

- Johnson, Paul E. *Shopkeepers Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1978.
- Laurie, Bruce. *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1989.
- Montgomery, David. *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and Labor Activism, 1865–1925*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Painter, Nell Irvin. *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919*. New York: Norton, 1987.
- Tomlins, Christopher. *The State and the Unions: Labor Relations, Law, and the Organized Labor Movement in America, 1880–1960*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Zeiger, Robert H. *American Workers, American Unions, 1920–1985*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

FURTHER READING

- Babson, Steve. *The Unfinished Struggle: Turning Points in American Labor, 1877–Present*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999.
- Hamper, Ben. *Rivthead: Tales From the Assembly Line*. New York: Warner Books, 1991.
- Licht, Walter. *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Lichtenstein, Nelson. *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- McCartin, Joseph. *Labor's Great War: The Struggle for Industrial Democracy and the Origins of Modern American Labor Relations, 1912–1921*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Moody, Kim. *An Injury to All: The Decline of American Unionism*. London: Verso, 1988.
- Roediger, David R. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. Rev. ed. London: Verso, 1999.

RELATED ENTRIES

Apprenticeship; Artisan; Breadwinner Role; Citizenship;
Industrialization; Market Revolution; Property; Race; Reagan, Ronald;
Republicanism; Whiteness; Work; Working-Class Manhood

—Rosanne Currarino

LATINO MANHOOD

The term *Latino manhood* refers to models of masculinity embraced by men of South American, Central American, or Mexican origin living in the United States. It has historically

been complex, dynamic, and in many ways shrouded in stereotype. In the Anglo-American mind, Latino men are often perceived in terms of *machismo*, a generalized set of negatively connoted behaviors ranging from misogyny to belligerence. More specifically, white Americans typically believe Latino men to be heirs to a cultural heritage driven by a veneration of the male and a denigration of the female. The male is supposedly dominant and aggressive, the female subordinate and passive. Within the family, the father is the unquestioned patriarch, provider, lawmaker, and judge. He is obsessed with the need to prove his masculinity, whether by extramarital affairs, excessive drinking, or aggressive behavior toward other men.

Yet while Latino men acknowledge the existence of *machismo* among them, most regard it as an undesirable cultural trait. Instead, they describe their own masculinity in terms of obligations toward their families, rather than their rights over it. Moreover, historical investigations have demonstrated that, though patriarchal authority did at a specific historical moment become an important component of Hispanic culture, it has been challenged by a variety of factors, including migration in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and its attendant redistribution of authority within the family); the emergence of a Latina feminist consciousness in the 1960s and 1970s; and, at the end of the twentieth century, the conscious rejection by Latino men themselves of behaviors that imperil the survival of their community. Thus, contrary to the stereotype of the Latino man as invariably sexist and violent, Latino masculinity has always been both multifaceted and flexible, sensitive to external socioeconomic pressures and internal reformist urges alike.

Spanish Colonization and the Sources of Machismo

The origins of Latino manhood lay in the cultural interaction and interracial sexual relationships between Amerindians and Spanish colonizers. The indigenous populations that fell subject to the Spanish conquistadors had a variety of gender ideologies that were affected differently by the superimposition of the Spaniards' patriarchal system. On one end of the continuum were the Aztecs in Mexico, whose society was a military patriarchy. Men were raised to be warriors, and women to engage in domestic occupations and subordinate to their spouses. In the case of the Aztecs, therefore, the transition under foreign domination merely reinforced pre-Columbian patriarchal values.

For other groups, however, the conquest involved a revolution in gender relations. When Mexican-born Spanish

adventurer Don Juan de Oñate first encountered the Pueblos of New Mexico in 1598, for instance, they were a matrilineal society in which women owned the houses, the fields, and the labor of the men who married into their family. Men spun, wove, hunted, tilled their wives' fields, and protected the community. Under Spanish rule, men were dictated to build, women to weave, and all hunting and warfare to cease. This redistribution of labor was disempowering for women, who lost ownership of their households to the men, and it was often humiliating for men as well. Colonial records indicate that Pueblo men, compelled to do what they perceived as women's work, often abandoned their communities in shame.

