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INTRODUCTION

Latina subjectivity, sexuality and sensuality

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This introductory essay considers the connections and contradictions of Latina Sexuality and sensuality. It critiques the “othering” practices of hegemonic representation by studying the ways the “Madonna/Whore Complex” has affected the cultural specificity of the Latina body and its reception. It includes an analysis of the film by Lourdes Portillo, *A conversation with academics about Selena* (1999), in which leading Chicana intellectuals (i.e., cherrie Moraga and Sandra Cisneros among others) discuss the impact of Selena’s life and death on the community as well as her sensual brown body.

Keywords: sensuality; subjectivity; sexuality; body; embodiment; patriarchal gaze; exoticization; self-exoticization

*Sister, sister, where did we go wrong?
Tell me what the fuck we’re doing here.
Why are all the boys acting strange?
We’ve got to show them we’re worse than queer.*
– Lyrics from Bikini Kill’s song “Suck my Left One”¹

In September of 2006, everyone was talking about California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger’s off-the-cuff comments on the temperament of Latinas/os while speculating about the ethnicity of state assembly woman, Bonnie García. Schwarzenegger referred to García as “very hot” and went on to say, “she [García] may be Puerto Rican or the same thing as Cuban, I mean, they are all very hot. They have the, you know, part of the black blood in them and part of the Latino blood in them and together that makes it.”² These statements were captured on a tape made during a closed-door meeting between the governor and his advisers, which was leaked to the press. Both English- and Spanish-language television networks broadcast footage showing García, who is Puerto Rican, standing next to the Schwarzenegger while he apologized upon facing criticism right after his racially charged comments. Like a good sport, García immediately played right into it: “the governor this morning, when we were together, apologized. I told the governor there is no need to apologize. I was not offended.” Even more disturbing is the reinforcement of Schwarzenegger’s remark by Bonnie García herself as she admitted, “Very often I tell him, ‘Look, I am a hot-blooded Latina.’ I label myself a hot-blooded Latina that is very passionate about the issues.”

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A month after this incident, García, in turn, angered teacher's aides and parents when she allegedly told students at La Quinta High School that she wouldn't mind bedding Schwarzenegger. According to two adult aides in the classroom, García made the comment during in an impromptu Q-and-A session in an economics class where she remarked on the governor's physique and stated that she "wouldn't kick him out of [her] bed." Like Schwarzenegger, she later apologized to the public for her inappropriate comment.

Both incidents are remarkably suggestive to me, not only because they represent complicated questions regarding race and power relations, but also because they exemplify the contradictions embedded in the colonized history of Latina sexuality. While García's re-engagement of Schwarzenegger's stereotypical engagement of her is indicative of an unambiguous "self-tropicalization" or self-exoticization, Schwarzenegger's perception and understanding of the brown female body constitutes a site for reconfigurations of power.³ In what context does one place García's reaction and "sexualized" articulations of the governor's body? How do we situate García's self-identification as a "hot-blooded Latina"? Even if García may identify with a subjectivity that claims agency through a self-conscious process of identification as a "desiring" subject performing self-exoticization, hegemonic colonial gendered discourse in opposition to regimes of power are symbolically marked in her public exchanges with the governor.

García's self-exoticization is representative of narratives commonly entrenched in patriarchal systems. To use Hélène Cixous' symbolic declarations, women as victims of patriarchal orders are "decapitated," forced to perform or accept traditional models of femininity. In her essay entitled "Castration or Decapitation," Cixous uses the term "decapitation" as a metaphor for the silencing and subjection of women. According to Cixous, women have no other choice in patriarchal orders but to be "decapitated" – they "don't actually lose their heads by the sword, *they only keep them on condition that they lose them* – lose them, that is, to complete silence, turned into automatons" (1981, 43). While García's self-exoticization embraces patriarchal constructions of femininity, she positions herself as an inferior social/racial subject. The performing of her subjection and its acceptance – as a woman (of color) – reinforces the construction of masculinity and whiteness embedded in the power relations at stake.

