Queer Geographies of 1970s Barcelona: Mapping the City in Transition through Image and Oral History

by

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Abstract

Space was a central concern in 1970s Barcelona, both for the Francoist dictatorship trying to maintain control of the city as well as for the gay, lesbian, and trans activists defying the repression of the regime. How to occupy space was a source of heated debate among these activists as a political transition to democracy was sought with uneven success in the Spanish State. This thesis analyzes photographs of marches and oral history interviews to argue that space was crucial in creating solidarities and delineations within and among identity categories. This analysis looks beyond commercial sites to investigate the relationships between spaces to demonstrate that it was through an engagement with the spatial politics of Barcelona and its geography in the Transition* period that lesbian, gay, and trans individuals articulated their political and personal identities.

*"The Transition" is the term used by historians to describe the period between the Francoist dictatorship and democracy in the Spanish State.
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Introduction


Barcelona is often fetishized for its history, for its layers of Roman, medieval, gothic, and modernist architecture. The distinctive layout of the Eixample (extension), after construction was officially allowed outside of the city's medieval walls, created broad avenues and hexagonal blocks of buildings. Barcelona's reputation as a beach city is recent, only since the drastic urban changes that were made for the 1996 Olympic Games, but its reputation as a literary and artistic European centre is much longer. For over a century it has been exoticized for the sordid - the narrow, dark, cold streets of the gothic quarter and the
Raval's association with sex work and danger. Often lost in this is the reality that this is a city people do live in - that people, work, love, and fight in, in all sorts of ways. With this thesis I aim to introduce the reader to some of the complexities that are interwoven in its streets, the politics of its spaces and how individuals have moved between them.

This thesis focuses on the 1970s, and the queer communities and identities growing in different spaces of the city during that period. There has been an important shift in the scholarship on queer histories of the Spanish State which rejects placing the 1970s as the starting point for queer history and moves beyond major cities like Barcelona or Madrid.\(^1\) However, I argue there is still much to be learned from the 1970s in Barcelona, and this thesis aims in particular to fill a gap in the scholarship on the relationship between gay, lesbian and trans spaces in Barcelona and how this relates to activism and identity. The 1970s in Barcelona present a fascinating case for community building because of the multiple interwoven changes occurring on both the small and grand scale as the Spanish State underwent a "Transition" period between dictatorship and democracy, with an ongoing controversy over where or if to claim any end point to this transition.\(^2\) The decade began with clandestine organizing, saw an enormous mobilization of the populace at Franco's death in 1975 as they took to the streets for a huge variety of causes, and schisms between activists

\(^{1}\) Alberto Berzosa and Gracia Trujillo Barbadillo, “Introducción. Cuerpos en rebeldía, cuarenta años después,” in Fiestas, memorias y archivos: política sexual disidente y resistencias cotidianas en España en los años setenta, First edition. (Madrid: Brumaria, 2019), 10; The prevalence of Barcelona in scholarship has not necessarily been due to an unwillingness on the part of scholars but rather the inaccessibility of many archives in other parts of the Spanish State as Geoffroy Huard explained, as Barcelona was the only place where he was granted access to archival materials on homosexuality during Francoism. Geoffroy Huard, Les Gays Sous Le Franquisme: Discours, Subcultures et Revendications à Barcelona, 1939-1977 (Villeurbanne, France: Orbis Tertius, 2016), 12; Alberto Mira Nouselles, De Sodoma a Chueca: una historia cultural de la homosexualidad en España en el siglo XX (Egales, 2004), 417.

at the end of the 1970s over who and how to fight for their rights that reveal how political and interconnected the questions of image, space, and movement were.³

The decade opened with a new law passed by the Spanish regime to recriminalize homosexuality, driven by anxieties over the moral decay brought by Spain's new economic strategies of the 1960s which saw its military dictatorship profiting off tourism.⁴ In the first decades of the dictatorship, after its instalment in 1939, the regime had kept a much stricter isolationist economy, but after the ongoing financial crisis brought by this strategy the regime opened the economy in 1959 and began promoting tourism and migration schemes in the 1960s to keep the regime going.⁵ These changes increased worries about foreign influences and a perceived rise in homosexuality threatening the moral Catholic family (heterosexual, patriarchal, and pious) which was so central to the underlying ideology of one of the longest-lasting fascist regimes on the continent.⁶ Jordi M. Monferrer Tomás has analyzed the role of the 1970 Law on Social Dangers and Rehabilitation (LPRS) in the development of organized activism and how this played into the rise and fall of the broader solidarities that were crucial to its emergence.⁷ The law inspired the creation of the Spanish Movement for Homosexual Liberation (MELH), founded in Barcelona by two upper-class

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³ Mira Nouselles, De Sodoma a Chueca, 490–91; Antoni Mas i Segura, “Memòria i història de la transició,” in Memòria de la transició a Espanya i a Catalunya, ed. Antoni Mas i Segura and Rafael Aracil (Edicions Universitat de Barcelona, 2000), 19, 33, 38.
⁵ Cazorla Sánchez, Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco’s Spain, 1939-1975, 5–6, 12, 114.
Catalans, which disbanded in December 1975 to create instead the Gay Liberation Front of Catalonia (FAGC) a month after the death of Spain's dictator.\(^8\)

The death of Francisco Franco gave people hope and intensified a political struggle over the future of the Spanish State, over how democratization could or should be achieved and what new society and culture should emerge.\(^9\) This included questions over economic systems, labour rights, women's rights, environmentalism, art, freedom of the press, and of course, sexuality. Kerman Calvo and Gracia Trujillo Barbadillo's article on LGBT activism in the Spanish State analyzes how the political climate of the Spanish State impacted how gay, lesbian and trans activists mobilized, which is an important aspect of my own analysis within this thesis.\(^10\) Javier Fernández Galeano and Gema Pérez Sánchez’s work on the transnational activist networks of the 1970s which were important to the early groups of both Buenos Aires and Barcelona demonstrate how political transition between dictatorship and democracy provided specific struggles but also created the conditions for broader solidarities.\(^11\)

This thesis explores the particular conditions created by the transitional moment of the 1970s; however, it attempts to not overemphasize the decade as a moment of rupture, something Alberto Mira warns against in his cultural history of homosexuality in Spain where he stresses the important continuities in homosexual culture and activism throughout


the twentieth century. As Mira argues, it would be misleading to place any hard boundary between a period of violence and repression and one of open activism, as both continued from previous periods and past that of this study's focus. The work of scholars studying earlier decades has been invaluable to understanding the changes that emerged in the 1970s, and some of the continuities that span different decades. The particularities of queer women's spaces and cultures of socialization in the 1940s-1950s as analyzed by Matilde Albarracín revealed continuities with patterns in the 1970s but also significant changes between the descriptions of her interviewees and my interviewees' memories of the 1970s-1980s. Brice Chamouleau reveals how homosexual tourists in the 1960s found sexual liberation with sex workers who faced the consequences of these encounters from the regime, revealing how the liberatory associations of certain spaces were very unevenly felt. Gracia Trujillo Barbadillo's study of lesbian activism in the Spanish State through the latter decades of the twentieth century investigates those continuities and ruptures, and while the book is not exclusively focused on spaces her analysis of the shifting meeting points and divergences of lesbian and gay activisms have a clear spatial aspect which I draw out further in this thesis.

My interest is not only in identifying specific spaces of queer life, but also their relationship with a wide variety of geographies. Rafael M. Mérida Jiménez argues in

12 Mira Nouselles, De Sodoma a Chueca.
14 Chamouleau, “Formas de La Colonialidad Mesocrática: Turistas Gais En La Costa Brava de Los Setenta”; I was lucky enough to see a presentation by Cuevas del Barrio on research of his forthcoming co-edited volume on the importance of Torremolinos in queer networks of the 1960s which will surely bring important analysis on the role of tourism and queer mobilities in this decade. Javier Cuevas del Barrio, “The Role of Torremolinos in the Queer History of Spain: New Narratives beyond Madrid and Barcelona” (Conference paper, Queer History Conference, San Francisco, June 15, 2022).
Transbarcelonas that trans women were never points on the map of Barcelona's history, but rather that both the real living women and their fictional representations were intimately entwined with the politics and space of the city throughout the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{16} The literal and symbolic use of space drawn out by Mérida Jiménez have been helpful comparisons to the multiple uses of real and symbolic space in my own sources. Richard Cleminson, María Medina Doménech and Isabel Vélez in their book chapter on cities in the Spanish State between 1939 and 2010 tackle the memorialization of this period in Barcelona, and how this plays into the construction of the city's role in LGBTQ narratives today.\textsuperscript{17} I aim to take this question further, of the connection between activist use of space in the 1970s and recent memorialization, through my first chapter which delves into the queer histories of Barcelona's geography through a visual medium. It asks what the role of photography was in the creation of iconic events, and how photographs have shaped our understanding of the politics behind them.

Chapter Two moves from photography to oral history interviews which allow for a more personal investigation into the relationship between queer identities and space, be it physical, literary, or imagined. Armand de Fluvia's 2003 book on the gay movement under Franco was an important starting point for this project, as its compilation of interviews sparked my initial questions about the relationship between identity and space.\textsuperscript{18} The limitations of these interviews for a specifically spatial analysis inspired me to conduct my

\textsuperscript{16} Rafael M. Mérida Jiménez, Transbarcelonas: Cultura, Género y sexualidad en la España del siglo xx (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2016).
own oral history interviews to explore how gay, lesbian, and trans individuals understand the relationship between their identity and the spaces of Barcelona. The third and final chapter investigates the role of movement in these geographies of queer placemaking, how the movement between neighbourhoods, cities, and countries were central to politics of identity and community creation. By exploring the queer geographies of 1970s Barcelona through images, memories, and other archival traces that go beyond listings of commercial establishments, I aim to present a more nuanced history of Barcelona's geography and what it meant for everyday people.

a. Methodology

Michael Brown and Larry Knopp point out that queer space is defined by its fluidity and duality, and question how "fixing" queer subjectivities on a map may serve to stabilize that which should be fluid.\textsuperscript{19} The conclusion is not that maps cannot be used, but rather that the politics of mapping must always be confronted.\textsuperscript{20} Jin Haritaworn, Ghaida Moussa, Syrus Marcus Ware and Rio Rodríguez have pointed out the multiple ways that mapping out queer lives can result in a mapping of white, upper-class experiences, reiterating a spatial marginalization of other communities.\textsuperscript{21} Considering the potential pitfalls of spatializing queer histories, this study aims to not be an exercise in only locating, but rather analyzing the processes through which a place becomes locatable as queer. Jen Jack Gieseking's

\textsuperscript{21} Jin Haritaworn et al., eds., \textit{Queering Urban Justice: Queer of Colour Formations in Toronto} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018).
"constellations" of lesbian and queer desire in New York City bring into focus the constraints and politics behind different strategies for seeking out community which helped me in analyzing the relational aspect between spaces and particularly between lesbian, gay, and trans spaces. Gieseking's work builds on that of Andrew Gorman-Murray and Catherine J. Nash among others in considering the importance of movement to understanding queer spatial politics. Gorman-Murray and Nash argue that queer geographies must consider the relationship between place-making and movement rather than studying one or the other, and use the concept of "moorings" to study how spaces in Sydney became places of queer meaning through the movement between them. The emotional aspect of queer movement and places struck me in the work of geographer Gavin Brown on spatializing emotional associations of space for gay men in London, and inspired me to consider the overlap between spaces of fear, desire, and community in Barcelona during the Transition and informed an interactive visualization of queer space I undertook in 2020. The approaches of the many queer geographers above informed my questions and my imagining of spaces as I designed my oral history interview method.

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23 Gieseking, 18.
26 I was initially inspired by the methods of memory-mapping described by Gieseking, Brown, and Hyunjoo Jung, and hoped to apply these in the interviews; however, because of the COVID-19 pandemic it was unclear I would be able to interview in-person, and I ultimately decided that I preferred to not bring in the mixed media element when it seemed likely I would need to switch to online video calls at any moment. Gieseking, “Mapping Lesbian and Queer Lines of Desire: Constellations of Queer Urban Space”; Jack Jen Gieseking, “Where We Go From Here: The Mental Sketch Mapping Method and Its Analytic Components,” *Qualitative Inquiry* 19, no. 9 (2013): 712–24; Brown, “Listening to Queer Maps of the City: Gay Men’s Narratives of
My approach to oral history is inspired by Alessandro Portelli’s articulation of the practice as not one that needs objective truths, but instead sees the subjectivity of oral testimony as its strength and learns from how people tell their stories.27 The idea of “sharing authority” is important to my work, based on the writings of Michael Frisch on “shared authority” and as defined by Steven High, to ensure an ethical practice of interviewing.28 This thesis builds on in-person interviews I did with eight individuals over November and December of 2021, with artists and activists involved with queer communities of Barcelona between the 1970s and 1980s. I found people mainly through word of mouth, and Mercè Otero Vidal and Enric Majó Miró in particular were instrumental in passing my information on to others who could be interested. My interviews took me all over Barcelona, from the upper parts that climb up the mountain to the low neighbourhoods close to the sea, as well as to surrounding towns. Most interviews were at people's homes, but a couple were in cafés. Five were in Catalan, three were in Spanish. In the interviews I asked about which spaces were important to them exploring their sexuality or identity, if there were spaces in Barcelona they associated with fear, and their relationship to community and activism. The answers were often surprising for how they understood the relationship between their identity, community, and space.


While I was in Barcelona, I also developed a walking tour based on my research together with Pere Cowley of Pladebarcelona (http://rutes.pladebarcelona.cat/), who gives historical walking tours of the city which focus on countering hegemonic understandings of the past and the city and whose target audience is local rather than tourists. The initial plan with the walking tour was to organize a special session with around eight young members of the LGBTQI community and to have a post-walk roundtable to discuss the perceptions of the participants, how the walking through these histories affected their understanding of city spaces and its history, and how much history was known to them and what was new. However, our planned walk unfortunately coincided with a spike in COVID cases due to the Omicron variant and difficulties finding an appropriate space for the round-table event. In the end, we gave the walk to just one person while I was in Barcelona (though Cowley resumed giving the walking tour in 2022) whom I interviewed about the experience afterward. Although this limited how much I could analyze the walk itself, the experience of creating the walk became a crucial part of how I analyzed my own research materials and those reflections are woven into Chapter Three.

The queer histories of the city in the 1970s are not obvious in the landscape of the city, but there is a wealth of them stored in archives. The institutional archives I visited were the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (AHCB) and the Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona (AFB). The pornographic-political magazines *Lib* and *Interviú* stored at the AHCB were helpful sources for understanding the new media landscape emerging in the 1970s, and the photography collections of Colita, SE-GRÀ, and Zoltan Czibor housed in the AFB are central to my first chapter in particular. The two community archives I visited were the Centre de Documentació Armand de Fluvia at the Centre LGBTI and the archive of the
feminist centre Ca La Dona. Both have an impressive collection of posters and flyers which I was lucky to be able to study, and the publications of different gay liberation groups (such as *La Pluma* and *Debat Gai*) housed by the Centre LGBTI were important sources for this thesis.

b. Language

It is worthwhile to take a moment to reflect on the issue of language, given there are multiple levels of translation occurring in this text. Firstly, we are translating the labels and codes of the 1970s to a contemporary context, added onto the translation from two different languages, Catalan and Spanish, into English. Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia, an autonomous region in the Spanish State with its own Romance language (meaning that like Spanish, French, Italian, and others, it emerged from Latin). The Francoist regime's ideology was one of religious, national, and linguistic homogeneity, and thus the elimination of linguistic and national diversity was an important aspect of regime's censorship, although the banning of the public use of Catalan did not mean it was not spoken in private settings.29 The linguistic landscape of Barcelona changed with the immigration of many workers from less industrial regions of Spain in the 1960s, a demographic change that meant that Spanish was not only the language of Francoist officials and certain sectors of the elite, but also the language of working-class neighbourhoods.30 Certain kinds of Spanish speakers were therefore stigmatized as lower-class and uneducated, while there was also a rejection of Catalan language and identity from some of these immigrants, particularly those that embraced a

30 Guibernau, 67.
homogenous view of Spain.\textsuperscript{31} Without going too far into details or into the past, this perhaps gives a sense of the very complicated mix of class politics, language and identity in Barcelona.

Susan Stryker's \textit{Transgender History} drives home the difficulty in the language used around any trans pasts, something Mérida Jiménez draws inspiration from in \textit{Transbarcelonas} for thinking through transness in broader unstable terms that both past and present labels describe in a necessarily imperfect way.\textsuperscript{32} An important term to begin with is therefore perhaps \textit{travesti}, which can be translated as "transvestite," although its use was and remains somewhat complicated and contested in a different way than the English term. Travesti was often used to distinguish between those who had undergone surgical procedures (\textit{transexuals} in Catalan and \textit{transexuales} in Spanish, or "transsexuals") and those who lived their lives as women but had not undergone surgical procedures, though they might use hormones or sought implants and injections.\textsuperscript{33} The Spanish word \textit{loca} (crazy woman) was used for very feminine gay men usually, who might wear make-up and high heels, and the distinction between \textit{travesti} and \textit{loca} could be blurry as people were either misread or might themselves shift between these ideas.\textsuperscript{34} There were also \textit{transformistas} or \textit{transformistes}, the

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\textsuperscript{32} Susan Stryker, \textit{Transgender History} (Berkley, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 24; Mérida Jiménez, \textit{Transbarcelonas}, 13. \\
\end{flushright}
term used for what we would call drag artists, which was theoretically different from *travestisme* but there was a lot of overlap that further complicates these terms. *Travesti* was also sometimes used as an umbrella term to encompass all of these varieties of gender expression.\textsuperscript{35} Transgender came into use later in Spain than other places, and so although many now prefer the term as a way to avoid a medicalized definition of transness, the use of the term *transexual* can be seen frequently in sources.\textsuperscript{36} Still today however, there are those who reject the medicalized term *transexual* but prefer to use *travesti* over transgender, as an identity rooted in specific intersecting oppressions of class, race, or sex work.\textsuperscript{37} *Travesti* as a way to challenge respectability. Reading and interpreting texts and materials from the 1970s can therefore be tricky, as the lines between *homosexual*, *loca*, *transformista*, *travesti*, *transexual*, and *transgènere* might all be crossed by one person through their lifetime, or even used simultaneously, and yet for others each is distinct. The archives are full of a variety of uses and misuses of all these terms which complicate the writing of inclusive histories, but throughout this thesis I attempt to ensure this text is respectful and accurate in its language without over-simplifying the linguistic politics of trans realities past.

