Fuffy is a queered reading places this type of poaching within a specific paradigm. In “Queer Television Studies: Currents, Flows, and (Main)streams,” Lynne Joyrich explains how television is an example of the mainstream as it is produced for mass consumption. As such, the categorization of sexuality is typically simplified and organized into four fixed groupings including gay, straight, bisexual, or asexual. In contrast to this, queer studies challenges these norms and offers a means

of resistance similar to those that Jenkins describes (Joyrich 133). According to Jenkins, fan poaching is interesting precisely because of the way that “the ambiguities of popularly produced meanings mirror fault lines within the dominant ideology, as popular readers attempt to build their culture within the gaps and margins of commercially circulating texts” (31). One type of fault line is the queering that Joyrich outlines, as fans look for examples of personally recognizable storylines that reflect their own identities within texts that circulate for mainstream audiences. This fault line is made visible through the combining of television studies and queer studies, which she describes as “[b]oth framing and displacing a television logic as it attempts to take queer viewers, texts and issues into account even as it aims to undermine TV’s usual accounting” (133). In other words, combining these two fields makes breaking down both what is and is not on the screen possible through the use of active reading. It should be emphasized that the texts that these fans poach do contain enough evidence to inspire this reading method; however, there is a hierarchy drawn out in this approach as the producers of the mainstream are often seen as being in the “right” and the fans who use these methods are often seen as in the “wrong.” That being said, Jenkins also recognizes the power that Certeau ascribes to these fans in that they can be vocal enough to make an impact on the authorized meaning of the source text. This is certainly the case for the Buffy fandom, where the ship is well known enough to have drawn the attention of the producers of the text, and even to have influenced later productions. That said, the producers’ engagement with the Buffy fans’ insistence that Buffy is bisexual remains subtextual, and most fans still reject any notion of a relationship between the two Slayers.

The poached evidence used to support the subtextual lesbian relationship between Buffy and Faith is sufficient for many, however, and the evidence used to prove their perspective provides a basis for our understanding of the fandom and Buffy’s later lesbian interactions. In the early seasons of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, there was already a sprinkling of gay foreshadowing around the Scoobies, but Buffy seemed to be fixed in her sexuality, as many episodes revolved around her heterosexual relationship with Angel. All that changed once another Slayer named Faith appeared. Faith makes her first appearance in the third episode of Sea-

son Three titled “Faith, Hope & Trick.” Setting the stage, we are first introduced to Faith while she takes down a vampire outside of the Bronze using Buffy’s stake. Faith fills a figuratively masculine role by taking the phallic stake out of Buffy’s hands, while Buffy stands by and watches. Shortly after, Faith asks Buffy, “Isn’t it crazy how slayin’ always makes you hungry and horny?” (“Faith, Hope & Trick” 00:28:40-43). Buffy responds with a comment about sometimes craving a non-fat yogurt and her friends lose interest, permitting her to avoid responding to the second half of the question. Yet after they kill the vampire Kakistos near the end of the episode, still panting from the emotional fight, Buffy looks over and asks Faith, “You hungry?” while Faith licks her lips. Faith nods and replies, “Starved” (00:38:31-33). This hints at the possibility that both of the girls were craving more than a yogurt. Immediately, Faith was somebody who could understand Buffy in a way that even she was not yet aware of, and Faith takes on her guiding role with relish. This culminates in the fourteenth episode of the third season, titled “Bad Girls,” wherein Buffy begins to even dress like Faith, who describes slaying as “sweating nightly side by side action” while rubbing her body suggestively and looking Buffy up and down near the start of the episode (00:00:36-37). By the midway point, they are dancing provocatively while holding hands with each other after taking down a nest of vampires, giving the viewer the implication of what could have happened if they were not interrupted (00:20:30-21:06). After this point, they begin to separate, as Faith goes down a much darker path—but they retain their bond, and Buffy’s prophetic dreams often include her. While these moments made the bisexual identity of the two women obvious to the Buffy fans, it continues to be somewhat contentious in mainstream fandom; regardless, Buffy remains a vocal group.

