Spring 4-30-2018

Queering Latinidad: Latinx Politics Beyond Nativity

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QUEERING LATINIDAD:
LATINX POLITICS BEYOND NATIVITY

by

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
Political Science

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 2018

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother Evangelina Pérez and my father David

Juárez, who crossed borders and worked in the fields to give me a better life.

throughout graduate school, the skills and experiences with my comrades continue to fuel my passion for action.

I would also like to acknowledge my team of mentors who guided me, supported me, and displayed an enormous amount of patience and restraint with me. First, Dr. Gabriel Sanchez. I was assigned to work with Dr. Sanchez my first semester of graduate school and he immediately looped me into various research projects. He introduced me to his teams and they made me feel like an equal rather than as a lowly graduate student. This, I would find out, was very rare. As graduate school politics intensified and not knowing how to navigate such hostile environments, Dr. Sanchez laid out the contexts and advised me on how to move beyond those dynamics. Dr. Sanchez supported all my projects, offering advice and pointers but never trying to shift my research agenda.

That same first semester I met Dr. Edward Vargas. He along with Dr. Sanchez, would become two strong pillars supporting me and guiding me through graduate school. At first, Dr. Vargas tried to motivate me and inspire me with tough love, but it back fired! It did not work. So he shifted strategies and was just laid things out and explained things to me. From then on, he was my mentor and my homie. Then along came Dr. Kathy L. Powers and Dr. Xavier Medina Vidal, both critical figures in my time here. They guided me through political situations and helped me navigate the job market. I will now be Dr. Medina's colleague at the University of Arkansas.

There is so much more to say about my mentors, comrades, and family these few paragraphs do not do them justice. However, whoever reads this knows that despite my rough exterior I am a giant teddy bear and writing these few words pull at my heart strings. There are many more people I need to thank and I ask for their forgiveness in not

expanding on how much they meant to me. I hope it will be understood that simply listing your name does not mean you mean less to me, but instead that I am exhausted, without energy, and am scared of writing these words lest my emotions drain the last ounce of life from me. I hope you all understand.

First, I want to recognize the homies in the Raza Graduate Student Association (RGSA) that worked, organized, and lamented by my side these last five years. I especially want to thank: Claudia Avilla Mitchell, Rafael Martinez, Moises Santos, Maru Lopez, Christopher Rivera, Natalia Toscano, Gustavo Garcia, Diana Macias, Isaias Romo, and Debra Nieto. I also want to acknowledge everyone at El Centro de la Raza, especially Rosa Isela Cervantes, Jorge Garcia, Alejandro Mendiaz-Rivera, Armando Bustamante, and Noemi Gutierrez. And also acknowledge the folks at the LGBTQ Resource Center, specifically Dr. Lawrence Roybal, Frankie Flores, and Selina Alezio Villa. Dr. Roybal is one of my biggest supporters and provided me important resources and guidance throughout my years here. I am also forever grateful for my friends and family at the Robert Wood Johnson Center for Health Policy, especially: Brooke Abrams, Jeremiah Simmons, Juan Peña, Carmela Roybal, Estela Vasquez, Alexis Ortiz, Shannon Sanchez Youngman, Joaquin Rubalcaba, Barbara Gomez Aguiñaga, and Kristina Piorkowski.

I also want to thank my Burque community, especially my New Mexican family: Trenton Ward, Amalia Montoya, Maria Brazil, and Aine Brazil. They are my second family and will forever be in my mind and hearts. And to the amazing Burqueños who always inspired me to stay true and down: Brandy Montaño, Eva Marisol Crespin,

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ABSTRACT

Much debate surrounds the emergence of the term "Latinx." While some have argued against its usage, others have deeply embraced it as a way of representing the gender diversity found within the Latina/o community. Yet, these arguments do not transcend the boundaries of gender to include other facets of identity subverted within the concept of Latinidad. This project seeks to extend the boundaries of Latinx to include other areas of identity that are inherent parts of being a Latino in the United States, including sexuality, African roots, indigeneity, among others. This dissertation seeks to understand whether our rigid conceptualization of Latinidad affected our understanding of Latino Politics. To investigate this complex question, I designed a mixed-method community engaged study. Utilizing the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey (CMPS 3) (N= 10,145) and the national qualitative study the Queering Latinidad Project (N=24), I explore how gender and sexuality affect Latinx political behavior, public opinion, labor force participation, and identity. Analyses of both quantitative and qualitative data reveal that gender and sexuality do indeed influence various facets of

Latinx identities and politics. I argue for the need for a more holistic understanding of

Latina/o/x communities in social science. As the processes of homogenization further

subvert various facets of identity, we obscure important differences found within

Latina/o/x communities.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

DECONSTRUCTING LATINIDAD

Although it is now a mainstream term used to describe people of Latin American origin residing in the United States, the foundation, meaning, and purpose of the term "Latino" continues to incite sociopolitical discussions and epistemological debates. Scholars such as Cristina Beltran (2010) argue that *Latinidad* is a political project within the grander scheme of democratic politics in the United States. To Beltran, Latinidad is the sociohistorical practice by which various Latin American national-origin groups are understood as sharing a sense of collective identity and cultural consciousness. She writes, "Latinidad is a historical practice constituted through the homogenizing effects of racism experienced by Latinos and other people of color" (Beltran 2010, 7).

Negrón-Muntaner and Sánchez-Karrol (2013) add that, "'Latino' is less a marker of a single cultural or ethnic identity than a *concept*. This concept refers to a long historical process through which those perceived as Hispanic and/or Latino were thought of as a different kind of people—politically, culturally, and racially—than the truly 'American'," (2013, pp. 5-11, emphasis in original). The aim of such a political project is to create one homogenous bloc of constituents and consumers, allowing for easier targeting by politics and policy (Beltran 2010; Espiritu 1992; Foucault, 1979) and corporate marketing (Gúzman and Valdivia, 2010). This phenomenon is not limited to Latinidad. Espiritu (1992) finds similar processes at play with the creation of Asian-American panethnicity. This shift to pan-ethnic terms moves discussions about Latino

interests and politics away from grassroots social movements and into the domain of

electoral politics. Focusing on elections moves this project from a simply sociocultural

exercise into a political one. Latinidad, thus, becomes a political project that inserts

Latinos into the overarching political systems driving American politics.

As Beltran notes, the purposeful and strategic homogenization has occurred along

divisions prescribed by the underlying systems shaping American politics and society.

Along with racism, these systems include patriarchy, white supremacy, settler

colonialism, and capitalism (Morales, 2016; Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Gúzman and Valdivia,

2010; Newton, 2009; Wolf, 2009; Lieberman, 2007; Eisenstein, 1998; Davis, 1981;

Breitman and Novack, 1968; Myrdal, 1944; Marx and Engels, 1848). These systems are

ingrained within and perpetuated by the various institutional actors shaping American

and global politics. These actors include corporate, capitalistic private entities and public

institutional forces as central culprits driving the homogenization processes of Latinidad.

Soto-Vásquez (2017) for example, finds that Latino pan-ethnic construction was

driven by presidential rhetoric beginning in the 1990's. Beltran (2010) further adds that

the interest group paradigm shaping American politics rewards Latino elites for

presenting Latinos as a cohesive national minority group akin to African Americans. This

is mainly due to political dynamics that place national interests above regional needs. For

example, the historical Chicano organization the National Council of La Raza changed

their name in 2017 to UnidosUS. This name change was meant to signal that this

organization sought to unite not just Chicanos but all those of Latin American origin in

the United States (Gamboa, 2017).

These categories of actors, however, do not operate separately from each other. Marxist analyses of the state, for example, argue that the state is essentially a buffer that mediates class conflict (Engels, 1972; Lenin, 1972). However, as the state becomes much more entangled with ruling class interests, it becomes submissive to these profit-motivated sectors and alienated from the masses (Engels, 1972). Contemporarily, private interests have been found to influence the growth of oppressive institutions such as prisons (Alexander, 2010) and immigrant detention centers (Juárez, Gomez-Aguiñaga, and Bettez, 2018). These two institutions help perpetuate the "othering" of communities of color by emphasizing criminality as inherent parts of these racial and ethnic identities.

The intersecting and self-reinforcing nature of these systems shape Latinidad into a political project that subverts and/or erases facets of being that challenge the heteronormative, white adjacent, capitalist parameters set by the system it is nested in. Latinidad is thus an exclusionary and rigid overarching sociopolitical construct. As Lugones (2003) discusses, such homogenizing political projects are grounded within ideals of purity and thus become tools of social control. Facets of identity such as indigeneity, African ancestry, and especially gender and sexuality are arguably the most contested dimensions within Latinidad.

Smith (2011) and Mucciaroni (2011) call for the explicit inclusion of sexuality as a component of political science research, as it is a fundamental human characteristic. The lack of data on LGBTQ+ populations of color is noted in other fields as well (Huang et al., 2010). Thus, the central intended audience of this dissertation study is one of academics who dedicate their work to inciting discourse around identity constructions.

Although this study has implications for policymakers and political strategists as well, these will be discussed in the conclusion of this paper.

I aim to bridge sociopolitical discussions occurring not only at the grassroots level, but also in other fields (e.g. communication, sociology, education) outside of political science who have begun to question Latinidad and the utility of Latinx.[1] Given the methodological complexity of creating a holistic quantitative measure of Latinx, this dissertation focuses on exploring the dynamics of sexual orientation and gender within Latinidad and how sexuality impacts political behavior, public opinion, identity, and labor force participation. Exploring these differences among Latinxs of varying sexual orientations and genders is important given the strong role of LGBTQ+ individuals in contemporary social struggles (e.g. immigrant rights, Black Lives Matter, gun control). Moreover, this study aims at making both analytical and conceptual contributions to Latino Politics, Race and Ethnic Politics, and Political Science more broadly.

BACKGROUND ON LATINX

As a response to these subversions, specifically in terms of gender, the usage of the terms "Latinx" (pronounced La-tin-ex) and "Latinxs" (pronounced La-tin-exes) have been proposed as a step towards moving away from the gendered terms "Latino," "Latina," "Latino/a," or Latin@.[2] Initial discussions surrounding replacing the 'o' and 'a' with an 'x' were spearheaded by gender non-conforming, transgender, agender, and queer individuals of Latin American origin who felt excluded because of their gender identities

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[1] The interdisciplinary journal *Cultural Dynamics* has an entire special issue on "Theorizing LatinX" (Volume 29, Issue 3, August 2017)

[2] The terms Latino, Latina, and Latino/a will only be used when discussing works that utilize these terms in their analyses.

(Garcia, 2017; Salinas and Lozano, 2017; Ramirez and Blay, 2016). For clarity, the term Latinx is used to describe gender non-confirming individuals or those that opt into its usage individually. Those who identify as males and females are not expected to subsume the term Latinx (males = Latinos, females = Latinas, gender non-confirming or self-selection = Latinx).

Applying a Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) lens to the concept of Latinx, Salinas and Lozano (2017) argue that this term is, "a form of resistance people from Latin American descent have developed […] to create awareness, resistance, and liberation," (p. 10). And further note that resistance to this term (Latinx) can emanate from internalized transphobic and homophobic feelings. Moreover, Latinx provides two important benefits: it disrupts traditional norms of inclusivity and it helps to shape institutional understandings of intersectionality, which has traditionally been based in the gender binary language (Salinas and Lozano, 2017, 1). For example, in 2017 the University of Oklahoma approved its major in Latinx and Latin American Studies (Noe-Lehenbauer, 2017). There are also Latinx Centers at Humboldt State, Northeastern University, University of Colorado Denver, among others. However, Salinas and Lozano (2017) find that there is still a gap between faculty usage of Latinx versus institutional or administrative usage, with most universities clinging to the traditional Latino, Latina, or Latino/a labels.

Moreover, this dissertation project, similar to Salinas and Lozano (2017) argues for the extension of Latinx beyond gender and sexuality to signify the inclusion of all facets of identity, including language, indigeneity, country of origin, race, ethnicity, and other identities that have been historically marginalized within Latinidad. I argue that the

"x" in Latinx is, in essence, a site of deliberate contestation to the historical and political contexts marked by centuries of oppression, violence, and genocide that have led to the creation and hegemony of Latinidad. Acknowledging the multiplicity of Latinidad (i.e. how different subgroups experience being part of this political project) and the points of difference within it helps counter the forces of social control by complicating governmentality, or the way that the government controls its populace. For, as Foucault (1979) argues, governmentality is not solely based on overt violence, but also in the government's ability to impose, normalize, and appraise hierarchical classifications.

Thus, the plural term of Latinxs is used to center the margins and make visible those individuals who have historically been marginalized by the rigid parameters of Latinidad. Moreover, as González (2017) argues, "the word 'Latino' is of male gender termination regardless of whether the percentage of men in that group is less or equal to that of Latinas." The term 'Latinxs', then, also addresses the patriarchal language that subsumes groups of people under masculinity.

This project approaches *Latinidad* through an intersectional framework that also considers the role of institutional forces in driving and shaping individuals' identity, peoples' relations vis-a-vis the state, and its policies. It also incorporates queer, decolonial, and interdisciplinary lenses to delve deeper into the processes of homogenization that have occurred through centuries of colonization, migration, and socialization.

The Queering Latinidad Project (QLP) is thus grounded within these frameworks and also influenced by my previous work on LGBTQ+ Latinx populations in New Mexico. Results from a New Mexico-based social determinants of health survey found

that almost 60% of LGBTQI Latinx respondents said they sometimes or always felt uncomfortable around other people of their own race or ethnicity because of their LGBTQI status (Vasquez et al., 2017). These findings helped inform the central research question of the QLP: Has our narrow conceptualization of Latinidad impeded our understanding of Latino Politics?

In order to address this overarching question, the dissertation project is designed around three sub-questions pertaining to various facets of political life and lived experiences:

1. *Why do LGBTQ+ Latinxs feel uncomfortable around other Latinxs?*
2. *Are there differences in political behavior and public among Latinxs based on sexual orientations?*
3. *Has subverting sexuality as a key facet of Latinidad affected public policymaking for this population?*

Together, these questions help to further our understanding of the political behavior, public opinion, and identities of LGBTQ+ Latinxs, a severely understudied population within Latino Politics. Ultimately, findings will help to shed light on the needs of these communities and aid in formulating appropriate policy interventions.

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation is divided into four substantive chapters: methodology, political behavior, policy and public opinion, and identity.

Chapter 2: Theory and Methodology

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This chapter deconstructs Latinidad and presents a conceptualization of 'Latinx.' It specifically focuses on nativity and legal status; ethnicity, nation, and coloniality; and gender and sexuality. Because identity and its construction through sociopolitical and economic dynamics is so complex, this project is a mixed-methods study consisting of:

1. 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CPMS 3) (N=10,145), a nationwide web survey, and

2. Queering Latinidad Project (QLP), which consists of five national focus groups of LGBTQ+ Latinxs (Albuquerque, NM; Chicago, IL; Queens, NY; San Francisco, CA) (N=24).

A mixed-methods approach harnesses the power of quantitative methods that help us identify relationships between phenomena, and qualitative methods that bring context to the underlying mechanisms driving these relationships. To enhance the research design and impact of the project, a volunteer community advisory board (CAB) composed of LGBTQ+ Latinx community members in New Mexico actively engaged in the design of study materials, including focus group guides and demographic surveys. The CMPS 3 was chosen for these analyses as it is the only minority politics survey that includes a measure of sexual orientation and a large sample of Latinxs (N=3,003). Data from this survey complimented QLP focus groups and were used to spur discussion among participants.

Chapter 3: The Case for Latinx: Analyzing Differences in Political Behavior Among Latinxs

The third chapter utilizes CMPS 3 survey data to support the argument for including gender and sexuality as foundational aspects of Latinidad. I test for differences in 13 types of political behavior. Logistic analyses reveal that there are statistically significant differences in 7 types of political behavior based on sexual and gender minority status: participating in at least 1 civic organization, discussing politics with friends and family, working for a campaign, donating money to a campaign, contacting elected officials, signing a petition, and boycotting products.

Chapter 4: Queering Latinx Public Opinion: Analysis of Issue Salience by Sexual and Gender Identity

The fourth chapter focuses on the importance of individuals' gender and sexual minority statuses in affecting public opinion. CMPS 3 data is used to explore differences in public opinion between heterosexual and LGBTQ+ Latinxs. The public opinion issues considered in these analyses include: jobs, wages, immigration, education, health care, terrorism, housing, college affordability, corruption, racism, climate change, abortion, taxes, and criminal justice. Logistic analyses found differences in two policy areas: housing and racism.

Chapter 5: The Queering Latinidad Project: Latinx & LGBTQ+ Identities

The fifth chapter presents findings from the qualitative portion of the dissertation, which highlights individuals' voices on identity. Focus group participants overwhelmingly supported the term and identified as 'Latinx.' These qualitative findings compliment the CMPS 3 analyses that find differences in political behavior and public opinion by sexual

and gender minority status. Queer identity was also the most utilized among participants as its fluidity and broadness allowed queer individuals to avoid scrutiny over their sexualities or genders. The chapter also discusses the overarching issue of discrimination experienced by LGBTQ+ Latinxs from both outsiders and other Latinxs.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation aims at deconstructing and expanding our definition of Latinidad. Latinidad as a political project has been created using highly rigid parameters influenced by overarching and oppressive systems of power, mainly: white supremacy, capitalism, patriarchy, and colonialism. As a result, those deviating from heteronormative cisgender conceptions of gender and sexuality are suppressed and erased from Latinidad. Because of this, we know very little about sexual and gender minorities within Latinx communities. This dissertation is an attempt at centering those who have been marginalized to explore how their lived experiences as LGBTQ+ Latinxs influence their political behavior, public opinion, and other facets of identity.

Finally, this dissertation makes analytical and conceptual contributions to Latino Politics, political science, and social science more broadly. This study of LGBTQ+ Latinxs and Latinidad proposes the utility of the term "Latinx" and provides empirical analyses to support its current usage in social science research. This is the first analysis of Latinx political behavior that takes into account sexual orientation and gender minority status. Given the paucity of research in this area, this paper aims to make an important contribution to this subfield in American Politics.

Moreover, this paper directly addresses the call by Smith (2011) and Mucciaroni (2011) to comprehensively incorporate sexuality as a foundational component of political science research. Given that sexuality and gender statuses are innate characteristics and not chosen identities, including measures of these facets of being in our political analyses is necessary. Finally, this study helps to further our understanding of the public policy needs of multiple marginalized communities. It helps to provide much needed data on these communities, which in turn can be used to formulate policy recommendations for issues related to LGBTQ+ and Latinx communities.

Chapter 2

Theory and Methods

CONCEPTUALIZING "LATINX"

Social scientists are complicit in the creation and perpetuation of Latinidad through the methods of scientific inquiry they assume. The processes of homogenization are evident as one traces the development of Latino Politics and social science more broadly.

Before the term 'Latino' reached common usage, studies focused on peoples of Latin American origin were confined to the study of national origin groups such as Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the term Latino came into mainstream usage, and Latino Politics as a field emerged (Affigne, 2000). However, the motivations for this complicity in homogenization, which could be unintentional, are discussed elsewhere.[3]

A central mechanism for this homogenization is survey research, which is utilized to uphold the prescribed dimensions of what constitutes Latinidad. Focusing on Latino Politics research, there is an established pattern of measuring Latinidad based on two central features:

1. Nativity (U.S.–born vs. foreign-born)
2. Ethnicity (Hispanic)

---

[3] My chapter "Legacies of Subversion: Chicanx and Queer Identities in Latinidad" in the forthcoming book *Legacies of the Chicano Movement* discusses possible motivations for the perpetuation of Latinidad and the subversion of national-origin identities including Chicanismo.

Affigne (2000) notes that there are many subgroups within Latino communities and that "national culture, gender, race, social class, citizenship status, ideology, and language mark cleavages among Latinos," (p. 526). The following sections will deconstruct the current conceptions of Latinidad as represented by Figure 1 and contrast them to my own conceptualization of Latinx (Figure 2). The conceptualization of Latinx is by no means exhaustive. Scholars are encouraged to delve deeper into the construction of Latinidad to further uncover subverted dimensions of identity and being that may not be explained here. Moreover, the central focus of this study is to analyze the role of sexual orientation and gender.

FIGURE 1: Conceptualization of Latino(s) and Latina(s)
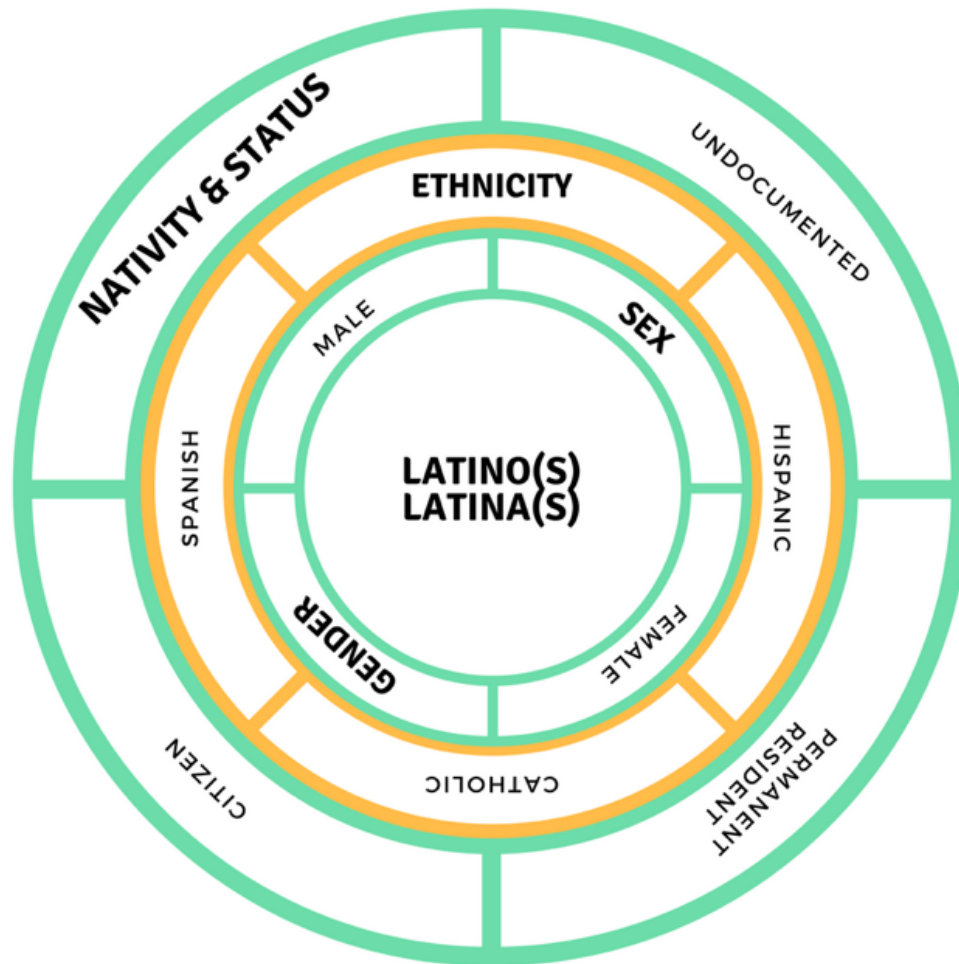
FIGURE 2: Juárez's Conceptualization of Latinx
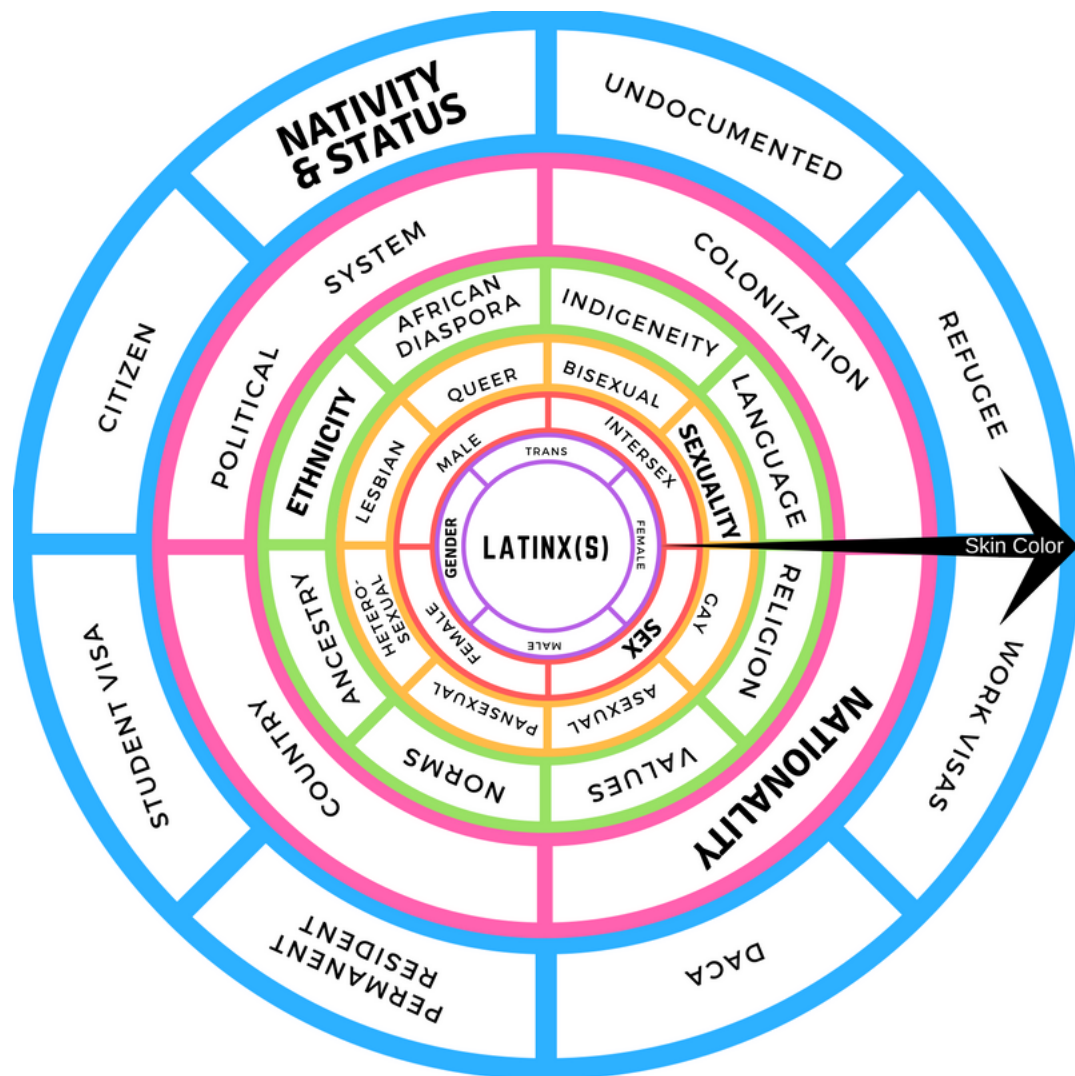
Nativity & Legal Status

The outer most ring of Figure 1 includes some of the basic categories utilized to measure

nativity and documented status. However, early political science surveys of Latinos (e.g.

Latino National Political Survey 1989-1990, Latino National Survey 2006) focus on a

person's citizenship status, i.e. whether respondents are U.S.-born citizens or foreign-

born. Follow-up questions to this initial nativity inquiry tend to focus on a person's desire

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to become a citizen. Later surveys, such as the 2015 Latino National Health and Immigration Survey, have expanded their nativity question to provide a list of possible documentation statuses beyond citizen, including: legal permanent resident, eligible for DACA, non-citizen qualifying for Executive Action, and non-citizen not qualifying for Executive Action (Sanchez et al., 2015).

Yet, there are at least eleven different legal categories foreign-born individuals can fall into. These include: naturalized citizen, lawful permanent resident, conditional permanent resident, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), temporary protective status (TPS), special immigrant juvenile status, refugee/asylee, Violence Against Women Act visas, non-immigrant temporary visas, U visas (for crime victim or witnesses), T visas (for victims of human trafficking). Each category has its own set of criteria for eligibility and rules governing the rights of individuals with that specific type of documentation. As Figure 2 illustrates, there are also those without a U.S. legal status. Do to the precarious nature of undocumented status and the ongoing government attempts to remove this population from the U.S., researchers have opted to refrain from directly asking respondents if they are undocumented. However, researchers capture this population through various statistical methods (Passel, 2016).

Thus, constructing nativity in such a restrictive way, as previous surveys have tended to do, obscures this expansive system of immigrant classification. Moreover, as the State Justice Institute notes, approximately 80% of legal immigration to the country occurs through family-sponsored visas. This category itself includes four different types of visas with their own sets of eligibility criteria and regulations (Weller, 2013).

Given these dynamics, Figure 2 proposes a more complicated conceptualization of Latinidad. Nativity and status are expanded from Figure 1 to also include other categories of legality found within the U.S. immigration system. Including these categories can highlight some important characteristics about the U.S. immigrant population. For example, at the end of the 2015 fiscal year, almost half a million foreign visitors overstayed their U.S. visas. The Pew Research Center reports that Mexicans make up 49% of the current undocumented population and they also make up about 10% of visa overstays (Passel and Cohn, 2016).

This is important to note given that the processes to obtain these visas could mean that these immigrants have different socioeconomic characteristics than those who are forced to come into the United States without any legal status. For example, employment visa application fees are $345 USD (United States Department of State, 2018). That is equivalent to $6,406.37 Mexican pesos. Given that the minimum wage in Mexico is $88.36 pesos per day, roughly $4.76 USD, it would take 2 months of a potential applicant's wages to pay for this fee (Hurrop, 2017).

This is not to say that social scientists are unaware of these multiple categories of legal status or processes for obtaining them. There are important limitations in survey research that pose issues for creating such comprehensive measures. One important limitation is sample size, which is also related to survey fielding costs. Small sample sizes for certain legal categories could mean the need for collapsing these categories to conduct analyses. However, including comprehensive measures helps to build a more inclusive picture of Latinx populations. The methodological techniques used to analyze

these populations can then be explained in detail by researchers noting the need to collapse these samples.

Ethnicity, Coloniality, Nationality

The second rung on Figure 1 focuses on ethnicity. When speaking about Latinos, the focus is on a shared Hispanic identity. As Delgado-Romero et al. (2007) note, the way Latinos in the U.S. have been categorized has evolved over the decades. The term Hispanic itself was a government creation, utilized by the Nixon Administration and consequently codified by the 1980 Census (Salinas and Lozano, 2017). The U.S. government classifies Hispanics as those persons of "Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race," (Delgado-Romero, Manlove, and Hernandez, 2007). Hispanic includes Spanish as the principal language as it is constructed around a shared Spanish ancestry. Catholicism is also generally perceived as the majority religion for Hispanics. This term also continues to receive pushback as it is perceived as being forcibly imposed by the U.S. government (Granados, 2000). And as Granados (2000), notes, individuals who have taken on this identity are stereotyped as being more assimilated, conservative, and young.