A similar but slightly different politics emerge around the terms *homosexual*, *gay*, and *maricón*. Homosexual was used in the early 1970s by activists, before the anglicism *gay* ("*gai*" in Catalan) was adopted because it was seen as the more radical term tied to spaces of activism rather than medicalized spaces, and thus inspired the change from "Spanish

\footnotesize{
\textsuperscript{36} Mérida Jiménez, *Transbarcelonas*, 73–74, 77.
}
Movement for Homosexual Liberation" to "Gay Liberation Front of Catalonia" in 1975.\textsuperscript{38} However, gay activists still sometimes used homosexual as the more commonly understood term, as seen in an early poster by the FAGC which decried the situation of "homosexuals".\textsuperscript{39} The change in use was therefore gradual and never total. The Spanish word \textit{maricón} was and is often used as a slur, comparable to "faggot" in English, but like "faggot" it has been reclaimed by some as a more radical alternative to "gay", as well as its derivations \textit{marica} and diminutive \textit{mariquita}.\textsuperscript{40} In texts in the 1970s, some used \textit{maricón/marica/mariquita} to distinguish femmes from more masculine queer men, sometimes as a proud self-identification or celebration of flamboyance, similarly to terms like \textit{loca}. \textit{Maricón} could also take on a class dimension, homosexual and gay deemed by some as terms for the upper or middle-class queer man, \textit{maricón} or \textit{marica} representing a lower-class queerness of the street.\textsuperscript{41} However, radical activist groups at the time did use the term gay, and activists used it to encompass ideologies that brought in class concerns and a celebration of the \textit{marica} and the \textit{loca}, so the understandings and interpretations of the term were by no means uniform at any point.\textsuperscript{42} As Craig Griffiths points out in his study of West Germany, the lines between "radical" and "reformist" or "confrontational" versus "integrationist" activism were never all that clear, and therefore to take any of these linguistic distinctions at face-value would lose

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\textsuperscript{42} Díaz Fernández and Mérida Jiménez, 120.
out much of the complexity and debate over terminology that was occurring during this period.\textsuperscript{43}

The development of terminology for queer women or masculine femininity represented several differences. To begin with, there was far less language around these concepts because women's sexuality was considered, for the most part, an impossibility by Church and State.\textsuperscript{44} The women I spoke to remembered an absence of the language to name or understand their desires in the 1970s.\textsuperscript{45} There were codes developed by queer women prior to the 1970s to identify one another, such as to be del asunto, librera, or tebeo, but lesbian seems to be the first term that, at least for those I spoke to, constituted a distinct political identity.\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Lesbiana} had the advantage of working in both Catalan and Spanish and also connected them to a broader international community.\textsuperscript{47} Gracia Trujillo Barbadillo's study of 1970s and 1980s lesbian feminism found that in this period masculine lesbians, parallels to the \textit{local/travesti/marica}, were not embraced by the feminist movement (and thus


\textsuperscript{44} In the 1960s dictionaries defined lesbian solely as someone from the island of Lesbos. Estrella Díaz Fernández and Rafael M. Mérida Jiménez, “Palabras de Un Deseo Negado En La España de La Segunda Mitad Del Siglo XX,” in \textit{Palabras Para Una Tribu. Estudios Sobre Argot Gay En Argentina, España y México} (Barcelona: Egaless. 2020), 108; As Fernández Galeano demonstrates, it was often women's independence that brought the most suspicion and repression, rather than necessarily a presumption of sexual activity. The uncertainty in the language of police around the topic also demonstrates to what extent sexual activity between women was a difficult to comprehend idea, even as it was repressed. Javier Fernández Galeano, “Entre El Crimen y La Locura: Relaciones Sexo-Afectivas Entre Mujeres y Disconformidad de Género Bajo El Franquismo,” \textit{Encrucijadas: Revista Crítica de Ciencias Sociales} 17 (2019): 6, 10–11; Raquel Osborne, “Un espeso muro de silencio: de la relación entre una ‘identidad débil’ y la invisibilización de las lesbianas en el espacio público / A thick wall of silence: the relation between a «weak identity» and the invisibilization of lesbians in the public domain,” \textit{Asparkia : investigacion feminista}, no. 19 (2013): 44–45.

\textsuperscript{45} Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, December 7, 2021, 0:04:26; Interview with Isabel Franc, November 15, 2021, 0:40:15.

\textsuperscript{46} Albarracín, “Identidad(es) lésbica(s) en el primer franquismo,” 70; Trujillo Barbadillo, \textit{Deseo y resistencia}, 72, 76.

\textsuperscript{47} Interview with Mercè Otero Vidal, December 13, 2021, 1:20:35.
much of lesbian activism), particularly in terms of image and representation. Like *locas*, they had too much *pluma* (literally meaning feather, *pluma* refers to an obvious visible queerness). In contrast to *marica, loca* or *travesti* however, Trujillo's study found that terms like *bollera* (comparable to butch, or perhaps dyke) only began to be used as a political identity in the 1990s.

Throughout this thesis I switch for the most part between the terms gay, lesbian, trans, and queer. I have used queer when I wish to broaden our perspective on the multiple possible identities and experiences in the worlds of the 1970s I am analyzing. Queer functions as the way I wish to bring together the unstable boundaries between gay, lesbian, trans, bisexual, and other identities and experiences. I do not discuss bisexuality explicitly as such, simply because I have not found the (page)space or materials needed to delve into the topic. This is not to imply the term did not exist as its use can be seen in the press, giving hope for further studies that can tackle this question.

c. Geography of Barcelona

I use the 1962 map to begin this chapter, to show that Barcelona is a port city, placed between the Mediterranean Sea and mountain ridges. This specific map was created during the Francoist dictatorship which lasted from 1939 to 1975 after the brutal Spanish Civil War.

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50 Magazines discussed bisexual artists outside of the Spanish State, and in an article defending trans rights the author explains to the reader that “the travesti can adopt a sexual conduct that is heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual” (“El travesti adoptará una conducta sexual que tanto podrá ser heterosexual, homosexual o bisexual”). LaTorre Vazquez, “Travestis: Prohibido Vivir de Día”; Ivo Fontana, “María Schneider: ‘Los Pantalones Los Llevo Siempre Yo,’” *Interviú*, 33/2 1978, R 1976 FOL, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona.
(1936-1939). The names of the streets are therefore all in Spanish rather than Catalan, and the names themselves reveal the discourses of the dictatorship. There is Avenida Primo de Rivera, for example, an avenue named after the dictator Primo de Rivera whose rule lasted from 1923-1931. There is a street which bears the name of a member of the Bourbon royal family, the Infanta Carlota Joaquina, a street name from Primo de Rivera's dictatorship which was changed during the Second Republic (1931-1939) but recuperated during Franco's dictatorship which began in 1939. Following the Calle de la Infanta Carlota Joaquina upward one reaches the Avenida Generalissimo Franco, which connects squares like the Plaza de los Caídos ("the Square of the Fallen" brings to mind the Valle de los Caídos, where Primo de Rivera's body was placed, and later, Franco's), Plaza del Papa Pío XII (Pope Pius XII), and Plaza Calvo Sotelo (a former minister to Primo de Rivera and a far-right politician during the Second Republic whose assassination in 1936 was used as a justification for the military coup). The names of dictators, popes, royals, and references to the Civil War build a cartography of National Catholicism that had surrounded Barcelonians since 1939. The Avenida Generalissimo Franco became the Avinguda Diagonal in 1979, the same year that the Avenida Primo de Rivera became the Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes. However, some street names took much longer, and others remain still. The slow transformation of this cartography helps demonstrate how the death of Franco in 1975 was not the immediate end

of National Catholicism, nor were the elections of 1977 or the Spanish Constitution of 1978.52

These Francoist traces are not the whole story, as we have seen in the above paragraphs on the major mobilizations happening in the 1970s. While maps presented one vision, walking through the streets of the city presented quite another. Beside the name plaques for streets and squares, you would have seen cabaret bars with drag shows, feminist bookstores, posters for homosexual liberation, graffiti against police repression, stickers for amnesty. This three-dimensional historical space is what I try here to get close to, through interviews, magazines, photographs, and other sources. I apply the ideas of geographers such as Gieseking, Brown, Gorman-Murray and Nash to the source materials through a visual, aural, and mobile lens, to understand the relationship between physical and symbolic space, between fixity and movement. Through this spatial lens I investigate where gay, lesbian, and trans spaces overlapped or diverged, and argue that the transitional politics of the decade set the stage for the use of different spaces in Barcelona by activists and artists, and that it was through this use that they developed their identities and communities in the 1970s. Our first look at this subversion of the regime's cartography of the city begins in the next chapter with a photograph: a group of people jostling into the camera's frame, Barcelona's cathedral in the background, and "gay freedom" written on a bum cheek.

52 Aguilar, “Justice, Politics, and Memory in the Spanish Transition.”
Chapter 1: Visions of the City in Protest

Illustration 2: Pride Demonstration, 1978.\textsuperscript{53}

The image above is from a demonstration for Pride in Barcelona that took place on June 24, 1978. In the foreground, a figure has a hole cut in their pants to expose their bum cheek, where they have painted: "gay freedom", and the symbols for gay and lesbian relationships (Illustration 2). Behind them, other protesters carry banners which proclaim the CCAG (Coordinator for Collectives of Gay Liberation), or the Front d'Alliberament Gaï de Catalunya (Gay Liberation Front of Catalonia). Behind them we can see the spires of the

Gothic cathedral rising up, and in front of the cathedral (visible on the right), the building which houses the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (AHCB), the Historical Archives of the City of Barcelona. I spent many hours going through magazines in the AHCB, occasionally taking a break to stretch and looking out over the cathedral square, without knowing that these marchers had occupied this exact square in 1978. I had read about the 1978 march but had not realized the route took them to the steps of the cathedral, that gay and trans marchers had chosen to challenge the church through an occupation of one of its most important spaces in the city. The magazines I was looking through instead showed me naked bodies and political opinion pieces, cabarets in Las Vegas and troubles in Ireland. Depending on which window I was looking through, a different Barcelona greeted me.

Barcelona's streets became contested sites of meaning and important public fora for the social explosion of the 1970s. It was a decade of intense change, as it saw increasing mobilization against the Francoist dictatorship which had been ruling Spain since 1939, and particularly after the dictator Francisco Franco's death in 1975.\textsuperscript{54} Walls became tools of political discussion, through graffiti and posters.\textsuperscript{55} Activists took their fight further out into the open with an increasing number of demonstrations, marching in daylight down major streets. This included activists for gay rights, for whom a public and recognizable image was an important tool. The spaces used for public actions were key to how images of these actions were understood, as both those photographed and those photographing were aware of the power in mobilizing the associated meanings of spaces. As this chapter demonstrates, the divisions over how a movement for queer rights should present itself in public space, and

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how queer bodies should act and look in relation to that space, was a fundamental dividing line of the movement at the end of the 1970s.

The first gay rights march in the Spanish State was in Barcelona on June 26, 1977 but was the result of several years of organizing and the development of ideas on sexual liberation. In reaction to the 1970 Law on Social Dangers and Rehabilitation which included homosexuality, a small group of upper-class men including Armand de Fluvià created the Spanish Movement for Homosexual Liberation (Movimiento Español de Liberación Homosexual, or MELH). The MELH organized consciousness raising meetings, conducted letter writing campaigns against the LPRS, and connected with transnational gay networks.56 Lesbians joined the group as early as 1972, and the Marxist activist Amanda Klein (pseudonym) had an important impact on the group and Armand de Fluvià, who up until that point had been a monarchist.57 The ideological framework of the group changed with the introduction of communists and lesbians, and the influence of writings by gay activists in Argentina and France, leading to the dissolution of the MELH and its replacement with the Gay Liberation Front of Catalonia (Front d'Alliberament Gai de Catalunya, or FAGC) in December 1975.58

The FAGC drew more on the feminist, working class, and the Catalanist movements, and their Manifesto included the conviction that anyone should be free to dress how they liked regardless of gender.59 In 1977 the Co•lectiu de Lesbianes, then part of the FAGC,

57 de Fluvià, 57.
58 de Fluvià, 62.
gave their first public presentation at the Cine Niza in December 1977, though there were only about 10 members in the lesbian collective to the FAGC's 100.60 The 1977 march was the first time the FAGC organized their own demonstration: newspaper coverage at the time estimated around 4000 marchers and made note of a variety of flags present for unions and different political parties.61 For a relatively small group, they were able to organize a big visual impact.

Image was a key aspect of political mobilization, by defining the goals and actors of a movement both to themselves and to others. T.N. Phu has analyzed how the Black Panther Party mobilized photography as an intrinsic part of their politics: having been subjected to not only physical violence but also a violence of representation, as Phu calls it, BPP activists knew the power in image, and protest photography communicated strength and unity in the face of racial violence.62 Gordon Parks, a photographer and activist of the movement, even described his camera as his "weapon" defending the movement, the same way guns could be the weapon of other BPP members.63 Photography and activism were intimately interlinked, for those photographed and those photographing. Gay rights groups in New York were also keenly aware of a need to photograph the movement - the Gay Liberation Front routinely asked for any images that could be found of the Stonewall riots of 1969, for example.64 Later

60 Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 0:04:20; Trujillo Barbadillo, Deseo y resistencia, 69.
63 Phu, 183.
images had to stand in for the unphotographed 1969 riots, Richard Meyer argues, fueling the need to tie in the riots rhetorically and visually to later public actions.\(^\text{65}\) Fashion, too, was key, as earlier homophile groups stressed normalcy and middle-class respectability in their image-making, whereas the GLF opted for a young, free, kind of hippie aesthetic in their representation, reflecting a change in the audience being targeted and the tactics of their activism.\(^\text{66}\) Photography is not an aftereffect of activism but instead central to its strategies.

Image was crucial to the FAGC - after all, their switch from "Spanish Homosexual Liberation Movement" to "Gay Liberation Front of Catalonia" was accompanied by the creation of a logo which used a pink triangle, a raised fist for the working class, and the Catalan flag. Marching, and particularly the kind of marching, is a performance of specific ideologies in public space.\(^\text{67}\)

The visuals of the 1977 march were tied into location, walking up the immediately recognizable Rambla almost up to Plaça de Catalunya, where they were attacked by police forces and a confrontation ensued for several hours.\(^\text{68}\) The Rambla (also sometimes referred to as the "Rambles" because each section of it has a distinct name) has a heavy association with political mobilization, as the AFB attests to: marchers were photographed walking down the Rambla for freedom of speech, for women's rights, for regional autonomy, and any number of other causes in the 1970s. Mercè, one of my interviewees, explained that demonstrations in the 1970s "always" used the Rambla, meaning the FAGC drew on anti-

\(^{65}\) Meyer, 441, 447.
\(^{66}\) Meyer, 450–51.


\(^{68}\) “La manifestació fou un èxit”; Quinta, “Manifestación en el ‘Día del orgullo homosexual.’”
Francoist rhetoric of the moment but it was also drawing on a shared toolkit of visual and spatial associations.\textsuperscript{69}

Photographs of the 1977 march circulated in the press, both nationally and internationally, and the photographs of Colita have become iconic and inseparable to public memory of the event.\textsuperscript{70} Colita is a very prolific and well-known photographer from Barcelona whose work spans many decades, and the AFB has an extensive collection of her photographs, including her documentation of the culture, politics, and many urban changes of 1970s Barcelona. I interviewed Colita in December of 2021 about her memories of Barcelona and her work photographing movements of the 1970s. The 1977 gay rights march did not stand out in her memory for anything in particular, however. It was a historic demonstration, perhaps, but so were so many of the other marches she photographed week in and week out, she told me. She photographed feminist demonstrations, demonstrations against censorship, and so many others, that another march across the Rambla did not stand out to her more than any other.\textsuperscript{71} She was proud to have photographed it, but it simply symbolized another aspect of the momentum of the post-Franco 1970s. This was in part an essential aspect of the FAGC's strategy in mobilizing support for their cause, emphasizing all that they had in common with other movements rather than on difference.\textsuperscript{72}

Colita's photograph has been instrumental in the construction of the event's meaning. In her most famous photograph (Illustration 3), six individuals fill the frame, some with mouths open, others with their arms raised in a victory salute. Their presentation is feminine

\textsuperscript{69} Interview with Mercè Otero Vidal, 1:05:38.
\textsuperscript{70} Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 1:29:25; Raúl Solís Galván, \textit{La doble transición} (Editorial Libros.com, 2019), 11.
\textsuperscript{71} Interview with Colita, December 9, 2021.
\textsuperscript{72} Trujillo Barbadillo, \textit{Deseo y resistencia}, 76–77, 79.
and defiant. Behind them is a banner in Catalan that reads "We are not afraid, we are" ("Nosaltres no tenim por, nosaltres som"). Photographs uplifting queerness in public space can have a tremendous emotional impact, and the composition of Colita’s photograph, with visibly queer people framed against the sky in active, passionate poses invites a positive recognition and sympathy. This image has been an important piece in the creation of narrative of gay liberation tied to the history of Stonewall. The Stonewall riots in 1969 New York have become iconic, to the point that they are used in a variety of national contexts to represent a shift from total silence to a loud take-over of the street. Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanne M. Crage argue that this is not an accidental effect of the event, but rather that its momentousness and significance was self-consciously constructed through its commemorations and rhetorical use by activists. Stonewall is contested for who and what it represents, particularly around the role of trans protesters, making it notable that Barcelona's 1977 evocation of it has trans women taking centre stage, both at the time and in commemorations since.

The success of the public memory efforts around Stonewall is evident in how far-reaching a symbol it has become: a 2019 documentary series on LGBT activism in the Spanish State includes an extended section on the Stonewall Riots in New York early in its first episode, drawing out a linear narrative with New York as a starting point. The series is named "Nosotrxs Somos", a translation into Spanish of "Nosaltres som", referencing the

74 Griffiths, The Ambivalence of Gay Liberation, 10.
banner in Colita's picture. It uses the picture as the symbol of the gay rights movement in the Spanish State in the 1970s, constructing the 1977 march as Spain's Stonewall. The photographs were also used in the First Annual International Congress on Gender Identity and Human Rights in 2006 in Barcelona, reinforcing its iconic status and turning Barcelona into a symbol of 1977 queer political action.77

The temptation to have images "stand in" for an event or movement often leads to the decontextualization of the event, the work before and tensions after the march smoothed over.78 Photographing for the press involves seeking out photos that describe the "who", "where" and "what" with landmarks and banners, and expressing passion and action by capturing active poses and open mouths.79 Most press photographers have a sense of commitment to "truth" and not seeking to distort, but the very nature of photography involves framing the event, and compelling compositions often rely on a central figure (or figures) to make for a dynamic image.80 Newspapers in Spain were filled with images like these as censorship began to ease and more left-leaning newspapers could begin publishing, and Jordi Petit, a former activist of the FAGC, has written about the important role of this press to the gay rights movement in the Spanish State.81 Marchers must have been aware of the interest in these images: the trans women, travestis and femmes that marched at the front were passionate, combatant, and dressed to impress. They knew the interest and attention they got

80 Veneti, 283–84; Memou, “Photography and Memory,” 86.
81 Jordi Petit, 25 años más: una perspectiva sobre el pasado, presente y futuro del movimiento de gays, lesbianas, bisexuales y transexuales (Icaria Editorial, 2003), 19.
from the public, and how to use that. Colita captured these elements in dynamic photographs that make them stand out from the AFB's images of the numerous marches that went down the Rambla in the 1970s.

