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Facebook Realness: Exploring Online Authenticity through Drag Queens and the infamous 'Real Name Policy'

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Early September 2014, Facebook profiles of popular drag queens on the West Coast were suspended for violating the rule of authenticity. Facebook profiles are designed to represent "real" people, and a battle began between corporate identity politics and the obnoxiously contradicting, subversive identities of drag performance. Drawing upon my own ethnographic work on drag performance and the social media of drag performers, I present this event as an opportunity to explore how drag queens bring their protest into cyberspace. Drag queens are disruptive cyborgs whose queer identity both on a digital and physical stage, questions what is truly authentic.

"Facebook is a community where people use their *authentic* identities," (Facebook 2014, emphasis added), reads the policy of today's most popular social networking service, boasting 2.01 billion monthly active users (Facebook 2017). Users are required to use legal names, avoiding any titles or nicknames. This is policed through an automated process using bots and algorithms that rely on user-submitted flags to distinguish which profiles do not fit the "real name" policy. In early September 2014, the Facebook profiles of popular drag queens in San Francisco were flagged and told to use "legal names," switch to fan pages reserved for public figures or face the deletion of their accounts (Temprano 2014). Sister Roma, a performer from San Francisco's Sisters

of Perpetual Indulgence, was one of the first to be flagged. She writes, "Really Facebook? You've become so homogenized and generic that you don't recognize some people CHOOSE their names and that's what makes them REAL. Fuck you very much" (Roma 2014, emphasis original). This apparent disconnect between Facebook policy and user intentions opens a dialogue on the increasingly complex idea of what it means to be authentic, both online as well as offline.

Realness, popularized by the film *Paris is Burning* (1990) and the series *RuPaul's Drag Race*, is a vernacular term used within the queer community to describe a drag performance that appears genuine. A performer dressed in a business suit is pursuing "executive realness," while similarly a performer dressed in cowboy boots and denim has "country realness." *Realness* can be academically defined as most similar to Baudrillard's hyperreal simulation, threatening "the difference between 'true' and 'false', between 'real' and 'imaginary'" (1988:168). To be *real* is to be unreal, a fictitiously perfect simulation of reality. Thus, Facebook *realness*, as I use it, refers to a hyperreal, produced online identity which acknowledges an understanding of authenticity and identity that is unique to drag and queer performance.

By using literature on drag performance to establish the unique situation of drag queens and their navigational experiences of identity, I implement the Facebook/drag queen scandal as a prime opportunity to deconstruct cultural and theoretical notions of authenticity in a digital landscape. I contend that just as drag queens expose gender and identity as a deliberate construction in their physical performance, this is continued in their pursuit of expanding drag to social media and the Internet. Drag performers embody an uncomfortable, unstable multiplicity that is beyond authenticity, giving us some identity *realness*.

First, I explore literature on drag queens to situate their performance within scholarship and elaborate on its meaning, followed by connecting physical drag to the digital world. I establish drag queens as adept navigators who expose the social constructions of identity in their contradictory existence. Second, I document my own experience of creating a drag Facebook account to illustrate the process and produce a reflexive narrative of being a drag performer online. Third, I present Facebook posts from drag queens to summarize the ways performers

utilize the social networking service while simultaneously disrupting the singularity of Facebook identity. Finally, I conclude the analysis by revisiting Facebook's "real name policy" and determining the ways drag queens expose the *realness* of identity and myths of singularity.

Digitizing Drag

Drag queens are most often defined as men who perform as women to an audience that is aware they identify as male (Rupp and Taylor 2003, Taylor and Rupp 2005). Typically, these performances occur at gay bars, pride events or gay pageants. Drag queens take advantage of the fact that gender is a performance (Butler 1990), a set of behaviors that are enacted in society through interactions. Individuals constantly "do gender" and engage in behaviors deemed appropriate through specific social interactions (West and Zimmerman 1987). Similarly, drag queens also "do" and "perform" gender through their use of makeup, mannerisms, dance and wigs. They remind audiences that gender is a creation, a set of rules enforced upon individuals to sort them into categories. Performers break these categories, as Schact and Underwood wrote, drag queens "put a paradoxical spin on the notion of 'to be or not to be' by demonstrating that 'being' need not be an either/or proposition and that there are actually multiple ways that gender can be performed and experienced" (2004: 4). Drag queens take advantage of doing, being and performing gender by presenting it on a stage for the sake of entertainment.

