

Putting Queerness on the Map: Notes for a Queer Galician Studies

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If “Galicia is in its geography,”¹ then it is unsurprising that we should continually turn to the language of cartography to understand its culture. The mapping, remapping, revisiting, and rerouting of Galician Studies have been necessary in order to keep apace of the shifting political, migratory, and cultural practices that alter both the places where and the ways in which Galician identity is performed. Kirsty Hooper, whose work at large illustrates the interrelatedness of cartography and poetics, reminds us that “the history of Galician literature should be read in the context of multiple maps that intersect, that are connected, that are dynamic and often unstable.”² Yet, despite the plurality and complexity of the maps available, reading practices largely remain oriented toward the national. As a result of normative reading practices in the service of this cultural nationalism, those who do not occupy hegemonic subject positions are relegated to the margins of Galician Studies time and again.³

The question of how we might articulate a way of reading that is as dynamic as are the maps prompts us to consider the radical intersectionality of Galician identity. Increasingly, approaches to Galician literature

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and literary history are turning to postcolonial and feminist models of analysis that do the invaluable work of enabling us to analyze difference. Furthering these concerns, I want to claim that queer theory, too, can provide tools for reclaiming additional sites of exclusion and make Galician Studies a more inclusive discipline. Through its focus on marginalized sexual identities and practices, the field of queer studies has sought to make difference visible, while exposing the flimsiness and artificiality of hierarchical categorizations such as male/female and heterosexual/homosexual. Insofar as queer studies and Galician Studies have pushed back against structures of exclusion—heteronormativity and linguistic, cultural and political hegemony, respectively—a queer Galician Studies can provide reading strategies focused on how nationality, sexuality, and place crisscross and overlap within Galician contexts.

Studies on queer geographies and diasporas, in particular, provide useful tools for mapping both “Galicia” and “queerness,” concepts that are characterized precisely by their resistance or opposition to borders. *Mapping Desires*, by David Bell and Gill Valentine, published in 1995, offered one response to the ways in which, even after critical turns to race, gender, and class in most fields, “sexualities were largely left off the geographical map.”⁴ The field of queer geographies now comprises an ever-growing corpus of materials that reveals the ways in which sexuality and space (private, public, real or virtual) are mutually constructive.⁵ As we charter the field of Galician Studies in its push for inclusion and visibility in North American academic institutions, it is imperative that voices, bodies, and critical practices that have otherwise been excluded from—or marginalized within—other Galicianist spaces be made an integral part of the intellectual landscape here at the outset.

Surveying the field of queer cultural production in Galicia remains a difficult task given the lack of queer visibility in cultural, political, social, or institutional spaces. Still, in the twenty-first century, scholars such as Beatriz Suárez Briones, in search of literary production by lesbian authors, have been left wondering “onde están e quen son” [where and who they are].⁶ Even when writers represent non-heterosexual subjects, critics render them invisible. This erasure of queerness, as Timothy McGovern has shown, occurs through “the reactionary tradition of folding the voices of sexual minorities into a more universal (meaning, of course, heterosexual male) tradition.”⁷ Critical reading practices that provide answers to questions of where and who—however partial—are essential therefore to putting queerness on the cultural and political map.

As Suárez Briones argues elsewhere, such acts of identification are political acts of resistance: “naming is also an act of survival [and] demands the inclusion of an absent collective into culture.”⁸ Similarly, McGovern states that “it is only through visibility, through open expression, and through queer-themed works that sexual minorities can ever hope to achieve liberation from oppressive practices.”⁹

Building on these proposals, as well as on my previous work, in which I suggest Galician national identity at times functions as a “closet” or exclusionary structure that silences non-normative identities and narratives, I want to sketch a map of queer Galicia, albeit a preliminary and provisional one.¹⁰ Such a survey of the field, far from exhaustive, will serve as an invitation to explore how and where non-heteronormative sexualities are performed, as well as the development of critical practices that would make legible the queer narratives, affects and desires that have been obscured through normativizing reading practices. As an initial step toward this, I will identify some of the individuals and collectives engaged in LGTBI activism,¹¹ engage with authors and critics offering queer representations and critical strategies, and finally suggest a few directions in which queer studies can guide literary and cultural analysis in a Galicianist context. However cursory and incomplete, this overview will illustrate just how dynamic and varied the struggle for the recognition of queer Galician subjectivity and narrative has been.