The term 'Latino' gained usage in the 1980's and through the 1990's. The 1989-1990 Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) (de la Garza et al., 1992) was the first political science survey to use the term. From there on, a majority of political science studies on populations of Latin American origin used the term. It was then added to the 2000 Census, which asked, "Is this person Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?" (Cohn, 2010). Latino differs from Hispanic as it also includes non-Spanish speaking Latin Americans

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and those who identify as mixed race (Salinas and Lozano 2017; De Luca and Escoto, 2012). Despite this goal of inclusivity, internal variation within Latinxs is suppressed.

Conceptualizing Latinidad through these aspects, does capture the reality of different colonial experiences given the multiple colonial powers' rule over various Latin American countries. Quijano (2007) argues that colonialism must be a central concept in discussions of modernity. He proposes coloniality as an inseparable concept to narratives of modernity, as colonialism has shaped many processes and relations (social, political, economic). Sanin-Restrepo (2016) adds that, "coloniality stands as the quintessential organization of power in modernity precisely because it is the prohibition imposed on so many to name the world," (p. 1). Coloniality thus contributes to our understandings of inter-group dynamics within Latinx communities and their relationships with state actors.

As Fenton (1999) posits, social relations play an important role in shaping ethnicity, a central component of Latinidad. Fenton (1999) argues that there is more to ethnicity than shared ancestry, language, and culture. Although these concepts play a foundational role in shaping ethnicity, shared ethnic identity results from dynamics surrounding social relations. Relationships among individuals serve to shape the social classifications that allow for the building of collective identities (Eriksen, 1993; Fenton, 1999). López (2013) further adds that for Latinxs, measurements of ethnicity should also include generational status, legal status, and citizenship.

Moreover, basing Latinx ethnicity on the experience of Spanish colonialism also subverts and erases other facets of Latin American history. There have been myriad events and dynamics that served to shape social relations through the past 520 years since the conquest of the western hemisphere. First, the Spanish were not the only colonial

power involved in Latin America. The French, Portuguese, English, and Dutch also had stakes in the region. For example, the case of Brazil poses an important discussion for Latinidad. Not only do Brazilians speak Portuguese and not Spanish, but their history of slavery and the relationships with original inhabitants of the region shaped the way Brazilian culture developed. These social relations were markedly different from the experiences of Spanish conquest, which also took on different dynamics depending on the region, the original peoples inhabiting those lands, and the resources to plunder.

Further, there is discussion over the Caribbean's belonging in Latin America. Ethnic identities today differ because of the varying dynamics of colonization. While there is shared ancestry and some shared cultural characteristics, there is no unified language for the Caribbean. Additionally, like Brazil, the role of the slave trade and plantation economies fundamentally shaped the histories of these island nations.

Taking a step further back to pinpoint the origins of shared ancestry also becomes difficult. The western hemisphere was populated by civilizations of varying sizes in terms of population, regional scope, and temporal dimensions. For example, many Mexicans today highlight the importance of civilizations such as the Olmecs and Aztecs. Central Americans tend to focus on the role of the Mayas in influencing their societies, while South Americans have strong connections to Incan peoples. Each of these civilizations shaped and influenced their regions and while many native populations and societies engaged in the exchange of cultural and material goods, marked ethnic identities were present. The processes of colonization erased and subverted many aspects of indigenous cultures. Further, as Arias (2003) eloquently argues:

"The self-image imposed upon colonized peoples

by their conquerors articulates a new sense of

disciplinary order in the Foucauldian sense and

generates a new iconography that becomes re-

enacted in deterritorialized, transnational spaces and

performed as a representation of an *axis mundi* that

blurs the boundaries between old and new

homelands, and creates patterns of continuity with

colonial structures of power by perpetuating certain

cultural values imposed through conquest," (p.

173).

There are multiple layers of colonization imposed on populations. For example, not only

are Mexicans products of Spanish colonization, but Estrada (2009) argues that Mexican

Americans now find themselves as an internal colony of the United States. As a settler

colonial country, the founding of the United States is based on the, "ideology of white

supremacy, the widespread practice of African slavery, and a policy of genocide and land

theft," (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014, p. 2). Land theft and genocide were not reserved to original

populations of the western hemisphere, but also for the consequent generations of mixed-

race peoples, products of colonization that are positioned in society based on shifting

national borders (e.g. Hispanics and Chicanos in the Southwest).

Queer Studies scholars also explore the ways colonialism has specifically

impacted the way queer populations within the U.S. are constructed. Papoulias (2006)

describes how early anthropological work sought out examples of transsexuality among

non-Western cultures. In doing so, however, anthropologists and social scientists imposed their own Western conceptions of gender based on the gender binary to interpret the various in gender identities they encountered. These works also served to appropriate local cultures and violated them by decontextualizing their constructions and functions within their original societies.

Qwo-Li Driskill (2010) argues that Native understandings of gender and sexuality must be understood as part of the broader decolonizing struggles in the United States and Canada. These struggles include resistance to colonial projects related to land, self-determination, historical trauma, and reconciliation. Therefore, Native understandings of gender and sexuality directly challenge racism, misogyny, queerphobia, and colonialism.

There is also growing research on gender non-binary individuals across multiple Latin American countries. For example, Solis, Garrido, and Garcia (2017) describe the indigenous Zapotec *muxe'*, men who adopt sexual-gender norms that are not strictly associated with either masculinity nor femininity. Muxes' often dress in traditional Zapotec women's clothing. Many marry women and have families, while others prefer non-heterosexual relationships (Diehl et al., 2017). Diehl and colleagues (2017) discuss Brazilian *travesties*, who have achieved high levels of social and cultural visibility. Travesties assume femininity, but display male sexual behavior.

Additionally, Cantu, Luibhéid, and Stern (2005) find that early sociological and anthropological research in Mexico constructed homosexuality to be ascribed only to feminine, submissive/bottom men, while those who took on the active/top identities were still perceived as being macho and heterosexual. This research consequently helped

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inform U.S. immigration and asylum law, creating difficulties for Mexican gay asylees that do not fit these institutionalized stereotypes.

Governments also directly shape the expression of LGBTQ+ identities. For example, Peña (2005) discusses how the Cuban revolutionary government persecuted gay men. Homosexuals were considered challenges to heteronormative socialist ideals. Lesbians, however, were not perceived as such a threat and were thus invisible and unpersecuted. Yet, this persecution of male homosexuals served to make homosexuality visible as a whole. Thus, although Latinxs share a common indigenous ancestry, histories of colonization and political configurations of government continue to suppress the original parameters of these native cultures making it difficult to create a unifying ethnic identity that includes a complex indigenous dimension free of internalized oppression.

These issues of colonization and indigenous ancestry are further complicated by the complete internalization of phenotypic hierarchies. Telles and Flores (2014) argue that Latin American countries have defined themselves based on the tensions of in/exclusion of Afrodescendants, the indigenous, and mixed-race peoples. Skin color and phenotype play important roles in Latin American societies, yet they are constructed in different ways. For example, Telles and Flores (2014) compare the racial/ethnic boundaries of Mexico and Brazil. While in Mexico, the line of difference between the indigenous and non-indigenous is less rigid, the darker skin of Afrodescendents in Brazil serves as a concrete marker of difference. Dixon and Telles (2017) conclude that, "wide skin color differences among the mestizo population along with persistent ideas of racial hierarchy nevertheless resulted in a status hierarchy, with light-skinned mestizos at the top and darker mestizos at the bottom," (p. 409).

There is growing literature on the role of skin color in affecting various dimensions of life. For example, focusing on African Americans, Monk (2015) argues that self-perceived skin color is an "embodied social status" and those at the extremes of the color spectrum (e.g. the lightest and darkest tones) experience higher levels of discrimination than those of medium tones. He finds that these dynamics ultimately impact health outcomes. Moreover, Gravlee and Dressler (2005) find that incongruence between self-perceived skin color and actual skin pigmentation leads to higher incidences of high blood pressure among Puerto Ricans. Studies focusing on mental health have found that darker skin Latinas have higher rates of depression (Burgos and Rivera, 2009). Darker ascribed skin color also leads to worse cardiometabolic health for young adult Blacks and Hispanics (Wassink, Perreira, and Harris, 2017). Skin color, race, and urbanality are also found to interact to affect mortality rates in Brazil (de Oliveira and Luiz, 2017).

Studies on skin color also go beyond issues of health. Hall and Whipple (2017) find that skin color plays a role in child adoption processes. Lighter skin children are idealized to the detriment of darker skin children. Devaraj, Quigley, and Patel (2018) find that skin color interacts with gender and height to affect economic earnings, with taller darker men being the most negatively affected. Skin color, then, is an important analytical concept when discussing Latino Politics as it interacts across other dimensions of identity, as illustrated in Figure 2.

Moreover, returning to contemporary issues of ethnicity, studies on Central American immigrants argue that the conditions and dynamics surrounding these specific communities are different than those of the general Latinx immigrant populations in the

United States. Hamilton and Stoltz Chinchilla (2001), for example, argue that Central Americans have characteristics of both economic migrants and refugees. Arias (2003) adds that Central Americans bring with them unique baggage that creates invisibility among the broader U.S. public despite the size of their communities. He writes that, "the Guatemalan, Salvadoran, or even Central American experience as a whole is independent and irreducible to large unities that seek to discipline its singularity," (Arias 2003, 171). Because Central Americans become invisible, the dominant paradigm of Latinidad (heavily based on Mexican stereotypes) is projected onto them, forcing them into "performative transvestism," where they reenact these ethnic stereotypes (Arias 2003, 179). As Barreto, Segura, and Pantoja (2014) further add, "considering that over twenty countries in Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula are presented in Latino ancestries, generalizing from the experiences of one national group overlooks important differences between them," (p. 15).

Public opinion data also points to the importance of national identities to people of Latin American origin. A 2012 *Hispanic Trends* survey found that when respondents were asked to describe their identity, 51% chose to identity with their family's country of origin. A grand majority of respondents (69%) did not believe Hispanics in the U.S. shared a common culture, but instead are culturally heterogeneous (Taylor et al., 2012). This data speaks to the imposition of Latinidad onto Latinxs.

Gender & Sexuality

Finally, the innermost rung of Figure 1 includes both gender and sexuality, the dimensions of central focus in this study. The measurement of gender is problematic in

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the Latino Politics surveys previously mentioned, as it is posed as a male-female dichotomy that captures the sex (physical) of the respondent rather than the gender (performative). Additionally, many of these surveys ascribe the 'gender' of the respondent based on name and tone of voice (interviewers are instructed to assign 'male' or 'female' based on the voice of the survey respondent). These studies tended to ascribe sex, conflate gender and sex, and none asked about the respondent's sexual orientation. Issues with the measurement of gender is not unique to Latino Politics, however. Paxton (2000) for example, argues that the practice of operationalizing democracy is based solely on male suffrage and given that women have only recently attained the right to vote, conceptualizing democracy in such a way biases our studies of the phenomenon.

Conflation of these terms becomes problematic when social scientists attempt to investigate phenomena based on these conflated concepts. For example, Bejarano's (2011) "Unpacking the Gender Gap: Analysis of U.S. Latino Immigrant Generations" finds that Latinas in later generations have more liberal political ideologies than those of earlier generations. However, Bejarano utilizes the 2006 LNS, whose gender question "Are you male or female?" in reality captures sex and not gender, leading to conflation of the two terms. Thus, although the title of the article is aimed at exploring the gender gap, it explores the sex gap.

Butler (2004) posits that gender is a norm that confers personhood on certain individuals and helps establish social hierarchies within groups of men and women. These social hierarchies create dominant ways of being human that negate or marginalize other expressions of humanity. Moreover, gender itself does not produce binaries; the

norms are what force people into these binaries. These norms, however, have a basis in class divisions of society, and these class divisions have perpetuated binaries.

By failing to articulate and provide accurate measures of these intersecting dynamics, important aspects of gender and sexual identity construction fall through the cracks. Oppression and marginalization of LGBTQ+ individuals must be understood within the overarching, class-based capitalist system. The control over reproduction through the upholding and perpetuation of patriarchy[4] under capitalism also entails the control and commodification of sexuality and desire. However, capitalism itself produces contradictory sexual relations by creating the conditions for modern individuality, intimate lives, and the ability to pursue personal desires. As Sherry Wolf (2009) notes, "capitalism creates the material conditions for men and women to lead autonomous sexual lives, yet it simultaneously seeks to impose heterosexual norms on society to secure the maintenance of the economic, social, and sexual order" (p. 19). Wolf speaks to the imposition of these norms internally, while scholars of queer migration speak to the imposition of norms to outsider others (immigrants coming in).

Moreover, the rigid dimensions imposed on Latinidad tend to obscure their intersecting and overlapping nature and their ties to class dynamics and immigration. As previously mentioned, immigration and nativity status are considered among the most salient cleavages within the Latinx population. Yet, the role of sexuality and gender in affecting this cleavage is severely underexplored in political science.

The edited volume *Queer Migrations: Sexuality, U.S. Citizenship, and Border Crossings* explores the ways immigration flows and policies have historically been

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[4] I am using Marxist-Feminist notions of patriarchy, not radical feminism's definition.

sexualized and gendered, affecting the way populations exist within U.S. borders.

Luibhéid argues that the U.S. immigration system and its enforcement agencies are "a

crucial target for queer intervention because it significantly regulates sexuality and

reproduces oppressive sexual norms that are gendered, racialized, and classed" (2005, x).

Luibhéid further adds, "queers migrate not simply as sexual subjects, but also as

racialized, classed, gendered subjects of particular regions and nations that exist in

various historic relationships to U.S. hegemony" (2005, xxvi).

Luibhéid (2005) and Sommerville (2005) provide a historical timeline of U.S.

immigration policy that clearly and explicitly constructs the image of a desired migrant

through heteropatriarchal white supremacist class parameters. Starting at the inception of

the United States, only free white men were allowed citizenship. Deviations from

heterosexual nuclear families (e.g. homosexuals, polygamist, adulterers, 1996 Defense of

Marriage Act affected family reunification) were banned. The Page Law of 1875, for

example, banned Asian women but "also provided the blueprint through which the US

immigration system became transformed into an apparatus for regulating sexuality more

generally, in relation to shifting gender, racial, ethnic, and class anxieties," (Luibhéid, p

xiv).

Additionally, the subjectivity of asylum law allows the transphobic, homophobic,

and misogynistic views of judges and officers to influence court decisions. A 1998

Immigration and Naturalization Services' (INS) memo to its personnel highlighted how

rampant this issue was, as it instructed all officers at ports of entry to cease use of racial

slurs, derogatory language, and intimidation tactics towards any asylum seekers or

immigrants being questioned (Randazzo, 2005). Randazzo (2005) further explains that

queer immigrants often settle in areas that are ethnically and culturally like their own. This often means that the conditions of violence, harassment, and discrimination against LGBTQ+ individuals in their home country are reproduced in these ethnic and cultural enclaves, similar to Arias' (2003) arguments regarding power relations shaped by the colonizing gaze and discourse. Cantu, Luibhéid, and Stern (2005) add that, "receiving asylum requires painting one's country in racialist, colonial terms, while at the same time disavowing the United States' role in contributing to the oppressive conditions that one fled," (p. 61-62).

Moreover, Gúzman and Valdivia (2010) argue that changing demographics and power relations have caused a population shift that brought Latinxs to the foreground. This change has necessitated that the U.S. government and capitalist enterprises, "rethink fixed hierarchical constructions and classifications surrounding U.S. populations" in order to adjust approaches to marketing and consumption. The commodification and marketability of Latinidad serves to solidify the parameters of Latinidad and, they argue, these processes have relied primarily on gendered and racialized constructions that are founded upon the Latina body.

The central trope used to introduce Latinxs into mainstream U.S. culture has been tropicalism (Aparicio and Chávez-Silverman, 1997). Tropicalism constructs Latinidad on the basis of sexuality and gender. It stereotypes Latino men as Latin lovers—hypermasculine (macho), dominant, dark hair, with mustache—and stereotypes Latinas as submissive and hypersexualized (Gúzman and Valdivia, 2010). These tropes essentialize Latinxs and contribute to the erasure of historical knowledge of the different relationships Latinxs as heterogeneous groups held prior to territorial presence of both

Anglos and African Americans (Gúzman and Valdivia, 2010). The tropicalization of

Latinxs also relates to Nagel's (2003) argument that, "ethnic and racial boundaries are

also sexual boundaries," (p. 3). For Nagel (2003), sex is an invisible foundation of

ethnicity, and the sociopolitical, cultural practices that emanate from it are thus gendered

and sexualized.

Despite the roles gender and sexuality play in crafting the Latinx population in the

U.S., little attention has been paid to the differences within this population along these

lines of difference. Although this section has deconstructed Latinidad as a whole, this

study aims to focus on these particular neglected dimensions of identity: sexual

orientation and gender.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

This study is guided by intersecting theories that examine and deconstruct systems of

oppression. LGBTQ+ populations have historically been highly marginalized groups.

Public policies dating to the inception of the United States have constructed sexual and

gender minorities as deviant and undeserving of policy benefits (Schneider, Ingram,

DeLeon, 2014; Luibhéid, 2005; Cantu, Luibhéid, and Stern, 2005).

The marginalization of sexual and gender minorities must be understood through

lenses that include the role of colonialism, capitalism, white supremacy, and patriarchy in

shaping and upholding contemporary sociopolitical structures (Sanin-Restrepo, 2016;

Heyman, 2012; Guzman and Valdivia, 2010; Wolf, 2009; Quijano, 2007; Luibhéid, 2005;

Eisenstein, 1998; Crenshaw, 1989). Oppression is primarily reflected through public

policies as governmental institutions are constructed based on the prescriptions of these

underlying systems (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Lieberman, 2007; Luibhéid, 2005).

Moreover, processes of socialization allow for discrimination at the individual and social level. Nadal et al. (2011) have developed the framework of sexual orientation microaggressions to analyze discrimination experienced by LGBTQ+ populations. Microaggressions are defined as, "brief and commonplace daily or verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative slights and insults toward members of oppressed groups," (Nadal 2008, p. 23). Previous research has found significant relationships between discrimination and health outcomes (Schwartz et al., 2014; Anderson, 2013; Otiniano and Gee, 2011; Pearlin et al., 1981)

This study uses these lenses to understand how these systems of power shape identity to create marginalized LGBTQ+ populations, how they perpetuate these social constructions, and what the effects of these processes are on LGBTQ+ Latinxs. Five specific areas of interest are chosen to analyze these questions: identity, politics, policy, and labor force dynamics. This study also seeks to produce policy recommendations based on first-hand input from the target population of LGBTQ+ Latinxs.

DATA & METHODS

Given the highly nuanced conceptualization of Latinidad, a mixed-methods community engaged research design was employed. The qualitative component comes from the Queering Latinidad Project composed of five national focus groups. Quantitative analyses are conducted utilizing the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey (CMPS 3) (Barreto et al., 2017). The following sections give an overview of each

component. Each chapter will also include further details about the specific models

utilized for those analyses.

CMPS 3

This study utilizes the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey (CMPS 3).

This national web survey of U.S. adults (N=10,145) was fielded from December 3rd, 2016

through February 15th, 2017. Because of its focus on minority populations, the survey

was made available in six different languages: English, Spanish, Chinese (traditional),

Chinese (simplified), Korean, and Vietnamese. A grand majority of surveys were

completed in English (n=9,688), followed by Spanish (n=361), and Asian languages (n=

97). Over half of the sample (N=6,024) is of registered voters. The survey had an

effective response rate of 9.9%. Respondents were compensated with $10 to $20 gift

cards for their participation. Survey data were weighted to match the adult population in

the 2015 Census ACS 1-year data file for age, gender, education, nativity, ancestry, and

voter registration status. The survey has a +/- 1 percent margin of error.

The CMPS 3 focuses on three U.S. minority populations: Latinxs (N= 3,003),

Blacks (N= 3,102), and Asians (N= 3,006). It also includes a small sample of non-

Hispanic Whites (N= 1,034). This study only utilizes the Latinx sample as it is focused

on intragroup comparisons. This dataset was the most appropriate given that it is the only

minority politics survey to include a sexual orientation question and a non-binary gender

measure.

Given this study's focus on sexuality, the central variable of interest in this study

(Latinx) is constructed through an interaction between the sexual orientation measure and

the variable for Hispanic/Latino racial/ethnic background. About 13% of the total CMPS 3 Latinx sample identified as LGBTQ or of another sexual minority identity.[5] Figure 3 shows the number of respondents by sexual orientation. The largest LGBTQ+ category is bisexual with 44% of respondents, followed by gay (19%), and 'other' (14%).

FIGURE 3: Sexual Orientation of LGBTQ+ Latinxs (%)
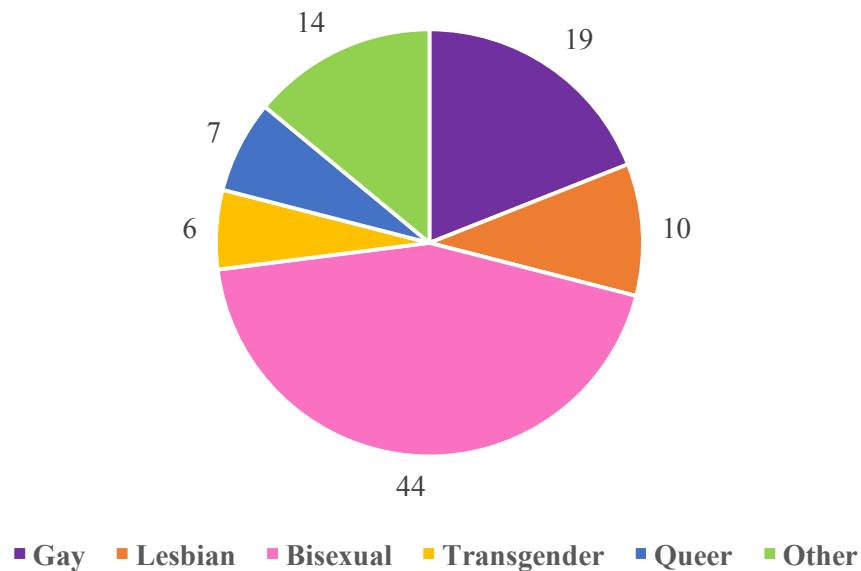
Table 1 summarizes demographic characteristics of heterosexual (N= 2,611) and LGBTQ+ Latinxs (N=392). Approximately 68% of the total CMPS 3 Latinx sample identified as female. Eighteen respondents indicated their gender as "Other." Eighty-eight percent completed the survey in English and majority were of Mexican (50%) and Puerto Rican origin (16%). Additionally, while 88% of heterosexual Latinxs reported being religious, only 77% of LGBTQ+ Latinxs indicated that they were religious. A third

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[5] A "+" will be utilized to represent those respondents who identified their sexual orientation as "other."

of the sample is in the youngest age category (18-29), this is not surprising given that this survey is web-based.

TABLE 1: Demographic Characteristics of Latinx Sample

Demographic Characteristic	Latinxs		
	Heterosexual (%)	LGBTQ+ (%)	Total (%)
Female	67	64	68
Age			
18-29	33	55	36
30-39	27	20	26
40-49	18	11	17
50-59	13	11	13
60-69	8	2	7
70+	1	.5	2
Income			
<$20k	21	30	23
$20,000-39,999	25	23	25
$40,000-59,999	20	22	20
$60,000-79,999	11	9	11
$80,000-99,999	9	6	8
$100,000 +	14	10	14
Education			
Grades 1-8	1	3	2
Some HS	7	10	7
HS Diploma/GED	25	26	25
2-year Degree	35	31	35
4-year Degree	21	21	21
Postgraduate	11	9	11
Married	44	18	40
US Born	70	78	71
Afro-Latinidad	14	22	15
	N= 2,611	N= 392	

In terms of political characteristics, LGBTQ+ Latinxs tend to mirror the liberal leanings of Latinxs overall. Figure 4 compares the political ideologies of heterosexual Latinxs and LGBTQ+ Latinxs. Only 13% of heterosexual Latinxs consider themselves to be very liberal compared to one third of LGBTQ+ Latinxs. While many of the

heterosexual respondents (42%) identified as centrist, only 29% of LGBTQ+ Latinxs consider themselves moderates. There were some similarities in party identification between the groups. A majority of both heterosexual Latinxs (48%) and LGBTQ+ Latinxs (49%) identified as Democrat followed by Independents (both 28%). Heterosexual Latinxs have higher rates of Republican identification (17%) compared to LGBTQ+ Latinxs (11%). However, 11% of LGBTQ+ Latinxs identified with other parties compared to only 7%. Interestingly, despite the higher levels of U.S.-born status among LGBTQ+ Latinxs, they have lower levels of voter registration (48%) than heterosexual Latinxs (62%).

FIGURE 4: Latinx Political Ideology by Sexual Orientation (%)
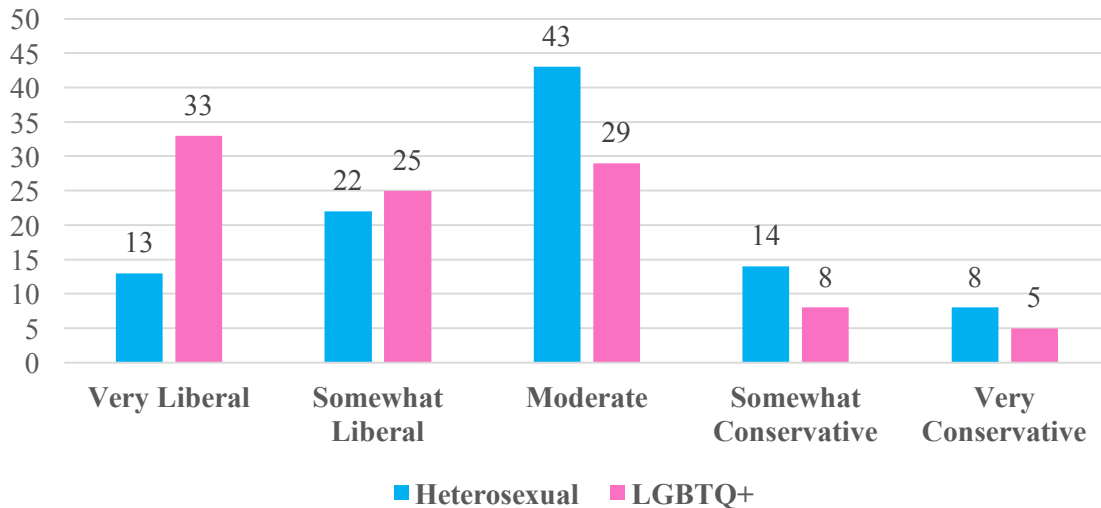
Demographic Variables

I utilize standard demographic variables as controls for these analyses, including: age, income, and education. The gender variable was dichotomized (1=female, 2=male), those that answered "other" were coded as missing given the extremely small sample size of

that category (n=18). I also include variables that have theoretical value when examining

Latinx populations. These include: nativity (U.S. vs. foreign-born) (e.g. Lopez et al.,

2006; Johnson, Steing, and Wrinkle, 2003), marital status (0= single, 1= married) (e.g. de

la Garza and Jang, 2011), language of survey (0= English, 1= Spanish, 2= Other) (Lee

and Perez, 2014), religion (0= no religion, 1= identifies with a denomination)

(Valenzuela, 2014; Ellison, 2011), and skin color (continuous 1= lightest to 10= darkest)

(e.g. Gravlee and Dressler, 2005; Burgos and Rivera, 2009).

A control for language of media consumption was also included given that studies

have shown it plays a role in influencing Latinx public opinion (Subervi and Medina,

2015; Kereval, 2011). The survey question asks: *"When it comes to news and current*

affairs, would you say you watch TV or online news:" Answer categories included: 1=

mostly English, 2=more English, but some Spanish, 3= watch English and Spanish pretty

equally, 4= more Spanish, but some English, 5=mostly Spanish-language, and 6= never

watch TV or online news. This last category (6) was dropped given that the purpose of

this measure is to compare those that consume English media at higher rates to those that

consume Spanish media. A measure for linked fate was used given its role in influencing

opinion on issues such as immigration and bilingual education (Sanchez 2006). The

linked fate questions read: *"Do you think what happens generally to Hispanics or Latino*

people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?" This

variable was coded 1= yes and 2= no.

Additionally, I include dichotomous measures for region (Mexico, Central

America, South America, and the Caribbean) derived from the country of origin reported

by respondents. Country of origin has been found to impact Latinxs opinions on

immigration (Branton, 2007; Rousse, Wilkinson, Garand, 2010). And self-identified

Afro-Latinidad which was measured through the question: *"Do you consider any part of*

your ancestry or family origin to be Afro-Latino, that is to include both African and Latin

American ancestry?" I argue that these variables capture some subverted characteristics

of Latinidad as previously discussed in Chapter 1. Finally, I include standard political

measures: ideology (continuous from 1 very liberal to 10 very conservative), voter

registration status (1= yes, 2= no), and party identification (1= Republican, 2= Democrat,

3= Independent, 4= Other). Table 2 presents summary statistics for these controls.

TABLE 2: Summary statistics for independent variables

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Demographics					
Gender	10,128	1.346959	.4760261	1	2
Age	10,135	1.658905	1.500537	0	6
Income	9,243	5.180677	3.475457	1	12
Education	10,146	4.273113	1.164372	1	6
Latinx					
Married	10,146	.4238123	.4941857	0	1
Nativity	10,146	.2453184	.430297	0	1
Language	10,146	.0547014	.2661521	0	2
Media	2,884	1.789182	1.057458	1	5
Linked Fate	10,146	1.374729	.4840767	1	2
Afro-Latinx	6,105	.1099099	.3128031	0	1
Religion	10,146	.8437808	.3630809	0	1
Skin Color	10,139	3.668902	1.666382	1	10
Region	3,003	1.394272	1.530196	0	4
Political					
Ideology	9,164	2.775207	1.083793	1	5
Registered Voter	10,146	1.40617	.4911412	1	2

Queering Latinidad Project

The Queering Latinidad Project (QLP) is a national, community-engaged qualitative study of LGBTQ+ Latinxs (N= 24). Focus groups were conducted between October 2017 and March 2018 in Albuquerque, New Mexico; Queens, New York; and Chicago, Illinois.[6] The QLP seeks to highlight gender and sexual minorities' experiences and unique perspectives, specifically with regards to intra- and inter-group discrimination, public opinion, political behavior, and group identity. The semi-structured focus groups lasted an average of 1.5 hours.

Focus groups were utilized given their ability to provide in-depth data on new or underexplored phenomenon (Umaña-Taylor and Bámaca, 2004; Morgan, 1988). Morgan and Krueger (1993) found that focus groups are useful when examining populations that involve important power dynamics *vis a vis* policymakers and who have historically experienced forms of marginalization.

The QLP research design was guided by Umaña-Taylor and Bámaca's (2004) suggested guidelines for conducting focus groups with Latino populations. Their guidelines include four major categories: social characteristics, confidentiality/incentives, literacy/demographic forms, and hospitality/refreshments.

Social Characteristics

Criteria for participating in the focus groups was:

1. Identify as LGBTQ+ or other sexual or gender minority

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[6] The San Francisco focus group is scheduled for March 29th, 2018.