Illustration 3: The very first gay rights march in the Spanish State, June 26 1977  

These marchers knew how to grab attention in public spaces and how to engage with the press, but the organizers had had very different plans for the imagery of the march. Immediately after it, some activists in the FAGC worried that the image that was being given of the gay rights movement thanks to the photographs was too flamboyant to be taken seriously. They had been seeking visuals that stressed their commonality with the other marches using the Rambla, rather than difference. They would be one of many marches using the public space of the Rambla as a forum, and thus deserving of the same respect

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83 Mira Nouselles, *De Sodoma a Chueca*, 436; Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 1:29:25.
84 Trujillo Barbadillo, *Deseo y resistencia*, 79.
given to those movements for amnesty or against censorship. In the pornographic and political news magazine *Interviu*, J.M. Servia's article on the march at the time reflected this kind of thinking: he complained that *travestis* began marching before it was scheduled to start and that having them at the front of the march took away from the seriousness of the event.\(^{85}\) While the press did not always express much respect for the most transgressive marchers, there was certainly interest in them visually, as the wealth of photographs proves.\(^{86}\)

Less feminine members of the FAGC were aware that their image did not capture the same amount of interest, demonstrated by Eliseu Picó Mas' statement in an interview published in 2003 that "in the '70s we knew that even if there were only two transvestites in a demonstration the press would only look at them".\(^{87}\)

Trans women and travestis were understood as a subset of homosexuality and criminalized as such under the LPRS, and thus it makes sense that they would take the helm of the march, carry the largest banners and put themselves in the line of danger of police violence.\(^{88}\) Yet, despite how hyper-visible trans women are in the 1977 march, their photographic representation was not necessarily reflective of the associations that organized these marches. The activism seen in the street was not the same as what happened in assemblies. Although there were common concerns that could bring them together in public spaces, a significant portion of the FAGC wanted the gay rights movement in the public eye to be associated with (largely male) homosexuality but not necessarily gender transgression.

\(^{86}\) Mira Nouselles, *De Sodoma a Chueca*, 434–35.
\(^{88}\) Quinta, “Manifestación en el ‘Día del orgullo homosexual.’”
Although many FAGC activists later changed their minds, the anger that immediately followed the march speaks to how important they considered the photographing of the movement to their political goals. They could be happy to share space in the cabarets and bars, but when it came to taking to streets like the Rambla as a political symbol, the conversation was very different.

1978 brought two large splits for the FAGC, with lesbians and many radical anti-system gay activists leaving. Frustrated at having a limited say in the direction and image of the FAGC, including a continual complaint that the posters and visual language of the FAGC only ever used phallic references, lesbians left in fall 1978 to join the Coordinadora Feminista.89 Another significant portion of the FAGC that split off in 1978 were those that created the Coordinadora de Colectius d'Alliberament Gai (Coordinator of Collectives for Gay Liberation, or CCAG) in spring 1978.90 In 1978 the CCAG included a Col·lectiu de Delinqüència i Marginació (Collective of Delinquency and Marginalization), collectives for specific neighbourhoods, and the Col·lectiu de Travestis y Transexuales [sic], the first of its kind in the Spanish State.91 The 1978 gay rights march was organized by both the FAGC and the CCAG, and reveals how each group sought very different kinds of visibility through their interactions with public space. The SE-GRÀ photography collective - made up of Ramon Morral, Carles Feliu and Joan Vilardebó - have, among their photos of many 1970s demonstrations, coverage of this 1978 march which demonstrate these tensions.

89 Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 0:08:40; Trujillo Barbadillo, Deseo y resistencia, 72.
91 CCAG, “Los Colectivos Informan,” La Pluma, August 1978, C001, Centre de Documentació Armand de Fluvià.
Curiously, the 1978 march breaks with the tradition of using the Rambla as a forum of public politics, though it still is occupying streets of the old city. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact route taken by the marchers in these photographs, because the photographer followed the CCAG contingent of the march which did not follow the planned route. They seem to first enter Plaça Urquinaona from Via Laietana, then later come back from Plaça Catalunya via the Fontanella street exit. Whatever exact route they took, they end with the FAGC members in front of the cathedral. The marchers pose in front of the doors of the cathedral with a large sign that says: "The church doesn't accept us, but God loves us, he created us for a reason!" This selection of this space in Barcelona was clearly very deliberate, challenging an important symbol of Catholic belief, and expanding the march's focus past the homophobic 1970 law and the amnesty movement. However, what most stands out in this march is the difference between the CCAG's and the FAGC's strategies for occupying Barcelona's streets. The photograph that began this chapter, which included someone with "gay liberation" written on a bum cheek, is just one example: there are also photographs showing trans women rolling up their shirts and t-shirts to show their breasts (Illustration 4), a man marching with his shirt open, jeans partly unbuttoned. Marchers hold banners that say, "Loca!! Use your high heels make up and... pluma against the system" (Illustration 7), and "we are not maricones, we are transexuals" (Illustration 5).

The choice to create banners making explicit the difference between them and other marchers (between trans women and gay men) highlights how marches were an important avenue for articulating distinct demands for recognition under the umbrella of solidarity, in this case the repeal of LPRS. This brings to mind Podmore and Chamberland's analysis of strategies for lesbian visibility in Montreal, where at a time when lesbians did not organize
exclusively lesbian marches they used gay or feminist demonstrations as spaces to visibilize a lesbian identity through banners, chants, whistles, and performance that stressed their different needs. The importance of the 1978 march to an articulation of trans activism is demonstrated by a later reference to it as the "Stonewall of ’78" by trans anthropologist Norma Mejía. 1978 was not the first time that trans women were taking to the streets, given that trans activist Sílvia Reyes has argued that the first queer march in the Spanish State was not in 1977 but in 1976, when trans sex workers spontaneously took to the street to protest against police. The lack of collective memory around the 1976 event marks the importance of photographs and press in disseminating the knowledge of political actions - Stonewall, while spontaneous and unphotographed, became ground-breaking through the efforts of gay press and activists to publicize and commemorate it, something the 1976 march lacked. 1978 remains significant for its explicit claiming of a trans political identity in an organized march as well as the aesthetics that came along with it, which were both new aspects of the queer activism in this developing Transition period.

93 Norma Mejía, Transgenerismos: Una Experiencia Transexual Desde La Perspectiva Antropológica (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2006), 41; Mérida Jiménez, Transbarcelonas, 82.
94 Solis Galván, La doble transición, 25.
The men around the FAGC banner give a markedly different aesthetic than the crowd around the CCAG banner, wearing plaid shirts, jackets and beards (Illustration 6). The coverage of a November 1977 march in SE-GRÀ's collection demonstrate the stylistic

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96 Se-Grà, Manifestació d’orgull 1978.
97 Se-Grà.
differences particularly clearly. The largest banner at the November march calls for the repeal of LPRS and "total amnesty", and marchers look serious and determined, their clothing less revealing. Part of it, perhaps, is the time of year - November is a harder time to wear shorts than June, certainly. However, the FAGC banner carriers at the 1978 march resemble the November marchers much more closely than they do the CCAG's. The FAGC's image to the camera speaks to a desire to say: "we are like you" and to stress the similarities between themselves and other groups demanding their rights in the 1970s. Griffiths argues that groups in the 1970s rarely followed a strict divide between "assimilationist" and "confrontational" making a simple division between these two groups misleading. But the FAGC's strategy throughout the 1970s did clearly hinge upon a style of alliance-building that deviated from the CCAG's, highlighting similarity rather than difference.

Illustration 6: Members of the FAGC holding banners at the 1978 march.\textsuperscript{100}

Illustration 7: Demonstrators with a CCAG banner behind them at the 1978 march.\textsuperscript{101}

\textsuperscript{100} Se-Grà, Manifestació d’orgull 1978.
\textsuperscript{101} Se-Grà.
The tensions over how to mobilize and fight repression as the Spanish State made a slow and imperfect transition into democracy were key to the increasing distance between the CCAG and the FAGC, but the fact that they did try to march together in 1978 indicates how the separation of the 1979 march into two was more of a result of differences over practical planning and the execution of a demonstration. Holding space together while having different priorities is easier than having vastly different approaches to occupying public space in the first place. Although all the marchers ended up in the same place, their diverging routes to get there became a huge point of tension. The CCAG explained their chaotic approach to marching in 1978 and how it frustrated the FAGC in a 1979 article in the CCAG magazine *La Pluma*:

> [...] we demonstrators did whatever we wanted, everyone shouted whatever slogan they deemed fitting, we followed whatever trajectory we wanted, there was no order... and of course, for a group that hopes to present itself as "responsible" and aspiring to be legalized, these things are not to be tolerated.102

As we can see in this excerpt, the use of space was both symbolic of and crucial to the ideological differences between the CCAG and the FAGC.

The article in *La Pluma* mentioned above states that this 1979 separation into different parts of Barcelona was because of the FAGC's "distrust" of the CCAG due to their unpredictability, and that they asked the CCAG not to come. Whatever the exact circumstances, in 1979 the CCAG marched down the Rambla while the FAGC marched

102 “[...] los manifestantes hicimos lo que quisimos, cada cual gritaba la consigna que creía conveniente, se hizo el trayecto que se quiso, no hubo servicio de orden... y claro, para un grupo que pretende mostrarse como “responsable” y aspira a ser legalizado, estas cosas no deben tolerarse.” “24 de Junio: Por Qué Dos Manifestaciones?,” *La Pluma*, 1979, C001, Centre de Documentació Armand de Fluvia Translated from the Spanish by the author.
down the Ronda Sant Antoni, from the Plaça Universitat to the Paral·lel. The FAGC organized their march with the support of the Grup de Lluita per l'Alliberament de la Lesbianà (Group for the Fight for Liberation of the Lesbian, or GLAL), the group replacing the Col·lectiu de Lesbianes. In the FAGC's newsletter *Infogai* they explained the demonstration would have an organizing service for "the safety of everyone", and that they had applied for official permission. Everyone was supposed to wear a pink carnation, the symbol chosen for that year to connect all the Pride marches happening around the world. The demands of their march were the repeal of any law that repressed sexuality, and the legalization of the FAGC, because, they argued: "...we think this goal represents neutralizing all of the current discriminating legislation, and at the same time win a right for gays that will allow us to fight with more possibilities." For the FAGC, legalization was the avenue to a sustained and successful gay activism. It would open doors to demanding rights and protections from the new democratic state more easily, and therefore was a priority as the decade ended. The legalization campaign included proving they were recognized by different municipal governments and political entities, to demonstrate they were a political association with a right to exist. The FAGC's strategy therefore required a certain amount of organization and predictability.

Their strategy was rewarded with positive newspaper coverage. The coverage of the FAGC's march estimated four to five thousand marchers. The Catalan newspaper *Avui*

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103 Front d’Alliberament Gai de Catalunya, “Infogai No. 1,” June 1979, Centre de Documentació Armand de Fluvià.

104 Front d’Alliberament Gai de Catalunya, 70.

105 "...pensem que aquesta fita suposa neutralitzar tota la legislació discriminatòria vigent, alhora que guanyar pels gais un dret que ens permetrà seguir lluitant amb més possibilitats."

stated that: "The demonstration was carried out without incident and at all times stayed within the canons established by customs for this kind of activist event, and the demonstrators broke up pacifically at the end." These established canons Avui mentions were quite new - it was not so long ago that any kind of protest would have completely unacceptable in public spaces in the city and liable to punishment of various kinds. Indeed, it was only two years before that the FAGC had been able to organize a first public march, which was quickly met with police violence. But by 1979, clearly, the culture of protest that had emerged in Barcelona was so expected that they had their own established canon and rules for conduct.

Part of the emphasis given to the FAGC's keeping with acceptable demonstration practice was in order to compare and distance it from the CCAG's actions. The article makes a point to stress the lack of connection between the gay rights movement and the incidents on the Rambla. The Avui's article cites information from the right-wing Spanish newspaper agency EFE and explains that at 8:30PM, when the FAGC's march had already ended, a group of "about fifty people, among them some six or seven homosexuals, who were people who had split from the [FAGC], provoked various violent acts." It is somewhat surprising to see Avui take a firm stand in support of police here, when you compare this to the emphasis they placed on the unprovoked and disproportionately aggressive response of police at the 1977 march.

Despite the pitting of the FAGC and the CCAG against each other by Avui and the separation and mutual distrust between the FAGC and the CCAG, the FAGC did denounce

107 La manifestació va fer-se sense cap mena d'incidents i va mantenir-se en tot moment dins del cànons establerts pel costum en aquesta mena d'actes reivindicatius, i els manifestants van dissoldre's pacificament en acabar.
108 “La manifestació fou un èxit.”
the police actions on the Rambla. In their July newsletter they celebrated the success of their march, and although they avoided naming the CCAG they declared their "rejection of the repression that fell upon other marchers on the Rambla that same day." Although the FAGC did physically distance itself from the CCAG's approach to presenting themselves in public, they still recognized them as activists and did not believe those presentations or attitudes warranted the violence they received, despite *Avui*'s reporting.

Illustration 8: Marchers at the CCAG's 1979 Pride demonstration.

I only found one image of the CCAG's 1979 march in the AFB (Illustration 8). The banner is hard to read but seems to be in a mixture of Catalan and Spanish and mentions both transsexuals and homosexuals. It is hard to tell from one image how many marchers there were, but at the point this photograph was taken there do not seem to be a huge amount of

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110 *Manifestació Homosexual a La Rambla*, June 24, 1979, Photograph, June 24, 1979, AFB3-114 Diario de Barcelona, Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona.
them. Police are not in the shot, so it must be either just before or between attacks, as the police attacked nearly as soon as the march started according to the CCAG's description of the march in *La Pluma*:

At 8:30pm we were at the Arco del Teatro and at the same time the police arrived, almost as punctual as us. The demonstration begins... and with it the attacks... they dissolved the demonstration that was in front of the Arco del Teatro waiting to start. After that it was all charges and attacks that did not end until after 10pm [...] with an intensity we had not seen in a while. [...] The police spared nothing. They emptied "La Opera" [bar], and the "Zurich" [bar], and even entered the Belen church. There were batons and bullets for practically almost everyone.

The intensity of the attacks against the CCAG's march is in stark contrast to the complete lack of intervention in the FAGC's, revealing the virulence of a police force that remained unchanged regardless of the removal of homosexuality from the law. There was in fact an increase in police raids on bars between 1979 and 1981, forcing the closure of several establishments. Police here took advantage of this political action by the CCAG, intended to revive a radical protest culture, to enact a violence meant to regain their control over public space which had been continually contested throughout the decade.

The photograph in the AFB makes the Rambla a focal point, as the marchers walk over the Miró design making the location instantly recognizable. Moreso than even the 1977 pictures, the Rambla is central. By marching down the Rambla they placed this march in visual conversation with the 1977 march, developing a kind of visual tradition and presenting

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111 “24 de Junio: Por Qué Dos Manifestaciones?”
112 “[...] estábamos a las ocho de la tarde en el Arco del Teatro y a la misma hora llegó la policia, casi tan puntual como nosotros. Empieza la manifestación… Y con ellos llegaron las carreras… Disolvieron la manifestación que estaba concentrada en frente del Arco del Teatro esperando empezar. A partir de entonces todo fueron saltos y cargas que no tuvieron fin hasta pasadas las diez de la noche. Los saltos y las cargas fueron desde el Arco del Teatro hasta la calle Pelayo con una dureza que hacía un tiempo no veíamos. [...] La policia no se estuvo de nada. Desalojó “La Opera”, el “Zurich”, llegó a entrar en la Iglesia de Belen.”
113 Solís Galván, *La doble transición*, 10, 81.
themselves as the inheritors of that legacy of queer revolution. By tying the 1977 march into the CCAG's 1979 march, they were in a sense legitimizing the CCAG - not in the way the FAGC was legitimizing their group in the eyes of authorities, but rather legitimizing itself within the canon of queer resistance as the true gay rights movement. The CCAG's description of the success of the march makes clear that they did not see themselves as an alternative, or addition to the FAGC:

The demonstration was, definitively, very helpful to us. The people and the parties had to define their position between two very distinct tendencies in the Homosexual Movement. It demonstrated that the Homosexual Movement is not easily integrated into the system, because we know what interests us and we are sick of nice words and pretty declarations [...] that do not change our lives one bit, worse all the time, because every day the repression is more accentuated.115

This clearly presents one correct Homosexual Movement, and the CCAG presents themselves as the voice for it ("we know what interests us" and "we are sick of nice words"). That "we" had to be clearly delineated - the Rambla was a way to visually indicate themselves as a certain kind of protest tradition, but the timing of it (the same time as the FAGC's march) also forced activists to choose a side. When everyone is at a march together, one can move between sides of the ideological debate - agreeing with one side on a certain subject, disagreeing on another. But by separating their 1979 march into two separate spaces on the same day, any activist or sympathizer was forced to make a choice of which strategy to bet on. For some, this was infuriating: Enric, a former FAGC activist, told me that when members of the FAGC split off to create the CCAG, he became disengaged from the

115 "La manifestación, en definitiva, nos sirvió de mucho. La gente y los partidos tuvieron que definirse ante dos tendencias del Movimiento Homosexual bien distintas. Quedó demostrado que el Movimiento Homosexual no se integra en el sistema fácilmente, porque sabemos lo que nos interesa y ya estamos hartos de buenas palabras y declaraciones preciosas [...] que no cambian para nada nuestra vida, cada vez peor, porque cada día la represión se acentúa más."
movement as a whole because of it. He promised both sides he would show up to whatever they needed him for, but he refused to support the division of the movement by choosing a side.\footnote{Interview with Enric Majó Miró, November 16, 2021.}

For the CCAG, public actions were not about seeking legal legitimacy but about confrontation with the state, with the police, and defying authority as well as gender and sexual norms. There is a photograph in the AFB from 1979 that does not specify whether it is from the CCAG’s march, but it seems like it could be (Illustration 9). In it, a person identified by the photographer as a \textit{travesti} seems to be about to throw something in our direction. In the foreground is an overturned garbage bin, garbage scattered around it. The photograph is on the Rambla, on the part of the street where cars pass, and between the Mercat de la Boqueria and the Palau de la Virreina. The person is dressed stylishly, in heels, leopard print pants, a long leopard print shirt opened all the way to show a long sheer shirt underneath. This transgressive figure is defiant and confrontational, and whether this photograph is from the CCAG’s march or not, it feels like an embodiment of the march’s ideology:

[...] the goal of the demonstration, more than celebrating the day of the \textit{maricones}, was to protest the continued fascist attacks against \textit{travestis} and \textit{chaperos} [male sex workers], police raids, and to demand the decriminalization of homosexuality. Because we homosexuals do not want to be legal, we do not want our relationships regulated by the law, as the relationships between heterosexuals are (marriage, separation, divorce...) because we "only" want to live in a free society in which we are the ones who decide how our relationships should be.\footnote{Todo ello a pesar de que, el fin de la manifestación, más que celebrar el día de los maricones, pretendía protestar por las continuas agresiones de fascistas a travestis y chaperos, contra las redadas de la policía y para exigir la despenalización de la homosexualidad. Porque los homosexuales no queremos ser legales, no queremos que nuestras relaciones sean reguladas por la ley, como lo son las relaciones heterosexuales (matrimonio, separación, divorcio...) por que “tan sólo” pretendemos vivir en una sociedad libre en la que seamos nosotros los que decidamos como deben ser nuestras relaciones.}
The CCAG is, in a sense, fighting an end to the Transition period, when radical possibilities seemed so much more possible because of the uncertainty of where power lay or would lie. By occupying the Rambla they invoke not only the 1977 gay rights march but the others that were taking to the streets when power and authority was so contested. Increasing democratization or legislative protections were a danger to their hopes for what could come of queer activism. Trans and gay individuals had to take the city for their own without asking permission or waiting for acceptance, in high heels and leopard print.