QUEER VISIBILITY IN GALICIA: ACTIVISM & ART

Critiques of a heterosexist Galician nationalism were present as early as the Spanish Transition to democracy. Scholar Carlos Callón, in a reflection on the history and significance of the *Día do Orgullo* [Gay Pride Day], cites a 1979 text from the Asemblea Nacional-Popular Galega that connected national autonomy with sexual freedom. Among their tenets was the recognition that: “The struggle for the legal and social recognition of homosexual behavior should be framed within the process of popular nationalist struggle.”¹² Questions of marginalization, visibility, and exclusion have remained central to subsequent activist communities. Since the publication of *Aturuxo*, a bulletin produced in the 1980s by queer activists, numerous local collectives have emerged across Galicia under some variation of the acronym LGTBI. A partial list of the various entities past and present that have fought to increase the visibility of homosexual

and queer communities and to combat homophobia in Galician society includes *Asociación pola Liberdade Afectiva e Sexual*, *BOGA Mulleres Lésbicas e Bisexuais da Galiza*, *Colectivo Gai de Compostela*, *Legais*, *Coletivo TransGaliza*, *Galentendo*, *Maribolheras Precarias*, *Milhomes*, *Nomepisesofreghao*, *Oquenosaedacona*, *Raras somos todas*, *7 Cores* and *Ultreia LGTBI*. These groups and others have appeared, merged, splintered, and disbanded over the last four decades, giving testament to just how diverse and fluid the movement has been. From a legal standpoint, a noted triumph for these activists came in 2014 when the Galician Parliament approved the *Lei Galega de visibilidade e non discriminación das persoas LGTBI*, intended to extend protections against harassment and discrimination as well as reform education to include mention of non-heterosexual families, the first law of its kind within the Spanish state.

The name taken by A Coruña-based collective *Milhomes*, in homage to the abject, queer character of Eduardo Blanco Amor's *A esmorga* (1959) illustrates the degree to which LGTBI movements in Galicia have been entwined with literary movements. Their bulletin, *Ghaiseta*, archived online by one of the group's founders, was intended as a "meeting place open to all the interested men and women,"¹³ as stated their February 1997 issue. The biweekly pamphlet regularly offered not only social commentary but also erotic photos and lists of homoerotic texts from both Galicia and abroad. Publications like these—along with specific bars, bookstores, and video clubs—sought to fill an informational, cultural, and pornographic vacuum as well as articulate a specifically non-heterosexual Galician subjectivity. The titular loanwords "gai" and "gaceta" are Galicianized through the use of *gheada* and *seseo*, phonetic patterns typical of the westernmost areas of Galicia, marking the text as unmistakably Galician. As the mouthpiece of *Milhomes*, a group "committed to the language and culture of this country," the editors declared that "the texts will be published in Galician" except in particular circumstances.¹⁴ In addition, even at the visual level, we find tongue-in-cheek flourishes of local color. For example, in 1997, the covers of the April and May issues feature photos of naked men whose genitals have been covered with images of Galician seafood and produce taken from local supermarket fliers, each captioned "Galicia Exporta" [Galicia Exports], promoting a homosexual identity that is homegrown and not imported from abroad.

From an archival standpoint, ephemera like the *Ghaiseta* offer rare and valuable historical material about the local organization of activism and

dissemination of information around queer sexuality. Particularly interesting for a queer cartography of Galicia is not only the way in which the newsletter sought to create a textual venue—similar to the role of social media in LGTBI movements today—but also how it represents an attempt by activists to reclaim and mark geographical space. Information about protests, dancehalls, meetings, and video clubs, as well as incidents of homophobic violence, situates queer desire, struggle, and oppression on the map in the most literal sense. In the July 1997 issue, there are even six hand-drawn maps of beaches in and near A Coruña with instructions on how to find clothing-optional and cruising areas for engaging in voyeurism, exhibitionism, and public sexual encounters. Beyond making visible those sites where homosexual encounters can safely remain invisible to the gaze of heterosexual couples, families, and the police, these maps are also important for providing evidence of queerness outside city centers, which even today problematically remain the most visible sites of public queer life, perhaps at the cost of visibility for rural manifestations of queer identity.¹⁵