To recount or describe the Schwarzenegger-García incident is to inscribe García's brown body within the fundamentals of phallocentrism and racism. If language is the vehicle of articulating experience, Schwarzenegger's shallow references to García's "brown" body as "very hot" expose the politics of our patriarchal society, revealing anxieties over sexual and racial difference, and perhaps most importantly, the gendered hierarchies inherent in our culture. Schwarzenegger's reading of García's body is further linked to what feminist film critic Laura Mulvey refers to as perceptions of "the fragmented body."⁴ According to Mulvey, the female body is cut into eroticized pieces in order to transform it into an object of desire, instead of an independent subject. "Fragmentation" is the process by which a body is viewed in pieces. By showing only one part of the body, or emphasizing a perception about it, that section is placed as the most important part of that body, while dehumanizing it. Although Mulvey is specifically critiquing the phallocentric/patriarchal gaze in cinematic technology, which sustains the representation of women being controlled in a social order that manipulates the erotic

ways of “looking” at their bodies, the narrative of an established interpretation of sexual difference can be applied to patriarchal domination in society at large. Applying Mulvey’s arguments to the Schwarzenegger-García incident shows that the patriarchal objectification of Schwarzenegger’s “gaze/language” and its interpretation of García’s gendered body are quite direct and obvious. The objectifying process is explicitly scripted in such a way as to affirm illusions of racial difference. Hence, the privilege of dominance of whiteness and hegemonic masculinity is sustained in the recognition of a gendered “brown/mestizo” body as the figure of alterity and differentiation. In Schwarzenegger’s rationale, García’s mixed heritage produces a “fiery temperament” and thus he sees her as a representative entity outside the self – she is the Other.

If the mestizo/mulato blood, as suggested and imagined by the governor, marks the “hot” temperament of the body, what type of sexual imaginaries are reconfigured through García’s self-conscious sexualized articulations? What is the basis of Schwarzenegger’s opinion regarding the mixed/hybrid body? His view reflects a stereotype about Latinas/os, which contributes to the particularities of the Latino experience and its relation to the national culture. However, this has rarely been addressed in the United States, since the social body and theorizations on race and ethnicity are often formulated only within the binary of whiteness and blackness. Schwarzenegger’s comments therefore must be understood in the context of colonial/neocolonial fantasies in which the “brown-different-body” becomes the subject/object of racist stereotypical discourse. The eroticization of “brownness,” as an epistemology of cultural “difference,” represents legitimacy to power relations specifically as these are marked through the interactive spectacle of García and Governor Schwarzenegger. The eroticization of “brownness” embodies the general objectifying perceptions of “hypersexualized” bodies as understood by the power of the colonizing gaze. In this context, Latina sexuality and its representative “brown” body becomes the product of objectifying stereotypical processes and complex subject formations. Stereotyping is a continual attempt to fix the Other, Homi Bhabha explains. The stereotype as the major strategy of colonial discourse, he writes, is a “form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always ‘in place,’ already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated” (1994, 66). The fixation of “otherness” allegorizes the power relations while reflecting the ambivalence toward what is culturally “different.”

In a strict sense, García’s relationship with Governor Schwarzenegger is certainly not one of the colonizer with the colonized, but the power differentials embedded in Bhabha’s formulation are applicable here. Clearly, Bhabha interests himself not in disproving racial stereotypes but rather in analyzing why and how they work. His “reading of colonial discourse suggests that the point of intervention should shift from the ready recognition of images as positive or negative, to an understanding of the processes of subjectification made possible (and plausible) through stereotypical discourse” (67). Within this process of subjectification, I read the signifier of the “hot-blooded Latina,” as alluding to a passionate brown body and subjectivity of those who have struggled for recognition in the pursuit of agency. It may also refer to stereotypical “hypersexual” brown/dark bodies commonly identified within the “othering” hegemonic cultural practices and the approach to non-white Western bodies. Contradictory knowledge is an obvious element within processes of subjectification, which recognizes difference as its

disowning development. However, the ambivalence embedded around the sexual stereotyping of Latinas as “hot” bodies with “fiery” temperaments is impossible to disregard when tracing the epistemological inquiries of Latina subjectivity, sexuality, and sensuality.

