Binghamton Journal of Hist

and uphold the promises made by the United States at the poin
of acquisition.

Many defendants of the Jones Bill furthermore desired that
the United States withdraw from the Philippines as a political
rejection of American imperialism at large nt t
f he

understood that exposing the American failure to meet ever
their own expectations and promises would create a mora
appeal to accept the Jones Bill proposal. Advocates for the Jo
Bill presented the bill as a moralist resolution to reject the
8 Q L W H G 6 W D W H V · L P S H U L D O L V W S D V
made to the Philippine nation.

After roughly twenty years of American rule in the
Philippines, and thus an increase in knowledge of the Filipin
people, race ideology held a prominent position in discussion

American administrators in the Philippines and believed educating Filipinos with American intellect and values was fruitless. The article portrayed American efforts in the

Opponents of the bill described American administration in the Philippines as a work in progress, which would be wasteful and immoral to abandon mid-project. In May 1916, the New York Times featured an article written by Hamilton M. Wright, author of A Handbook of the Philippines, with the headline "THE DURATION OF THE PHILIPPINES NOT WORTH WHILE: What Would Be the Effect upon the Filipino Character of Withdrawal of American Government?" The article argued that "What would be the effect upon the government would the Filipino people have upon the complete moral and physical withdrawal of the Americans?...It can hardly be expected that in twenty years they will have learned entirely to adopt the American system, and will entirely cast aside

In an article published in The Independent, ex-President of the United States Howard Taft warned against the proposals made by the Democratic Party. "He cannot suppose that in ten or eleven years all of this could be fully accomplished. Our work is very far from completed. Our duty to the Filipinos is far from done."

States had far more to accomplish before removal could b
considered.

violating the trust we assumed when we took over the islands
I U R P 6 [32] B D L Q thase articles suggested that independence
was not in the best interest of the Filipinos and thus would be a
Y L R O D W L R Q R I W K H 7 U H D W \ R I 3 D U L V
to the Philippines. L R W R Q O \ Z R X O G ´ G L V F K D U J
Philippines be detrimental to the progress of the Philippine
nation, but it would reflect poorly on American virtue at a time
when internationene>t( )-23.002 .s]l t <00in2_0 12.025 Tf T* [4

endeavoring to teach this self-government to the Filipino, with whom it is not native. He has had less than twenty years of ou

W X W H This article described an innate difference between Anglo-Saxons and Filipinos; it explained the natural inferiority of races that were less susceptible to democratic values. Wrig argued that it would require more time to implement efficient self-government in the Philippines because the Filipinos were b nature less inclined to the foundational principles of civilization and democracy and thus had to be taught their values. Usin arguments that highlighted the inferiority of the Filipino races, many Americans tried to justify the indefinite continuation of the subjugation of the Philippines.

Looking at newspaper articles and periodicals from 1898 and 1916 two turning points of Philippine-American history one can glean a better understanding of the Philippine question as it was perceived by Americans at home thousand miles removed from physical contact between Americans and Filipinos. Journalists and scholars used th outlets of the press and scholarly publications to question American institutions in the Philippines, the effectiveness of their administrators, congressional debates concerning the matter, and the opinions of the American public. While politicians debated the Jones Bill at the federal level, members the American public once again took to the press to present the positions on a matter of policy that had occupied the United

War with those introduced by advocates of the Jones Bill circa 1916, one can evaluate the transformation of the conceptions of American imperialism by those who stood firmly against it. Both in 1898 and 1916, those in favor of Philippine independence criticized the colonization of the Philippines as a crime against the Constitution and the most intrinsic American principles of democracy and liberty. Before American forces took hold of the

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more had to be accomplished for the Filipinos to experience the benefits of the American way of life. Their claims were reactionary in nature and aimed to defend not the principles of American imperialism but the ramifications of the task at hand. Unlike most of the cases made by anti-imperialists, expansionist arguments evolved over the course of American administration in response to tangible measurements of the progress of the Philippine mission.