If the seeming scarcity of archival material, literature, theory, and criticism dealing with non-normative sexual identities once made it difficult to speak of a queer literary tradition as such, there is certainly an increase in cultural production aimed at challenging compulsory heterosexuality. Eduardo Blanco Amor's 1959 novel, *A esmorga*, was the first to feature a character openly defiant of heteronormative order. However, it is not until 1988, with the publication of *A semellanza*, by María Queizán, that we find a more positive representation of gay, transsexual, and lesbian identity. Literary representations of same-sex desire in Galician, while still scarce, are now markedly on the rise. Ana Romaní, Teresa Moure, Antón Lopo, María Reimóndez, and Mario Regueira are just some of the authors who have enjoyed considerable success while remaining committed to challenging the heterosexist tendencies of Galician literature. It also bears mentioning that nearly all these writers deal not only with non-compliance to heterosexist norms of sexuality and gender but also with migration, a confluence of themes discussed further below. Many other writers engage in a similar project, such as Fran Lorenzo, Cris Pavón, Benito Pereira Domínguez, Concha Blanco, Tomás González Ahola, Beatriz Dacosta Molanes, Esther Elexgaray Cruz, Xerardo Quintiá, and Moncho Borrajo. These authors represent creators of poetry, prose, graphic novels, children's literature, young adult fiction, sci-fi, and historical fiction that offer non-heterosexist or

non-binary representations of gender and sexuality. If we are to map the field of queer literature, we also need to think about translators, such as Erín Moure, and translations of queer literature into Galician, as well as the inclusion of queer characters in the works of canonized writers such as Manuel Rivas. It is also worth noting the work of visual artists such as Peque Varela, Roberto Fernández González, Álex Mene, and Juan Pinzás, all of whom help to represent, render visible, and demarginalize queer subjectivities.¹⁶

In academic contexts, the relevance of queer theory for Galician Studies has been increasingly under debate in publications, workshops, and conferences. As with social activism and literature, we are seeing very different contributions being made, but each with the intention of shedding light on the ways in which a heterosexist, patriarchal society has systematically excluded bodies, practices, and perspectives from the cultural, political, historical, and literary maps of Galicia. One productive inroad into this area has been through queer history and historiography, identifying and publicizing queer figures and events in order to show that same-sex desire is not simply a novelty or market trend, but rather a constitutive element of a past erased from, or closeted within, cultural memory.¹⁷ The legal partnership of Pedro Díaz and Muño Vandilaz in the eleventh century, the popular uprising in A Coruña in defense of Onorato Benedicto Truque who was sentenced to death for the *delito nefando* or sodomy in 1697, the legendary (and possibly intersex) wolf-man Manuel Romasanta in the 1850s, the marriage of Marcela Gracia and Elisa/Mario Sánchez in 1901, and the case of Tomás Fábregas, who helped create a multilingual newsletter for the San Francisco AIDS Foundation and famously challenged the USA's Entry Ban in 1992, have been transformed into nodes of queer history in the Galician context, becoming the subjects of scholarship, press, and, in some instances, petitions to name streets in their honor.

In addition to these historical contributions, there have been theoretical and critical works written by Galician scholars such as Suárez Briones, Callón, Moure, Regueira, Helena González Fernández, Xosé Buxán Bran, and Xosé Chao Rego that have engaged with the concept of "queer," aiming to explore its applicability to understanding Galician society and cultural production. While some, like Regueira, maintain that it is too soon to speak of a queer Galician literature, others, such as Moure, have embraced the term wholly, going so far as to claim "ours is a queer literature."¹⁸ Varied as it may be, this body of work represents a

collective effort toward “the broadening of the concepts of ‘citizenship’ and ‘human’ so they no longer normativize and end up producing abject others (without rights).”¹⁹

Certain characteristics of Galician literature allow for productive comparisons with queerness. In his essay on the subject, Regueira affirms that, like queerness, “[the] existence of Galician literature came about outside of the concepts of normality, and it is outside of these very concepts, creating spaces of resistance, that its future continues to lie.”²⁰ Although the predicament of minoritized sexualities and nationalities may be analogous, it must be remembered that even a marginalized national culture can normativize heteropatriarchal values; in this sense, Moure’s assertion that Galician literature is queer literature needs to be carefully evaluated. Her claim risks placing patriarchy and heterosexism outside the nation, ignoring the way in which Galician literary discourse has also reproduced and been complicit with sexist, racist, and imperial logic. Although I remain reluctant to adopt Moure’s belief that Galician literature is queer, I echo McGovern’s belief that we can speak of “a culture that is both queer and Galician and that remains largely underground and rarely acknowledged.”²¹ Locating that site of overlap and queering Galician Studies requires, in part, a critical approach to how non-heteropatriarchal sexual and gender identities, in Galicia and its diasporic communities, redefine their relationships to space and the nation.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR A QUEER GALICIAN CARTOGRAPHY