The signifier of “hot” or its Spanish translation, *caliente*, is commonly used while referring to women in popular music (salsa, rap, reggaeton, *ranchera*, among others), or on television (both Spanish- and English-language shows).⁵ The terms are often employed to objectify women, usually with explicit or implicit sexual connotation. However, the markers “hot” or “caliente” may also be performed to one's own advantage when a body strategically uses its highly “exoticized” status in a self-conscious employment of sexuality. In the song entitled “Cubana Caliente,” the “Queen of Latin Soul” La Lupe performs the “hot-blooded-Latina” persona as she sings, “Yo soy Cubana caliente, ay caliente de verdad, papa” (I’m a hot Cuban woman, really hot honey).⁶ There is no doubt that the re-signification of the term “hot” facilitates the greater visibility of marginalized subjectivities. In the case of La Lupe, the radical position claimed in her songs and performances, assuming the role of the rebellious exotic other, constructs a particular subjectivity committed to create something different with her voice and body. According to José Quiroga, “[La Lupe] was part of a dream that was a dream of desire” (2000, 165). The desire to perform and to live her life on her own terms was ultimately a dream that became a reality for La Lupe. She is considered a precursor in every way to the current Latino music scene and is particularly remembered in Latino circles for her unique live performances where she occasionally would throw her shoes to the audience, cursing, screaming frantically, among many other things.⁷ La Lupe’s passionate legacy occupies the paradoxical knowledge that traces the markings of Latina sexuality and sensuality.

Latina sensuality and sexuality

The particular location of a structure of feeling is the endless comparison that must occur in the process of consciousness between the articulated and the lived.
– Williams (1977, 168)

Oftentimes, people incorrectly refer to or use the terms “sexuality” and “sensuality” interchangeably and thus mistake one concept for the other. In this introduction, I purposefully distinguish the concepts of “sensuality” and “sexuality” because I believe that sensuality, unlike sexuality, represents more flexible “structures of feeling.” In his book, *Marxism and literature*, Raymond Williams speaks of these “structures” as methodologies to analyze cultural forms and texts. He attributes to the understanding of culture as a source of insight and of hope – something we learn without really being aware. For him, the growing importance of popular culture in the economy and society provides a unique access to what he called the “structure of feeling,” which functions as the “spirituality” of society. This “structure of feeling” is what I associate with sensuality – it is experienced subjectively as we become spectators and participants of the world we inhabit and represent. While sexuality is characterized by sex,

sexual activity and sexual orientation, to be sensual is to be aware of and to explore feelings and sensations of beauty, luxury, joy and pleasure.

Philosophers have continually asserted that sensuality has little to do with absolute truths. They have been fascinated by the way sensuality stimulates the mind, the senses and the soul. That which touches our senses, emotions and thoughts “structures” the wondering response hinting at subject formation and human activity. Sexuality and sensuality are different, and yet overlapping, concepts that shape, influence, and inspire one another. While sexuality may be expressed in one’s sensuality, a subject’s sensuality stimulates her/his sexuality. Usually, one can perform sensuality in music, clothing, fragrance, and accessories, or while walking, singing and dancing. Colors, for example, may accentuate our sensuality. Being aware of sensuality brings to us a life felt through our senses, seen only in the consciousness of subjecthood.