2.   Identify as being of Latin American origin or Chicana/o/x

3.   18+ years of age

These parameters helped to ensure that focus group participants would be able to answer the questions related to the project as they are specifically focused on LGBTQ+ experiences. Moreover, setting such parameters helps decrease issues of intergroup power dynamics that could possibly stifle conversation and help create comfortable spaces for sharing personal information (Morgan, 1997). The central characteristic chosen for these parameters is sexual and minority identity and ethnicity. The sample of adults was decided based on Institutional Review Board (IRB) requirements and regulations rather than as a theoretical or methodological decision.

Umaña-Taylor and Bámaca (2004) also discuss the importance of the facilitator and note-taker's social characteristics. As the primary facilitator, I introduced myself and my positionality at the beginning of each focus group. My introduction briefly outlined my family background, including generational status and parental occupation, my current position as a graduate student, as well as my ethnic, sexual, and gender identity. Note takers provided similar information. These introductions helped set a pattern for participant introductions, producing rich qualitative data that the demographic surveys could not capture.

Literacy/Demographic Forms

Language is another important dynamic when studying Latino populations (Sanchez and Vargas, 2016; Lee and Perez, 2014; Umaña-Taylor and Bámaca, 2004). Both the facilitators and the note takers are fully bilingual in English and Spanish.

Participants were able to contribute to discussions in either language. The demographic surveys, consent forms, flyers, and resource materials (e.g. list of local LGBTQ+ organizations) were provided in both languages. The facilitator and note taker were available to assist any participants that had survey comprehension issues. Demographic surveys queried participants on major sociodemographic themes—mainly identity, marital status, education, incomes, and employment. Given that this is a political and policy study, political ideology and self-rated health questions were also asked.

Confidentiality/Incentives

Focus group participants were informed of their confidentiality rights during the focus group consent procedure. Hard copies were made available in English and Spanish for participants to take with them. Participants were compensated with $25 Wal-Mart gift cards.

Hospitality/Refreshments

Each focus group provided light refreshments for participants. Sharing food is a way to foster discussion among focus group participants (Umaña-Taylor and Bámaca, 2004, Krueger and Casey, 2002). Umaña-Taylor and Bámaca (2004) further suggest the usage of traditional foods. QLP participants were provided with an array of traditional Latinx foods including: *pan dulce* (sweet bread), fruits, and Mexican-brand drinks bought in local shops near the location of the focus group. Additionally, the facilitator and note takers greeted each participant in both English and Spanish and offered food as a central component of the introduction process.

Community Engagement

Following Community Based Participatory Research methods (CBPR) (Wallerstein and Minkler, 2018), a community advisory board (CAB) composed of institutional and community partners was formed for the QLP. Community-based research leverages collective strengths and resources to identify and address communal issues (Israel et al. 2018, 1998). Given the lack of data on the specific needs of LGBTQ+ Latinx communities (Chávez, 2011), community-engagement provided first-hand information and experiences of these particular communities. Moreover, LGBTQ+ Latinxs are a hard-to-reach population because of the high degrees of socioeconomic and political marginalization. The CAB thus increased the success of the recruitment of participants as they served to create proxy trust for the researcher (Spring et al., 2003).

Institutional partners include the University of New Mexico's LGBTQ Resource Center and the New Mexico Transgender Resource Center (TRGC). Community members were individuals who identified as both LGBTQ+ and of Latin American or Chicana/o/x origin. There are six community members as part of the CAB. The CAB aided in the creation and validation of the demographic survey, focus group guides, recruitment materials, and consent forms. CAB community members were compensated with $25 gift cards for their time. Institutional partners were given access to the QLP data for their policy and advocacy needs.

Recruitment

Both traditional passive and active recruitment methods were utilized (Harvard Catalyst Regulatory Foundations, Ethics, and Law Program n.d.). Flyers and short program

summaries were posted on social media (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram), LGBTQ+ and Latinx specific list serves, academic list serves focused on LGBTQ+ research, local non-profit and non-governmental organizations, and in community and commercial spaces frequented by LGBTQ+ Latinxs, and through personal and professional networks. Site coordinators from the local LGBTQ+ community were hired in Chicago and in Queens to help with dissemination of recruitment materials and to locate an appropriate location for conducting the focus groups. Site coordinators fit the same parameters as focus group participants. They also served as note takers for the focus groups.

Snowball sampling was used as it has been found to aid in the recruitment of hard-to-reach populations, including isolated individuals and recent immigrants (Spring et al., 2003). Because of the highly marginalized status of transgender individuals (Nadal, Skolnik, and Wang, 2012; Factor and Rothblum, 2008; Lobardi et al., 2001). especially those of racial/ethnic minority background, snowball sampling was an appropriate mode of recruitment. CAB members, site coordinators, and the researcher engaged in snowball sampling. However, a majority of the sample was recruited through passive methods (n=14).

Measures

The focus groups included five thematic parts guided by the three core research questions:

1. Why do LGBTQ+ Latinxs feel uncomfortable around other Latinxs?
2. Are there differences in public opinion, political behavior, and labor force participation among Latinxs based on sexual orientation?

3. Has subverting sexuality as a key facet of Latinidad affected public policymaking for this population?

The first theme was "Definition and Terms," which focused on defining common or trending terminology. This included: "LGBTQI," "Latinx," and "queer." Participants were asked about their familiarity with each term and how they viewed it or associated it with.

The second theme revolved around intergroup discrimination. This theme was constructed based on findings from the 2016 New Landscapes of a Majority-Minority State: Politics, Economy, and Well-Being in New Mexico survey (NLMMS) (N=1,505) (Vasquez et al., 2017). Survey findings revealed that 59% of LGBTQ+ Latinxs said they always or sometimes felt uncomfortable around other Latinxs because of their sexuality. QLP participants were presented this data and asked whether they related to the findings.

The third theme focused on politics. This theme inquired about political behavior as well as attitudes regarding contemporary sociopolitical climates affecting LGBTQ+ communities. Similar to the previous theme, findings from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey (CMPS 3) were used to spark discussion. The researcher's unpublished analyses found that queer-identifying CMPS 3 respondents were statistically less-likely to support LGBT activism compared to other sexual minority-identifying respondents. Participants were presented these findings and asked to comment.

The fourth theme revolved around labor force experiences, focusing on barriers and processes of employment as well as support systems. The final section focused on policy. This theme sought to capture policy opinions as well as linked fate. The linked

fate question is a variation of the traditional measure utilized in Latino Politics (Sanchez, 2006). The initial focus group revealed media representation as a particular issue among LGBTQ+ Latinxs. Corbin and Strauss (1990) argue that data collection should influence fieldwork, meaning that researchers must simultaneously collect and analyze data to improve their instruments. Moreover, media has been found to influence Latino public opinion (Kerevel, 2011; Subervi and Medina, 2015). Thus, the media was purposefully cued in the linked fate question: *When you hear on the news or media about Latinx issues, do you feel like they are also talking about your problems too?* The focus group guide is included as Appendix A.

Data Analyses

Analyses were conducted using both deductive qualitative analyses (DQA) (Gilgun, 2005) and principles of Grounded Theory Methods (GTM) (LaRossa, 2005; Corbin and Strauss, 1990). DQA was chosen given that this project is seeking to test specific theories regarding the role of sexuality and gender in shaping political and policy experiences and attitudes among Latinx communities. GTM is a "purposefully explanatory" method, making it well-suited for mixed-method analyses (LaRossa, 2005). Moreover, GTM is bidirectional (includes facets of induction and deduction).

Coding was based on deductive qualitative analysis (DQA) (Gilgun, 2005). The DQA involved selective coding of the data based on the five themes described above. Axial coding was then used to relate emerging subthemes back to the prescribed DQA categories. Axial coding is theoretical coding that takes place after selective coding to

help identify causes and contexts as well help identify processes and mechanisms (Glasser, 1978).

<u>Demographics</u>

A focus group demographic survey was implemented to capture the characteristics of the qualitative sample. In terms of gender identity, a majority of respondents identified as female (n=10) followed by the category 'other' (n=8) which included non-binary or gender non-confirming. Five participants identified as male and one participant identified as transgender (female to male). Figure 5 illustrates the sexual orientation characteristics of the sample. The majority (n=9) identified as queer.

FIGURE 5: LGBQ+ Status of Queering Latinidad Project Participants

Legend: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Queer, Other
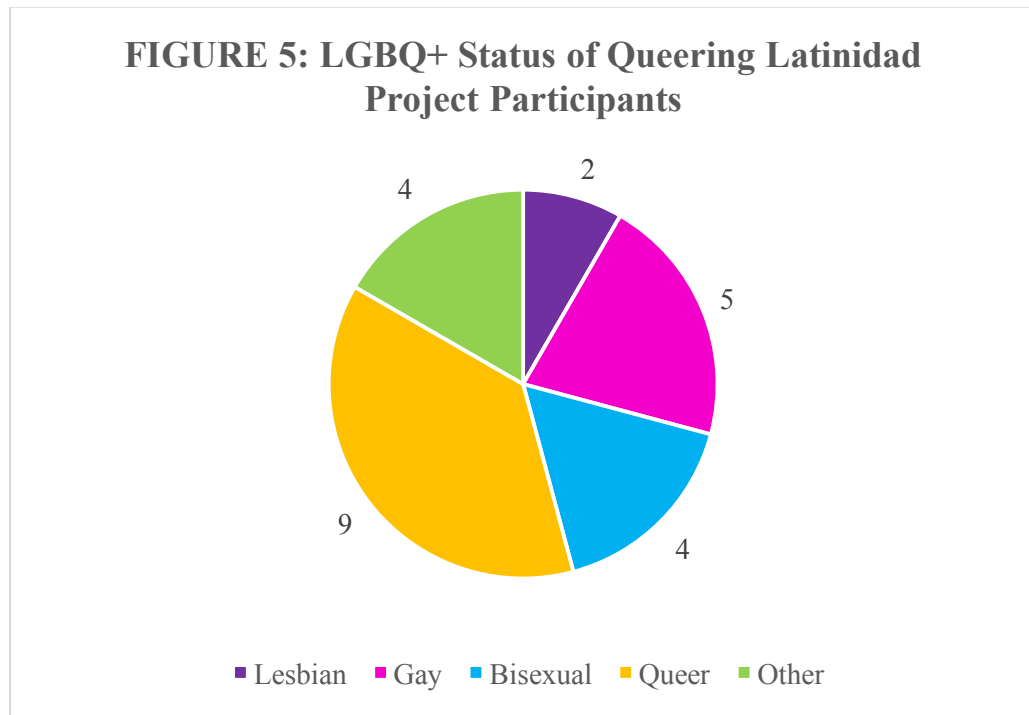
Only three participants were foreign born (two from Mexico and one from Peru). Ten respondents had at least one parent born in the U.S. The most common place of

origin for parents was Mexico (mothers n=11, fathers n=10) followed by El Salvador (mothers n=2, fathers=4). Two participants indicated they had only temporary legal status (DACA, visa, etc.) and one is a permanent legal resident. Participants' age ranged from 18 to 64 and sixteen indicated being single, two were married, and six indicated their relationship as other. Table 3 below presents a comparison between the LGBTQ+ samples in both the CMPS 3 and the QLP.

TABLE 3: Demographic Characteristics of Queering Latinidad Dissertation Samples (%)

		CMPS 3 Latinxs		QLP LGBTQ+ Latinxs
		Heterosexual	**LGBTQ+**	
Age	*18-29*	33	55	75
	30-39	27	20	17
	40-49	18	11	-
	50-59	13	11	-
	60-69	8	2	4
	70+	1	.5	-
Income	*<$20k*	21	29	50
	$20k-29,999	13	12	25
	$30k-39,999	11	10	13
	$40k-49,999	11	12	-
	$50k-59,999	9	10	13*
	$60-69,999	6	5	
	$70k-79,999	5	4	
	$80k-89,999	4	3	-
	$90k-99,999	4	2	-
	$100k-149,999	9	4	-
	$150k-199,999	3	3	-
	$200k+	2	3	-
Education	*Grades 1-8*	1	3	-
	Some HS	7	10	-
	HS Diploma/GED	25	26	17
	2-year Degree	35	32	46
	4-year Degree	21	21	33
	Postgraduate	11	9	4
Married		44	18	8
Linked Fate		56	67	-
US Born		70	78	86

English Survey	88	86	96
N	2,611	392	24

*Because LGBTQ+ populations tend to have lower income levels, income categories for this population are usually created with smaller and lower thresholds. The QLP demographic survey used the categories of the 2010 Social Justice Sexuality Survey (Battle 2010)

The political characteristics of the qualitative sample mirror some of the quantitative data of the 2016 CMPS 3 (Barreto et al. 2016). The QLP demographic survey asked participants, *"Thinking about politics, which of the following best describes your political views."* Answer categories included: 0= very liberal, 1= liberal, 2= slightly liberal, 3= slightly conservative, 4= conservative, 5=very conservative, and 6= other. Figure 2 below shows the ideology of the QLP participants.

FIGURE 6: Ideology of QLP Participants (number of respondents)
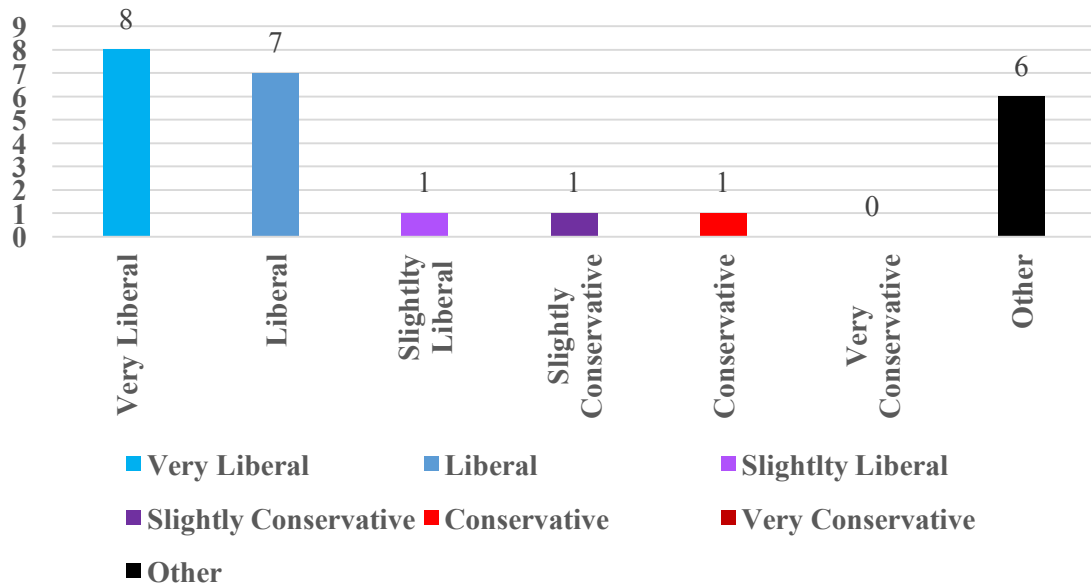
The "other" category was open-ended, allowing participants to elaborate their answer. Responses included: radical left, leftist, radical, decolonized socialism, humanitarian, and one answer, simply "fuck the system."

Chapter 3

The Case for Latinx: Analyzing Differences in Political Behavior Among Latinxs in the US

INTRODUCTION

As will be pointed out throughout this dissertation, the sociopolitical climates facing people of color and sexual and gender minorities especially, are becoming increasingly hostile and violent. This violence is also becoming more explicit and visible. For Latinx communities these environments are affecting multiple aspects of their well-being and sociopolitical lives.

One of the areas where this is more evident is immigration. The repressive enforcement of federal immigration laws is creating crises among Latinx communities. For example, on Thursday, April 5th of this year, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raided a meatpacking plant in eastern Tennessee detaining 97 immigrant workers. *The Washington Post* reports that this is the largest immigration raid in a decade (Sacchetti, 2018). The following day, over 500 children went absent from school. Shoichet (2018) reports, "on Friday, about 530 students didn't come to class in Hamblen County schools, Superintendent Jeff Perry said. That's about 5% of the district's roughly 10,000 students, and nearly a quarter of its Latino student population. A typical day might see around 75 absences." Families kept their children from school for fear that detainment while children are in school would result in their separation.

The recent case of Carlos Alfredo Rueda Cruz in Sacramento, California also exemplifies the brutality with which ICE is operating. According to Cruz, ICE agents demanded he turn in names of undocumented immigrants who have committed crimes during his mandated monthly immigration check-ins. When Cruz repeatedly failed to provide any names, ICE agents beat and detained him. Despite hospital records indicating severe injuries and prescription of pain medication, ICE refused Cruz medical treatment and access to this medication. Cruz now faces the possibility of permanent injury to his arm and shoulder affecting his ability to work (Taylor, 2018). This case is troubling in that it not only highlights the abuse immigrants experience at the hands of ICE, but also that ICE is manipulating immigrants to police their own communities in exchange for protection from deportation. Moreover, Cruz-Nichols, LeBrón, and Pedraza (2018) find that the increased policing of Latinx communities is leading to negative health outcomes for Latinxs. Similar to Vargas, Sanchez, and Juárez (2017) who find that perceptions of anti-immigrant state climates affect Latinxs' mental health.

LGBTQ+ Latinxs are among the most marginalized populations across policy domains. Immigration is no exception to this. Like queer migration scholars have proposed (see Chapter 1 for full discussion), the role of immigration policy is nation building. In the United States, the nation was shaped by systems of patriarchy, white supremacy, and settler colonialism (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). Since its inception, the United States has rejected and excluded gender and sexual minorities along with non-white populations. Sexual and gender minorities, especially transgender women of color, are highly criminalized due to their construction as deviant populations. They are stereotyped as sex workers and morally deficient individuals. These deviant populations' poor living

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conditions are perceived as resulting from inherent characteristics. However, they are in reality products of discrimination and racism resulting from the ideologies shaping the sociopolitical and economic conditions.

Scholars are finding that these conditions are driving Latinxs to mobilize electorally (Sanchez and Gómez-Aguiñaga, 2017). Hostile environments have been found to drive Latinx electoral mobilization in the past as well (Barreto, Ramirez, and Woods, 2005). However, our understanding of political behavior within specific sectors of the Latinx population, specifically gender and sexual minority Latinxs, is extremely limited. We also lack data on the types of political participation LGBTQ+ engage in. This chapter aims to address this gap in the literature by providing analyses of the differences in political behavior between heterosexual and non-heterosexual and gender minority Latinxs.

This chapter uses data from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey (CMPS 3) and the national qualitative study the Queering Latinidad Project (QLP) to examine two specific dimension of participation. First, analyses test whether political participation rates vary between heterosexual and LGBTQ+ Latinxs. Next, the chapter explores what types of political participation LGBTQ+ Latinxs engage in.

This chapter first begins by giving an overview of the literature investigating Latinx political behavior. This section points to the severe lack of information regarding LGBTQ+ Latinx political participation. The following section presents the frameworks and guiding hypothesis for analyses. A discussion of the data and analyses then follows. The chapter concludes with a discussion surrounding current sociopolitical struggles that

include LGBTQ+ Latinx leadership and concludes by outlining the contributions these analyses make to political science.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on Latinx politics have flourished over the decades, with studies focusing on both intergroup and intragroup dynamics, political behavior, public opinion, and a variety of political outcomes. This section focuses on studies that aim to understand what internal factors explain Latinx political behavior. Yet, as this section highlights, there are virtually no studies that consider sexual orientation as a factor affecting Latinx political behavior and few studies utilize adequate measures of gender (although this area of inquiry is growing rapidly).[7]

Studies have found that when it comes to voting, discrimination drives the Latino electorate (Barreto, Ramirez, and Woods, 2005). Barreto, Ramirez, and Woods' (2005) study of naturalized voters in California found that Latinos were mobilized to vote during the height of anti-immigrant fervor in the mid-1990s. Additionally, Lopez et al. (2006) find that immigrants are more likely to protest restrictive immigration policies than U.S. born Latinos. Spanish-speaking Latinos are also more likely to vote than English-speaking Latinos (Johnson, Stein, and Wrinkle, 2003).

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[7] Sociological studies have explored lesbian and bisexual Latina/o sociopolitical involvement. However, these studies focus on the role of community support, belonging, and connectedness to civic and sociopolitical engagement, not on the role of sexual orientation itself (Battle and Harris 2013; Harris et al. 2013; Harris et al. 2015).

A 2008 study by Michelson found that Latinos focus on partisan group identification over ethnic group cues in their support of candidates. However, Barreto (2010) and Manzano and Sanchez (2010) find that co-ethnic candidates mobilize Latinos to vote. It has been noted that "Latinos are mobilized by living in environment where they have a chance of winning with a candidate of their choice," (Barreto, Segura, and Woods, 2004, p. 70). Nuño (2007) finds that Latino vote choice is also affected by the race/ethnicity of the person trying to mobilize them. His study of the 2000 presidential election found that Latinos who were contacted by a Latino republican were more likely to vote for George W.H. Bush than when contacted by a non-Latino republican.

Studies also show that racial self-identification (Stokes-Brown, 2009) and citizenship and generational status (Martinez, 2005; Verba et al. ,1995) affect Latino political engagement and behavior. Verba et al. (1995) also find variation based on nationality, with Cubans displaying higher levels of community involvement than other Latino nationalities. Lien (1994) finds that acculturation increases participation among Mexican-Americans. Age, education, marriage, and partisanship affect voting behavior as well (de la Garza and Jang, 2011; Jang, 2009). In terms of policymakers, Rocca, Sanchez, and Uscinski (2008) find that education, gender, nativity, and generation have an impact on the way Latino legislators vote in Congress.

Yet, none of these studies include sexual orientation as a factor influencing political behavior. While studies on the gender effects on participation are growing (Monforti, 2017; Sampaio, 2013; Bedolla, 2000) Latino LGBTQ+ participation has yet to be studied. Thus, this study presents an important contribution to the field of Latino Politics.

THEORY & HYPOTHESES

This dissertation starts its analyses of gender and sexuality with colonization and the rigid

gender and sexual binaries imposed on indigenous cultures in the Americas (Solis,

Garrido, Garcia, 2017; Qwo-Li Driskill, 2010; Papoulias, 2006; Cantu, Luibhéid, and

Stern, 2005). Chapter 2 lays out a deeper discussion of how these processes of

colonization erased the rich constellation of genders and sexualities existing in

indigenous cultures prior to European invasion.

The example of Two-Spirit people in North American indigenous cultures

illustrates how colonization has erased the roles that gender non-conforming and sexual

minorities played in societies. Two Spirit is not a gender or a sexual orientation, but

rather a state of being where the person contains both a male and female spirit. They have

the ability to view the world through both of these gender perspectives while

simultaneously embodying gender as a continuum (Enos, 2017).

Enos (2017) writes,

"Two Spirit people held a meaningful place in the sacred hoop. In many

tribes Two Spirits were balance keepers. Thought to be the "dusk"

between the male morning, and the female evening. As the role has

evolved over time as necessary, the tradition is still alive."

In some tribes, Two-Spirit people are considered powerful shamans (Lang, 2016). In

other tribes, Two-spirit people also held political roles. As Harlan Pruden (2016) has

noted, Two-Spirit people were involved in settling conflicts both among tribal members

and with other groups. Although investigations of third genders and sexual minorities in

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Latin America are growing, there is still a lack of knowledge about the sociopolitical roles these individuals played in society.

While scholars continue to explore pre-colonization sociopolitical relations, the processes of colonization ingrained in our methodologies often means the continued exclusion of gender and sexual minorities in our analyses (Lang, 2016). As noted throughout this dissertation, LGBTQ+ Latinxs are prominent figures in various political struggles historically and contemporarily. For example, Amelio Robles was a transgender soldier serving in the Mexican Revolution with Emiliano Zapata (Arce, 2016). Robles was recognized as a male war veteran by Zapata's army. Other figures such as Sylvia Rivera played critical roles in sparking the gay liberation movement in the United States (see Chapter 5 for a deeper discussion of Rivera). And as will be discussed later in this chapter, LGBTQ+ Latinxs are at the forefront of immigrant rights and gun control struggles today as well. Despite their extreme marginalization, LGBTQ+ individuals find themselves politically engaged in their communities.

The erasure and violence experienced by gender and sexual minorities can be used as transformative practices. Speaking on her experiences as a Black lesbian, Audre Lorde (1984) explains how her close encounter with death inspired her to take action on her marginalization. She writes, "I was going to die, if not sooner then later, whether or not I had ever spoken myself. My silence had not protected me. Your silence will not protect you," (p. 41). Lorde (1984) explains how women have been socialized to be in constant fear with the aim of immobilizing them. She urges the oppressed to speak up, form alliances, and be fearless in challenging marginalization lest "the weight of that

silence will choke us," (p. 44). There is a historical record of LGBTQ+ Latinxs engaging in these transformative processes.

However, political science as a discipline has not sufficiently analyzed these histories or contemporary transformative practices of these marginalized populations. Thus, this chapter attempts to elucidate LGBTQ+ Latinxs' lived experiences to understand their political roles and engagement within the grander Latinx population. I seek to investigate how sexual and gender identities impact current political participation among Latinxs. I propose two central hypotheses to examine these questions.

Given the historical roles of LGBTQ+ individuals in various sociopolitical and economic struggles, I propose Hypothesis 1:

Hypothesis$_1$: Latinxs who identify as LGBTQ+ will have higher political participation rates than heterosexual Latinxs

Because of the highly marginalized status of LGBTQ+ communities in contemporary society, which includes crises levels of violence, I suspect that the political activities engaged in by LGBTQ+ Latinxs will differ from those engaged in by heterosexual Latinxs. For example, the 2016 New Landscapes of a Majority-Minority State: Politics, Economy, Health, and Well-Being in New Mexico (NLMMS) found that 59% of LGBTQ+ Latinxs felt uncomfortable around other Latinxs because of their sexuality (Vasquez et al., 2017). This could possibly mean that LGBTQ+ Latinxs might refrain from participating in political activities that would require them to be in groups with non-heterosexual Latinxs for prolonged periods of time.

Hypothesis$_2$: LGBTQ+ Latinxs will engage in different types of political participation compared to heterosexual Latinxs.

The following sections describe the data and methodologies used to examine these hypotheses. They are then followed by a discussion of the findings, which center contemporary LGBTQ+ activism. This chapter ends by highlighting the need to include gender and sexuality in our political analyses.

DATA & METHODS

As noted in Chapter 1, this is a mixed-methods community-engaged project. Data comes from two primary sources, the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey (CMPS 3) and the Queering Latinidad Project. The full methodological details are presented in Chapter 1.

2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey

This national web survey of U.S. adults (N=10,145) was fielded from December 3rd, 2016 through February 15th, 2017. The CMPS 3 focuses on three U.S. minority populations: Latinxs (N= 3,003), Blacks (N= 3,102), and Asians (N= 3,006). It also includes a small sample of non-Hispanic Whites (N= 1,034). This study only utilizes the Latinx sample as it is focused on intragroup comparisons of political behavior only. The CMPS 3 allows for this exploration of LGBTQ+ politics as it includes a measure for sexual orientation and a gender (not sex) question that permits respondents to report being male, female, or other. This measure of gender is not as comprehensive as those utilized by LGBTQ+ -centered scholars (e.g. Battle 2010 Social Justice Sexuality Survey)

or as suggested by the Human Rights Campaign (HRC).[8] However, the "other" option

breaks away from the rigid gender binary imposed by heteropatriarchy that only

recognizes men and women as valid genders. Moreover, telephone interviews generally

do not inquire about gender (or sex), instead interviewers ascribe the gender of the

respondent based on tone of voice. This practice is problematic as it imposes

constructions of femininity and masculinity onto human biology. Being web-based, the

CMPS 3 directly asks the respondent about gender, which leads to higher accuracy in the

gender measure.

Dependent Variables

To analyze differences in political behavior, I utilize thirteen different measures of

political participation included in the CMPS 3 that is illustrated in Table 4. The survey

question asks respondents: "*In the past 12 months, have you…*" respondents are then

given a list of political activities. Table 2 summarizes these variables and presents the

responses by sexual orientation and gender minority status. The first variable "Participate

in at least 1 civic organization," is originally coded as an ordinal variable where 1=

participates in one organization, 2= participates in more than one, and 3= no

participation. There was no significant difference by sexual orientation when this variable

was used in this original ordinal scale. However, there were statistically significant

differences between those that participated in one civic organization compared to those

that participated in multiple. Thus, this variable is recoded 0 for participating in at least

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[8] Human Rights Campaign. 2016. "Collecting Transgender-Inclusive Gender Data in Workplace and Other Surveys."

one civic organization and 1 for those that said they participated in multiple. All other

measures of political participation are coded 0 for not engaging in that activity and 1 for

engaging in that activity.

TABLE 4: Summary of Political Participation Measures by Sexual Orientation

Political Participation Measures	Latinxs	
	Heterosexual (%)	LGBTQ+ (%)
Participate in at least 1 civic organizations	59	45
Discussed politics w/fam & friends	83	77
Worked for campaign or party	5	10
Contributed money	12	20
Wore campaign button or sticker	18	28
Contacted elected officials about a policy	17	25
Contacted elected officials for help	15	21
Worked with others to solve community issue	16	25
Attended a meeting for community issue	19	27
Discussed candidate or issue on social media	38	47
Attended protest, march, or rally	38	47
Signed a petition	35	47

Boycott company or product	17	30
	N= 2,611	**N=392**

LGBTQ+ Latinxs report higher levels of political participation across all measures, except discussing politics with friends and family. These descriptive statistics point to possible relationships between gender and sexuality and these forms of political participation.

I also created an index variable that includes all of the thirteen political participation measurements. This index ran from 2, the lowest level of participation, to 14, the highest level of participation. This index was used to measure differences in participation rates overall based on sexual and gender minority status.

Independent Variables

I utilize standard demographic variables as controls for these analyses, including: gender, age, income, and education. I also include variables that have theoretical value when examining Latinx populations. These include: nativity (U.S. vs. foreign-born), marital status (0= single, 1= married), religion (0= no religion, 1= identifies with a denomination), and skin color (continuous 1= lightest to 10= darkest). Because this study focuses on Latinx populations, the language variable was collapsed into 0= English, 1= Spanish, and those who chose the survey in Asian languages were coded as missing. Additionally, I include dichotomous measures for region (Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean) derived from the country of origin reported by respondents. Self-identified Afro-Latinidad, which was measured through the question:

"*Do you consider any part of your ancestry or family origin to be Afro-Latino, that is to include both African and Latin American ancestry?*" I argue that these two variables capture some subverted characteristics of Latinidad as previously discussed. Finally, I include standard political measures: ideology (continuous from 1 very liberal to 10 very conservative), voter registration status (1= yes, 2= no), and party identification (1= Republican, 2= Democrat, 3= Independent, 4= Other). Table 5 presents summary statistics for these controls.

