
Gender and Sexuality in Latina/o Miami: Documenting Latina Transsexual Activists

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Transgender studies is emerging as a distinct field of study that, according to Susan Stryker, 'claims as its purview transsexuality and cross-dressing, some aspects of intersexuality and homosexuality, cross-cultural and historical investigations of human gender diversity, myriad specific subcultural expressions of "gender atypicality", theories of sexed embodiment and subjective gender identity development, law and public policy related to the regulation of gender expression and many similar issues'.¹ In the 1990s, the term 'transgender' gained more widespread usage, and Stryker remarks upon the 'startling rapidity with which the term itself took root'.² Since then, transgender has been used to refer to numerous practices, identities and political agendas in a range of geographical settings and historical periods. Although Stryker presents a widely inclusive definition of transgender studies as a field of study, David Valentine argues that as a '*collective* category of identity . . . transgender identification is understood . . . to be explicitly and fundamentally different in origin and being from homosexual identification'.³ It is precisely this border between homosexual and transgender identity that this article seeks to explore.

My interest in transgender issues emerges out of my previous research on Cuban American gay male cultures in Miami, Florida. In this research, I argue that male homosexuality in Cuba was historically associated with 'gender transgressions'.⁴ This association between gender expression, sexual practice and identity was, of course, not distinct to Cuba. In his summary of the extensive literature on male homosexuality in Latin America, Tomás Almaguer argues that whereas sexual object choice is the primary determinant of one's sexual identity in the United States (a man who chooses to have sex with another man is 'gay' or homosexual while a man who desires to have sex with a woman is 'straight'), in Latin America sexual aim (the desire to penetrate or be penetrated) forms the primary determinant of identity. According to this system, the penetrated partner – referred to by terms such as *pasivo*, *maricón*, *mariposa*, or *loca* – is much more stigmatised than the active/penetrating man.⁵

The point I highlight in my work is that these sexual roles (active/passive) are assumed to correspond to outward gendered manifestations that are socially visible. The revolutionary Cuban state in the 1960s and 1970s specifically targeted visible male homosexuality, a construct whose 'characteristics' included a wide range of gender transgressive practices, including, but not limited to, long hair, tight pants, colourful

shirts, 'effeminate' mannerisms, 'inappropriate clothing' and 'extravagant hairstyles'.⁶ Therefore, although the system Almaguer describes highlights sexual role, it is gender identity that most often speaks to that sexual role and its corresponding sexual identity. In other words, in most Latin American social contexts, men exhibiting characteristics socially associated with women or socially defined as 'effeminate' are assumed to be members of socially marked category of *maricones* and assumed to be passive. On the other hand, men who appear masculine are less likely to be accused of being a *maricón*, more often assumed to be an *activo*, and less likely to be stigmatised as a homosexual – even if they have sex with men. The importance of gender appearance lies not so much in its correspondence with sexual role. Rather, gender markers become significant insofar as how they mark or mask sexual difference to others.

These visible markers were not just a way of facilitating enforcement of homosexual repression. Rather, visibility and gender transgressions themselves formed a central part of the problem identified by the revolution. Even in the severest period of enforcement, Marvin Leiner reminds us, private homosexual expression was never the main target. Rather, 'during this period of the camps and public arrests, the major concern, as it had always been, was with the public display of homosexuality'.⁷ The gravest crime was not same-sex sexual acts *per se* but rather transgressing gender norms in ways associated with male homosexuality, or in other words, being visibly or 'obviously' gay. It should therefore not be surprising that after the severest period of Cuban persecution, a concentration of gender transgressive homosexual men left Cuba in the 1980 Mariel Boatlift.⁸

As I put this research on Cuban American gay male culture in dialogue with the field of transgender studies, a troubling question emerges with respect to the interplay of what is categorised as gay male/homosexual expression as opposed to transgender expression. Many of the signs that marked a man as homosexual within a Cuban and Cuban American social context – wearing women's attire, having long hair and walking with a stride deemed effeminate, for example – are characteristics that might be associated with transgender communities today. Put another way, these characteristics may be seen as signs of non-normative gender identity unrelated to sexual orientation. As I think of the case of Cuban American gay male culture in relationship with transgender studies, I am intrigued by a set of questions: if outward manifestations that we would now call 'transgender' were understood in other historical and cultural contexts as 'homosexual', how do we label such manifestations today? By labelling them as homosexual, are we simply reinscribing the marginalisation of transgender individuals? On the other hand, by labelling them as transgender, are we anachronistically imposing a contemporary category and thereby performing another kind of intellectual violence?

In a survey article on Latino/a transpopulations, Marcia Ochoa directly critiques my work for misusing the term gay men to refer to gender transgressive populations:

[Peña] collapses transgender (MTF) Marielitas [Cuban Americans who arrived on the Mariel Boatlift] into the category of 'gay men' . . . preferring to focus on performativity and public visibility rather than on transgender experience . . . [Peña] includes mentions of 'drag queens' and *locas* but although transgender Marielitas have been documented elsewhere, Peña's analytic lens, like those of many researchers, keeps MTF Marielitas within the category 'gay'. I argue this practice makes trans experience invisible.⁹

Although I do not want to make trans experience invisible, Ochoa is right to note my hesitation in calling gender transgressive Marielitas transgender or *transgénero* because I find no evidence that ‘transgender’ as an identity category or community group had any relevance to Cubans and Cuban Americans in Miami in 1980. Rather, my research indicates that gender expressions we identify today as transgender played a central role in structuring homosexual/queer self-identifications. In other words, many homosexual men understood gender transgression as a socially recognisable way to mark himself or herself as homosexual. While it is clear that some gender transgressive Marielitas now define themselves as transgender and/or transsexual – best known is probably the case of Adela Vasquez documented in the graphic novel *Sexile* – many others continue to understand their gender expression as specifically related to male homosexuality.¹⁰ If we say, using contemporary categories, that the gender transgressive practices of Cuban immigrants in 1980 are transgender, does it follow that the individuals exhibiting them were or are not homosexual men?¹¹ I do not mean to suggest that there were not Cubans who understood their gender nonconformity as unrelated to sexual desire and orientation. However, I am suggesting that one would not be able to distinguish these individuals from those who understood themselves as part of a homosexual culture simply based on their outward gender manifestations.