In their ethnography on drag queens in Key West, Florida, Rupp and Taylor extensively explored the lives of drag performers and the meanings behind their performances. They presented the queens as protestors who challenge "the naturalness of what it means to be a man or woman" (2003:5). However, the drag queens were also marginalized and made very little in financial compensation. The performers encountered prejudices from other gay men while also facing the judgment of their families. The drag queens exist within a complicated paradox of marginalized celebrity. This is echoed by Berkowitz, Belgrave and Halberstein (2007) in their analysis of drag queens' relationships with gay men. The authors identified drag queens as complicated public figures, having celebrity status yet facing segregation from the gay community.

While there is extensive research on the identity work of drag queens and their deconstruction of gender, there is seemingly miniscule literature on drag queens and their use of social media or the Internet. However, using Hegland and Nelson's research on cross-dressing bloggers, they asserted the Internet as "an entirely new social realm where the body is both transnational and transgendered" (2002:157). Similarly, Eve Shapiro's *Gender Circuits* (2010) establishes the relationship between gender and technology. Shapiro stressed that through digital technologies, traditional ideas of gender are simultaneously transgressed and enforced. The Internet acts as a space "that offers new opportunities to play with and sometimes adopt new identities" (Shapiro 2010:96). Online gender play is enabled through the possibility of anonymity and removal of repercussions. On the Internet, even on Facebook, an individual can change their gender with a simple click.

In his ethnography on the user community of Second Life, Tom Boellstorff (2008) claimed that online identity is no less real than physical identity. He established all realities as virtual, asserting that digital identities and interactions are no less real than those taking place in the physical world. It is within this pervasive virtual dimension that drag queens reside in their *realness*, and I rely upon this analysis of online vs. offline to bridge the gap between the digital and physical identities of drag queens. Drag queens are capable of fragmenting gender, and identity, both physically and digitally because both are virtual dimensions of reality. Just as Second Life can be viewed through anthropology, I focus on the users of Facebook as a social community who have legitimate identities, connections and experiences.

For this paper, I draw upon my ethnographic research on drag queens in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, which focuses on the body technologies of drag performers and their navigation of identity. I regularly attended drag performances at local bars, pageants and theme nights. I established contact with well over 40 performers, but focused primarily on those living and performing inside Baton Rouge. I interviewed performers and maintain contact through social interactions at the bar and online. Additionally, I began pursuing drag performance myself and began visiting the bars in drag. This background in analyzing drag performance has inspired and guided me to deconstruct drag queens

utilizing Facebook. The aliases of performers and locations in this paper are borrowed from my larger ethnographic work for continuity.

The main data for this paper are a record of Facebook posts from 33 profiles over a period of three months, of which a specific time was selected for no reason besides convenience and timing. However, these posts occurred prior to the Facebook/drag queen scandal. Each of these 33 profiles exists at some level of fluidity between the drag self and boy self: some having their drag and male name combined, others using simply the drag name or male name, but a majority having two separate Facebook profiles. However, I would argue that it is not possible to neatly sort these profiles into categories of "drag persona" and "male persona." There is always a bleeding through the two identities, as pictures of the performers in full drag would be tagged to their male profiles or they became tired of maintaining two accounts and began consolidating. This is further complicated by transwomen and genderfluid drag queens, who usually have a single profile that acts as a public and private persona under the same name.

Drag queens' Facebook profiles are too fractured and complex to be sorted into identity categories. Even using the terms "male/assigned name" and "drag name" are problematic, but still implemented for language simplicity. However, consideration of trans and genderqueer identities are also taken into account. The meaning of "drag queen" has surpassed a simple definition of men who perform as women. Therefore, a more open definition of "drag queen" and "drag performer" used in this research is an LGBTQ individual who performs femininities for entertainment or protest.