Because they are so vocal, Buffy is a widely known ship that the producers of the text do engage with. When *Buffy the Vampire Slayer: Season Eight* came out, a canonical comic book series that is intended as the “official” continuation of the television show, the second volume included moments where the producers of the text seemed to confirm the lesbian subtext between the two Slayers. Titled “No Future For You,” even the cover spoke of the connection between them. It featured the two women back to back with their hair intermingled to the point that

there are parts where it is hard to tell whose hair is whose. Inside, as a way of reintroducing their relationship for the readers of the series, there is a rendition of their most intense fight scene from the twenty-first episode of Season Three, titled “Graduation Day: Part 1.” This sexually charged fight starts off with a conversation about how alike Faith believed the two Slayers to be with the qualifier that Buffy is just “holding it in,” and it ends with Faith telling Buffy to “Give us a kiss” before Buffy punches her (00:37:25-38:18). The fight emphasizes their connection, going as far as to include scenes where they are handcuffed together (00:39:50-42:08). Right before Buffy stabs Faith with her own knife, which Buffy had previously seized, Faith even references the intimacy of the fight when she remarks: “Man, I’m going to miss this” (00:42:22-25). Even though this is a fight in which Buffy would accept Faith’s death at her hands, the way that Faith narrates these panels depicting the fight makes it sound as if it is closer to a break-up; therefore, the queer subtext originally recognized by Buffy fans is replicated in the main text. Panel by panel, or step by step, she describes what happened between the two of them from her perspective. She starts out describing meeting somebody whom you finally “dig” and with whom you share everything. Then, it all goes to “crap” and you both get hurt. Next, she explains that there might be a day when forgiveness could be achieved, but it will never be the way it was before. She ends by asserting that she is better off “solo,” and that she learned something from the relationship. Both the cover and this post-break-up-like rumination feel as if they are directed specifically to the fans that saw something more in the relationship between the two women and seem to confirm that this reading is now canon in the Buffyverse. Having said that, if one did not know to read the narration in this way, the meanings therein would be stripped of their queered context. This also leaves room for readers who disagree with Buffy as a ship to continue rejecting it. Regrettably, this engagement with the subtextual was cut quickly short when the producers of the text included a storyline in which Buffy has sex with another Slayer, while refusing to explicitly code Buffy as bisexual.

Season Eight contains many assertions that Buffy’s having sex with another woman does not make her queer; however, there are several moments that complicate this codification, and these are reinforced by

the poached evidence Buffy fans provide. Satsu identifies as a lesbian and she happens to fall in love with Buffy at a very opportune time. When the subject of Satsu's feelings is finally discussed, in the first issue of "Wolves at the Gate," Buffy admits to being flattered, but Satsu still asserts that Buffy is not gay. Buffy then responds with: "Not so you'd notice." The key here is that this is not a refusal. In fact, the implication is that she *is* gay; however, that gayness is not overtly noticeable. This type of contradictory information is seen again in the third issue when Willow warns Satsu that, "She's not like us," referring to Buffy ("Wolves at the Gate"). The word balloon for this is floating in a borderless illustration of Buffy. When a panel does not have a border it causes whatever is in that panel to bleed into the other panels and off the page, creating a sense of timelessness that is reinforced by Willow's word balloon floating outside of the panels that Willow is speaking in. This invites the reader to apply these words and this image in a broader sense that takes into account the ways in which these concepts are culturally reinforced in the real world. It asks us to identify "us," and compare that "us" to them. The "us" here is implied to be queer as both speakers are lesbians, which would mean that Buffy is placed in a position of straight; however, the image of Buffy counters this because she is looking more butch than normal. It invites the reader to ask what makes someone a part of that "us" or denies them that access. How gay does Buffy have to be before she is invited to be one of that "us?" How would one know once she met that noticeable level? The conversation ends after Satsu assures Willow that she hears her argument. Then, Willow asks Satsu what Buffy is like "in the sack" and quickly follows her question with: "Do you know how long I've wondered about this?" ("Wolves at the Gate"). This is a reminder of how Willow was one of the characters within the television show who seemed to see the subtext between Buffy and Faith, as there were several moments where Willow was shown as jealous of Faith and Buffy's relationship. Additionally, the fact that she would wonder about this for any sustained period of time implies that she presumed it would happen eventually. This places her in the same position as the Buffy fans. A third example occurs when Satsu tells Buffy that: "I know you didn't just . . . turn gay all of a sudden . . ." and Buffy replies "Right." This can be seen as merely a reference to their prior conversa-