Today, transgender seems increasingly relevant to Latina/o communities, and scholars and activists are increasingly using the terms ‘trans’ and ‘transgender’ to discuss Latin American and US Latino/a communities.¹² It is important to note that the terms trans, trans-, transgender and/or *transgénero* are used slightly differently in these texts. For example, Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes defines *transloca* performers as those who explore ‘homosexuality, transvestism, and spatial displacement’ even as he acknowledges the slang definition of *loca* as an ‘effeminate homosexual’.¹³ This usage resonates with my discussion of contemporary Cuban American gay male practices in that it examines gender transgression as a cultural element of expression among some male homosexual Latinos and/or Latin Americans. Therefore even though ‘trans-’ is increasingly relevant to Latino/a and Latin American populations, I believe we should be cautious about what precisely such usage implies about the relationship among transgender, homosexual and/or queer. In his ethnographic exploration of the category of transgender, for example, Valentine juxtaposes the meanings of transgender among primarily white activists (who see gender identity as distinct from homosexuality) and primarily poor and working-class people of colour (whose identifications suggest that they understand gender expression as related to sexual identity). To some of the activists, these working-class people of colour are ‘laboring under “false consciousness” because they are unable to distinguish their “gendered” and “sexual” identities’.¹⁴ Valentine begins *Imagining Transgender* with a quote from Fiona, an African American male-bodied person who identifies as a woman and as gay (‘indexing her attraction to other male-bodied people’). According to Valentine, transgender social service providers and activists he worked with believed:

Fiona’s view of gendered and sexual identity was not merely an alternative categorisation but a false one. In their view, Fiona was using an outmoded view of gendered and sexual identity that conflates or confuses her transgender identity with homosexual desire. This is a result, they argue, of class, racial, or cultural inequalities which have left Fiona and her peers outside the conversations and historical developments which make this distinction possible.¹⁵

This assertion involves a:

modernist telos wherein the recognition of gendered and sexual identification as separate . . . is more accurate, more true, more valid. Thus, the Meat Market fem queens like Rita become almost figures of premodernity, people who have not been 'educated', who adhere to the 'mistaken' belief that homosexual identification involves cross-gender identification.¹⁶

Valentine found that among working-class people of colour, it was quite common to understand gender and sexual identity to be related to one another, and that although they were hailed under the umbrella term 'transgender', they rarely used the term to define themselves.

This article explores the borderlands between the concept of 'homosexual' and 'transgender' with a particular focus on Latina/o communities in Miami, Florida. My previous work on Cuban Americans lead me to identify Miami, the US city with the largest concentration of Cuban Americans, as a research site. Latina/o Miami, is not, however, all Cuban. Therefore, this project expands on my previous questions and engages with the complexities of a multi-ethnic Latina/o urban setting, where different national origin groups coexist. I have searched for Miami Latina political groups, organisations and representations explicitly labelled as 'transgender' or 'transsexual' by participants. I focus on the earliest case I have found, namely the activism of transsexual Latinas in early 1970s Miami, for transsexual activism is one important antecedent to contemporary transgender activism. Specifically, I analyse the rarely discussed Latina activists who participated in the Transsexual Action Organisation (TAO) – an early transsexual rights organisation. I am particularly interested in the complicated and contradictory identity practices of Latina TAO members, the ways they discussed the connections and distinctions between transsexual communities and other groups categorised by gender and sexuality such as feminists and gay male communities and the ways TAO invoked elements of Cuban culture (such as Santería religious practices) to articulate a transsexual identity in Miami. In addition, I discuss TAO director Angela Douglas's conflicted relationship with Cuban Americans and other Latino/as in Miami.

Borderlands between transgender and gay

According to Stryker, the current definition of transgender emerged in 1992 through Leslie Feinberg's *Transgender Liberation* and Sandy Stone's 'posttranssexual manifesto'. Feinberg called for a 'political alliance between all individuals who were marginalised or oppressed due to their difference from social norms of gendered embodiment and who should, therefore, band together in a struggle for social, political and economic justice'.¹⁷ An important antecedent to the Transgender Rights movement, transsexual and transvestite activists in the 1970s articulated a distinct agenda and actively distinguished themselves from gay/lesbian and women's political movements. For example, Stonewall veterans Sylvia Rivera and Marsha Johnson formed Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR) in 1970 after being marginalised by the gay political organisations.¹⁸

That same year, Angela Douglas founded the Transsexual Action Organisation (TAO) in Los Angeles.¹⁹ The organisation and its publications moved to Miami Beach, Florida in 1972. Joanne Meyerowitz describes TAO as one of only two transsexual

organisations in the 1970s with a national presence, and Stryker adds that TAO was 'the first truly international grassroots transgender community organisation, with a worldwide mailing list and loosely affiliated chapters in various cities'.²⁰ This article draws on the organisation's publications, *Moonshadow* and *Mirage Magazine* (1972–75) as well as Douglas's self-published autobiographical texts, *Triple Jeopardy: The Autobiography of Angela Lynn Douglas* (1983) and *Hollywood's Obsession* (1992).²¹ Latinas such as Colette Tisha Goudie, Tara Carn and Kimberly Elliot constituted an integral part of the public face of this pioneering transsexual organisation, often serving in leadership positions, appearing in pictorials in the organisation's publications and representing TAO in interviews with mainstream media outlets.

That transsexual Latinas were so prominent throughout this organisation and that documentation of their participation has survived is a great contribution to GLBT historical records that, by and large, tend to under-represent people of colour.²² This data set also poses serious limitations, the most challenging of which is the centrality of Angela Douglas's narratives and the absence of competing narratives. Douglas's accounts are highly eccentric, weaving together her sexual and gender journey with accounts of UFO sightings and the relationship between the struggles of transsexuals and extra-terrestrial beings. Her second autobiography is devoted to proving that representations of transsexuals in the media were mostly plagiarised variations of her story, hence the title, 'Hollywood's Obsession'. According to Stryker, Douglas 'suffered several psychotic breaks as a young adult' and was 'more of a gadfly and provocateur than a movement builder'.²³ Meyerowitz describes Douglas as a 'disruptive figure' with a 'disruptive personality' whose "'second wave" radicalism put off many transsexuals whose politics differed from hers . . . Douglas lambasted the people who disagreed with her and made increasingly strange accusations that put off virtually everyone else'.²⁴ I strive to highlight Douglas's work as a radical activist who was able to inject transsexual issues into local and national political debates, and I want to avoid reinforcing stereotypes of transsexuals (as crazy, unstable and dangerous) without omitting significant strands from her story.

The racial/ethnic perspective provided by Douglas's account is another limitation of the data. My analysis of TAO's publications (in which several transsexual Latinas were regular contributors) is substantially complemented by Douglas's autobiographies. I use the lengthier accounts by the Anglo leader of this group in order to access a more textured description of Latina transgender activists and the social context in which TAO existed. This choice is not troubling because Douglas is Anglo *per se*, but rather because she has a very complicated relationship with race/ethnicity and Cuban Americans in particular.

A few details from Angela Douglas's biography will flesh out this point. From her earliest recollections, Douglas presents herself as someone with liberal attitudes about race who challenged the racist conceptions of family members, and she certainly had connections with Latinas and Latinos throughout her life.²⁵ She also often interprets Latinos and blacks through a racist lens. When Douglas was fourteen, the Czinky family (Douglas's biological family) moved to the South Florida neighbourhood of Hialeah. In 2010, Hialeah, *la ciudad que progresa*, is over 90 per cent Hispanic. In the late 1950s, the neighbourhood's Hispanic population was much smaller but still significant. At Hialeah High School, Doug Czinky (Angela Douglas's name before transition) met his first love, Norma Arcadia Rodríguez, 'a Cuban-born beauty from

Puerto Padre'. The Rodríguezes – including father Goduel, mother Onelia and brother Jackson – became Douglas's 'surrogate family'.²⁶

The Czinky family opposed his marriage to a Cuban woman. As she narrates this story, Douglas reveals her evaluation of Cubans in general. She remembers responding that Rodríguez 'may be Cuban *but* has genius IQ'.²⁷ Therefore, in Douglas's own tale of anti-racism she actually confirms her racist assumption that an intelligent Cuban is an anomaly. Czinky's descriptions of Norma focus upon her sexuality, calling her a 'sex goddess' and a 'Cuban bombshell' and describing letters Norma wrote as 'torrid, sexy, hard-core, [she] would have made a fortune writing porno novels'.²⁸ Doug and Norma eventually married and had a rocky relationship that ended when Norma left him, pregnant with his child, to be with her lesbian lover, Joan Black. In Douglas's autobiographical texts, Norma is a recurrent theme.