I created my own drag profile, "Hegemony Flowers" (or simply Gem), for two main reasons. First, because most drag performers created a drag profile and I needed to experience my own attempt at maintaining two profiles; and second, to keep the pictures of my cross-dressing and makeup attempts easily hidden from disapproving family members or acquaintances. Through my own personal desires, it can clearly be seen that keeping two profiles may have strategic advantages. Despite this, "Gem" and "Ray" still merged at certain points, as I became proud enough of my makeup to want even Ray's friends to see and posted a picture of myself in drag to my "male" profile. Looking beyond Facebook, my

gender play moved into other social media accounts as well. For example, I made an image of myself in drag my Twitter avatar.

The second set of data for this essay is the aforementioned Facebook/drag queen scandal presented in the opening paragraph. I had been interested in the ways drag queens were using Facebook and Internet long before the "real name policy," but I immediately recognized its relevancy and sought to incorporate it into this initial analysis. The Facebook/drag queen standoff, and the dialogue surrounding it, provides insightful commentary for exploring the ways drag queens may disrupt binaries in the digital world. It disrupted the security felt by many drag performers on Facebook, countering the presumption that the Internet allowed for gender freedom, and some transwomen performers were forced to reveal their legally given names to the public in fear their accounts would be compromised. The "real name policy" was a hard blow to many who were using Facebook to "be themselves" as the service suggested.

Welcome to Facebook

Documenting my own efforts of constructing and publishing a drag account showcases the process of creating and then filling a drag profile. This process is extremely similar, if not the exact same, for any user on Facebook who is creating a profile for any identity, whether deemed "Facebook authentic" or not. Because accounts are policed by algorithms and rely on user-submitted tags, I can create a drag Facebook and not face any immediate consequences.

Pulling up Facebook's homepage loads a familiar blue layout. Creating an account requires specific information: a first name, last name, email or mobile number, birthday and gender (See Figure 1). Of course, I first had to go through the process of creating an email for Gem, to establish her identity as an entity on the Internet and be deemed eligible for a Facebook account. When I created my drag account, in the midst of the "real name policy," I deliberately entered Hegemony Flowers, a creatively invented phrase, as my name. Facebook began allowing for over 50 options of gender identity for its U.S. users in February 2014 (Griggs 2014), but when I created a new account in October 2014, the initially prompted choices were still male or female (as seen in Figure 1). I selected female, since most drag performers seem to still prefer this option and

"drag queen" is not a Facebook approved gender. Keeping in the tradition of recognizing the first day you are dressed in drag, I recorded my first day out in drag as my birthday with the year of my actual birth.

Figure 1: Screen capture of Facebook's account creation

Next I am prompted to choose a cover photo, as Facebook suggests "a unique photo from your life." I look at the profiles of other drag queens, and they upload pictures of themselves in drag. I choose a photo that I am proud of, adjust it to fit the space and upload it. Then, I must select a profile picture – a thumbnail that appears with every post and comment. I select a picture from my first time in drag, when a local queen did my makeup and I feel I looked best. Now, according to Facebook, I must finish my profile by filling out my education and work history (Figure 2). I leave them blank. There is also the option to select that I have no education, which will then hide the education slot from my profile, presumably so that I am not embarrassed (while perhaps suggesting I *should* feel embarrassed).

Figure 2: Facebook's UI continually prompting me to fill out my profile

Still, I am not done in constructing my Facebook profile and identity. Most importantly, I must add friends. I begin with adding drag performers who I personally know and others I have only met briefly, and then personal friends who I know are especially interested in the progress of my drag. A few days after creation, I begin to receive friend requests from profiles who do not know me personally, or even live near me, but I accept them because I feel there is no room for harm (and a good drag queen would always welcome fans and potential tippers).

