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Latina/o Gender and Sexuality

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LGBTQ AMERICA

A THEME STUDY OF LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER, and QUEER HISTORY

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INCLUSIVE STORIES

Although scholars of LGBTQ history have generally been inclusive of women, the working classes, and gender-nonconforming people, the narrative that is found in mainstream media and that many people think of when they think of LGBTQ history is overwhelmingly white, middle-class, male, and has been focused on urban communities. While these are important histories, they do not present a full picture of LGBTQ history. To include other communities, we asked the authors to look beyond the more well-known stories. Inclusion within each chapter, however, isn't enough to describe the geographic, economic, legal, and other cultural factors that shaped these diverse histories. Therefore, we commissioned chapters providing broad historical contexts for two spirit, transgender, Latino/a, African American Pacific Islander, and bisexual communities. These chapters, read in concert with the chapter on intersectionality, serve as examples of rich, multi-faceted narrative within a fuller history of the United States.

12 LATINA/O GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Deena J. González and
Ellie D. Hernández

Introduction

Gender and sexuality among US Latina/o populations encompass a continuum of experiences, historical, cultural, religious, and lived. Gender and sexuality varied by culture or ethnicity and by era across the many different Latino populations descended from Latin Americans. Latino national histories, born inside the thirty-three different Latin American countries in existence today, are united in one irrefutable link to the conquest, by Spain. The Spanish and Portuguese warred against many indigenous empires, towns, and communities encountered in 1519, and the wars continued subsequently into the 1800s, during the colonization of the Americas by other countries, including the United States.

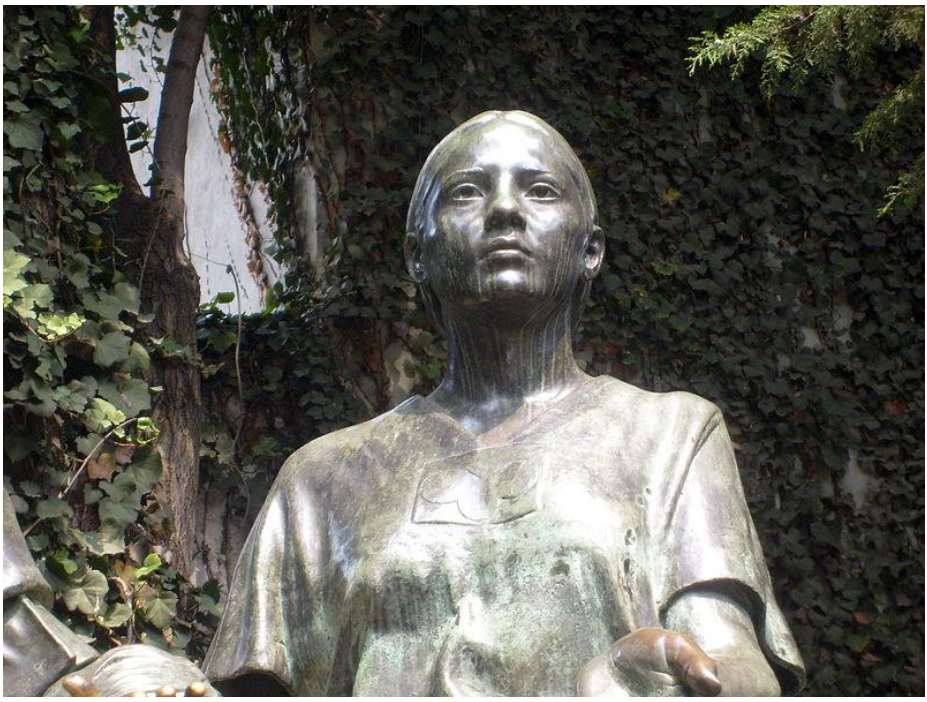

Figure 1: La Malinche, detail from the Monumento al Mestizaje by Julian Martinez and M. Maldonado (1982). The monument is of Hernan Cortes, La Malinche, and their son, Martin Cortes. The monument was originally located in the Center of Coyoacan, Mexico City but was moved to Jardin Xicotencatl, Barrio de San Diego Churubusco, Mexico City (a lesser known park) due to public protests. Photo by Javier Delgado Rosas, 2009.[1]

When in 1519 the Spaniards landed on the Veracruz shore and made their way into what was the most populated city in the Americas, Tenochtitlan, and in the two years it took for them to lay claim to what would become México City and its environs, gender and sexuality played a key role among people who survived the conquest and those who as conquerors remained in México as well as in Central and South America to create nations across three centuries of time (from 1521 to 1898). A primary example is Malintzin Tenepal (Malinche or Doña Marina as the Spanish called her), the mistress and lover of the conqueror, Hernán Cortés, who had two children with him (Figure 1). From the outset this racial and ethnic mixing of people known as mestizaje shaped gender and sexuality, because it imbued the outcomes of these unions, many of them

[1] License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:La_Malinche_statue.jpg

violent, with legal, economic, and sexual consequences. Gender and sexuality were foundational in the story of Malinche and Cortés because the woman was memorialized as the mother of the first mestizo children of the Americas, which was not the case, but also as the supreme betrayer of the Mexicans. Malinche's sexuality in the form of her relationship to the Spanish conqueror subsequently became a metaphor for loss, by women, against the more powerful Europeans, or men. Many contemporary theorists argue that the relationship was also a metaphor for rape, immortalized in Mexican lexicons by use of the term for someone who suffers rape, "la chingada."[2] These constant and persistent references in Mexican essays, movies, and folklore indeed suggest the considerable strength a metaphor based on someone as prominent as Malinche carries across time; few hail her interpretive abilities, her diplomatic status, her multilingual facility. Instead, she—a woman—became equated with treachery and a loss of trust. In this reflection of a less-than-glorious Mexican past, men are never blamed for the loss to the Spaniards: Cuauhtémoc, the underprepared nephew of the deceased ruler, Moctezuma, actually surrendered the city, but is rarely assigned blame or shame. Malinche escapes no such special treatment.

Race and ethnicity, like gender and sexuality, complicated the story of women's centrality in the conquest, much of it similarly assigned for the wrong reasons. That is, women generally were not considered central as powerful agents in the conquest, but rather as its by-product, or their mixed-race children were. In some regions of Latin America, over seventeen different terms classified race or ethnic status, from mestizo to mulatto to lobo and coyote.[3] These were not simple obsessions of a race-conscious state, but derived from Catholic and European legal codes seeking control over labor and most certainly over women and children.

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[2] For the most cited example, see Octavio Paz, "Labyrinth of Solitude" (New York: Grove Press, 1961).
[3] See, for example, Barbara L. Voss, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

The institutional apparatuses of the empire, including the Catholic Church, and later, the nation-state, conspired to sustain a hierarchy driven by fear and terror. Women could not venture far from home, or out on their own, even in urban areas. In the rural areas where the majority lived, working for bare subsistence dictated dependencies on men, children, and if possible, on fathers and families of origin. From the powerful Catholic and hierarchical traditions imposing God, disciples, and the Pope or priests over parishioners, men, and households, with women and children at the bottom, and far below only African descent peoples and Native peoples, the controlling effects of such persistent views and legal codes provided the basis upon which an empire was created. Church and state helped craft laws that ordered life in relationship to economies of production, work, and an occasional celebration around the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, or marriage. There were few opportunities for women's autonomy in a social or legal sense, and only activities hidden from public scrutiny or juridical sight allowed women to act in their own defense or protection. Native people similarly endured harsh treatment, subject to their employer's whims, forced to work on ranches, in mines, and later, in factories simply because they were thought not to possess the talent, skills, or values to do more. Labor's link to gender and sexuality existed in the interplay between those with economic power (European men), and those without it (women, children, Native Peoples, mixed-race people, and Latinos of African descent).

Against this past, gender and sexuality today have achieved a different status in a lived Latino/a reality, that is, they pose new and exciting challenges for historic and cultural traditions, but based on modern ideas about the utter necessity of women's equality to men and access to opportunity for all. They also require new conceptualizations of what we mean by gender and what we mean when we define sexuality, including a re-reading of the past.

While many imagine that the world is divided into male and female, masculine and feminine, or men and women, research in the past half

century undermines the supposition that there are only two genders, only two sexes, or that what is normal in one community is normal across all others. Sexual fluidity is very much a characteristic of the historical record as it is contemporarily. In the nineteenth-century United States, pink was considered a masculine color and boys as well as girls wore dresses and kept their hair long until they reached age seven.[4] The historical record provides an exceptional vantage point for looking at the dynamics of a multiplicity of experiences among Latina/o people. Many Native traditions across the Americas recognized (and continue to recognize) multiple combinations of gender and sexuality that intersected in different ways with social roles and responsibilities. Each of these groups had different categories and roles, as well as words to name them; from 1990, many Natives have adopted the umbrella term, two spirit.[5] Spanish chroniclers described two spirit people using their own ideas of sexuality and gender, for example as men "feminized" into women's roles. Women in war were known to have passed their lives as men and/or soldiers, in the conquest era and late into the twentieth century during the Mexican Revolution.[6] These examples are not necessarily given to prove that homosexuality or bisexuality have existed in the Americas for many centuries, which evidently they did, but rather to illustrate that what we think of as modern concepts of sexuality might have a longer history than is accorded traditionally.