The sexualised language used to describe Norma evidences one of the first revelations of the racialised way in which Douglas sees Cubans, Latinos and other racialised groups. Douglas underwent an extreme racist period during 1978–79 when she actively participated in US Nazi politics. During this period, Douglas's politics shifted to the far right and her racism was highly explicit and confrontational. She suggests that this activism might have been caused by mind control by her enemies. Rather than dwell on this period, I prefer to provide an example from outside the Nazi period of the discourse that characterises the majority of the autobiography. For instance, while critiquing the treatment of transsexuals in prison, Douglas makes the point that for transsexuals jail is much like the outside world because in jail, 'the most ignorant black, Latin, or anyone is still above us and can control our lives to a great extent, with the full weight of a sexist, callous Society and legal system on their side'.²⁹ In general, Douglas uses racist language freely when harassed and provoked by blacks and Latinos. Douglas seems to view Cubans and Latinas with both a desiring and despising gaze.

TAO and involvement of Latinas

Angela Douglas describes 1972 as the 'Year of the Transsexual in Miami Beach: hundreds were there, from all over the nation, and many Puerto Ricans and Cubans'. In the drag bars and discos in South Miami Beach, 'the cha-chas became as thick as tourists; the Latin transsexuals were referred to as "cha-chas"'.³⁰ It was in this Latina/o and transsexual environment that Douglas reformed TAO. Therefore, it is not surprising that Latinas were a core part of the TAO leadership. Three out of six of the women tapped to participate in TAO Miami were Latina.

I should clarify that I am identifying someone as Latina only if the text provides specific information indicating her ethnicity/nationality – not by surname alone.³¹ The use of Spanish surnames, an already imprecise way of identifying Latinos, becomes further complicated among transsexual individuals who usually adopt a new name during gender transitioning. This renaming and re-identifying sometimes also involves shifting or blurring racial/ethnic signifiers: most of the transsexual women I can unequivocally identify as Latina do not go by a Spanish surname. On the other hand, one woman I have not been able to identify in racial/ethnic terms, Barbara Rosello, does have a Spanish surname well known in South Florida and the Caribbean. It is important to note that phenotypical features related to race could set limits on the amount of ethnic blurring a transsexual woman could achieve. For example, a lighter-skinned

Latina who adapted an English surname could hope to be interpreted as Anglo/white. A darker-skinned Latina adopting the same name might be interpreted as African American, an arguably more stigmatised group in South Florida.

Below I provide biographical sketches of three of the original Latina members of TAO Miami: Colette Tisha Goudie, Tara Carn and Kimberly Elliot. I model my biographical sketches on the presentations self provided on the pages of TAO magazine. Since all of the women were TAO officers and some were editors and contributors to the publications, I hope that the sketches reveal some of the ways in which they preferred to present themselves or self-identify. Although some of the details presented in these stories might run contrary to contemporary transgender preferences for self-identification, I include them in order to indicate the sets of concerns and characteristics Latina transgendered women in the 1970s chose to highlight in one venue.

Colette Tisha Goudie

The most prominent of the transsexual Latinas, Colette Tisha Goudie was the third president of TAO. She took over after the brief tenure of Barbara Rosello, who resigned due to family pressures and nerves. Goudie also served as TAO's vice-president and defense director (1973). Goudie, who had been living as a woman since 1969, was one of the more popular models in the magazines and her pictures were featured on several covers and many pictorials. Douglas describes Goudie as a 'very feminine, beautiful transsexual from Miami' whom she met during the 1972 protests of the presidential national conventions in Miami Beach. In her first published statement as president, Goudie says she had been an active TAO member since 1973 and that she was 'elated to be the third president' of the organisation. As president, she pledged to:

call demonstrations whenever necessary to protest our oppression and I hope you will support them as much as possible. We will also make ourselves more available to the media to explain about transexualism and transexual liberation, as education for the public is most important. When I served as Defense Director for TAO we held several actions, all of them fairly effective, and in a way, educational as well. TAO needs more members and officers who want to do more than see their names in print or their faces on television screens . . . I will do all I can to build TAO and help achieve liberation for all transexuals, transvestites, whether they are rich or poor, white or black, Cuban, Puerto Rican or whatever.³²

In TAO publications, Goudie is not identified as Latina or Cuban American at first, but this aspect of her ethnic identity is eventually unveiled. The first time she appears in the magazines, Goudie is described as a twenty-six-year-old, pre-op transsexual 'student of the occult' who is 'originally from France'. In 1974, she is identified as having 'French Cuban extraction' and having 'lived in Florida for many years'.³³ In the February 1975 issue that featured her on the cover, Goudie reiterates that she was born in France but adds that she 'was raised in Cuba as my mother is Spanish and then in Miami'.³⁴ Goudie's mother's very Cuban nickname ('China') as well as her familiarity with Afro-Cuban religious practices suggests a strong Cuban American background. Although she describes studying the occult in general (including voodoo and satanism), she wrote about Afro-Cuban Santeria. *Moonshadow's* August 1975 issue featured Goudie on the cover and included an article on Chango-Santa Barbara, one of the 'transsexual and intersexual deities . . . found in Afro-Latin beliefs'. Written by Douglas and Goudie with help from someone identified only as 'Maria', the article

explains that Chango 'is viewed as a transvestite by some cults, legend saying he assumed feminine dress to escape his enemies and liked it so well he continued'. The Catholic saint with whom Chango was syncretised, Santa Barbara, was a king who 'assumed feminine disguise, continuing to live as a woman off and on during the rest of his life'. Santa Barbara/Chango is worshipped 'by many Latin Americans, particularly [by] Cubans'. The story discussed other Santeria deities including Yemaya that 'some say . . . is the protector of male and female homosexuals'.³⁵

After Douglas left Miami, she travelled throughout the country spending substantial amounts of time in California and Hawaii. Douglas's and Goudie's paths crossed repeatedly. Douglas admits she was 'madly in love with [Goudie although] she hardly returned the same amount of affection'.³⁶ In the early 1980s, Douglas says she visited Goudie in her home in South Miami. Douglas had dinner with Goudie and her mother, China, and describes them as 'aloof'.³⁷ Goudie had 'claimed' she had sex reassignment surgery, gone to college and visited Paris and Rome.³⁸ Douglas describes being suspicious of all these claims; subsequently, they had their final break-up around this time when Goudie announced that she was a born-again Christian, did not want to see Douglas anymore, planned to tape their calls and refused to return copies of the magazine. After this, Douglas reportedly went to the local police to complain that Goudie was taping her calls and to the FBI to report her suspicion that 'Tisha and her mother were Castro agents, which I concluded for a number of reasons'.³⁹