The geographical and ideological separations between queer groups demonstrate how there was perhaps not a "gay rights movement" in 1970s Barcelona - instead we perhaps

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118 Zoltan Czibor, *Un Transvestit Al Mig de La Calçada de La Rambla En Actitud Reivindicativa*, 1979, Photograph, 1979, AFB3-114 Diario de Barcelona, Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona.
need to talk about *movements*, and how they overlapped, coalesced, and broke apart in tides across the city. The CCAG dissolved only a year after their 1979 march, gone nearly as quickly as they came, and with it the Colectivo de Transexuales y Travestis. Although unlike the CCAG the FAGC did continue into the 1980s, it did not have quite as central a role as it did during the 1970s and experienced further splits. The decriminalization of homosexuality in 1979, the censure of gay establishments and places of leisure by all of the gay rights groups of the time brought a de-politicization and alienation of many gay men, who preferred to enjoy their new freedoms than to fight against the remaining oppressions. Groups that emerged in the 1980s centred less around radical political ideologies than around providing key needs, a crucial service as the AIDS crisis took hold of Barcelona. A trans activist association in Barcelona did not emerge until the 1990s.

From the 1990s onwards, there was a very close collaboration between the trans movement and the feminist movement, which Platero and Ortega-Arjonilla argue was thanks to the newness of the movement: although a new generation of lesbian feminist activists and trans activists was crucial to this change, the newness of the movement meant many older activists that had previously fought separately from trans women were open to the "transfeminist turn". The lines of fragmentation therefore, like lines of solidarity, are never

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inherently stable, but constructed and dismantled through the individual and collective work of activists within their political conditions.

The singular commemoration of 1977 and its construction as "Spain's Stonewall" excludes the images of fragmentation which are so crucial to understanding the activism of the 1970s. As Memou argues about the "museumification" of photographs of Paris 1968, the use of single events and images to stand in for a movement sanitizes the activism of its tensions and nuance. I am not so much interested in a question of who should claim the inheritance of the 1977 march, but I am interested in the construction of that march's meaning and the production of lines of inheritance. Although the most famous photographs of the 1977 march have trans women and travestis front and centre, the visibility of trans activists and concerns within CCAG marches is not generally placed in conversation with this genealogy despite the attempts of the CCAG to claim a sole inheritance of June 26, 1977. The distance between the commemorative use of Colita's 1977 image and the SE-GRÀ images of 1978, or the 1979 photograph, demonstrate that the activists' mobilization of photography was most effective in their continual re-use and re-commemoration rather than solely in the moment.

While the short-lived nature of the CCAG could be interpreted as proof that their radical politics were too impractical, I would argue that their contribution to queer politics of Barcelona's public space is just as significant as the FAGC's. The CCAG defined itself in counterpoint to the FAGC, and the FAGC also had to delineate their own image through a contrasting use of space. The wrestling over ownership of the image of the movement

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124 Memou, “Photography and Memory,” 94.
125 Mira Nouselles, De Sodoma a Chueca, 490.
defines the image of the movement as a whole in the late 1970s. Fela and McCann have argued that a sense of inevitability around men and women’s separation in the literature on gay liberation hinders the ability to engage with the messiness of fragmentation in 1970s activism. This is a good reminder for this context to not accept the divisions of the FAGC, CCAG or Lesbian Collective unquestioningly, without disregarding the difficult experiences that led activists to choose separation. As seen in the articles published in the *Pluma*, there was a deliberate effort to construct a narrative of inevitability in the creation of the CCAG, and moreover to trace their role within a singular linear line of progress for the homosexual movement through their re-use of the Rambla. The hostility of both the FAGC and CCAG towards gay spaces of leisure (and thus their gay clientele), the ensuing divisions experienced by the FAGC in the 1980s, and the evolutions of the lesbian movement in the 1990s all demonstrate the extent to which an easy strict boundary cannot be drawn between sides in the 1970s, and certainly not divisions exclusively based on identity.

The removal of the mention of homosexuality from the LPRS in 1979 did remove a common goal to rally behind, but the timing of the divisions indicates that the LPRS was never sufficient as a unifying force for gay (or trans) activists. Even while the clause was still part of the LPRS, activists were deciding the experience of the 1978 march could not be repeated. Even when goals were shared, their strategies for self-representation meant, in their eyes, that protest space could not be. Their occupations of public space were an articulation of theoretical developments of concepts around gender and sexuality. Marches are a form of

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127 Fela and McCann, 332.
performance, and the physical separation of these marches in Barcelona and their mobilization of spatial associations demonstrate how space and image worked together to delineate lines of activist thought and defend specific forms of radicality and identity.
Chapter 2: Listening to the City of Leisure

[A Rubí] Anavem cagats de por. Venir a Barcelona se'm obria un món. Un món on jo era un anònim.

[In Rubí] We were scared shitless. Coming to Barcelona opened up a new world. A world where I was anonymous.\textsuperscript{128}

Enric Majó Miró

Tu pots anar omplint els espais de ballaruca, però has d'omplir uns altres espais, uns altres espais mentals, sensuals, estètics...

You can go on filling spaces with dancing, but you have to fill other spaces, other mental, sensual, aesthetic spaces...\textsuperscript{129}

Mercè Otero Vidal

Barcelona has held an important place in the queer imaginary, particularly in the Spanish State - its role as a kind of "queer capital" can be seen even in the last chapter, as a hub for activism and the site for what became iconic images of queer demonstration. The connections and divisions between the old city (delimited by the medieval walls) and its extensions (l'Eixample) demonstrate a close entanglement between queerness and the old city and in particular, as we shall see through this chapter, the southern portion of the Raval was intrinsically linked with queerness for both its opportunities for escape and violent consequence.\textsuperscript{130} The evolving strategies around marginalization played out in how queer spaces of leisure clustered here or distanced themselves from it. Through the memories of

\textsuperscript{128} Interview with Enric Majó Miró:0:15:30.
\textsuperscript{129} Interview with Mercè Otero Vidal, 0:46:15.
\textsuperscript{130} Cleminson, Medina Doménech, and Vélez, “The Queer Margins of Spanish Cities, 1939-2010,” 17–18.
seven artists and activists involved with queer communities of Barcelona between the 1970s and 1980s, this chapter will argue that how these individuals navigated spaces of fear, desire, and community was crucial to their constructions of identity.

My interviewees were Mercè Otero Vidal, a retired teacher, important feminist and lesbian activist, and central figure in the Ca La Dona organization; Maria Giralt Castells, a feminist and lesbian activist who started the Col·lectiu de Lesbianes in the FAGC and who is currently the vice-president of the Cambra, an association for LGBTIQ+ businesses; Dolors (Lola) Majoral Puig, a theatre artist and long-time activist of the lesbian separatist movement; Isabel Franc, an author who, among other things, has written popular satirical lesbian novels; Enric Majó Miró, a former member of the FAGC and a well-known actor; Nazario, a visual artist who moved from Sevilla to Barcelona in the 1970s who is most famous for his underground comics in the 1970s-1980s; and Carla, also known as Dolly van Doll, most known for her cabaret performances in Barcelona and opening the club Luz de Gaz.

To build this oral cartography of queer 1970s Barcelona, one must look beyond just the locations of businesses, which can tie gay life exclusively into a capitalist framework and thus limit our understanding of how queer community is created and fostered. After focusing on more explicit political activism in chapter one and its expression through marches and their photographs, I want to focus in on the networks of spaces of discovery, sex, community, and art that political activism was built from. Space is not something easily cartographable if we consider its politics, three-dimensionality, and subjective meanings.

131 Haritaworn et al., Queering Urban Justice: Queer of Colour Formations in Toronto, 9–11.
As Katherine McKittrick argues in her work on Black geographies, the production of space is part of a system of hierarchies and domination, but also that space cannot be understood as solely the production of white, heterosexual imaginings, because the meaning of space is just as tied to the resistance and questioning of those very dominations.¹³³

All my interviewees expressed the notion of space as something more than physical stones and bricks or even a point on a map, and the layers of historical uses of the city piled on each other in the narratives. Even the idea of what constitutes a space of Barcelona is loaded: Maria told me that growing up in the neighbourhood of Gràcia, they would say they were "going to Barcelona", because her parents still remembered the days when Gràcia was a town separated from Barcelona by fields.¹³⁴ The descriptions of space carried the weight of the past but also of the future - Nazario's descriptions of why Barcelona's old city appealed to him so much, the vibrancy of its thriving underground culture, were accompanied by a mourning over how the old city is now overrun by tourists, residents priced out of their homes and many subversive spaces lost. Therefore, although I asked questions that were designed to steer the conversation into experiences and feelings about space, space was in any case often integral through all the narratives, as they situated me in their stories of queer resistance through references to metro stations, bars, squares, mountain and sea.

I was inspired by the work of the geographer Gavin Brown to consider which urban spaces are associated with fear or danger for queer people, and how those intersect with

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¹³³ Katherine McKittrick, Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle (Minneapolis, USA: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).
¹³⁴ Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 1:12:35.
spaces of desire or activism. To that end, I asked my interviewees about which spaces of the city they associated with danger or hostility. Most of the women did not feel there was any one neighbourhood in Barcelona where they felt more unsafe, but that the street in general was a locus of danger. Mercè said that the feeling of danger could accompany her anywhere and attributed it to being a woman in urban spaces, rather than queerness, and that the threat of violence was always somewhat present. Maria remembered facing homophobic harassment on many streets in Barcelona, and how that would lead to street fights:

“There were more attacks then, we would go down the street in a group for example, us girls, holding on to each other, holding hands or kissing, and - in central locations, I remember the Gran Via, for example - guys, if they were in a group, would mess with us. And what would happen was, well it would start street fights. Fights with punching, which obviously you didn't report because you wouldn't go to the cops, the grisos, to report. But it happened often. It was common, for example, to carry extendable batons, and sprays for the eyes... It was habit. Because it was very common for guys to mess with us.”

Maria later elaborated a bit more on this:

“It could happen on Gran Via, or... it was very common. Attacks, or hearing things on the streets, I mean insults. Yes, if not catcalling, which wasn't okay either, then insults like "tortilleres! bolleres!" and that kind of thing. This many times [makes a gesture to indicate it was a lot]. But normally when you went in a group, which is what provoked this reaction, we felt brave and empowered and we would confront them, and this is where the

136 Interview with Mercè Otero Vidal, 1:27:35.
137 “Abans hi havia més agressions, anàvem pel carrer en grup, per exemple, les noies, i com anàvem agafades, agafades de la ma o fent petons, i - a llocs cèntrics, eh, recordo a Gran Via, per exemple - els tios, si anaven en grup, es ficaven amb nosaltres. I que passava, doncs es produïen baralles pel carrer. Baralles de cop de puny, que evidentment no denunciaves perquè no aniries als polis, als grisos, a denunciar. Però si que era molt sovint. Era costum, per exemple, portar unes porres extensibles, i després esprais, també, esprais pels ulls, anti... Era costum. Perquè era molt comú, que els tios es fiquessin amb nosaltres.” Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 0:46:12.
fights began. Many, many fights. There were periods where it was, well, daily.\textsuperscript{138}

The street was a scene of near-constant violence for Maria and her friends, but she highlighted the aspect of deliberate confrontation. There was certainly a fear for personal safety, but there was also a defiance in their conviction that they had a right to occupy public space queerly, to display their love without shame. As Kennedy and Davis argued about the American lesbian bar scene in 1950s, street fighting could be a way to express pride in a lesbian identity and gave lesbians a sense of control over their environment.\textsuperscript{139} The pride marches described in Chapter One were important events of queer visibility, but for Maria street fights seem to have been personally significant as an act of defiance in public space.

In contrast to Maria's emphasis on the street as a space of danger, Lola highlighted the feelings of hostility she associated with gay bars:

There was a nightclub that was understood to be mixed, by which I mean gays and lesbians, not mixed hetero, though that too... [...] there were usually problems. [...] The guys [would say] "it can't be, there are girls here, there are girls, what are you doing..." Until they managed to have a day for women. Then it seemed they were a bit more accommodating, but well... And not hostile but, there were two places, night clubs for men, where we were just not allowed to enter. [...] These weren't so much ideological spaces, these were spaces of the night and for hooking up. I suppose that's why women annoyed them.\textsuperscript{140}

\textsuperscript{138} “Podia passar a la Gran Via mateix, o... Era molt habitual. Les agressions, o que et diguessin coses pel carrer, i tal, però en plan insults. Sí, sinó el que en diuen piropos, que tampoc estava bé, però insults de ‘tortilleres! bolleres!’ i tal. Així de vegades [fa un gest]. Però normalment quan vas en grup, que això és el que provocava aquesta reacció, ens sentiem valentes i empoderades i ens enfrontàvem, i d’aquí venia la picabaralla. Moltes, moltes baralles. Hi havia èpoques que era, bueno, que era diari.” Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 0:48:46.


\textsuperscript{140} “Hi havia una discoteca que s’entenia que era mixta, per mixta vull dir gais i lesbianes, no mixta hetero, que també... però gais i lesbianes, i normalment hi havia problemes. Normalment hi havia problemes. Que els nois, ‘no hi havia manera, de que, hi havia noies, hi havia noies, què feu...’ Fins que van aconseguir fer un dia de noies. Llavors va sembrar que s’avenien una mica més però bueno. I hòstil hòstil no, però dos llocs, pubs de nit, musicals, de noís, sí que no ens havien deixat entrar. [...] Perquè no eren tant llocs ideològics, eren més llocs de nit i de lligue. Suposo que llavors les noies els hi feien nosa.” Interview with Dolors (Lola) Majoral Puig, November 23, 2021, 0:55:05.
For Lola, a leisure space that was theoretically welcoming to lesbians but in reality hostile left a greater mark on her than any experiences in the streets. The frustration seems to have been amplified by the presence of straight women in these spaces. Maria felt that it was specifically lesbians who were made to feel most unwelcome. She explained that fashionable straight women would be given a pass, though often treated as objects, but lesbians, uninterested in seeking male attention, were more often the target for demeaning comments:

*Mixed* mixed bars don't exist. Women are very badly received, unless they're *mariliendres*. *Mariliendres* are hetero, cis women who are friends of gays who appeal to them, or well... they have gay friends who like to have by their side a hot chick who's cis hetero and the rest, who appeals to them... [...] They have other names, but anyway. Lesbians on the other hand, you ended up hearing very unpleasant comments, for example, "smells like pussy". I've heard that sometimes. Of rejection, because we don't appeal to them. That's to say, the typical friends of gays in a club, who kind of become their chorus girls, and we as lesbians are the antithesis of that, and that's why we bother them.\(^{141}\)

A queer space where straight women could go but lesbians felt rejected was a source of frustration and reinforced Maria's feeling that in fact there were no truly mixed bars, that they were mixed only in name. As Katherine Fobear found in lesbian socializing in 1970s Amsterdam, the sense of rejection from gay men in mixed bars informed a desire to create lesbian exclusive spaces, which in turn shaped the understanding of the lesbian identity in the 1970s-1980s.\(^ {142}\)

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\(^{141}\) “Els llocs mixtes mixtes no existeixen. Les dones son molt mal rebudes, ah no sé que siguin mariliendres. Les mariliendres són les dones hetero, cis, que són amigues de gais i que els donen les gràcies, oh bueno... que tenen amies gais que els hi agrada tenir al costat una tia així bona, hetero cis i de més, i que els hi donin les gràcies... el que es diu mariliendres, no? Tenen altres noms, però bueno. En canvi les lesbianes i tal, acabaves sentint comentaris molt desagradables, comentaris, per exemple doncs, ‘huele a chocho’. Això ho he sentit de vegades. De rebuig, perquè nosaltres no els hi anem a donar les gràcies. És a dir, les tipiques amigues de gais als llocs d’ambient, que es converteixen una en comparses d’ells, i nosaltres com a lesbianes som l’antitesi d’això, i per això els molestem.” Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 0:54:33.

The experience of queerness in the city was profoundly shaped by the imposed ideology of the Francoist regime. It was enforced by laws, the police, and psychiatry. The Law on Social Dangers and Rehabilitation (1970), discussed in Chapter One, specifically read queer desire and queer bodies as sites of "contagion" which had to be isolated from the rest of society, and thus required the removal of those threats to "rehabilitation" centres where they could be cured through psychiatric interventions that included electroshock.¹⁴³

The clause on homosexuality was used mainly (though not exclusively, nor uniformly) against trans women, travestis and men suspected of homosexuality or crossing gender norms.¹⁴⁴ Throughout the regime, cis women in relationships with women or whose dress or behaviour were considered too unfeminine were often policed through "informal" structures of power, such as the family or the church.¹⁴⁵ Both systems of policing gender nonconformity and "abnormal" sexualities created an environment of anxiety, the ever-present possibility of violence and containment, something we can see in many testimonies about the 1970s, including Enric's quote that opens this chapter ("we were scared shitless").¹⁴⁶

The role of police in regulating and enforcing one normative sexuality is not something unique to Spain, certainly. The entrapment schemes of police in London urinals or the ubiquity of police raids in New York, to highlight only the most famous of examples,

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¹⁴³ Monferrer Tomás, “La construcción de la protesta en el movimiento gay español,” 185–86.
¹⁴⁶ Interview with Enric Majó Miró, 10:15:30; Mérida Jiménez, Transbarcelonas, 87–88.
speak to that oppressive surveillance of homosexual desire. Across contexts, the police surveillance of and raids on queer bars served to create categories of people considered unacceptable, and hierarchies of immorality within that. As elsewhere, police were key to interpreting and putting the criminalization of homosexuality into practice - evidenced by the fact that although homosexuality was removed from the Law on Social Dangers and Rehabilitation in 1979, the same officers were still targeting queer couples and trans individuals under the umbrella of the Law on Public Scandal, itself not repealed until 1988. Police worked to define public space as heterosexual space, to keep queerness out of the streets and enforce the "geographic domination" of Francoist ideology.

