

The Sexuality of Migration

*Border Crossings and
Mexican Immigrant Men*

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A Place Called Home

Mexican Immigrant Men's Family Experiences

Fear of going home. And of not being taken in. We're afraid of being abandoned by the mother, the culture, la Raza, for being unacceptable, faulty, damaged. Most of us unconsciously believe that if we reveal this unacceptable aspect of the self our mother/culture/race will totally reject us. To avoid rejection, some of us conform to the values of the culture, push the unacceptable parts into the shadow. Which leaves only one fear—that we will be found out and that the Shadow-Beast will break out of its cage. Some of us take another route.

—Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*

Sometimes being queer feels like being an alien. Too many of the streets have no names, and there are not many friendly places to go. When you are living on the edges of things, the margins, "home" can be hard to find.

—Gordon Brent Ingram, et al., *Queers in Space*

Driving the Interstate 5 Freeway, near San Diego and the San Onofre border checkpoint, one sees large yellow signs graphically depicting a fleeing family (father leading, mother, and child, legs flailing behind). The almost surreal signs are meant to warn motorists of the danger of "illegal" immigrant families trying to cross the busy lanes. This image reveals not only the extreme risks that many immigrants are willing to take to get to the United States but also the way in which we imagine these immigrants. While most motorists probably do not think of a sexual message when they see the warning sign, it's there for us to see, if only we really look. The sign is symbolic at multiple levels: a nuclear family unit, heteronormative in definition, a threat to the racial

social order by virtue of its reproductive potential. The sign is also symbolic of the current state of international migration studies: sexuality is an implicit part of migration that has been overlooked or ignored.

In this chapter I examine some of the ways in which sexuality, understood as a dimension of power, has shaped the lives, intimate relationships, and migratory processes of Mexican men who immigrate to the United States. More specifically, I utilize ethnographic data to examine how traditional family relations and alternative support systems such as "chosen families" (Weston 1991) influence migration among Mexican immigrant men who have sex with men (MSMs). The men whom I interviewed and introduce in this chapter had a variety of sexual identities both prior to and after migration. An important part of my research, therefore, is to examine from a queer materialist perspective dimensions that shape the social relations of families of origin and families of choice and thus, the intimate context by which identity itself is shaped. I argue for a theoretical move toward a queer political economy in order to understand the dynamics that shape "the sexuality of migration" and the fluidity of identities in a global context. In the first section of this chapter I briefly discuss how I conceptualize this theoretical framework. I then discuss the ways in which these theoretical concepts are grounded in the everyday experiences of Mexican immigrant men.

Among the Mexican men who have sex with men and migrate to the United States are those who, to quote Anzaldúa, have taken "another route" and identify as either homosexual or gay prior to migration or come to identify as such soon afterwards. Many of these men come to the United States seeking a "place" where they might have more opportunities to not only explore their sexuality more freely but also develop other aspects of themselves that are constrained by factors linked to homophobia and heteronormativity. But where exactly is this "place"? While at some levels the United States may be a more "open" society for gays and lesbians compared to Mexico, as Ingram declares in the above quotation, even here, "sometimes being queer feels like being an alien." Furthermore, racist and anti-immigrant sentiments create an environment that is far from hospitable. How then must gay Mexican immigrant "aliens" feel and how much more difficult must it be to find "home?"

Queer Mexican immigrants live in the borderlands, on the margins not only of mainstream "white" society and Latino communities but also of "mainstream" gay and lesbian communities, which Warner (1993) argues are generated by "Anglo-American identity politics." While Latino bar-

rios and gay enclaves exist in the greater Los Angeles area, there are no "gay Latino" enclaves per se. That is, there is no identifiable geographical space that one might designate a gay Latino neighborhood. However, space is beginning to open up, and in this chapter I examine not only the geographical but also the sociopolitical dimensions in the formation of gay Latino communities in the greater Los Angeles area. These spatial dimensions are crucial in gay Mexican immigrants' attempts at adaptation and incorporation in the United States. I argue that the formation of gay Latino communities in Southern California is being driven by four distinct but intersecting factors: (1) demographic changes that include an increase in the area's Latino population, (2) the commodification of Latino sexuality, (3) the "institutionalization" or mainstreaming of both the gay and Chicano movements, and (4) HIV prevention programs that target the Latino community. While my focus is on the greater Los Angeles area, these factors are obviously more global in scope. In addition, while my main concern in this chapter is with communal space, in a more general sense, I am interested in lived spaces, including the household. For it is at the intersections of the global and the local, the personal and the social, where these queer borderlands are being formed.

A Sense of Space: The Borderlands

In order to understand the processes that are leading to the formation of a gay Latino *comunidad*, one must first understand the space in which this community is forming. The theoretical and analytical importance of space has recently been given greater attention not only by postmodern geographers but also by immigration scholars who focus on such issues as transnational community formations. Within each of these bodies of literature it has become clear that spatiality is more than physical location but also the site where social relations are formed and power is exercised—in essence, where social constraints and resistance is lived. Foucault referred to this sense of space as "heterotopia," a space that Soja (1996) has reimagined as "thirdspace," where "the simultaneity and interwoven complexity of the social, historical, and the spatial, their inseparability and interdependence" come together (3). Recently, queer and feminist scholars, working within this model of spatiality, have examined the gendered and sexualized dimensions of space (i.e., Rose 1993; Massey 1994; Bell and Valentine 1995). These scholars assert that

the binary division of space into public and private realms is not as fixed as previously held. Furthermore, space has erotic dimensions linked to identities and their commodification. This space, which Ingram (1997) refers to as "queerscape," is envisioned as a "landscape of erotic alienation), ones that shift with demographics, social development, political economies, interventions of 'the state,' aesthetics, and—yes—desire" (31). Despite the fact that Ingram envisions the "queerscapes" as the products of multiple marginalities, most of this queer spatial literature focuses on desire, often at the expense of other dimensions, especially race.