These incidents suggest that indigenous men felt emasculated by the Spaniards' imposition of patriarchy, even when it replaced a native matrilineal system. To this day, Mexican men refer to themselves as *hijos de la chingada* (illegitimate children) meaning they are descendants of Amerindian women the Aztec warriors failed to protect from the Spaniards' sexual violence. Furthermore, there is evidence that Franciscan friars in New Mexico at times imposed their authority on recalcitrant Pueblo men by twisting their testicles until their victims collapsed in agony, a gruesome practice that illustrates Spanish men's assertion of power through the emasculation of native men. One common hypothesis for the origin of the cult of machismo among Latinos is that it is a compensatory response for the figural castration suffered by Amerindian men. According to this view, Latino hypermasculinity is designed to mask feelings of impotence and weakness through outward expressions of courage, aggressiveness, and domination.

Latino Masculinity in the United States

The feeling of emasculation that has informed machismo was reinforced by the United States' conquest of the Southwest in the Mexican War (1846–48). Although the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which marked the end of the conflict, promised that Mexican nationals residing in territories ceded to the United States would be granted the constitutional rights of American citizens, including the right to retain their private property, many Mexican landowners were dispossessed. The constitution of Texas, for instance, stipulated that the government could suspend the privileges of anyone who had been disloyal during the rebellion of 1836, when Texas asserted its independence from Mexico and proclaimed itself a republic. Anglos seized the lands of Mexicans who, they claimed, had not sided with the republican government. Similarly, Mexicans in California lost their property when they could not afford the legal fees required to demonstrate

the validity of their land claims against Anglo settlers. Unable to provide for their families, Mexican men ousted from their lands experienced a sense of impaired masculinity. As the Californian Pablo de la Guerra put it in a speech to the state legislature in 1856, "old men of fifty and sixty years of age are weeping like children because they have been cast out of their ancestral home" (Kanellos, 112). These words suggest that those who could not discharge the basic requirement of masculinity neither felt nor acted like men.

The industrialization that followed the American conquest of the Southwest further altered the material conditions that had supported the traditional patriarchal family, and thus challenged the domestic authority of Latino men. After 1850 there was an a marked increase in the number of Hispanic female-headed households (including a 27 percent increase in Los Angeles in 1860) due to the temporary absence of fathers who had left their families behind in search of job opportunities. The building of railroads in the newly acquired territories starting in the 1870s, for instance, disrupted the work patterns of thousands of *arrieros*, or teamsters, who went in search of contracts in areas not served by the railways. Similarly, miners in southern Arizona lost their jobs due to the mechanization of labor introduced by American investors, and they opted to extract minerals from placer deposits along the Colorado River to meet their obligation as providers for their families. Paradoxically, these men's efforts to maintain their patriarchal status created a situation that threatened their patriarchal rule, as they were forced to leave mothers as sole decision makers for their families.

Immigration and migration, central aspects of the Latino experience in the United States through the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, likewise altered the traditional patriarchal order, undermined older notions of masculinity, and prompted shifts in gender roles—especially in the case of "stage migration," in which the father moves before (sometimes years before) the rest of the family. A husband's absence fostered his wife's ability to act independently, while the experience of men in "bachelor communities" of immigrant men forced them to perform basic housekeeping skills. Upon reunification, families were characterized by a higher level of shared decision making and a more equitable division of household labor, especially if a wife had found employment in the United States and made significant financial contributions to the family economy. Even today, researchers have found, Hispanic men spend more time on household labor than white men of the same socioeconomic class. Thus, while the experience of migration has been gendered—that is, initiated and conducted by men with little or no regard for women's

desires or objections—it has also eroded traditional patriarchal privileges and created a reorientation of masculinity.