Tara Carn

According to Douglas, Goudie's arch-rival was Tara Carn, a Puerto Rican-born, New York-raised transsexual woman who was also one of the original members of TAO Miami. In her autobiography, Douglas describes 'Tara Lopez Carn' as 'a gorgeous, very wild blonde Puerto Rican'. As in other descriptions of Latinas (both transsexual and not), Douglas's language reeks of stereotypes of the hot, highly sexual and passionate Latin spitfire. Douglas tells us that Goudie and Carn were 'both very beautiful and wild and hated each other with a hot passion. Getting them to work together was nearly impossible'.⁴⁰

Carn describes Miami as boring at times but acknowledges that she always came back to the city. When asked to appear in her first pictorial in *Mirage*, Carn reports that her boyfriend was 'terrified' because he did not want anyone to know that his girlfriend was a transsexual, but she 'felt differently'. She is quoted as saying: 'I'm proud of what I am, and I want to help anyway I can'.⁴¹ Although above she refers to a boyfriend, she is also quoted as saying that she is a 'lesbian at heart' because she likes 'other transsexuals and girls'.⁴²

Douglas describes Carn as one of the most militant of TAO members. At the beginning of the organisation she was a pre-op transsexual who had lived several years as a woman and had 'little trouble being accepted as a woman, although some people can't accept the fact that she is a transsexual'. She was a popular target of Miami Beach police officers who followed her around and harassed her by telling the men she picked up that she was 'a fag in a dress'. Douglas states that they 'loved to embarrass Tara, who was extremely womanly'.⁴³ Carn developed an ingenious strategy to get back at the police:

To retaliate, the beautiful Tara sometimes went to a crowded beach, started dancing topless to music from a radio and after a crowd of applauding people surrounded her, would take off her bikini panties, display her male genitals and cause a near riot. Police would arrive and she'd shake her genitals at them, screaming 'you say I'm a man' . . . She was taken to jail, fined, and sometimes went back and repeated the performance.⁴⁴

Later in the 1970s, Carn underwent sex reassignment surgery. Both Douglas and Carn left Miami separately around 1976, and Douglas reports that she disbanded TAO at this time. Tara is only briefly mentioned again in Douglas's autobiography when their paths crossed in Hawaii. Douglas reports that Carn had gone to Honolulu based on her suggestion. When Douglas runs into Carn with Cynthia Platt (another former TAO member), she says they were 'dripping with expensive clothes and money' and 'were cold, unfriendly, and made it clear that they wanted nothing to do with me'. A few months after this encounter where Douglas felt snubbed, she read Carn had been arrested on a prostitution charge and escaped. 'I guess she is still running'.⁴⁵

Kimberly Elliot

Kimberly Barreiro (who changed her name to Kimberly Elliot when she married Steve Elliot) was also one of the original Miami TAO members.⁴⁶ Cuban-born Elliot served as TAO's Miami Beach director, a member of TAO's central committee and associate director of *Mirage*. Douglas described the young Elliot (only twenty-one in 1974) as 'tiny, bubbly'.⁴⁷

Elliot was one of the first in the group to undergo surgery, and Douglas said that she transitioned fully in less than a year.⁴⁸ In a 1974 pictorial, Elliot is quoted as saying she is 'elated with the results' of the surgery. 'I don't regret it all. But the pain was incredible. I don't know if I could go through it again'.⁴⁹ Elliot was found dead in 1980 at Miami Beach's Midtown Plaza due to a drug overdose Douglas saw as suspicious. She was buried in North Miami Beach, and Douglas reports that 'many old TAO people attended her funeral'.⁵⁰

Transsexual Latina

In addition to documenting the lives of individual Latina transsexual activists, I also want to explore the ways in which race and ethnicity emerged in TAO and its publications. An imagined Latina/o audience is signalled in a range of ways in the organisation's pages. Both *Moonshadow* and *Mirage* regularly included information about conditions faced by transsexuals in Latin America, and these reports occasionally came from TAO members who travelled to those countries.⁵¹ For example, Jennifer Raquel Otero, identified as the 'third place winner in the Miss Universe contest held in Caracas', reported that police harassment was 'intense' and 'hormone and silicone treatments are also illegal' in Venezuela.⁵² In addition, TAO publications included regular updates on prominent Latina transvestites Silvia Rivera and Holly Woodlawn, although their Latina descent is never mentioned.⁵³ TAO publications also include other culturally significant references, like the previously mentioned full-page discussion of Chango and Santeria.

Spanish language was used in a variety of ways in the publication – ranging from the use of short phrases to full stories being printed entirely in Spanish. One

issue of *Moonshadow* features a line drawing of a woman with flowing wavy hair wearing a fashionable leisure suit looking over her shoulder at a map of Florida's east coast. A cartoon bubble indicates that she is remarking '¿Qué pasa?' The familiar salutary address (similar to 'What's up?') is so widely familiar to English monolingual speakers that its inclusion, in and of itself, does not suggest a Spanish-speaking audience. However, the fact that the phrase is properly punctuated and accented (with an inverted question mark and an acute accent) suggests that a Spanish speaker edited the text, taking care to make the Spanish 'correct', possibly with bilingual readers in mind.⁵⁴

Another *Moonshadow* issue includes extensive use of the Spanish. The third page begins with the description of the magazine and TAO in Spanish – 'Moonshadow *es la publicación oficial de la Transexual Action Organization, un esfuerzo de liberación transexualista fundado por Angela K. Douglas*' – followed by the English language translation. Similarly, international news from Puerto Rico, Sweden and Canada was printed first in Spanish and followed by its English translation.⁵⁵ On the outside cover of another issue, only two words appear: the title, 'Moonshadow' and 'gratis' indicating in Spanish that the publication is free. Inside we find a picture of Goudie identified as 'TAO President' and information about TAO, magazine distribution and TAO membership in several languages with Spanish appearing first.⁵⁶

TAO publications also critiqued Latino homophobia and transphobia. These critiques can be interpreted several ways. On the one hand, they might speak particularly strongly to Latina/o readers who had themselves fallen victim to oppression from their compatriots, therefore drawing those readers in. Also, they acknowledge the cultural presence of Latinos as part of Miami's landscape. On the other hand, they can be understood to portray all Latino cultures in a derogatory way. These multiple effects are all demonstrated in one short piece, entitled 'Mariposa Mierda', that critiques a local Cuban American musical recording called 'Mariposa': 'Some Cuban morons have released a record called "Mariposa" (butterfly) which ridicules effeminate gays and TVs. Mariposa is an insult, like "maricón" or "pato", i.e., faggot or queer. It's a best-seller in Miami'. The critique of Cuban homophobia quickly devolves into an anti-Cuban 'go-back-where-they-came-from' diatribe that resonates with much of Douglas's autobiography: 'Too bad they can't go back to Cuba, where they won't find many mariposas; we'll be glad to steal a boat for them. By the way, didn't they come to find liberty and justice? Apparently they don't know what it is'. The short piece ends somewhat incongruously with a shout out to the Santería deities: 'Viva Inle and Yemaya'.⁵⁷ This particular article seems addressed to someone unfamiliar with Cuban cultural references from someone who is familiar with them – therefore the need to explain a term like *mariposa* – a term that would be widely familiar to Cubans and other Spanish speakers in Miami. It also demonstrates knowledge about Cuban American culture and even ends with using Cuban cultural references to Santería to critique Cuban homophobia. On the other hand, the centre of the argument involves sending ignorant Cubans 'back where they belong'.