tion instead of a straight codification because her next thought was that the comment implied that she did not perform adequately. If she were truly straight, she would not care about how many “things” she did or how well she did them as being straight would imply that those are skills that she would not need “prep time” to develop. This disjunction between the text and the subtext may be frustrating for some, but a queered reading leaves room for her to be understood as both gay and straight.

As freeing as Buffy’s refusal to identify as bisexual might be for some, it can also be seen as yet another example of bi-erasure, which is a problem throughout the Buffyverse. While fixed representations of straightness and gayness are accepted, bisexuality is rendered non-existent by the Buffy narrative’s producers despite the fact that there are several characters within the Buffyverse that are coded as bisexual. This is something that Alex Liddell talks about at length in “Problematic Tropes of Bi Women in the Whedonverse.” Liddell focuses on the most prominent representations of specifically female bisexuality in the whole of the Whedonverse and the way in which it indicates a larger problem as mainstream media representations reinforce the negative stereotypes applied to these women. These stereotypes portray bisexuals as confused and sexually voracious at best or villainous at worst. An example of this can clearly be seen in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* when Willow’s evil alter ego in “Doppelgangland” is shown to be explicitly bisexual, yet Willow herself is only portrayed as gay regardless of her previous relationship with Oz. This is a widespread problem that is replicated throughout our mainstream media. Liddell states, “Bi-coding relies on viewers’ inferring a character’s sexuality through appearance, relationship histories, and stereotypical behavior, with the focus on signaling bisexuality above other orientations” (2). Put into practice, the evidence Buffy fans put forth codes both Buffy and Faith as bisexual because of their behavior and relationship with each other in both the comics and in the television show; however, Liddell makes the claim that Faith is coded as bisexual in general, while Buffy is coded as bisexual exclusively in the comics. As such, active reading methods, like the ones Henry Jenkins and Lynne Joyrich explore, become the only means of giving each of these characters the bisexuality the authorized meaning of the text denies them. In fact, it is

through the disjunction seen in the text and subtext surrounding Buffy that fans are still able to look between the cracks of the text and assert their own understanding of Buffy as a bisexual character across the Buffyverse regardless of the authorized meanings assigned to the statements made about Buffy's sexuality.

Ultimately, popular culture primarily reflects normative desires simply because of the number of consumers who identify with the normative mainstream, and this does influence the way in which moments, like Buffy's sleeping with another Slayer, can be understood. A current trend that reflects the tension between mainstream and marginalized consumers is the inclusion of heteroflexible storylines. It may be seen as a way of creating the space for characters to experience same-sex attraction without the perceived danger inherent in such actions; however, as H el ene Frohard-Dourlent and others assert,<sup>1</sup> this codification actually makes the categories of sexual orientation more rigid because it attempts to reaffirm that same-sex attraction is unnatural for the person experiencing it. Frohard-Dourlent states that the main issue with heteroflexibility is that it: "Naturalizes the social and cultural dominance of heterosexuality by depicting sexuality as solely a matter of individual desire and behavior" (723). Even the term itself emphasizes a focus on the heterosexual nature of the individual as any flexibility therein is modified by the prefix hetero thereby preventing any true flexibility from occurring. Frohard-Dourlent goes on to state, "Sexual orientation, it assumes, is what an individual is naturally inclined to do; it just so happens that most people are naturally inclined to be heterosexual" (723). That said, the evidence does not show Buffy as a clearly heterosexual character. In fact, it does not show her as being explicitly tied to any one category of sexual orientation; Buffy does not fit into this trend because she does not return to being straight. Instead of looking at Buffy's experiences as either making her gay or straight with negative and positive reactions attributed to each, she is shown as both gay and straight, which places her in a position of being both mainstream and oppositional. Furthermore, the fact that she is not firmly categorizable breaks these concepts down and legitimizes a more broad-reaching study of Buffy that includes the active reading practices used by fans along with the way we understand the