Contrary to the Anglo-American characterization, therefore, gender relations among Latinos have neither been inflexible nor always stratified. When changes have taken place, moreover, they have occurred not because of acculturation to an allegedly more egalitarian American society, as Anglos would like to believe, but rather in response to economic constraints. Indeed, contact with the Anglo world appears to have exacerbated, rather than softened, Latinos' patriarchal stance. According to some analysts of machismo, the emphasis on masculinity among Latinos derives from the historic marginalization and disempowerment of Latino males in the United States. Excluded from positions of authority and denied traditionally valued social roles, they argue, Latino men of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries increasingly and aggressively turned to maleness itself as a basis for asserting their social status and claiming power in their communities. Proponents of this view thus read machismo, and the resulting sexual stratification of Hispanic communities, as a response—indeed, a form of resistance—to racism.

Challenges to Machismo

During the late twentieth century, as Latinos sought to form their own ethnic identities and to overcome the historic effects of Anglo racism, they increasingly challenged the cult of machismo and called for new models of Latino manhood. The earliest challenges to machismo came from women involved in the Chicano, or Mexican American, civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. As they struggled alongside men to unionize farm laborers, end racial ghettoization in the school system, or regain land rights lost to Anglo colonizers, Chicanas, barred from positions of leadership and confined to menial tasks, demanded that the asymmetrical relationship between Latino men and women be altered. When their position was criticized by men in the movement as antifamily and (given the Latino family's historic role in ensuring cultural survival) as antinationalist and anti-Chicano, Chicanas responded that the Hispanic family was founded upon heterosexual and cross-generational bonds of affection rather than on male power and female and filial subjugation. While their calls for a new Latino masculinity grounded in equality rather than dominance were largely ignored, they powerfully reshaped attitudes toward Latino manhood by defining machismo as a social pathology to be eliminated, rather than a cultural value to be preserved.

An equally severe critique of machismo was voiced by the gay community, which had experienced negative physical

and psychological consequences due to the complex relation between homosexuality and machismo in Latino culture. Because demonstrating one's manhood through sexual penetration (preferably, though not exclusively, of women) has been a more important marker of masculinity than merely being male, achieving penetration has been particularly important for gay Latino men. In fact, a Latino man who penetrates other men (a *bugarron*) considers himself "straight," and is regarded as such both by his male sexual partners and heterosexual men. Only the sexually passive partner is deemed unmanly, and is thus often disparagingly referred to in feminine terms (e.g., *mariquita*, *loca*) to emphasize his distance from the macho ideal. Internalizing their culture's veneration of sexually aggressive masculinity and its denigrating definition of sexual passivity, Latino homosexuals have been even more concerned than their heterosexual peers to prove their masculinity through sexuality, and they have therefore been reluctant to practice any safe-sex measure that may compromise their capability to penetrate their partners. The elevated frequency of unprotected anal intercourse among Latino gays compared to non-Latinos has, in turn, resulted in a disproportionately high incidence of HIV positivity. In the end, the complex imbrication of the cult of masculinity with homophobia and risky sexual practices has rendered overcoming machismo a matter of emotional and physical survival for Latino gays.

Similarly, in the late twentieth century, and into the twenty-first, concerns for community survival prompted Latino men themselves, regardless of sexual orientation, to call for a reformed Latino masculinity. Growing numbers of Latino men argued that aggressiveness against other men, drunkenness or drug addiction, womanizing, and spousal abuse reflect an antisocial notion of masculinity adverse to the interest of Latinos as a group and must therefore be replaced by a new ideal of manhood based not only on virility, but also on peacefulness, emotional openness, and nurture. The only area where the Latino male should stay aggressive, according to the scholar David T. Abalos, is that of nonviolent militancy for democratic change in American society. There has been increasing agreement among Latinos that masculinity needs to be redefined so that it will support, rather than imperil, the community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abalos, David T. *The Latino Male. A Radical Redefinition*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2002.
- Díaz, Rafael M. *Latino Gay Men and HIV. Culture, Sexuality, and Risk Behavior*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

- González, Ray, ed. *Muy Macho: Latino Men Confront Their Manhood*. New York: Anchor Books, 1996.
- Gutiérrez, Ramón A. *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Kanellos, Nicolás, ed. *Herencia: An Anthology of Hispanic Literature of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Mirandé, Alfredo. *Hombres y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997.
- Ramírez, Rafael L. *What It Means to Be a Man: Reflections on Puerto Rican Masculinity*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1999.