The Catholic Church and psychiatric field were both complicit in policing desire and self-image, controlling the private to ensure a public space free from "social dangers". The fascist ideology of Francoism, referred to as National Catholicism to highlight the central role played by the Church, was based around the figure of the "virile man". Both the Church and medical field worked to uphold this national model. The use of electro-shocks became increasingly common in the 1960s, something Enric was offered when he visited a psychiatrist but which he fortunately felt was too extreme a step. Isabel also visited a

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psychiatrist, who told her: "Fall in love with the Virgin, because she is the greatest woman of all" ("Enamorate de la Virgen, porque ella es la mujer entre todas las mujeres").\footnote{Interview with Isabel Franc, 0:37:57.} This simultaneous acknowledgement and erasure of her desire was so shocking to her that she incorporated it into a novel much later, using the phrase as its title.\footnote{Isabel Franc, \emph{Entre Todas La Mujeres} (Barcelona: Tusquets Editores, 1992).} Isabel's sexual and romantic attraction to women needed to be redirected. Javier Fernández Galeano has demonstrated that Catholic gay men under Francoism subverted the Church's messages and found in a devotion to the Virgin Mary an alternative model of masculinity to that of the National Catholic regime.\footnote{Javier Fernández Galeano, “‘El Todo Poderoso Nos Ayude, Para Llegar a Lo Que Deseamos’: Homosexuality and Catholicism in Franco’s Spain (1954-1970),” \emph{Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies} 22, no. 3 (2021): 334, https://doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2021.1960696.} However, the expression of queer desire through religious fervor did not always protect these men from censors and prison.\footnote{Fernández Galeano, 335, 341.} A Francoist reading of religion was used by Church and medicine to intervene in private spaces which aided judges and police in defining public space as heterosexual space.\footnote{McKittrick, \emph{Demonic Grounds}, 5–6; Mort, \emph{Capital Affairs}, 168–69; Evans, \emph{Life among the Ruins}, 123, 149; Houlbrook, \emph{Queer London}, 20–21.}

Defying these definitions of space could be personally challenging, and internal geographies and fictional representations of queerness were integral to constructing queer spaces.\footnote{Cleminson, Medina Doménech, and Vélez, “The Queer Margins of Spanish Cities, 1939-2010,” 19; Gieseking, “Mapping Lesbian and Queer Lines of Desire: Constellations of Queer Urban Space,” 13.} This was a crucial aspect of Mercè's analysis in our interview, as she argued that the tools for internalizing shame were so powerful that mental geographies were the most important part of resisting this heterosexual geography. For Mercè, the most important moments of recognition and belonging did not come through visits to feminist circles or even lesbian bars, but instead through literature. This reading into existence is not unique to...
Barcelona's lesbian community, although accessing literature was made even more difficult in Spain because of the strict state censorship, demonstrated by how much literature had to be smuggled over the border from France.\(^{159}\) This literature was crucial to creating alternate geographies of selfhood which rejected the dominant discourses of the regime.

While some escaped the repressive narratives they experienced in Barcelona through literature from across the border, others travelled to Barcelona from other regions in search of queer culture. Just as London or Berlin took on enormous importance in queer imaginary, so did Barcelona attract people from smaller urban centres and towns drawn to its reputation for sexual and political openness.\(^{160}\) Barcelona, like other large cities, symbolized queerness in both negative and positive terms: its size and diversity represented moral anxieties for authorities intent on eliminating homosexuality, and the large urban area represented freedom to those seeking out marginalized sexualities.\(^{161}\) This constructed dichotomy between metropole and outside the metropole (be that suburb, rural, or smaller cities) obscures queer realities outside the big city.\(^{162}\)

I would argue that while Barcelona to a certain extent represented the "coming out" (to oneself or to others) trope in the narratives of Lola and Enric, two interviewees who moved to Barcelona (separately) from Rubí, neither of them categorized the spaces outside


of Barcelona as heterosexual. Lola explained that after she began reading, and discovering a lesbian identity in the city, she suddenly had a different perspective on women she knew in Rubí. What she had innocently taken for granted as nothing out of the ordinary took on new meaning: she remembered women who lived together without being family, and who even left hints about taking naps together - perhaps reading Lola as someone in the know.

They were right in front of her, but completely invisible until Lola gained more of an understanding through literature and meeting other queer women. Barcelona represented the freedom of anonymity, as Enric's quote which begins this chapter demonstrates: "[In Rubí] we were scared shitless. Coming to Barcelona opened up a new world. A world where I was anonymous." Barcelona represented a "new world", but Enric's use of "we" implies that the world of Rubí had its own gay world, even if Enric chose to leave in favour of anonymity. Enric remembered that he knew of a "maricón" in Rubí when he was growing up, yet he still felt completely alone and without the language to describe who he was or what he felt. He did not know this maricón personally, just what people in town said about him and how he was talked about, and Enric knew he didn't want to be that. Enric therefore recognized a distinction between feeling like the only one and being the only one. For Lola and Enric, coming to Barcelona was not necessarily about discovering queerness, but rather reinterpreting queerness, their own as well as that of others.

Barcelona was where Enric encountered models of culture and politics that made queerness something desirable. Enric's stories of Barcelona involved running from police,  


\[^{164}\text{Interview with Dolors (Lola) Majoral Puig0:22:57.}\]

\[^{165}\text{Interview with Enric Majó Miró, 0:13:36.}\]
and thus was not "safe" in contrast to Rubí as dangerous. Urban space could represent "freedom" but it also brought gay men into closer contact with police, and sometimes prison.\textsuperscript{166} However these were chosen risks, representing a sense of agency. Barcelona was where Enric met the founder of the FAGC, Armand de Fluvià who opened his mind to different ways of experiencing queerness. Enric remembered how impacted he was by seeing Armand's library and through it discovering Paolo Pasolini, the significance of this experience demonstrated by his choice to use "Pier Paolo" as his pseudonym within the FAGC.\textsuperscript{167} Armand was a very important reference for Enric, of what he saw as a more combative sexuality. Barcelona represented Enric's introduction to the FAGC, connecting with others like him, intervening in repressive geographies by putting up posters by cover of night. The activism and literature he accessed by coming to Barcelona was key to how he read the queerness of Barcelona's streets. The other way that Barcelona came to represent a queer city to him was through its night life.

A central actor in the construction of Barcelona as a site of queerness was the port neighbourhood of the Raval. There had been a thriving culture of cabarets in this area of Barcelona since before Franco’s fascist troops entered the city in 1939, and was even known as the "Paris of the South" during World War I.\textsuperscript{168} In particular, what was nicknamed the "Barrio Chino", or Chinatown, was a locus of clubs, bars, and cruising, and queer performance.\textsuperscript{169} The southern area of the neighbourhood known as the Raval was given the


\textsuperscript{167} Interview with Enric Majó Miró, 0:19:40.


nickname of "Chinatown" by journalists in the 1920s not because of any Chinese community there, but rather due to a racialized moral panic over the working-class nature of the area and the concentration of sex work.\textsuperscript{170} Initially built up outside the walls of Barcelona, the walls built in the fourteenth century included the Raval (also sometimes called District V) within the city's new geographic boundaries. Industrialization brought a concentration of factories to the area, which together with the limitation created by the medieval walls, made it an increasingly dense neighbourhood.\textsuperscript{171} As factories began to move from the Raval to the margins of the city, clubs and cabarets flourished in the southern zone as a new economy for the area.\textsuperscript{172} The association between the southern part of the Raval with criminality, disease, and poverty was so strong and self-reproducing that in 1986 the urbanist Gary McDonogh was warned by a friend about catching AIDS from drinking glasses in Raval bars.\textsuperscript{173} Still, even as it was stigmatized, the neighbourhood was intertwined with upper-class worlds and was a source of fascination as much as it was of plans for reform.\textsuperscript{174}

The neighbourhood's association with queer performance was part of its attraction as much as it was part of its stigmatization.\textsuperscript{175} This was true even in the postwar years, as the instalment of the dictatorship in 1939 did not eliminate the world of transformismo (drag) that had been thriving during the Republic, though performers did have to adapt to new restrictions.\textsuperscript{176} Enric remembered the ways that cross-dressing laws were played with and

\textsuperscript{171} Ealham, “An Imagined Geography,” 377–78.
\textsuperscript{172} McDonogh, “The Geography of Evil,” 175–76; Ealham, “An Imagined Geography,” 381.
\textsuperscript{173} McDonogh, “The Geography of Evil,” 182.
\textsuperscript{175} Villar, \textit{Historia y Leyenda Del Barrio Chino}, 242; Mérida Jiménez, \textit{Transbarcelonas}, 31, 39, 42.
\textsuperscript{176} Mérida Jiménez, \textit{Transbarcelonas}, 103.
pushed in the 1960s: performers would be in full make-up, jewelry, and open blouses, but always wearing pants. The spaces where artists like Madame Arthur, Violetta La Burra or Dolly van Doll performed seemed impossible anywhere else in the Spanish State, imbuing Barcelona with a kind of queer magic for many that visited.

The death of Franco in 1975 brought a dramatic change to this performance scene, as audiences now had an appetite for everything that had been censored and outlawed under the regime. Dolly van Doll enjoyed the demure playfulness of her shows and expressed frustration that they went out of style so suddenly. Bibi Andersen, on the other hand, embraced a new style of trans performance which was more confrontational and sexually explicit and became an icon of the 1970s, to the extent that some used her image as a symbol of the Transition as a whole. The huge diversity in trans performance in Barcelona’s Raval was a crucial aspect of its construction as a site of queer wonder, but also in the articulation of trans and travesti identities. Trans activists Yolanda Terol and Mar Cambrollé have both credited Bibi Andersen as an important reference for making transness a possibility to them, and most importantly, something desirable.

Nazario has articulated how the Raval made queerness something desirable, something he explicitly linked to trans women and travestis. Nazario passed through

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180 Mérida Jiménez, 109.
184 Mérida Jiménez, *Transbarcelonas*, 133.
Barcelona on his travels to Paris, Amsterdam or Eivissa in the 1960s, and it was specifically the life around the Rambla and in the "Barrio Chino" that enamoured him of the city enough to move there in 1972. Rather than the glamorous worlds of cabaret, however, Nazario was drawn to the culture of the street and the many travesti and trans sex workers of this area. For Nazario, what interested him was not necessarily trans or gay identity categories, but rather a libertarian anarchist rejection of constraints on gender or sexuality as a whole. As analyses of his comics have pointed out, his stories revolved around repressed sexuality whether homo- or heterosexual, a distinction he reiterated in his interview with me: for him the divisions in society are not between homosexuals and heterosexuals, but rather between the sexual and the non-sexual. The Raval represented a sexual space through his highlighting of sex and sex work in his comics, and more specifically a sexually political space.

The worlds of cabaret and gay and trans bars in the Raval were intimately linked to the world of sex work. Trans activists have denounced the difficulty of acquiring employment in anything that was not cabaret or sex work during this period, and that those who were not successful in cabaret were left with only one option. For some, sex work was purely an economic necessity, though for others it could have have an element of affirming their desirability as women. This world, concentrated in the Raval, was also one of heavy policing and violence. One of the most famous clubs for trans and travesti

185 Interview with Nazario Luque Vera, 0:11:06.
186 Mérida Jiménez, Transbarcelonas, 129,132.
187 Mérida Jiménez, 133.
188 Mérida Jiménez, 131; Interview with Nazario Luque Vera.
189 Mérida Jiménez, Transbarcelonas, 132–34.
190 Mérida Jiménez, 68, 76–77.
191 Samantha, “El Colectivo de Travestis y Transexuales”; Solís Galván, La doble transición, 24.
192 Solís Galván, La doble transición, 24; Mérida Jiménez, Transbarcelonas, 81.
performances, Barcelona de Noche where Enric fondly remembered going to see the artist Pavlovsky, was on what Enric described as the "worst street" in Barcelona, Carrer Tàpies.\textsuperscript{193} The dark streets of the Raval provided a certain cover to criminal activity, and as in other places, it was precisely this association with criminality and immorality which allowed queer spaces to flourish.\textsuperscript{194} The working-class nature of the neighbourhood helped create a strong community environment, as residents of the Raval recalled a neighbourly relationship with sex workers walking the streets for example.\textsuperscript{195} These factors are why it was not just the Barcelona de Noche that found its home in the southern portion of the Raval - you did not have to walk far to reach the Gambrinus Club, London Bar, Jazz Colón, El Anela, Arlequín, Nagasaki, Bambú, El Rastro, or El Tronio.\textsuperscript{196} Even though the heavy policing of these streets put all these bars in peril of police raids by association with the neighbourhood and neighbours, the exoticization and wonder that coexisted with this policing made it an ideal location. It was a site of wonder as much as a site of danger, and drew gay men, trans women and travestis together spatially and created a queer cartography within the medieval walls of sex and leisure that was a crucial foundation of identity and activism. Queer women also took part in these circuits; however, the most important sites for lesbian leisure responded differently to the spatial politics of the city.

The Raval provided a different locus of community-building for lesbians. Lola's coming to Barcelona, in contrast to Enric's, was defined by her discovery of the feminist bookstore LaSal, which was her introduction to both literary worlds and sexual

\textsuperscript{193} Interview with Enric Majó Miró, 1:17:08.
\textsuperscript{194} Podmore, “Queering Discourses of Urban Decline: Representing Montréal’s Post-World War II ‘Lower Main,’” 63; Evans, \textit{Life among the Ruins}, 122.
\textsuperscript{195} McDonogh, “The Geography of Evil,” 176.
experimentation. She got her hands on a feminist agenda published by the bookstore LaSal, and followed the address printed in the agenda to a narrow street in the Raval. Here she found books with radically new viewpoints and women with the same questions as her:

I met her here in Barcelona, at LaSal, buying their agenda. She was married, and she said "I also have doubts, whatever, let's try it, let's try it". Nothing, a little bit of *intenté*, but then, it was very funny because we went to her house [and decided]: "go on, let's have a day off, let's skip work, and you and I, let's have fun. Let's go to the market, I'll make lunch, it'll be great..." She made a great lunch, and then we went to... in the afternoon, it wasn't very late in the afternoon, it wasn't time, but her husband came home and caught us in bed. [laughs] [...] The shock, well, the shock was pretty considerable. But afterwards, well, she had some issues, but they separated and afterward we did continue being intimate, but then it ended because we were very different and it was more something occasional, and for research, to see what would happen. But well, it helped her discover herself, and me too, I mean, it was good for us. [...] But it was very funny. Well, now with years and distance it's funny, but in that moment, you have a [laughs] panic of "Oops. [in Spanish] The Husband."¹⁹⁷

LaSal was clearly more than just a place to get books, instead providing a space for feminists to socialize and find each other, and for some of those women, to experiment with sex and figure out who they were and what they wanted. For Lola, LaSal was her jumping off-point to both politics and community, as it was there that she read feminist and lesbian separatist theory and is also what led her to one of the first lesbian bars in Barcelona, Daniel's.

¹⁹⁷ “La vaig conèixer aquí a Barcelona, per allà a LaSal, comprant l’agenda. Estava casada, i llavors ella va dir ‘jo també tinc un dubte, no sé què, va, provem-ho, provem-ho’ i vam fer, res, una mica de, d’intente, però llavors, va ser molt divertit perquè vam anar a casa seva i vam, ‘va, fem un dia de festa i, en saltar totes les feines i tu i jo, i ens ho passem bé, anem al mercat, i jo faré un dinar, ja veuràs que bé...’ Si sí, va fer un dinar la mar de bé, i llavors anem a... a la tarda, no era gaire tarda, no era, justament, no era hora, i va venir el seu marit i ens va pescar al llit. [riu] Ens va pescar el marit al llit, sí sí sí. El xoc, bueno, el xoc era important eh? Però després, bueno, mira, va tenir algun problema, però es va separar, i després - si que vam continuar sent íntimes, però després ja es va acabar, perquè també érem molt molt molt diferèntes i era una cosa més, va ser com ocional i també de recerca, de investigació, de veure què passava. Però bueno, per ella li va servir per descobrir-se, i a mi també, vull dir que, ja va anar bé, però després ja es va acabar. Però sí si va ser molt divertit. Bueno, ara amb els anys i distància va ser divertit, però en aquell moment, tens un [riu] sufoc de ‘glups. El marido’.” Interview with Dolors (Lola) Majoral Puig, 0:27:08.
If we were to apply the terminology of Gieseking, Daniel's would represent a very bright "star" in the queer constellation of Barcelona, as a site loaded with significance and memory for lesbians. The perceived impossibility of women's sexuality made bars like this, where women could openly desire each other, emotionally impactful places. Daniel's was a lesbian bar that was open every day of the week from 1975 to the early 1990s and attracted a diverse clientele thanks to "not being explicitly political", as Lola told me, and instead being simply a space for queer women to have a drink and dance together. It was an English style pub, and was always kept sparkling clean according to Maria, who worked there for 10 months in 1977. Maria fondly remembered all the dark wood, the hanging lamps with their maroon shades, the bottles lining the wall. There was a long wood bar that you would see just walking in, and you could take a look at who had come out for the evening. There was a dance floor, and Mari Trini played every day for years. Mercè admitted she liked reading and talking more than dancing, and would leave early from Daniel's, but for some women it was a revelation. For Isabel, going to Daniel's the first time was an overwhelming experience:

What I do remember is that it was a shock. I mean, they bring me to a bar of women, full, overflowing with them, women of all colours and sizes, dancing, laughing, touching each other... They had to take me out of there. They had to take me home. I literally had a shock. I remember they brought me to the dance floor and I was so nervous, a glass fell and I started crying,
I... A friend had to take me home. Because of the feeling that all that could be real.202

Although she clearly knew other lesbians by this point, and was involved in feminist activism, going to a lesbian bar like Daniel's was deeply impactful for Isabel specifically because it was a space where queer women could simply have fun and love each other openly. The diversity of the women was something that stuck out to Isabel especially, of seeing so many models of queerness together in one place. This was something that stuck out in Maria's memory as well:

A lot of the women [from cabaret El Molino] would come after work, the vedettes at the Molino would come to Daniel's because some of them were lesbians. Prostitutes also came, who were also lesbians, all types. People from the theatre, well-known and not-so-well-known actresses, singers. And just when we opened at the start of the afternoon, at six in the afternoon, there were the girls just leaving school, and the housewives, ladies who were the typical housewives, would come. There was an impressive range of women.203

From schoolgirls to housewives, to actresses, performers, and sex workers, Daniel's saw a vast array of queer women walk through its doors. For the women I talked to, Daniel's encapsulated an era. With the "anthems" of Mari Trini as a soundtrack, the bar evoked a time of "constant activism" for Lola.204 Daniel's was a space loaded with memory and emotion,

202 “Lo que sí que recordo és que va ser un xoc. O sigui a mi em porten a un bar, de dones, ple, ple a vessar, amb dones de tots colors, de totes mides, que ballaven, que reien, que es tocaven, que... em van haver de treure. Em van haver de portar a casa. Literalment vaig tenir un xoc. Me’n recordo que em van treure a ballar i estava tant nerviosa, va caure un got i em vaig posar a plorar, i... Una companya em va portar a casa. De la sensació aquella que allò pogués ser veritat.” Interview with Isabel Franc, 0:12:06.

203 “Moltes de les dones desprès de treballar, de vedettes en el Molino, venien al Daniel’s, perquè algunes eren lesbianes. Venien també prostitutes, que eren lesbianes també, venia de tot. Gent del teatre, dones, actrius coneugudes i no tant coneugudes, cantants. I al obrir a primer hora de la tarda per exemple, obrem a les sis de la tarda, aleshores les nenes al sortir del cole, i venien les mestresses de casa, senyores que eren la típica mestressa de casa, venia allà. Hi havia un ventall de dones, impressionadissim. Estava obert cada dia de la setmana. Així com ara, ja casi han desaparegut els bars d’ambient, hi ha poquissims, o hi ha festes puntuals o... en aquest moment, als anys 70, del 75 al 80-80-i-pico, està obert cada dia cada dia. De sis a tres. I a vegades es tancava i la gent seguia.” Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 0:16:29.