Mapping queer identity in Galicia is a difficult task, not least because both “Galicia” and “queerness” by their very definitions seem to elude and transgress boundaries. Although it is often employed as an umbrella term for gay, lesbian, bisexual, transsexual, and intersex identities, “queerness” has a meaning that also exceeds and challenges the fixity of those very same categories, much as it does heterosexuality. For Judith Butler, “queer” is “necessary as a term of affiliation, but it will not fully describe those it purports to represent.”²² In her estimation, the strength of the term is derived from its capacity to be critically re-signified and to “take on meanings that cannot now be anticipated by a younger generation whose political vocabulary may well carry a very different set of

investments.”²³ Eve Sedgwick offers a definition of “queer” as “the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone’s gender, of anyone’s sexuality aren’t made (or can’t be made) to signify monolithically.”²⁴ Similarly, Galicia, because of its political status and history of migration, resists clear territorial demarcations and limitations. Despite these difficulties, it is precisely alterity—as well as the amorphous and de-territorialized aspects of queerness—that makes it a useful tool for analyzing a culture and literature such as that of Galicia.

The critical and literary work on queer identities in Galicia has also focused closely on issues of sexuality and space. Suárez Briones’s work is rich in cartographical imagery; she attempts to “situate [queer theory] on the map of contemporary theories of subjectivity.”²⁵ Her “viaxe” [journey] through this theory is a transgression of the border that “artificially divides and hierarchically organizes space—material and symbolic—inside/outside, hetero/homosexual.”²⁶ “Every border,” for her, “is an artificial limit, a boundary that fences something in (a space—physical or psychic—, an identity).”²⁷ María Reimóndez calls our attention to the fact that, at these national, gendered, and sexual thresholds, “everyday there are more bodies on the border, bodies that reject the narrow definitions of a place and a sexuality.”²⁸ Similarly, in his study of Antón Lopo’s work, McGovern also understands the relationship between queer sexuality and national identity as a play between and within borders. Queer narratives such as Lopo’s offer visions of the world in which “the peripheries have become central and old ways of articulating national and sexual identity must be replaced.”²⁹ In more recent literature and theory, however, there seems to be waning interest in bringing the periphery into the center, and in its place seems to be emerging, in Regueira’s terms, “a defense of that transitional space, the right to divergence and the rupture with concepts of normality.”³⁰

Given these ways in which queerness is transitional, liminal, and transitory, it is unsurprising that literary discourses of queer sexuality are often inseparable from migration, whether at the level of theme or production. From the publication of Blanco Amor’s *A esmorga* in Buenos Aires, to Juanjo’s move to Barcelona and Morocco in *A semellanza* (1988), or from Ganga’s involvement in an international crime network in Lopo’s eponymous novel, to Xoán’s move to France and then Belgium in *Outono aquí* (2012), queer sexuality and migration are discursively bound together. These narratives are rooted in Galician

language, spaces, and culture, while simultaneously questioning hegemonic notions of sexual and national identity. To some degree, they can be seen to complement political projects, such as those celebrated by the controversial activist Laura Bugalho, that aim to reveal and strengthen a “trans-fag-dyke-whore-immigrant network, ... a network that exists world-wide.”³¹

Insofar as both queerness and migration can be conceived of as displacement or a lack of fixity, we might rethink the ways in which “placelessness,” to use Larry Knopp’s term, might be productively reconceptualized as an embodied and material practice, one that offers certain pleasures and other benefits (such as security) through its various perceived qualities (heterogeneity, temporariness, anonymity, cosmopolitanism), rather than just as a lack (of place).³² This queer reimagining of placelessness can offer new opportunities for rethinking Galician migration. One such way is through sociologist Manuel Guzmán’s notion of “sexile,” “the exile of those who have had to leave their nations of origin on account of their sexual orientation.”³³ The usefulness of the concept is that it complicates dominant narratives of emigration that would represent such movement as an economic or political phenomenon, ignoring sexual and personal motives for migrating, particularly for non-heterosexual subjects. Such a theoretical tool in a Galician context could be used to frame the life and work of a writer like Blanco Amor, or analyze how sex and sexuality inform and are informed by the experience of transnational migration in Reimóndez’s *En vías de extinción* (2012). In such cases, migration is not only a national trauma through which citizens are torn from their nation; these authors exemplify the theoretical claim that it is through the “exclusion of ‘queer’ migrants that a normative construction of nation, citizenry and citizenship is produced.”³⁴ Such an interrogation of migration would require us to redirect our attention away from the ways in which an idealized national identity has been constructed through the emigrant’s nostalgia, toward a consideration of how migration becomes a space from which writers can challenge a patriarchal nationalism that requires the exclusion of queerness.