character as a cultural product. It is through Buffy's status as a queer cultural product that the character has the most transformative power.

### **Buffy as a Queer Cultural Product**

One of the first places that the Buffy shippers could be seen attempting to elucidate the queerness of Buffy was on a web forum named The Bronze. In "The Bronze Age: Buffy Meets the Internet," Anne Jamison notes that from 1993 to 1997, the rates of computers in homes rose from one in five to one in three. Many of the people using these computers were teens and young adults (131). This information is important to note because the debut of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* coincides with this time frame, as does its target audience. According to Jamison, the WB attempted to keep the growing viewership attached to the show by creating an official website named The Bronze where Buffy fans could interact with each other. Many creators of the show, from writers and actors to stunt coordinators and musicians, also began spending time on the site and sometimes even interacted with the fans. They would join conversations to explain or defend themselves, but they would also get on just for fun. This access to inside information encouraged the kind of close reading of many aspects of the show that may not have otherwise occurred within the fandom. The Bronze was a large and diverse community made up of like-minded individuals, thus enabling a wide range of topics to be discussed. The relationship that some of these fans saw between Buffy and Faith was discussed online frequently enough that it eventually came to the attention of Joss Whedon. In an interview for NPR, he rejected this reading, stating that there was no homoerotic tension between the two characters, and that people just like lesbians. Afterward, a poster directed him to her discussion board that examined moments in the show where fans saw this tension, and he was convinced. This caused him to make a statement quite different from the first. While the original discussion board post is no longer retrievable, there is a reference to it in the article "The Clothes Make the Fan: Fashion and Online Fandom when Buffy the Vampire Slayer Goes to eBay"

by Josh Stenger, who quotes Joss Whedon as responding to her poached evidence with:

Okay, so I guess I must apologize ... I just read the piece on Buffy and Faith ... and by God, I think she's right! I can't believe I never saw it! ... But then, I think that's part of the attraction of the Buffyverse. It lends itself to polymorphously perverse subtext. It encourages it. I personally find romance in every relationship ... I say B.Y.O. subtext! (36)

While this response does not make the reading canon, it does legitimize the action of queering Buffy and encourages fans to continue these types of active reading methods. Additionally, regardless of how intentional the subtext originally was, it was retroactively affirmed and validated in the minds of the Buffy fans. The sharing and discussing that prompted this eventual confirmation did not stop with the end of the show nor the end of *The Bronze*.

Until recently, one of the places where a majority of the Buffy fandom could still be easily studied was the fan site *Whedonesque*, where fans and producers would make announcements and post links to related content from all over the internet. It was through this related content that many conversations occurred in the comment section. In "When the Heterosexual Script goes Flexible: Public Reactions to Female Heteroflexibility in the Buffy the Vampire Slayer Comic Books," H  l  ne Frohard-Dourlent explores how Buffy's same-sex relationship with Satsu in Season Eight can be understood through these fan reactions on *Whedonesque*. She discusses both negative reactions, through a heterosexual recovery lens, and positive reactions, through a sex-blind ideology. The split can be described as some fans believing that Buffy returned to her previous heterosexual state after giving lesbianism a try, while other fans see Satsu's gender as not a factor in Buffy's attraction to her. It does not appear as if Frohard-Dourlent looked for the different reading practices the different factions of fans were using as she did not note them. Thus, she bases much of her understanding of the fan reactions on her belief that Buffy is "Heteroflexible." From her perspective, Buffy is a heterosexual character who has a brief sexual encounter with a

