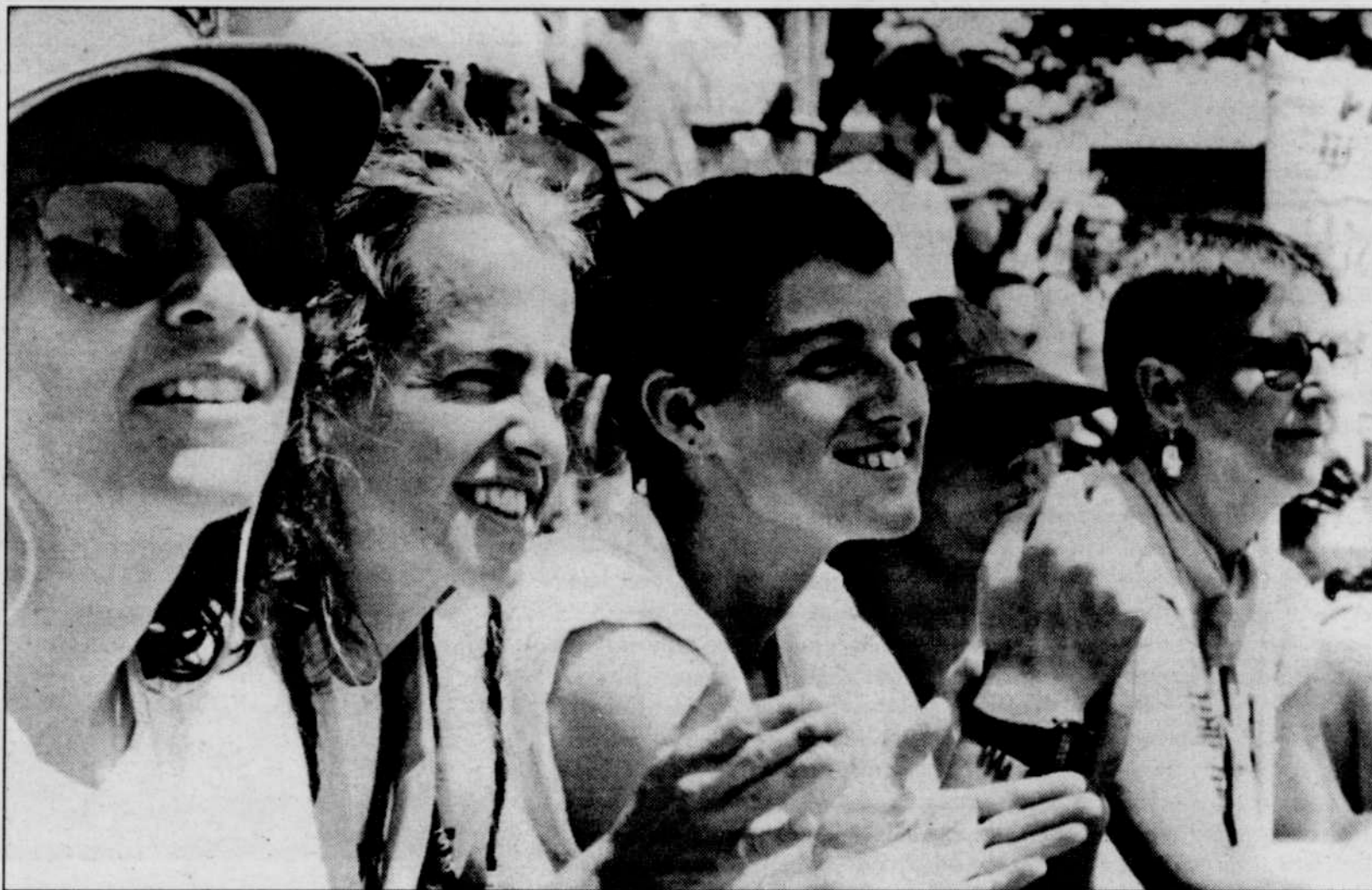




Participants in the two-week Walk for Love and Justice celebrate their arrival in Portland

The No on 9 Campaign became the main opposition, but it got off to a rocky start. With memories of Measure 8 lingering in the background, gay rights activists held a series of meetings around the state to gather input for the campaign.

Ralphs gave the following account of one meeting when he was interviewed on Bonnie Tinker's *Love Makes a Family* radio show:

"I always had this kind of notion in the back on my head that there was this kind of umbrella of unity over the gay community, various clubs and etceteras. But when I went to the very first community meeting...I saw what I had actually perceived wasn't an umbrella but a mushroom cloud, because the degree of conflict among the gay and lesbian groups about how to even approach fighting the religious right was just unbelievable."