When exploring Latina/o sensuality and sexuality, paradoxical knowledge is imperative. While Latino/Latin America can be recognized as a naturally sensual culture, sexuality is traditionally a taboo subject going against centuries of enforced sexual repression. The effects of *marianismo*, *machismo* and the “whore-virgin” dichotomy are embedded in a cultural legacy shaped by the entrenchment of Christian values and patriarchies in Latino cultures.⁸ Thus self-exoticism as a strategy of cultural survival reinforces the effects of transnational movement – migration, displacement and assimilation – and makes the “search” for authenticity a complex form of signification. In the United States, the “autoexoticism” of Latino culture is an unavoidable process rooted in specific histories of cultural dislocations. In her book, *Tango and the political economy of passion*, Marta Savigliano grounds her study of the tango dance form in the context of the “colonizing gaze,” and examines the construction of “autoexoticism.” Her research describes how the perceptions of culture, identity and representation (and self-representation) are subject to change as a result of migration. She writes, “[l]ooking at tango’s endless search for origin and authenticity, I came to understand the colonial nature of this attempt. Amazed at tango’s colonizing appropriation through exoticism, I found myself transformed into an exotic object: colonized. Even more stunned by tangos achievement at home as a result of playing the exotic game, I put into question my own autoexoticism” (1995, 5). Savigliano uses a feminist-Marxist perspective to analyze the reception and commodification of the Argentinean tango. In her investigations, Savigliano discovers herself being exoticized, as well as exoticizing herself. This process of “autoexoticization” marks both identification and alienation, narratives of anxiety and desire. Moreover, this conflictive system of representation can result in a destabilizing process in which symbolic norms are used as a way to bring about performative agency. Like in queer practices, the process of re-signification is necessary to place the “margin” at the “center.”

To develop a feminist cultural practice and theory that works towards understanding the complexities Latina/o sensuality and sexuality, it is necessary to identify representation as a political issue and to analyze women’s subordination within patriarchal forms of representation. Likewise, it is important to recognize the paradoxes of Latina sensuality and sexuality, in particular, as manifested in Lourdes Portillo’s documentary film *A conversation with academics about Selena* (1999). After Selena’s tragic death in 1995, Portillo decided to investigate the impact of Selena on her fans. For several weeks she interviewed fans, especially those who left messages at Selena’s gravesite or at her statue on

the seawall at Corpus Christi, Texas. Portillo also interviewed a group of leading chicana intellectuals/academics/artists, including Cherrie Moraga, Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano and Sandra Cisneros. The documentary captures the intellectuals' discussion regarding Selena's sexuality, "brown" body, and the impact of Selena's life and death on the community.⁹

Portillo's *Conversation* plainly illustrates the spotlight on Latina sexuality, while Latina sensuality remains unrecognized and unspoken. There was no direct discussion of sensuality in the film; sexuality is articulated several times while evoking, but never acknowledging, sensuality. The film shows footage of prepubescent girls shaking their still-developing hips while singing songs of passion, love and desire. It presents young Latinas (approximately ages 5–13), some wearing bustiers and tight pants like Selena, at the Tejano Academy in Corpus Christi. In the interviews, some of the young women explained their desire to be like Selena because she showed them that blonde hair and a fair complexion are not requisites for success. On the section of the academics' conversation in the documentary, Sandra Cisneros is shown contesting the role Selena has "played" in the life of these girls, implying that Selena was not a positive role model for not attending college or for dropping out of school early in her life.¹⁰ Although Cisneros is clearly not a fan of Selena, she nevertheless relates humorously that she bought a Selena keychain because "it was the first time she had ever seen a Latina other than the Virgen de Guadalupe memorialized like that." Contrary to Cisneros' view of Selena as a bad influence to young Latinas, Cherrie Moraga asserts the opposite, speaking enthusiastically about the sexuality of these young women as they desire to embody or imitate Selena. Moraga states in the film, "Selena gave these girls a way to have chicana sexuality." Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano added that it is a racialized sexuality that validates her as a role model.

The configuration of sexuality is marked in the discussion between Cisneros, Moraga and Yarbro-Bejarano, among others. But sensuality is never discussed; it is assumed and subsumed in their discussion of sexuality. Their conversation illuminates the fact that sex and sexuality holds a great deal of tension for Latinas, due to the polarized messages they receive from inside and outside the home. On the one hand, Latinas are taught by their families and the Christian faith to preserve their virginity until marriage because it is dictated in a patriarchal heteronormative system that women have to provide for their husbands – for their pleasure, and to procreate. On the other hand, while Latinas are taught to fear their desires and feel shame of their bodies, society holds Latinas up as the epitome of sexuality/sensuality, seeking the approval of men.¹¹ The young women in the film, performing and imitating Selena through their clothes, singing, and dancing *do not* necessarily embody a "chicana sexuality" as per Moraga; they may just be expressing their adoration for Selena and their enjoyment of her songs, dance movements, and fashion – the chicana sensuality. Thus, an alternative reading of the youngsters in the film is that they are performing their feelings through mimetic representations of Selena and her sensual legacy.