As varied and diverse as the histories of the Latino people, so are their expressions of gender and sexuality. Most obvious is the understanding that gender and sexuality share some similarities with the larger experience of being human, in other words, we all have and express our gender and our sexuality, but at the same time, not all genders are the same, and not all expressions of sexuality and sexual identity share the same qualities. Gender and sexuality are also influenced largely by the specific parameters established by religion, culture, ethnicity, nationality,

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[4] See Ruth Padawer, "BoyGirl," *New York Times Magazine*, August 12, 2012, 19-36.
[5] For a detailed treatment, see Roscoe (this volume).
[6] On the soldaderas of the Mexican Revolution, see Elizabeth Salas, *Soldaderas in the Mexican Military: Myth and History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

and race or class distinctions. This chapter discusses Latina/o gender and sexual experiences within a broad historical context to focus as well on a contemporary Latina/o context because present understandings, like historical ones, enrich our analysis of how men and women defined one another and lived their lives as the gender codes organizing their behaviors changed over time.[7]

Conquest and Colonialism

From the nascent beginnings of the Americas, the period known as the Conquest followed by the colonial period is normally considered as the origin that led to the formation of Latina/o people. The blending of races through mestizaje and miscegenation created regional and national distinctions. Within that landscape, the indigenous and Spanish advanced new bi- and multiracial configurations. In the areas we identify as the US Southwest and the Caribbean, various indigenous and native groups blended racially with European conquistadors. Concomitant to the era of conquest and colonization (1492-1800) the period was distinguished by the force and domination of a new cultural, European system distinct from the indigenous, with the eventual rule of Spanish and Catholic dominance in the three continents—North American, Central American, and South American—known as Latin America today. In this vast geographic terrain, a dynamic people and dynamic societies developed.

Given the large territories, countries, and continents that comprise Latin America, it is impossible to trace a true chronological sequence or periodization of Chicana or Latina history or of a singular role gender and sexuality played in that past or geography. This is because chronology and periods are the purview of tidily organized, written historiographical studies, of which Latina/o history remains defiant. Much resistance, for

[7] For an overview, see Luz Calvo and Catriona Esquibel, "Latina Lesbians, BiMujeres, and Trans Identitites: Charting Courses in the Social Sciences," in *Latino/a Sexualities: Probing Powers, Passions, Practices, and Policies*, ed. Marysol Ascencio (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 217-229.

example, to domination or conquest was erased because few written or recorded documents detailed successful efforts to overcome the conquerors. Although court records and church records attest to many efforts against Spanish control, the truth is that those who collected the written record had a vested interest in securing one side of the story, despite the findings in recent decades of historians who are working to cast the wars and political picture in ways that account for both sides of the story. Archeologists have worked for centuries to assist the written record and are making progress in detailing how native communities and Spanish-Catholic ones shaped their pasts.

The best way to illustrate an important element related to where our story should begin is to ask when Latina/o or Chicano/a history began. There is no agreeable answer. Was it 1519 when the Spaniards arrived on the coast of México? Was there even a geographic identification that could be called México? We know that the country named Spain existed because the Pope and a king and queen authorized it to set off to new lands. México, on the other hand, was a constellation of over two hundred different indigenous communities, federations, and cities or towns that did not identify as a country, nation, or nation-state. Mexico City (Tenochtitlan) was the oldest city in the Americas, was its largest city up until the middle of the seventeenth century, and boasted a multiethnic, multi-caste, and multi-class society. Out of this varied history or past, it is impossible to trace effectively the meaning of gender and sexuality across time for any one group, and less so for as multiethnic and racial a group as Mexicans, Latinos, or Chicano/as of today. Some general understanding of the events and cultural artifacts, however, provide clues about the significance or meaning of gender and sexuality across time.

Inherent to the Spanish Empire's domination of the regions of the United States and Caribbean, the experiences of sexuality were less determined by the pleasures of sexuality we normally ascribe in today's modern world; rather sexuality was determined by need and survival, as this was foreign terrain for the Spanish and a new experience for the

indigenous people native to the land. For the indigenous groups who endured the wrath of conquest and occupation, sexuality became a means of domination over their various indigenous traditions, especially the women and children. Many of the early inhabitants of the "New World" lived in tribal cultures that relied on nature and their surroundings for survival, and this organized their understandings of sexuality and of sexual expressiveness. The Spanish thought differently and codified as heretical or criminal many native understandings of the human body; some native groups were bare breasted or exposed chests and legs as the climate allowed. The Spanish were draped in cloth from neck to their feet, if not in armor or leather, and considered native dress codes promiscuous or offensive.

Native sophistication and what today would be labeled a modern way of life (nudity or frequent sexual partners, for example), were considered anti-Catholic and illegal. The anxiety of the Spaniards extended beyond the body. Many cities in Native America had developed sophisticated agricultural techniques, relied on scientific knowledge to feed and organize their cosmopolitan way of life (Mexico City especially), and organized their life according to an understanding of the cosmos, including mathematics and theology. The early conquistadores were mostly military men removed from the homeland and if in families came to the New World to conquer the land and to force indigenous populations to submit to the twin goals of installing religious and state imperatives, Catholicism, and loyalty to the king.

The post-structuralist theoretician, Tzvetan Todorov, notes that the Mexican conquest is distinct from all other forms of empire building. He asked how a vast number of inhabitants could have fallen supposedly so easily. The singular direction of the Spanish to seek gold and valuables along with advanced weaponry made it possible to win battles, but the truth also lies in the rapid spread of diseases that within twenty-five years of the arrival of the Spanish witnessed the demise of more than 90 percent of the native populations. Smallpox, measles, influenzas, and

infections assisted the Spanish more than brilliant maneuvers on the battlefield. An ill population could not resist an onslaught. On the day Cortés finally laid claim to the ancient city of Tenochtitlan, those suffering from diseases or dead in their beds because they could not reach their water supply created a visible reminder of weakness and surrender. Had the Aztecs or Mexicanos not been so badly infected, their struggle to fortify and evacuate the city would have provided a different outcome.[8]

Some of these aspects of Mexican history, and of the histories of other regions in Central and South America which repeated the pattern after 1521, created obtuse rules and established the assertion of laws about gender and sexuality, some of which are still in existence today. Laws easily dictated the cultural practices of the early Latina/os. Of this, the most recognized figure of the conquest of Mexico has also become synonymous with the modern nation state. The public and widely mythologized history of Doña Marina or Malinztin Tenépal or La Malinche, mentioned above, situates one of the main elements of historiographical attitudes about the role of women in the New World and as its emblem of domination.[9] The early conquistadores used force in the early encounters with the Native Indians. Within a short amount of time, a matter of 150 years, the Spanish church and state institutionalized their rules of governance through the issuances of law and religious codes. Masculinity and femininity were institutionalized as oppositional rather complimentary aspects of gender and sexuality as the Spanish Crown created a division of labor according to gender and this was seen clearly in the adjudication of specific sets of laws. The Laws of Burgos of 1512 or *Las Leyes de Burgos*, for example, established a set of laws (and in actual practice,

[8] Tzvetan Todorov, "The Reasons for Victory" in *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984).
[9] See Adelaida del Castillo, "Malintzin Tenépal: A Preliminary Look into a New Perspective," in *Essays on la Mujer*, eds. Rosaura Sánchez and Rosa Martinez Cruz (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 1977), 124-149.

guidelines) on the treatment of the Native people in the first island conquered, Hispaniola.[10]

The laws constituted the first attempt to outline specifically conduct in matters of marriage and raising children; however, the law code made some attempt to regulate the treatment and conduct of the Spanish settlers and their encounters with the native Indians. The laws specifically created a family (tribal) structure and instructed priests to instill Catholic teachings and convert the Natives to Christianity. *Las Leyes de Burgos* was an attempt by the Spanish Crown to attend to the many abuses of the Native peoples in the decades after the conquest but failed on many

Figure 2: Chicana lesbian feminist artist Judy Baca and Stanley Smith from the Getty in front of Baca's work, The History of California/The Great Wall of Los Angeles. The work highlights the histories of California not often told, including those about the Native Americans who lived in the area, Japanese American internment, the Freedom Bus Rides, the Zoot Suit riots of 1943 (during which white Marines assaulted young Mexican-American men in Los Angeles), and the founding of the gay rights organization, the Mattachine Society in 1950. Baca and her team of artists, including Isabel Castro, Yreina Cervantez, Judith Hernandez, Olga Muñoz, Patssi Valdez, Margaret Garcia, began work in 1978. Over 400 youth, including those from the juvenile justice system and from other underrepresented groups, were paid to help work on the mural. It was finished in 1984, and measures 2,754 in length. Additional sections are planned. Photo by Roger Howard, 2011.[11]

levels because they were disempowered with the conversion into a system of labor, which was the primary goal of the law, and Catholicism which was their second goal. Another attempt to create laws for the treatment of the natives came in 1542 with the *Leyes Nuevas* (New Laws) under Charles V. Once again, these laws sought to provide for the mistreatment of the

[10] See Leyes de Burgos in John A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1992).
[11] License: CC BY-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/rogerhoward/8797111980/. For more about Judy Baca, see Burk (this volume).

native people but only reinforced the *encomienda* system of labor, an assignment often in perpetuity of a person's labor or work, and offered little protection for the Indians in the end.

The seventeenth century added to the major legal apparatus with the *Recopilacíon de las Leyes de los Reinos de Indias*, a copious and pedantic sequence of laws enacted in 1681 to supplant the previous two codifications that were deemed ineffectual on a local level and excluded the many regions overtaken by Spanish rule over the next century. One of the main accomplishments of the *Recopilacíon* was to standardize the Spanish Law over the vast and enormous territories under Spanish occupation and encompassing the areas of the Southwest, including Tucson, Los Angeles, Santa Fe, Laredo, and Albuquerque, and extended as far as the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico (Figure 2).[12]

The law's geographic reach established a wide sweep for the legal and religious codes whose influences can be found in today's attitudes and economic trade relationships. The most distinctive of these codes was girded by a supreme understanding of the division of labor. Men and women became separated in their lived and working experiences and were bound by the separate spheres that divide men and women into private and public.