In this construction, I encountered Latour's morality-enforcing artifacts. Similar to how his car commands, "FASTEN YOUR SEAT BELT!" (1992: 225), I am confronted by the user interface of Facebook, a series of boxes, blanks and checkmarks heavily suggesting to not only input my information, but in a very specific way. "Your profile is not done!," Facebook repeatedly tells me. The words on my screen attempt to convince me that if I display more information about myself, I will have more friends, and therefore a more enjoyable Facebook experience. But Gem has not been to school, and she has not yet performed at a venue, so I have nothing to offer.

Just as Latour attempts to regain the "excluded middle" (1992: 225), drag queens protest against the morality of Facebook in their clever spinning of the "About Me" section. For education, performers will sometimes write "Drag University," "Drag U" or another amusing, fictional school. Their employment is often the venues they perform at or the cast they associate with, usually excluding their "day job." In terms of family, the drag houses of the 1980s and '90s have joined Facebook as well. Performers will list their drag mother, sisters, daughters and sometimes husbands. Weston's "families we choose" (1991) have carried over into the digital age, as drag queens continue to creatively establish meaningful relationships with one another. Although drag queens are constrained by the user interface of blanks and boxes, they innovatively protest and disrupt the instructions to "Tell us about yourself" through their construction of drag identity and Facebook *realness.*

Drag Networking

Drag queens use Facebook to build connections, share information and document their experiences. By drawing upon my own Facebook posts, and the data of other drag performers, I show how these drag users, despite their residency outside binaries and singularity, navigate Facebook very much within the lines of the website's mission to "stay open and connected" (Facebook 2014). The following statuses, representative of the countless daily posts made by drag queen users under both assigned and chosen names on any of their various profiles, illustrate the typical content of posts made by drag users:

> *I have to say tonight was So Amazing! ! Thank you for everybody who came out tonight!! But especially to my family that made it one for the books!! My niece and nephew that always support there uncle regardless I love yall so much and my mother!! Wich her words made all I this so worth it!!! (I understand why you do this!!! I AM SO PROUD OF YOU) I LOVE YOU MOM TONIGHT MEANT THE WORLD TO ME. I love you all thank you for tonight. I needed this*

> *Tonight at JOE'S the Krewe des Femmes will be in the house entertaining you all! Tonight's cast features: Georgia Rae, Sharon Coxx, May Belline, Ruby Roo, Samantha Adams, and your hostess*

Miss Lady!! Showtime 11:15pm Ladies its time to twirl for Jesus! I hope to see you all out! mwah! <3

So I've decided that i want a drag daughter......one that'll continue my legacy. I've had a total of three but none today continues to perform. I am in the process of working out and i don't want to be a man in a dress although technically that's what we all are. Not that i won't ever perform again...but will be taking a "break" once my body changes. So of you are wanting to do drag and take it seriously....i will be willing to take someone under my wing and teach what i know.....

Wishing all of my friends at the ball this evening a most successful and grand event. Due to unforeseen circumstances/personal mini crisis I regrettably will be unable to attend this evening. Tonight I will still be at the Boys' Room performing at midnight! Xoxo. Hope to see all of my gulf coast friends out and about.

I Juz WONNA take this time to THANK someone that I hold dear to mi HEART .... TINA GRACE. this lady have MOTIVATED me to push fa NOTHING but the BEST in this industry....without your LOVE, SUPPORT,n KNOWLEDGE fa this art..., WHERE WOULD I BE!!???...THANK U SOOOO MUCH...ps.. I AM UR NEWLY CROWNED MISS BATON ROUGE JOE'S USofA....Yayyyyyyy....LOUISIANA USofA HERE I COME!!!!

With these posts, there is a clear theme of making connections with other Facebook users. The performers reach out to other drag queens, their fans, biolegal families and potential drag family members. While some of these posts can be considered advertisements for the queens' performances, they follow a narrative of establishing relationships with others. As one performer ends her post, "I hope to see you all out!" Friends or fans can be tagged in these promotional posts to encourage a larger crowd while maintaining a sense of personal connectedness. Once, I was tagged in a promo post, and I felt obligated and inspired to attend because a performer thought to tag me in her status. Overall, these posts are multidimensional cultural texts, demonstrating how drag queens build interpersonal identities and relationships through their utilization of Facebook.