FURTHER READING

- Baca Zinn, Maxine. "Chicano Men and Masculinity." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10 (Spring 1982): 29–44.
- Garcia, Alma. "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1970–1980." *Gender & Society* 3 (1989): 217–238.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. "Overcoming Patriarchal Constraints: The Reconstruction of Gender Relations among Mexican Immigrant Women and Men." *Gender & Society* 6 (1992): 393–415.
- Paz, Octavio. *The Labyrinth of Solitude*. New York: Grove, 1961.
- Peña, Manuel. "Class, Gender, and Machismo: The 'Treacherous-Woman' Folklore of Mexican Male Workers." *Gender & Society* 5 (1991): 30–46.

RELATED ENTRIES

Breadwinner Role; Civil Rights Movement; Class; Ethnicity; Feminism; Homosexuality; Immigration; Imperialism; Industrialization; Native American Manhood; Patriarchy; Race; Violence; Working-Class Manhood

—Paola Gemme

LAWRENCE, D. H.

1885–1930

British Novelist and Poet

D. H. (David Herbert) Lawrence ranks as one of the great modernist authors and a key influence on the "lost generation" of American writers of the early twentieth century. His provocative novels, questioning Victorian cultural assumptions prevalent on both sides of the Atlantic, heralded the death of the protective and powerful Victorian father figure and the appearance of a more ambiguous post-Victorian picture of masculinity and male sexuality.

Born in Nottinghamshire, England, Lawrence grew up amid the strife of his parents' unhappy marriage, and the tensions between his miner father's working-class sensibilities and his mother's more genteel background dramatically shaped his portrayals of gender. Lawrence depicts this gendered conflict in the autobiographical novel *Sons and Lovers* (1913). Protagonist Paul Morel's father symbolizes sensuality and passion (in opposition to dominant Victorian constructions of middle-class manhood emphasizing self-control and emotional reserve), whereas his controlling mother and obsessively chaste girlfriend Miriam represent social ambition and religious fervor. Paul struggles, and ultimately fails, to develop a masculine identity that balances these competing elements. Lawrence's linked novels, *The Rainbow* (1915) and *Women in Love* (1920), which focus on gender tensions and domestic relationships in the Brangwen family, continue to use battles between strong-willed women and weak men to explore the problem of combining strength and emotional expression into a modernized model of manhood.

Lawrence's representations of demanding women, often portrayed as vampire-like, have spurred psychoanalytic readings of his life and fiction. Drawing on Freudian concepts of the Oedipus complex, these analyses focus on the inability of Lawrence and his fictional characters to separate themselves from strong mother figures and achieve an independent masculinity. His consistent portrayal of men who are unable to achieve healthy relationships with women, some scholars suggest, may also point to latent homosexual or homoerotic tendencies.

Lawrence's treatment of gender was also the product of its historical context. Most of his novels were written during and after World War I, which inaugurated changes in gender roles in both the United States and Britain. As men went off to war, women filled their places in offices and factories on the home front. This shift, occurring alongside agitation for women's suffrage, heralded a change in power structures on both sides of the Atlantic. Thus, Lawrence's work reflects not only personal anxieties, but also broader male concerns about a loss of social, political, and sexual power—and the consequences of this loss on definitions of masculinity. Lawrence's articulation of this social and sexual alienation influenced the work of the lost generation, a group of expatriate writers—including the Americans Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald—whose novels, like Lawrence's, often involve a protagonist searching for a stable masculine identity in the chaotic modern world.

Only in his later works does Lawrence come close to resolving the conundrum of masculinity, emotion, and power. In *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), Constance Chatterley