character of the same gender (719). Much of this reading comes from Joss Whedon's comment that Buffy is, "little more than an open-minded heterosexual woman to whom intimacy with another woman 'just happens'" according to Frohard-Dourlent (724). She does not explain that this was a reassurance to upset fans who thought he was going to write Buffy as gay from then on. At least some of the negative reactions were also from Fuffy fans, who saw these comments as ending the possibility of Buffy and Faith getting together more than in the previous issue where Faith asserts that she is better off "solo." There was even an online petition, which made use of the cover from "No Future For You," in response to Buffy's "sexual fling" in an attempt to push Joss Whedon into officially pairing Buffy with her: "One true soulmate (other than Angel) and that is Faith Lehane." Showing the type of evidence typically used by the fandom, the petitioner cites: "Eliza Dushku herself has acknowledged the evident want for a 'Fuffy' relationship and supports it and writer Douglas Petrie was well aware of the 'lesbian subtext' when writing" (Paolino). The petition never reached its goals, but it shows one way that the reading methods of these fans are used. It also highlights the fans' multifaceted marginalized positioning as, despite their growing influence, these fans are unlikely to get the kind of queer female-focused stories they want, in part because they run counter to the heteronormative patriarchal mainstream. Exemplifying this, even in the comics, the long-term relationship between Faith and Buffy is still relegated to the subtextual, and the short-term relationship Buffy has with Satsu is regularly dismissed.

Queer storylines have become increasingly mainstream, thanks to increased acceptance, causing problematic storylines to increase as well. Refusing the labels that mark the queerness within a more nuanced work can be a way of distancing the storyline therein from that damaging trend. This nuance in the Buffyverse, unfortunately, results from the fact that bisexuality is not made available to Buffy. Worse, because Buffy is seen as heterosexual by most of the characters in the Buffyverse, her time with Satsu is cast as temporary and the revelation of their sexual encounter elicits some strong biphobic responses. Even Buffy distances herself from her actions by calling her time with Satsu a "phase," which runs directly against her desire to be good at lesbian sex. However, it

must be stated that this comment can be seen as inauthentic because she says that Satsu was a phase in response to Xander's insulting refusal, which is based largely on his protestation that he is last on her list after "being gay" and comes from her feelings of desperation ("Twilight"). This is not the result of a rational introspection of her sexuality. Tellingly, most of the phobic responses in the comics come from the characters who are specifically coded as lesbian, and Lewis Call, in "Find What Warmth You Can": Queer Sexualities in *Buffy* Season Eight through Ten Comic Books," rightly reminds readers that this fear should be historicized in the identity-politics-based struggle of the late twentieth century as the LGBT community still uses these labels to fight for equal rights. Queer lifestyles have become more acceptable, though, and this has allowed the use of these labels to change. Buffy is representative of a newer trend to reject them. Call states, "Buffy herself stands as a symbol of this new queer politics, for she remains radically uncommitted to any sexual identity based on gender object of choice" (22). Buffy's sexuality is not dependent on the gender she is attracted to; as such, she is able to sidestep many of the problems inherent in the failed representation within the Buffyverse. Moreover, as a symbol of this shift away from labels, Buffy becomes a touchstone for questions about our labeling system and how it might lead us toward a more inclusive reality, turning a negative response into a positive reaction.