204 Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 0:22:31. Interview with Dolors (Lola) Majoral Puig, 1:22:01.
as a place that was crucial to the articulation of a shared lesbian identity in the 1970s and into the 1980s.

Illustration 10: Maria Giralt working the bar at Daniel's, 1977. From Maria's personal collection, used with permission.

This building of lesbian community and self was carried out within a context of surveillance and policing. The threat of police and homophobic intruders shaped the sensory experience of Daniel's as well as informing the very need for a closed lesbian space. Although the women I talked to remembered Daniel's as a space of joy and safety, there was a delicate game and negotiation played with police to keep it open. Lola, Isabel, and Maria all talked about the "red light" that would go off if police or other "unwanted visitors" came to visit, for example. Lola explained what Daniel's security system was like in 1980:

Daniel's, when I arrived it was still a little clandestine, a little. [...] It was born as a women's association but couldn't be exclusively for women because that was anti-constitutional, it couldn't be discriminatory. But then
they made it an association and the trick, or cheat, was: "Are you a member?" "Ah, no", "It's only for members", and that way we could avoid having unwanted visits. It was a locked door, you have to ring the bell to be let in. The bell, inside a light would turn on, and then they would come see who it was. If it was someone familiar, well, then, they opened and nothing happened. If it was someone you could already see was from the Socials [Brigada Politico-Social], the police, immediately a red light would turn on. A red light, and everyone stopped dancing, stopped holding each other, stopped touching each other and everything, and the cards would come out, domino, parxís, and everyone there all quiet playing cards, no dancing or music or anything. A lot of times, Daniela, who was the one who ran the place, would invite the policeman because you get to know each other, she would invite him to a drink, and well, "Everything okay? Everything good? Yes? Okay, okay, bye then." And after he left, the music would come back on, and the dancing started again. That happened, I've witnessed it myself.

Maria, who worked there in 1977, also remembered the close relationship the owner, "Daniela" maintained with the local police chief. The curated "friendship" with police needed in order to protect Daniel's from police raids demonstrates the extent to which they were under suspicion. This friendship also demonstrates the duality of the police's role in queer bars: by accepting bribes and turning a blind eye, or in constructing the associations of danger in a certain space, their persecution of marginalized spaces also represented their
participation in them. The negotiation with police was also an element in how lesbians constructed their relationship to the politics of city space.

Daniel's was protected from the violent police raids that the gay bars down in the old part of the city faced partly because of this close relationship with police, but also, crucially, through its geographical positioning. Most of the lesbian bars that opened in Barcelona were in the upper part of the city, in what had once been small towns before being swallowed up by Barcelona's extending streets. Maria reflected that the upper part of the city was chosen because it could lend an air of respectability to the locale that would bring a certain protection. Far from the narrow streets of the Raval which were associated with sex work and criminality, their interactions with police could be delicately managed. The owner, as a resident of a respectable neighbourhood and a good neighbour, could lend the establishment acceptability. Maria said that all the neighbours knew it was a lesbian bar, but that as far as she knew, no one had ever reported them. Denunciation was a key tool of Francoist terror throughout the regime and there is evidence of it being used against "suspicious" women, yet there is no evidence that any of the neighbours felt the need to use it against Daniel's. I cannot say for certain that no reports were made, but Maria's narrative

209 Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 0:26:02.
211 Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 0:20:00.
212 Peter Anderson, “Singling Out Victims: Denunciation and Collusion in the Post-Civil War Francoist Repression in Spain, 1939—1945,” European History Quarterly 39, no. 1 (January 1, 2009): 7–26, https://doi.org/10.1177/0265691408097364; Fernandez Galeano reveals how even economic independence alone was used as proof of sexual abnormality in neighbours’ denunciations in Andalusia, Fernández Galeano, “Entre El Crimen y La Locura: Relaciones Sexo-Afectivas Entre Mujeres y Disconformidad de Género Bajo El Franquismo”; In post-war Berlin, neighbours were in fact not insignificant actors in inciting police raids, Rottmann, “Queer Home Berlin?,” 144; Marhoefer also demonstrates the role of denunciation in bringing suspicion to women in Nazi Germany, with neighbours more concerned by possible lesbianism than the racial policies that motivated the Gestapo, Laurie Marhoefer, “Lesbianism, Transvestitism, and the Nazi State: A
stands out for how a queer women's space of socialization behind closed doors and within a respectable neighbourhood could be protected to a certain extent by the surrounding community. As Maria has pointed to, the clientele of Daniel's was not just respectable middle-class women but included sex workers and vedettes who worked in the Raval, yet they all benefitted from the middle-class respectability the bar was positioned within, a complicity with the spatial politics of the city in order to create a protected queer space.

These contrasting approaches to the spatial politics of Barcelona, between those finding or creating freedoms in the marginalized port neighbourhood and those distancing themselves from these spaces to mobilize the protections of middle-class respectability reveal separation between lesbian, gay and trans community building in the 1970s. As in Chapter One, this is not to suggest an inevitability in the separation between groups based on identity. Although in this text I distinguish in broad terms between "gay" and "lesbian" spaces, we have also seen that even among my small number of interviewees there was a variety of responses to these spaces. While Daniel's was life-changing for Maria and Isabel, Mercè found it less personally interesting and drew more from private spaces and from literature. Where Enric was most drawn to the styles of artists like Dolly van Doll or Pavlovsky, and the glamour and fantasy in cabaret, Nazario preferred the sexual cultures of the streets of the Raval. Carla (Dolly van Doll) herself explained that she was not part of the worlds of socialization of other trans women, travestis, or gay men, because she had nothing in common with most of them. There were therefore all sorts of personal factors behind


Cook, *Queer Domesticities*, 145.

Fela and McCann, “Solidarity Is Possible,” 332.

Interview with Carla (Dolly van Doll), December 16, 2021, 0:30:15.
what spaces individuals sought out, and therefore the collective movement of people into
one space or another cannot be reduced to an inevitability based on identity. It was instead
the result of an accumulation of deliberate choices in response to the spatial politics of the
city.

The movement of gay locales away from the Raval after the 1970s further
demonstrates that these spatial associations were not stable, but instead messy negotiations
between sexual identities and marginalized spaces. The marginalization and associated
criminality of the Raval continued, and Nazario explained how the queer landscape changed
dramatically and tragically with the AIDS crisis in particular, and how the introduction of
heroin reshaped the Raval: "We're in a different galaxy, a galaxy marked by AIDS".216 He
was reluctant to conflate histories of homosexuality with histories of drug abuse,217 but he
admitted these crises were closely connected, remembering how friends turned to heroin to
deal with the AIDS crisis, and others contracted AIDS from the sharing of needles.218 The
interconnected crises of hard drugs and AIDS in Barcelona in the 1980s hit the trans
community especially hard.219 The Raval was once again seen as a source of contagion in the
city, a source of disease as well as of crime. In the 1990s, gay establishments began to open
in the upper parts of the city, specifically the Eixample. Mérida Jiménez points out that the
Eixample was constructed as the rational "antithesis" to the chaotic Raval, and thus that shift

216 “Estamos en otra galáxia, y esta galaxia está marcada por el SIDA.” Interview with Nazario Luque Vera,
0:47:00.
217 Hanhardt describes these tensions around the programs of ACT UP and in its historiography. Christina B.
Hanhardt, “‘Dead Addicts Don’t Recover’: ACT UP’s Needle Exchange and the Subjects of Queer Activist
History,” GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies 24, no. 4 (October 1, 2018): 421–44,
https://doi.org/10.1215/10642684-6957758.
218 Hanhardt, 431.
219 Mérida Jiménez, Transbarcelonas, 70, 103; Mejía, Transgenerismos, 96–97.
reflects the new strategies around gay identity and community. Lesbian locales that opened in the 1980s and 1990s stayed around the upper parts of the city, in the Eixample and Gràcia, although feminist centres opened in the Raval (and remain there today) as a deliberate strategy of remaining connected to Barcelona's most marginalized communities.

Throughout this chapter we have seen that violence, sex, and art were all crucial overlapping forces in making queer meaning from Barcelona's spaces. As discussed earlier in the chapter, violence and censorship were what made spaces like Daniel's or bars in the Raval so necessary. The period that can be remembered for its mobilizations and feelings of empowerment can also be represented by the battle zone of the street, where Maria and her friends physically fought for their right to hold each other and kiss in public without harassment. The entanglement of violence with spaces of wonder can be seen through how the associations and architecture of the Raval made it an ideal setting for queer leisure spaces and cruising yet also made it a target for suspicion and police raids. The dispersal of gay establishments reflects the same strategies that brought lesbians to create establishments in the upper portions of the city in the late 1970s, tapping into the protection of respectability afforded by these broad streets. The queer entanglement with Barcelona's spaces is a history of identity creation which is inextricably tied to spatial marginalization.

Chapter 3: Moving through Memories

Un cop ho expliques, penses que les coses han canviat molt. Però després, quan hi tornes a pensar, penses que potser la que ha canviat ets tu.

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220 Mérida Jiménez, *Transbarcelonas*, 156.
221 Interview with Mercè Otero Vidal, 1:07:33.
Once you've explained it, you think things have changed a lot. But later, when you think back on it, you think maybe what changed was you.\textsuperscript{222}

Mercè Otero Vidal

In late 2020 I created a digital map ("Locating Queer Memories of 1970s Barcelona", \url{https://arcg.is/0XmPzi}), and in the process was struck by the distance between gay and lesbian spaces of leisure such as Daniel's and bars in the Raval. As shown in the last chapter, the oral history interviews conducted in 2021 provided insight into the construction of the geographical and community divisions that lead to this visual. As I moved through the city, from interview to interview, I reflected on the differences between my experience of moving through the city today to those of my interviewees in the 1970s, which is where this chapter focuses. Early on in this research, I sought to explore how walking played into an understanding of Barcelona's queer history through public history outcomes. I reached out to a friend in early 2021, Pere Cowley of Pla de Barcelona, who creates walking tours for residents of the city, often focusing on themes of diversity and marginalized communities. The digital map I had created gave us a head-start in figuring out a route that could work, but as we walked our drafted routes we discovered new parallels and meanings to these sites as we compared the histories in our hands and the spaces we walked through. The difference in the feeling of these streets between night and day, the smells, all impacted how we moved between them. I felt the difference between reading or listening to the queer histories of these spaces and physically walking through them, discussing the different aspects of the 1970s as we turned cold cement corners.

\textsuperscript{222} Interview with Mercè Otero Vidal, 1:32:15.
Writing about movement is perhaps a contradictory impulse, fixing something that fascinates us precisely because of its unfixed nature. Dance theorists and philosophers Erin Manning and Brian Massumi question how we can think about identity in a way that takes into account movement and the relationship between individual and the spaces we move in or through.\textsuperscript{223} Gieseking argues stories of queer placemaking are also "travel stories," as the way people moved between spaces is key to the consolidation of identity and community.\textsuperscript{224} Gorman-Murray and Nash argue the importance of understanding the interconnected nature of "fixity and movement," as fixed places produce movement between them and this movement produces places.\textsuperscript{225} Fixity is as important as the movement in geographical analysis, because we can only understand them by their relationship to each other.\textsuperscript{226} Histories have become more sensuous, attending to how changes in technology and the cultural and political context inform the senses.\textsuperscript{227} This consideration of the senses and movement is crucial because as Gorman-Murray and Nash argue, the "performative relationality of bodies and places means sensuous geographies are implicated in the power and politics of identity."\textsuperscript{228} Beyond the urban changes themselves in Barcelona from the 1960s-1980s, the political changes themselves affected the experience of the city in multiple

\textsuperscript{225} Gorman-Murray and Nash, “Mobile Places, Relational Spaces.”
\textsuperscript{226} Gorman-Murray and Nash, 626, 633.
\textsuperscript{228} Gorman-Murray and Nash, “Mobile Places, Relational Spaces,” 635.
ways. What constituted a dangerous activity changed dramatically from Francoism to the Transition, changing the meaning and experience of everyday acts.229

This chapter broadens out from the geographies of previous chapters by focusing on places-in-between, and how physical spaces in Barcelona related to physical and imagined geographies far away. These in-betweens must be understood within the context of surveillance in the city. This chapter therefore begins with a discussion of how the nature of surveillance changed over the Transition period, before considering how this surveillance intersects with the city's reputation for queer flânerie, and how trans bodies specifically were policed the most in Barcelona. This will bring us to a discussion of those seeking escape from their context of surveillance, both of those travelling to Barcelona and those travelling from it. Finally, this chapter closes with a look the movement of letters across borders and their entanglement of private/public space and censorship. The Transition period in Barcelona represented changes in the public/private discourse, and gay, lesbian and trans mobilities in the city were constructed in response to shifts in the nature of policing and surveillance.

From its instalment in 1939 into the Transition period, the Francoist regime put enormous effort into maintaining strict control over public space.230 This control was understood as necessary to the regeneration of "Hispanic racial purity", Catholicism providing the "disinfectant" for the excesses and decadence of the Second Republic.231

Spaces of special concern, and thus surveillance and condemnation, included beaches, cinemas, ballrooms, bath houses, and cabarets.\textsuperscript{232} We briefly touched on the role of denunciation in the social control of the dictatorship in Chapter Two and lack of denouncers for the lesbian bar Daniel's. While it is true that denunciation was most common in the post-war period (1940s-1950s) it was still practiced in the 1960s and remained a key tool of social control.\textsuperscript{233} The relative decline in denunciation could be an effect of the dictatorship's shift from a strategy of "super politicization" during and immediately after the Civil War to one of "de politicization" in order to produce a \textit{passive} support in the (particularly the middle-class) population.\textsuperscript{234} However, a new wave of repression of the 1960s through laws and imprisonment demonstrates the regime sensed a slipping control over everyday life.\textsuperscript{235} Information could be forced from people, leading many anti-Francoist groups into the 1970s to ensure that as few people as possible had the full picture: Enric remembered that in the early years of the FAGC, they drew on the tactics of the Communists: they used code-names, and were grouped into cells by neighbourhood.\textsuperscript{236} Each cell would go to a different neighbourhood to place the posters, to avoid being recognized.

Discomfort is just as key in structuring movement as pleasure is, and the threat of surveillance and painful consequence was as much part of the city's geography as pleasure.\textsuperscript{237}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{233} Román Ruiz, “Mocking the Dictatorship,” 184, 186, 190.
\item \textsuperscript{235} Román Ruiz, “Mocking the Dictatorship,” 185.
\item \textsuperscript{236} Interview with Enric Majó Miró.
\item \textsuperscript{237} Gorman-Murray and Nash, “Mobile Places, Relational Spaces,” 635.
\end{itemize}
Mercè explained how the disappearance of night watch men and porters impacted the relationship between home and street:

The city also changed a lot with the disappearance of guards and night watchmen. [...] It's tied to the disappearance of porters, and the closing of entrance halls. [...] When the night watchmen and guards and porters disappear, then they have to close the doors to the street, the entrances. [...] This also brought a change of mentality. [...] Of course, [night watchmen] had a bit of a bad reputation because they could be "snitches". They knew what was happening, who went in and out off schedule... So they had a bad reputation. I don't know if they were "[switches to Spanish] old soldiers of..., former combatants" or what, that I don't know. But they did not have a good reputation. On the other hand, they did have a good reputation for opening the door if you forgot your keys, you know what I mean? Everything a bit, as always, ambivalent. This is a country of ambivalences.238

The assumption of a Francoist veteran in every portal speaks to the sense of surveillance integral to many streets of Barcelona. The point was not always whether they had denounced someone, or if you were giving them something to denounce, but rather the knowledge of them as part of the physical and social landscape of the city. The MELH met at different houses every time specifically out of fear of the night watchmen and porters.239 Private space was not all that private in Barcelona, by virtue of these watching eyes at every entrance. As Mercè points out, their removal in the Transition period represented a significant physical

238 “La ciutat també canvia molt amb la desaparició dels vigilants i els serenos. [...] Va lligat amb la desaparició dels porters i les porteresses i al tancar els portals de les cases. [...] En el moment que desapareixen els serenos i els vigilants i les porteresses, aleshores s’han de tancar les portes del carrer, els portals. [...] També va haver-hi un canvi de mentalitat amb això. [...] Al desapareixir els serenos i els vigilants hi havia menys vigilància a la nit. També hi havia guàrdies urbans als carrers en comptes de semàfors [...] Clar, [els serenos] tenien una certa mala fama perquè podien ser els ‘xivatos’. Sabien el què, qui sortia i entrava abans de l’hora... per tant tenien mala fama. O sigui, jo no sé si eren ‘antiguos militares de...’, ‘antiguos combatientes’ o què, això no ho sé. Però molt bona fama no tenien. Però en canvi sí que tenien bona fama perquè si perdies les claus t’obrien, saps lo que vull dir-te? Una mica, com sempre, ambivalent tot. Aquest és un país de ambivalències.” Interview with Mercè Otero Vidal, 2:06:30.

239 Monferrer Tomás, “La construcción de la protesta en el movimiento gay español,” 190.
and psychic change to the city, altering the perception of distinctions around private and public.

This control of the private residence made certain public spaces represent an escape from this surveillance. As we touched on in Chapter Two, the Raval could promise anonymity. Gay men from wealthier neighbourhoods of Barcelona, as well as from the working-class margins of the city, travelled to escape the watchful eye kept on the private sphere. For some, the attraction was invisibility. For Nazario, he sought the opposite. Barcelona, as the 1970s progressed, increasingly became a place to walk with full flamboyance, something he and his friend, the artist Ocaña, became famous for. Nazario felt that queer territories in Seville were enclosed among friends, hidden and isolated. Fixed in place, rather than the fluid space of the street. Munt described in a 1995 article on lesbian flânerie how the street as a site of queer performance was intimately important to a pleasurable occupation of space. A sense of being "free" in public space, to exist queerly in the street, does not imply an absence of danger, rather that the space holds enough uncertainty to promise queer potential in its architecture. Nazario sought to bring this geographical fluidity to readers elsewhere through his underground comics. Nazario explained that his character in his comic Anarcoma was nothing special or alien to a city like Barcelona, but for people who lived in towns and rural areas, it could be very empowering.