If one agrees with Moraga's perception that Selena provided these young women a "way" to have sexuality, the pursuit of desire remains entrenched within the realm of normative femininity. In Sandra Bartky's terms, it is a feminine ideal that supports patriarchy.¹² The expressions of a "racialized sexuality," as indicated by Yarbro-Bejarano, make us imagine the sensuality of these young women as something "different." Selena's

brown and curvaceous body and its iconographic status – as marked in the performed actions of the young women – can be understood through the binaries of domination and resistance. While these binaries problematize how the feminine subject is systematically produced as the object of normative knowledge (patriarchies and heteronormativity), it also shows how the feminine subject transforms into an agent who may resist these norms.

Sensualidades

The ambitious goal of recovering the analytic value of Latina/o sensuality from the realm of over-determined racialized proxy for Latina/o sexuality while demanding new interpretations of vernacular performativities has guided us to conceptualize this special issue, *Sensualidades*. It is an interdisciplinary collection of essays that will engage with the notion of sensuality as an “affect” of Latina/o performing bodies. The deliberate use of the concept “affect” implies the embodiment of diverse connotations, including feelings, emotions, actions and thoughts. Through diverse and innovative readings, contributors will argue that music as intertwined with the body produces various compositions of movement, from bodily movement in dance, emotional shifts resonated in listening, to translocations based in memory, history and migration.

As presented here, the epistemology of “the Latina body,” appears not only as fictional entity marked by “exoticism” and “sensuality” but also as an identity marker embodying the taxonomies “Latin” and “woman” as social and cultural constructs. This inflection converges and produces a body performing mythical knowledge while contesting representation and justifying hierarchies of race, ethnicity and gender. The justifications of these hierarchies through ethnographic representation are the theorizations developed in “Don’t Leave Me, Celia!: Salsera Homosociality and Pan-Latina Corporealities” by Cindy García. While exploring the politics of contemporary Latina corporealities in Los Angeles salsa clubs, García’s theorizations of the gendered practices of racialization, critiques the predominantly heterosexual dance floor couplings and considers the homosocial relationships among women in patriarchal salsa economies. The Latina corporealities “circulated” in the salsa social scene allows García “to examine how class-based racializations in the United States underlie the exoticized performances of pan-latinidad.” The need to bring Latina corporeality and body movement into care theory and analysis is embedded in García’s study. Similarly, but in a different context, the notion of corporeality is articulated in the groundbreaking theorizations of Melissa Blanco Borelli in “Y ahora qué vas a hacer, mulata?: Hip Choreographies in the Mexican *cabaretera* Film *Mulata* (1954).” In her analysis of the film *Mulata* and the role of Ninón Sevilla, a white Cuban actress and dancer, Blanco Borelli develops the theory of “hip(g)nosis.” She uses this theory as a way to read both Caridad’s performances (a mulata character played by Sevilla) throughout the film, as well as Ninón Sevilla’s performance as mulata. This theory enables a broader understanding of the construction of the Cuban mulata’s racialized body and complicates the mere witnessing of the sensual hip movements associated with such a body.