Despite these differences, one clear similarity persisted in both anti-imperialist and expansionist deb

Building Up and Breaking Down: Community Building and Its Difficulties among Mexican and Chicano Homosexuals

Sara Marie Hobler

Introduction

With the recent legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States and the recognition and legalization of same-s marriage in certain states of Mexico, the visibility of queer lives[3] that is people who experience same-sex attraction and/or identify outside of the gender identity assigned them a birth[3] and queer communities is more prominent than ever. More specifically, the middle-class picture of a (usually white, a least in the United States) same-sex couple living happil alongside heterosexual couples has become the dominant ima in mainstream conceptualizations of homosexuality and queerness. Although the greater mainstream acceptance of qu folk is certainly a positive development, there is commonly also an erasure of nonwhite and working-class queer communities, well as those that existed in the days before queerness w widely visible, in both the United States and Mexico. I have therefore chosen to study these groups whom American

holding their homosexuality in common, many members of these communities also came from different gender, cultural, and class backgrounds, causing fractures within the homosexu community as a whole.

Although this article focuses on gay and lesbian people, it i worth noting that people of other gender identities and sexua orientations did exist and faced considerable adversity durin this time. The focus on gay and lesbian struggles and commun building reflects not only the predominant language of self- identification used during this time period but also the marginalization of people who did not fit into the these categories. I will refrain from using the current terminology of contemporary LGBTQIAP+ discourse in order to avoid being ahistorical, as well as impose contemporary labels on the identities of a different time. Thus, the word homosexual, although largely out of use with the contemporary community and seen in some circles as derogatory, will at times be utilize to describe gay and lesbian people, as that is what they call themselves during the period studied in this article. An additional study into the experiences of people who identified outside of the labels of heterosexual and homosexual, as well those whose gender identities differ from those they were assigned at birth, would be a valuable contribution to the existing scholarship of historical queer communities.

First, I will identify the ways homosexuals in Mexico and the United States built communities around their common homosexuality. Second, I will examine the social factors tha Mexican and Chicano homosexuals faced, both outside an within their communities, to explore the effectiveness of community building and better understand the Mexican/Chicano homosexual experience. Finally, I will examine the ways that gay and lesbian communities failed t build complete communities based on the diversity of experience and difficulties identified in the second section of thi article. After all, homosexuals were not a monolith, and by building communities that focused only on homosexuality, they

homosexuals also advertised gay bars in their periodicals and frequented them in their free time.[5] Chicano homosexuals, however, faced a different situation than Mexicans, as they were not only sexual but also racial minorities. According to the historian Horacio N. Roque Ramirez, the racial aspect of the discrimination Chicano homosexuals felt extended even into mainstream homosexual culture,[6] which was predominantly white, or Anglo. Chicanos responded to the exclusion they faced in the predominantly white homosexual community by forming parallel structures for themselves that focused on both their homosexuality and their Chicano identities. This was particularly important because the Chicano community, which was largely heterosexual, discriminated against homosexuals just as the Anglo homosexual community discriminated against Chicanos.[7] Chicano homosexuals thus needed a community that catered to both their sexualities and their racial identities because they could not rely on either of them on their own to form a true social support system based on shared experiences.

One example of homosexual Chicano community building was the formation of the Gay Latino Alliance (GALA) in San Francisco. Beginning with advertisements calling for a Chicano community in (predominantly Anglo) homosexual publications, Chicanos formed their own social organization beginning in the homes of homosexual Chicanos.[8] The organization achieved further growth by advertising in other homosexual spaces, including posting flyers in mainstream gay bars. Once fully

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[5] + R U D F L R 1 5 R T X H 5 D P L U H] 1HJRWLDWLQJ 5DFLDO 0\ 3OD 6H[XDO DQG *HQGHU 3RLWLFV LQ 6DQ)UDQ 1975 Journal of the History of Sexuality 12, no. 2 (2013): 224-258, 226.