Although many Latinas were TAO members and/or magazine contributors, it is unclear how much editorial control they exercised. Given that Douglas's lengthy autobiography is not countered by any similar type of document from Goudie, Carn or other TAO Latinas, it is difficult to answer this question. Clearly, in a visual sense, images of Latinas filled the pages of *Moonshadow* and *Mirage*. Whether actual photographs or

line drawings adapted from photographs, the faces and bodies of transgendered Latinas like Goudie and Carn became the image of TAO.

Likewise, when TAO spoke to the mainstream media, Latinas were almost always present. One of the significant accomplishments of TAO is that they were able to get mainstream media outlets to feature stories about transsexuals. While the stories are mixed and sometimes include denigrating language (like referring to transsexuals as 'boy girls'), they also included information about the day-to-day challenges faced by transsexuals.⁵⁸ For example, in 1974 TAO appeared on the 'Marsh and Adams Show' on WKID television in Fort Lauderdale. Tisha Goudie was one of three TAO members featured. The show discussed some of the challenges faced by transsexuals: housing discrimination, police harassment, difficulties receiving proper medical attention and difficulties with getting identification.⁵⁹ During June 1974, the *Miami News* published a series on transsexual issues. Two of the four featured transsexuals were Latina: Tara Carn and Colombian American Crystal Gresham. Previewing the interview before the story was published, *Mirage* reported that Carn and another transsexual, Sharon Martin, gave the journalist John Maguire and photographer Bill Rankin 'a long look at the wonders wrought by silicone and hormones'. Predictably, the *Miami News* story voyeuristically reported that they had 'breasts that rival a Playmate's' and that their faces 'epitomize[d] one ideal of classy looks'. The writer seemed most taken with Gresham (formerly Crystal Lein) who served as TAO's Miami Beach director. Gresham is described as a 'perfect lady' and 'personifying elegance in name, voice and gesture'. During the interview, 'she wore a lace dress with white earrings . . . Her appearance and demeanor were impressive'. According to the article, Gresham 'live[d] fully as a female except when teaching ballroom dance to elderly women in Miami Beach'.⁶⁰

One of my original questions was how TAO defined their relationship with other political movements and social identities. Membership policies begin to answer this question. When founding the organisation on the west coast, Douglas conceived it as catering to both transvestites and transsexuals. However, she shortly reconsidered this position, so transvestites were not invited to be part of TAO Miami. In a published interview, Douglas asks then-TAO president Goudie how she feels about transvestites:

I have nothing against them. Some transsexuals say they are transvestites because it's easier for the world to comprehend. But it's not the same. A transvestite is a man who dresses up like a woman for a little while and then becomes a man again. A transsexual, like you and me and so many others, live as we are all of the time. It is so different . . . I don't think it's good for both TVs and TSs to belong to the same groups, as the values are so different, the laws and problems are so different. In some ways the problems overlap, but not completely.⁶¹

For most of TAO's history, full membership was restricted to pre- and post-operative transsexuals, not a larger 'queer' community, and several issues suggest that 'proof' (such as medical documents or a note from a doctor) were required to receive a membership card. This relationship to medical technologies is one issue that distinguished transsexuals from transvestites. Although TAO critiqued the mainstream media's focus on 'medical aspects' of transsexualism at the expense of more severe problems, the magazine included regular information about the costs and accessibility of medical procedures. Do-it-yourself medical technologies, while probably not uncommon among TAO members, were not discussed or promoted in TAO publications. As Meyerowitz

points out, the 1970s marked the growth of the 'privatization of medical treatment' of transsexuals that exponentially increased access.⁶² Dr John Brown was a controversial figure (Meyerowitz said he 'won a well-earned reputation as a back-alley butcher') who provided cheaper and quicker surgeries for transsexuals who wanted it.⁶³ Although when Douglas met Dr Brown in 1974 she did not yet decide to have surgery, she claims, 'he wanted to help aid me and came up with several thousand dollars cash to help publish *Mirage Magazine*. In exchange, I promoted him considerably'.⁶⁴ Dr Brown's patronage, as well as the eagerness of transsexuals who had previously been denied access to surgical interventions and medical recognition, probably fuelled the inclusion of information about medical technologies.

Although transvestites were not full members of TAO Miami, TAO added 'units' or associate memberships for non-transsexual members, including the lesbian and transvestite units, and in 1975 full membership was granted to intersexuals.⁶⁵ As only one of many examples, one issue clarifies the relationship between TAO and other social movements related to gender and sexuality:

TAO also strongly relates to the problems and efforts of transvestites, gay men and women and feminists. However, we consider transsexualist values of paramount importance and are not subject to the values of other sociosexual liberationist movements, such as the feminist and gay liberation movements. We prefer to meet members in person.

In another article, Douglas describes 'transsexual and transvestite liberation' as 'seeking full independence from the feminist and gay liberation movements'.⁶⁶ As in the national political landscape, eruptions emerged between women's liberation activists and transsexuals because of the exclusion of male-to-female transsexuals from 'women's' spaces. When this issue came up in the pages of TAO's publications, group members mostly did not identify specific local instances of discrimination but rather referred to national and international issues, yet tensions with the gay/lesbian movement did seem to respond to local issues. TAO broke off relationships with Gay Action Alliance (GAA-Miami) after the gay/lesbian group refused to include transsexuals in a lawsuit countering police brutality in Miami Beach.⁶⁷ This was particularly upsetting to TAO since, from their point of view, they had been the ones to take actions on the street level to challenge the police.⁶⁸ As Douglas clarifies, the point of their actions was that transsexuals were targeted more than gay men and other groups. In an interview, Goudie explains that only transsexuals can 'really understand each other and help each other. We have our experiences and goals and non-transsexuals have theirs . . . We do not really belong in the gay or women's movements, although I don't really care if people think I'm gay or not'.⁶⁹ In response to a National Gay Task Force media issue, Joann Ocasio is quoted as saying: 'I am not a homosexual and do not want homosexuals representing me'.⁷⁰ The article elaborates that this is the position held by most TAO members.

I would say these positions represent the majority (although not all) of the positions expressed in TAO publications. A few issues complicate the assertion of an explicitly separatist agenda. A review of the articles, advertisements and Douglas's autobiographies suggests a very concentrated social space in which most transsexuals lived, worked and/or socialised. This area of South Miami Beach, about nine square blocks around Twenty-first Street beach, was at the time also Miami's primary gay male neighbourhood. In her autobiography, Holly Woodlawn, the Puerto Rican-born

actress best known for her role in Andy Warhol's *Trash*, describes her first encounter with Twenty-first Street beach in the early 1960s:

I had stumbled upon the only gay beach in all of Florida . . . Loud Cuban salsa music blared from a nearby radio as all these men yukked it up, having the time of their lives. I had never before seen a real-life, honest-to-God homosexual – ever! Here were actual ‘queers’, ‘fairies’, ‘pansies’, ‘Nancies’ and ‘fags’. And with that kind of terminology floating around my head, how could I have helped but assume that all homosexuals were nellie little darlings with poofy hair coiffed to perfection, their shoulders caressed by feather boas, wearing a rock on every finger and talking with a dead-giveaway lisp!? Boy, was I ever in for a surprise.