243 Interview with Nazario Luque Vera, 0:20:53.
The policing of public space was felt unevenly in the city all through the 1970s, however. There were limitations, and potentially violent consequences, as the constraints placed on trans mobilities demonstrate. In the CCAG’s second issue of La Pluma in 1978, Samantha outlines the main goals of the Travesti and Transsexuals Collective, and denounced trans women being treated as sexual objects even by sympathetic media. Trans women’s concerns and personhood could only be viewed through the performance of their sexuality. This connected to an issue that Samantha deemed central to the experience of trans women in Barcelona. That is, the kind of vampire existence trans people were limited to: celebrated at night and imprisoned by day. This was repeated by two separate authors in the porno-political magazine Interviú who stated their certainty that judges and policemen enjoyed going to cabarets and travesti performances in the Raval, before persecuting the very same performers for any daytime mobility. The highly successful performer Madame Arthur in 1978 stated that: "on the street they looked at you like they would a bug. On the stage it was different, because you were an artist..." ("Que ibas por la calle y te miraban como a un bicho. Arriba del escenario era distinto, porque eras un artista...", quoted from Mérida Jiménez). That same year, Samantha opened an essay in La Pluma titled “Travestis and Transsexuals: Introduction to a Specific Oppression” with the following poem:

Queens and little princesses

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244 Samantha, “El Colectivo de Travestis y Transexuales.”
246 Mérida Jiménez, Transbarcelonas, 92.
247 Samantha, “Los Travestis y Los Transexuales: Introducción a Una Opresión Específica.”
of the night.
Dolls of pleasure
Go out into the light of day
and exercise your power!
Sleeping beauties
Disillusioned Cinderellas
Bare your teeth
The fairy tale is over

Reinas y princesitas
de la noche.
Muñequitas del placer
Salid a la luz del día
y ejerced vuestro poder!
Bellas durmientes
Cenicientas desencantadas
Apretad todas los dientes
Se acabó el cuento de hadas

This poem speaks to this attempt to control trans movement, that enclosed within one fixed location, they could be allowed to entertain, but any movement outside of those nighttime locales was a threat to "respectable society". Samantha drew parallels to fairy tale heroines and calls on them to take back power over their bodies, to challenge their oppression by taking to the streets in the daytime - that transness in the sunshine is what can bring it all down. To move out of the night, and to move out of story, into a fully encompassing humanity. As Samantha pointed out, the supposed contradiction of nighttime toleration and daytime persecution was in fact not a contradiction but rather two sides of the same oppression. While cabarets could be a place of artistry and glamour, the stage could also feel constrictive, movement outside of it constrained by the violence of police and legislators.
The constraints placed on trans mobility and selfhood could render travel, for some, a mythical liberation. Mérida Jiménez has highlighted the place of the "journey that opens the door to new realities" ([el] viaje que abre las puertas a nuevas realidades") in Spanish trans autobiographies, including that of Dolly van Doll's. For Carla (Dolly van Doll), leaving Italy for Switzerland, and then travelling to Paris and Berlin were foundational experiences in accessing a world of glamour. In Switzerland, seeing men in full drag at Carnaval inspired her to sew dresses for herself. She proudly explained that she was advised to go to Le Carousel in Paris to perform. Barcelona was not where she first articulated her gender identity, nor even where she found her confidence. In fact, she described it as a step backward from the spaces of glamour represented by Paris and Berlin. It was, however, where she eventually opened her own club in the 1980s where she had complete artistic control, representing the art she was most proud of. All three were therefore important sites in her identity as an artist, and significantly, travelling represented part of that glamour in her ability to move and adapt to new places throughout her life.

When I asked about places important to her, she told me about her trip to Casablanca. Like other performers of Le Carousel, she made a trip to Casablanca in Morocco for gender reassignment surgery: she told me with great pride that she was only the fourth. For trans women in Spain, as elsewhere, Casablanca took on a highly emotional charge and importance in mental landscapes of transness. Aren Aizura has

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249 Mérida Jiménez, 99.
250 Interview with Carla (Dolly van Doll), 0:12:36.
251 Interview with Carla (Dolly van Doll), 0:25:40.
analyzed how narratives of trans experience are often constructed through travel and "elsewheres" represented by places like Casablanca. Aizura calls on us to attend to how these narratives construct an "othered" periphery around Europe as the centre.\textsuperscript{253} I do not wish, therefore, to represent the "travel" metaphor as inevitable or intrinsic to a trans story, privileging specific class positions and orientating the narrative around medicalized transition.\textsuperscript{254} There was a diversity of approaches in Barcelona to gender and presentation, as discussed in the Introduction, and along the broad spectrum of medical interventions, not all of them required travel and not all were desired.\textsuperscript{255}

I am, however, interested in the importance of travel in defining oneself, not necessarily through the \textit{arrival} but, to return to Mérida Jiménez, in the seeking out of new possibilities. Many trans women came to Barcelona drawn by a sense of possibility, and although the frustrations of Samantha and other trans activists in the previous sections demonstrate the constraints placed on their mobility once they arrived, this seeking was an important aspect in bringing many of them into community together. Silvia Reyes left Las Palmas for Barcelona at only twenty years old, in search of new possibilities.\textsuperscript{256} Reyes has condemned that once there, the lack of employment options under Francoism left her no choice but sex work to survive, and it was her position as trans woman and sex worker that led to repeated imprisonment.\textsuperscript{257} Her choice to move to Barcelona was not a migration away from danger - as our discussion of Munt's lesbian \textit{flânerie} at the beginning of this chapter demonstrates, the joy in movement was not in the foreclosing of danger but in the opening

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\textsuperscript{253} Aizura, \textit{Mobile Subjects}, 72–74.  \\
\textsuperscript{254} Aizura, 33, 35, 54.  \\
\textsuperscript{255} Aizura, 13; Mérida Jiménez, \textit{Transbarcelonas}, 106.  \\
\textsuperscript{256} Solís Galván, \textit{La doble transición}, 19.  \\
\textsuperscript{257} Solís Galván, 22, 24.
\end{flushright}
up of new possibilities. Migration created new possibilities and realities: the movement of trans women from disparate points of the Spanish State and from Latin America resulted in a strong network of people looking out for one another, of advice and support in the face of the regime's repression.

A very different class of travel existed for gay tourists both to and from Spain: tourism could create realities that at home might have been subject to strict condemnation or surveillance. Spain actively promoted tourism in the 1960s as it served both economic interests of Franco's regime as well as political ones, by helping curate an image of a modern, liberalized Spain to outside observers. Therefore, somewhat ironically, large numbers of queer tourists went to Spain for vacation where it was much safer for them to engage in sexual encounters. While lower-class local men and boys were targeted under Francoist law, the courts for the most part turned a blind eye to the activities of wealthy Northern foreigners. The island of Eivissa, the beach town of Sitges near Barcelona or the area of the Costa Brava in particular became tourist hot spots. Internal tourists also took advantage of the relative leeway given to tourist spaces, and tourism to Spain brought new possibilities through the introduction of banned literature, fashion, and ideas. As people from Barcelona or elsewhere mingled with European tourists from England or France, the Netherlands, or the United States in places like Eivissa, the Costa Brava, or Sitges, they were also themselves going to England, France, the Netherlands, or the United

259 Chamouleau, “Formas de La Colonialidad Mesocrática: Turistas Gais En La Costa Brava de Los Setenta.”
States as queer tourists themselves. The 2003 book by Armand de Fluvià includes the recollections of summers spent in London, and in my own interviews, Maria recalled how much lower the stakes for squatting were in Amsterdam, and Isabel remembered going to France to see films forbidden in Spain.\textsuperscript{262} London, Amsterdam, and Paris were all popular destinations for those seeking out what they found as more permissive cultures. This movement of queer people (of a certain class) was never one way, or even two-way, therefore, as migrations of vacationers moved around in search of somewhere that felt more freeing than where they came from. These migrations could be individual or collective.

The collective vacations of Barcelona lesbians to the island of Formentera demonstrates how treasured a sense of temporary relief could be. Formentera is a tiny island trailing off from Eivissa, and Formentera in particular was very rural and quiet, attractive for its nature and lack of police, the only eyes watching were those of neighbours.\textsuperscript{263} I got the sense from both interviews and events I attended that many lesbians treasured Formentera, as a time and place that represented a specific merging of politics, identity, leisure and desire. Maria remembered the island of Formentera as an extension of Barcelona. Her experience of lesbian life in Barcelona included this collective movement to a pension on Formentera (Illustration 12), riding bicycles and lounging on nudist beaches. Maria has several photographs of herself in Formentera, which she was kind enough to share, and the sepia tones imbue them with a warm nostalgia, a sense of quiet reflection in the image of Maria with her back turned to the photographer, smoking a cigarette as she stares out at the sea (Illustration 11). The lack of a shirt under her overalls

\textsuperscript{262} de Fluvià, \textit{El Moviment Gai a La Clandestinitat Del Franquisme (1970-1975)}, 137; Interview with Maria Giralt Castells; Interview with Isabel Franc.
hints at her familiarity with the photographer and the perceived safety of the environment, one of the main attractions to vacationing on Formentera. Maria stated that lesbians went to Formentera, while gay men went to Eivissa, further distinguishing and delineating these identities and movements through their literal movement.264

Illustration 11: Maria Giralt on a beach in Formentera. From Maria Giralt's personal collection, used with permission.

264 Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 0:35:50; Podmore, “Gone ‘Underground’?,” 601.
Although Formentera was understood as an extension of Barcelona, its physical and temporal separation from life in Barcelona was a crucial part of its perception as a release. Lola dreamed of recreating the feeling of Formentera all year round by creating a lesbian neighbourhood in Barcelona, but she and Gretel faced accusations of seeking to develop a lesbian "ghetto". Formentera, while connected to Barcelona, was understood as a distinct politics of use. From the conversations I listened to and interviews I did, Formentera as the "lesbian island" was a popular and treasured memory, even by those who did not necessarily identify as lesbian separatists. As a space "outside time", outside the regular rhythms and patterns of everyday life in the city, Formentera could be embraced as a space of lesbian desire and freedom. When it came to the patterns of movement of

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265 Interview with Dolors (Lola) Majoral Puig, 0:50:39.
everyday life, of work, relationships, shopping, and leisure, wrapping these up in lesbian identity seems to have been much more divisive.

There were ideological and material reasons for the lack of a "lesbian neighbourhood", and many scholars have pointed out that physical distance has often been associated with lesbian territoriality. The obstacles in the travel of bodies, in time or means, made the travel of letters a crucial agent in queer articulations of self and of desire. Under Francoism, women's sexuality was negated, and Raquel Osborne argues that the absence of categorization in the repression of women's queerness difficulted its visibility or intelligibility. Maria described being in love with her friend at fourteen years old, and that they were in a relationship until seventeen, all before Maria knew the word lesbian or indeed any word to describe it. In a similar vein, Mercè recalled in university she had "a friend, that today you would call a girlfriend", before she realized what it was that she wanted. These relationships seem to have been intensely emotional from their descriptions, and predated their activism and labelling. A key meeting point in these kinds of explorations was not public or commercial spaces, but letter writing.

Letter-writing was an important aspect of queer women's worlds as spaces of self-actualization and of intimacy, something scholars have argued since the 1970s. In the

266 Gieseking, “Mapping Lesbian and Queer Lines of Desire: Constellations of Queer Urban Space,” 2, 7; Tongson, Relocations, 18.
269 Interview with Maria Giralt Castells, 0:04:26.
270 Interview with Mercè Otero Vidal, 0:12:10, 0:20:41, 0:22:04.
context of a negation of women's sexuality and other romantic options, writing across
distances became a space to make themselves visible to one another. I do not think it is
coincidental that a novel that both Isabel and Lola identified as one of their earliest
references of lesbian literature and thus a deeply impactful text was *Te deix, amor, la mar
com a penyora* by Carme Riera (1975), styled as a love letter to someone who is only at
the very end revealed to be a woman.\(^{272}\) Its intimate, confessionary style conjures this
epistolary world, even the sensory aspect of letter-writing in the protagonist's description
of her pen touching the paper as she would like to touch her lover.\(^{273}\) In the 1970s, letter-
writing was a lesbian space - something Mercè expressed in our interview:

> Correspondence is a space. When you're not in the same space, then the space of communication... especially when there weren't telephones either - keep in mind there were no cellphones then, so we called each other from phone booths. Do you know what it is to have to find a booth, to have coins for the booth, to have it break up in the booth, you know? People communicated through letters with stamps stuck on and in phone booths. Booths that I now see have disappeared from Barcelona, and I think, wow. Because I knew where all the booths and mailboxes were. And I was lucky, on the chamfer of Consell de Cent street/Borrell street, there was a mailbox on the mountain side of the street and a phone booth on the sea's side of the street. It was perfect, I just had to get there. Once I was there I was saved.\(^{274}\)


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\(^{274}\) La correspondència és un espai. Quan, justament, quan no estàs en el mateix espai, aleshores l’espai de comunicació... quan a més a més, el telèfon tampoc era - pensa que no hi havia mòbils, aleshores és clar, nosaltres ens trucàvem a les cabines. Saps lo que era trobar les cabines, tenir el duro per tirar en la cabina, que se’t tallava a la cabina, saps? [...] Aquesta gent es va comunicar a base de cartes amb segell enganxat i en cabines. [...] Les cabines que ara veig que han desaparegut totes a Barcelona, penso, hòstia. Deu n’hi do. Perquè jo tenia totes les cabines i bútsties localitzades. I tenia sort, el xamfrà de Consell de Cent/Borrell, hi havia la bútstia a la banda de muntanya i la cabina a banda de mar. Ho tenia perfecte, es tractava d’anar fins allà. Un cop arribaves allà estaves salvada. Interview with Mercè Otero Vidal, 1:40:00.
The mailbox itself takes on importance as a key point in the movement of letters in Mercè's description, itself becoming what Gorman-Murray and Nash refer to as "moorings" or what Gieseking refers to as "stars" as places that anchor queer movement. Even more significant as an affective site is the phonebooth in Mercè's narrative: the phonebooth comes across as a kind of lesbian holy site, a conduit of lesbian love and community when distances were too great. Gieseking argues how blurry the divisions are between figurative, metaphorical spaces and physical spaces in queer women's narrative of identity and community. Mercè further intertwines correspondence as a figurative and literal space in her description of how they mapped out the locations of mailboxes and phone booths in the city. Walking through the public space of the street to the mailbox or to the phone booth were part of the experience of connecting with love and activism across great distances, of articulating one's identity and desires. While there is truth to the relatively higher importance of private networks and spaces to lesbian community building in comparison to gay men's strategies of "territorialization", this is sometimes overstated to the point of stereotype. A strict private/public, home/street binary masks the intertangling between them which Mercè's reflections speak to.

Both lesbians and gay men used letter writing for building transnational networks, bringing the intimate aspects together with their activism. Javier Fernández Galeano has shown that gay Catholic men used letters to built transnational networks of support in line with homophile sensibilities before the mobilization of gay liberation activists in the 1970s.

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278 Interview with Mercè Otero Vidal, 1:42:24.
but although it may not be unique to it is undeniable that correspondence was a crucial aspect of the MELH and the FAGC's development.\textsuperscript{279} Javier Fernández Galeano and Gema Pérez Sánchez have analyzed the correspondence between Armand de Fluvià, one of the founders of the MELH and the FAGC, and Argentinian gay rights activists in the 1970s.\textsuperscript{280} They highlight the materiality of the letters themselves, the deep yet uneven impressions of ink on the page. Their affective power connecting activists working in dangerous conditions became part of their materiality.\textsuperscript{281} They were important avenues for raising funds, organizing the passage of those fleeing Argentina's state terrorism, but they were also places where writer and reader revelled in queer forms of speech, feminine adjectives and slang, where humour and flirtation intermingled.\textsuperscript{282} To receive these letters, however, de Fluvià recounts the MELH had to be linked to the address of the National Gay Task Force in New York, who then forwarded letters to de Fluvià under a pseudonym.\textsuperscript{283} In this case, the political nature of these letters made them sources of scrutiny and danger. The movement of letters was controlled enough that strategies had to be found for their safe, untampered passage. This context of surveillance made letter-writing in the 1970s, even as it could offer that sense of refuge and connection, a dangerous task. The FAGC's desire for legalization, one of the key issues that divided them from the CCAG as seen in Chapter One, can be seen as an attempt to seek protection over their interventions in the public sphere but also the moving private sphere of letters.

\textsuperscript{280} Fernández Galeano and Pérez Sánchez, “Pioneros de la fraternidad homosexual: La correspondencia entre Héctor Anabitarte y Armand de Fluvià (1974-1980).”
\textsuperscript{281} Fernández Galeano and Pérez Sánchez.
\textsuperscript{282} Fernández Galeano and Pérez Sánchez.
The interplay of change and continuities defined the 1970s and the geography of Barcelona, as although the public sphere that historians have argued was non-existent under Francoism has emerged since, the surveillance of the private sphere did not end with the 1970s. As Mercè expressed in our interview (discussed above), "this is a country of ambivalences", of changes with good and bad consequences. Lola explained that policemen stopped checking in on Daniel's at a certain point in the 1980s, but that they later found out this was because female policewomen had begun infiltrating these spaces and watching Lola and Gretel Amman:

We later found out, that one policewoman, a young woman we knew, who was a friend of a friend of mine, I knew her, she was a Social policewoman, she told us. She said, "I was in charge of [...] finding out what was happening, what wasn't happening, if there was terrorism or..." the things that were being watched for during the Transition. And through her we found out they kept files on us, Gretel and myself, the police had our file, which she destroyed. She destroyed them once we were closer to democracy, when there was no more need for... [...] That's what she told us, we trust that's how it happened.

What could have been on this destroyed file? How much did this undercover policewoman report, and what was concerning evidence? Lola and her late partner Gretel Amman were radical feminists and lesbian separatists (Lola still is), which part of their politics could have been most worrying to the new state? Clearly, although denunciation and surveillance were no longer visible, accepted facts of living in Barcelona, the sphere of dangerous

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285 "I llavors hem sapigut, ho hem sapigut posteriorment, que una policia, una noia que coneixíem, que era amiga d’una amiga meva, que la coneixia, que era policia social, i ella ens ho va dir. Diu, “I jo era l’encarregada de [...] veure què passava, què no passava, si hi havia terrorisme o... Bé, aquestes coses que vigilaven a la Transició. I per ella també hem sapigut que havíem tingut, que havíem estat fitxades, la Gretel i jo mateixa, per la policia, tenien una fitxa nostra, i que ella la va destruir. Les va destruir, un cop ja més arribada la democràcia, més endavant, quan ja no hi havia necessitat de... les va destruir. Això ens van dir, confiem que va ser així.” Interview with Dolors (Lola) Majoral Puig, 0:07:00.
activity was still broad and carefully monitored by police forces - many of which remained unchanged.

To return to the reflection on walking tour creation that began this chapter, we have seen here a diversity of methods for moving away from or through sites of danger and surveillance which could not be easily mapped out on the city today. Indeed, the conditions of walking tours (time limit, distance) privileges stories that can be concentrated into one geographic area, narratives that are limited to a certain amount of joined streets. In this case, the site that lends itself to such a mapping is the neighbourhood of the Raval and the streets that border it. This leaves out places like Daniel's which as discussed in Chapter Two, was a lesbian space deliberately far away from the Raval. It also leaves out the kinds of movement we have explored in this chapter: the movement to the islands and beach towns, to London or Amsterdam or Paris, and the movement of letters and their role as a queer space. An extra effort has to be made to highlight the movements that walking the city today obscures.