Sherry Oeser, the steering committee chair-

woman of No on 9, recalls: "There was a bad feeling in everyone's mouth that we lost Measure 8, and I think that having to come back to another election that soon really weighed on people. When we started out, we wanted to put together...a winning campaign because none of us wanted to have to go through that experience of losing...again."

However, there was a fundamental disagreement among sexual minorities about how to defeat Measure 9.

"Some people thought the goal should be to build community. Some people thought the goal should be to create this statewide network of activists," Oeser says. "From my point of view, there was only one goal.

The goal was to defeat the ballot measure."

The campaign made an exhaustive search for a campaign manager, to no avail. Eventually, all eyes turned toward Peggy Norman, who was on the steering committee. They asked her to accept the position.

"I knew it would be a grueling campaign. I knew it would be fiercely fought. So I was reluctant—very reluctant—to take it on," Norman recalls. "But at some point, I knew we were losing ground and had to have a campaign manager. So I said I would take it on."

The No on 9 Campaign concentrated on getting out the vote and capturing 50 percent plus one. It raised millions of dollars, placed hard-hitting ads on television, created literature, held rallies, debated the OCA and got out the vote.

Norman knew the stakes were very high. We absolutely have to win, she thought. It was a solemn responsibility. It was a pledge to do everything she could to win the campaign—and everything to get people to help out.

"That colored the campaign, because we asked for everything. We really did," Norman remembers. "We asked people for their money. We asked them for their time. We asked them to make extraordinary sacrifices. We asked them to come out, take risks, come out in public settings. Eventually, we were asking people to put their lives on the line in

ways that even we didn't understand."

Gail Shibley was also thrust into the middle of the emotional turmoil of Measure 9. She had been appointed to the state Legislature and now was running to be elected for another term.

"I was trying to be the best legislator that I could with a tremendous amount of eyes upon me," Shibley remembers. "Not just the OCA, and not just folks in my own community and not just the lobby or just my colleagues in the Legislature, but absolutely everyone everywhere."

The OCA featured Shibley on the front page of its newsletter and talked about her during news conferences. Mabon was

using her to raise money for his organization. At times she felt like a poster child.

Shibley wanted people to vote for her not because of her sexual orientation but because of how well she could work for them. Still, the issue of homosexuality and Measure 9 could not be ignored.

"If this were to become a part of our constitution, inevitably, we would look back and be horrified and be shameful that we would ever treat any of our citizens so poorly"

—Gwenn Baldwin



"I wanted to make sure that every door I knocked on was not just a door where people would hear I am Gail Shibley and I want your vote, but I am Gail Shibley and I want your vote

and I want you to know who I am and what I have been doing in your behalf and what I want to do on your behalf. And that Ballot Measure 9 flies in the face of all of that," she says. "So, I believe that every door that I knocked on, I was doing that double duty."

The opposition continued to mount throughout the campaign. African Americans Voting No on 9, the Asian community, politicians, unions, librarians, teachers, doctors and newspapers across the state went on record against the measure. This included an unprecedented front-page editorial in the *Oregonian*. And 30 days before the election, more than 10,000 people crammed into every available space in Pioneer Courthouse Square for an anti-9 rally.

"It was a time of astonishing passion and politics," lesbian activist Donna Red Wing recalls. "We organized and we strategized. Regular folks stepped up to the plate—moms and dads, co-workers, neighbors, clergy and friends. It was an amazing time. And Oregon talked about and thought about and voted around whether or not it would create a second-class citizenship for some of its people."

While the campaign raged on, emotions heated up—and so did the violence. The No on 9 Campaign headquarters was vandalized. Records were stolen, and the place was trashed. The staff of *Just Out* found a death threat tacked on the office door.

On a Sunday morning, vandals broke into St. Matthew's Roman Catholic Church in Hillsboro and painted anti-gay, anti-Semitic and anti-Latino messages on the walls. Services were held on schedule, and members were visibly shaken by the sheer hatred in the graffiti. In Salem, skinheads threw a Molotov cocktail into an apartment, killing two gay people.

As frightening as it was, the violence did not deter individuals and organizations from opposing the measure. Their reasons were varied. Some wanted to act on a personal level, while others felt left out of the No on 9 Campaign or disagreed with its strategy. Whatever their reasons, people such as Dan Stutesman, Marcy Westerling, Holly Pruett and Gwenn Baldwin played a significant role in defeating the measure.