TABLE 5: Summary statistics for independent variables

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Demographics					
Gender	10,128	1.346959	.4760261	1	2
Age	10,135	1.658905	1.500537	0	6
Income	9,243	5.180677	3.475457	1	12
Education	10,146	4.273113	1.164372	1	6
Latinx					
Nativity	10,146	.2453184	.430297	0	1
Married	10,146	.4238123	.4941857	0	1
Language	10,146	.0547014	.2661521	0	2
Religion	10,146	.8437808	.3630809	0	1
Skin Color	10,139	3.668902	1.666382	1	10
Region	3,003	1.394272	1.530196	0	4
Afro-Latinx	6,105	.1099099	.3128031	0	1

Queering Latinidad Project

The Queering Latinidad Project (QLP) is a national, community-engaged qualitative study of LGBTQ+ Latinxs (N= 24). The QLP seeks to highlight gender and sexual minorities' experiences and unique perspectives, specifically concerning intra- and inter-group discrimination, public opinion, political behavior, and group identity. This chapter presents the findings around political behavior.

Focus group participants were asked three questions related to their political activities and engagement:

1. What are your thoughts on the overall social and political climate towards LGBTQI people?

2. Have you ever participated in any type of political activities? Were these specifically related to LGBTQI issues?

3. Are you a member of any type of organization or party that engages in political action?

Along with these questions, data and findings from previous studies were used to further explore participants' political views. Unpublished results from CMPS 3 analyses find that queer-identifying individuals indicate less support for LGBT activism compared to other sexual and gender minorities. Focus group participants were asked to comment about these findings.

ANALYSES & RESULTS

Quantitative Findings

I first began by analyzing whether a difference existed in participation rates between heterosexual and LGBTQ+ Latinxs overall, before considering differences across specific modes of participation. A count model is the most appropriate given that the political participation index is a count variable. Because the index shows signs of overdispersion (mean 5.1, variance 7.6), a Negative Binomial Regression (NBR) was utilized (Long and Freese, 2006). This is consistent with Sanchez's (2006) analyses of Latino political behavior using count data. Table 6 below provides NBR results.[9]

Table 6: Negative Binomial Regression Results for Political Behavior Index

	Political Behavior Index
Latinx	**.094*** **(.039)**
Female	.053 (.027)
Age *18-29 Ref*	
30-39	-.072 (.044)
40-49	-.064 (.039)
50-59	-.052 (.046)
60-69	-.046 (.053)
70-79	-.037 (.083)
80+	.003 (.200)
Income *<$20k Ref*	
$20k-29,999	.056 (.048)
$30k-39,999	.018 (.055)
$40k-49,999	.054 (.048)

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[9] Because the overdispersion was not large, I also ran a Poisson Regression Model (PRM). A goodness of fit test was insignificant ($p<0.8$), meaning that a PRM is also an appropriate test to assess the impact of gender and sexuality on participation rates. Moreover, the PRM and NBR tests provide similar results.

$50k-59,999	.112*
	(.055)
$60-69,999	.090
	(.062)
$70k-79,999	.090
	(.050)
$80k-89,999	.151
	(.078)
$90k-99,999	.040
	(.071)
$100k-149,999	.038
	(.055)
$150k-199,999	.178*
	(.076)
$200k+	.127
	(.108)
Education *Grades 1-8 Ref*	
Some HS	.012
	(.091)
HS Diploma/GED	.016
	(.081)
2-year Degree	.145
	(.082)
4-year Degree	.217**
	(.084)
Postgraduate	.163
	(.090)
Married	.004
	(.028)
Linked Fate	-.187***
	(.028)
US Born	-.003
	(.038)
Language *English Ref*	-.013
	(.052)
Mexico	.020
	(.044)
Central	-.038
	(.061)
South	.053
	(.056)
Caribbean	-.028
	(.047)
Religion	.074
	(.044)
Afro-Latinidad	.088*
	(.038)
Skin Color	.010
	(.010)
Ideology	-.061***
	(.014)
Registered Voter	-.131***
	(.031)

N	2,485

These results indicate that there is a difference in political participation overall between heterosexual and sexual and gender minority Latinxs, holding all else constant. The variable measuring LGBTQ+ Latinx status (Latinx) is significant at the $p<0.01$ level. Being LGBTQ+ increases your political participation by 10%, holding all else constant. This supports the hypothesis that LGBTQ+ Latinxs are participating at higher rates possibly due to their engagement in transformative practices. This finding holds while controlling for demographic and political factors, meaning that gender and sexuality are salient factors driving political participation. Other variables were also significant. Some levels of income and education were significant, as well as some theoretical variables such as Afro-Latinidad. Being Afro-Latinx increases your levels of participation, holding all else constant. Political variables measuring ideology and voter registration status were also significant. As Latinxs become more conservative, their political participation rates decrease, holding all else constant.

Next, I sought to investigate if particular forms of political participation were more common based on gender and sexual orientation status. To test this, I ran a series of two-tailed t-tests to compare the means between both groups. Table 7 below shows the summary results of these tests. All tests were statistically significant at either the $p<.01$ or $p<.001$ levels. These analyses reveal that sexual orientation and gender identity are important points of difference when discussing Latinx political behavior. These facets of identity are influencing across types of activities, not just a single category. LGBTQ+

Latinxs are participating in organizations and campaigns and also taking individual action through petitions and boycotts.

TABLE 7: T-Tests for Differences in Means Between Heterosexual and LGBTQ+ Latinxs

Political Participation Measures	Latinxs (Means)		Difference (Standard Errors)
	Heterosexual	LGBTQ+	
Participate in at least 1 civic organizations	0.4090	0.5455	-0.1365 (0.0519)***
Discussed politics w/fam & friends	0.8399	0.7704	0.0695 (0.0203)**
Worked for campaign or party	0.0571	0.1020	-0.0450 (0.0131)**
Contributed money	0.1203	0.2092	-0.0889 (0.0183)***
Wore campaign button or sticker	0.1877	0.2883	-0.1006 (0.0216)***
Contacted elected officials about a policy	0.1716	0.2500	-0.0784 (0.0208)**
Contacted elected officials for help	0.1459	0.2143	-0.0684 (0.0196)**
Worked with others to solve community issue	0.1616	0.2500	-0.0884 (0.0204)***
Attended a meeting for community issue	0.1934	0.2730	-0.0795 (0.0218)**
Discussed candidate or issue on social media	0.3826	0.4745	-0.0919 (0.0264)**
Attended protest, march, or rally	0.3826	0.4745	-0.0919 (0.0264)***
Signed a petition	0.3520	0.4719	-0.1200 (0.0260)***
Boycott company or product	0.170	0.303	-0.1335 (0.0210)*

I followed my preliminary analyses with logistic regressions and marginal effects to test the robustness of the models. Of the thirteen political participation models, seven were statistically significant: being part of more than one civic organization, discussed politics with friends and family, worked on a campaign, gave money to a campaign, contacted elected officials, signed a petition, and boycotted a product. Table 8 and 9 below present the results for these seven models.

TABLE 8: Logistic Regression Results for Political Behavior Models 1-4

	Model 1 Civic Orgs	Model 2 Discussed	Model 3 Worked	Model 4 Gave Money
Latinx	**.7836*** **(.3251)**	**-.7185**** **(.2690)**	**.9024**** **(.2598)**	**.7386**** **(.2388)**
Female	.1827 (.2678)	.2516 (.1857)	.3178 (.2628)	.3122 (.2024)
Age *18-29 Ref*				
30-39	.7009 (.3963)	-.5937* (.2589)	.1100 (.3893)	.0251 (.3382)
40-49	.4886 (.4087)	-.4990 (.3022)	-.4754 (.3205)	-.3628 (.2622)
50-59	-.2208 (.4816)	-.3723 (.2973)	.1014 (.3396)	.1986 (.2892)
60-69	.7453 (.5041)	.2090 (.5337)	.4978 (.4360)	.4972 (.3544)
70-79	.2247 (.7717)	-.7574 (.5746)	1.021 (.5564)	.8185 (.4867)
80+	-1.563 (1.540)	-1.366 (1.233)	-.2546 (1.214)	2.048 (1.190)
Income *<$20k Ref*				
$20k-29,999	.0321 (.5612)	.5819* (.2568)	1.529** (.5192)	.4125 (.5194)
$30k-39,999	.1587 (.4900)	.0850 (.3411)	.2677 (.5043)	.1684 (.4982)
$40k-49,999	-.2199 (.5421)	.5748 (.3269)	.8659 (.4721)	.8350 (.4673)
$50k-59,999	-.1501 (.5682)	.7755 (.4697)	1.081* (.4725)	1.311** (.4729)
$60-	-.0231	.4345	.5052	.6919

69,999	(.6151)	(.3637)	(.5133)	(.5040)
$70k-79,999	.0343 (.6596)	1.217* (.5082)	.7352 (.5108)	.8717 (.4866)
$80k-89,999	-.3955 (.6544)	.1473 (.6299)	.1209 (.6522)	1.649*** (.4916)
$90k-99,999	-.0517 (.7720)	1.173* (.5201)	1.248 (.6945)	1.612** (.5311)
$100k-149,999	.8734 (.6019)	.9224 (.5074)	.4250 (.5264)	1.478** (.5047)
$150k-199,999	.2782 (.7045)	.6095 (.6056)	1.015 (.6063)	1.467** (.5284)
$200k+	.8229 (.7319)	-.7970 (.8139)	.4091 (.6244)	2.257*** (.6627)
Education *Grades 1-8 Ref*				
Some HS	-1.123 (.8756)	.3603 (.4800)	1.111 (1.099)	.6116 (1.203)
HS Diploma/ GED	-1.698* (.7409)	-.2542 (.4382)	.3669 (1.117)	.7403 (1.029)
2-year Degree	-2.668*** (.7528)	.3238 (.4582)	1.001 (1.101)	1.197 (1.028)
4-year Degree	-2.655*** (.7621)	.4423 (.5035)	1.277 (1.1094)	1.577 (1.039)
Post-graduate	-2.053** (.7988)	1.653** (.6454)	1.867 (1.117)	1.430 (1.050)
Married	-.2225 (.3186)	.4463* (.2230)	.7497** (.2714)	-.1169 (.1856)
Linked Fate	-.6150* (.3003)	-.5850** (.1926)	-.7207** (.2706)	-.8698*** (.2073)
US Born	-.3191 (.3330)	.0294 (.2229)	-.5857 (.3645)	-.4396 (.2878)
Language *English Ref*	-.0469 (.5073)	.2086 (.3341)	-1.102 (.6903)	-1.343** (.4748)
Mexico	-.0086 (.3748)	.2730 (.2963)	-.3222 (.4062)	.3907 (.2673)
Central	.0117 (.0310)	.0004 (.0232)	-.0384 (.0291)	.0349 (.0215)
South	-.2489 (.5487)	.2805 (.4216)	.1451 (.5329)	.6262 (.4159)
Caribbean	-.4064 (.4108)	.1148 (.3082)	-.0230 (.4280)	.1246 (.2902)
Religion	-.2967 (.4385)	.7485** (.2762)	1.012* (.4235)	.3778 (.2940)
Afro-Latinx	-.0464 (.3031)	-.0902 (.2637)	-.0908 (.3137)	.1474 (.2208)
Skin Color	.1023 (.0888)	-.0536 (.0654)	.1700 (.0931)	.1567* (.0679)
Ideology	.1649 (.1272)	-.0970 (.0985)	-.1683 (.1036)	-.2288* (.1065)
Registered Voter	-.3665 (.3441)	-.4717 (.2750)	-.0516 (.2841)	-.5441* (.2170)
Constant	2.080	2.258	-4.623	-3.467

	(1.340)	(1.012)	(1.368)	(1.244)
N	568	2,485	2,485	2,485

Robust Standard Errors in Parenthesis
*p<0.5 **p<.01 ***p<.001

TABLE 9: Logistic Regression Results for Political Behavior Models 5-7

	Model 5 Contacted	Model 6 Sign Petition	Model 7 Boycott
Latinx	**.7224*** (.2159)**	**.6273*** (.1796)**	**.7201*** (.1973)**
Female	.0388 (.1680)	-.1138 (.1322)	.1576 (.1685)
Age *18-29 Ref*			
30-39	.2576 (.2677)	-.0130 (.1933)	.2343 (.2355)
40-49	.1550 (.2346)	.0806 (.2039)	-.1012 (.2603)
50-59	.4276 (.2453)	.0702 (.2075)	-.1521 (.2508)
60-69	1.009*** (.2949)	.1261 (.2606)	.3875 (.2994)
70-79	1.157** (.4258)	-.2915 (.4768)	-.4498 (.5191)
80+	-1.117 (1.028)	-2.770* (1.186)	---
Income *<$20k Ref*			
$20k-29,999	.0644 (.3762)	.0219 (.2311)	-.2672 (.3752)
$30k-39,999	.3866 (.3791)	.1441 (.2704)	.0264 (.4368)
$40k-49,999	.5734 (.3356)	.0773 (.2340)	.3273 (.3163)
$50k-59,999	1.045** (.3656)	.2577 (.2506)	.7499* (.3316)
$60-69,999	1.007** (.3645)	.0885 (.2872)	.7628* (.3755)
$70k-79,999	.1781 (.3530)	.1333 (.2978)	.7127* (.3606)
$80k-89,999	1.124 (.4016)	-.0123 (.3084)	.8920* (.3845)
$90k-99,999	1.098** (.3879)	.1725 (.3463)	.5926 (.3822)
$100k-149,999	.0831 (.3725)	-.4072 (.2655)	.8431* (.3827)
$150k-199,999	1.267** (.4034)	-.0048 (.3359)	1.193** (.4187)
$200k+	.8929 (.4635)	.0047 (.3853)	.5064 (.5172)
Education *Grades*			

1-8 Ref			
Some HS	2.180 (1.180)	1.399 (.9600)	-.6891 (1.160)
HS Diploma/ GED	2.236* (1.100)	1.770 (.9298)	.0819 (.8892)
2-year Degree	2.782* (1.105)	2.319* (.9374)	.5893 (.8961)
4-year Degree	3.281** (1.099)	2.301* (.9364)	.8761 (.8888)
Post-graduate	2.925** (1.107)	1.971* (.9677)	.8230 (.9014)
Married	-.0562 (.1702)	.1798 (.1448)	.4366** (.1700)
Linked Fate	-.5263*** (.1600)	-.6084*** (.1364)	-.4735** (.1698)
U.S. Born	-.1498 (.2305)	-.2229 (.1660)	.2088 (.2048)
Language *English Ref*	-.4869 (.3669)	-.6453* (.2630)	-.8126* (.3598)
Mexico	.2020 (.2555)	.0377 (.2047)	.5081* (.2116)
Central	.0046 (.0195)	-.0103 (.0172)	.0238 (.0185)
South	.3471 (.3313)	.2820 (.2861)	.2273 (.3019)
Caribbean	.3073 (.2598)	.0146 (.2226)	.2017 (.2312)
Religion	-.0208 (.2860)	.1183 (.2131)	.4717 (.2442)
Afro-Latinx	.4966* (.2033)	.3737 (.1920)	.3718 (.1960)
Skin Color	.0589 (.0605)	-.0116 (.0534)	.0849 (.0553)
Ideology	-.2441** (.0850)	-.2794*** (.0655)	-.3880*** (.1039)
Registered Voter	-.5406** (.1884)	-.6905*** (.1452)	-.4934** (.1774)
Constant	-3.522 (1.222)	.0150 (1.187)	-2.080 (1.214)
N	2,485	2,485	2,478

Robust Standard Errors in Parenthesis
*p<0.5 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Latinx was statistically significant across all models, holding all else constant,

meaning that sexual orientation and minority status impacts political behavior in this

population. These findings support my second hypothesis that LGBTQ+ Latinxs will

engage in different types of political activities than heterosexual Latinxs. Thus, not only

are LGBTQ+ Latinxs participating at higher rates than heterosexual Latinxs, but are also involved in different categories of activities.

Interestingly, Latinx is significant and positive in all models except for Model 2, discussing politics with family or friends. Model 2 shows that LGBTQ+ Latinxs are less likely to report having discussed political issues with their family and friends when compared to heterosexual Latinxs. This could be due to the high levels of violence LGBTQ+ people face from their own families and communities (James et al., 2016). Ideology could also be playing a role. Given that LGBTQ+ Latinxs tend to be very liberal at higher rates than their heterosexual counterparts, this could be playing a role in the way they communicate or discuss political issues with friends and families. Another interesting finding across models is that gender was not statistically significant. This poses an important question regarding previous studies of Latino political behavior that solely analyze gender as a predictor of political behavior without accounting for sexual orientation.

Other demographic variables, however, functioned as expected which helps ensure that my overall model performs well. For example, certain categories of age, education, and income were statistically significant. These findings are in line with established studies of political participation that find that socioeconomic status impacts political behavior (Verba et al., 1993). Being married was statistically significant in Models 2, 3 and 7, with married individuals being more likely to discuss political issues with family and friends, report having worked for a political campaign, and supporting boycotts of companies or products, holding all else constant. Another interesting finding is the role of nativity. Initial models that did not control for region found nativity to be

statistically significant, however, these final models that include regional controls do not find any statistically significant relationship between political behavior and nativity. The regional variables did not show any statistically significant relationship to political behavior, except for Model 7 where Mexicans are more likely to boycott products or companies. This is interesting given the historical role that boycotts have played in Chicano and Mexican-American history (e.g. 1965-1070 Delano Grape Strike and Boycott). There are also contemporary binational boycotts currently in place demanding better conditions for farmworkers in Mexico and the United States (e.g. Immokalee Workers Wendy's boycott, San Quintin Boycott Driscoll's campaign, Familias Unidas por Justicia Boycott Sakuma Farms campaign).

Other demographic characteristics and important theoretical variables were also significant. Those respondents that identified as Afro-Latinx were statistically more likely to contact an elected official compared to non-Afro-Latinxs, holding all else constant. Additionally, skin color was statistically significant at the $p<.01$ level in Model 4, with the likelihood of contributing money to a campaign or official increasing as skin color darkens. Non-English speakers were less likely to give money, sign a petition, or boycott a company or product compared to those who answered the survey in English, holding all else constant.

Political variables were significant across a few models as well. Ideology was statistically significant in four models. As respondents became more conservative, the less likely they were to report having worked for a campaign, giving money to a campaign, contacting a public official, signing a petition, or support a boycott compared to more liberal respondents. Voter registration status was also statistically significant for

the last four models. Those not registered to vote are less likely to give money to a campaign, contact public officials, sign a petition, or support a boycott compared to registered voters, holding all else constant.

FIGURE 7: Marginal Effects Difference in Political Behavior of LGBTQ+ Latinxs
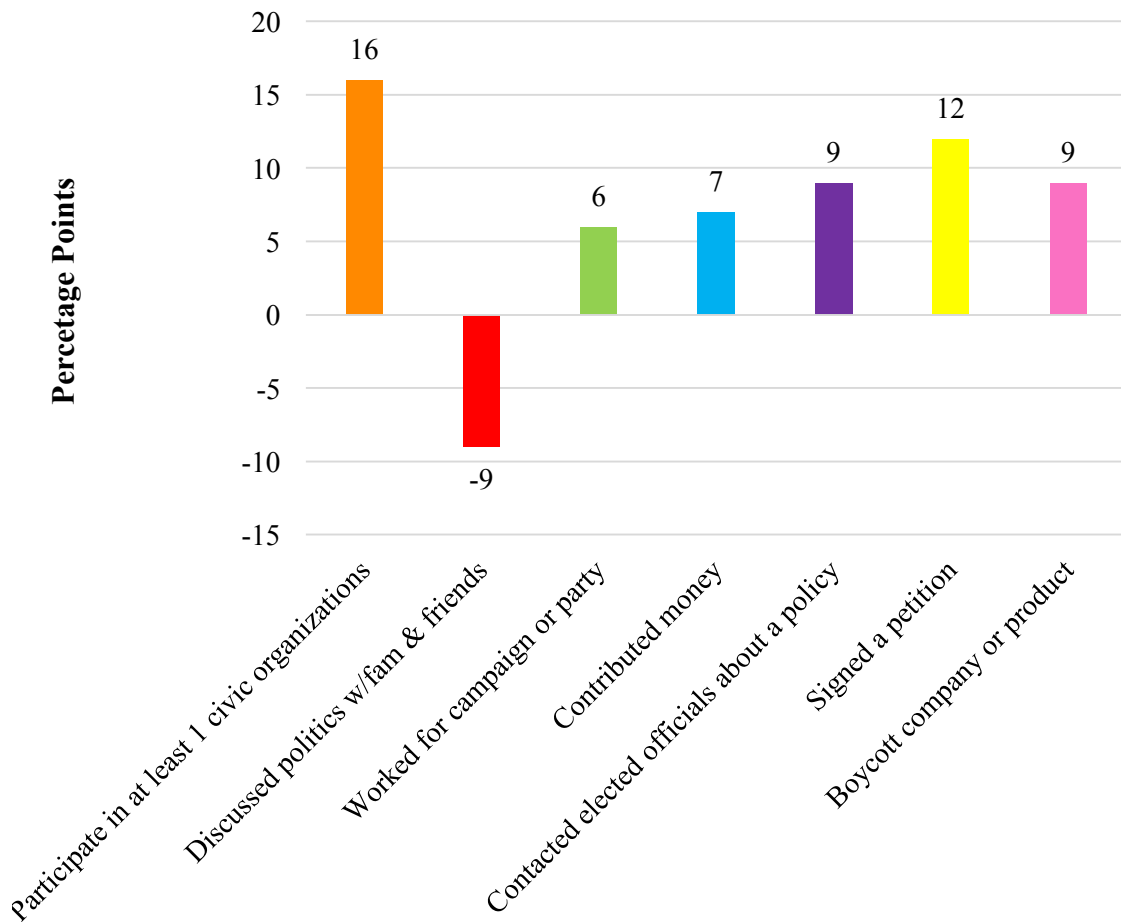
Finally, I ran marginal effects tests to assess the size of the impact of sexual orientation and gender status on these statistically significant relationships. Figure 7 summarizes these results. Sexual orientation had the largest impact on civic organization participation, with LGBTQ+ Latinxs being 16 percentage points more likely to

participate in more than one civic organization compared to heterosexual Latinxs. As Ramirez (2005) notes, for LGBTQ+ Latinxs there are multiple worlds to balance because of their intersecting identities and their sociopolitical and economic positioning within these worlds– there are non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for LGBTQ+ issues and there are NGOs for Latinxs, immigrants, women, etc. Moreover, he argues that Latino queers must navigate both a political realm (immigration) and a cultural one (homophobia), thereby opening possibilities for membership in multiple organizations.

The second category with the largest impact was signing of petitions with 12-percentage points difference. This could be due to the low risk associated with signing of petitions compared to other forms of civic and political participation that are more visible or require more resources to engage in. This explanation might also apply to findings for boycotts, where LGBTQ+ individuals are 9 percentage points more likely to boycott a company or product than heterosexual Latinxs. Boycotts, like petitions, are less visible forms of engagement.

The only category of political participation that saw sexual orientation producing a negative effect was discussing politics with family and friends. LGBTQ+ Latinxs were 9 percentage points less likely to engage in this activity compared to heterosexual Latinxs. These last findings together could point to the relevance of gender and sexual orientation-based discrimination and violence on political behavior. Qualitative findings from the QLP point to similar dynamics of self-censorship among families. Some QLP participants noted that strong *machismo* in families meant they did not have a voice to express their sociopolitical opinions.

The 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey (USTS) conducted by the National Center for Transgender Equality reports that fifty percent of transgender Latinxs experienced family rejection, with 28% of these being from an immediate family member, 12% experienced violence from a family member, and 11% were kicked out of their home because of their gender and sexuality status (James et al., 2016). Yon-Leau and Muñoz-Laboy (2010) argue that, "the quotidian social contexts in which Latino youth live not only are restrictive regarding same-sex relations but also can be hurtful and violent when youth come out as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, or are suspected of being not straight," (p. 109). Participants in their qualitative study discussed how they are exposed to family pressure, family violence, loss of friendships, stigma at school, verbal violence, and fear of being attacked in public due to their sexual orientations and identities.

These findings as a whole are particularly interesting given that previous research finds Latinos to be less likely to vote, work for campaigns, protest, contribute money, and report informal community activity (Verba et al., 1995). Including sexual orientation and more comprehensive measures of gender helps to uncover the political behaviors of subpopulations within Latinx communities.

Qualitative Findings

When discussing politics and political behavior, LGBTQ+ Latinxs discussed the importance of intersectionality, the role of racism at the social and institutional levels, and intergroup discrimination as affecting their political engagement.

In terms of attitudes toward current hostile sociopolitical environments, participants noted that these dynamics are not new. One participant commented:

"I think that it's been like this, but now there's a face that supports like hatred even more. So that gives the people that kind of already had this inside of them more of an excuse. Like 'well this person supports it and feels the same way I feel. Right now, I can be more aggressive about how I feel'."

Participants' noted that the election of Trump was a turning point in terms of the visibility and aggressiveness of the discrimination and hate they have experienced. Some participants also commented on how this increased visibility of hostile behaviors might increase social pressure to combat racism and bigotry.

For those actively engaged in community organizing, inter-group sexism and homophobia were prevalent issues. One participant shared:

"I was doing organizing but then I stopped organizing because of all the gender violence that I experienced and intimate partner violence as well in these different spaces that were safe for me but ended up harming me and badly. I remember there being a lot of activists that were abusers in these spaces so now I don't organize. But there is a yearning in me to do that work again but now I feel like I'm doing cultural organizing. I started working with a healer and thinking more about how to heal from our violence and our trauma before we can organize."

Another participant noted the same dynamics, but also described how their activism was intersectional:

"I didn't grow up doing queer activism, I just grew up doing immigrant rights stuff as a youth, and then when I came into my queerness, there were a lot of homophobic fools that were like, "that doesn't exist in Mexico or Latin America" That's some white people shit. When I was young I was like, fuck those people,

even though I respected them and they did amazing work and I discovered my

own shit. Then when I came here I was part of this collective as well and I didn't

know too many people but I saw the same thing. I saw women and feminists

being treated like that."

Participants were also hesitant in participating in broader LGBTQ+ politics. Many

commented on the racial and class make-up of the movement and focus on same-sex

marriage as primary reasons for not engaging:

"I think because a lot of LGBT activism is pretty white. And pretty cisnormative.

And pretty like I don't know they just show you one box, like it's a logo, it's like

I don't know. I don't know how to describe it, it's just skinny white gay men. And

why- that doesn't support my interests."

The LGBT rights movement was perceived as being skewed towards the interests of

white, middle and upper class individuals. Another participant commented:

"I feel like my life is so intersectional that I don't really have the time in my life

to be like fucking around with anything that isn't focused on being intersectional.

And I think that y'all just put it super well. It tends to be like really cisgendered,

really white, really upper class. And it's whitewashing a lot of our history and I

mean I don't know I would put my efforts into something, I would rather do it

into something that actually focuses on the real issues rather than like the poster

issues, you know?"

Same-sex marriage was viewed as an important issue for LGBTQ+ communities, but not

the central or most pressing. Overarching political dynamics such as repressive

immigration law enforcement and racism were issues motivating political action.

Moreover, progressive and leftist political parties were also considered to be white-dominated. Parties and unions were described as being overly concerned with voting and monetary contributions. There was also a collective perception from participants that they were "not doing enough" personally to tackle the issues their communities were facing. This ranged from engaging in more direct action (e.g. attend more marches and protests) to building more caring individual relationships with those most marginalized, specifically with transgender individuals of color. Participants expressed the desire to engage in the transformative practices that Lorde (1984) discusses are necessary to combat marginalization.

Finally, the workplace was also a site for political participation. Several participants noted that although they did not participate in direct action (e.g. protests) their job allowed them to have some influence on the socioeconomic lives of marginalized groups. Participants worked for non-profit organizations or public agencies that provided advocacy and services to low income, youth, and people of color:

> "I think sometimes I get like pessimistic because all the systems are intertwined to continue oppression […] So for me I don't really know where to go on the organizing front. I work with youth and I think that in my dialogue with youth I can keep conversations open and especially because I saw racism and knew racism kindergarten through third grade but I didn't have the words for it. So, third grade is where I'm mentally stuck just because I still have so much and wasn't able to talk about it, so that's why I gravitate towards that grade because then I know that whatever you can see and talk about you just need the tools for it. So I try to use art and sport to make those conversations and make sure everyone

is seeing each other equally. So, I try to start it on like a person to person basis,

but I'm not sure where to go systemically."

These types of jobs allowed participants to keep active even when systemic oppression created pessimism or barriers to civic engagement. These dynamics mirror findings from the CMPS 3 where LGBTQ+ Latinxs reported engaging in more subtle forms of political participation (e.g. petition signing, boycotts). Political actions taken in the name of an institution can obscure the role of the LGBTQ+ individual, which could possibly protect that person from social harm.

DISCUSSION

As the quantitative models show, gender, as previously conceived in Latino politics, is not enough to explain the differences in political behavior among Latinxs. This study finds that there are statistically significant differences in political behavior based on sexual and gender minority status. LGBTQ+ Latinxs are statistically more inclined to be part of more than one civic organization, work for a campaign or party, contribute money, contact elected officials, sign a petition, and boycott companies or products than heterosexual Latinxs. LGBTQ+ Latinxs are also less likely to discuss politics with family and friends compared to their heterosexual counterparts. Moreover, qualitative data provides further insight into these political aspects of LGBTQ+ Latinx lived experiences. LGBTQ+ Latinxs tend to participate in explicitly intersectional movements, reject the classist and racist dynamics of the mainstream LGBTQ+ rights movement, and use their jobs as sites for political engagement.

In order to respect the constellation of genders and sexual orientations (along with the other facets of identity currently subverted), it is necessary to utilize a term that allows for this constellation to exist. Smith (2011) argues that political scientists should not mirror the anti-LGBT sentiments expressed in grander society, which seek to relegate sexual and gender minorities to second-class citizenship. But that instead, researchers should count sexuality as an innate characteristic especially given that the American Psychological Association (APA) has declared that there is no scientific evidence to suggest sexual orientation is a choice rather than a natural characteristic. Thus, the term and concept of Latinx is the most inclusive through its ability to bring forth subverted identities. In incorporating more aspects of Latinidad, we can further examine the peculiar characteristics of groups within it.

LGBTQ+ leaders spearhead current Latinx social struggles. When discussing the immigrant rights movement, for example, it is necessary to highlight that a strong sector of those involved in leadership are LGBTQ+ individuals. For example, the movement to end the practice of immigrant detention has been propelled in part by transgender immigrant women.

Investigative reporting revealed that one of every five hundred Immigrant and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detainees are transgender (Fusion, 2014). Government statistics show that one in five cases of sexual abuse and assault at ICE facilities involve a transgender detainee (United States Government Accountability Office, 2013). These instances of sexual assault and rape, however, mirror overarching conditions of repression and oppression in ICE facilities (see Juárez et al. 2018 for further discussion on the immigrant detention complex). After public outcry and organizing by LGBTQ+

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leaders and organizations, ICE instituted new procedures for handling transgender detainees. In 2012, ICE created "pods" within detention centers to house detained LGBTQ+ individuals (Schiavenza, 2015). However, immigrant advocates noted that the oppressive conditions continued in these segregated facilities and thus the movement continued to pressure authorities for change.