But the order and regulation of sexuality fell under the purview of the dreaded and somewhat fickle Spanish Inquisition. Few think or believe that the Spanish Inquisition pertained to México or the New World, but recent historical excavation supports that the Inquisition did in fact regulate sexual behaviors and served more as a regulatory system in the New World than in Europe. Inquisitional repression also included many offenses that pertained to sexuality such as bestiality, rape, and sodomy (male and female) as well as other forms of stated heresy against the

[12] For the full list of laws, see Spain/Council of the Indies, *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias, 1681*. 5 vols. (Mexico: M. A. Porrúa, 1987).

church. Phillip II established the Inquisition officially in Mexico in 1569.[13] By 1662, accounts of homosexual behavior led the Duke of Albuquerque to indict over a hundred people and execute a substantial number of them.[14] Within the colonial period and heritage, the laws and codes of conduct began to shape the codification of proper sexuality situating it within the domain of heterosexuality and the church and state as purveyors of the law guiding it.

Naturally, people began to assume heterosexuality not only as the "natural" order of things, but as the only one. It would become clear through their actions that the church and state became more interested in regulating behaviors and associating morality with the regulation of sexual behaviors and were far less interested in heresy. The Inquisition in Spain did not actively pursue the persecution of sodomy as it would in the Americas and the New World.[16] Most of the active persecution of sodomy by the Inquisition belonged to the New World.[17] According to historian Richard C. Trexler, the arena of conquest placed sexuality and gender clearly within the paradigm of the victor or vanquished where rape became an "insult" of war for both

Figure 3: Mission San Diego de Alcalá, 10818 San Diego Mission Road, San Diego, California. Founded in 1769 by Spanish friar Junipero Serra, it was the first Franciscan mission in The Californias, a province of New Spain. The Native American Kumeyaay, who lived in the area, called the two-spirit members of their society Warharmi. Photo by ((brian)), 2005.[15]

[13] Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).
[14] Ibid, 319.
[15] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/brian-m/168494874/. Mission San Diego was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on April 15, 1970. See Will Roscoe,*Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York City: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 218.
[16] Cristian Berco, *Sexual Hierarchies, Public Status: Men, Sodomy, and Society in Spain's Golden Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).
[17] Ibid.

men and women.[18] Sexual and gender identity were not based on individual rights, pleasure or desires, or even on group rights. The role and function of gender and sexual identity pertained to the natural order or biological basis of reproduction and conquest.

Anthropologist June Nash observes the distinctive roles men and women played in the transition under Spanish Colonialism.[19] Nash observes that "while women continued to have important roles in the domestic economy, they were [ultimately] excluded from the predatory economy."[20] In another location, historian Antonia Castañeda associates the "*entrada"* or "incursion" of the Spanish soldiers and priests with sexual violence of women and girls in Alta California (Figure 3).[21] Castañeda recognizes that limited information on the subject of gender and sexuality exists, but nevertheless found similar findings as many others have noted previously that the subordination of women did in fact lead toward sexual violence and many other abuses that are well documented in the former Spanish Borderlands.

In the centuries where the origin of the Americas lies, multi-continental, and especially for the United States, the predicament of the Spanish Conquest left behind an arcane system of laws and religious codes without the benefit of a cultural Renaissance or a Protestant Reformation as had been experienced in Europe, but instead continued as facets of canonical and state law that would carry over into the United States expansion through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Just as the Spanish language that is spoken today in many regions of the Americas is an arcane vestige of the Old World, so, too, is the legal apparatus and cultural view of gender and sexuality residing within the remnants of a culture of conquest.

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[18] Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).
[19] June Nash, "Aztec Women: The Transition from Status to Class in Empire and Colony," in *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives*, eds. Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock (New York: Praeger, 1980), 134-148.
[20] Ibid, 67.
[21] Antonia I. Castañeda "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family," *California History* 76, no. 2-3 (Summer-Fall 1997): 230-259.

The nineteenth century brought about expansion and new frontier attitudes through changes precipitated by United States expansion. These culminated in an ever denser context for gender and sexuality among Latina/o people as they came under US domination, physically in the former Mexican northern territories, and economically toward the end of the nineteenth century as the United States extended its reach toward the natural resources that Latin America provided, including its labor force.

While it is common to view the impact of the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846-1848 as a training ground for US soldiers later engaged in the Civil War, and common to overlook the US invasion of Mexico beyond the border formed by the Rio Grande, gender and sexuality proved powerful agents in the hands of the US takeover as Mexican lands were acquired and gender and sexual politics shaped the dynamics of acquisition. Historian Deena González concludes that the centrality of such figures as Doña Gertrudis Barceló, who operated businesses in Santa Fe, was its wealthiest citizen for over three decades, and who was maligned by the invading Euro-Americans as a common whore or a madam, is the best example of the centrality of gender in the US colonization of the Mexican north. When Euro-Americans crossed illegally first into Texas, and later into New Mexico, they argued that the people were "as barren as the land," "lazy," and "ugly."[22] These undocumented merchants, soldiers, and vagabonds used such rhetoric to denounce the local population making it easier to occupy their land and achieve domination over the work force.

After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 resolved the armed conflict between the two countries, if not the bitter feelings between locals and imposers, women who had owned property as allowed under Spanish law were at a loss in a court system that did not allow women to adjudicate differences. Because women outlived men and tended to own property, land, houses, and livestock, they lost more than men when the Euro-Americans went to court to establish ownership under pretext. The

[22] See Deena J. González, *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish-Mexican Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), chap. ii.

Widow Chaves of Santa Fe best exemplified how even wealthy women were duped by agents of the state, in this case a lawyer and claims surveyor who managed to conspire to produce a will in English that was not a translation of her wishes rendered in the original Spanish.[23] Such occurrences were far from rare and the colonizers, who cast women as gullible or dependent, managed to exert legal influence to such an extent that many resident Spanish-Mexican people of the southwest endured land and property losses without recourse.

Because the northern Mexican territories figured so critically in US history, particularly after the California Gold Rush and the need for a transcontinental railroad, and because Latino/as played such an important role in the growth of the territories west of the Mississippi, it is clear why Spanish Borderlands history and writers, historians, and artists reference consistently the roles of women. Especially prominent are the stereotypes of women as virgins or martyrs, as saloon keepers or as pious maternal figures then and later in the twenty-first century concluding that a pattern of loss, of intimidation, and of violence characterized memory and life through to the present. While it is the case that abuses of power and of gender codes occurred and continue, the most recent focus on response and resistance, on defiance of assigned roles, whether racialized, sexualized, gendered, or classed, underscores new directions in our views of sexuality and male/female roles or patterns across time and geography. For that reason, we examine next the contemporary application of some previously mentioned gender codes and roles where sexuality and sexual expressiveness most endure as agents of political action as well as of derision. In understanding these dynamics, and through them, we find a great deal of hope for a future less determined by limitation and misunderstanding.

[23] Ibid, 86.

Twentieth Century: Codes of Transformation

Throughout the twentieth century, moral codes about gender and sexuality underwent a tumultuous period characterized by inconsistencies and scattered progressions. For Latina/os, the triumph of the United States over the Southwest transferred the focus from a Spanish system to an Anglo-European and Protestant perspective or at least the uneasy coexistence of both. One of the main areas that transformed perspectives

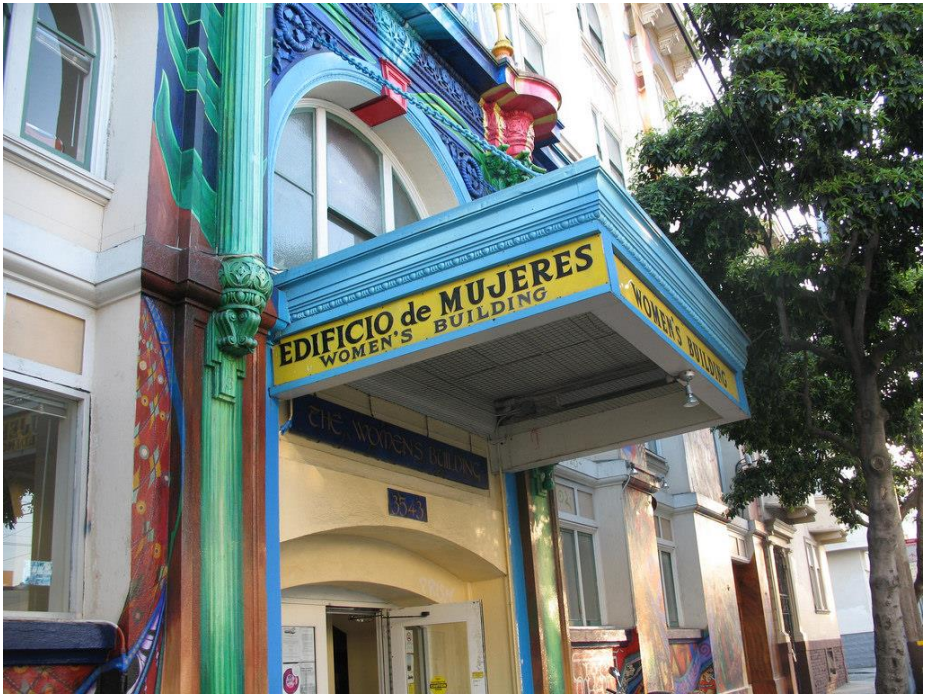

Figure 4: The founding director of The Women's Building (TWB), 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California was lesbian Latina activist Carmen Vazquez. The Women's Building opened in 1979 and continues to serve as a home and community resource for numerous social justice groups at the intersections of race, class, sexuality, and gender. In 1984, a group of Latina activists, including Vazquez, founded Somos Hermanas, a Central American Women's Solidarity Network, at TWB. La Casa de Las Madres, a women's shelter founded in 1976, had its home at TWB, and in the early 1990s, Ellas en Acción, a group for lesbian and bisexual Latinas met here. Photo by Gary Stevens, 2009.[24]

[24] License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/garysoup/3256659047

on gender and sexuality has been the gender codes. With modernization came a new industrialized labor force that brought women out of the confines of the home. This carried over to other American sensibilities that gave new arrangements for identity and self-expression (Figure 4).