There they were, a smorgasbord of every type imaginable: exotic, outrageous, fabulous, decadent! Big, little, hunky, chunky.⁷¹

Therefore, approximately a decade before TAO emerged in Miami Beach, Woodlawn describes a vibrant and diverse homosexual community at the beach. The presence of ‘loud Cuban salsa music’ and the description of ‘exotic’ men, suggests the presence of Latino homosexual men amid the scene. In the early 1970s (and well into the 1980s), this area was still a well-known gay male gathering place. The political tensions that emerged between transsexual activists and gay groups were probably a product of sharing this confined social/urban space. In other words, the need to articulate a separate identity and political agenda emerged from the proximity and shared social space of these social groups (transsexuals, gay men and transvestites) rather than their social distance. Also, while Goudie sees herself as quite distinct from a transvestite, she and other TAO members knew that this distinction was meaningless in the eyes of the police. This blurring is evidenced by the regular reporting of violence and harassment of transvestites and cross-dressers as well as transsexuals in the pages of TAO publications.⁷² Miami Beach laws outlawing cross-dressing (which were found unconstitutional in 1972 but reportedly still enforced) were used to harass both transvestites and transsexuals. Even given this shared harassment, TAO clearly articulated the specificity of their experiences as transsexuals – taking pains to explain the ways in which transsexuals had needs and identities different from transvestites, gay men and feminists.

Earlier, I asked how Cuban immigrants, especially those who migrated to the US in 1980, fit into these gender/sexual schemas. After 1980, Miami underwent a demographic transformation with the mass immigration of Cuban and Haitian immigrants. Many Cuban gender transgressive (male-to-female) immigrants entered the United States as part of the 1980 Mariel Boatlift.⁷³ This particular subgroup is probably the one most likely to be claimed as ‘transgender’, as Ochoa’s pointed critique indicates. How did transsexual activists view these gender transgressive Mariel immigrants? Were they seen as part of the transsexual group? Soon-to-be-transsexuals? Homosexuals? Or something else? The accounts by TAO activists reveal that, prior to 1980, there existed a group of Latinas, including Cuban Americans, who saw themselves as transsexuals and understood themselves as different from gay men and transvestites.

In her autobiography, Douglas provides some sense of how newly arrived gender transgressive Cubans were seen. She describes the changes in South Miami Beach (what is now known as South Beach) when she returned to the city in 1981 and 1982, shortly after the Mariel migration:

the Beach was dying. Cuban refugees by the thousands had moved in and had turned ratty South Miami Beach into a Cuban slum . . . Italian and Jewish stores and restaurants had been taken over by Cubans, one by one. Lovely Lincoln Road had been transformed into a pathetic cheap-goods shopping mall run by Cubans. The Beach had deteriorated so badly I was horrified.⁷⁴

Douglas interprets the dramatic increase in the Cuban population as a negative turn for this Miami neighbourhood. During this time, Douglas lived in South Miami Beach's Drake Hotel. The Drake, like other South Beach hotel/apartment buildings, had become home to gender transgressive migrants, many of whom arrived during the Mariel Boatlift, because they provided small, relatively inexpensive, rental units. Douglas felt tormented by the 'young gays and Cuban drag queens' with whom she lived at the Drake.⁷⁵ A few pages later, Douglas repeats that 'a group of very idiotic, offensive young gays lived there, all prostitutes, and a bunch of Cuban drag queens lived there, too'.⁷⁶ These quick references suggest that Douglas did not identify the newly arrived Cuban gender transgressive migrants as transsexuals, nor did she see them as part of a group to which she belonged. This outsider status is related to a combination of gender expression, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity and immigrant status. Based on the framing of the Drake population as 'young gays' and 'Cuban drag queens', it also seems that Douglas did not see the gender transgressive Marielitos as part of the community of homosexual men who lived in Miami Beach prior to 1980. Other sources have commented on how gender transgressive Marielitos challenged the attitudes and lifestyles of gay men who already lived in Miami in part because of their class-based and ethnically distinct expressions.⁷⁷

Transgender studies demands that contemporary scholars analyse and not assume the relationships between communities and individuals marginalised due to gender and sexual non-conformity. Transgender studies provides two interrelated insights. First, sexual orientation and gender identity are not necessarily related, and we should not assume that a transgressive gender identity corresponds with sexual preference. Second (and perhaps conversely), it is important for scholars to think about relationships between gender transgressive groups that may not see themselves as members of the same identity groups or communities. In other words, transgender studies posits the relationships among a wide continuum of gender transgressive practices. People embodying some characteristics on this continuum might not see themselves as related to others along the continuum. Examining the possible (but not assumed) relationship between gender and sexual orientation and analysing the ways in which different manifestations of gender transgression function socially in relation to one another can only make our scholarship more precise.

Applying these insights, however, is not the same as saying that individuals at different historical moments and in different cultural contexts were transgender. This statement would imply that individuals identified with a particular social identity that emerges from a different social context. My research highlights why we should not assume that 'transgender' identities and alliances existed in historical moments before the term was mobilised. For example, TAO publications reflect that organisation leaders saw a clear distinction between sexual orientation and gender identity. This is most clearly revealed by the tensions that emerged between more gender normative gay men in the area and the organisation. In this way, TAO members reflect a notion of

transgender similar to the more socioeconomically privileged transgender activists Valentine discusses. On the other hand, TAO did not really embrace a continuum of transgender expressions either. They made clear distinctions between their members, defined as transsexuals, and other forms of gender transgressors including cross-dressers and transvestites. Also, it is unclear how the mass migration of gender transgressive Cubans was interpreted by the former TAO membership. Douglas's impressions survive, and they mark these recent immigrants as not one 'of us'.

While there is still a lot of work left to be done to further explore this issue, it is important to remember that in places like Cuba (and in some US centres of Latino/a concentration), gender expression was (and is?) seen as related to sexual orientation and sexual desires. As this article demonstrates, gendered homosexual identities coexisted with transsexual identities that participants understood as independent from their sexual orientation. While I think it is wrong to label TAO activists as 'homosexuals', I am still not convinced that all the gender transgressive Mariel immigrants were 'transgender'. To place individuals in these categories we need to know something about how they saw themselves, what communities they participated in and what social meanings were available to them in their socio-historical context. These are not always things we can access through the historical record, but I hope this study contributes to the project.

Notes

I am grateful to Susan Stryker for pointing me towards Angela Douglas and the Transsexual Action Organization's documents at the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Historical Society in San Francisco (GLBTHS). Without her original suggestion of these sources, this project would have never emerged. I met Susan as a result of my participation in the Social Science Research Council's Sexuality Research Fellowship Program, and I remain indebted to that program and its support from the Ford Foundation. Discussions and debates with Joelle Ruby Ryan, transgender studies scholar/activist and my former advisee, helped me clarify my arguments. I want to thank the staffs at the University of Michigan's Labadie Collection and GLBTHS, especially Willie Walker of the latter who provided great assistance during my first visit to an archive. I am grateful to everyone who provided feedback on earlier versions of this article including Nancy San Martin, the co-editors of this special issue, Kevin P. Murphy and Jennifer M. Spear, two anonymous reviewers and those who attended my presentation at Oberlin College's "My Name is My Own": Queering the Intersections of Race, Class, Gender and Sexuality' series. I want to especially acknowledge the thoughtful, engaged and thorough feedback provided by participants in the Newberry Library Seminar in Borderlands and Latino Studies.