My first drag post is a picture of a half-styled wig that I had been working on that day. "I did it once. I guess I can do it again?" I ask in the caption, referencing the need for symmetry in this particular style. "Yes," a friend comments, encouraging me to continue. I post updates on the status of the wig until the costume is completed. After a few weeks, I display a final picture of the wig, makeup and outfit. My Facebook friends offered advice and support in their interactions with these posts, making my ensemble a communal and social production.

Additionally, this picture of my ensemble is added to my profile, transforming it into a resume or portfolio. A drag performer's Facebook timeline is one of her most efficient tools for self-promotion. Facebook videos are preferred because YouTube has stricter copyright rules on popular songs, and fans can easily tag the queens in recordings of their performances. Potential employers and casting directors can browse a queen's Facebook profile to see an extensive record of her performances and talent. Facebook becomes a crucial tool to establishing a fan base and networking with future gigs.

I soon discovered Facebook groups dedicated to drag performance. These groups consisted of geographical categories (Louisiana Drag Queens; Southern Drag) that are most often used for bookings, some for financial transactions (Drag Swap; Cheap Drag Market) and others fulfilling educational functions (Drag for Beginners; Costume Help). Most of these groups are "closed," meaning they require approval from an existing member to join, usually in order to minimize spam. Drag queens are utilizing Facebook to build connections and cultivate resources similar to the ways cross-dressers use the Internet as "a forum for the exchange of experiences" (Hegland and Nelson 2002:157). The more groups you join, the better your chances of finding deals on evening gowns and learning makeup tricks. The drag queens share their experiences, knowledge and technologies in establishing online friends. The performers cultivate social capital (Bourdieu 1986) through their Facebook connections by capitalizing off a service that encourages dialogue between users and allows for instant, long-distance communication via a communal social page.

These arguments of drag queens' usage of Facebook are further supported and expanded by the dialogue surrounding the Facebook/drag queen scandal. A Change.org petition in support of the drag queens reads:

> Many (and, perhaps, most) performers use their Facebook accounts to network, get booked and book each other, produce events, and communicate with each other, because it is simpler, safer, and more effective than divulging our personal email addresses or phone numbers with others. By preventing us from accessing our accounts under chosen names, this hinders our ability to make a living and develop our performance careers. (LaGarce 2014)

With this quote, it becomes clear that another utilization of Facebook is for the safety of performers. Similar to how I decided to make a separate drag profile to keep it from my family, some drag performers are afraid of having their private, male lives exposed to public scrutiny or face repercussions from family and workplace associates. Because queer people must carefully navigate and construct public identities, using alternate names or separate accounts online becomes a crucial component of maintaining identity and safety.

Additionally, keeping a male profile assists in containing the abuse that drag profiles often receive. Even though I have not pursued interactions with others, Gem's Facebook regularly receives messages of sexual harassment:

> *JJF (10/24/14 9:56pm): Hey how are you*
> *Gem (10/25/14 2:29am): Good*
> *JJF (10/25/14 8:22am): You're really beautiful*
>
> *JN (10/31/14 2:22pm): Wassup?*
>
> *AH (11/22/14 10:17pm): Hola*
> *AH (11/23/14 4:45pm): Ey me like yu baby*
> *AH (11/23/14 5:53pm): Ey dis me nomber d cell 123-456-7890*

come

I innocently responded to the first message because I did not want to make assumptions, but it became clear that these unsolicited messages were

ultimately sexual advances. These men are aware of my male body (by no means are my pictures of drag "passing"), but based on speaking with other drag performers, these kinds of messages are the norm, although sometimes becoming more explicit and dangerous as the performer becomes more popular. Drag queens' Facebook networks are clearly complicated by the threat of online sexual harassment. While performers are more open to fans and bookings, they are likewise vulnerable to harassment and violence.