Among the most visible organizations involved in the struggle to end immigrant detention is the Familia: Queer, Trans, Liberation Movement (Familia: TQLM). Although they are members of the coalition taking on the #Not1More deportation campaign, their leaders and actions have created important visibility for this movement. For example, Familia; TQLM leader Jennicet Gutiérrez, a transgender immigrant woman, gained national spotlight when she interrupted President Obama's White House reception speech to demand justice for detained LGBTQ+ individuals (Gutiérrez, 2015).

Immigrant rights activist Jennicet Gutiérrez at a June 2014 protest near the Santa Ana City Jail.
Jorge Rivas/Fusion

Along with the issue of immigrant detention, the struggle of undocumented youth for recognition and legality also includes the voices of LGBTQ+ individuals. The UndocuQueer movement, for example, are queer undocumented youth that have organized not only alongside their heterosexual counterparts for policies such as the

Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act (D.R.E.A.M. Act) and

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (D.A.C.A.) but have also forced the immigrant

community to discuss LGBTQ+ needs and issues. Chavez (2011) found that there is a

great deficiency within the Latinx community with regards to the specific needs of

LGBTQ+ migrants.

Among the most prominent in the UndocuQueer movement is artist and activist

Julio Salgado. Through his art, Salgado has expanded our views of undocumented youth

and increased awareness about both queer and undocumented issues. Recent

mobilizations for the DREAM Act, for example, have included strong currents of

UndocuQueer organizing and utilized Salgado's art to rally support.

Political Art by Julio Salgado

United We Dream, one of the largest undocumented youth advocacy organizations, now

includes LGBTQ+ dimensions to its campaigns for a DREAM Act. Their organization

has disseminated information on transgender detainees (United We Dream, 2014) and

their mobilizations are visibly LGBTQ+ inclusive. Thus, as LGBTQ+ organizers join the leadership of these heterogeneous struggles, they simultaneously increase the visibility of LGBTQ+ issues and confront internalized patriarchal, homophobic, and transphobic tendencies within Latinx communities.

More recently, LGBTQ+ Latinxs have demonstrated leadership in gun control and gun violence campaigns. On February 14th, 2018 a white teenager, Nikolas Cruz, massacred 17 people at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in South Florida (Sanchez 2018). The mass shooting added critical momentum to debates over gun control and the Second Amendment as student survivors of the mass shooting mobilized their peers and communities in response to the violence. Among these student leaders is Emma González, a child of Cuban immigrants. González captured national attention and support through her fiery and emotional appeal for political accountability for the massacre and the continued gun violence plaguing the nation (Democracy Now, 2018). Writing for *Harper's Bazaar*, González declared: "My name is Emma González. I'm 18 years old, Cuban and bisexual," (González, 2018).

Current statistics on Latinxs and gun violence paint a startling picture. A 2016 report from the Violence Policy Center (VPC) found that Hispanics have twice the rate of homicide victimization than whites. They also find that for Hispanics aged 15 to 24, homicide is the second leading cause of death and this age group represents 38% of Hispanic homicide victims (Langley and Sugarmann, 2016). Gun violence is also prevalent among LGBTQ+ Latinx communities. When compared across racial groups, Black (11%) and Latinx (11%) transgender individuals reported the highest levels of experiencing gun violence (James et al., 2016). The LGBTQ+ community has also been

victim to mass violence. In 2016, Omar Mateen massacred 49 people and injured 53 at Orlando's Pulse nightclub, a gay bar patronized majorly by LGBTQ+ people of color (BBC, 2016).

Despite LGBTQ+ involvement in these movements, however, much discrimination continues to exist against LGBTQ+ Latinxs. This discrimination comes from other Latinxs as well as institutions. For example, a recent opinion piece by Horner and Ortiz (2018) accuses LGBTQ+ Latinxs of pushing for the term Latinx in an authoritarian, fascist manner. They further declare that the claims for the usage of Latinx are based on "personal lamentation" and "feelings" of oppression from the imposition of binary language which, the authors argue, are scientifically baseless claims. Rhetoric such as this points to the degree of internalized systems of oppressions prevalent in Latinx communities. It also reveals the lack of understanding of how power relations and oppression work—given LGBTQ+ Latinxs' sociopolitical and economic positioning within U.S. power hierarchies means that this population does not have the resources to subjugate groups of people or force their agenda onto the grander public. Understanding how sexuality and gender are subverted within Latinidad therefore allows us to understand power dynamics and relationships within the Latinx population.

Increased knowledge about the role of gender and sexuality in our communities also helps us understand how these systems of power further perpetuate inequalities within communities. For example, while Latino men earn 69% of the wages earned by white men, Latina women earn only 58%. This wage gap persists even when controlling for educational status, as Latina women with a bachelor's degree earn a median of $22 per hour while Latino men with the same degree earn a median of $26 per hour (Patten,

2016). This income and wage gap is exacerbated for queer and transgender Latinxs, as 28% of transgender Latinxs live on incomes of less than $10,000 per year (Grant et al., 2011).

The 2015 USTS revealed startling statistics about the transgender community in the U.S., with especially alarming data for the transgender Latinx population (16.6% of their sample). In terms of health, 11% of Latinx respondents said they were uninsured, 45% had attempted suicide (9% said in the past year), 37% had postponed health care due to cost, and 32% reported experiencing one or more negative interactions with healthcare providers over the past year (James et al., 2016).

Thus, bringing forth sexuality and gender as critical points of analyses for Latinx politics is necessary. Increasing our knowledge of the internal dynamics and heterogeneity of target populations can help policymakers craft better policies for the betterment of these communities. Highlighting gender and sexuality differences among communities also helps to increase discussions around issues of discrimination and bias in those communities. And finally, acknowledging the role of sexuality and gender gives credit to the LGBTQ+ activists and allies organizing and fighting for social justice across a variety of issues. These findings support my arguments regarding the usage of the term 'Latinx.' Given that differences in political behavior exist based on sexual orientation, social scientists must account for sexual orientation and gender status in their analyses of these phenomenon.

CONCLUSION

These analyses show that LGBTQ+ Latinxs have varying patterns of civic and political participation compared to heterosexual Latinxs. Utilizing a more inclusive definition of Latinidad that also encompasses sexuality can present a more nuanced portrait of Latinx communities in the United States. This study and findings make several contributions. First, this chapter provides the first analysis of Latinx political behavior that takes into account sexual orientation and gender minority status. Given the paucity of research in this area, this chapter makes an important contribution to this subfield in American Politics.

Second, this dissertation directly addresses the call by Smith (2011) and Mucciaroni (2011) to comprehensively incorporate sexuality as a foundational component of political science research. Third, these findings help to add a quantitative and qualitative dimensions to contemporary interdisciplinary discussions surrounding the term Latinx and Latinidad more broadly. As previously discussed, a grand part of "Latinx" research has been qualitative and concentrated in cultural studies and the humanities. This piece is among the first to utilize quantitative methods to complement these qualitative explorations. And it is also the first to illustrate the conceptualization of Latinx.

Finally, as the Latinx vote continues to grow (Barreto, Segura, and Pantoja, 2014), political parties and those seeking to spark social mobilizations need to understand the dynamics of this heterogeneous constituency. Understanding that certain sectors of a population, in this case LGBTQ+ Latinx communities, participate at greater rates in certain types of civic activities can help political strategists productively engage their target populations.

Chapter 4

Queering Latinx Public Opinion: Analysis of Issue Salience by Sexual and Gender Identity

INTRODUCTION

Recent years have seen an increase in rhetoric and policies that perpetuate the marginalization of racial, gender, and sexual minorities. Mason, Williams, and Elliot (2017), for example, report on the dramatic rise of anti-LGBTQ+ policies beginning in 2016. Violence against the transgender community is especially acute (Astor, 2017). A record 28 transgender individuals were murdered in 2017, by the end of March 2018 there have been seven (Okma, 2018). The growth of anti-immigrant policies since the early 2000's has been evident as well (Morse et al., 2017). Studies analyzing the effects of these policies have also grown with particular focus on immigrants' and Latinxs'[10] emotional, physical, and mental well-being (e.g. Vargas, Sanchez, Juárez, 2017; Salas, Ayon, Gurrola, 2013; Nill, 2011; Arnold, 2011) and on their social, political, and economic statuses (e.g. Orrenius and Zavodny, 2014; Koper et al., 2013; Gentsch and Masse, 2011).

Contemporary issues of immigration revolve around detentions and deportations as well as legalization for undocumented youth. Juárez, Gómez-Aguiñaga, and Bettez (2018) find that the growth of immigrant detention has mirrored that of mass

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[10] Based on Chapter 1, I will utilize the terms Latinx and Latinxs in this chapter. However, when referencing particular studies I will utilize the terms used by those authors.

incarceration. In 2012 the Obama Administration carried out one of the most important immigration policy decisions in recent years by signing the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) executive order. DACA gave a stay of deportation and temporary work permits to qualifying undocumented youth. However, the Obama Administration is also responsible for the mass deportation of over 2 million individuals, garnering Obama the moniker of "Deporter-In-Chief," (Epstein, 2014). The current Trump Administration, however, has opted to rescind DACA, prompting mass mobilizations from undocumented youth (Guadalupe and Armas, 2017). This hostile climate has also been shown to mobilize the Latino electorate (Sanchez and Gómez-Aguiñaga, 2017).

This growth in anti-immigrant and anti-Latinx activity has occurred simultaneously with the expansion of discriminatory laws aimed at the LGBTQ+ community. As the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) has noted, over 100 anti-LGBTQ+ laws were introduced in 2017 alone (HRC, 2017). Of the most prominent of these laws are the series of "bathroom bills" introduced across states and localities. These bills aimed at regulating restroom access based on biological sex and not gender identity. The rhetoric surrounding these debates were extremely homophobic and transphobic, echoing centuries long controversies over shifting social norms and practices (Young, 2016). Issues of LGBTQ+ rights and discrimination were interwoven with claims of safety and religious and individual freedom. LGBTQ+ Latinxs therefore find themselves as the targets of multiple punitive and restrictive policies as well as social relationships. Ramirez (2005) and Sanchez (2015) argue that LGBTQ+ Latinxs must navigate

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LGBTQ+ and Latinx communities simultaneously, exposing them to discrimination and racism from multiple points.

Despite these explicit anti-Latinx sociopolitical sentiments, Latinxs are considered an important growing constituent base. Latinxs are experiencing unprecedented demographic growth. Between 2000-2012, the Latinx population grew by 48.7%, compared to only 5.8% for non-Hispanic populations. Moreover, a third of the Latinx population in 2013 was under the age of 18. However, only about 48% of eligible Latinx voters turned out to vote in 2012 (Kurtzleben, 2015). Research finds that Latinxs are generally liberal and democratic (Kurtzleben, 2015) and studies focused on the mobilization of Latinx voters is increasing (e.g. Barreto and Collingwood, 2014; Binder, Kogan, and Panagopoulos, 2014; Sanchez, 2012; Michelson, 2006).

Prior research has found a connection between social, political, and economic environments and public opinion (e.g. Converse, 1964; Zaller, 1992; Berg, 2009; Hajnal, 2007; Valenzuela, 2014). Converse (1964) for example, argues that the formation of belief systems that influence mass opinions are shaped by interdependent political, psychological, and social constraints. The hostile anti-Latinx and anti-immigrant political climate is therefore a critical contextual dynamic to consider when discussing the public opinion of this growing electorate.

These statistics and research point to the emerging potential of Latinxs as a strong voting bloc. However, given the vast heterogeneity among Latinxs, investigations into the policy preferences for this group require nuanced approaches that account for this variation. For example, immigration is popularly believed to be the top issue priority for Latinxs, yet public opinion surveys have found that education is the overarching top issue

among Latinxs (Fusion.net Millenial Survey, 2015; Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, and Krogstad, 2014). For example, a February 2017 poll found that 73% of Latinxs thought "improving the educational system" should be Trump's and Congress' priority for 2017 (PEW Research Center, 2017a).

Additionally, and the focus of this study, is the exploration of variation in Latinx public opinion based on sexual and gender identity. The vast majority of research in this domain do not account for sexual orientation or gender minority status in their analyses. Smith (2011) and Mucciaroni (2011) argue that the inclusion of sexuality is fundamental to our understanding of politics and political processes and urge political scientists to incorporate it in our analyses. Thus, this investigation aims to contribute to the study of Latinx public opinion and political science more broadly by exploring if there are differences in policy priorities based on these facets of identity. Understanding how policy priorities differ is important for policymakers as they engage in policy formulation and implementation.

This paper first begins by giving an overview of academic and public opinion research focused on Latinx populations. This section highlights the need for studies that account for gender and sexual minority status. The paper then goes on to lay the theoretical framework shaping the study's hypotheses.

Next, the data, methods, and analyses are discussed. This is a mixed-method study that utilizes survey data from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey (CMPS 3) (N=10,145) and qualitative focus groups from the Queering Latinidad Project (N=24) to investigate any statistically significant patterns of difference in public opinion based on sexual orientation and gender identity. The CMPS 3 asks about thirteen specific

policy topics. Logistic analyses found differences in the three policy areas: jobs, housing, and racism and race relations. Results from the qualitative analyses found that discrimination was the central theme influencing public opinion. Education, gender violence, and poverty were also key policy topics mentioned by participants. The results and discussion sections highlight the importance of the findings. And finally, the paper concludes by reiterating the importance of including sexual and gender identity as foundational elements for the study of Latinx public opinion and providing some policy recommendations based on the findings.

LATINX PUBLIC OPINION

The study of Latinx public opinion is a growing field that encompasses academic and non-academic survey research. Much of the academic research, however, is focused on policy areas that are considered to be of particular interest to Latinx communities, mainly immigration (e.g. Binder, Polinard, and Wrinkler, 1997; Newton, 2000; Sanchez, 2006; Michelson, 2001). Research focused on Latinxs' attitudes towards immigration find that these opinions are influenced by several factors. For example, national origin affects how respondents perceive the undocumented population in the U.S. and the type of immigration policies favored (e.g. Rouse, Wilkinson, and Garand, 2010). Language (Subervi and Medina, 2015; Kereval, 2011) and acculturation (Branton, 2007) are also found to influence public opinion for Latinxs.

Branton (2007) finds that Cubans and Puerto Ricans favor less immigration, while Mexicans are less likely to say that unauthorized immigration hurts the economy. However, Sanchez (2006) finds that Cubans are more likely to support increased immigration to the U.S. Rouse, Wilkinson, and Garand (2010) similarly find that

Mexicans are more likely to believe that the undocumented benefit the economy and support more legal immigration to the U.S. This differs from earlier findings that found that a grand majority of Mexicans believed immigration laws should be enforced more strictly (Binder, Polinard, and Wrinkler, 1997). Nativity (Newton, 2000; Sanchez, 2006; Michelson, 2001), generational status (Branton, 2007; Rouse, Wilkinson, and Garand, 2010) as well as language of media consumption (Subervi and Medina, 2015; Kereval, 2011) and language of survey (Lee and Perez, 2014) are also found to impact views on immigration.

When it comes to non-academic public opinion polls, only 46% of Latinxs said "dealing with issues of immigration" were a top priority, with a majority (73%) indicating education was the top concern. However, 52% of Latinx adults surveyed said that they worry that a family member or close friend could be deported (Pew Research Center, 2017b). When focusing on religion, Latino Catholics had the highest support for allowing the unauthorized to stay legally in the United States (91%) (Lipka, 2014).

Religion is also an important factor shaping Latinx public opinion on other issues. Ellison, Acevedo, and Ramos-Wada (2011) find that Evangelical and Protestant Latinxs are more opposed to same-sex marriage than Catholic Latinxs. Valenzuela (2014) finds that church attendance within different denominations is a key factor for influencing both political preferences and stances on social issues. He finds that those Latino Protestants that attend church more regularly are significantly more likely to oppose abortion under any circumstance, oppose gay marriage and civil unions than Latino Protestants who are less regular churchgoers. There are also differences among Catholics, with those Latino Catholics with regular church attendance indicating higher support for immediate

amnesty and economic welfare than those who attend church less regularly (Valenzuela, 2014).

Linked fate is also an important factor for the analysis of Latinx public opinion. Linked fate is a measure of racial group consciousness that refers to individual's beliefs that "what happens to a group as a whole affects their own lives," (Dawson, 1994, p. 77). Sanchez and Vargas (2016) find that linked fate operates differently for Latinxs than it does for African-Americans, for whom the measure was based on (Dawson, 1994). Applying four measures of linked fate, Sanchez (2006) finds that perceived discrimination is the strongest measure predicting Latino public opinion. Pedraza (2014) also finds that those Latinos who perceive discrimination towards Latinos as a significant problem are less likely to support restrictive immigration policies. Linked fate has also been found to impact opinions on health care coverage. Sanchez and Medeiros (2016) find that those with the strongest linked fate are more likely to support expanding health care coverage.

This growing literature on Latino public opinion has provided some key insights on how Latinos view policies and the factors that lead to those beliefs. However, there is no Latinx-specific academic public opinion research that explores differences in public opinion based on sexual orientation. Yet, many of these academic surveys query respondents about their opinions regarding LGBTQ+-specific issues such as gay marriage. For example, the 2006 LNS asks:

L21. What is your view about same sex couples? Should they be permitted to:

1. Legally marry
2. Enter into civil unions
3. Receive NO legal recognition
4. No opinion/NA

The 1989-1990 LNPS lists gay and lesbian groups as groups to dislike and as a politicized bloc:

> 145. There are many controversial groups in the United States. From the Groups that I name and the ones that you think of, select the one group that you dislike the most. Is it:
>
> 1. The Communist Party
> 2. The Nazi Party
> 3. The KKK
> 4. Gay and Lesbian groups
> 5. Black Muslims
> 6. English only, US English
> 7. Atheist organizations
> 8. Some other group

The 2008 CMPS asks two separate questions related to LGBTQ+ politics:

> 10A. How did you vote on Proposition 8 in California? This is the measure that would change the California constitution so that only marriage between a man and a woman is valid. Did you vote yes or no on Prop 8?
>
> 1. Yes on Prop 8
> 2. No on Prop 8
> 3. I did not vote
> 4. Can't remember/ don't know
>
> 15E. Agreement with the statement "We need an amendment to the US Constitution that would ban marriages between gays or between lesbians."

Non-academic public opinion polls have also queried Latinxs about their views on LGBTQ+ rights and politics. A 2010 Bendixen and Amandi International poll found that: 74% of Latinos support marriage or legal recognitions for gay and lesbian couples, 80% of Latinos believe gay people face discrimination, 75% of Latinos support school policies to prevent bullying and harassment of gay students, and 68% of Catholic Latinos view homosexuality as morally acceptable (Adam, 2012).

The PEW 2011 National Survey of Latinos found that a majority (59%) of Latinos agree that homosexuality should be accepted by society. However, the survey found differences in opinions over homosexuality by demographic characteristics. For example, second generation Latinos were more accepting of homosexuality (68%) compared to first generation (53%) and those in the third generation or higher (63%). Latinas were also more accepting (62%) than Latinos (55%). Finally, there were also differences based on age, with the younger generation those between 18-29 being the most accepting (69%) and those 65 and older the least accepting of homosexuality (41%) (Taylor et al., 2011).

A February 2013 Latino Decisions/Immigration Equality poll focused specifically on immigrant LGBT Latinxs. This poll found that a majority (63%) of Latinxs surveyed knew someone who identified as LGBT. Moreover, a majority (64%) agreed that gays and lesbians should be allowed to sponsor partners for residency. This included 71% of respondents who identified as Catholic and 54% of those identifying as Born-Again Christians. Both U.S.-born (63%) and foreign-born (65%) respondents overwhelmingly supported LGBT sponsorship. The lowest support was found among Latinxs who identified as Republican (25%) and those who indicated they would vote for Mitt Romney (26%). Additionally, a grand majority of respondents (92%) said it was very or somewhat important to include gay and lesbian couples in Comprehensive Immigration Reform (CIR). A majority of respondents (62%) also said it is important for citizen children of LGBT parents in mixed-status families to have both parents in the U.S. (Ralls 2013).

Another poll in June 2013 found that support for LGBT Latinxs continues. The Latino Decisions/Presente.org poll found that 61% of Latinx respondents said they support gay and lesbian immigrants to sponsor their partners for residency. Only a third (32%) opposed LGBT sponsorship for residency (Carmona et al., 2013). A more recent 2016 elections poll found that 87% of Latinxs said they were less likely to vote for Republican candidate Donald Trump due to vice-presidential nominee Mike Pence's support for anti-LGBT legislation in the state of Indiana (Damore, 2016). Despite the availability of data on sexual orientation, this dimension of identity remains to be actively explored in Latinx Politics and Political Science more broadly (Smith, 2011; Mucciaroni, 2011).

As Sanchez (2006) notes, "the foundations of Latino public opinion are complex and diverse, motivating desire to conduct more research in this area," (p. 435). This study directly addresses this point by focusing on an underexplored area of research: the role of gender and sexuality in influencing Latinx public opinion. The next section details both the quantitative and qualitative analyses and results.

THEORY & HYPOTHESES

The argument that gender and sexuality matter for public opinion is grounded within an intersectional framework. Intersectionality, defined as an academic concept (the gray literature emerging from popular social movements in the 60s-70s alluded to this concept), was first introduced by law professor and critical race scholar Kimberly Crenshaw (1989, 1991).

Speaking specifically to the experiences of Black women, Collins defines Intersectionality as an "analysis claiming that systems of race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation and age form mutually constructing features of social organization, which shape Black women's experiences and, in turn, are shaped by Black women" (2000, 299). Collins and Blige add:

"The events and conditions of social and political life and the self can be seldom understood as shaped by one factor […] When it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood not by a single axis of division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other" (2016, 2).

Political Intersectionality (PI) is one prominent theme within Crenshaw's (1995) Intersectionality framework. PI speaks to the issues that arise when an individual's identities conflict. These identities could be pursuing separate or oppositional political agendas that can lead to internal conflict. Such internalized conflict in turn can lead to the disempowerment of the individual or group (Crenshaw, 1995; Hooks, 1984). Prime examples of this are the lived experiences of minority women who must often choose between fighting against racism or for women's rights and LGBTQ+ Latinxs who, like Ramirez (2005) points out, must navigate the politics of migration and homophobia simultaneously.

LGBTQ+ Latinxs are facing sociopolitical environments that are concurrently hostile toward their sexualities and genders as well as to their racial and ethnic identities. The National Council of State Legislators (NCSL), for example, reports a total of 469 immigration related laws and resolutions enacted in 2017, up from only 270 in 2016

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(Morse, Pimienta, and Chanda, 2017). The increase in federal enforcement of immigration laws has had a negative impact on Latinxs regardless of citizenship status. Vargas et al. (2018) find that simply knowing a deportee or undocumented person increases your odds of having to seek help for mental health issues. Lopez et al. (2017) similarly find that immigration raids can negatively impact Latino communities' health. Moreover, the perceptions of a hostile anti-immigrant and anti-Latino environment (Vargas, Sanchez, and Juárez, 2017a) and increasing anti-immigrant laws (Vargas, Sanchez, and Juárez, 2017b) also have been found to negatively impact self-rated physical health.

The anti-Latinx and anti-immigrant rhetoric has increased exponentially with the election of nativist populist president Donald Trump. His campaign comments on Latinxs, and specifically Mexicans, created public outcry and backlash. Trump stated on the campaign trail that Mexican immigrants, "[are] bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people," (Reilly, 2016). Once in office, Trump has taken a hardline against immigration pushing through multiple "Muslim bans," ratcheting up immigration enforcement, and increasing the number of detained immigrants (Tanfani, 2017).

At the same time as these increases in anti-immigrant and anti-Latinx government activity, a strong anti-LGBTQ+ political agenda has taken shape across the country. In 2016, "transgender bathroom bills" took center stage as states sought to prohibit access to restrooms based on gender identity, but instead restrict their usage based on biological sex. Of the most prominent of these was North Carolina's House Bill 2 the "Public Facilities Privacy and Security Act" which caused national outrage and spurred a boycott

against the state (Gordon, Price, and Peralta, 2016). Moreover, the Human Rights

Campaign (HRC) reports that more than 100 anti-LGBTQ+ bills were introduced around

the nation in 2017.

Along with anti-LGBTQ+ legislation, there are explicit cases of government

refusal to extend protections to sexual and gender minority individuals. For example, the

federal Fair Housing Act (FHA) does not protect against discrimination based on sexual

orientation or gender identity; it only prohibits housing discrimination based on race,

color, national origin, religion, sex, disability, and familial status. It was not until 2017

that a federal judge in Colorado extended protections to LGBTQ+ individuals by

extending the category of sexual stereotyping to include gender stereotypes as well

(Barbash, 2017; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2018).

Direct legislative attacks were compounded by the continued violence faced by

LGBTQ+ communities of color. The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs'

(NCAVP) 2017 report found a total of 52 reported anti-LGBTQ+ homicides for that year,

almost double from 2016 (28 murders). The 2016 numbers however, do not include the

49 individuals murdered in the Pulse Nightclub mass shooting in Orlando, Florida. Of

these 2017 murders, 71% were of people of color. The victims were majorly Black

(60%), but Latinxs were the second largest share with 8% of total victims.

The 2015 United States Transgender Survey (USTS) (N=27,715) also found

some disturbing trends among transgender communities. The survey finds patterns of

pervasive violence and mistreatment. This violence is perpetrated by strangers, co-

workers, authority figures, and family. Twelve percent of transgender Latina/os reported

experiencing family violence, with 11% saying they were kicked out of their home for

being transgender. Harassment from police was also a salient issue. A quarter of transgender Latinas said they were profiled as sex workers by police, and 62% said they never or only sometimes were treated with respect by law enforcement. A grand majority (66%) of transgender Latina/os said they experienced one or more forms of mistreatment by police, with 8% saying they were physically attacked, sexually assaulted, and/or forced to engage in sexual activity in order to avoid arrest (James et al., 2016).

These situations of violence and precarity are highlighted by the large rates of underground economic experiences among transgender individuals in the U.S. A third of transgender Latinas reported having experience in the underground economy with 23% saying their income is based in sex work. Black (44%) and American Indian (41%) transgender individuals had the highest rates (James et al. 2016). Although the 2015 USTS only includes transgender respondents, Bell and Perry (2015) find that instances of anti-LGBT hate crimes have profound psychological and emotional effects on non-victim LGBT community members. Meaning that although some groups within LGBTQ+ communities are more affected by violence than others, the LGBTQ+ community as a whole experiences effects from those crimes.

This overview is by no means exhaustive of the conditions Latinxs and LGBTQ+ communities are currently facing in the United States. However, it illustrates how LGBTQ+ Latinxs are facing precarious and hostile situations based on multiple facets of their identities. Given these dynamics, I suspect that sexual orientation and gender identity will impact the way Latinxs set their policy preferences. Thus, I propose my central hypotheses:

Hypothesis₁: *Latinxs who identify as LGBTQ+ will express differences in what*

policy topics are deemed most important to them compared to

heterosexual Latinxs.

Subsequent hypotheses focus on specific policy areas deemed of high importance based

on the previous data presented:

Hypothesis₂: *Latinxs who identify as LGBTQ+ will express higher support for*

policy areas that address issues of housing compared to

heterosexual Latinxs.

Hypothesis₃: *Latinxs who identify as LGBTQ+ will express higher support for*

policy areas that address issues of discrimination compared to

heterosexual Latinxs.

The following section tests these hypotheses with the CMPS 3 survey and the Queering

Latinidad Project focus group data. The results are then discussed based on contemporary

research and the current sociopolitical climate.

DATA & METHODS

2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey

This study utilizes the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey (CMPS 3)

(Barreto et al., 2017). This national web survey of U.S. adults (N=10,145) focuses on

three U.S. minority populations: Latinxs (N= 3,003), Blacks (N= 3,102), and Asians (N= 3,006). 62%).[11] This study only analyzes the Latinx sample.

Dependent Variables

My main dependent variables are measures of public opinion on policy issues. The CMPS 3 asks respondents to indicate which issue they find the most salient. The question is worded as: *"On the whole, what are the most important issues facing your community that you think the President and Congress should address?"* Respondents were allowed to select up to two issues, those issues selected were coded as a 1. The order of the issues was randomized. Table 10 below breaks down the responses by sexual orientation and gender identity. Both groups indicated wages, terrorism, college affordability, corruption, and criminal justice as salient issues in similar rates. However, the categories of job creation/improve economy, health care, housing, racism/race relations, climate change, abortion, and taxes showed differences in the responses based on sexual orientation and gender identity.

TABLE 10: Latinx Public Opinion by Sexual Orientation (%)

Issue	Latinxs	
	Heterosexual	**LGBTQ+**
Job Creation/Improve Economy	25	18
Wages/Income	17	18
Immigration Reform	19	17
K-12 Education/Schools	10	7

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[11] See the Methods chapter for full quantitative data and methodology details.

Health Care	27	22
Terrorism/ISIS/Foreign Policy	15	14
Housing/Affordable Housing	10	14
College Affordability	10	11
Corruption/Special Interests	11	10
Racism & Race Relations	13	21
Climate Change	8	11
Abortion	5	8
Taxes/Government Spending	12	9
Criminal Justice Reform	5	5
	N= 2,611	N= 392

Independent Variables

I utilize standard demographic variables as controls for these analyses, including: age, income, and education. The gender variable was dichotomized (1=female, 2=male), those that answered "other" were coded as missing given the extremely small sample size of that category (n=18). I also include variables that have theoretical value when examining Latinx populations. These include: nativity (U.S. vs. foreign-born) (e.g. Lopez et al., 2006; Johnson, Steing, and Wrinkle, 2003), marital status (0= single, 1= married) (e.g. de la Garza and Jang, 2011), language of survey (0= English, 1= Spanish, 2= Other) (Lee

and Perez, 2014), religion (0= no religion, 1= identifies with a denomination) (Valenzuela, 2014; Ellison, 2011), and skin color (continuous 1= lightest to 10= darkest) (e.g. Gravlee and Dressler, 2005; Burgos and Rivera, 2009).

A control for language of media consumption was also included given that studies have shown it plays a role in influencing Latinx public opinion (Subervi and Medina, 2015; Kereval, 2011). The survey question asks: *"When it comes to news and current affairs, would you say you watch TV or online news:"* Answer categories included: 1= mostly English, 2=more English, but some Spanish, 3= watch English and Spanish pretty equally, 4= more Spanish, but some English, 5=mostly Spanish-language, and 6= never watch TV or online news. This last category (6) was dropped given that the purpose of this measure is to compare those that consume English media at higher rates to those that consume Spanish media. A measure for linked fate was used given its role in influencing opinion on issues such as immigration and bilingual education (Sanchez, 2006). The linked fate questions read: *"Do you think what happens generally to Hispanics or Latino people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?"* This variable was coded 1= yes and 2= no.