Another way in which queer geographies can help us remap Galician Studies is through a radical rethinking of everyday spaces such as the “home.” Home—whether a presence or absence—has served as a locus of nationalist discourse since the nineteenth century. Yet, queer critics have revealed domestic space to be a heteronormative one, for some even becoming “a space of violence—violence meted out by parents and

other family members,”³⁵ whether physical, psychological or symbolic. We see this negative representation of “home” from the earliest works of queer literature such as Cibrán’s refusal and/or inability to return to his house in *A esmorga*, and Juanjo’s rejection by his father in *A semellanza*, through more contemporary texts such as *Outono aquí*, in which domestic life is characterized by patriarchal violence.

Similarly, critical work on queer diasporas would seem to provide a useful framework for understanding Galician literary production. David Eng proposes a notion of “queer diaspora” defined as “a concept providing new methods of contesting traditional family and kinship structures—of reorganizing national and transnational communities based not on origin, filiation, and genetics but on destination, affiliation, and the assumption of a common set of social practices or political commitments.”³⁶ Queer literary practices allow us to imagine alternative family structures, such as in Reimóndez’s *En vías de extinción*, in which there is a rejection of a notion of family “that makes us crippled and odious people, trapped within a lack of empathy, united only by genetic ties.”³⁷ Here, the protagonist Gaia defends an international, intergenerational, interspecies, non-patriarchal, and non-heterosexist notion of family, that “is not defined by blood but rather by affection.”³⁸

The need for mapping a queer Galician literature remains imperative because not all queer characters or subjects are as successful as Gaia in establishing a sense of home and belonging. In Regueira’s collection of poems, *O silencio* (2012), same-sex desire remains placeless, without a fixed or visible space of its own. Queer desire exists in the interstices of history: “One boy and another meet on the outskirts. The first works in a store ... One day when the boss is out they head to the back of the store. Their bodies rub, they devour each other. They bite down on socks or samples of fabric. Muffled moans. The silence.”³⁹ These fleeting and silent acts interrupt and challenge nationalistic meta-narratives by writing queer desire into history and making it legible to contemporary readers.

While home, migration, and family are among the topics a queer Galician Studies could attempt to redress, even these maps of queer domestic and transnational spaces will eventually need to be redrawn. In *Cruising Utopia*, theorist José Muñoz offers a definition of queerness that resists ontologies, stating that “[q]ueerness is essentially about the rejection of a here and now and an insistence on potentiality or concrete possibility for another world.”⁴⁰ His theoretical framework seeks to imagine a queer aesthetic that would restore hope through art, and

reclaim art's potential to shape radical political projects. His approach requires that we look to unfulfilled fantasies and desires in writings and art of the past as inspirations for what could be in a queer future. Similarly, like the hand-drawn maps of *Ghaiseta*, queer Galician literature can offer readers' tools to explore alternative desires, subjectivities, and futures by re-orienting our practices toward the margins. In such a queer future, the concomitant annual celebrations on May 17 of the international *Día das Letras Galegas* and *Día contra a Homofobia e a Transfobia* could realize their full joint potential.

NOTES

1. "Galicia está en su geografía" (Murado, *Otra idea*, 12). All translations to English are mine.
2. "a historia da literatura galega debe ser lida no contexto de múltiples mapas que se cruzan, que están conectados, que son dinámicos e moitas veces inestábeis" (Hooper, "Unha nova volta," 49).
3. Numerous scholars, such as Miguélez-Carballeira, have been engaged in this task. Hooper's "Unha nova volta" details much of the pertinent bibliography on this topic.
4. Bell and Valentine, *Mapping Desire*, 4.
5. Johnston and Longhurst, *Space, Place*, 3.
6. Suárez Briones, "Diso non se fala," 100.
7. McGovern, "Expressing Desire," 136.
8. "nomear é tamén un acto de supervivencia, ... esixe a entrada á cultura dunha colectividade ausente" (Suárez Briones, "Queerizando," 25).
9. McGovern, "Expressing Desire," 150.
10. Barreto, "A promiscuidade."
11. I use LGBTI—an acronym for *lesbiana, gay, bisexual, transexual, intersexual*—rather than LGBTQ, as it is seemingly the most commonly used acronym in Galicia today for this collective. Many variations exist (GLBT, LGBTTI, LGBTQ + , etc.), each signaling an attempt at naming a collective movement aimed at promoting a non-heterosexist program of cultural change.
12. "A loita polo recoñecimento legal e social da conduta homosexual debe enmarcarse no proceso de loita popular nacionalista" (cited in Callón, "O Día").
13. "lugar de encontro aberto a todos e a todas aos que lle poda [sic.] interesar" ("*Ghaiseta*." *Milhomes*: 10 años de historia. Relato de las actividades y empeños del colectivo, accessed August 10, 2016, <http://milhomes.10.wordpress.com/category/1997>).