The "Authentic" Self

Now that I have established the ways drag queens cultivate and utilize Facebook to establish connections and build interpersonal relationships, I will return to Facebook's claim that Sister Roma and other drag queens are constructing "fake" profiles. Sister Roma and other San Francisco drag performers sought the help of local Supervisor David Campos and scheduled a meeting with Facebook executives. The story, perhaps due in part to the provocative, voyeuristic image of drag queens blasting the executives of one of the largest corporations in the world (see figure 3), soon hit global headlines. The Change.org petition gained over 38,000 supporters. "[Facebook's policy] undermines the online communities we have built over the past several years using our stage names," the petition reads. "Although our names might not be our 'legal' birth names, they are still an integral part of our identities, both personally and to our communities" (LaGarce 2014). The general public favored the drag queens, and pressure for Facebook to back off its "real name policy" began leading to physical protests at Facebook Headquarters and digital protests of deleting profiles.

Figure 3: Sister Roma at the microphone speaking to the press, surrounded by other drag performers and their supporters. Photo credit Isabel Angell, KQED News

Facebook insisted that its policy was for the protection of its users, allowing them to "always know" who they are connected with (Facebook 2014b). One blogger retorted, "Wait a minute, don't chosen names protect victims of stalking or abuse, at least as much as perpetrators?" (Michaelson 2014a). The first meeting between the drag queens and Facebook led to the corporation taking a firm stance on their "real name policy" as more drag profiles were frozen, messages censored (see figure 4) and legal documentation requested (Seals 2014). Community efforts continued while some users, most identifying as trans and using a single account, began switching to their legal, assigned names in fear of losing their Facebook accounts.
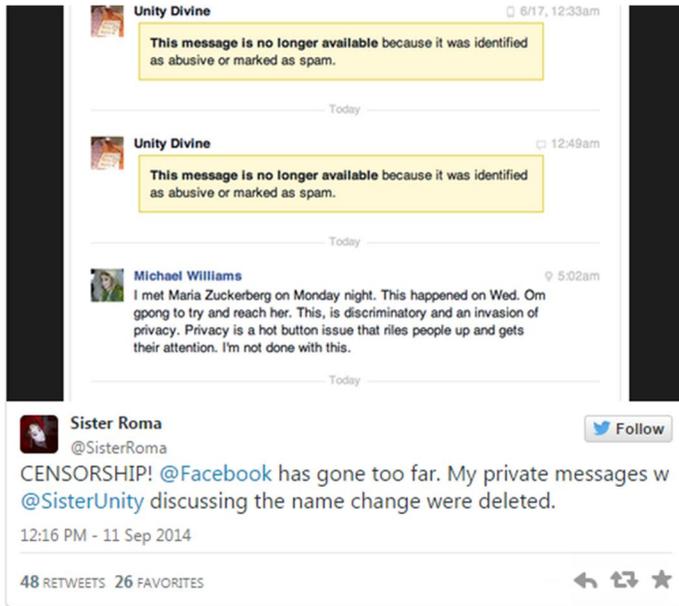
Unity Divine ⬚ 6/17, 12:33am

This message is no longer available because it was identified as abusive or marked as spam.

Today

Unity Divine ⬚ 12:49am

This message is no longer available because it was identified as abusive or marked as spam.

Today

Michael Williams 📍 5:02am
I met Maria Zuckerberg on Monday night. This happened on Wed. Om gpong to try and reach her. This, is discriminatory and an invasion of privacy. Privacy is a hot button issue that riles people up and gets their attention. I'm not done with this.

Today

Sister Roma 🐦 Follow
@SisterRoma

CENSORSHIP! @Facebook has gone too far. My private messages w @SisterUnity discussing the name change were deleted.

12:16 PM - 11 Sep 2014

48 RETWEETS 26 FAVORITES ↩ ↻ ★

Figure 4: Sister Roma shares a screen capture of her Facebook messages through Twitter.

Following another meeting between the San Francisco drag queens and Facebook executives, Facebook released an apology on October 1, 2014. "I want to apologize to the affected community of drag queens, drag kings, transgender, and extensive community of our friends, neighbors, and members of the LGBT community," wrote Facebook's chief product officer. "The spirit of our policy is that everyone on Facebook uses the *authentic* name they use in real life" (Cox 2014, emphasis added). Drag queens disrupted the authenticity guidelines of Facebook, but they did not destroy it. As seen in Cox's apology, there is still a correlation between a "real life" name and a Facebook profile. The drag queens' *realness* was capable of causing a considerable disturbance, but no changes were made to the "real name policy."