While not necessarily theorizing space in the same ways as postmodern geographers do, migration scholarship considers space important. Whether it is in the form of the household, the enclave, or the global city, space is a dimension of analysis that is central to the study of immigration. For instance, migration scholars argue that social networks and modes of incorporation such as ethnic communities and economies are an important aspect of personal transition as they link migrants to social, cultural, familial, and economic resources.¹ While most studies have conceptualized social networks in terms of either familial relationships or men's labor networks, some scholars have demonstrated that alternative network arrangements exist, such as those of single women (Hondagneu-Sorelo 1994). Regardless of how these networks are arranged, they can only be produced by contacts and communications that eventually arise from shared space. Often these networks lead an immigrant to a "landing pad" household where resources for survival and adaptation might be shared (Chavez 1992). Similarly, ethnic economies and enclaves serve as means by which immigrants adapt to their new environments. But in the case of gay Latino/a immigrants one must ask where these "landing pads" for survival and adaptation might be. As previously mentioned, migration scholars have ignored the sexual dimensions of migration, including the ways in which sexuality influences migrant strategies. Thus, in this chapter I examine how race/ethnicity and sexuality shape spatiality among queer Latinos. I begin with the area's demographic context.

Various scholars have discussed what some have called the "browning" or "Latinization" of America, which refers to the increasing number of Latinos in the United States (see, for example, Stavans 1995; Fox 1996). Indeed, the proportion of the nation's "Hispanic" population has increased significantly since the creation of the category after the 1980 census.² In 1980, 6.5 percent of the U.S. population was of "Spanish ori-

gin." By 1996 the "Hispanic" population was 10.7 percent, and it is estimated to grow to 14.7 percent by the year 2020. Although the Hispanic population is increasing in many states, it is geographically concentrated in five states: Florida, Illinois, New York, Texas, and California (which has the largest Hispanic population of any state). From 1990-1991 to 1993-1994, California's growth rate declined from 2.07 percent to 0.87 percent with a net loss due to the net migration of 212,000 "White" residents from California between 1992 and 1994 alone. At the same time the state's Hispanic population grew by a yearly average of 235,800 by "natural increase only"³ (i.e., not including migration). By 2025, the Bureau of the Census projects that Hispanics will comprise approximately one-quarter of the state's population while the non-Hispanic white population will decline to less than half, at approximately 43 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1994; State of California, Department of Finance 1996a, 1996b).

According to 1990 census estimates, nearly half of California's population (49 percent, or 14.5 million people) lives in the Los Angeles Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA), which includes Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, and Ventura Counties. Los Angeles County alone has a population of more than 9.6 million, 43.9 percent of which is Hispanic, while 22.9 percent of Orange County's estimated 2.4 million population is Hispanic (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993a, 1993b, 1994). The significant presence of Latinos in the Los Angeles area is not new, of course. The region was part of Mexico's territory prior to the U.S.-Mexican War, and in 1920 Los Angeles was already referred to as "the American Capital of Mexico" (Oxnam 1970 [1920]). Latinos are residentially concentrated in six general areas in the greater Los Angeles area. In these areas, Latinos comprise more than 60 percent of the population: the San Fernando Valley, Central Los Angeles (centered around East Los Angeles/Boyle Heights), the San Gabriel Valley, Pomona, Wilmington/Long Beach, and Santa Ana.⁴

Determining the "gay and lesbian" population is a difficult if not an impossible task. If we assume that 10 percent of the general population is gay or lesbian, an estimate would stand at 1.4 million.⁵ However, there are ongoing debates as to what percentage of the population is gay or lesbian, and it is not clear whether these estimates differ by gender, race/ethnicity, and region. More important than these problematic statistics, and easier to identify, are the spaces that have become identified with gay and lesbian communities. There are five major gay communities (or enclaves) in

the greater Los Angeles area: West Hollywood, Hollywood, Long Beach, Silverlake, and Laguna Beach. But gay organizations, bars, discos, and other businesses can be found throughout Southern California. In addition, both Venice Beach and Santa Monica also have sizeable gay and lesbian populations, but I do not consider them to be enclaves. The physical proximity of gay communities to Latino communities plays an important role in Latino marginalization and the larger politics of space.

During my research and fieldwork, it soon became clear that gay Latino immigrants' daily lives are in most ways tied more closely to the larger Latino community than to the larger gay one. Cultural similarities, including language, undoubtedly play a large role in this respect. But so, too, do the socioeconomic differences that segregate many gay Latino immigrants from other communities. Like most of their compatriots, gay Latino immigrants often work at jobs that are not only distant geographically from where they live but also distant socioculturally. Thus, Latino immigrant laborers often spend their paid working hours in spaces quite different from those to which they return home. "Home" in these instances often means the six Latino ethnic communities referred to above, with their own markets, theaters, and other gathering places that are in most instances heteronormative spaces. The Mexican immigrant men whom I came to know through my years of doing research and working with the gay Latino community did not live in any one particular area of the Los Angeles metropolis but did, without exception, live in areas that were either predominantly Latino or had a large percentage of Latinos in the vicinity.