We often imagine body movements dominated by constant motions of the hips when we think of tropical music such *salsa*, *merengue*, *cumbias*, *rumbas*, among other

Latin musical genres. The hip movement produced in the performing bodies responding to tropical sounds and rhythms are inevitably marked by an enticing sensuality subject to flirtatious activity. María Elena Cepeda demonstrates in “When Latina hips make/mark history: Music video in the ‘new’ American studies,” that beyond the performances of sensuality and hip movement, the figurative and literal markings of immigration and transnational exchange are synchronically produced in Shakira’s most recent recordings: *Fijación oral, vol. 1* (2005), and *Oral fixation, vol. 2* (2005). Cepeda posits Shakira, the woman and the performer, to argue that her music videos, such as “La tortura” and “Hips don’t lie,” are examples of “transnational, pan-Caribbean, and female-centred performance” in MTV’s media context. While using a feminist approach in her reading of Shakira, Cepeda argues that her artistic sensibility, through the hybrid embodiment of her experience as Colombian of Arab descent, is a good example to begin the dialogue of US Latino and Latin American studies within the transnationalization of the “new” American studies. While the sensual hybrid body and the movements of Shakira’s hips are imagined by Cepeda as a globalized commodity of transcultural affiliations, Priscilla Ovalle traces the recent history of the MTV industry juxtaposed to the “hyper-production of Jennifer Lopez as **dance-actor-signer** magnate within the realm of popular music” in her essay “Urban *sensualidad*: Jennifer Lopez, *Flashdance* and the MTV hip-hop re-generation.” Ovalle argues that Lopez was able to succeed in Hollywood as an actress because she and her producers mostly “compartmentalized her Puerto-Rican-from-the-Bronx roots,” fostering an “urban *sensualidad*.” Ovalle problematizes the ways Lopez’s sensuality develops, from dance to music video and film to other entrepreneurial ventures (fragrance and retail fashion), implying that she was transformed from a “largely visual pleasure to one both tangible and wearable.”

In “Lucha Villa’s Erotization of the *estilo bravío* and the *canción ranchera*,” Antonia García-Orozco discusses the *estilo bravío* by examining the work of Mexico’s most famous *ranchera* singer, Lucha Villa, as the ambassador of this style. The *estilo bravío*, as developed by women’s singers transgresses the dominant masculinist style of the *ranchera* music, creating a feminist consciousness for women listeners.¹³ It is common knowledge that the *ranchera* music is the embodiment of dominant masculine sexual paradigms, but as it is articulated and analyzed by García-Orozco, Villa’s interpretations gave voice to women’s ardor and libido, while transcending patriarchal sexual economies and “re-gendering” sexual desire and passion.

From north to south of the US-Mexican border, the *ranchera* music represents a cultural legacy that concerns itself with traditional themes of love, passion, patriotism and nature. *Ranchera* songs are not just one rhythm; the music is basically a waltz, polka or *bolero* (slow dance music). In “Chencha’s gait” by Licia Fiol-Matta, the legacy of Puerto Rican singer Myrta Silva is revered. Silva became an international singing star in the 1950s and was known as “the Queen of the *Guaracha*” in Latin America.¹⁴ Fiol-Matta’s mission is to justify Silva’s allegedly “*rascuache*” style (vulgar and low class) and to reflect the multiple spaces Silva navigated – illuminating the vexed relationship between gender, music, and power in the social space, and between listening, voice, and music in the realm of thought.

From the style of Salsa music and the liberatory corporealities it produces in García’s ethnographic gaze and Blanco Borelli’s discussion of “hip(g)nosis,” to the

discussion of Jennifer Lopez and Shakira, to the diverse discussions of *ranchera* music and the rescuing missions of Fiol-Matta, the essays in *Sensualidades* theoretically complicate the patriarchal underpinnings contained in diverse Latino popular music genres.