One of the enduring influences shaping Latino/a gender and sexuality since the era of the Spanish conquest is the Catholic Church which has taken a strong and influential stance on sexual conduct and gender attributes. In the sacrament of marriage, also called matrimony, for example, the covenant describes a partnership to be exclusively between a man and woman, and until just recently, women were asked to assent to a life as "man and wife."[25] A man thus retained his gender, but a woman's was filtered through her marital identity as the wife of someone. The requirement of the covenant of marriage in Catholicism requires that the two partners be a man and a woman in fulfillment of the Catholic religion's holy sacraments and as the only acceptable place, marriage, for sex and procreation.[26]

Until very recently, the laws of a nation, municipal and state, followed religion's canonical law and recognized the partnership of marriage in accordance with those of religious practices. In June 2015, the United States Supreme Court decision Obergefell v. Hodges guaranteed same-sex couples across the country the fundamental right to marry.[27] The movements for same-sex marriage initiatives and for civil unions that preceded the decision were met with a backlash that views them as part of a "liberal agenda" or a conspiracy against heterosexuality.[28] Heterosexual marriage still enjoys a privileged position in the majority of Latina/o communities. Heterosexual privilege signifies a public recognition and support for an intimate relationship between a man and woman, and is recognized and supported by different social networks, such as the

[25] Castañeda, "Engendering," 150.
[26] See Catholic News Service, "U.S. Bishops to Urge Constitutional Amendment to Protect Marriage," *AmericanCatholic.org*, 2003, http://www.americancatholic.org/News/Homosexuality/default.asp.
[27] The text of the decision is available online at http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/14pdf/14-556_3204.pdf.
[28] See the resources at The Williams Institute website, http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu.

workplace, governmental bodies, educational institutions, housing, health care, and, of course, acceptance and recognition by many religious organizations. It is a privilege often enjoying the status of a "right" and only in the past half century has it been challenged as inaccurately reflecting people's lives, romantic interests, or the real lived experiences of gays and lesbians as well as bisexuals and transgender people. A later section of this essay gives examples of specific Latino and Latina-based challenges to heteronormativity or the belief that everyone is and must be heterosexual.

The expression of a male or female identity thus becomes embedded in institutions that support a *masculine* identity for men and *feminine* one for women. Another way of making this point is that masculinity and femininity express what it means to be a heterosexual male or female in a court of law, in hospitals, schools, or in churches, that is, in institutions that sanctify those privileges. The more obvious Latino expression of heterosexual masculinity is located in the term macho, which is defined as a strong, often exaggerated sense of masculine pride. To be macho has mixed meanings in the US context. Its meaning could be both positive and negative in connotation. Male athletes are considered a proper role model of masculinity.[29] The more negative aspect is that of the stereotype of a macho as someone who is aggressive and demonstrates excessive dominance over women through male chauvinism. Most gay men, in traditional Latino/a thinking, would be considered less masculine and not sufficiently *macho* (Figure 5).[30]

The counterpart to the macho or male figure is to be found in the concept of *Marianismo*. *Marianismo* derives from the worship or following of the Virgin Mary (Maria) and her central role in active Catholicism. It is

[29] See Schweighofer (this volume) for a discussion of masculinity in sport.
[30] See Tomás Almaguer, "Chicano Men: Cartography of Homosexual Identity and Behavior," in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, eds. Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin (New York: Routledge, 1993).

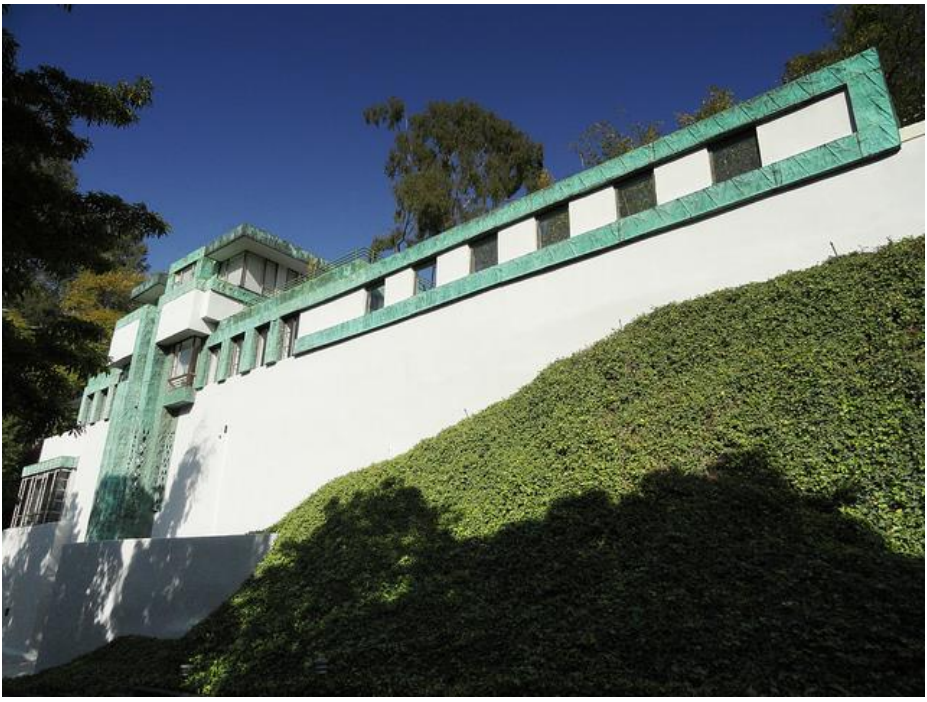

Figure 5: The Samuel-Novarro House, Hollywood Hills neighborhood, Los Angeles, California The home was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright's son, Lloyd Wright, and built in 1928 for Louis Samuel, personal assistant and business manager for Mexican-American silent film star, Ramón Novarro (born Jose Ramón Gil Samaniego). Novarro is most famous for his role as Ben Hur in *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ*. Novarro's family moved to Los Angeles in 1913 to escape the Mexican Revolution. When he discovered that Samuel was embezzling money from him, Novarro opted not to press charges, but took over ownership of the house in Hollywood Hills. In 1945, Novarro moved to a home in the Studio City neighborhood of Los Angeles. Novarro was gay, and struggled with his homosexuality and Catholic upbringing. Unlike other gay actors at the time, however, Novarro refused to marry a woman to hide his sexuality. He was murdered in his Studio City home in 1968 by two brothers who were hustlers and physique photo models. The sensational coverage of Novarro's murder made his homosexuality a matter of public record. Photo by J. Jakobson, 2013.[31]

an ideal of true femininity that women are supposed to embody, that is, to be modest, virtuous, and sexually abstinent until marriage and then faithful and subordinate to their husbands. *Marianismo* serves as the female companion to "machismo," or hyper-masculinity, and originated as its counterpoint during the time of the Spanish conquest. It began as a

[31] License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/30811353@N04/8666179554. Big Orange Landmarks, "No. 130 – Samuel-Novarro House," April 5, 2008. http://bigorangelandmarks.blogspot.com/2008/04/no-130-samuel-novarro-house.html

direct response to the overused *machismo* and was intended to explain a female phenomenon in Latin America in which women were either depicted as saints or as whores. Female superiority was at the heart of Marianismo but its opposite also accounts for how easily, in this dichotomous construction, women could also be seen as overly and overtly sexual, that is, as super-sexed. Beginning in 1973, scholars have located the concept across many Latino/a cultures, meaning that it is a gender construction shared across national borders. Since the 1980s, however, other scholars introduced into the lexicon of femininity and womanhood more feminist-based ideas, including *mujerismo* or woman-centeredness which locates women's power and struggles within a Catholic context, but one that engages religious equality and social liberation for all. A mujerista theology was also a response to male-constructed notions of how women should behave in social and religious contexts; in this case, the message was directed toward the traditional Catholic hierarchy.[32]

Other characteristics of machismo that are often hidden include an ostensibly valorous and chivalrous code of protection that extends into the Spanish and Latin-derived romantic virtues of sexual potency and prowess. Less obvious is the *mujer passiva* (or, *la mujer abnegada*) who negates herself for the love of her husband and children and sacrifices her individualism for the benefit of the family. This traditional role orients women toward home life and religious dedication. Gender and sexuality have their own unique expressions within Latina/o communities.