[6] Ibid., 226.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., 229.

established, GALA sustained itself through such social events
dances, which provided not only funding but also a place fo
homosexual Chicanos to find a sense of togetherness.[9] Excluded
from society based on both sexuality and race, homosexua
Chicanos formed communities to support one another through
the difficulties of these multilayered oppressions. The separatio
of white and Chicano homosexuals appears to have existe
beyond just the people who formed GALA, as there is little
Chicano or Latino representation in American gay newspapers
including The Bay Am Am Agay luAm Ao -2A fuAm Ap9i002 (l)uayl
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(m)-31.002 (e)-29.996d2 (e)-29.wspll.998 .993lso(l)uay
8 (r0 (sp)23.0m)-31.0 [72.998 (8 (r0 (sp)28 ( )-23 [78.0

dominated spaces and demanded visibility, acceptance, and change[11]. Throughout the newspaper, there are mentions of ´DFWLYLVWV µ ´RUJDQL]DWLRQV µ ´VHYHQ DQ LQWHUQDWLRQDO ´SULGH JU

believing in the formation of activist coalitions with other movements and others advocating autonomy of the homosexu movement.[14] the increased emphasis in affecting change through government was nonetheless present. The focus on publi visibility did not fade so much as shift as this change was mad with public rallies emphasizing the homosexual vote.[15]

community. Although the risk of being infected with AIDS with another female partner is low compared to the risk faced by ga men having penetrative sex, the male-centric focus of the AID crisis took over discussions of homosexual health more generally, leaving lesbian women to find community in whateve space was left, whether or not they were infected.[21] ¿Qué? the space left for lesbian health was small indeed.

7KH H[FOXVLRQ RI ZRPHQ·V KHDO homosexuals was just one of the many specific issues faced lesbians in Mexico. Lesbians in Mexico felt that there was considerable erasure of their identities in their day to day lives DQG IHOW ´LQVXOW>HG@µ DQG D J presumed to be heterosexual.[22] The narrative painted by the author of one lesbian-specific column demonstrates the heteronormativity of the world in which Mexican lesbians lived. 6KH ZULWHV ´PHQ ZLOO QRW OHDYH to use anti-FRQWUDFHSWLYHV µ DQG WKH IUHQGV ZDQW WKHP Lesbian women had[23] to either pretend to be straight and endure the erasure of wh WKH\ ZHUH DQG WKH ´IHDU RI EHL rejection by coming out.[24] Lesbians moreover feared isolation from their fellow women when they came out, as fear of being perceived as a lesbian by association and the homophobia t accompanied such assumptions led many women to avoid a level of intimacy with their fellow woman. Both homosexual and heterosexual women were known to isolate themselve

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[21] ´+,9 $,'6 µ 86 'HSDUWPHQW RI +HDOWK DQG 2IILFH RQ :RPHQ·V +HDOWK, last modified July 1, 2011, http://www.womenshealth.gov/hiv-aids/women-at-risk-of-hiv/women-who-have-sex-can-get-hiv.html.

[22] ´(O OHVELDQLVPR µ ²

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

from female intimacy for this reason; being assumed a lesbian i
public spaces was dangerous, especially for lesbians but also f
straight women. Aggression and abuse, both physical and
psychological, were a common fear and experience among
lesbians who were out, and there was a fear of blackmail.

that the advancement of lesbian consciousness is an advancem
of the homosexual cause more generally and that LV ´VLG
oppose it.[27] The preemptive strike against anti-lesbian criticism
is indicative of the resistance to the advancement of lesbians
the homosexual community; there was an implicit assumption
that there would be opposition to lesbian empowerment in the
dismissal of those who would stand against it. Although there
were male homosexuals who supported lesbians and thei
empowerment, it is clear that there was also a significant
number who did not.

It is worth noting that the women whose voices are
recognized in ¿Y Qué? as well as the men who took it upon
themselves to speak for them, were some of the most visible
members of the Mexican homosexual community, with the time
and sense of security to speak openly about their experience
with homosexuality. Closeted members of the community,
working-class people with little time to write for publications,
and people living in rural areas where publications and
communities like the ones found in Tijuana likely did not exist
are all absent from this narrative. I therefore caution against
seeing this narrative as telling the full story of all lesbians in
Mexico. Even lesbians in Tijuana recognized the divide betwee
´ERXUJHRLVµ OHVELDQV DQG OHVEL
although there was ultimately a call for a unified communicatio
network among all lesbians. Further study and attention to thes
less visible members of the gay and lesbian community would
a valuable expansion of existing scholarship.[28]

Knowing this erasure, it is interesting to note that in the
same article where the Tijuana lesbians called for a networ
among lesbians, the authors also call for a connection with

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[27] ´1XHYR *UXSR GH /HVELDQDV (Tijuana, Mexico), ¿Y Qué? 6, no. 16 (November 1987): 4.