Nearly all of the Mexican immigrant men I interviewed moved at least once after the time I met them and had reported moving several times since moving to the United States. But in each case, residential relocation remained within the general Los Angeles area. Most of the men I interviewed who identified as gay lived with other gay Latino men as roommates, even if they had a partner. Only four of the twenty men I formally interviewed lived with their families. Three identified as gay and one as bisexual. Of these, only two of the gay men were "out" to their family. The differences in the socioeconomic dimensions of these household arrangements seem to have a direct relationship to the men's sexual identities and lives. While different arrangements were made for sharing household resources, in each of these households information on jobs, social events, and general "gay" issues was shared among members of the household.

In one Santa Ana household, where five gay immigrant men lived, three were from Mexico and the other two were from Central America. Rent for the two-bedroom apartment was shared among the five men, as were costs for food. Household chores were also shared although cooking was usually done by only two of the men. This particular household was often the center of social events held either at the apartment or organized there and held elsewhere. Thus the household also became a social network "node" where gay Latino men were able to meet other gay Latino men. When the members of this household moved to separate locations, these established networks were used to set up new shared gay Latino households. While these households are far from what one might consider "stable," they are not unlike other Mexican immigrant households described in the migration literature (i.e., Chavez 1992). Perhaps more important than the longevity of these household arrangements are their very existence and the spaces they provide Mexican immigrant men to develop as gay men.

Clearly, sexuality plays an important role in shaping these "gay" household arrangements, but it should be understood that they provide a lens by which we can begin to question how sexuality shapes other household arrangements as well. Household arrangements where heterosexuality is the norm are no less influenced by sexuality; however, the power of these relations becomes invisible because of their normativity. The ways in which sexuality shapes immigrant household relations is all the more important because of their "landing pad" and adaptive functions.

For instance, in discussing his migration experience with me, Pepe, a 30-year-old immigrant from Michoacan, explained how he crossed the Mexican border with other "illegals" with the services of a "coyote" (a paid guide who assists undocumented immigrants cross the U.S.-Mexico border) who took them to a "safe house." As he explains,

When we got to the place where they brought us, let me tell you, it was a room with mattresses thrown on the floor, a couch, and a very small restroom where the water didn't even work. So when everybody did their necessities, it all remained there, and there was a horrible smell. The windows were covered with paint or cardboard, I don't remember, but the thing was they didn't let us look outside. Everyone would place themselves wherever there was room, because the long mattresses were placed all over. So we were there and it was very uncomfortable.

But I'm going to tell you something that I have never told anyone but something I want to say. What happened was that there was a young man, well there were many, we were all men, he was about twenty-five and dark. I got to see him a little because there was a little bit of light. The room was almost dark, when you got up to go to the bathroom it was all the light you got. He had a medium stature and dark curly hair, that has always attracted me, well in short, I liked the young man. He was the one next to me, it was the only space left when we arrived and my brother was on the other side of the room. The room was almost dark but the young man saw me. I don't know what exactly happened but we ran into each other in the bathroom and I stared at him. I don't know if with the stare I told him that I liked him but he felt it. Then he would hold my hand and he would caress my body and we would embrace each other. My brother was there but I don't think he saw anything as you couldn't see from here to there. It was one experience I had that has always stayed with me.

Pepe and his brother would later join relatives in the Los Angeles area, but his story helps to reveal not only one way in which the "landing pad" space might be sexually charged (despite the literature, immigrants are not asexual) but also, more importantly, how heteronormativity operates within such a space. Argüelles and Rivero (1993) have already pointed to some of the ways in which women are subjected to sexual violence under similar conditions. Eventually, Pepe moved out on his own, and when we met he was sharing an apartment with a lesbian niece who was also an immigrant. This home, in turn, became a landing pad for at least one gay Mexican immigrant who stayed with Pepe and his niece for about a month until he found work and his own accommodations.

The sexual dimensions of the immigrant household and adaptation were reflected in a variety of ways in the lives of my informants. When I first met Manuel at a gay Latino men's social gathering, he identified as bisexual, HIV-positive and in good health, he lived with his family in Orange County. He was thirty years old and had moved to the United States in 1996. He is the third of eight children and grew up in Tlaquepaque, a town famous for its artisans and now considered part of the Guadalajara metro area. He was not working at the time of our first interview and his social life was constrained not only by his lack of income but also by the fact that he was not "out" to his family, who are Jehovah's Witnesses. Over the years of working with gay Latino men, I ran into Manuel from time to time and began to notice changes in his social "performance." Although when we

met, Manuel had acknowledged that most of his sexual experiences had been with men, he asserted his bisexual identity and denied any possibility that he had contracted HIV from sex but instead assured me that he must have been exposed to the virus through his job as a nurse. Over time, however, Manuel's opinion on these matters changed. He soon began to identify as gay and to accept the possibility that he might have contracted HIV through sex. When we last spoke Manuel still had not come out to his family but the changes in his public expression may be attributed to his increased social interaction with gay-identified Latino men and the social pressure to "admit" one's "true" sexual orientation. As discussed in chapter 3, bisexuality in Mexico seems to have greater acceptance as a behavior and as an identity than in the United States. In this new social context, I myself witnessed on several occasions episodes of peer pressure in which Manuel was chided for not admitting his homosexuality. While he seems to have "submitted" to this pressure to a certain extent, Manuel's financial dependence on his family limits his ability to be an openly gay man, in a way that is more consistent with Almaguer's (1993) framework for understanding gay Latino identity.