Additionally, I include dichotomous measures for region (Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean) derived from the country of origin reported by respondents. Country of origin has been found to impact Latinxs opinions on immigration (Branton, 2007; Rousse, Wilkinson, and Garand, 2010). And self-identified Afro-Latinidad which was measured through the question: *"Do you consider any part of your ancestry or family origin to be Afro-Latino, that is to include both African and Latin American ancestry?"* I argue that these variables capture some subverted characteristics

of Latinidad as previously discussed in Chapter 2. Finally, I include standard political measures: ideology (continuous from 1 very liberal to 10 very conservative), voter registration status (1= yes, 2= no), and party identification (1= Republican, 2= Democrat, 3= Independent, 4= Other). Table 11 presents summary statistics for these controls.

TABLE 11: Summary statistics for independent variables

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Demographics					
Gender	10,128	1.346959	.4760261	1	2
Age	10,135	1.658905	1.500537	0	6
Income	9,243	5.180677	3.475457	1	12
Education	10,146	4.273113	1.164372	1	6
Latinx					
Married	10,146	.4238123	.4941857	0	1
Nativity	10,146	.2453184	.430297	0	1
Language	10,146	.0547014	.2661521	0	2
Media	2,884	1.789182	1.057458	1	5
Linked Fate	10,146	1.374729	.4840767	1	2
Afro-Latinx	6,105	.1099099	.3128031	0	1
Religion	10,146	.8437808	.3630809	0	1
Skin Color	10,139	3.668902	1.666382	1	10
Region	3,003	1.394272	1.530196	0	4
Political					
Ideology	9,164	2.775207	1.083793	1	5
Registered Voter	10,146	1.40617	.4911412	1	2

Queering Latinidad Project

The Queering Latinidad Project (QLP) is a national, community-engaged qualitative study of LGBTQ+ Latinxs (N= 24).[12] Policy was a central theme of the QLP. Focus group participants were asked three specific questions on their policy opinions:

1. Is there one issue that you feel is the most important for the LGBTQI community?

2. When you hear on the news or media about Latinx issues, do you feel like they are also talking about your problems too?

3. What about when you hear about LGBTQI issues?

The linked fate question is a variation of the traditional measure utilized in Latino Politics (Sanchez, 2006). The initial focus group revealed media representation as a particular issue among LGBTQ+ Latinxs. Corbin and Strauss (1990) argue that data collection should influence fieldwork, meaning that researchers must simultaneously collect and analyze data to improve their instruments. Moreover, media has been found to influence Latino public opinion (Kerevel, 2011; Subervi and Medina, 2015). Thus, the media was purposefully cued in the linked fate question

ANALYSES & RESULTS

Quantitative Findings

I first ran a series of two-tailed t-tests to examine whether these differences in opinion by sexual orientation and gender identity were statistically significant. Table 12 below summaries these initial tests results. Several of these categories were statistically

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[12] See the Methods chapter for full discussion of qualitative data and methodology.

significant. These include: job creation/improve economy (p<0.01), health care (p<.05), housing/affordable housing (p<0.05), college affordability (p<0.05), racism/race relations (p<0.001), climate change (p<0.01), abortion (p<0.01), and taxes (p<0.05).

TABLE 12: T-Tests for Differences in Means Between Heterosexual and LGBTQ+ Latinxs

Issue	Latinxs (Means)		Difference (Std. Errors)
	Heterosexual	LGBTQ+	
Job Creation/Improve Economy	.2458	.1785	.0673** (.0230)
Wages/Income	.1669	.1760	-.0090 (.0202)
Immigration Reform	.1983	.1683	.0300 (.0214)
K-12 Education/Schools	.1011	.0714	.0296 (.0160)
Health Care	.2715	.2168	.0547* (.0238)
Terrorism/ISIS/Foreign Policy	.1493	.1403	.0090 (.0192)
Housing/Affordable Housing	.1011	.1428	-.0417* (.0167)
College Affordability	.0965	.1071	-.0106* (.0161)
Corruption/Special Interests	.1133	.0994	.0138 (.0170)
Racism & Race Relations	.1290	.2117	-.0826*** (.0187)
Climate Change	.0777	.0822	-.0344** (.0148)
Abortion	.0448	.0790	-.0342** (.0117)
Taxes/Government Spending	.1225	.0892	.0332* (.0174)
Criminal Justice Reform	.0490	.0535	-.0045 (.0117)

*** p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

I then ran a series of multivariate analyses on those categories indicating a statistically significant difference. I utilized logistic regressions given the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable. Tables 11 and 12 report the results of these fully specified models. The central predictor Latinx was statistically significant in Model 1 Jobs ($p<0.10$), Model 3 Housing ($p<0.01$) and Model 5 Racism ($p<0.05$). LGBTQ+ Latinxs are less likely to say that jobs are important issues for the president and Congress to address compared to heterosexual Latinxs, holding all else constant. But are more likely to say that housing and racism are important compared to heterosexual Latinxs, holding all else constant. These findings support my hypothesis that there are indeed differences in public opinion among Latinxs based on sexual orientation and gender minority status.

Gender was statistically significant in three models. Latinos were more likely to say jobs were an important issue to address compared to Latinas ($p<0.05$), holding all else constant. Latinas, however, were more likely to say housing ($p<0.01$) and abortion ($p<0.001$) were important issues compared to Latinos. As Latinxs got older, they were more likely to indicate health care is an important issue to address. Categories of age were also significant in models for jobs, college affordability, climate change, abortion, and taxes. Income was also significant across some models. As income increases, Latinxs are less likely to say jobs are an important issue, holding all else constant. Income also affected opinions on racism, abortion, and taxes. Those with higher levels of education were more likely to say climate change is an important problem, holding all else constant. Education was also significant for jobs and abortion.

TABLE 13: Logistic Regressions for Latinx Public Opinion for Models 1-4

	Model 1 Jobs	Model 2 Health Care	Model 3 Housing	Model 4 College
Latinx	**-.416*** **(.232)**	**-.101** **(.234)**	**.625**** **(.263)**	**-.445** **(.307)**
Female	.353** (.144)	-.197 (.150)	-.522** (.231)	-.177 (.218)
Age *18-29 Ref*				
30-39	-.160 (.208)	.403* (.208)	.370 (.274)	-.516 (.319)
40-49	.273 (.231)	.710*** (.238)	.335 (.318)	-.816** (.387)
50-59	.627*** (.238)	.509** (.244)	.634* (.366)	-.249 (.405)
60-69	-.112 (.338)	.863*** (.277)	-.189 (.545)	-1.54*** (.568)
70-79	-.163 (.503)	.898** (.440)	-1.06 (1.07)	-.690 (.850)
80+	.751 (.830)	2.09** (.965)	---	.795 (1.26)
Income *<$20k Ref*				
$20k-29,999	-.519** (.239)	-.178 (.259)	.319 (.321)	.020 (.325)
$30k-39,999	-.540* (.296)	-.062 (.308)	-.580 (.385)	-.330 (.359)
$40k-49,999	-.407 (.265)	-.296 (.296)	.462 (.321)	-.216 (.386)
$50k-59,999	-.646* (.345)	.019 (.276)	.136 (.491)	-.084 (.425)
$60-69,999	-.312 (.300)	-.026 (.313)	-1.54 (.604)	.013 (.417)
$70k-79,999	-.568* (.333)	-.334 (.319)	-.599 (.467)	-.314 (.516)
$80k-89,999	-.750** (.373)	-.698* (.370)	-.057 (.762)	-.152 (.422)
$90k-99,999	-.374 (.362)	-.367 (.361)	-1.18* (.627)	-1.09* (.584)
$100k-149,999	-.672 (.315)	-.066 (.303)	-.462 (.422)	-.335 (.417)
$150k-199,999	-1.29*** (.434)	-.348 (.375)	-1.29 (.881)	-.552 (.576)
$200k+	-.483 (.603)	-.516 (.459)	-2.56** (1.09)	-.051 (.738)
Education *Grades 1-8 Ref*				
Some HS	1.39* (.790)	.572 (.636)	-.272 (.715)	.348 (.699)
HS Diploma/GED	1.70** (.763)	.253 (.610)	-.317 (.701)	-.737 (.704)
2-year Degree	1.71**	.379	-.701	.007

	(.765)	(.610)	(.704)	(.697)
4-year Degree	1.87**	.379	-1.19*	.001
	(.757)	(.622)	(.712)	(.732)
Postgraduate	1.43*	.679	-.865	-.227
	(.784)	(.636)	(.852)	(.756)
Married	-.026	.045	-.077	-.270
	(.165)	(.156)	(.233)	(.230)
US Born	-.113	-.137	-.313	-.058
	(.172)	(.176)	(.249)	(.285)
Language *English Ref*	-.075	-.171	-1.30**	-.579
	(.254)	(.280)	(.517)	(.509)
Media *Mostly English Ref*				
More English, Some Spanish	-.204	.204	-.131	.107
	(.177)	(.165)	(.259)	(.242)
Both Equally	.102	-.287	.283	-.214
	(.199)	(.227)	(.287)	(.348)
More Spanish, Some English	.290	.087	.855	.632
	(.331)	(.380)	(.535)	(.458)
Mostly Spanish	-.912	-.648	-.186	-1.15
	(.594)	(.579)	(.995)	(1.00)
Linked Fate	.241	.166	-.130	-.424*
	(.153)	(.146)	(.238)	(.232)
Afro-Latinx	-.049	.018	-.154	.193
	(.200)	(.183)	(.321)	(.287)
Mexico	-.152	.090	.079	.258
	(.247)	(.224)	(.319)	(.369)
Central	-.141	-.575*	-.014	.634
	(.383)	(.327)	(.488)	(.482)
South	.210	-.087	.386	.159
	(.324)	(.292)	(.526)	(.476)
Caribbean	.253	-.068	.651*	-.113
	(.267)	(.239)	(.345)	(.393)
Religious	.214	.100	-.065	.227
	(.252)	(.241)	(.317)	(.311)
Skin Color	-.002	.069	.043	-.125
	(.057)	(.060)	(.063)	(.079)
Ideology	.175**	-.088	.038	.025
	(.072)	(.075)	(.082)	(.108)
Registered Voter	-.011	-.375**	.305	-.049
	(.169)	(.161)	(.222)	(.239)
Constant	-3.80	-1.08	-1.59	-.528
	(1.01)	(.754)	(1.14)	(1.00)
N	2,427	2,427	2,420	2,427

Robust Standard Errors in Parenthesis
*p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01 ****p<0.001

Interestingly, nativity was only significant in one model while language of survey

was not significant in any model. The foreign born were more likely to say that racism is

an important issue for the president and Congress to address compared to U.S. born Latinxs (p<0.01), holding all else constant. Language of media consumption was also only significant in one model: abortion. Those who said they consumed more Spanish and only some English media were less likely to say abortion is an important issue compared to those that consume mostly in English (p<0.05), holding all else constant.

TABLE 14: Logistic Regressions for Latinx Public Opinion for Models 5-8

	Model 5 Racism	Model 6 Climate	Model 7 Abortion	Model 8 Taxes
Latinx	**.616*** (.2547)**	**.184 (.391)**	**.049 (.309)**	**-.251 (.265)**
Female	.035 (.188)	-.036 (.210)	-1.27**** (.323)	.118 (.174)
Age *18-29 Ref*				
30-39	-.267 (.263)	-.792*** (.298)	-.253 (.414)	.124 (.307)
40-49	.037 (.327)	-.401 (.499)	-.416 (.444)	-.041 (.310)
50-59	-.174 (.323)	-.481 (.348)	-1.45** (.632)	.002 (.289)
60-69	-.082 (.538)	-.122 (.437)	-.964 (.651)	-.900** (.383)
70-79	1.00* (.557)	.934 (.570)	.803 (.673)	-1.41* (.735)
80+	---	.115 (.811)	-.935 (1.14)	-.052 (.967)
Income *<$20k Ref*				
$20k-29,999	.274 (.359)	.499 (.374)	-1.37*** (.499)	-.156 (.360
$30k-39,999	-.449 (.402)	-.042 (.403)	-.659 (.594)	-.203 (.376)
$40k-49,999	-.095 (.400)	-.239 (.401)	-.261 (.463)	.234 (.337)
$50k-59,999	.201 (.394)	.351 (.402)	.362 (.465)	.142 (.464)
$60-69,999	.429 (.398)	.425 (.418)	-.396 (.573)	.164 (.379)
$70k-79,999	1.06*** (.398)	-.049 (.443)	1.20** (.568)	-.063 (.410)
$80k-89,999	1.03**	-.702	.249	.437

	(.459)	(.500)	(.732)	(.586)
$90k-99,999	-.221 (.4611)	.350 (.483)	-1.18 (.755)	-.030 (.482)
$100k-149,999	.372 (.424)	-.682 (.455)	.219 (.656)	.291 (.376)
$150k-199,999	.905* (.513)	.708 (.457)	.128 (.762)	.883** (.448)
$200k+	1.13 (.705)	.143 (.553)	.390 (.839)	-.187 (.570)
Education *Grades 1-8 Ref*				
Some HS	-.146 (.589)	2.48** (1.22)	-2.46** (1.16)	-.729 (.855)
HS Diploma/GED	-.141 (.562)	2.12* (1.18)	-.845 (.777)	-.403 (.810)
2-year Degree	-.138 (.542)	2.54** (1.17)	-1.06 (.792)	.136 (.811)
4-year Degree	.057 (.568)	3.02*** (1.17)	-1.09 (.801)	-.400 (.812)
Postgraduate	-.441 (.6303)	2.83** (1.18)	-.127 (.939)	-.178 (.812)
Married	-.023 (.225)	.522** (.249)	.214 (.391)	.380* (.223)
US Born	.533** (.210)	-.212 (.267)	-.507 (.358)	-.148 (.222)
Language *English Ref*	-.30 (.388)	-.088 (.531)	.838 (.794)	-.748 (.494)
Media *Mostly English Ref*				
More English, Some Spanish	.061 (.217)	-.236 (.298)	.113 (.319)	.019 (.205)
Both Equally	.151 (.297)	-.624* (.356)	-.247 (.584)	-.444 (.299)
More Spanish, Some English	.580 (.505)	-.562 (.672)	-2.74** (1.12)	-.619 (.653)
Mostly Spanish	.101 (.584)	-.392 (.818)	.083 (.929)	-1.49 (.926)
Linked Fate	-.457** (.219)	.112 (.244)	-.832** (.336)	.379** (.191)
Afro-Latinx	.019 (.253)	.305 (.308)	-.403 (.389)	.198 (.243)
Mexico	.866** (.406)	.401 (.363)	-1.11** (.467)	.145 (.288)
Central	1.08** (.518)	1.30*** (.463)	-.728 (.740)	.008 (.437)
South	-.153 (.495)	.366 (.468)	-.750 (.639)	.270 (.367)
Caribbean	.522 (.411)	.305 (.391)	-.876 (.554)	.192 (.323)

Religion	.238 (.295)	-.074 (.320)	-.391 (.333)	-.227 (.275)
Skin Color	.034 (.072)	-.240*** (.087)	.126 (.092)	-.067 (.062)
Ideology	-.085 (.084)	-.584**** (.108)	-.230* (.122)	.134 (.113)
Registered Voter	.414* (.220)	-.341 (.244)	-.408 (.413)	.198 (.218)
Constant	-3.06 (.944)	-2.60 (1.57)	2.94 (1.48)	-2.96 (1.28)
N	2,420	2,427	2,427	2,427

Robust Standard Errors in Parenthesis
*p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01 ****p<0.001

Linked fate was statistically significant for Model 5 Racism (p<0.05), Model 7 Abortion (p<0.05), and Model 8 Taxes (p<0.05). Those who indicated no linked fate were less likely to say racism and abortion are important issues to address but were more likely to indicate taxes as important compared to those reporting linked fate, holding all else constant. Given that perceived discrimination is an important component of linked fate (Dawson, 1994; Sanchez and Vargas, 2016), the significance of this variable across models further supports the salience of race and race relations issues. Regional variables were only significant for health care, with Mexicans (p<0.05) and Central Americans (p<0.05) being more likely to choose this category as an important issue, holding all else constant.

Ideology was only significant in two models. As Latinxs become more conservative they are more likely to indicate jobs as an important issue (p<0.05) and less likely to say climate change (p<0.001) is compared to more liberal Latinxs, holding all else constant. The final political variable, voter registration, was significant for health care with non-registered voters being less likely to choose this category compared to registered voters (p<0.05), holding all else constant.

Finally, to assess the size of the impact of sexual orientation on these significant models, I ran a series of marginal effects tests. Figure 8 illustrates these results. LGBTQ+ Latinxs are 6 percentage points less likely to indicate jobs are an important issue for the president and Congress to address, holding all else constant. This CMPS 3 question was presented as a grid where respondents could choose their first and second choice of most important policy issue. As Table 8 shows, for heterosexual Latinxs healthcare (27%) and jobs/improve the economy (25%) were the top policy issues. However, although healthcare (22%) is also the top policy priority for LGBTQ+ Latinxs, racism and race relations were the second policy area seen as most important (21%).

The category label "jobs/improve economy" denotes that the issue is lack of jobs. Heterosexual and LGBTQ+ Latinx respondents had exact levels of unemployment at 14% each. Queering Latinidad Project participants had a higher rate of unemployment at 25%. However, qualitative findings point to discrimination in the workplace is a central concern for LGBTQ+ Latinxs, not necessarily the lack of employment.

LGBTQ+ Latinxs are 6 percentage points more likely to say that housing and affordable housing are important issues for the president and Congress to address compared to heterosexual Latinxs. This supports Hypothesis$_2$ that Latinxs who identify as LGBTQ+ will express higher support for policy areas that address issues of housing compared to heterosexual Latinxs. Housing and homelessness are salient issues within the LGBTQ+ community more broadly as well, especially among transgender individuals. The 2015 United States Transgender Survey (USTS) found that 35% of transgender Latinas have experienced homelessness, with 18% reporting this occurred in the past year. Thirty-seven percent said that they experienced housing discrimination

and/or instability due to their transgender identity. Moreover, when asked about the top policy priorities for transgender people in the U.S., 86% USTS respondents indicated housing as very important (James et al., 2016).

According to the Movement Advancement Project (MAP) (2018), there are currently 20 states and the District of Columbia that include sexual orientation and gender identity as prohibited bases for housing discrimination. Wisconsin and New Hampshire's housing anti-discrimination laws only include sexual orientation and not gender identity. Approximately 50% of the national LGBT population lives in states without any type of housing discrimination protection laws that cover either sexual orientation or gender identity (MAP, 2018).

FIGURE 8: Marginal Effects Differences in Public Opinion of LGBTQ+ and Heterosexual Latinxs
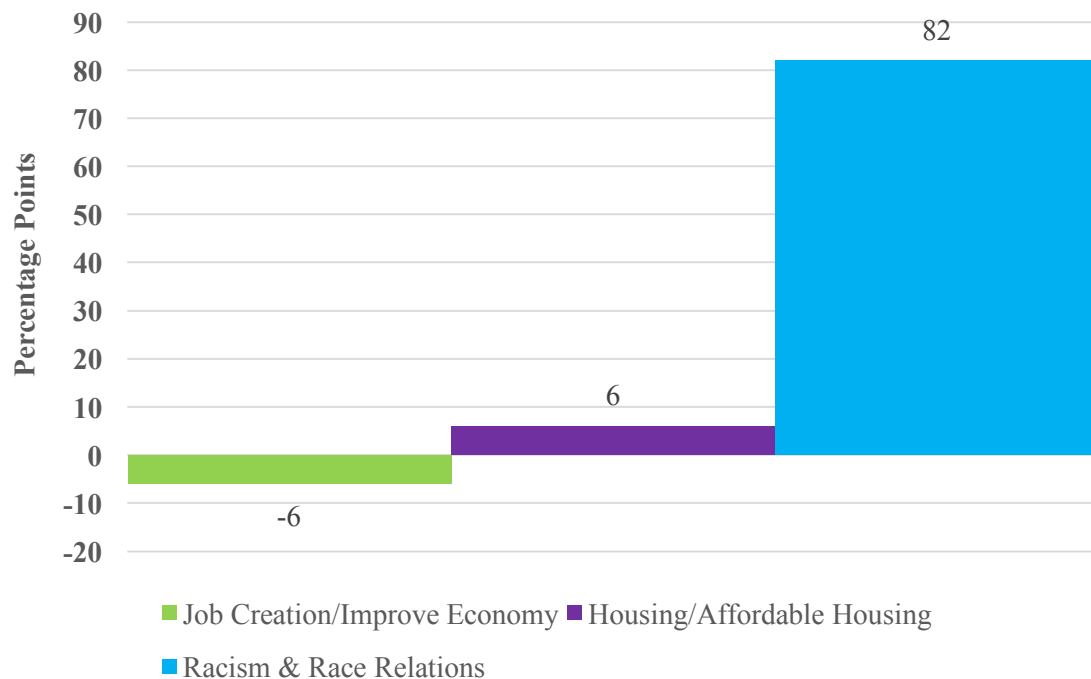
The differences in opinion on race are dramatic. LGBTQ+ Latinxs are 82 percentage points more likely to say that racism and race relations are important issues for the president and Congress to address compared to heterosexual Latinxs, holding all else constant. This supports Hypothesis$_3$ that Latinxs who identify as LGBTQ+ will express higher support for policy areas that address issues of discrimination compared to heterosexual Latinxs. When queried about their individual top policy priorities, 11% of USTS respondents said racism. The top two issues were violence against transgender people (25%) and insurance coverage for transgender-related health care (15%). Race and transgender status interact to place individuals in precarious situations vulnerable to discrimination. For example, 25% of Latinx respondents to the USTS said they avoided a health provider due to fear of mistreatment (James et al., 2016).

A 2015 Fusion.net Millenial Survey (N=1,000) found that a majority of Hispanics (56%) agreed that racism is a significant problem. Additionally, 62% said they believed that race relations in the U.S. will get better during their lifetimes. Issues of housing discrimination, racism, and race relations are interrelated. Sewell (2016), for example, finds that ethnoracial residential segregation is a product of dual mortgage market political economies, which have been shaped by racism-race reification processes. Structural racism affects the manner by which institutions allocate resources based on prescribed notions of worthiness. Latinxs, and especially LGBTQ+ Latinxs, unfortunately find themselves at the bottom of social, political, and economic hierarchies that limit their access to resources and place them in positions of vulnerability.

<u>Qualitative Findings</u>

Qualitative data analyses revealed similar themes to those found in the CMPS 3 analyses. As previously noted, discrimination in the labor force was a significant issue mentioned by focus group participants. Sexual and gender discrimination were identified as obstacles to obtaining or retaining employment. Some participants engaged in self-censorship to avoid sharing their sexual orientation or gender status even when work environments were described as LGBTQ+-friendly.

"I feel like when I'm looking for a job I have to like hide like all queer signifiers […] Like you have to hide piercings and tattoos and not have colored hair or stuff like that. But it's just like I don't know why working in food services I just you hit every queer signifier and so it was like easier to pretend that you weren't queer. Like it's easier because if your coworkers turn out to be homophobic then you're stuck with them every single day. Or you know that you can't go into a job being that way because the person interviewing is homophobic and you're not gonna get that job. It's rough."

Participants described being quiet, purposefully self-isolating, and modifying their dress styles in order to avoid sexuality and gender-based discrimination.

Issues of racism and race relations permeated throughout the data. Racism, for example, was noted as reason for LGBTQ+ Latinxs not engaging in the mainstream LGBT rights movement. One participant noted,

"I feel like my life is so intersectional that I don't really have the time in my life to be like fucking around with anything that isn't focused on being intersectional

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[…] It tends to be like really cisgendered, really white, really upper class. And it's whitewashing a lot of our history and I mean I don't know if I would put my efforts into something, I would rather do it into something that actually focuses on the real issues rather than like the poster issues, you know?"

Despite the insidiousness of racism, some participants expressed their desire to work together to overcome issues of discrimination. For example, one participant commented:

"I think we're all going against each other right now […] but we could come to a middle ground here […] Like why do I hate you so much? And why do you hate me so much? Like who told you to hate me so much? Who what organization told me "F all the white people"? […] Like starting to come together and to sit with each other and see who instilled that in you? Who instilled something in me? […] How can I help you get there? How can we do this together? Instead of just working against each other. Because we aren't getting anywhere now. You know? We're just becoming more segregated."

Gender violence and racism were also important policy issues, especially towards the transgender community.

"Trans folks are being attacked are being killed. Non-binary people are being murdered and erased. I also feel like we're just dying, poverty is bringing us down. Housing discrimination."

This violence was perceived as social and systemic:

"Gender violence, xenophobia, and in terms of the police state, the *migra*. And also, in relation to settler colonialism, housing, displacement, allocation to resources, jobs, it's all stemming from colonialism."

Miller and Grollman (2015) report the high levels of marginalization experienced by transgender individuals. Gender non-conforming individuals are especially targeted for discrimination, which in turn poses consequences for mental health and well-being. Decriminalization of sex work was seen as a mechanism for reducing the violence experienced by LGBTQ+ individuals. Discrimination against sex work was perceived as coming from the LGBTQ+ community itself, with patronizing behaviors towards those individuals who were forced into the informal occupation.

Opinions on public policy also centered around education and health services. The lack of education around LGBTQ+ issues was noted as an important source of discrimination on various fronts. Lack of education on behalf of parents and families was thought to contribute to rejection. Participants recommended queer-inclusive education curriculums as a mechanism for increasing knowledge on sexuality and gender. These curriculums implemented during early education would serve to reduce stigma but to also empower youth to explore their own sexual and gender identities in safe, supportive environments.

Interestingly, the CMPS 3 analyses did not find any statistically significant differences on healthcare opinions based on sexual and gender minority status. However, as previously noted, healthcare was chosen as the top policy priority among both heterosexual and LGBTQ+ Latinxs (Table 2). Thus, data points to the importance of healthcare among Latinxs broadly. Because the CMPS 3 question was posed as a grid and

not open ended, we cannot ascertain what aspects of healthcare are considered a policy priority. The QLP qualitative data, however, allowed for further investigation into the issues related to healthcare.

Both samples (CMPS 3 and QLP) indicated high insurance rates. Sixty-seven percent of LGBTQ+ Latinxs in the CMPS 3 report having health insurance, while 83% of QLP participants also said they were insured. However, QLP participants did express concern about discrimination experienced from providers or other medical professionals. One participant noted:

> "I had a therapist try to convince me that I wasn't queer. So that's a
> problem too. You access services and they don't know how to interact."

Another participant shared her experience:

> "I had to have a breast surgery and my partner was supposed to come on
> in. I signed a waiver for her to come on in. And they wouldn't allow her.
> They said 'well, we thought your husband was coming'."

Focus groups indicated that healthcare professionals lacked education on sexual and gender minorities' health needs. Participants found themselves having to educate providers on different identities and their particular needs (e.g. explain what non-binary meant).

Additionally, a lack of mental health services for marginalized populations was noted. These services were perceived as lacking in both urban and rural contexts. Participants agreed that these services should not require a legal status to access and should be sensitive to the populations they are serving. For example, allowing extra consultation time for the use of a translator or to discuss the specific needs of sexual and

gender minority patients. These findings are in line with Chávez's (2011) findings about the lack of services catering to LGBTQ+ migrants and the lack of cultural competence related to LGBTQ+ issues.

Another salient policy area was representation. This discussion focused on two aspects of representation: in the media and in positions of power. Media representation was perceived as being denigrating towards Latinx communities and LGBTQ+ communities broadly. Tropes of hypersexualized Latinas (both heterosexual and LGBTQ+), Latinx workers as solely janitorial or physical labor were noted as especially bothersome. Moreover, celebrity LGBTQ+ allies were perceived as problematic as they tended to portray a racially homogenous, capitalistic image of queerness.

The lack of representation in positions of power focused mainly on the non-profit sector. Non-profit work was a popular source of employment for QLP participants. Many, however, noted the dominance of white men in heading these organizations.

> "I work at a nonprofit and we only serve low income, first gen, students of color, so I feel like showing up at work is an act of demonstration on my politics. At the same time, it is a we are a national organization led by a white male and its very much a white dominated culture in my work space. And so, it's like both, I'm doing my job and its making a positive impact but like it's still part of the system that has big problems."

Participants were aware that despite the important services these programs offered, the racial makeup of the leadership made them feel like they were not tackling the root of these social problems (e.g. capitalism and white supremacy). There was a strong

awareness that organizational leadership did not reflect the communities being served by these programs and services.

Finally, mirroring CMPS 3 analyses, QLP participants expressed Latinx linked fate. For example, immigrant rights and policies were mentioned as sources of oppression towards Latinx and LGBTQ+ communities. Participants perceived immigration policies as affecting them even if they were not immigrants themselves. They referenced the importance of "blood lines" and relatives being affected and thus their need to be involved in this particular issue. Given the highly intersectional nature of LGBTQ+ Latinx communities, these individuals could have strong ties or linked fate towards multiple groups.

DISCUSSION

These findings point to the need to account for sexual orientation and gender identity in our analyses of Latinx public opinion. The inclusion of these facets of identity allow us to engage in a more comprehensive examination of Latinx populations. The number of individuals identifying as LGBTQ+ or gender non-confirming is growing. For example, 47% of Hispanics polled have said they agreed that: "gender is a spectrum, and some people fall outside conventional categories," (Fusion.net Millenial Survey, 2015). Additionally, only 88% of the Latinx sample identified as heterosexual, with 10% saying they did not know what sexual orientation they considered themselves, 5% said they were homosexual, and 3% said bisexual. These numbers are higher than a previous 2013 Williams Institute report that found that 4.3% or 1.4 million Latinxs consider themselves LGBT (Kastanis and Gates, 2013).

The lack of knowledge surrounding LGBTQ+ Latinxs is evident both in the lack of research, but also within Latinx communities themselves. Focusing specifically on LGBTQ+ Latinx migrants, Chavez (2011) argues that there is an important deficiency in the understanding of this population's needs. Specifically, there is a need for an increase in cultural competence and awareness of these needs. As discussed previously, statistics surrounding the LGBTQ+ Latinx community point to extreme degrees of marginalization. Existing in intersecting dimensions of oppression places them in vulnerable sociopolitical and economic locations in society.

CONCLUSION

Findings from this study make three important contributions. First, these analyses have revealed the importance of accounting for sexual orientation and gender identity in our explorations of Latinx public opinion. Early studies of Latinx public opinion have focused on the role of nativity, acculturation, and national origin. As the field has progressed, new areas such as group consciousness and religion are being accounted for. Including sexual orientation and gender identity can become the new iteration of research.

Second, this study fits the call by Smith (2011) and Mucciaroni (2011) to include sexuality as a foundational piece to our political analyses. Expanding to include other areas of identity as they become salient in popular society allows for more comprehensive understandings of political and social phenomenon. Data and studies on LGBTQ+ Latinxs is severely lacking. Social scientists can play a role in expanding our

knowledge of this vulnerable population by including gender and sexuality as foundational components of rigorous science.