Notes

1. Called the godmothers of the Riot Grrrl movement, Bikini Kill was a punk rock band that existed from 1990 to 1998. Formed in Olympia, Washington, the group was famous and notorious for its radical feminist lyrics, and incendiary live performances in which the group encouraged a female-centric environment. The group produced two full-length albums, several EPs, two compilations, and a fanzine called *Bikini Kill*. Bikini Kill is considered one of the most important independent rock groups of the 1990s.
2. On 7 and 8 September 2006, local television networks in California covered this incident extensively. Some quoted Schwarzenegger's comments, while others played the relevant portion of the audiotape in which the governor speculated about García's ethnicity. This is followed by Schwarzenegger's public apology. The quotes in this paper regarding the incident were taken from the television coverage.
3. I am using the term "self-tropicalization," which alludes to the edited book, *Tropicalizations: Transcultural representations of latinidad* by Frances Aparicio and Susana Chávez-Silverman (1997). In this groundbreaking collection, the authors explore how Latin American and Latino cultures have been represented/misrepresented and appropriated in the United States. One of the topics covered in the collection is the sexuality of Latinas.
4. Laura Mulvey set out to explore the male gaze and expose the power structure at play in cinema. In her essay, "Visual pleasure in narrative cinema" (1975), Mulvey uses psychoanalytic theory to identify the influence of a patriarchal society in relation to film. Mulvey's take on pleasure, film and the gaze has become one of the most widely disseminated theories for feminists and film theorists in the world.
5. *Música ranchera* is a genre of the traditional music of Mexico. Although closely associated with the mariachi groups which evolved in the state of Jalisco in the post-revolutionary period, rancheras are also played today by norteño (or Conjunto) or banda (or Duranguense) groups. Drawing on rural traditional folklore, the ranchera was conceived as a symbol of a new national consciousness in reaction to the aristocratic tastes of that era. Traditional rancheras are about love, patriotism, desire, pain and tragedy.
6. This song is entitled "Cubana caliente" and was included in her album *Stop! I'm free again*, which was originally released in 1972 and produced by Joe Cain. La Lupe or La Yiyiyi – born Guadalupe Victoria Yoli in Cuba (1938–92) – became famous with the onset of the Cuban Revolution in 1960. Her narrative represents an artist in exile (she lived in Puerto Rico and New York) and a mulata musician trying to survive in a male-dominated world.
7. Ela Troyano's *La Lupe: Queen of Latin soul* received its world premiere at the 2007 Miami International Film Festival, and was later shown on PBS's documentary series "Independent Lens." The documentary features vintage performance footage of La Lupe, interviews with friends and colleagues, and her own testimonials from her later days as a Christian evangelist. It also shows La Lupe's tumultuous love life, her involvement with *Santería*, and her fiery, love/hate relationship with her many collaborators.
8. When I use the singular notion of patriarchy, it is in relation to the specificity of Latino culture. However, the concepts "patriarchies" and "feminisms" should be recognized as heterogeneous for their manifestations are inflected by context and cannot be abstracted out of their specific historical trajectories.
9. *A conversation with academics about Selena*, previously entitled *Conversations with intellectuals about Selena*, is a Xochitl film produced by director Lourdes Portillo after the release of *Corpus: A home movie about Selena* (1999). In *Corpus*, the emphasis is on Selena's life and the reactions of her fans after her death. The film was shot in Corpus Christi, where 13 years after

- her death, multiple fans still visit her gravestone, her home, as well as her statue in town. If in *Corpus* Portillo emphasizes the life and death of Selena, in *Conversation* she expands a scene from *Corpus* in which leading chicana intellectuals in this country debate the value of her status as an icon and role model.
10. As pointed in the film, Selena completed her high school equivalency at “home” between rehearsals and while on the road. The fact is her father pulled her out of school when she was in the eighth grade.
 11. Although this framework may seem old fashioned and somehow stereotypical, there is empirical support for the notion that traditional values regulate the sexual behavior of many Latinos/as. For example, among chicanos, partner preferences reflect the traditional hierarchical gender roles. For more information, consult Villaruel (1998) and Raffaelli and Ontai (2004).
 12. In her book, *Femininity and domination: Studies in the phenomenology of oppression* (1990), Sandra Bartky criticizes Foucault for failing to see that disciplinary practices are gendered and that such gendered discipline produces women’s bodies as more docile than the bodies of men. Drawing on and extending Foucault’s account of disciplinary power, Bartky analyzes the disciplinary practices that engender specifically feminine docile bodies.
 13. Some characteristics of the “estilo bravo” include the changing of pronouns in songs, the intent of the lyrics, the targeted audience, the object of desire, the creation of alternative interpretations of the songs, and most important, the powerful presence of women’s performance on stages.
 14. The *guarachera* is singer of *guaracha*, which is a tropical rhythm like the salsa.

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