Border Crossers: Family, Migration, and Identity

The immigrant men whom I interviewed for my research ranged in age from their early twenties to their early forties and lived in the greater Los Angeles area. I met these men during my research fieldwork from 1997 through December 1999 by making initial contacts through organizations, fliers, and friends and then using a snowball sampling technique to meet others. While each of these men's stories was in its own way unique, there were also similarities that became more evident as my research progressed.

Most of the men came from the Pacific states of Mexico, and approximately two-thirds came from the state of Jalisco. About half described their communities of origin as small cities or towns, with only a couple describing their origins as rural. Migration to larger cities (such as Guadalajara or border cities such as Tijuana) prior to migrating to the United States was also a common experience.⁶ All the men included here were sixteen years old or older when they immigrated. Most came from lower-middle-class Mexican backgrounds⁷ and had at least a high school education. Like many of their straight counterparts, many were undocu-

mented. Only two of the interviewees were unemployed at the time of their interview; one man was unable to work due to health reasons related to AIDS/HIV, and the other was looking for work. Several of the men were actually holding down more than one job—one full-time and one part-time. The average annual income of the men was between twenty and twenty-five thousand dollars. Their fluency in English was relative to their time in the United States, but none of the men was completely fluent. The men interviewed reported that their daily lives were for the most part Spanish speaking. In addition, nearly all estimated that more than 75 percent of their social circles were Latino.

In the following pages I will introduce seven of the twenty men I interviewed formally. I selected these particular interviews as representative of the range of experiences shared with me. However, the interview excerpts I have included should not be considered representative of all Mexican immigrant men who have sex with men—the diversity of experiences is far greater than can be captured here. The men I have included identified as either bisexual or homosexual (gay) at the time of the interviews. In addition, I do not include the voice of transgendered Mexican immigrants, although some of the men do have experience with cross-dressing (although I do not mean to suggest that cross-dressing and transgender are the same). Yet the voices represented here do reveal the complexity of the sexuality of migration and the importance of including sexuality in our analysis. In addition to Lalo, Armando, Roberto, and Manuel, who were introduced in chapter 5, in this chapter I also highlight the experiences of Gabriel, Paco, and Carlos.

Gabriel is a 23-year-old undocumented immigrant who has lived in the Orange County area since the mid-1990s, where he works as a medical assistant. The fourth of six children, Gabriel moved to the United States from Nayarit, Mexico, in 1993 when he was eighteen. Gabriel is now living in Fullerton.

Paco, a native of La Piedad, Michoacan, is thirty years old and now lives in Tustin. Paco is the youngest of six children, four sisters and a brother. His father died three months after he was born, and he was raised by his mother and older siblings. Paco is a legal resident of the United States although he immigrated illegally in 1990.

Carlos migrated from Guadalajara in 1990 and was seeking political asylum in the United States on the basis of his sexual orientation. Because Carlos was an active member of the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), an opposition party to Mexico's ruling Institutional Revo-

lutionary Party (PRI), Carlos feared that he might be imprisoned or murdered if he returned to Mexico. He was living in Los Angeles at the time of our interview.

Family Life in Mexico

Social scientists have historically given great attention to the role of *la familia* in Latino culture. Scholarship often points to Latino "familism"—defined as the valuing and preservation of the family over individual concerns (Moore and Pachon 1985; Williams 1990) as the contentious source of both material and emotional support and patriarchal oppression. The stereotype is problematic for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the fact that the same argument could be made of most families regardless of their cultural context. Thus, in this section, while I discuss how the early family lives of Mexican immigrant MSMS influenced migratory processes, my aim is not to reproduce a cultural pathology of *la familia* but rather to examine the family as a site where normative constructions of gender and sexuality are reproduced and in which the dynamics of migration are materially embedded.

During my interviews, most of the men remembered their lives as children in Mexico fondly (all of the men came from households with more than one child). Yet even when memories of early family life were positive, the daily lessons of normative masculinity learned by these men often resulted in emotional conflicts. I asked them to share with me their memories of family life and educational experiences so that I could understand more fully the processes by which normative gender roles and sexuality are learned. Most early childhood memories were shared with smiles and consisted of generally carefree days: playing typical games and going to school. Most of the men also reported that they were good students who received awards for their scholarship and genuinely seemed to have enjoyed school. However, even men such as Paco, who reported that his childhood was "a great time . . . a very beautiful stage of my life," expressed a sense of inner conflict rooted in normative definitions of masculinity.

These conflicts were even more pronounced for men such as Lalo, whose memories of early life in Mexico were not good ones. As Lalo told me while recounting his childhood,

As a child I was very mischievous. I was sexually abused when I was seven by the neighbor, a man of forty. It was a childhood experience that affected me greatly. This person continued to abuse me, he would give me money, later I would go looking for him myself and I was like his "boyfriend" until I was nine. I knew what he was doing was wrong so I never told anyone.