Third, this study contributes to public policy research as it reveals that there are policy issues that vary in salience based on gender and sexual identity. This study finds that the issues of housing, racism and race relations, and education are among the top priorities for LGBTQ+ Latinxs. These findings point to important policy needs in these areas for this specific population. They highlight areas in need of policy interventions and advocacy. Increased knowledge of vulnerable populations can aid researchers, advocates, and policymakers in expanding well-formulated service programs and policy interventions that fit the needs of these populations. Given the increasing size of the Latinx and LGBTQ+ Latinx communities in the United States, these policy needs have the potential of producing policy crises if elected officials and advocates do not engage in proactive policymaking.

Policy Recommendations

There are four central policy recommendations based on these findings. First, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) should expand the coverage of the Fair Housing Act (FHA) to explicitly include sexual orientation and gender identity as protected categories against discrimination. Explicit inclusions of these can reduce the level of discrimination faced by LGBTQ+ and gender non-conforming individuals.

Second, include sexual orientation and gender identity questions on the Census. The Census does not currently inquire about sexual orientation or have a comprehensive gender identity measure. Including these aspects in the Census can have multiple

benefits. First, it would increase our data on this marginalized population and help us assess sizes of groups based on other intersecting facets of identity (e.g. race and ethnicity, income). Second, increasing knowledge of demographic characteristics by geographic context can aid localities and policymakers in formulating policies tailored to the specific needs of their constituents.

Third, implement queer-inclusive sexual education curriculums. Public sexual education in the United States is heavily based on notions of abstinence and framed through heterosexual, cisgendered understandings of sexuality and gender. Creating a curriculum inclusive of gender non-conforming and sexual minority needs can reduce the stigma towards non-heterosexuals and transgender identities. These curriculums can also affect youth empowerment. Access to information and education regarding sexuality and gender can help youth safely explore their own sexual and gender identities. Reduction in self-stigma and increase in self-esteem have been associated with decreased psychological distress and increase well-being among minority adults (Green and Britton, 2013; Herek, Gilis, and Cogan, 2009).

And finally, immigration reform in the form of inclusive legalization. Anti-immigrant political environments are found to influence outcomes for the broader Latinx public. Legalization programs without bans on services can provide immigrants protections from workplace harassment, aid in reporting of violence or crimes suffered, and access to government educational and workforce training programs.

These recommendations are based on the issues identified by LGBTQ+ Latinxs as important policy needs. These policies are aimed at changing institutional forms of oppression towards these marginalized communities. They simultaneously tackle social

processes that perpetuate stigma and systemic and inter-personal discrimination against

sexual and gender minorities.

Chapter 5

The Queering Latinidad Project: Latinx & LGBTQ+ Identities

INTRODUCTION

Research on Latinx populations is increasing exponentially. Our knowledge about Latinxs' political behaviors (e.g. Barreto et al., 2014; Michelson, 2008; Stokes-Brown, 2009), public opinion (e.g. Sanchez, 2010; Rouse, Wilkinson, Garand, 2010; Branton, 2007; Michelson, 2001), health (e.g. Vargas, Sanchez, and Juárez, 2017a; Peña et al., 2016), and other socioeconomic outcomes (Martinez and Slack 2013) is increasing as more social science research seeks to understand this rapidly growing minority population. However, as Chapter 2 discusses, the study of Latino Politics has incorporated rigid parameters to measure Latinx outcomes that result in the subversion and erasure of various facets of identity, including dimensions of sexuality and gender. This has contributed to a lack of data on particular groups within the Latinx umbrella.

The Latinx population broadly is facing important challenges in terms of politics, policy, and health. Latinxs bear the brunt of restrictive and punitive immigrant and immigration policies as Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) statistics show that the top countries of citizenship for deportees are all Latin American (Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Haiti) (Department of Homeland Security, 2018). Anti-immigrant policy environments are affecting Latinxs' health and well-being (Vargas, Sanchez, Juárez, 2017b; Lopez et al., 2017; Peña et al., 2016), political behavior (Sanchez and Gomez-Aguiñaga, 2017; Barreto, Ramirez, Woods, 2005), and trust in government institutions (Pedraza and Osorio, 2017).

Systemic violence particularly in the forms of police brutality and mass incarceration are also important issues facing Latinx communities. In 2015, Blacks (31%) and Latinxs (12%) made up almost half of all victims of police killings although together they only make up approximately 30% of the population (Lopez, 2017). Additionally, the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BoP) reports that 32.9% of all inmates are of Hispanic ethnicity (Federal Bureau of Prisons, 2018).

Sexual prejudice and persistent anti-LGBTQ+ sociopolitical environments are salient features of American society (Herek, 2000; Herek and McLemore, 2012). Between 2013-2016, twenty-four states introduced bills to restrict or segregate bathroom access based on biological sex. In 2017, 36 states introduced anti-LGBT bills that included restrictions on bathrooms, state laws that would pre-empt local or municipal anti-discrimination ordinances, and restrictions on transgender students' rights in schools. North Carolina was the only state to enact a "bathroom bill," however it was repealed following strong criticisms across the nation (Kralik and Palmer, 2018).

So far in 2018, twenty-four comprehensive protection bills have been introduced in 15 states as well as 27 bills offering incomplete protection (e.g. they allow religious exceptions to discriminate based on sexual or gender identity). Yet, dozens of anti-LGBTQ+ bills were also introduced across states in policy areas such as schools and student organizations (4)[13], marriage-related exemptions (2), adoption and foster care (8), First Amendment and religious freedom (7), healthcare (4), and single-sex facility restrictions (9) (ACLU 2018). Similar to findings of anti-immigrant policies, anti-LGBT policies have been found to affect LGBT individuals' mental and physical health as well

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[13] Numbers in parentheses represent the number of bills for this category.

as interpersonal relationships and identity (Russell et al., 2011; Arms, Horne, and Levitt, 2009; Gee, 2006).

Because of their intersectional identities, LGBTQ+ Latinxs are positioned in marginalized locations within the sociopolitical hierarchies governing American politics (Crenshaw, 1991). They must navigate simultaneous worlds of Latinidad and sexual and gender identities (Ramirez, 2005). This makes them particularly vulnerable for discrimination, violence, and systemic oppression. Yet, to date this population continues to be understudied in social science (Chávez, 2011).

The Queering Latinidad Project is a national, qualitative study of LGBTQ+ Latinxs that seeks to understand how the subversion of sexuality and gender identities impact socioeconomic and political experiences for this particular group. The central aim of the project is to contribute to our knowledge of the specific needs and dynamics of LGBTQ+ Latinx communities to enhance policymaking efforts for these groups. Increasing our knowledge of LGBTQ+ Latinx communities also helps us explore the vast variation within Latinidad and Latinx communities across the United States.

This chapter first begins by expanding on the theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter 2, mainly the discussion surrounding sexual prejudice and microaggressions. A brief discussion of the methods and analyses then follows. [14] Next, are the results and discussion of the findings. Discrimination was the central theme emerging from the QLP. Additionally, this study finds overwhelming support for the usage of the terms 'Latinx' as

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[14] The full qualitative methodological details for these analyses are provided in Chapter 1.

well as 'queer.' The chapter concludes by providing policy recommendations based on these findings.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

In addition to the theories and frameworks outlined throughout the dissertation, this chapter also utilizes aspects of sexual prejudice (Herek, 2000), sexual stigma (Herek, Cogan, and Gillis, 2009) and Nadal et al.'s (2011) sexual orientation microaggressions in its analyses. As detailed throughout this dissertation, the current sociopolitical climate is rife with both sexual prejudice (Okma, 2018; Mason, Williams, and Elliot, 2017; James et al., 2016) and anti-immigrant and anti-Latinx activity (Juárez, Gómez-Aguiñaga, and Bettez, 2018; Morse et al., 2017; Sanchez and Gómez-Aguiñaga, 2017). This places LGBTQ+ Latinxs in positions of extreme marginalization.

Herek, Cogan, and Gillis (2009) define sexual stigma as the negative construction of non-heterosexual behaviors, identities, communities, and relationships. These constructions are culturally-based and understood to reflect power hierarchies in society. They further argue that the concept of sexual stigma gives a more nuanced approach to issues of homophobia, as it includes a structural component that moves sexual prejudice away from a solely individualized phenomenon. They write, "the framework is intended to facilitate analysis of the relationships between sexual stigma's structural and individual manifestations while illuminating parallels between stigma-related experiences of sexual minorities and heterosexuals," (p. 32).

This framework is particularly useful in helping disentangle issues of family-based discrimination experienced by LGBTQ+ Latinxs. *Machismo*, or sexist manifestations of patriarchy, is perceived to be an inherent characteristic of Latinx

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communities. Homophobia and transphobia within these same communities is also perceived to be results of machismo. However, machismo and its homophobic and transphobic expressions can be alternatively explained as internalized sexual stigma, or sexual prejudice (Herek, 2000; Herek, Cogan, and Gillis, 2009). Sexual prejudice is an appropriate framework to study LGBTQ+ Latinx discrimination because as Herek (2000) notes, the underlying motivations for sexual prejudice are cultural and situational. This allows for the exploration of Latinx family discrimination without viewing Latinx communities through lenses of deficiency or anti-homosexual.

Moreover, moving away from analyzing machismo as an inherent part of the Latinx experience, allows us to further our understanding of the effects of gender and sexual norm socialization. For example, Nuñez et al. (2016) find that traditional machismo and its feminized counterpart *marianismo* are associated with negative psychological and emotional outcomes, while controlling for demographic factors. Such findings point to the possibility of crafting public health and social policy interventions to change these detrimental constructions. Falicov (2010) for example, finds that the usage of strength-based approaches focused on reclaiming indigenous conceptions of masculinity offer therapeutic benefits to Latino men.

Sexual prejudice, however, does influence anti-gay behaviors which can vary in intensity (Herek, 2000). Nadal et al. (2011a) extend the concept of microaggressions (Nadal, 2008) beyond race and ethnicity to also include gender and sexual orientation-based discrimination. Their taxonomy of sexual orientation microaggressions includes eight themes (Nadal et al., 2011a, 243):

1. Use of heterosexist terminology

2. Endorsement of heteronormative culture/behaviors

3. Assumption of universal LGBT experience

4. Exoticization

5. Discomfort/disapproval of LGBT experience

6. Denial of the reality of heterosexism

7. Assumption of sexual pathology/abnormality

8. Threatening behaviors

This taxonomy offers insights into the type of microaggressions being experienced by LGBTQ+ Latinxs, but also helps to illuminate the coping responses engaged in. Coping responses include behavioral reactions (which can be passive, confrontational, or protective), cognitive reactions (resiliency and empowerment or conformity and acceptance), and emotional reactions (e.g. discomfort, anger, sadness, or embarrassment) (Nadal et al., 2011b). Together these frameworks help us better understand how discrimination manifests within Latinx communities, specifically prejudice related to gender and sexual orientation.

METHODS

The Queering Latinidad Project (QLP) is a national qualitative community-engaged study of LGBTQ+ Latinxs. The QLP seeks to understand the lived experiences of this understudied community, specifically in the aspects of identity, politics, policy, discrimination, and labor force participation. These five themes structured the focus groups. This chapter focuses on the findings around discrimination, identity, the labor force, and also a sub-theme that emerged during coding- families. The results on political

behavior are reported in Chapter 3 and results on public opinion are reported in Chapter 4.

In terms of identity, the QLP sought to increase our understanding of how LGBTQ+ Latinxs perceive the terms "LGBTQI," "Latinx," and "queer." As noted in previous chapters, 'Latinx' is a term that emerged from gender non-confirming individuals who felt left out of the gendered 'Latino' and 'Latina' terminology. It has slowly entered into usage among LGBTQ+ individuals but has yet to be accepted in mainstream discussions. Current research on 'Latinx' is highly theoretical and quantitative studies focused on this term are based on analyses of literature reviews to trace the usage of the word among specific disciplines (Salinas and Lozano 2017). Thus, the QLP seeks to gather first-hand accounts of LGBTQ+ Latinxs' perceptions of 'Latinx' and present empirical analyses to center the voices of those directly affected by this term.

Additionally, the QLP seeks to increase our knowledge of the term 'queer.' There is much ambiguity around the meaning of the term 'queer' as it was originally a derogatory word used to identify LGBTQ+ individuals. Moreover, there are competing definitions of queer. While some understand queer as an umbrella term that captures those that fall within the LGBT+ acronym, others perceive it as a term of radical resistance to status quo gender and sexuality norms and labels. These two competing explanations were tested with focus group participants. The QLP inquired about these three terms directly. Focus groups were asked:

1. What does the acronym "LGBTQI" mean to you?

2. Have you heard about the term "Latinx"?

3. If so, do you agree with it and/or identify with it?

4.   If not, why?

5.   What about the term "Queer"? Some people use it as an umbrella term that captures everyone under the LGBTQ+ label, others see it as a more radical stance where being queer is challenging or rejecting these imposed gender and sexual orientation labels. How do you feel about it? Do you identify with it?

As discussed in Chapter 2, the theme of discrimination was influenced by findings from the 2016 New Landscapes of a Majority-Minority State: Politics, Economy, and Well-Being in New Mexico survey (NLMMS) (N=1,505) (Vasquez et al,. 2017). A grand majority of Latinx respondents said they felt uncomfortable around other Latinxs because of their identities. QLP participants were asked:

4. Do you ever feel uncomfortable around other Latinxs because of your gender and/or sexuality?

5. What makes you uncomfortable about those interactions?

QLP data found similar findings, with QLP participants indicating similar levels of discomfort.

The labor force theme sought to understand the employment status and occupations of QLP participants. It also investigated the processes of attaining employment. Moreover, this theme also included examination of LGBTQ+ Latinxs' sources of financial support and participation in public services. As previously mentioned, further details on the research design, measures, and data analyses can be found in Chapter 1 Theory and Methodologies.

RESULTS

Discrimination

The central variable present throughout the data was discrimination. Discrimination was especially associated with identity and LGBTQ+-specific experiences and reflected various aspects of Nadal et al.'s (2011) taxonomy of sexual microaggressions. These experiences mainly focused on interactions with the broader LGBTQ+ community and with family. One interaction between participants elucidated some common themes of intra-LGBTQ+ discrimination. A bisexual participant noted that she does not feel welcome within the LGBTQ+ community:

> "I think because it's been like groups of lesbian-identified women or its also like queer people are welcome but it's still I still feel like I'm not queer enough. Like I have to like prove it somehow."

Another respondent commented on her experience:

> "There's a lot of biphobia in these spaces. And even like a lot of femme-phobia. Like if you're femme you're not queer enough to be in those spaces or if you've ever dated a man or if you still date men you're not queer enough to be in those spaces. Like it can be super exclusionary. Or super trans exclusionary too I feel."

> Schools and universities were talked about as places where harassment and discrimination occurred. Some noted experiences as early as second and third grade, high school, and early college years. Peers felt entitled to negatively comment on emerging sexual and gender identities. Parents during these times were also noted as having an influence in forcing gender and sexuality norms onto participants, especially for biologically female participants (e.g. biological females must wear long hair).

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Instances of discrimination where perpetrators were also Latinx took on various forms not always related to LGBTQ+ identity. Participants related how their generational status and ability to speak Spanish were sources of harassment from family members and co-workers. One participant shared:

> "I'm not good with my Spanish but people who are from El Salvador, if they see me they're going to call me a *gringo* because I'm not the best or fluent in my Spanish. I don't act like how they are supposed to act over there and I don't know the culture as much as I should know or how it is over there, the community. And so, for me, I identify as Latino but probably to them I don't seem like I'm from there. It's like I'm an in between."

U.S.-born respondents commented on being taunted by both family and co-workers over their lack of Spanish skills or familiarity with cultural norms or behaviors.

Participants also described discrimination in medical or healthcare settings. Health care providers were noted to be ill-trained in sexual and gender minority health. This is consistent with several studies that found LGBTQ+ individuals receive lower levels of care because of providers' lack of sensitivity to sexual and gender minority health needs (McManus 2006; Christensen 2005). One participant noted that her therapist tried to convince her that she was not queer.

Another story involved the breaching of privacy where nurses allowed a rapist to be present at the birth of the child conceived through the violent act. Nurses overrode the patient's documented request that he not be allowed in the room, arguing that he was the father. Health care providers were perceived as imposing their own sexual and gender norms onto their patients. Previous studies have indicated that discrimination in

healthcare settings impact health-seeking behaviors, such as avoiding seeking treatment and not disclosing sexual or gender minority status to providers (DeHart, 2008, Lee et al., 2008).

Participants experienced rejection of services and discriminatory treatment based on their sexual and gender identities. Moreover, these experiences of discrimination as a whole (from the LGBTQ+ community, family, and providers) were reported to contribute to negative effects on mental and emotional health. This is in line with previous investigations which found that discrimination based on sexual and gender minority status is linked to suicidal behaviors, depression, and substance abuse (Bradford et al,. 2013; Hendricks and Testa, 2012; Nadal et al., 2011b; Clements-Nolle, Marx, and Katz, 2006).

Identity

A central theme of the QLP is identity. The QLP queried participants about three specific identities: LGBTQI, Latinx, and queer. Focus group participants had mixed reactions to the term LGBTQI. While some perceived it as a neutral acronym or umbrella term, others viewed it as a racialized term that did not necessarily represent them. One participant commented:

> "I think of a white washed perspective. Like living in the suburbs for a few years
> and going to the university that was predominantly white, I feel like LGBTQ has
> always been like very white male. And for me it was really hard to figure out
> where I belonged on the spectrum. I wasn't allowed to talk about it because when
> women talk about sex it's like slutty or whatever."

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This is similar to the findings on political behavior discussed in Chapter 2. LGBTQI is seen as a white-centered moniker that represents mostly white, middle/upper class, LGBTQ+ individuals.

One participant also viewed LGBTQI as a more inclusive term that included not just gender and sexual minorities, but also heterosexual people that fall outside of the dominant heteropatriarchal paradigm:

"To me LGBTQ the acronym itself is kind of less than the words that are in the acronym and more so anyone that falls under the umbrella of just non-hetero. Because people that are in the hetero world are extremely dominant, they're everywhere. They're in every single piece of media, every single capitalistic type of business transaction. They dominate everything so even if you are considering yourself straight, you can still be in the LGBT+ umbrella if you kind of live your life in the opposite spectrum of what you know of what all straight hetero people live by. Because I have a bunch of straight friends that are even bullied themselves for being a little bit too feminine, and are a little bit too masculine, this and that. So that's my idea of what I think about when I think about LGBTQ."

There was strong support for the usage of the term Latinx. Participants overwhelmingly supported its usage noting that the 'x' allowed them a space within Latinindad. For example, one person noted:

"Well I like the whole 'x' at the end, you know. It gives us, it gives me some sort of power over who I am. Like where I come from. I don't have to put the 'o' or the 'a' at the end. Why does it only have to be that option? It helps me especially

since I don't identify as male or female, like I just am. So, with that 'x', I don't

have to."

The dominant critique against Latinx concerns its translation to the Spanish language and to countries outside of the United States. It is argued that Latinx disrespects the Spanish language (Ramirez and Blay 2017). However, one participant originally from South America and who is also a linguist commented:

"*Yo soy un lingüista y yo he trabajado mucho este tema en comunidades queer, con el lenguaje, el español en diferentes países. Yo escribo con x todo el tiempo. Me gusta porque puede incluir a las personas tradicionalmente de los dos sexos, Latinas y Latinos. Pero también puedes ampliar pues, más el grupo de gente que se incluye. Puede ser gente de género no binario. Y también permite que uno mismo se renuncie o habla de sí mismo en una forma no-binarica como yo soy Latinx. Es algo que está sucediendo y a veces me da risa que la gente se moleste, pero es como si una realidad que existe.*"

"I am a linguist and I work a lot in this topic with queer communities, like the language, Spanish in different countries. I write with the x all the time. I like it because I can include people who are from both traditional sexes, Latinas and Latinos. But you can also expand the group of people who is included. It could be non-binary people. And also, so people can renounce or speak of themselves in non-binary ways, like I am Latinx. It's something that's happening and sometimes it makes me laugh when people are bothered by it, but like this is a reality that exists."

Interestingly, the 'x' as a space for challenging binary sexual and gender norms transferred across other ethnic identities subverted within Latinidad:

"I think trying to make us be like, "oh you have to use Latino, Latinx isn't a real word…you can just use Latin," like I don't understand why it's such a big deal. If it fits you, cool. If it doesn't then don't use it, simple. For me it fits perfectly-Chicanx, I don't need to put an a or an o."

The Chicano identity faces the similar issue of gendered terminology (i.e. Chicano and Chicana). Participants extended the discussion of Latinx to also include Chicanidad by identifying as Chicanx and not the gendered terms. Additionally, the QLP demographic survey revealed that one third of participants identified as Chicanx/Chicano/Chicana (n=7). A majority, however, identified as Hispanic or Latina/o/x (n=14). The remaining 3 participants identified as Native American/Indigenous from Central/South America including Mexico and the U.S. border region.

Despite the overwhelming acceptance of Latinx, there were those that were weary of completely taking on the term:

"I think it is a cool word right now. It is new, it is cool and I don't want to get too attached [laughter] People can take that away. And then "oh we're not using that anymore" and then I can be like "that meant something to me!" But I'm not necessarily in control of the staying power of that word. So, I like it, but I'll do like a five-year test or something. Give me four years from now, if it's still around then I'll use it."

One participant also noted the colonial and oppressive origins of Latinidad itself, and thus chose not to identify as Latina or Latinx:

I don't identify with Latina because it just seems like I can't identify with the Latin American experience. I don't also like nationalism. Because if we think about it as Native indigenous, our countries tried to erase people like me. That's why I don't identify with Mexican, New Mexican. Even being Chicana and being Latina, because of these nations want to erase and also exploit us. Literally just kill us off. I do think that this Latinx word does identify a lot of people who do identify with the Latin experience."

Another participant commented similarly:

"I feel like I'm privileged because I have a very strong connection to my indigenous community. I grew up in an indigenous, pan-indigenous community back home. I grew up around Chicanos, I grew up around Native people, and I grew up around Black people in my family. So, for me, I think with Latinx, I see it as an inclusive term. But for my own identity, I feel like I have layers to my identity. Part of my family is straight up *Mexicano* immigrant *campesino*, but Indigenous. And the other part of it is Chicano, but not politically, culturally, you know?"

These comments speak to the situational character of identity. Certain spaces allow for the expression of certain identities for a variety of reasons (e.g. fear of discrimination, lack of knowledge, etc.). For example, one participant commented on his use of his labels:

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"It depends on the situation. I feel like it matters a lot on the situation like who you are with, the environment around you […] if you are with your friends and they know about Latinx, they know about your queer identity, you feel comfortable. And sometimes there are people who don't know about that and that's when it starts to feel uncomfortable in my perspective at least."

For those identifying with specific subverted or erased ethnicities or backgrounds, Latinx is used when needed. This is similar to the findings surrounding queer identity.

Participants noted the benefit of the fluidity of the term 'queer.' This fluidity allows for safe explorations of one's identity and also served to give privacy and protection. For example, one person commented:

"That broadness of the term is one of the reasons why I use it. It's like don't worry about what I am. I'm queer, I'm a lot of things that you're gonna self-define for yourself. Like 'just take it as it is and leave me alone' label. And I use that probably most frequently because of that."

Another commented:

"I feel like as soon as I realized that there was space for dialogue that there were choices that one can make that are like outside of the polarity of the genders or like gender binary. I yeah I completely kind of automatically just like "yo, I found it! I found it. I found something. I found the term." And yeah, it's really I feel like if you ask a person what queer means and you will get a different answer every time. So, it is kind of like an umbrella term. Very fluid, but I think that's what I really enjoy about it it's that you can find your niche within language. Right? And

language is so rigid sometimes that to even have or feel like you can manipulate it

with a word. It's pretty cool."

Queer was also perceived as more intersectional and inclusive than other gender and

sexual identities:

"I guess when I hear queer I think, oh, that's a space that I feel safe in, you know.

Like when I go to gay bars or gay things I feel like I have to be on the defense. I

feel like when I go to queer spaces not as much. Like I don't feel like I'm gonna

have to deal with gay guys saying some really stupid ignorant shit, you know?

Not as much racist shit, you know? Cause there's this understanding of different

folks' identities and their lived experiences I guess. I guess more intersectional."

There was some opposition expressed around the term queer. These critiques

mainly centered on its perceived commodification. For example, participants noted that a

consumerist culture was developing around queer identity, leading it to take on a specific

aesthetic and style that some viewed as inauthentic. One participant exchange captured

these perceptions:

"Yeah, as much as I hate to say it I feel like there are genuine queer people that

are existing right now but I do feel like the word has been has become very

trendy. And it's been very trendy and you know like a hot Tumblr girl will

immediately be like 'hey guys I have pink hair I'm queer' […] But then social

media grabs a hold of it and everyone wants to be queer because they see that the

best art is coming from queer people, the coolest music is coming from queer

people, the greatest ideas are coming from queer people and there's nothing else

that they can steal from. Why not label yourself as queer because if you don't then you won't get propelled in your career."

Participant response:

"There's an image to it now too. If you really notice it. Like a lot of queer people, people want to be so different they actually just start looking alike. You know? [laughter] It's true though. Like man, you're trying so hard to look different and to be trendy but then you guys all start looking alike really."

Response:

"Yeah, it's frustrating because people don't realize that queer is something that you feel not something that you can dress as or something you can look like. Queer doesn't have an image, queer is something that people are waking up as and that they feel. It's not something that they can put in their closet or their dresser at the end of the day. It's something that they are."

Overall reactions to these identity terms contained elements of racism, colonialization, and consumerism. These systems influenced the way LGBTQ+ Latinxs identified in terms of ethnicity (Latinx vs. national origin, indigeneity). Gender and sexual identities were also influenced by issues of racism, such as with the LGBTQ+ label. The identity of queer was the most contested of the terms. Although it's fluidity and broadness is seen as a benefit, there are concerns regarding the role of consumerism in shaping this identity.

Family

Family backgrounds and relationships were important topics among participants. Family backgrounds were often used as context for experiences of discrimination (both for

stories where the family member was a perpetrator or victim of discrimination). For example, a majority of families were described as being constructed in a patriarchal manner with men being dominant figures and gender and sexual norms strictly enforced.

> "Because our culture, you know it comes from like so much *machismo*. So even like me, it's hard for me to have a voice in my household because my dad and brothers are always quick to shut you up. So, like dang I can't be myself you know? So yeah it is hard because they your family is full of that heterosexual machismo. Like where women stay just because your culture you know like you are looked down on if you decide to leave or not stay quite so when we go around like I know especially like men in our culture they look at us like very you know they say very inappropriate things."

Coming out stories were prevalent during the focus groups. Many participants experienced rejection at various degrees—from outright rejection of their identities to subtle disapproval. For example, a transgender respondent commented:

> "I had come out to my mom and I was like "hey mom I'm transgender" and she was like 'well I don't think you're ever going to be a man. You're never going to be a man. You'll never be a man in my eyes. You're going against God, you're going against everything our family stands for. The world is not going to be- the world is already against you, and the world is going to be even more against you'."

Yet, another participant commented:

> "I've been pretty lucky I grew up in a family where it was a matriarchy instead of a patriarchy. So my grandmother was like the head of the household and she was

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a beautician. So, she's been around gay queer people her whole life. She I met my

first trans person through her they worked at her salon. Like she's always been

very accepting and as soon as I came out to her a couple of years ago she felt very

offended that I didn't immediately tell her right away."

Family composition played a role in the way families reacted. Female-lead households

tended to be more accepting, although subtle or cloaked instances of disapproval were

still present. Participants attributed a lack of knowledge or education on LGBTQ+

communities and issues as responsible for these subtler forms of disapproval.

There was some agreement about the sources of these family behaviors.

Participants agreed that patriarchy and capitalism were important sources shaping family

dynamics that produced discriminatory behavior or rejection. Others noted that these

behaviors could be due to pressures of assimilation or discrimination experienced by their

parents and family members. Aldoney and Cabrera (2016) find that Latino parenting is

bicultural, with emphasis on cultural learning but also adapting mainstream American

values, which as Herek (2000) argues, includes elements of sexual prejudice. Family

members were perceived as being strict or harsh in order to protect participants from

social discrimination:

"This makes me think about applying your experience of being oppressed in some

kind of way to someone else's experience […] when I'm with my mom I go out

with baggy ass jeans and a backwards hat, just looking how I want to look. She'll

say "oh you did that today." I'm like "yes, I did that." That's how we're gonna go

out, I'm gonna pay for your meal right now and buy you groceries, that's how

were going out today. But it's that thing of like yeah creating distance, I don't

think she's afraid of harm happening to me but I think she's lived a hard life for a lot of reasons and doesn't want that for me. And I think she thinks that being queer is going to make my life harder. It's going to make me less happy and she doesn't want that."

However, despite these protective behaviors, participants noted the negative impact they had on them. Families' attempts at imposing gender and sexuality norms were seen as attempts at making them invisible. Previous studies have found that families tend to worry about LGBTQ+ family member's safety and well-being due to exposure to discrimination based on sexual and gender minority statuses (Arm et al., 2009; Herdt and Koff, 2000; Beeler and Diprova, 1999; Berstein, 1995).

Interestingly, the role of religion in shaping homophobia and transphobia was most prevalent among those of Central American origin. One participant brought up religion during discussion of coming out stories:

"Let's talk about that God card too, while we're at it. My mom's side of the family is Christian, and my dad's side is Catholic. But they don't really go to church. So, when their friends come out they say 'oh they're gonna go to hell' and I'm just like, 'y'all haven't even been to church, what do y'all even know about hell'."

Resisting or confronting such discriminatory behavior is seen as a type of engagement coping strategy (Wei et al., 2010; Szymanski, Mikorski, and Carretta, 2017) and behavioral reactions to sexual orientation microaggressions (Nadal et al., 2011b). Engagement coping involves directly addressing the stressor. Alternatively, disengagement coping strategies involve avoidance or isolation from the stressor (Wont

et al., 2010) similar to passive or protective coping (Nadal et al., 2011b). Szymanski and Lewis (2015) found that engagement coping is positively associated with improved mental health and well-being.

Religion and colonization were seen as working together to erase indigenous ways of understanding gender and sexuality. One participant noted:

"I always think of, "oh being gay is a *pecado* [sin]." If you think about it, you've been conquered by the Spaniards, so originally, we could have been our own nation had our traditions, our own views of how it is. It's just because of our own history of being conquered that we had to work with their rules."

As discussed in Chapter 1, pre-conquest societies and contemporary indigenous cultures today include conceptions of gender and sexuality outside of Western binaries. Having knowledge of this is posed as a mechanism to avoid the internalization of sexual prejudice or self-stigma (Herek, Cogan, and Gillis, 2009; Falicov, 2010). As Falicov (2010) and Nuñez et al. (2016) note, these pre-conquest traditions of gender and sexual can disrupt negative psychosocial outcomes produced from gender and sexuality socialization processes among Latinxs.