Walking through Barcelona did reveal certain continuities and ruptures: where Barcelona de Noche had once stood, there was now a police station. Carrer Tàpies, which Enric remembered for its old sex workers, darkness, and thriving drag scene, was now brightly lit and empty (Illustration 13). La Model is no longer a prison, but it still stands tall and intimidating and struck me each time I passed it on my way somewhere (Illustration 14). Stories about the Model were passed around the dinner table and in bars, its walls dragging along histories of torture and abuse. I knew of the Model as a site of horrors on my mental map of Barcelona, together with the police headquarters on the Via Laietana, an association echoed in my interview with Mercè, who brought up both sites as examples
of long unreformed spaces. In 1976 there were already talks of closing the prison and turning it into an urban park, but the prison was not officially closed until 2017.

When you come across the building walking across the city it still calls to mind those associations of violence, though as you look closer you do see the evidence of its conversion into a memorial centre. The building still looks like a prison, though murals for peace and freedom cover its outer walls. The police headquarters on the Via Laietana remains largely unchanged besides a small plaque, holding its old associations within its walls while adding on new stories of police violence. Neither site directly references queer victims of the regime. Their architecture symbolizes the oppression of queer bodies in the 1970s, but the strategic movements that resisted Francoist control are not made visible on the landscape.

Interview with Mercè Otero Vidal, 2:02:30.

Illustration 13: Carrer Tàpies, 2021. Barcelona de Noche used to be on the right side of this street, which is now occupied by a police station.

Illustration 14: Photograph of the former Model prison at night, 2021.
Walking around Barcelona today, much of the sensory geography of the city has changed dramatically and with it, the mobilities of the city. The disappearance of porters and night watchmen that Mercè described at the beginning of this chapter, the disappearance of phone booths and the significance of mailboxes, the proliferation of streetlights all altered how queer individuals mapped out the city and navigated moving through it in different ways based on gender and class. Movement is central to that sensorial aspect of the city, an aspect of this history that can be lost when we focus on just the physical presence of buildings and streets. We lose sight of the politics in how activists and artists moved between not just neighbourhoods but from city to city and across countries to articulate a sense of self and community that defied Francoist ideas. The stories looked at in this chapter demonstrate why it is important to look beyond businesses or marches when spatializing queer histories and see the full movement through the city that was so crucial in queer networks and identity creation.
Conclusion

It's like history, depending on who's writing, it's one thing or it's another. And what is it that happened? What was written, or what happened? Is it the same thing, or is it not? It isn't easy.288

Dolors (Lola) Majoral i Puig

When I was interviewing Lola, she explained that the feminist movement was currently facing nasty divisions over the legalization of sex work. She explained that a group seeking the abolition of sex work was using the texts of Gretel Amann for an event they were putting on, which Lola had a huge issue with. Lola felt that their viewpoint as radical feminists was that a feminist world would not have sex as something purchased in a capitalist framework, but that any moves to abolish sex work in the current system would only further marginalize the most vulnerable. Therefore, while opposed to sex work on an ideological level, Ammann would not have been part of the movement to abolish sex work. Lola was hurt by seeing this misuse of Ammann's texts but reflected on how making the archive open access meant opening them up to interpretations she disagreed with and a possible misuse. She explained how difficult it was to navigate the risks and rewards of donating to the archive:

O.B.R.: They're putting words in her mouth, we could say?

D.M.P.: Yes, and that I don't like. They did not ask for our permission or anything. Of course, I don't know if they have to ask for permission or not. Gretel's legacy is in the archive of Ca La Dona, open access, because we gave that freedom, precisely so that her thinking could be shared. That being said, depending on how

288 Interview with Dolors (Lola) Majoral Puig, 1:07:44.
it's being used... It's like everything, isn't it? It's like history, depending on who's writing, it's one thing or it's another. And what is it that happened? What was written, or what happened? Is it the same thing, or is it not? It isn't easy.289

Lola here expresses an intimate danger in sharing your history with the world, and while she was referring in particular to Gretel Amman's archive, I was very aware that this also applied to the very interview we were in.

For her to speak to me and put her views on record was its own act of trust. My interpretation of her account may not be what her own interpretation would be, or that of others, bringing in what she says is the question of history: is it what happened, or what was said about what happened? The question of subjectivity in history was something echoed by my other interviewees as well. Mercè warned me that all her stories now had the benefit of hindsight, and the events of her life all lay behind the layers of experiences that followed. Oral history as a practice is all about recognizing the subjectivity in history, and valuing that subjectivity,290 but many of my interviewees seemed to feel a sense of


Interview with Dolors (Lola) Majoral Puig, 1:07:44.

responsibility attached to that. How I write about the 1970s, and how readers feel about the Barcelona's spaces in that period, hinge upon my subjective position, but also that of all my interviewees, an aspect of history telling both Mercè and Lola wanted on the record.

In 2019 historian Gracia Trujillo's interview with Lola, Mercè, and lesbian activist and scholar Barbara Ramajo was published in *Fiestas, Memorias y Archivos*. In it, Lola and Mercè expressed many of the same concerns over archiving as they did in our interviews. They described the need for an archive to be something living, something fluid, items contextualized by the stories of activists who lived through their creation.\(^{291}\) Lola described the Centre de Documentació of Ca La Dona at the time as "in a trance" ("en trance"), not quite fully alive because of the many difficulties they were facing in cataloguing and making accessible the materials as an independent community archive (a struggle facing many community archives).\(^{292}\) Despite the risks with sharing materials, such as the potential misuse that Lola described, the priority of the feminist archive is sharing their histories, therefore Lola felt it would not be fully "alive" until the public could engage with it. I take this idea into my own practice in not leaving my thesis as the only product of this research. To me, it is important to create and aid in the creation of public history outcomes based on this research which was made possible by community archives and the many who were so generous in sharing their stories. The walking tour is one example, but


digital tools in particular are proving a helpful way to share these stories and resources across great distances.

Queer occupations of space were a central concern throughout the 1970s, and the complicated interplay of activism and leisure, private and public, are what inspired me to undertake a study of this period through a spatial lens. Chapter One introduced visions of the city in protest, arguing that the occupation of space, or how to occupy public space was a central concern of gay liberation as early as 1977 and represented the most divisive issue separating gay rights groups at the end of the 1970s. The CCAG and FAGC's articulations of their relationship to public space was a crucial aspect in defining their legacy and position within a gay rights movement. Chapter Two tackled the spatial divisions in regards to leisure spaces and argued that gay men and lesbians constructed their identities not only through specific locations, but also how those spaces interacted with the spatial politics of the city as a whole. Chapter Three moved through memories of space and community to argue that surveillance shaped queer mobilities within and beyond the city, as different forms of resistance emerged to the changing nature of repression from Francoism into the Transition.

The sources used for this research bring a new perspective to queer spatializations of Barcelona in the 1970s. Photography highlights the importance of the relationship between photographer and marcher in the spatial performance of protest, by calling on past events and associations with certain streets and squares. Photography can also hint at the emotional significance of spaces and their associations with safety, evident in how the person relates to the camera. Oral history interviews provide insight into the personal significance of space: what made Daniel's or bars in the Raval so important - to some, not
all - in the articulation of identity and community, for example. What made certain spaces matter was contingent on individual personality, but also the sharing of them with others, and their relationship to the political context of changing repressions. The movement of letters and multiple mobile strategies in circumventing surveillance and censorship make clear how a queer spatialization of Barcelona cannot be reduced down to its commercial establishments nor to a simple public/private divide.

Throughout this thesis, my goal has been to understand the role of space in the process of constructing distinct identities and communities without essentializing identity categories and their divisions as foregone conclusions or as a monolith. The accounts recounted here demonstrate the importance of not accepting divisions uncritically as essential, but rather as the result of specific political/geographical conditions and deliberate choices in reaction to surveillance and repression. There were debates within and across gay, lesbian, and trans communities about what constituted their community and what their relationship to public and private spaces should be on individual and collective levels. As all three chapters have demonstrated, these debates were a central aspect of the mobilization of the 1970s, as lesbian, gay and trans artists and activists drew from each other and other movements mobilizing alongside them, creating spaces and patterns of movement in defiance of the regime's teachings to articulate a radical sense of self and community over the cartography of Barcelona.
Appendices

Appendix A : Ethics Clearance for Oral History

CERTIFICATION OF INSTITUTIONAL ETHICS CLEARANCE

The following research has been granted clearance by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board-A (CUREB-A). CUREB-A is constituted and operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2).

**Ethics Clearance ID:** Project # 116023

**Project Team Members:** Ms. Ona Bantjes-Rafols (Primary Investigator)
Dr. Jennifer Evans (Research Supervisor)

**Study Title:** An Oral History of LGBTQ Spaces in 1970s Barcelona

**Funding Source:** (If applicable):

**Effective:** August 06, 2021  **Expires:** August 31, 2022

**This certification is subject to the following conditions:**

1. Clearance is granted only for the research and purposes described in the application.

2. Any modification to the approved research must be submitted to CUREB-A via a Change to Protocol Form. All changes must be cleared prior to the continuance of the research.

3. An Annual Status Report for the renewal or closure of ethics clearance must be submitted and cleared by the renewal date listed above. Failure to submit the Annual Status Report will result in the closure of the file. If funding is associated, funds will be frozen.

4. During the course of the study, if you encounter an adverse event, material
incidental finding, protocol deviation or other unanticipated problem, you must complete and submit a Report of Adverse Events and Unanticipated Problems Form.

5. It is the responsibility of the student to notify their supervisor of any adverse events, changes to their application, or requests to renew/close the protocol.

6. Failure to conduct the research in accordance with the principles of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans 2nd edition* and the *Carleton University Policies and Procedures for the Ethical Conduct of Research* may result in the suspension or termination of the research project.

**IMPORTANT: Special requirements for COVID-19:**

If this study involves **in-person research interactions with human participants**, whether on-or off-campus, the following rules apply:

1. Upon receiving clearance from CUREB, please seek the approval of the relevant Dean for your research. Provide a copy of your CUREB clearance to the Dean for their records. Please contact your Dean's Office for more information about obtaining their approval. See *Principles and Procedures for On-campus Research at Carleton University* and note that this document applies both to on- and off-campus research that involves human participants.

2. Provide a copy of the Dean's approval to the Office of Research Ethics prior to starting any in-person research activities.

3. If the Dean’s approval requires any significant change(s) to any element of the study, you must notify the Office of Research Ethics of such change(s).

Upon reasonable request, it is the policy of CUREB, for cleared protocols, to release the name of the PI, the title of the project, and the date of clearance and any renewal(s).

Please email the Research Compliance Coordinators at ethics@carleton.ca if you have any questions.

**CLEARED BY:**

Bernadette Campbell, PhD, Chair, CUREB-A

Kathryne Dupré, PhD, Vice-Chair, CUREB-A

**Date:** August 06, 2021
Appendix B : Ethics Clearance for Historical Walking Tour

CERTIFICATION OF INSTITUTIONAL ETHICS CLEARANCE

The following research has been granted clearance by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board-A (CUREB-A). CUREB-A is constituted and operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2).

Ethics Clearance ID: Project # 116388

Project Team Members: Ms. Ona Bantjes-Rafols (Primary Investigator)
Dr. Jennifer Evans (Research Supervisor)
Pere Cowley (Collaborator)

Study Title: Historical Walking Tour of Queer 1970s Barcelona

Funding Source: (If applicable):

Effective: October 13, 2021 Expires: October 31, 2022

This certification is subject to the following conditions:

1. Clearance is granted only for the research and purposes described in the application.

2. Any modification to the approved research must be submitted to CUREB-A via a Change to Protocol Form. All changes must be cleared prior to the continuance of the research.

3. An Annual Status Report for the renewal or closure of ethics clearance must be submitted and cleared by the renewal date listed above. Failure to submit the Annual Status Report will result in the closure of the file. If funding is associated, funds will be frozen.

4. During the course of the study, if you encounter an adverse event, material incidental finding, protocol deviation or other unanticipated problem, you must complete and submit a Report of Adverse Events and Unanticipated Problems Form.
5. It is the responsibility of the student to notify their supervisor of any adverse events, changes to their application, or requests to renew/close the protocol.

6. Failure to conduct the research in accordance with the principles of the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans 2nd edition and the Carleton University Policies and Procedures for the Ethical Conduct of Research may result in the suspension or termination of the research project.

IMPORTANT: Special requirements for COVID-19:

If this study involves in-person research interactions with human participants, whether on-or off-campus, the following rules apply:

1. Upon receiving clearance from CUREB, please seek the approval of the relevant Dean for your research. Provide a copy of your CUREB clearance to the Dean for their records. Please contact your Dean's Office for more information about obtaining their approval. See Principles and Procedures for On-campus Research at Carleton University and note that this document applies both to on- and off-campus research that involves human participants.

2. Provide a copy of the Dean's approval to the Office of Research Ethics prior to starting any in-person research activities.

3. If the Dean’s approval requires any significant change(s) to any element of the study, you must notify the Office of Research Ethics of such change(s).

    Upon reasonable request, it is the policy of CUREB, for cleared protocols, to release the name of the PI, the title of the project, and the date of clearance and any renewal(s).

    Please email the Research Compliance Coordinators at ethics@carleton.ca if you have any questions.

CLEARED BY: Bernadette Campbell, PhD, Chair, CUREB-A

Date: October 13, 2021

Kathryne Dupré, PhD, Vice-Chair, CUREB-A
Appendix C: Interview Guide

Interview Guide in English

These questions represent a sample of possible lines of questioning, as the interview style will be flexible and open-ended.

1. When and where were you born?

2. Where did you grow up?

3. What spaces were important to you when you were beginning to explore your sexuality and identity?

4. What spaces of Barcelona in the 1970s would you define as queer?

5. What spaces of Barcelona felt hostile to you in the 1970s?

6. Which spaces of Barcelona were important to you in the 1970s?

7. If I, as a young queer, were visiting you in Barcelona in the 1970s, where would you take me? And how would we get around?

8. How has your relationship with city spaces changed since the 1970s?

9. What do you define as queer spaces in Barcelona today?
Appendix D: Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

Name and Contact Information of Researchers:

Lead researcher: Ona Bantjes-Ràfols, Department of History

Supervisor and Contact Information: Dr. Jennifer Evans

Project Title

An Oral History of LGBTQ Spaces in 1970s Barcelona

Carleton University Project Clearance

Clearance #: 116023 Date of Clearance: 6/8/2021

Invitation

You are invited to take part in a research project because you were part of the LGBTQIA community in Barcelona in the 1970s. The information in this form is intended to help you understand what we are asking of you so that you can decide whether you agree to participate in this study. Your participation in this study is voluntary, and a decision not to participate will not be used against you in any way. As you read this form, and decide whether to participate, please ask all the questions you might have, take whatever time you need, and consult with others as you wish.

What is the purpose of the study?

This project has been developed as part of the History Master’s thesis research of Ona Bantjes-Ràfols at Carleton University, under the supervision of Dr. Jennifer Evans. The thesis is an investigation into memories of the queer spaces of Barcelona in the 1970s in order to understand how the queer mobilization of the 1970s related to the spaces around it. The project involves conducting oral history interviews with people who were part of the LGBTQIA community in Barcelona in the 1970s in order to understand how they remember the spaces of Barcelona, which spaces were important them, which spaces they identify as queer, and how those spaces or their relationship to the city may have changed over time.

What will I be asked to do?

If you agree to take part in the study, we will ask you to:

• Complete an interview with the researcher
• The interview may last between one to two hours, but you may take as long as you like
• You are free to stop and take a break or discontinue at any time
• You may be asked for a follow-up interview
• The interview will be recorded using either audio or video, depending on your preference
• You may be asked about where you grew up; how you identify; which spaces define as queer and why; what spaces you remember most from the 1970s; how you think the spaces of the city have changed over time; your current relationship to space and identity in Barcelona. You are free to discuss any aspect of your experiences you wish, are not limited to the questions asked by the interviewer, and you may refuse to answer any questions.

Risks and Inconveniences

Discussing the past can bring up difficult memories and emotions. There will be mental health resources provided with this consent form, in case you should want to use them. You are free to take as many breaks as you need, and we do not need to discuss any topics you do not feel comfortable talking about. You may either communicate to the interviewer topics you want to avoid before the interview, or refuse to answer questions at any time.

In the case that any of your interviews involve in-person interactions, there is some risk that you may be infected with the COVID-19 virus during study participation. Researchers will take precautions in accordance with the recommendations of Carleton University and local public health guidelines to minimize the risk of transmission of COVID-19. However, persons who are older, or who have certain medical conditions, and others, have been shown either to be at greater risk of contracting COVID-19, or to suffer more serious effects from the virus. If any present party screens positive for COVID-19 (having any symptoms, having travelled recently, or been in contact with someone who has tested positive for COVID-19), any in-person interaction will be cancelled.

Possible Benefits

This interview will add to scholarship on LGBTQIA life and activism in 1970s Barcelona. It can also be an important record for you to keep for yourself, to use in any of your projects, to share with your family or community.

Compensation/Incentives
You will not be paid or compensated for your participation in this study.

No waiver of your rights

By signing this form, you are not waiving any rights or releasing the researchers from any liability.

Withdrawing from the study

You may withdraw your consent from the study, and tell the Principal Investigator (named above) that you would like your data to be deleted or anonymized, within three months of your interview. All information collected from you before your withdrawal will be discarded or anonymized (depending on your request).

After the study, you may request that your data be removed from the study and deleted by notice given to the Principal Investigator (named above) within three months of your interview.

Confidentiality

We will treat your personal information as confidential, although absolute privacy cannot be guaranteed. Research records may be accessed by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board in order to ensure continuing ethics compliance.

The results of this study, including any audio or visual materials, may be published or presented at an academic conference or meeting, or used in public history outcomes (such as a museum exhibit). We will notify you of any of these possibilities, in case you prefer to be anonymized in these outcomes.

The data and research materials will be stored on the Principal Investigator's personal computer.

For Zoom sessions: "In-session” data, such as the audio, video and chat transcript from the interview, will be stored locally on the researcher’s computer.

We will password protect any research data that we store or transfer.

Data Retention

After the study is completed, your data will be retained for future research use. Files will be password protected.
New information during the study

In the event that any changes could affect your decision to continue participating in this study, you will be promptly informed.

Ethics review

This project was reviewed and cleared by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board A. If you have any ethical concerns with the study, please contact Carleton University Research Ethics Board by email at ethics@carleton.ca.

Statement of consent – print and sign name

<p>| I voluntarily agree to participate in this study* | _____Yes | _____No |
| I agree to be audio recorded* | _____Yes | _____No |
| I agree to my information shared in the interview being made public through future publications, presentations, exhibits, or other materials* | _____Yes | _____No |
| I agree to be video recorded | _____Yes | _____No |
| I agree to the audio and audio/visual recordings of the interview being made public in future | _____Yes | _____No |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presentations, exhibits, or other materials:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I agree to be named in future presentations, exhibits, or other materials</td>
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<tr>
<td>I agree to be contacted for follow up research</td>
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*These are mandatory for participation in the study.*

Name of participant (print)_____________________________________________________________

Signature of participant__________________________________________

Date___________________

**Research team member who interacted with the participant**

I have explained the study to the participant and answered any and all of their questions. The participant appeared to understand and agree. I provided a copy of the consent form to the participant for their reference.

Name of researcher (print)_____________________________________________________________

Signature of researcher__________________________________________

Date___________________
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Interview with Colita, December 9, 2021.


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