Paternostro (1998) reports that child sexual abuse by a family member is a common phenomenon in Latin America (whether it is more prevalent than in other regions is debatable). In fact, Lalo was not the only man I interviewed who had been sexually abused as a child, but he was the most forthcoming about the experience.⁸ Later in the interview he explained that he had also been abused by two older male cousins and that when he told his father about the abuse, his father's response was to rape him for being a "*maricón*" (fag).

None of the sexually abused men, including Lalo, remember connecting these experiences to homosexuality at the time of their occurrence, in part because they had no understanding of homosexuality. Lalo explained that although he had never heard the word "homosexual," words such as "*maricón*" and "*joto*" were commonly heard in his home. However, Lalo related these terms to effeminate men or *vestidas*, like the man in his neighborhood who dressed like a woman. Many informants related similar experiences. Carlos explained, "Across from us lived the town *maricón*. In every town there is the drunk and the *maricón*, and the *maricón* lived across the street." When he was a child, the question of what a *maricón* was remained somewhat of a mystery, although he knew it wasn't "good" to be a *maricón*. For example, Lalo explained how he came to understand what it meant to be a homosexual.

After about the age of twelve or thirteen there was a lot of sexual play among the boys of the *colonia*. We would masturbate one another. There were about twelve of us in the group and we would form a circle and masturbate one another. Later, couples would form and we would penetrate one another. Now they are all grown up and married but there was a lot of sexual play when we were kids. . . . There were some boys who would refuse to join us, saying, "that's for *maricones*" or "you're going to be a *joto* or a woman." It was then that I started to understand but I never thought that I was going to be like a woman.

Masculine discourse that devalues the feminine and equates homosexuality with femininity is, of course, not particular to Mexican culture (see Fellows 1996; Roscoe and Murray 1998). However, as Lalo explained, homosexuality and femininity are not popularly understood as synonymous. "Being a *joto* is to not be man. [It is] neither a man nor a woman, it is to be an abomination, a curse." Prieur's (1998) recent work on male-to-female transgendered residents of Mexico City supports Lalo's analysis and suggests that class perspectives are an important dimension of constructions of homosexuality. Thus, the relationship of homosexuality to the feminine is more complex than a synonymous equation implies. Homosexuality is not only the opposite of masculinity; it is a corruption of it, an unnatural form that by virtue of its transgression of the binary male/female order poses a threat that must be contained or controlled.

The liminal/marginal location of homosexuality, perhaps best understood as shaped by what Almaguer (1993) refers to as a sex/gender/power axis, is reproduced through messages in everyday life. Discussing his daily chores at home, Paco explained,

My duties at home in particular, well, they were almost never designated to us. I liked very much to sweep, mop, wash the dishes, and when [my mother and sisters] would make cake I always liked to be there when they were preparing it. But, only when my mom and my sisters were there, because my brother would often be in the United States. I always liked to help my mom and my sisters, but when my brother would get there, I always had to hide or not do it because he would tell me "You are not a woman to be doing that, that's for the *maricones*." Then, since I was scared of him, I wouldn't do it anymore. But it was what I liked to do, up till now; I like cleaning very much and chores like that. I like to cook very much, I like to have everything clean—I've always liked that.

When I asked Paco to discuss the issue of "women's work" in more detail, he explained,

In Mexico they say: "Oh, a homosexual person or a *maricón* or a *joto* are those persons that are dressed like women." They always have a little of that mentality. For example, there were times that a guy named Luis would pass by and he always left his nails long and his hair long like a woman. He had a bag, and he would put on women's pants or a woman's blouse, and he might have put on make-up but not a lot, but obviously he

would go around like a woman. Then all the people, well, they said things, but in my family one time I heard my mother call him, she would call them "*frescos*" [fresh], "there goes this fresco," "there goes that fresco," I would hear my mom say that. Then, I would get angry when I would hear that, because I would say: "Well, I am not like that, but I am attracted to young men."

Similarly to Paco, Armando expressed learning the same type of sex/gender message through child's play. Armando explained that he liked to play with paper dolls and more than anything liked to cut out the clothes, yet he hid when he did so. When I asked him why, Armando replied, "It's the only game I remember playing secretly. I knew my parents wouldn't like it. I thought it was perfectly normal, it was only bad because it was something that little girls do."

The struggle that Paco and Armando relate in attempting to negotiate the perceived contradictions of sex, gender, and sexual identities was a common theme of many of my interviews. Participants expressed a certain sense of isolation or "not belonging" and not wanting to disappoint their families. Even learning to emulate normative gender and sexual performances was not, in itself, sufficient to resolve these conflicts. For some men, these tensions were themselves catalysts for migration.

Leaving Home

One of the questions that I asked immigrant interviewees was what their top three reasons for immigrating were. After I analyzed the answers given, it became clear that sexuality was indeed influencing reasons for migration and that "family" dynamics were often linked to these reasons. However, understanding how sexuality actually influenced these decisions was not always as clear-cut as having people respond, "it was my sexuality"—although that sometimes happened. For example, Lalo told me, "Ninety percent of the reason I migrated was because of my sexuality." Such reasons obviously resonate with D'Emilio's (1993 [1983]) and Rubin's (1992 [1984]) models of rural-to-urban migration by gay men and women who are looking for a more urban atmosphere inclusive of gay life. Yet, in order to understand more fully how sexuality is linked to other socioeconomic dimensions, one must attempt to connect the micro with the meta and macro dimensions of life. That is to say, one cannot

separate individual reasons for migration from the larger processes that shape people's everyday lives and perceived choices.