Labor Force

Participants identified work environments as sites for expression of dominant gender and sexual norms and behaviors. These expressions were both subtle and overt and fell into various categories of sexual orientation microaggressions (Nada et al., 2011). For example, participants described instances of conversations between co-workers that included sexist or homophobic rhetoric cloaked as humor (exoticization). However, co-

workers also engaged in direct and threatening rhetoric. A transgender participant recalled an instance working in a hotel:

"I worked at the casino, one of the casinos here. And I started getting sexually harassed by my coworkers […] One of my coworkers he would go like 'oooh *mariposita* [little butterfly]. Come and dance with me!' […] And then there was this one guy who was really creepy. And I overheard them talking like what would they do if I got raped by that guy. And they said 'Oh I would laugh.' And I was like what is wrong with you? And they said well it's funny."

This was similar to Nadal et al. (2011) in that participants reported overt instances of discrimination, not just subtle microaggressions.

Management was mentioned as involved in perpetuating hostile environments. They were mentioned as strictly enforcing dress codes, condoning of discriminatory or threatening actions, and retaliating against employees for reporting inappropriate behavior. For example, participants reported being fired for empowering other LGBTQ+ co-workers to embrace their identities and sexualities and for reporting threatening behavior by other co-workers.

These managers had the ability to play a negative or positive role in creating safe working environments. While some described management as enforcing anti-LGBTQ+ behavior or suppressive policies (e.g. strict dress codes based on binary gender norms) others mentioned them in positive light:

"I remember going to my interview and I was just like man this is awesome, thinking wow I got to dress how I wanted to and I was like "yes!" And my interview went great and even now the store leader person is tattooed head to toe

and I'm like wow "this is my boss!" […] So I see my boss and I'm like my gages weren't a problem, my sexuality wasn't a problem. And everybody it was a very like nice, family feeling when I worked."

Occupations were important context when speaking about family relationships and instances of discrimination. Mentions of family backgrounds often related hypermasculinity, nationality, and traditional gender norms to occupation. One participant described his father:

> "*Mi papa es un hombre que se crío en una familia muy trabajadora, es un militar en retiro, un coronel médico. Es lo que puedes esperar de militar. Hombre de Latino América*."

> "My dad is a man who was raised in a hard-working family, he's retired military, a medical colonel. He's what you'd expect from military. A man of Latin America."

Male family members were often described as "big" or "manly men" who tended to work in physical labor or in military positions.

Additionally, participants reported race and ethnic-based discrimination on the job as well:

> "I just had a conversation with my director, or like my boss-boss. She was telling me, straight up, with a very thick Long Island accent, "you know, if you hear anybody telling you some racist things, someone that you work with, you should let them know and educate them because we don't want you to, you know, say that we're all racist and shit cause people need that space," which is

understandable but a lot of them are white. I don't want to spend my time

educating a white person about shit that, if it's anti-Mexican or anti-Latino or

anti-immigrant. You know?"

Anti-immigrant incidents were common. Immigrant workers were described as being

made invisible (e.g. not being allowed at the front of the hotel) and assumed incompetent

when they had limited English skills.

DISCUSSION

Traditional measurements of power in political science include (Ingram and Schneider,

2015):

- Size of the group

- Degree of mobilization and cohesion

- Leadership and political skills

- Position and access to governing institutions

- Wealth and material resources

- Propensity to vote and contact public officials

Based on this conceptualization, LGBTQ+ Latinx populations find themselves at the

lowest rung of power in the American political landscape. Population estimates for this

specific group are showing dramatic increases going from estimated 4.3% in 2013

(Kastanis and Gates, 2013) to approximately 18% by 2015 (Fusion.net Millenial Survey,

2015). Lack of data on the size of the population mirrors the lack of social research data

on LGBTQ+ Latinxs. This population is particularly understudied in political science.

The QLP thus provides an important contribution to our understandings of the sociopolitical and economic experiences of these underexplored communities.

QLP findings reflect the marginalized status of LGBTQ+ Latinxs who report facing issues of poverty, discrimination within the broader LGBTQ+ movement, and lack of representation in positions of power more broadly. Discrimination was the central theme of this study. It was found to manifest in multiple dimensions and through various mechanisms reflecting elements of Nadal et al.'s (2011) sexual orientation microaggression framework.

Discrimination was primarily insidious, but it some cases explicitly threatening. LGBTQ+ Latinxs experience sexual orientation and gender microaggressions from their families, white LGBTQ+ individuals/communities, in the labor force, and from health care providers. This discrimination is found to affect the types of political behavior LGBTQ+ Latinxs engage in and the types of policy issues identified as most salient.

These environments also affected health. QLP participants reported mental and emotional distress from the treatment received. Negative treatment from family members was especially damaging to well-being. However, LGBTQ+ Latinxs are not passive agents. Many report engaging in activities or behaviors to counter the various forms of marginalization, from confronting perpetrators of discrimination/violence to developing various "hustles" or informal sources of income to support themselves.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Public policies play a central role in the creation of marginalized populations. Schneider, Ingram, and DeLeon (2014) state:

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"Policies typically carve out certain populations to receive benefits and burdens

and often embed positive or negative social constructions of the targeted groups.

These constructions serve to justify the allocation of rewards and penalties within

the policy and are critical to an understanding of the way democracy functions,"

(p. 105)

Social constructions are created through politics and public policies, but also through the

media, literature, history, socialization, and religion (Ingram and Schneider, 1995). For

example, Sohoni and Mendez (2014) examined the role of media in shaping the

boundaries between "deserving" and "undeserving" immigrant workers in Virginia. They

find that those boundary constructions are highly racialized and pose important

implications for local politics and policies. Policy designs can serve to change these

constructions because of their ability to redraw the boundaries of target populations (e.g.

parameters deciding who is deserving and who is not) (Ingram and Schneider 2015).

Affecting these boundaries can occur through the formulation and implementation of

what Ingram and Schneider (1990) refer to as "smart statutes." Smart statutes are laws

formulated within the context of the environments where they will be implemented. This

study extends this context to include first-hand opinions and feedback from target

populations. Based on this study's findings, I propose four main policy

recommendations:

1. Include sexual orientation and gender identity questions on the Census: The

   Census does not currently inquire about sexual orientation or have a

   comprehensive gender identity measure. Including these aspects in the Census can

   have multiple benefits. First, it would increase our data on this marginalized

population and help us assess sizes of groups based on other intersecting facets of identity (e.g. race and ethnicity, income). Second, increasing knowledge of demographic characteristics by geographic context can aid localities and policymakers in formulating policies tailored to the specific needs of their constituents.

2. Queer-inclusive sexual education curriculums: Public sexual education in the United States is heavily based on notions of abstinence and framed through heterosexual, cisgendered understandings of sexuality and gender. Creating a curriculum inclusive of gender non-conforming and sexual minority needs can reduce the stigma towards non-heterosexuals and transgender identities. These curriculums can also affect youth empowerment. Access to information and education regarding sexuality and gender can help youth safely explore their own sexual and gender identities. Reduction in self-stigma and increase in self-esteem have been associated with decreased psychological distress and increase well-being among minority adults (Green and Britton 2013; Herek, Gilis, and Cogan 2009).

3. Immigration reform: Anti-immigrant political environments are found to influence outcomes for the broader Latinx public. Legalization programs without bans on services can provide immigrants protections from workplace harassment, aid in reporting of violence or crimes suffered, and access to government educational and workforce training programs.

4. Anti-LGBTQ+ and gender identity discrimination protections: Currently, the federal government does not include sexual or gender minority statuses as

protected aspects of identity. Explicit inclusion of these two facets of identity can help reduce discrimination across policy areas, especially housing.

These recommendations are based on the issues identified by LGBTQ+ Latinxs as important policy needs. These policies are aimed at changing institutional forms of oppression towards these marginalized communities. They simultaneously tackle social processes that perpetuate stigma and systemic and inter-personal discrimination against sexual and gender minorities.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

"RECONCEPTUALIZING LATINIDAD"

Beltran (2010) concludes that Latino identity must be reconceived "as a site of permanent political contest. Rather than striving to uncover the unitary core that binds Latinos, scholars and advocates should embrace, rather than resist or deny, the instability and incompleteness of the category 'Latino'," (p. 161). This dissertation focuses on contesting the rigid parameters imposed on Latinidad by centralizing gender and sexuality as key components of being. Until now, Latino Politics research was systematically reinforcing heteropatriarchal notions of a gender binary, but also erased sexuality as an important factor in political analyses. The goal of this dissertation is not to cast a negative light on the discipline, but rather to open discussions about how we can better conceptualize Latinidad in a manner that highlights the rich diversity composing it, that is not hegemonic, and that acknowledges the role of oppression in its creation.

Academia is an institutional actor engaging in the processes of identity formation, including that of Latinidad – a homogenizing agent. Social scientists can play an important role in increasing the visibility of marginalized groups through our methodologies. For example, by including a sexual orientation question and a more comprehensive gender identity question on demographic batteries, researchers can help increase data on gender and sexual minorities. Through this, we can further explore the incompleteness and instability that Beltran (2010) says defines the Latinx identity.

This dissertation presents groundbreaking empirical analyses of 'Latinx' as the first national political study of LGBTQ+ Latinxs. It is also among the few mixed-methods and community engaged research projects in American Politics. The QLP and 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey (CMPS 3) complemented each other's findings and helped highlight some important sociopolitical characteristics of this severely understudied population in political science.

Politics

Politics and policy opinions were central themes for analyses in this study. Findings on political behavior add to our understanding of Latinx political engagement. Political behavior literature has traditionally focused on electoral and civic engagement as categories of political participation. The CMPS 3 allowed us to explore differences in participation among these traditional categories based on gender and sexuality status. As Chapter 3 reports, LGBTQ+ Latinxs are more likely to: participate in more than 1 civic organization, work for a campaign, donate money to a campaign, contact elected officials, sign a petition, and boycott products or companies, holding all else constant. However, they are less likely to discuss politics with friends and family compared to heterosexual Latinxs. This mirrors findings from other studies that find high levels of family violence and rejection because of sexual or gender identity among Latinx communities.

LGBTQ+ Latinxs tend to participate in activities that are less public (e.g. signing a petition, boycotting a product), although they are also more likely to be part of more than one organization and work for a campaign. The QLP found that LGBTQ+ Latinxs

also commonly use their jobs as mechanisms for political participation. This finding could point to the need for including such an option in public opinion surveys. This also poses the question of whether LGBTQ+ Latinxs are self-selecting into occupations that aim to serve marginalized communities or if systemic forces of discrimination are funneling LGBTQ+ Latinxs into these sectors.

Policy

When it came to policy opinions, this dissertation also found that gender and sexuality affected issue salience. LGBTQ+ Latinxs were over 80 percentage points more likely than heterosexual Latinxs to say that racism and race relations are important for policymakers to address. QLP analyses revealed that discrimination was a prominent theme across multiple domains. Participants not only experienced discrimination based on their gender and sexual identities, but also experienced it based on race, language abilities, and generational status.

Race and ethnicity seem to be important dimensions that shape discrimination experiences and their outcomes. For example, despite experiencing discrimination because of gender and sexual identity or because of lack of Spanish language skills from other Latinxs, LGBTQ+ Latinxs still expressed high levels of linked fate with Latinxs. However, experiences of discrimination from white LGBTQ+ individuals and perceptions of white hegemony over the gay rights movements, do affect LGBTQ+ Latinxs' sense of belonging to those movements.

Identity

Because Latino Politics and American Politics more broadly, do not consider non-binary gender and sexual orientation as inherent characteristics, our knowledge of queer identities in political science is limited. This dissertation increases our knowledge of how LGBTQ+ Latinxs are constructing their identities and what this means for political behavior and public policy.

As this dissertation has shown, gender and sexuality play a key role in influencing political behavior and public opinion of Latinxs. The Queering Latinidad Project (QLP) further investigated contemporary epistemological discussions surrounding the gendered, exclusive terminology of Latinidad and LGBTQ+ identities. The QLP finds an overwhelming support for the usage of the term "Latinx." And the ideas around the usage of the 'x' traveled to Chicanidad as well with participants identifying as "Chicanx."

Queer identity had mixed opinions. While some participants identified as queer because of its fluidity and broadness, others were weary of the term due to its perceived trendiness. Some participants viewed queer as being commodified and consumerist. The acronym 'LGBTQI' also had mixed reactions. Some participants did not read much more into the acronym than the identities found within the umbrella. However, there were those that perceived it as a symbol of the racialized gay rights movement or communities. LGBTQ+ movements were often perceived as being mainly led by gay white men and exclusive to middle to upper class participants.

Policy Recommendations

This project sought to understand how the subversion of gender and sexuality affected policymaking towards Latinx communities. Data reveals that while LGBTQ+ Latinxs display similar needs to overall Latinx communities, they do have specific policy needs. Based on findings from the QLP and CMPS 3, I have developed four policy recommendations:

5. <u>Include sexual orientation and gender identity questions on the Census</u>: The Census does not currently inquire about sexual orientation or have a comprehensive gender identity measure. Including these aspects in the Census can have multiple benefits. First, it would increase our data on this marginalized population and help us assess sizes of groups based on other intersecting facets of identity (e.g. race and ethnicity, income). Second, increasing knowledge of demographic characteristics by geographic context can aid localities and policymakers in formulating policies tailored to the specific needs of their constituents.

6. <u>Queer-inclusive sexual education curriculums</u>: Public sexual education in the United States is heavily based on notions of abstinence and framed through heterosexual, cisgendered understandings of sexuality and gender. Creating a curriculum inclusive of gender non-conforming and sexual minority needs can reduce the stigma towards non-heterosexuals and transgender identities. These curriculums can also affect youth empowerment. Access to information and education regarding sexuality and gender can help youth safely explore their own sexual and gender identities. Reduction in self-stigma and increase in self-esteem

have been associated with decreased psychological distress and increase well-being among minority adults (Green and Britton, 2013; Herek, Gilis, and Cogan, 2009).

7. <u>Immigration reform</u>: Anti-immigrant political environments are found to influence outcomes for the broader Latinx public. Legalization programs without bans on services can provide immigrants protections from workplace harassment, aid in reporting of violence or crimes suffered, and access to government educational and workforce training programs.

8. <u>Anti-LGBTQ+ and gender identity discrimination protections</u>: Currently, the federal government does not include sexual or gender minority statuses as protected aspects of identity. Explicit inclusion of these two facets of identity can help reduce discrimination across policy areas, especially housing.

These recommendations are based on the issues identified by LGBTQ+ Latinxs as important policy needs. These policies are aimed at changing institutional forms of oppression towards these marginalized communities. They simultaneously tackle social processes that perpetuate stigma and systemic and inter-personal discrimination against sexual and gender minorities.

Moving Forward

LGBTQ+ Latinxs find themselves at the intersections of multiple systems of oppression. Living as targets of multiple punitive policy schemes while simultaneously navigating hostile social environments places LGBTQ+ Latinxs in situations of hyper-marginalization. By consciously perpetuating a rigid conceptualization of Latinidad,

which subverts the fluidity and complexity of gender and sexuality, social scientists become complicit in these oppressive processes. Moreover, as Beltran (2010) notes, Latino Politics research on Latinxs centers around electoral politics and behaviors. This is due to Latinidad's origin as a political project grounded in Latinos' potential power as an emerging electorate. Political elites have found that the creation of a homogenous identity can be politically beneficial.

However, the homogenization processes have contributed to this hyper marginalization. This dissertation sought to answer whether our perpetuation of these prescriptions has affected the way we study Latino Politics. By failing to include sexual orientation as a necessary demographic characteristic, social scientists have missed the opportunity to observe internal dynamics shaping Latinidad across time.

For example, LGBTQ+ Latinxs were at the forefront of the gay liberation movement. Stryker (2008) chronicles transgender history in the United States noting that social upheavals due to suppression of gender and sexual minorities were sporadic throughout the first half of the 20th century. It was not until the 1966 Compton Cafeteria riot in San Francisco that the gay liberation movement was declared. The riot resulted from pressures caused by the extreme criminalization and violence towards the queer and transgender Tenderloin residents in San Francisco. The queer community was racially and ethnically diverse, queens in the riot included Asian Americans, Latinxs, and poor whites who migrated from rural areas.

Stryker (2008) also identifies urban renewal and development as fueling this criminalization and violence. Post-World War II housing pressures from returning soldiers drove governments to engage in massive urban housing projects. Similar to

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gentrification pressures today, urban development during this post-war era led to displacement of poor and people of color and the creation of concentrated poverty in the Tenderloin neighborhood, the historical home for illicit activity in San Francisco. Interestingly, QLP participants signaled housing pressures in San Francisco today as responsible for LGBTQ+ Latinxs self-censoring their identities. Participants noted the inability to afford rising rents in San Francisco as a reason to not come out to their families for fear of becoming homeless.

Additionally, figures such as Sylvia Rivera challenged the gay rights movement for their racism and whitewashing of the queer struggle. Sylvia Rivera, half Venezuelan half Puerto Rican, was born in the Bronx in 1951. She would become a leader of queer people of color during the late 1960's. Rivera along with Marsha P. Johnson, a Black queen, were among the first to throw bricks during the 1969 Stonewall Inn riot.

One of the longest running radical queer organizations, Southerners on New Ground (SONG), is explicitly anti-oppression and intersectional with the inclusion of rurality as a factor shaping identity. SONG formed in 1993 and has since created strong ties with LGBTQ+ Latinx organizations, specifically with Familia: Trans Queer Liberation Movement (Familia:TQLM). As described in Chapter 3, Familia:TQLM has been at the forefront of the immigrant rights movement through their direct action work challenging detention and deportation policies.

Thus, LGBTQ+ Latinxs have historically engaged in intersectional radical struggles that fall outside of mainstream electoral politics. Yet, because of the predominant focus on electoral politics, Latino Politics research has limited analyses of

the dynamics surrounding LGBTQ+ political movements due to the dismissal of the importance of gender and sexuality as important contributors to political life.

The case of 'Latinx' poses a prime challenge to academia's ability to challenge normalized structural and social violence. A highly oppressed minority population has struggled for recognition within their communities and created a space of liberation through their language. Despite grassroots advocacy for the term, mainstream Latino Politics and social commentators reject it. This study presents both quantitative and qualitative scientific analyses that provide support for the saliency of non-heterosexual non-binary identities in shaping the sociopolitical lives of Latinxs.

Expanding our study of Latino Politics to include non-electoral politics can help us develop a conceptualization of Latinidad that emphasizes formerly erased identities as sources of resiliency. Moreover, non-electoral political movements help to challenge the social dimensions of structural oppression. For example, the community building inherent in the radical queer Latinx movements mentioned help to create an environment of learning and challenging of internalized gender and sexual norms among Latinx communities. Increasing the visibility of LGBTQ+ Latinx leaderships helps to break through sexual prejudice.

Further investigations could dig deeper into the various subverted facets of Latinidad discussed in this dissertation. For example, more work is needed to document and explore the Afro-Latinx experience. The political processes and mechanisms involved in the creation of Latinidad can also be further explored as we incorporate the histories of LGBTQ+ Latinxs into the fold.

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In addition to exploring differences in outcomes based on gender and sexual identity, there is a need to investigate variation in multiple dimensions among the various groups within the LGBTQ+ umbrella. For example, are certain gender and sexual minorities more prone to participate in certain political activities as opposed to others? And does issue salience vary by gender and sexual minority identity? Subverting or erasing identities and centralizing focus on electoral politics will only lead to misinterpretations of social and political phenomenon. It behooves social scientists to question and reassess their methodologies and understandings of marginalized communities to counter the growth of punitive and restrictive policies towards Latinx and other communities of color.

APPENDICES

Semi-Structured Focus Groups

Interviewer will start by asking each participant to state their pseudonym, how they identify in terms of gender and sexuality, and any other identity markers they feel is important to share to understand their positionality.

You don't have to answer all the questions. If any question makes you feel uncomfortable, you don't have to answer it and you can end your participation at any time. Your answers will be removed from the transcript.

Core Questions

1. **Why do LGBTQI Latinxs feel uncomfortable around other Latinxs?**
2. **Are there differences in public opinion, political behavior, and labor force participation among Latinxs based on sexual orientation?**
3. **Has subverting sexuality as a key facet of Latinidad affected public policymaking for this population?**

Part 1 Definition and Terms

1. What does the acronym "LGBTQI" mean to you?
2. Have you heard about the term "Latinx"?
3. If so, do you agree with it and/or identify with it?
4. If not, why?
5. What about the term "Queer"? Some people use it as an umbrella term that captures everyone under the LGBTQ+ label, others see it as a more radical stance where being queer is challenging or rejecting these imposed gender and sexual orientation labels. How do you feel about it? Do you identify with it?

Part 2 Intergroup Discrimination

1. Do you ever feel uncomfortable around other Latinxs because of your gender and/or sexuality?
2. What makes you uncomfortable about those interactions?
3. Many LGBTQI individuals report high levels of discrimination for various facets of their identity, have you ever experienced discrimination?
4. When was the last incident and who was the perpetrator, were they related to you?

Part 3 Politics

1. What are your thoughts on the overall social and political climate towards LGBTQI+ people?
2. Have you ever participated in any type of political activities? Were these specifically related to LGBTQI issues or different?
3. Are you a member of any type of organization or party that engages in political action?

Part 4 Labor Force

1. Are you employed? If so, what is your occupation?
2. Was the process of gaining employment difficult? If so, how/why?
3. If not employed, what are your sources of income?
4. Who do you rely on for economic support? What type of relationship do you have with that person or institution?

Part 5 Policy

1. Is there one issue that you feel is the most important for the LGBTQI community?
2. When you hear on the news or media about Latinx issues, do you feel like they are also talking about your problems too?
3. What about when you hear about LGBTQI issues?

SPANISH FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

Grupos de Enfoque Semi-Estructurados

La investigadora empezara por preguntar a lxs participantes su sobre nombre, como se identifican en términos de género y sexualidad, y cualquier otra fase de identidad que pienses que es importante de compartir.

No tienes que contestar todas las preguntas. Si alguna te hace sentir incomodx, no la tienes que responder y puedes terminar tu participación cuando tú quieras. Tus respuestas serán removidas de la transcripción.

 Preguntas Centrales

1. **¿Porque los Latinxs que se identifican como LGBTQI se sienten incomodos con otros Latinxs?**
2. **¿Hay diferencias en opinión pública, comportamiento político, y participación laboral entre los Latinxs LGBTQI y Latinxs heterosexuales?**
3. **¿La subversión de la sexualidad como identidad central de Latinidad, ha afectado las políticas públicas para esta población?**

Parte 1 Definiciones y Términos

1. ¿Que significa el acrónimo "LGBTQ" para ti?
2. ¿Has escuchado sobre el termino "Latinx"?
3. Si lo has escuchado, ¿estás de acuerdo con el o te identificas con el?
4. Si no, ¿por qué?

For Spanish-speakers only:

5. En Ingles tenemos el termino "Queer" que tiene dos significados principales. El primero es que funciona como una sombrilla que captura a las personas que se identifican como LGBT+. El otro significado es que las personas que se identifican como Queer son aquellas que quieren tomar una posición más radical donde ser Queer va en contra de las normas de género y sexualidad que nos han impuesto. Pero esta palabra "Queer" surgió en Ingles, lo que les quiero preguntar es: ¿hay alguna palabra en español que tenga el mismo significado que "queer"?

Parte 2 Discriminación Entre Grupo

1. ¿Alguna vez te has sentido incomodx con otros Latinxs por tu genero y/o sexualidad?
2. ¿Que es lo que te hace incomodx en esas situaciones?
3. Muchas personas LGBTQI+ reportan niveles altos de discriminación por diferentes aspectos de su identidad, ¿has tenido alguna experiencia con discriminación?
4. ¿Cuándo fue el último instante y quien fue el perpetrador, fue un familiar o amigx?

Parte 3 Políticas

1. ¿Que piensas sobre el clima social y político hacia las personas LGBTQI+?
2. ¿Has participado en algún evento político? ¿Eran eventos específicamente sobre temas relacionados a problemas LGBTQI o algo diferente?
3. ¿Eres parte de alguna organización o partido que toma parte en acciones políticas?

Parte 4 Fuerza Laboral

1. Tienes empleo? Si lo tienes, ¿que tipo de trabajo es?
2. ¿Fue difícil el proceso de obtener empleo? Si fue difícil, ¿por qué?
3. ¿Si no tienes empleo, cual es tu fuente de ingresos?
4. ¿Con quien confías para apoyo económico? ¿Qué tipo de relación tienes con esa persona o institución?

1. ¿Hay algún problema que crees que es el más importante para la comunidad LGBTQI+?
2. ¿Cuándo escuchas en las noticias o medios sociales sobre problemas relacionados con los Latinxs, sientes como que también están hablando de tus problemas?
3. ¿Que tal cuando escuchas sobre temas LGBTQI+?

ENGLISH DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Queering Latinidad Demographic Survey- San Francisco

1. What is your current gender identity? (check all that apply)

    a. Transgender (Male to Female)
    b. Transgender (Female to Male)

    c. Female
    d. Male
    e. Other: _____ _____

2. What was the sex on your original birth certificate?

    a. Male
    b. Female

    c. Intersex
    d. I don't know

3. Which label comes closest to how you would describe your sexual identity?

    a. Gay
    b. Lesbian
    c. Bisexual

    d. Straight/Heterosexual
    e. Other: _____ _____

4. What is your current relationship status?

    a. Single
    b. Married/Civil Union/Domestic Partnership

    c. Divorced
    d. Widowed
    e. Other: _____ _____

5. Do you have any children?

    a. Yes # of children_____
    b. No

6. Which of the following racial groups comes closest to identifying you? (can choose more than one)

    a. Black/African-American
    b. Hispanic or Latina/o/x
    c. Chicana/o/x
    d. Asian or Pacific Islander
    e. Native American/Indigenous (North America)

    f. Native American/Indigenous (Central/South America including Mexico & US/Mexico border region)
    g. White

h. Other: _____

   _____

7. What is the highest level of schooling you have completed?

a. Less than High School
b. High School diploma or GED
c. Associate's or some college
d. Bachelor's degree
e. Some Graduate/Professional school (no degree)
f. Graduate/Professional degree
g. Technical or trade training/certificate

8. Do you have health insurance?
a. No
b. Yes

9. In general, would you say that your mental and emotional health is:

a. Very Poor
b. Poor
c. Fair
d. Good
e. Very Good
f. Excellent

10. Thinking about politics, which of the following best describes your political views:

a. Very Liberal
b. Liberal
c. Slightly Liberal
d. Slightly Conservative
e. Conservative
f. Very conservative
g. Other: _____

   _____

11. Where were you born?

a. United States
b. Other country: _____

12. If born outside the U.S., do you have documentation to legally work in the United States?

a. Yes, but only temporarily (DACA, visa, etc.)
b. Yes, permanently (Legal Permanent Resident, naturalized citizen)
c. No

13. Where were your parents born? (leave blank if you don't know)

a. Mother: _____

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b. Father: _____

14. What is your age? _____

15. Including _all_ income sources, what do you estimate was your total household income in 2017?

a. Under $8,500
b. $8,500 - $10,999
c. $11,000 - $13,499
d. $13,500 - $14,999
e. $15,000 - $17,499
f. $17,500 - $19,999
g. $20,000 - $29,999
h. $30,000 - $39,999
i. $40,000 - $49,999
j. $50,000 - $74,999
k. $75,000 - $99,999
l. $100,000 and over

16. Are you now (circle all that apply):

a. A student
b. Employed full time, job: _____

c. Employed part time, job: _____

d. In the military
e. Retired
f. Unemployed
g. On public assistance (for example disability, SSI, welfare, etc.)
h. Self-Employed, job: _____

SPANISH DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Queering Latinidad Encuesta Demografica- San Francisco

1. **¿Cual es tu identidad de genero es este momento? (Circula todos los que apliquen)**

   a. Transgenero (Hombre a Mujer)
   b. Transgenero (Mujer a Hombre)
   c. Mujer
   d. Hombre
   e. Otro: _____ _____

2. **¿Cual fue el sexo marcado en tu certificado de nacimiento original?**

   a. Hombre
   b. Mujer
   c. Intersexo
   d. No se

3. **¿Cual etiqueta describe mejor tu identidad sexual?**

   a. Gay
   b. Lesbiana
   c. Bisexual
   d. Heterosexual
   e. Otro: _____ _____

4. **Cual se acerca más a tu situación civil:**

   a. No tengo pareja
   b. Casado/a/x, Unión Civil, of Pareja Domestica
   c. Divorciada/o/x
   d. Viuda/o/x
   e. Otro: _____ _____

5. **¿Tienes hijo/a/xs?**

   a. Si, cuantos: _____
   b. No

6. **¿Con cuál de estos grupos raciales te identificas más?**

   a. Negra/o/x o Afro-Americana/o/x
   b. Hispana/o/x o Latina/o/x
   c. Chicana/o/x
   d. Asiática/o/x o Islas Pacificas
   e. Indígena (América del Norte)
   f. Indígena (América Central/Sur incluyendo Mexico y la frontera Mexico/USA)
   g. Blanca/o/x
   h. Otro: _____ _____

7. **¿Cuál es el nivel de estudio más alto que has cumplido?**

    a. Menos que la preparatoria
    b. Diploma de preparatoria o GED
    c. Título de asociado o algo de colegio
    d. Licenciatura con diploma
    e. Algo de posgrado o escuela profesional (sin diploma)
    f. Diploma de posgrado
    g. Entrenamiento o certificado técnico

8. **¿Tienes seguranza medica?**
    a. No
    b. Si

9. **En general, dirías que tu salud mental y emocional esta:**

    a. Muy mal
    b. Mal
    c. Más o menos
    d. Buena
    e. Muy buena
    f. Excelente

10. **Pensando sobre la política, cuál de estas categorías se acerca más a tus opiniones políticas:**

    a. Muy liberal
    b. Liberal
    c. Un poco liberal
    d. Un poco conservador
    e. Conservador
    f. Muy conservador
    g. Otro: _____
    _____

11. **¿Dónde naciste?**

    a. Estados Unidos
    b. Otro país: _____

12. **Si naciste en otro país, ¿tienes documentos para trabajar legalmente en los Estados Unidos?**

    a. Si, pero temporal (DACA, visa, etc.)
    b. Si, permiso permanente (Residente permanente, ciudadano naturalizado, etc.)
    c. No

13. **¿Donde nacieron tus padres?**

    a. Madre: _____
    b. Padre: _____

14. ¿Cuántos años tienes? _____

15. Incluyendo _todas_ tus fuentes de ingresos, ¿como cuanto dirías que fueron tus ingresos para el año 2016?

a.	Under $8,500	g.	$20,000 - $29,999
b.	$8,500 - $10,999	h.	$30,000 - $39,999
c.	$11,000 - $13,499	i.	$40,000 - $49,999
d.	$13,500 - $14,999	j.	$50,000 - $74,999
e.	$15,000 - $17,499	k.	$75,000 - $99,999
f.	$17,500 - $19,999	l.	$100,000 and over

16. En estos momentos eres/tienes: (circula todos los que apliquen)

a. Estudiante
b. Trabajo tiempo completo, tipo:

_____

c. Trabajo medio tiempo, tipo:

_____

d. Militar
e. Jubilada/o/x
f. Sin empleo

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