1. Susan Stryker, '(De)Subjugated Knowledges: An Introduction to Transgender Studies', in Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle (eds), *The Transgender Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 1–18, here p. 3.
2. Stryker, '(De)Subjugated Knowledges', p. 2.
3. David Valentine, *Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), p. 4.
4. Susana Peña, "'Obvious Gays" and the State Gaze: Gay Visibility and Immigration Policy During the 1980 Mariel Boatlift', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 16 (2007), pp. 482–514; Susana Peña, 'Visibility and Silence: Mariel and Cuban American Gay Male Experience and Representation', in Eithne Luibhéid and Lionel Cantú (eds), *Queer Migrations: Sexuality, U.S. Citizenship, and Border Crossings* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), pp. 125–45.
5. Tomás Almaguer, 'Chicano Men: A Cartography of Homosexual Identity and Behavior', *Differences* 3/2 (1991), pp. 75–98.
6. Peña, "'Obvious Gays" and the State Gaze'; Peña, 'Visibility and Silence', p. 487. For examples of visible markers associated with homosexuality used by the state, see Marvin Leiner, *Sexual Politics in Cuba: Machismo, Homosexuality, and AIDS* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), pp. 31–2; Luis Salas, *Social Control and Deviance in Cuba* (New York: Praeger, 1979), p. 155.

7. Leiner, *Sexual Politics in Cuba*, p. 31.
8. See Peña, "'Obvious Gays'" and the State Gaze'; Peña, 'Visibility and Silence'.
9. Marcia Ochoa, 'Latino/a Transpopulations', in Marysol Asencio (ed.), *Latino/a Sexualities: Probing Powers, Passions, Practices, and Policies* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010), here p. 234.
10. Jaime Cortez, *Sexilio/Sexile*, ed. Pato Hebert, tr. Omar Baños in consultation with Adela Vasquez (Los Angeles: Institute for Gay Men's Health, 2004).
11. Discussion of sexual orientation within transgender studies literature usually identifies homosexual orientation in relation to the gender one presents in and identifies with, and not with gender of origin. Due to medicalisation of transsexuality in the United States, only transsexuals who claimed a future heterosexual orientation would be approved for sex reassignment surgery (SRS). In other words, a male-to-female candidate for SRS would be granted permission to transition surgically only if she sexually desired men and only men. Transgender rights activists are extremely critical of the medical policing of transgender populations. When Minter refers to 'transsexual people who are lesbian, gay, or bisexual', he is referring to 'male-to-female transsexuals who are sexually attracted to women or female-to-male transsexuals who are sexually attracted to men'. Sharon Price Minter, 'Do Transsexuals Dream of Gay Rights?: Getting Real About Transgender Inclusion', in Paisley Currah, Richard M. Juang and Sharon Price Minter (eds), *Transgender Rights* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), p. 151.
12. See Ochoa, 'Latino/a Transpopulations'; Minter, 'Do Transsexuals Dream of Gay Rights?', p. 151. See also Mauro Cabral and Paula Viturro, '(Trans)Sexual Citizenship in Contemporary Argentina', in Currah, Juang and Price Minter (eds), *Transgender Rights*, pp. 262–73; Tim Retzliff, 'Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in U.S. LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined', *Centro Journal* 19/1 (2007), pp. 140–61; Jessi Gan, "'Still at the Back of the Bus": Sylvia Rivera's Struggle', *Centro Journal* 19/1 (2007), pp. 124–39; Salvador Vidal-Ortiz, 'The Figure of the Transwoman of Color through the Lens Of "Doing Gender"', *Gender & Society* 23 (2009), pp. 99–103.
13. Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes, 'Entre Boleros, Travestismos y Migraciones Translocales: Manuel Ramos Otero, Jorge Merced y *El Bolero Fue Mi Ruina* Del Teatro Pregones Del Bronx', *Revista Iberoamericana* 71 (2005), pp. 887–907; Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes, 'Trans/Bolero/Drag/Migration: Music, Cultural Translation, and Diasporic Puerto Rican Theatricalities', *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 36/3–4 (2008), pp. 190–209, here p. 194.
14. Valentine, *Imagining Transgender*, p. 245.
15. Valentine, *Imagining Transgender*, pp. 4–5.
16. Valentine, *Imagining Transgender*, p. 245.
17. Stryker, '(De)Subjugated Knowledges', p. 4.
18. Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley: Seal Studies, 2008), p. 86.
19. Douglas went by the names Angela Keyes Douglas and Angela Lynn Douglas. Angela Douglas, *Hollywood's Obsession* (self-published, 1992), p. 5, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Historical Society, San Francisco (hereafter GLBTHS). In addition she went by the name Anita for a while because she feared being associated with the 'Communist' Angela Davis. *Moonshadow* (August 1975), GLBTHS. All issues of *Moonshadow* and *Mirage* from GLBTHS were compiled in a document titled 'Transsexual Action Organization Publications 1972–1975' that was 'created and published by Angela Douglas'. After cross-checking this compilation with individual issues archived at University of Michigan's Labadie Collection, it is clear that the collection at GLBTHS is selectively edited and compiled by Douglas. Apparently, Douglas blocked out pictures of herself she found unflattering, intentionally or unintentionally blocked out both lines and chunks of text and reordered pages so that pages from one issue appear to be in a previous issue.
20. Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 237; Stryker, *Transgender History*, p. 88.
21. Douglas, *Hollywood's Obsession*; Angela Lynn Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy: The Autobiography of Angela Lynn Douglas* (self-published, 1983), GLBTHS.
22. Meyerowitz notes that when Douglas moved TAO to Miami in 1972, the new branch included 'several Latina (Cuban and Puerto Rican) members', but that is the extent of her discussion. Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, p. 239.
23. Stryker, *Transgender History*, pp. 88–9.
24. Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, p. 240.
25. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 5.
26. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 6.
27. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 7.
28. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, pp. 10, 14, 7 respectively.
29. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 32.

30. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 38.
31. All the women discussed here are first generation immigrants.
32. Colette Goudie, 'Statement by President Goudie', *Moonshadow* (September/October 1974), p. 2, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor (hereafter UMLC).
33. *Mirage* 1/1 (1974), GLBTHS.
34. *Mirage* 1/4 (February 1975), GLBTHS.
35. *Moonshadow* (August 1975), GLBTHS. This article is identified as part 1 of a series on 'Transsexual and Intersexual Gods'. I have been unable to find any additional installments of this series. STAR founder Silvia Rivera also identified Santa Barbara as a kindred deity. She 'set up an altar with incense and candles where residents of the STAR House would pray to the saints, particularly to Saint Barbara (reputed to be the saint of queer Latinos)'. Gan, 'Still at the Back of the Bus', p. 134. Salvador Vidal-Ortiz discusses the role of Changó amongst Santería practitioners who were sexual minorities, emphasising the hypermasculine nature of the god of thunder. He remarks that 'Changó's Catholic deity form is Saint Barbara, who in some radical Catholic circles is not well respected because of the idea that Saint Barbara – not Changó – used to be a man'. Salvador Vidal-Ortiz, "'Sexuality" and "Gender" in Santería: Towards a Queer of Color Critique in the Study of Religion' (unpublished doctoral thesis, City University of New York, 2005), p. 137.
36. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 47. Also, Douglas describes Goudie's visit to Berkeley. Douglas believes Goudie was jealous because Douglas had undergone surgery, but Goudie had not. Douglas describes sending Goudie back to Miami on an aeroplane, p. 53.
37. This is the second reference to Goudie's mother, China. This reference is notable since no other transsexual's parents are referenced in the autobiography, apart from Douglas's with whom she had a troubled and inconsistent relationship.
38. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 67.
39. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 68.
40. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 39. In all issues of *Mirage* and *Moonshadow*, Tara is identified as 'Tara Carn'. However, in *Triple Jeopardy*, Douglas refers to her as Tara Lopez Carn. I have chosen to use the name used by the publications that involved the editorial input of Carn and other Latinas.
41. *Mirage* 1/1 (1974), GLBTHS.
42. *Mirage* 1/2 (1974), GLBTHS. Please note this issue does not correspond to the same issue found at UMLC.
43. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, pp. 44–5.
44. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, pp. 44–5. One of these incidents was also reported in *Mirage* 1/2 (1974), GLBTHS and UMLC.
45. *Mirage* 1/2 (1974), p. 61, GLBTHS.
46. *Moonshadow* reports that Elliot was one of the first TAO members legally to marry. In this issue, she expresses that she is seeking a divorce from her husband. See *Moonshadow* (August 1975), GLBTHS. However, I found no confirmation that she actually divorced.
47. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 39.
48. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 39.
49. *Mirage* (Autumn 1974), pp. 24–5, GLBTHS.
50. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 66. Reportedly Kimberly Elliot and her husband are mentioned in Art Kelps's *Millbrook: A Narrative of the Early Years of American Psychedelicism* (1994; rev. Austin: Original Kleptonian Neo-American Church, 2004), under the pseudonyms Kim and Steve Newell.
51. Occasionally there was also information about gays and lesbians. For example, see story about lesbian visibility in Puerto Rico in *Mirage Magazine* (Autumn 1974), p. 6.
52. *Mirage* (February 1975), p. 4, GLBTHS. Rodrigo Navarrete reports that the Miss Venezuela Gay pageant has been held in Venezuela since at least the 1970s. Winners went on to represent Venezuela in international competitions such as Miss Gay Universe. It is likely that the competition referred to in *Mirage* is Miss Venezuela Gay. Rodrigo Navarrete, 'En una noche tan linda como ésta: Misses y Misterys en la economía política y simbólica de la Venezuela actual', in Carlos Colina (ed.), *Sabanagay: Disidencia y diversidad sexual en la ciudad* (Caracas: Editorial Alfa, 2009), pp. 183–206, here p. 201. Other TAO publications include brief references to Peru, Chile, Cuba, South American nations and Puerto Rico.
53. Mentions of Silvia Rivera and STAR include: *Moonshadow* (August 1973), GLBTHS; *Moonshadow* (September 1973), UMLC; *Mirage* (February 1975), GLBTHS. Holly Woodlawn is mentioned in *Mirage* (March/April 1974), GLBTHS.
54. *Moonshadow* (January/February 1974), GLBTHS and UMLC.
55. *Moonshadow* (September 1973), UMLC.
56. *Moonshadow* (November 1975), GLBTHS.

57. *Moonshadow* (January/February 1974), p. 17, GLBTHS and UMLC. Puerto Rico's Comunidad de Orgullo Gay also protested against a 'homophobic song called "Las Mariposas"' in 1975. Frances Negrón-Muntaner, 'Echoing Stonewall and Other Dilemmas: The Organizational Beginnings of a Gay and Lesbian Agenda in Puerto Rico, 1972–1977 (Part II)', *Centro Journal* 4/2 (1992), pp. 106–7.
58. Article series by John Maguire appeared in the *Miami News* between 16 and 19 June 1974 and was reprinted in *Mirage* 1/2, pp. 22–3.
59. *Mirage* (Autumn 1974), GLBTHS. There is also a reference to a videocassette, *Transsexualism and TAO*, featuring Colette Tisha Goudie and Joann Ocasio in *Moonshadow* (November 1975).
60. The *Miami News* articles were reprinted in *Mirage* (February 1975), GLBTHS.
61. *Mirage* (February 1975).
62. As cited by Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, p. 239.
63. Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, p. 271.
64. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 46. Dr Brown did operate on Douglas in the late 1970s.
65. *Moonshadow* (October 1973), UMLC; *Moonshadow* (July/August 1974), UMLC; *Moonshadow* (August 1975), GLBTHS.
66. Angela K. Douglas, 'Transsexual and Transvestite Liberation', *Mirage* 1/2 (1974), pp. 15–16, GLBTHS and UMLC.
67. In her autobiographies, Douglas repeatedly uses strongly derogatory language to refer to gay men and lesbians. For instance, when she confronts Norma's lover, Joan, she refers to her as a 'facsimile of a man'. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, pp. 16–17. Homosexual men are referred to as 'perverts', 'degenerates' and 'faggots' throughout the text.
68. TAO members employed or threatened street protests on several issues. For example, when Miami Beach police threatened to rewrite an anti-cross-dressing ordinance that had been found unconstitutional by the lower courts, Kilo (also identified as Kilopelo and Ramon Lenoa), and 'other local transsexuals and TVs vowed street demonstrations'. 'Transreceiver', *Mirage* 1/2 (1974), GLBTHS (does not correspond to same issue in UMLC). Kilo is described as a twenty-two-year-old pre-op TS who was a 'popular performer' who had appeared at the Stonewall club in a production of 'Wild Side Story'. Kilo died in a house fire in 1974/1975, and specific information about her ethnicity is not provided. 'Transreceiver', *Mirage* 4 (1975), GLBTHS.
69. Angela K. Douglas, 'Interview with Colette Goudie', *Mirage* 1/4 (1975), pp. 9–12, GLBTHS.
70. 'Other News', *Moonshadow* (August 1975), p. 6, GLBTHS.
71. Holly Woodlawn with Jeff Copeland, *A Low Life in High Heels: The Holly Woodlawn Story* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1991), pp. 37–8. For more on Woodlawn, see 'From Puerto Rico with Trash' in Frances Negrón-Muntaner, *Boricua Pop: Puerto Ricans and the Latinization of American Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), pp. 87–114.
72. For example, *Moonshadow* reported that on 20 July 1973, Goudie and Carn were arrested on Twenty-first Street beach for disorderly conduct. Unlike most instances of police interaction reported on in TAO publications, Goudie and Carn 'reported they were treated well by the police'. *Moonshadow* (August 1973), GLBTHS.
73. Peña, "'Obvious Gays" and the State Gaze'; Peña, 'Visibility and Silence'.
74. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 67.
75. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 68.
76. Douglas, *Triple Jeopardy*, p. 70.
77. Elinor Burkett, 'The Price', *Miami Herald*, 1 April 1990, pp. 9–17.

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