14. “comprometido coa lingua e cultura deste país,” and “os textos serán publicados en lingua galega” (“*Ghaiseta*”).
15. This tension between rural and urban articulations of queer identity is explored in contemporary novels such as Reimóndez, *En vías de extinción*, and Regueira, *Outono aquí*.
16. Activist group Ultréa LGTBI is currently compiling a bibliography of texts dealing with queer themes in Galician, soon to be available to the public. This continues a project begun by the Grupo de Traballo de Bibliotecas Galegas in 2013.
17. Exemplary publications in this area are Callón, *Amigos e sodomitas* and Gabriel, *Elisa e Marcela*.
18. “a nosa é unha literatura queer” (Moure, *Queer-emos*, 32).
19. “a expansión dos conceptos de ‘cidadanía’ e de ‘humano’ para non normativizar e acabar producindo alteridades abxectas (e sen dereitos)” (Suárez Briones, “Queerizando,” 25).
20. “[a] existencia da literatura galega aconteceu fóra dos conceptos de normalidade, e fóra deses mesmos conceptos, creando os espazos de resistencia, segue a estar o seu futuro” (Regueira, “Por unha literatura,” 150).
21. McGovern, “Camping,” 167.
22. Butler, *Bodies*, 230.
23. Butler, *Bodies*, 230.
24. Sedgwick, *Tendencies*, 7.
25. “situar [a teoría *queer*] no mapa das teorías contemporáneas da subxectividade” (Suárez Briones, “Queerizando,” 18).
26. “divide e xerarquiza artificialmente o espazo—material e simbólico—dentro/fóra, hetero/homosexual” (Suárez Briones, “Queerizando,” 18).
27. “Toda fronteira é un límite artificial, un linde que cerca algo (un espazo—físico e psíquico—, unha identidade)” (Suárez Briones, “Queerizando,” 18).
28. “cada día hai máis corpos na fronteira, corpos que rexeitan as definicións estreitas dun lugar e dunha sexualidade” (Reimóndez, “Xogos,” 49).
29. McGovern, “Camping,” 180.
30. “a defensa dese espazo de transición, o dereito á diverxencia e á ruptura cos conceptos de normalidade” (Regueira, “Por unha literatura,” 150).
31. “rede trans-marica-bollo-puta-inmigrante, ... unha rede que existe a nivel mundial” (Bugalho, “Entrevista,” 00:08:54-00:09:09. “Entrevista con Laura Bugalho arredor da historia do movemento LGBTQ en Galicia.” *Arredor de nós*, Radio Fusión, accessed August 12, 2016: <http://173.255.131.18/audio/070415BUGALHO.mp3>).
32. Knopp, “Lesbian and Gay,” 24.
33. Guzmán, “Pa’ la escuelita,” 227.
34. Brown et al., “Introduction,” 3.
35. Brown et al., “Introduction,” 3.

36. Eng, "Transnational Adoption," 4.
37. "que faga de nós persoas tolleitas e odiosas, encaixadas na antiempatía, unidas só por vínculos xenéticos" (Reimóndez, *En vías de extinción*, 33).
38. "non se define polo polos vínculos de sangue senón polos do afecto" (Reimóndez, *En vías de extinción*, 33).
39. "Un rapaz e outro coñécense nun barrio do extrarradio. O primeiro traballa nunha tenda.. . Un día que o patrón non está pasan á trastenda. Rózanse os corpos, cómense coa boca. Morden calcetíns ou mostras dos teares. Xemidos afogados. O silencio" (Regueira, *O silencio*, 10).
40. Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 1.

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