For example, all of the men I interviewed, in one form or another, gave financial reasons for migrating to the United States. And indeed, immigration scholars have traditionally placed a great deal of emphasis on economic reasons for migration, yet to a great degree their vision of the economic realm is extremely limited. Groups that are marginalized as sexual minorities are constrained by discrimination and prejudice that may limit their socioeconomic opportunities. For instance, even one of the people I interviewed in Mexico who owned his own pesticide and fertilizer business felt the constraints of heterosexism. Business networks, he explained, depend upon having the right image, which means a wife, children, and social events tied to church and school. Clearly, as a gay man he was outside this world. His class privilege and the fact that he is his own boss, however, permit him to remain in Mexico relatively free from economic pressures that drive others to migrate.

Thus, while men such as Lalo clearly migrate to escape a sense of sexual oppression, for others the decision to migrate to the United States is influenced by a combination of sexual liberation and economic opportunities. For example, Gabriel moved to the United States from Nayarit, Mexico, when he was eighteen but explained that he had begun to prepare himself for immigrating at sixteen. When I asked him why, he explained that he had two major reasons for coming to the United States:

First, I wanted to get a better level of education. And the second reason was sexuality. I wanted to be able to define myself and have more freedom with respect to that. I wanted to come here to live, not to distance myself from my family but to hide what I already knew I had. I knew I was gay but I thought I might be able to change it. I needed to come here and speak to people, to learn more about it, because in Mexico it's still very taboo. There isn't so much liberation.

Gabriel's experience reveals how the tension of sexual desire versus "not wanting to distance" oneself from family may serve as a migratory "push." Yet while he clearly moved to the United States seeking a more liberal sexual environment, his doing so was also motivated by his perception that he had limited economic opportunities as a gay man in Mexico. Staying in Mexico might very well have meant either attempting

to create a heteronormative family or dealing with social and economic discrimination as a gay man.

Sometimes homosexual relationships might have subtle influences, such as serving to establish or expand social networks, or they might have a more direct influence driving migration itself. Furthermore, as Roberto's sexual relationship and subsequent friendship with a U.S. tourist vacationing in Mexico illustrates, new transnational social bonds are created similar to the kinship networks that migration scholars argue facilitate migration. However, these networks are not blood based but, rather, based on affiliation and contribute to expanded transnational gay networks.

Finding Their Way Home

Adapting to life in the United States is difficult for any migrant, but for immigrants like Lalo who migrate to the United States expecting a gay utopia, the reality of life in the United States can be quite a shock. Indeed, Lalo had returned to Mexico for two years after first migrating to the United States because of his disillusionment, returning to the United States only when he realized that his prospects as a gay man were limited in Mexico. Thus, for Lalo, home was no longer Jalisco. In this section I focus on how sexuality might be related to a migrant's adaptation and incorporation. Specifically, I am concerned here with both kin networks and social location.

In her discussion of gay and lesbian kin relations, Kath Weston (1991) demonstrates how gays and lesbians construct "chosen" families based on shared affinities and relationships of both material and emotional support. Kinship (biological) plays a central role in migration as a means through which immigrants receive support and acquire important knowledge for survival and adaptation (see Chavez 1992). While the Mexican men I interviewed often utilized kinship networks to these ends, they also depended upon networks that were similar to those described by Weston. About half of the immigrants I spoke with utilized preexisting gay networks to migrate to the United States. Some men, like Lalo, migrated with the help of a gay compatriot already living in Los Angeles, or like Roberto, came with the help of a gay American. But even some of those who utilized kin networks for initial migration also used gay networks for meeting other gay Latino men, finding gay roommates, mak-

ing job contacts, and acquiring other types of resources. The existence and use of these alternative networks depended to a large extent on how the men identified sexually, to what extent they were "out of the closet," and, to some extent, on their ability to speak English (and thus expand their networks into the mainstream gay world).

For instance, although Paco migrated and found his first job using kinship networks, he was soon able to develop a U.S.-based gay network as well.

My second job was in a company where they made pools. I obtained that job through a [gay] friend, an American, who is the person, the third person that I have to thank about my legal status here in this country. He helped me get the job because it was the company of a friend of his. In the morning I would clean the offices and then I would go to the warehouse and take inventory or I would clean the warehouse or cut fiberglass, or things like that. And they paid me well at that time but I worked only a few hours. So after that, . . . they said "Oh, you clean so well," and they had some very beautiful houses, over in Laguna Beach. Sometimes I would stay over because I could not finish in the weekend. The owners of the company were gay. They would go to San Francisco, or wherever they were going, they always traveled on the weekend, they left me the key, "Here is the stereo and here is the television," and everything like that because I had to sleep over. Then I would go home when they returned on Sundays.

Ironically, Paco is one of the people who assured me that sexuality had not influenced his migratory experiences in the least. This excerpt, however, indicates the importance of gay social networks as an aid in his finding work. In addition, and as previously mentioned, Paco shares a home with a lesbian niece and has allowed other gay immigrants to stay with him temporarily until they are able to move on.