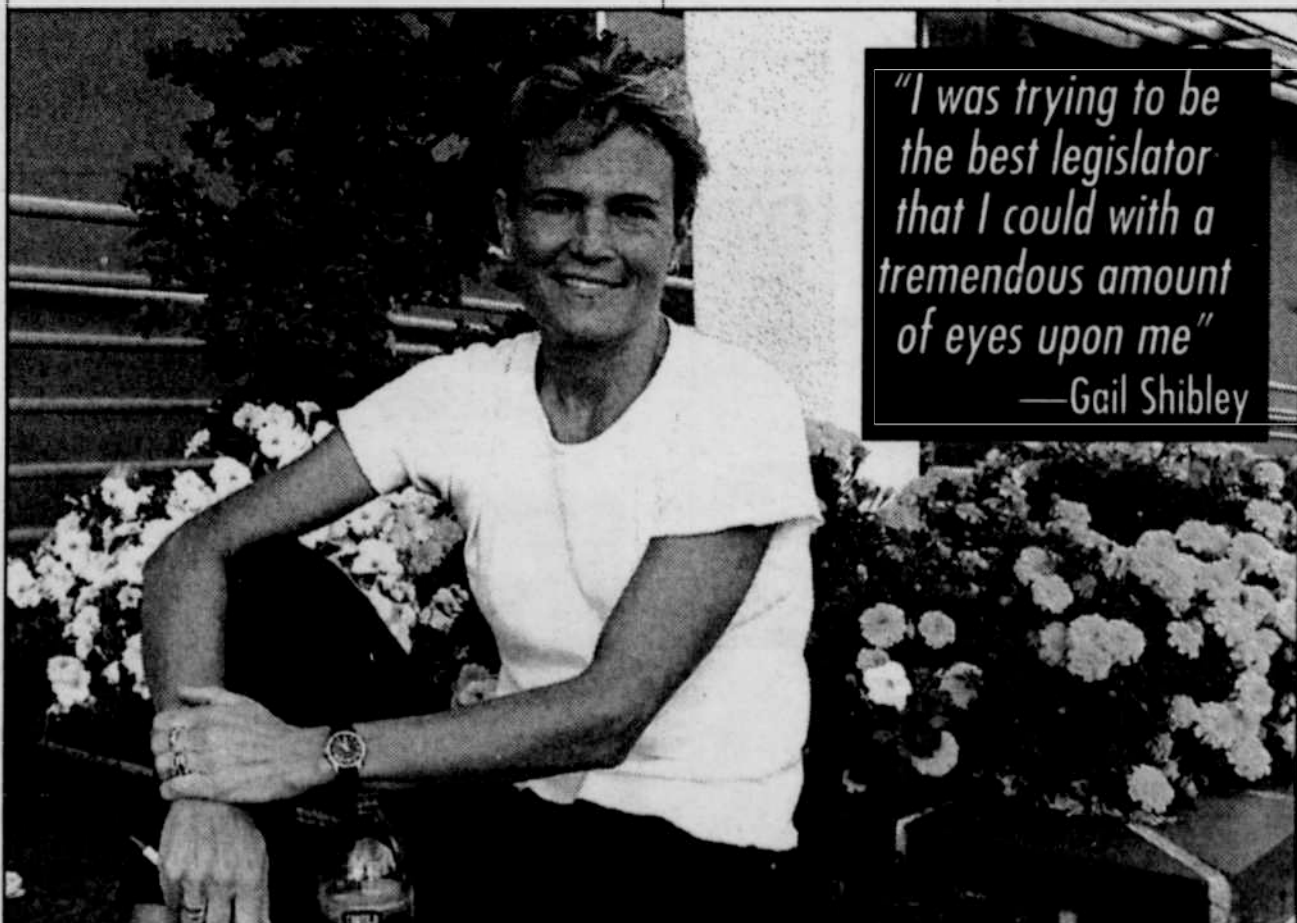
Dan Stutesman thought the OCA was giving religion a bad name.

To counter that, he formed an interfaith organization called People of Faith Against Bigotry. The

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Dan Stutesman formed People of Faith Against Bigotry, which ran full-page newspaper ads listing people who opposed the Oregon Citizens Alliance



"I was trying to be the best legislator that I could with a tremendous amount of eyes upon me"

—Gail Shibley