In the most basic sense, gender refers to the biological identity assigned at birth, usually, boy or girl, and depending on the circumstances of birth because some newborns on rare occasions have genitalia that might be male and female at once.[33] In western culture, male and female

[32] See R.M. Hill and C.I. Vasquez, *The Maria Paradox: How Latinas Can Merge Old World Traditions With New World Self-Esteem* (New York: G.P. Putnam & Sons, 1996).
[33] Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

predominate as the primary assigned or prescribed gender categories.[34] For Latina/os this expression of gender identity is unique. As a cultural facet of every Spanish-speaking nation across the Americas shaped by unique traditions, religious influences, and laws, most gender codes of conduct in the vast Latina/o experience emphasize femininity for women and masculinity for men. Ideally, these gender codes of masculinity and femininity have served as the basis of heterosexuality and with them, support the formation of the family social structure as a central basis for constructing gender and sexual identities.[35]

Latinas experience negative stereotyping as frequently as their male counterparts. The virgin/whore complex refers to the way Latinas are situated between two completely opposite views: the virgin and the whore or the martyr and the witch are ideals embedded in cultural practices, religious or spiritual values, and in social life and they require women to behave and position themselves as either celibate (virginal) or as sacrificing themselves for the good of the family, the community, or the collective (martyr). Like the terms suggest, the virgin is the idealized woman in Latina/o culture, while the term witch refers to the maligned aspects of a woman who shows too much independence. Sexual promiscuity is central to the virgin/whore or martyr/witch dichotomies.[36] To be "virginal" suggests an attitude of moral refinement and right action, and, to be labeled a whore or prostitute refers to someone who exhibits sexual autonomy and freedom, including the possibility of prostitution. Mainstream culture exploits this notion in advertising and the media, underscoring Latinas' hypersexuality, or availability for sex. Popular culture focuses on Latinas' bodies and eroticizes them on the basis of a traditional regard that Latinas had more children (meaning they had more sex) than white women. While attitudes about sexuality have changed

[34] See Roscoe (this volume) for a discussion of multiple genders recognized by Native American societies.
[35] See Olivia Espín, "Cultural and Historical Influences on Sexuality in Hispanic/Latin Women: Implications for Psychotherapy," in *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, ed. Carole S. Vance (London: Pandora Press, 1989).
[36] For a review of the Spanish Mediterranean origins of these concepts, see Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

during the last five decades, some of these attitudes about Latina/o men and women remain despite efforts to move away from cultural prescriptions and established preconceptions.[37]

Now regarded as a socially constructed set of rules and behaviors, orthodox assumptions about heterosexuality and the view that men were superior and women inferior are being challenged. The belief that heterosexuality was the only option for sexual behavior no longer dominates Latina/o perspectives. Heteronormativity, the belief that heterosexuality is the only acceptable way of expressing and enjoying sexuality in the human experience, is further challenged by science, psychology, religious, and cultural mores. The belief that heterosexuality is

Figure 6: Lukas Avendaño, contemporary Zapotec Muxe from Mexico. Photo by Mario Patinho, 2015.[38]

[37] Elena R. Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican-Origin Women's Reproduction* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008); on cultural tradition, a young woman's fifteenth birthday "coming of age" ritual, see Karen Mary Davalos, "La Quinceañera: Making Gender and Ethnic Identitites," in *Velvet Barrios: Popular Culture and Chicana/o Sexualities*, ed. Alicia Gaspar de Alba (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[38] License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lukas_Avendano-Mario_Patino-Performance_Art-Arte_de_en_accion-Mexico-14.jpg

"normal" and all other forms of sexuality outside of heterosexuality are abnormal, deviant, and disordered has given way to an understanding of the complexity of human gender and sexual expression including homosexuality, bisexuality, asexuality, and gender variation from those who are genderqueer to those who are transgender.[39] Examined by many academics and activist political organizations, the focus on seeing sexuality as complex has expanded because there are more persuasive arguments, including scientific information, that support variety in human expression and behaviors, and to a great extent among mammals and other animals. These but reinforce the idea that sex and sexuality are not simple concepts and to be understood simply as uniformly or divinely ordained.[40] Many Native American cultures recognized sexual and gender variations that go beyond the male/female understandings of Western European cultures.[41] In the Americas for example, the Zapotec of Mexico recognize a third gender category, the Muxe (pronounced Mu-SHAY), who are identified as male when they are born, but who dress and live as women (Figure 6). Muxe are generally accepted by the Zapotec Indian culture and are not viewed negatively as they might be in western industrialized cultures. Muxe are not necessarily homosexual and do not fit neatly into identity categories one may find in US LGBTQ communities.

Gender identity and sexual orientation are related, but distinct cultural identities. There are many people in the United States who do not identify with the gender they were identified as at birth. Some people find that they identify opposite to the gender they were identified as; others may feel that they exist somewhere on the continuum between the two binaries, or as some gender not represented by male or female, or as no gender at all (agender). In sexuality and sexually-fluid identities the terms used are expressly significant. The same is the case in ethnic identity where a recent trend is to use Latinx to be inclusive of Latino/a, or of all self-identified people of Latin American origins. Most broadly, the term

[39] See Meyer, Stryker, and Hutchins (this volume).
[40] See Bruce Bagemihl, *Biological Exuberance: Animal Homosexuality and Natural Diversity* (New York: Macmillan, 2000).
[41] For details about cultures within what is now the United States, see Roscoe (this volume).

transgender encompasses all those who do not identify with the gender they were identified with at birth; the terms gender fluid and gender queer are also used by people to describe themselves.[42] Sexuality is defined as the expression of one's sexual desire and may or may not include a certain partner. It is no longer widely seen as being limited to conventional terms of marriage and heterosexuality.[43]

There are many different ways that people in the LGBTQ community and beyond it identify, depending on how they perceive their sexual and gender identities and how they express them. The terms used to describe these various attractions and identities have varied over time. [44] After the 1950s, when for example, lesbian referred to women's attraction for other women, and gay referred to men who expressed desire and partnership with each other, the sexual revolution following these understandings changed the way we describe contemporary sexual identity. The Latina/o LGBTQ communities emerged to claim spaces in the larger queer movements of the past decades from experiences in the sexual and feminist political debates, including those addressing civil rights and the rights of minorities, including sexual minorities. In sum, they drew from contemporary legacies, including civil rights, federal and state debates, and student movements that changed how minorities viewed their position in society.[45]

History and Activism of Latina/o Sexual Politics

Latinas/os had been situated at the margins in queer political movements, often overlooked in major historical moments, their political,

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[42] For more on transgender identities, see Stryker (this volume).
[43] The breadth of examples and of influence about the entire topic of Latina literary narratives, to name just one, can be traced in Katherine Sugg, "The Ultimate Rebellion: Chicana Narratives of Sexuality and Community," *Meridians: Feminism, Race, and Transnationalism* 3, no. 2 (2003): 139-170.
[44] For a list of popular definitions and terms, see Fedwa Malti-Douglas, ed., *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender* (Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2007).
[45] See Elizabeth M. Iglesias and Francisco Valdes, "Religion, Gender, Sexuality, Race, and Class in Coalitional Theory: A Critical and Self-Critical Analysis of LatCrit Social Justice Agendas, 19," in *LATCRIT Primer*, vol. 1 (Boston: Harvard Latino Law Review, 1997).

cultural, social, and sexual activisms intertwined with radical economic and demographic changes to underscore gay rights issues (Figure 7). The general influence of queer Latinas/os became more prominent during the 1980s and 1990s and visibility and representation posed less of a challenge. During these decades, the marginalized role queer Latinos played within some of the larger LGBTQ political movements continued to permeate issues and organizations. Several pivotal and historical factors contributed to the emergence and visibility of Latinas/o queers. In these early decades, the plight of AIDS and Latina feminism transformed the

Figure 7: The interior of the Circus Disco, 6655 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, August 2011. Circus Disco was opened in 1975 as a place for gay Latinos. Like African Americans, Latinos were discriminated against by many in the white LGBTQ community. They were discriminated against at white gay clubs in the area by bouncers who required multiple forms of identification from people of color, while white patrons only had to show one form of ID. Not just a social venue, Circus Disco played an important role as a place of community development and political organizing: in 1983, César Chávez addressed approximately one hundred members of the Project Just Business LGBTQ coalition at the bar. In his address, he discussed strategies for coalition fundraising and organizing boycotts. Circus Disco closed in January 2016. Slated for demolition, the developer has agreed to preserve several historic elements of the club. Photo by Tony Nungaray.[46]

[46] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/banfyphotography/6020558384. See Los Angeles Conservancy, Circus Disco, https://www.laconservancy.org/issues/circus-disco.

issue of visibility as Latinos sought to transform their cultural "outsider" status—being ethnic and political minorities—often sidelined as contributing leaders and players in the larger spheres of LGBTQ politics (Figure 8). Since the 1950s and even in today's politics of self-representation, the use of the terms such as "Latino," "Latina," and "queer" transformed their pejorative meanings into a positive reflection of *Latinidad*, a label of consciousness about Latin American roots, and in the case of embracing a queer Latinidad, a politicized and political identity.[47] The same thing occurred in the 1960s in the Chicano movement; as women claimed their stake and interests in struggles for equality, access to education, and farmworker's and other laborers' rights, the pejorative flavor of the word Chicano (meaning perhaps *Mexicano* pronounced in the original Nahuatl language as Me-SHEE-cano) slipped into popular acceptance. Today, three established PhD programs in Chicana/o Studies indicate the widespread acceptance of the concept of selfhood, of naming oneself and of embracing an identity for varied political, cultural, or socially-acceptable reasons.