Carlos also made use of gay networks in a similar manner. When he migrated to the United States he first lived for two months in Watsonville, California, with a brother and then went to live in Milwaukee for two years with his two sisters, who are lesbians. He then moved to Los Angeles after meeting and starting a relationship with a gay man. Like Paco, Carlos revealed that his gay friends had helped him find work and even helped him out financially, "Because of my gay friends, I have never gone without," he said.

Both Paco's and Carlos's experiences also point to the fact that sexuality is an important dimension of immigrant household arrangements. As briefly discussed earlier, recent immigration literature has discussed the importance of household arrangements as "landing pads" for migrant adaptation (i.e., Chavez 1992, 1994); however, the sexual dimensions of these arrangements are missing from most analyses. For an individual who has migrated to the United States seeking a more liberal sexual environment, it makes little sense to live in a home constrained by heteronormative relations. While about half of the Mexican men I interviewed originally lived with family members when they migrated, most had formed alternative living arrangements as soon as possible. Lalo's living arrangement exemplifies this approach.

When I first met Lalo he was living in Santa Ana in an apartment that he shared with three other gay immigrant men. After our first meeting, Lalo moved twice and had a number of different roommates who were always gay Latino immigrant men. Sometimes the men, especially if they were recent immigrants, would stay only a short time until they found another place to live. It was clear that Lalo's home was a landing pad, but it was one where Latino men could be openly gay, support one another, and share information that was essential for adaptation. Although the men did not explicitly define these relations as "family," they did sometimes refer to each other affectionately as siblings (sometimes as "sisters" and sometimes as "brothers"). Regardless of how these relationships were labeled, it was clear that an alternative support system had been created. It is precisely in this type of living arrangement that many men discover the space that transforms the way they think about themselves and their sexual identities.

Migrating Identities

I asked the men I interviewed if they felt that they had changed at all since migrating to the United States. Nearly all of the men responded with a resounding yes. The changes they described generally centered around racial, gender, sexual, and class identities. Most of the men referred to a more liberal sexual environment as a reason for their transformations. Migrating to the United States was for many men one step in a series towards what might be called "a journey to the self." For Gabriel, the

desire to live in a place where he could develop his human potential as a gay man was a driving force in his decision to immigrate. He added,

I have two names, Gabriel Luis, and my family calls me Luis. I've always said that Luis is the person who stayed in Mexico. Once I came here, Gabriel was born. Because, like I've told you, once I was here I defined myself sexually and I've changed a lot emotionally, more than anything emotionally, because I found myself.

This journey of self-discovery is intimately linked to resistance to the normative gender and sex regimes I have described earlier. The processes of resistance and self-discovery often times begin at a young age. For example, most interviewees remembered first being aware of their attraction to boys or men in early childhood. Some remembered being attracted to the same sex as young as age four, but the majority of recollections were a bit later. Carlos remembered, "I was around eight years old. I could recognize the beauty of men. But from then on it was an issue of denial." The pressure to conform, or as Lalo described, "*la lucha de no querer ser gay*" (the struggle of not wanting to be gay) took a toll on most of the men I interviewed but perhaps was most eloquently described by Armando.

Armando explained that after around the fourth grade, he had been tormented by schoolmates, who would call him "*joto*" and "*maricón*." He states,

But I learned how to hide it better, so it wasn't noticeable. I no longer isolated myself, instead I would mix with the troublemakers at school so that their reputation would rub off on me and so no one would tell me anything anymore. A new student arrived who was even more obvious than me and to a certain extent he was my salvation. Everyone focused their attention on him and it was a load off of me. It gave me the opportunity to get closer to the other students and do everything that they did, to act like them, have girlfriends, and not be the "good boy" anymore—to take on the heterosexual role.

Armando would later join a seminary in an attempt to escape his sexual feelings and began to lift weights so that his appearance was more masculine. Eventually, however, he realized he needed to face who he "really" was.

I feel that I lost a lot of my essence as a homosexual during that time. I see it like that now. At that time I only wanted to be part of a group, to be accepted. It's horrible to feel marginalized, in a corner, abnormal. In my attempts to be like everyone else wanted me to be I lost much of my self.

Two months after migrating to the United States, seeking the freedom to be a gay man, he confessed to a cousin whom he was staying with that he was gay. She told him that she accepted and loved him as he was but that he needed to talk to his brothers. Armando told his brothers one by one and they all accepted his homosexuality (although it was by no means easy); he then decided to tell his widowed mother. At the time of our interview it had been five months since he had written his mother a five-page letter explaining his struggle to accept himself. A month later Armando's mother wrote him back asking forgiveness for taking so long to respond and assuring him that he would have her support and unconditional love. Armando has been able to successfully integrate his religious calling with his desire to be true to himself. He now works as an AIDS educator and program coordinator for an organization that serves gay Latino men.