Even if it was done unintentionally, the Buffy and Satsu plot line shows both the struggle for and a potential for a more perfect queering inside the Buffyverse as well as outside of it. Essentially, this storyline could be seen as queering the very act of queering. Lynne Joyrich defines the verb queering as: "The process of playing, transforming, and making strange," whereas the noun form of queer is defined as: "Identifying people who are 'recognizably' LGBT" (135). In *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, we can find both the noun form, as the show does include gay-identifying characters, as well as the verb form, as the show provides many opportunities for queering when characters that are supposedly straight act in ways that would be considered not. Dropping the hetero-part of the heteroflexible codification that some producers, fans, and critics agree upon grants Buffy the ability to challenge the very nature of the fixed labels in the Buffyverse and in the mainstream as a whole. As

Call asserts: “Her queer sexuality allows Buffy to accomplish something truly impressive: it transforms the universe that bears her name into an inspirational model of an almost perfectly queer world” (22). Strictly speaking, it is through active reading methods like queering and poaching that Buffy is made queer; thus it is the sharing and discussing of the Fuffy ship that opens this possibility. By bringing this unlabeled sexual flexibility into the mainstream, fans can then imagine a world where wider breadth of sexual possibilities is a possibility for them too. This is why representation is so important. Seeing positive examples of characters like oneself in popular media can reinforce the idea that one’s selfhood is valid and positive as well. Additionally, these stories can change how we see others as well as producing a normalizing effect that helps prevent phobic responses and encourages acceptance both inside and outside of the Buffyverse.

In conclusion, the way in which Fuffy fans see the series of events that led to Buffy’s having sex with another Slayer has provided an opportunity to study the ways their active reading methods allow meaning-making to occur both inside and outside of the Buffyverse. Using *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* as an example of the mainstream, we can see how reading methods like those that Fuffy shippers use have the power to make producers, fans, and critics aware of the potential contradictions within the text and within the real world. These Fuffy fans are a marginalized group that has had many interactions with those involved in the production of their text, including Joss Whedon, who both acknowledged and validated their active reading strategies as far back as The Bronze era. In poaching the text for its queer subtext, these fans find several moments that undercut the straight or heteroflexible reading assigned to the character of Buffy, and the sharing of these poached meanings endorses further queer readings. These readings resulted in changes within the text itself, such as the more romantically-tinged way that the fight scene from “Graduation Day: Part 1” was rendered in “No Future For You.” The producers’ engagement with the known subtextual reading provided a sense of hope for these fans that remains unfulfilled even if there is enough evidence to assert Buffy’s queer sexuality through it. More importantly, the active reading methods used to find this coding reveal a more perfectly queer world that avoids some of the problems often seen

in examples of queer representation. This is not to say that it was handled perfectly. The bi-erasure and bi-phobia that remain so common in our culture are replicated in both texts; however, knowingly or not, the producers did offer an opportunity to explore sexuality in a way that does not fit neatly into a fixed category. Even though the reception to a multi-platform storyline like the one Fuffy fans have poached would be quite different now compared to when the show first came out, there remains a lot of work to be done. A person's sexuality is not always easily contained into categories, because it evolves and changes just like the person experiencing it. In a culture in which a queer person outside of a monogamous relationship can be seen as threatening to the society as a whole, a story in which the main character has a same-sex relationship where the primary intention was not a relationship is still bold. The more times readers/viewers see characters who make choices that reflect those made in their real life, the more normalized those choices become. This representational aspect is why there is so much capacity for transformation in *Buffy* as a queer cultural product. That is the potential in active reading methods such as poaching and queering: the original meanings can be rejected and then take on the meaning that the receiver understands. Being a long time Fuffy shipper myself, I can attest that, in a case like this, it is indeed powerful enough to say we noticed.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> While Em McAvan focuses on Willow's sexuality instead, "I Think I'm Kinda Gay': Willow Rosenberg and the Absent/Present Bisexual in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*" features a similar discussion related to some of the issues that surround expressions of bisexuality within a heterosexist economy of desire as is seen in the Buffyverse.

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