[28] Ibid.

lesbians in other countries, including Chicanas in the United States. Following this connection, I now turn to the concerns of the Chicano/a communities in the United States. Although AIDS was a prominent concern in the United States, it did not take up the same amount of space in gay publications in the United States as it did in Mexico. The gay periodicals utilized for this study come from the dominant group within the gay community: Anglos.[29] Within the Chicano community, there was even less concern with AIDS, as Chicanos were often experiencing racial and class-based discrimination, and many of their concerns centered on these issues. AIDS, which was seen as a homosexual concern, was unlikely to gain much ground

out, especially in terms of gender. One only has to glance at th
Mexican homosexual publications to see that the socia
community building was not targeted at women. The
advertisements for gay bars that I previously examined
are examples of not only social community building but also
social exclusion. Accompanied by images of men or images th
evoke maleness, such as mousta0.998 (up)22.994 (e)-29.996

In sum, there was quite predominant intra-community organizing to provide social support structures for homosexuals in Mexico; there are indeed even advertisements for a gay youth group.[43] Such structures, however, did not address the needs of the entire community, particularly those of lesbian women. By focusing on travel (conferences) and consumerism (bars), homosexual community building was furthermore exclusionary to Mexican homosexual people who lacked financial resources or access to adequate transportation.

As in Mexico, Chicana lesbians found themselves wondering where their space was. Much like their Chicano counterparts, they were concerned about their exclusion from heterosexual and white spaces. Their needs for social systems of support, however, were not nearly as well met. GALA, for example, was a group founded by men that appeared to operate largely for men, with Chicana women eventually finding that they were not entirely welcome at the social events that sustained GALA.[44] Faced with patriarchy, they were seldom leaders within homosexual communities, making it very difficult for them to address their own needs. One Chicana lesbian, Carla Trujillo, stated that she felt undervalued as a woman and rejected by he culture as a homosexual. Instead of turning to her fellow homosexual men for support, however, she called for unity

building, I have had difficulty finding instances in which they were the primary beneficiaries of it.

Beyond gender, racism was a major problem faced by Chicanos in the United States that had widespread effects with

about homosexual issues and agitated for gay consciousness.[47] Homosexual Chicanos were moreover acutely aware of their roots outside of the United States and were often proponents of Third World liberation theory, linking their oppression as homosexuals and members of an oppressed race to the struggle of peoples abroad.[48] American Chicano activists also agitated visibly for public acceptance of their sexualities, holding pride parades and other public events.[49]

Despite difficulties with the homosexual movement in the United States, it is undeniable that Chicanos were also participating in more mainstream activism, including white-dominated visibility politics that aimed to destigmatize homosexuality as well as electoral activism that attempted to forward antidiscrimination laws.[50] Furthermore, it is important to remember the lesbian women who were partaking in these movements, as their efforts and voices remain largely absent from the documents and narratives created by the homosexual movement, despite scholarly evidence that they wished to participate in activism.[51] Organizing was divided by not only race and sexuality but also gender. While Chicano homosexuals did attempt to address the needs of their community on a societal level, they ultimately found it difficult to do so due to discriminatory practices within activist communities. Chicano homosexuals indeed often felt their loyalties were divided between their race and sexuality and had a very difficult time

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48 5DPLUH] ´7KDW·V 0\ 3ODFH µ

49 ´3URJUHVR GHO 4;DXSH Gay Activists (New York),
(October 1973): 1.

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working for both at once. Thus race, gender, and sexuality

difficult, as Chicano activism did not address their needs as homosexuals and homosexual activism did not address their needs as Chicanos.

Bringing the narrative back to the present, it is important to recognize that the marginalization of people of color and those who do not identify as a cisgender male continues today in queer activist circles, as well as in mainstream discussions of queer people. Through this study, I have illuminated some of the struggles of the past within the community in a way that better allows us to understand and address the issues facing us in the present.

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Research Days

During % L Q J K D P W R Q 8 Q L Y H U V L W \ · V

Combined BA/MA in History

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