The rhetoric of authenticity and self used by both Facebook and the drag queens echoes Elliott's work on the dialogue surrounding self and medical technologies. Elliot identified contemporary views of the self as relying on the idea that there is an inner, authentic self which individuals must use technologies to produce (2003). Facebook presents itself as one of these identity technologies, encouraging its users to "share and express

what matters to them" (2014) in a very even and direct way. In this case, however, what the drag queens deem as their authentic identities are actually too *real* for Facebook policy.

In *The Facebook Effect*, a book detailing the creation of Facebook, creator Mark Zuckerberg is quoted on his thoughts about identity: "You have one identity…Having two identities for yourself is an example of a lack of integrity" (Kirkpatrick 2010: 199). This claim is echoed by van Dijck in his analysis of how social media presses users into "uniform identity" (2013). These uniform identities allow for easier data collection for advertisements and promotions. Users are expected to fit inside a binary mold, to fit nicely in dichotomous categories for more direct advertising, more profit for Facebook. It is no surprise, then, that drag queens are the ones to expose Zuckerberg's idealized version of self. Drag queens, in their very being, are fragmented – they are "kaleidoscopes" (Moreman 2010). Drag queens, like other queer individuals, disrupt the binary and exist outside categories. They are a manifestation of Haraway's cyborg (1987) in their simultaneous, disjointed embodiment of contradictions and dichotomies, acting as queer digital bodies that destroy the structural laws of identity. Drag queens abruptly counter Zuckerberg's singular authenticity and bask in contradicting multiplicity – keeping it *real*. Drag queens exist within the fractures of identity, and in their very existence inside Facebook's "authentic world" they have exposed its fallacies.

It's Got to be Real

As of this writing, Facebook has not changed its "real name policy" and slowly accounts are still being notified to use "authentic" names. A post made on Sister Roma's wall on November 24 reads, "FYI. Facebook has NOT stopped its bullshit. Sister Titania's account has been shut down" (Sister Qetesh 2014). I notice performers across the United States are still occasionally flagged and frozen. Facebook continues to enforce heteronormative, simplistic ideals of identity upon its users, which intertwine with white supremacy as Native American names have also become targets (Holpuch 2015). Because drag queens rely on Facebook, as most users do, to establish and maintain personal connections, they are forced to remain within the constraints of the "real name policy" and exist

in the boundary of real and *realness* until another social networking service becomes popular and available.

This research acts alone in its focus on drag queens and their usage of the Internet. I hope this initial work will bring literature on drag performance into the digital age, as I believe the Internet has changed drag culture and identity in a multitude of ways. At the same time, drag has been changing the Internet as it continues to remind us of the artificial construction of identity. I believe Facebook's "real name policy" may resurface once again in the media, and Sister Roma and her drag sisters will act as the foundation for exposing the restrictive identity policies of Facebook and acknowledging that our own identities are fragmented. It is at the conclusion of this paper, and following my own personal experiences with drag, that I select "they" as a Facebook pronoun and "genderqueer" as a gender category. In my efforts to change the hegemonic perception of authenticity, I grow to realize how I am changed by my work.

Here I wish to revisit Sister Roma's quote from the introduction: "Really Facebook? You've become so homogenized and generic that you don't recognize some people CHOOSE their names and that's what makes them REAL. Fuck you very much" (Roma 2014, emphasis original). Returning to this post, it becomes clear how Sister Roma's claims may be truer than she realizes. Facebook structures identity as static and solid. In Zuckerberg's words, Sister Roma and all other drag queens lack integrity in their identities. What Sister Roma labels creativity, Facebook views as inauthenticity; yet, it is in this very creative inauthenticity that so many individuals find the ability to be themselves. The drag queens argue and fight for their right to be fluid and multiple, while institutions such as Facebook force them into singular boxes. To quote the drag anthem, "It's got to be *real*" (Lynn 1978).

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