Until the most recent census, as the invisibility of Latino/as pervaded among the majority population as a whole, recognizing one's homosexuality amidst racial disenfranchisement made it even more difficult to be proud of any identity at all. In the Latina experience, misogyny and homophobia created complications because lesbian women were often single parents, unpartnered or disowned by their families of origin. The popular term used until the 1960s was "homosexual." "Gay" only began to gain legitimacy in later decades as gays and lesbians openly declared and reclaimed their sexual identities. "Gay" was often used to refer to gay men's experience and women began to use "lesbian" alongside "gay" to contrast the gender distinctions. Only in the 1990s was the term "queer" used to encompass all groups from a wide range of

[47] See *Latino Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (March 2003).

gender and sexualities. AIDS activism radicalized lesbian and gay men's movements in the early 1990s, and their leaders continued a quest to elect local sympathetic officials, found or run businesses, and create families within this expanding display of sexual desires and sexuality. Some resisted the idea of "flamboyance," while others were proudly flamboyant. Most gay and lesbian politicians and social activists argued strenuously for the inclusion of all sexual expression, no matter how disdainful some would find them, citing First and Second Constitutional Amendments as rights given to any American citizen without regard for their sexuality. Others also used "queer" to formulate artistic,

Figure 8: "El SIDA también es un problema para los hispanos" (AIDS is a problem for Hispanics too), from the US Centers for Disease Control's America Responds to AIDS campaign, circa 1990-1994. A translation of the text (from the English version of the poster) reads, in part, "It's difficult for our families to talk about drugs and AIDS. And it is not our nature to openly discuss issues like teen sex, homosexuality and bisexuality. We were brought up with traditional values. Even among our immediate family we don't talk…we want to, but it's just not that easy. AIDS is serious. We need to talk about it openly." Several Latino/a community-based health organizations emerged during the AIDS crisis, including Community United in Responding to AIDS/SIDA (CURAS) and Proyecto ContraSIDA por Vida (which operated from 1993 to 2005), who worked to reduce the spread of HIV in communities of color. Known for their innovative community engagement, the mission statement of Proyecto ContraSIDA por Vida (PCPV) read: "Proyecto ContraSIDA is coming to you—you joto, you macha, you vestigial, you queer, you femme, you girls and boys and boygirls and girlboys de ambiente, con la fé and fearlessness that we can combat AIDS, determine our own destinos, and love ourselves and each other con dignidad, humor, y lujuria." This mission statement embraces many different sexualities and genders, and PCPV worked with transgender people for ten years before the organization shut its doors due to lack of funding. In 2006, several of those who had been involved with PCPV created El/La Para TransLatinas to continue HIV outreach, community services, and advocacy for transgender Latinas. Both PCPV and El/La Para TransLatinas had offices at 2940 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California. Image courtesy of the Wellcome Library, London.[48]

[48] License: CC BY-NC-ND 4.0. http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/L0052366.html. See also El/La Para TransLatinas, "About Us," http://ellaparatranslatinas.yolasite.com/about-us.php.

political, and social initiatives particularly in the urban centers of the country.[49]

The pre-Stonewall period, before 1969, is often cited as an era marked by closeted life for many gays and lesbians, though there were those who worked publicly for LGBTQ civil rights.[50] It was incredibly difficult to be open about homosexuality, and this proved to be a fearful time where little to no acceptance about any gay/lesbian lifestyle pervaded. Senator Joseph McCarthy's witch hunts included searching for homosexuals in the early 1950s, blacklisting actors who might have had even an affiliation with known or suspected gay actors and actresses; the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover was discovered to have been obsessed about locating the secret lives of many left-leaning, supposedly communist-sympathizing Americans.[51] Adding to that experience of marginalization, racial politics and especially anti-Latino sentiment across the United States hardly encouraged honesty or open declarations. Despite such marginalization and erasure from the larger historical picture, Latinas/os played a role in the nascent gay liberation movements that were forming and founded.[52] The summer of 1969 ushered in a new perspective on sexuality for gays and lesbians. On June 28, 1969, a group of gay and lesbians, many of them Latina/o and of color, rebelled against police harassment at the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village in New York City.[53] During the Stonewall riots and in its aftermath, several Latina/o activists were critical players in forming the vocabulary and understanding of what was to

[49] For sensationalizing media coverage of early gay rights marches, see as examples, Sex and Love Editor, "Will the gay rights movement make for fabulous history?" *Creative Loafing*, July 25, 2011, http://cltampa.com/dailyloaf/archives/2011/07/25/will-the-gay-rights-movement-make-for-fabulous-history or for primary sources designed to develop lesson plans for gay and lesbian studies, see Media Construction of Social Justice, Teacher's Guide, Unit 7: Gay Liberation at http://www.projectlooksharp.org/?action=justice.

[50] See Springate, Civil Rights (this volume).

[51] Anthony Summers, *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Putnam, 1993).

[52] Tim Retzloff, "Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in U.S. LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined," *CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 140-161.

[53] Stonewall, including the Stonewall Inn (51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York) and the area in the street and Christopher Park where the riots took place was added to the NRHP on June 28, 1999, designated an NHL on February 16, 2000, and declared the Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.

become the "gay liberation" movement.[54] Before the Stonewall riots, many of the queer political movements were limited to organizations such as the Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis and were focused primarily on fighting discrimination.[55] These organizations believed in assimilation over marginalization and difference, but the agenda of these groups emphasized Anglo-American values, middle-class interests, and the desire to blend in with mainstream society, despite the fact that each group contained gays and lesbians of color.[56]

Despite the Anglo, middle-class values of the earliest LGBTQ or Queer movements, some Latino activists clearly and cleverly resisted the assimilationist models that predominated a pre-civil rights era. In San Francisco, for example, José Sarria rejected the secrecy of the Mattachine Society and founded instead the League for Civil Education in 1960, which sought to educate queer and straight

Figure 9: Police harassment of LGBTQ bars was not limited to the 1950s and 1960s. In October of 1982, a series of violent and homophobic police raids at Blue's, a historically black and Latino gay bar in Times Square, resulted in a protest by over eleven hundred people. No one was charged in the raids, which were part of a pattern of harassment of gays and people of color. Blue's was located at 264 West 43rd Street, New York City, New York. Photo in the collections of the New York Public Library (b11686548), courtesy of the LGBT Community Center National History Archive.

[54] See Martin Duberman's account of the Stonewall riots in his book, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993).
[55] Harry Hay, *Radically Gay: Gay Liberation in the Words of its Founder,* ed. Will Roscoe (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996); Kristen Esterberg, "From Accommodation to Liberation: A Social Movement Analysis of Lesbians in the Homophile Movement," *Gender and Society* 8, no. 3 (September 1994): 424- 443.
[56] See also Sueyoshi and Harris (this volume).

communities about homophobia and especially police abuse.[57] The group worked to find a solution to the police raids of gay bars and harassment that was pervasive at the time (Figure 9). Sarria would move on and subsequently founded the Royal Court System in 1965, which now serves as the collective body for over sixty-five local chapters worldwide, each of which organizes drag-related fundraisers for queer charities.

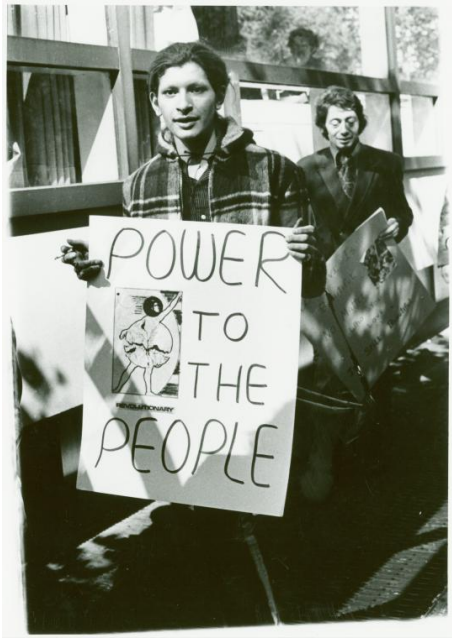

Figure 10: Sylvia Rivera was among the Gay Liberation Front and members of the Gay Student Liberation group who demonstrated in 1970 outside New York University's Weinstein Hall after the university cancelled and then refused to allow gay dances on campus. Other protesters simultaneously occupied the basement of the building. Protesters dispersed when the Tactical Police Force arrived. Frustrated by the refusal of the group to defend itself against the police, Rivera and others formed the more radical Street Transvestites for Gay Power, later to become the Street Transvestites Action Revolutionaries. Weinstein Hall is located at 5 University Place, New York City, New York. Photo by Diana Davies, courtesy of the New York Public Library (Diana Davies Photographs, b14442517).[58]

Latina Sylvia Rivera was born Ray Rivera in New York City to Puerto Rican and Venezuelan parents, and took the name Sylvia while still a child. Rivera was present at Stonewall during the 1969 Stonewall Riots. Told through testimony, Rivera purportedly threw out one of the first bricks at the police during the riot.[59] She also played an important role in the organization of other queer organizations, among them the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and another offshoot of the GLF, called the Gay

[57] Sarria performed drag at the Black Cat Club, 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. It was from the Black Cat that he launched his 1961 campaign for a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors—the first time an openly gay person ran for elected office. The Black Cat Club location is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, added to the NRHP on November 18, 1971.

[58] Greenwich Village History, "An Army of Lovers Cannot Lose: The Occupation of NYU's Weinstein Hall," https://greenwichvillagehistory.wordpress.com/tag/weinstein-hall/

[59] Sylvia Rivera, "Sylvia Rivera's Talk at LGMNY, June 2001, Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center, New York City," *CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 116-123.

Activists Alliance (GAA) (Figure 10). These organizations were active primarily from 1970 to 1974 and included Latino/as. Rivera would also move on to co-found, with Marsha P. Johnson, the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), which focused on providing social services to those we would now identify as transgender and queer youth, and to offer a safe space for transgender political voices to speak.

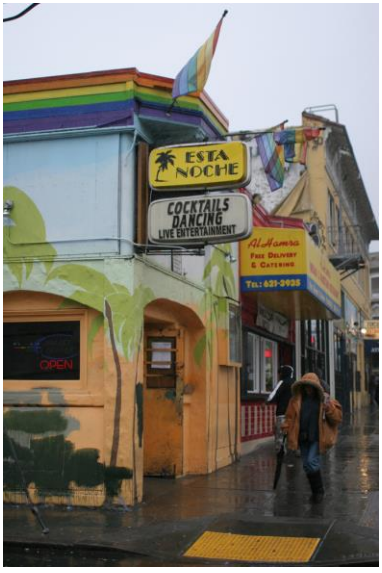

Figure 11: Esta Noche, the first gay Latino bar in San Francisco, was located at 3079 Sixteenth Street. The bar was founded in 1979 by openly gay community members Anthony Lopez and Manuel Quijano and initially had close ties with the Gay Latino Alliance (GALA). Esta Noche was a safe place for LGBTQ Latinos/as to meet, socialize, and form community. Like other people of color, Latinos/as often experienced racism and discrimination at predominantly white bars and clubs. The group, Gay American Indians, also founded in response to discrimination in white LGBTQ spaces, often met at Esta Noche. The bar closed in 2014. Photo by Sean Hoyer, 2008.[60]

In response to many instances of erasure and lack of consideration, many Latina/o queers began setting up their own representational organizations such as the Third World Gay Revolution in New York the Gay Liberated Chicanos of Los Angeles, or the Gay Latino Alliance (GALA) of San Francisco (Figure 11). In yet another example of representational political efforts, a New York-based Latino gay men's group, described as a coalitional group from several countries in Latin America, published a pamphlet in Spanish, *AFUERA* ("Out").[61] Focused on the politics of "coming out," the booklet examined leftist ideas drawing from Third World liberation, Marxist thought, and challenged patriarchy, as one scholar of Latino gay rights notes.[62] In 1974 in Puerto Rico, inspired by the 1969 Stonewall Riots, LGBTQ Puerto Ricans

[60] License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/flavor32/2283576978
[61] Darren Rosenblum, "Queer Political Movements," in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in Contemporary Politics, Law, and Social Movements*, eds. Suzanne Oboler and Deena J. González. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[62] Darren Rosenblum, "Queer Intersectionality and the Failure of Recent Lesbian and Gay 'Victories,'" *Law and Sexuality* 83 (1994), online at http://digitalcommons.pace.edu/lawfaculty/210/.

founded the Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Figure 12). They published *Pa'fuera!* and offered educational and community services out of the second floor space in a residential neighborhood.[63] Of major significance to the coming out process were the public events and social celebrations such as parades, pageants, and political activism. Understanding that "coming out" and public visibility were important to LGBTQ rights, organizations such as Comité Homosexual Latinoamericano, or the Latin American Homosexual Committee attempted to march in New York's annual Puerto Rican Day Parade (Figure 13). Denied participation, activists were successful in drawing attention to gay realities in Puerto Rican communities, a move that one scholar believes presaged later battles over St. Patrick's Day Parades which ended in the United States Supreme Court.[64]

Figure 12: The Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo), at 3 Saldaña Street, San Juan, Puerto Rico, was the home of the Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico. Inspired by the Stonewall Riots in New York City, the group was founded in 1974, and was Puerto Rico's first gay liberation organization. They occupied this building from 1975 to 1976. Casa Orgullo was listed on the NRHP on May 1, 2016. Photo by Santiago Gala, 2015, courtesy of the Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office.

[63] The Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico was founded on August 4, 1974 at a meeting held at the San Juan Unitarian Fellowship, 53 Sevilla Street, San Juan, Puerto Rico. In 1975, they rented their own space, the Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo) at 3 Calle Saldaña, San Juan, Puerto Rico. The group lasted until 1976.

[64] Hurley v. Irish-American Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Group of Boston, 515 U.S. 557 (1995), is a landmark decision regarding the right to assemble. Much to the dismay of gay rights groups, the court ruled that private organizations, even if they were planning on and had permits for a public demonstration, were permitted to exclude groups if those groups presented a message contrary to the one the organizing group wanted to convey. Organizers of the St. Patrick's Day event were under no obligation to include gays, lesbians, and transgender people in the annual parade. In 2015, LGBTQ people were allowed to march in St. Patrick's Day parades in Boston, Massachusetts and New York City, New York for the first time. See David Gibson, "Catholic Debate over Gays in St. Patrick's Parades Roils Irish on Big Day," *Huffington Post*, March 17, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/03/17/st-patrick-day-parade-lgbt_n_6880892.html.

Figure 13: Long the subject of rumor about his sexuality, Puerto Rican superstar singer Ricky Martin came out on his website in 2010. He is the father of twin boys, who were born to a surrogate mother. This photo shows him in the 2007 National Puerto Rican Day Parade in New York City. Photo by Brian.[65]

Sexuality, Gender, and Representation

Many issues have come to impact the LGBTQ communities regarding access and adequate care and representation. One of the most difficult aspects of being "out" is the working through the homophobic attitudes against LGBTQ people. They often have faced discrimination in legal matters, and life-threatening decisions in areas of health care and immigration. These concerns over homophobia in the legal system became the basis of many legal disputes with cases related to child custody, immigration, and survivor benefits. Mariana Romo-Carmona underwent such legal battle over the custody of her son, she notes

[65] License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ricky_Martin_at_the_National_Puerto_Rican_Day_Parade.jpg

"Sometimes our own families act in collusion with the state to deprive us of the right to raise our own children."[66]

Issues with immigration also surfaced as lesbian or bisexual and transsexual women seeking asylum in to the United States have been denied entry. Ironically, many LGBTQ people were among the thousands of Cubans allowed to come to the United States as part of the Marielito boatlift, sent out of Cuba as the nation drained the undesirables.[67] Until recently, immigration laws have generally excluded LGBTQ people from entering the United States and other nations also do not offer considerations for LGBTQ refugees. It has only been since the 2015 Supreme Court decision regarding same-sex marriage that spouses of LGBTQ people have been eligible for immigration privileges and death benefits. Elba Cedeno's life partner was killed in the World Trade Center attacks on September 11, 2001.[68] Her efforts to access survivor benefits from the Federal Victim's Compensation Fund were denied. After denial of her claims, she sought representation from the Lambda Legal Defense Fund.[69]

Homophobia in one of the largest industries in the United States, health care, discourages gays, lesbians, bisexual, and transgender people from access to adequate medical care. This is exacerbated by cultural and financial barriers that discourage Latino/as in general from seeking health care.[70] While some changes in the health care industry have developed,

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[66] Juanita Ramos, *Compañeras: Latina Lesbians (An Anthology)* (New York: Latina Lesbian History Project, 1987), xxvii. See also Stein (this volume).
[67] See Capó (this volume).
[68] The seven buildings of the World Trade Center were located in Lower Manhattan, New York City. They were destroyed by terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.
[69] See Barbara Raab, "Same-Sex Partners Face Discrimination," *NBC News*, December 20, 2011, http://tampabaycoalition.homestead.com/files/1220SameSexPartnersFaceDiscrimination911.htm (web page no longer online, see archived link at https://web.archive.org/web/20051227141702/http://tampabaycoalition.homestead.com/files/1220SameSexPartnersFaceDiscrimination911.htm).
[70] See, for example, Jennifer Kates, Usha Ranji, Adara Beamesderfer, Alina Salganicoff, and Lindsey Dawson, "Health and Access to Care and Coverage for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Individuals in the U.S.," Kaiser Family Foundation website, last updated June 6, 2016, http://kff.org/disparities-policy/issue-brief/health-and-access-to-care-and-coverage-for-lesbian-gay-bisexual-and-transgender-individuals-in-the-u-s; and Amanda Machado, "Why Many Latinos Dread Going to the Doctor," *Atlantic*, May 7, 2014,

like increasingly noting sexual preference and preferred name and gender pronouns in a chart so that accurate information can be conveyed, health care in the United States continues to practice heteronormativity. Suzanne Newman, producer of *Nuestra Salud*, discusses lesbian health issues. Newman notes, "Many Latinas believe that you only go to the OB-GYN when you're sick or dying … And that when you do go, you always get bad news."[71]

Conclusion: Contemporary Sites of Political Organizing

Latina lesbian organizations that emerged during the 1990s and later included Latina Lesbians United Never Apart (LLUNA, Boston); Ellas en Acción (San Francisco); Las Buenas Amigas (New York City); Entre Ellas (Austin, Texas); and Amigas Latinas (Chicago). Chicago LGBTQ activists are often overlooked by LGBTQ historians, but a number of notables can be found in the Chicago Gay and Lesbian Hall of Fame, including Latinas Mona Noriega and Evette Cardona.[72] Latino/a LGBTQ organizations more broadly are increasingly found across the country, including the Association of Latinos/as Motivating Action (ALMA) in Chicago; Latino LinQ in Atlanta; the Austin Latina/Latino Lesbian and Gay Organization (ALLGO) in Austin; the Latino Pride Center in New York City; AGUILAS in San Francisco; the Unity Coalition in Florida; and from 1987 to 2004, the National Latino/a Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGÓ).[73] The Latino

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http://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2014/05/why-many-latinos-dread-going-to-the-doctor/361547.

[71] *Nuestra Salud: Lesbianas Latinas Rompiendo Barreras (Our Health: Latina Lesbians Breaking Barriers)*, directed by Teresa Cuadra and Suzanne Newman (Brooklyn, NY: Fan Light Productions, 2002).

[72] See the Chicago Gay and Lesbian Hall of Fame website at http://www.glhalloffame.org.

[73] ALMA is located at 3656 North Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois. ALLGO was founded in 1985 and is currently located at 701 Tillery Street, Austin, Texas. The Latino Pride Center, founded in 2013 is an evolution of the Hispanic AIDS Forum, the first Latino organization in the United States established to fight HIV/AIDS, itself founded in 1983; they are currently located in East Harlem, New York City, New York. AGUILAS was founded in 1991, and met in people's homes until early 1992, when they began regular meetings at St. Francis Lutheran Church, 152 Church Street, San Francisco, California; they are currently located at the San Francisco LGBT Center, 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, California. The Unity Coalition/Coalicion Unida was founded in 2002. LLEGÓ was founded in 1987

Figure 14: José Gutierrez wearing a shawl and Native American blossom necklace that once belonged to José Sarria (shown wearing both in the photo held by Gutierrez). Gutierrez organized the first DC Latino Pride, "20 Years of Struggle – 20 Años de Lucha" in 2006, which included a panel discussion at the Human Rights Campaign offices. He also was a founder of the Latino GLBT History Project in 2000 (www.latinoglbthistory.org). This photo was taken at the Coronation of the Imperial Court of Washington, DC – one of the chapters of the Imperial Court System founded by Sarria in 1965. The Human Rights Campaign offices are located at 1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, DC. Photo courtesy of Jose Gutierrez.

GLBT History Project works to preserve LGBTQ Latina/o history (Figure 14).[74]

Lesbians have made significant inroads in local community politics and serve social justice causes in critical ways. In San Antonio, Texas, Graciela Sánchez and a group of young feminists with visions of ending discrimination founded the Esperanza Peace and Justice Center (Figure 15). When homophobic interests sought to cut the center's funding, Esperanza sued and won.[75] In Los Angeles, attorney and housing advocate Elena Popp helped elect Antonio Villaraigosa to a seat on the Los Angeles City Council. She was expected to run for lesbian Jackie Goldberg's seat in the California State Senate. In Washington, DC, attorney Mercedes Marquez served as deputy general

during the National March for Lesbian and Gay Rights in Washington, DC, and had their headquarters in DC. See "National Latino/a Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGÓ) Records, 1987-2004," Texas Archival Resources Online, University of Texas Libraries website, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00273/lac-00273.html; and Patrick Saunders, "New organization tackles Latino LGBT needs in Georgia," *Georgia Voice*, August 21, 2015, http://thegavoice.com/new-organization-tackles-latino-lgbt-needs-in-georgia.

[74] The Latino GLBT History Project was founded in Washington, DC, by Jose Gutierrez in 2000. See the organization's website at http://www.latinoglbthistory.org.

[75] See Esperanza vs. the City of San Antonio at http://esperanzacenter.org. The Esperanza Peace & Justice Center is located at 922 San Pedro Avenue, San Antonio, Texas.

counsel for fair housing at the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. In 1993, with the help of Ellas in Acción, Susan Leal was appointed to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Olga Vives, a Cubana, served as vice president of action for the National Organization for Women (NOW) until her death in 2012. She said that in NOW she could focus on a mix of issues that affected her life as a "Latina, immigrant, mother, and lesbian from the Midwest."[76] Ingrid Durán works in the national political arena through the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute. She has served as a social justice broker and change agent, mitigating homophobia in Latina/Latino political organizations and countering racism in LGBTQ organizations.[77]

Figure 15: Women sharing their stories of San Antonio at the Esperanza Peace & Justice Center, 2010. Photo by Jennifer Herrera.[78]

Other rich forms of activism manifest in lesbian and feminist cultural representations. During the 1990s, Tatiana de la Tierra, a Colombian writer, activist, and librarian (now deceased), published three Latina lesbian magazines: *Conmoción*, *Esto No Tiene Nombre*, and *Telaraña*.[79] In Los Angeles, Tongues is a Latina lesbian group and publication that grew out of VIVA, a 1980s LGBTQ Latina/Latino arts group. Members included artist Alma López, whose controversial re-imagination of Our Lady caused

[76] Vives passed away in March 2012. See "In Memoriam: Olga Vives," National Organization for Women website, March 19, 2012, http://www.now.org/history/vives-memoriam.html, (web page no longer online, see archived web link at https://web.archive.org/web/20131011091857/http://www.now.org/history/vives-memoriam.html).
[77] For examples of Ingrid Duran's work in Washington and with elected officials, see http://www.dpcreativestrategies.com/#!ingrid-duran/w83no.
[78] License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/jennherrera/4759590950
[79] A previous website could be found at http://delatierra.net.

a furor in New Mexico in 2001.[80] MACHA Theatre (Mujeres Advancing Culture, History, and Art), led by Cuban American Odalys Nanin, produces plays with lesbian content.[81] Laura Aguilar is a Los Angeles-based Chicana photographer whose images examine body image and cultural identity.[82] A long list of Latina and Latino LGBTQ writers, activists, and other notables can be found on the Lesbian History Project Web site thereby suggesting how enduring this legacy of both activism and presence or visibility has been, but also what a leading role in gender and sexuality studies such writers and researchers, artists, and others have played in deriving contemporary feminist standing, including among gay Latino men as well as heterosexual allies.

Many theories today argue that the hegemonic narratives of identity politics (said to be grounded in nationalist or religious identities) are an essentialist error, but some Latina lesbians argue that identity politics have been their survival strategy. In other words, possessing an identity politics grounded on gender and sexuality allows a person to sustain a strong politics of identity. Emma Pérez has written that "strategic essentialism is practiced resistance against dominant ideologies that silence and/or model marginalized groups."[83] Regardless of theoretical and political disruptions, straight, lesbian, and bisexual Latina feminists who began exploring gender and sexuality as important elements of their human condition maintained a standpoint of resistant consciousness and created important movements of interaction with familia, cultura, and the larger society. For a unique moment, historically speaking, such consciousness existed apart from patriarchal reach or male visions of women's proper roles. In this way, the new Latina feminisms of the

[80] See Alicia Gaspar de Alba and Alma López, eds., *Our Lady of Controversy: Alma López's "Irreverent Apparition"* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011). On the earlier Chicana re-configurations of the Virgen de Guadalupe, see the work of the artist, Yolanda López, in Karen Mary Davalos, *Yolanda López* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).
[81] See the MACHA Theatre website at http://www.machatheatre.org.
[82] Luz Calvo, "Embodied at the Shrine of Cultural Disjunction," in *Beyond the Frame: Women of Color and Visual Representation*, eds. Neferti X.M. Tadiar and Angela Y. Davis (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005). On the Lesbian History Project, see the Latino LGBT History Project website at http://www.latinoglbthistory.org/about-the-archive.
[83] Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 105.

contemporary era also shed light on men's gender roles and encourage their re-examination as well. Such accomplishment attests to the significance of an understanding about the varied, central roles gender and sexuality have played in Latino/a life.[i]

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[i] Additional resources used in preparing this chapter: Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987); Anzaldúa, *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader,* ed. Ana Louise Keating (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Luis Aponte-Parés and Jorge Merced, "Páginas Omitidas: The Gay and Lesbian Presence" in *The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora*, eds. Andrés Torres and Jose Velá (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998); Emilio Bejel, *Gay Cuban Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Combahee River Collective, "The Combahee River Collective Statement," in *Homegirls: A Black Feminist Anthology*, ed. Barbara Smith (New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1983); Tatiana de la Tierra, *Para las duras/For the Hard Ones: A Lesbian Phenomenology* (San Diego: Calaca, 2002); Terence Kissack, "Freaking Fag Revolutionaries: New York's Gay Liberation Front," *Radical History Review* 62 (1995): 105-134; Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes, *Queer Ricans: Cultures and Sexualities in the Diaspora* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2009); La Fountain-Stokes, "De un pájaro las dos alas: Travel Notes of a Queer Puerto Rican in Havana," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8, no. 1-2 (2002): 7-33; Yolanda Chávez Leyva, "Listening to the Silences in Latina/Chicana Lesbian History," in *Living Chicana Theory*, ed. Carla Trujillo (Berkeley, CA: Third Woman Press, 1998), 429-434; Jacqueline M. Martinez, *Phenomenology of Chicana Experience and Identity: Communication and Transformation in Practice* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000); Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981); José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1999); Emma Pérez, "Irigaray's Female Symbolic in the Making of Chicana Lesbian Sitios y Lenguas (Sites and Discourses)," in *The Lesbian Postmodern*, ed. Laura Doan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Yolanda Retter, "Identity Development of Lifelong vs. Catalyzed Latina Lesbians," master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of California, Los Angeles, 1987; Juana Maria Rodríguez, *Queer Latinidad: Identity Practices, Discursive Spaces* (New York: New York University Press, 2003); Richard T. Rodríguez, *Next of Kin: The Family in Chicano/a Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Horacio Roque Ramírez, "'That's my Place': Negotiating Racial, Sexual, and Gender Politics in San Francisco's Gay Latino Alliance (GALA), 1975-1983," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 3 (2003): 224-258; Yvette Saavedra with Deena J. González, "Latino/Latina Americans and LGBTQ Issues," in *LGBTQ America Today: An Encyclopedia,* ed. John C. Hawley (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009); Eve Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, and Performativity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Carla Trujillo, *Chicana Lesbians: The Girls Our Mothers Warned Us About* (Berkeley, CA: Third Woman Press, 1991); Antonia Villaseñor, "Latina Lesbians," in *The Reader's Companion to U.S. Women's History,* ed. Wilma Pearl Mankiller (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 340; Antonio Viego, *Dead Subjects: Toward a Politics of Loss in Latino Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).