Like Armando, other men who migrated to the United States also came out to their families and some found acceptance as well. In some of these men's cases it seems that the acceptance is in part tied to a reversal in family roles. Where once they were dependent upon their families for support, now their families are dependent upon them. Thus, while Almáguera (1993) has argued that economic interdependence stifles a gay identity from forming among Latino MSMs, my research reveals that it may actually facilitate familial acceptance. For instance, since migrating to the United States Lalo has also gained acceptance from the family who threw him out of the house. He explained to me that he has sent money to Mexico to have his mother's house repaired and to pay for his brother's tuition and that his family now respects him. Lalo related, "I'm much more secure now. I'm not afraid to say I'm a homosexual. I'm content being gay and I can help others. I'm stronger and have achieved a lot of things." Thus the transformation in economic roles and physical separation has allowed Lalo the opportunity to be both gay and accepted by his family.

There were, however, a couple of men I interviewed who were openly gay prior to migrating to the United States. In both cases these men had upper-class backgrounds. The difference that class makes in mitigating the effects of homophobia is significant and needs to be studied more closely. For example, when I asked Roberto about his son he laughed out loud and said,

Oh my son! My son was the product of an agreement. His mother knew that I was gay. My partner of ten years and I lived together [in Tepic, Nayarit] and she [my wife] lived in front of us. She knew of my relationship with Alejo and the three of us would go out to dance. In a small town, well, it was known that she was the friend of "the boys." We would go out to dance, she would come to our home to watch television, listen to music, or have a drink. Then one day she told me flat out that she wanted to have my baby. Then between the jokes I began to understand and between the jokes we ended up in bed. We had sex for two or three months and one day she called me and told me she was pregnant. I was twenty-three or twenty-four and was completely out of the closet with my family and I didn't care about anything.

Without a doubt, Roberto's class privilege allowed him to not "care about anything" as an openly gay man. In all probability it also shaped his gay social networks, which allowed him to migrate to the United States. In other words, his privileged position included having the economic means to migrate, not having to hide his sexuality from his family, and being able to seek support in the United States before migrating.

But for those men who do not have such economic privileges in Mexico, migrating to the United States does not necessarily afford them much in the way of financial benefits either. While there may be more space to be gay in the United States, migrating has its costs. For example, as Carlos lamented,

Being away from Mexico creates a strong nationalistic feeling with a lot of nostalgia. You begin to notice how different the system is here than in Mexico. An economic system that changes your life completely. A system where one forgets about other things that in Mexico were a priority. Here one lives life from the perspective of money. Working and making enough money to pay your bills is more important than having friends and doing what you like. In Mexico it's very different. It's more important to have friends. One lives less a slave to the clock. One forgets these things and becoming aware of that has made me very sad.

Discovering the virulence of racism in the United States seems to counterbalance any feelings of sexual liberation. I asked the men, in an open-ended manner, if they had ever experienced discrimination (without defining the type). Nearly all of the men responded in ways similar to Carlos:

"For being Latino, for not speaking English perfectly, for the color of my skin." The irony, of course, is that in their attempts to escape one form of bigotry, most of the Mexican men I interviewed discovered that not only had they not entirely escaped it but they now faced another. As Lalo said, "It wasn't true that homosexuals are free, that they can hold hands or that Americans like Mexicans." Under these circumstances the role of a support system becomes all the more important, and for queer Latino immigrant men this often means that new families must be created.

Building Family

I was naively surprised by the responses I received when I asked immigrant men about their future plans. I suppose that I had allowed myself to become so immersed in the migration literature that I was expecting to hear something more along the lines of "return to Mexico and start my own business." More common, however, were responses such as Paco's:

I want to be anywhere close to the person I love, to support me. If it's in Mexico, [it would be] a lot better because I would have my family and that person near me. But, more than anything, right now I worry a lot for my own person and for the partner who I think will be what I wait for in my life. And I see myself in a relationship with a lot of affection, and maybe by then, living with that person, together. And maybe even to get married.

In response to my next question—"So your plans for the future are to have partner?"—Paco answered,

A stable partner, be happy, and give them all my support, and I would help that person shine, succeed in anything I could help. I will try to do it all the time. If he accomplishes more than I have it will make me very happy because in that aspect I am not egotistical. And still more things that are positive; get more involved in helping people that need me, in every aspect. Be happy, make my partner happy, above all make myself happy, and my family, my friends, all the people that like me, and I like.

This type of response does not exclude dreams of material wealth and entrepreneurship, but it centers on and gives priority to affective dimensions—to building new families. The desires for stable relationship

reflect not only the difficulty in maintaining such relationships in Mexico but also the isolation that these men feel in the United States. This isolation that gay Mexican immigrant men feel is due in some measure to language difficulties, but racial and class issues also play into it. For instance, Carlos explained to me that although he was in a relationship at the time of our interview he didn't see much of a future in it.

I don't have many expectations for my relationship because my partner is not Latino. I think that, ideally, for a stable relationship I need to be with a Latino . . . someone who identifies as Latino. Someone intelligent and a little more cultured. Someone who has the capacity to go to an art or photography exhibit and enjoy it. Someone open-minded, open to learning from other cultures and who is financially independent.

The problem, of course, is that the social location of Mexican immigrant MSNs in the United States is a marginal one. Stability is not easily established and financial independence may take years to accomplish, if it is achieved at all. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that there are few public spaces where Latino gay men can openly meet one another. Thus, creating family or even a sense of community depends in no small part upon the ability of queer Latinos to build a new home with limited resources and external support.

"Who do you turn to for support?" I asked the men I interviewed. The standard response was, "family and friends." Yet it is clear from my discussions with these men, and the data presented here, that these relationships (whether biological or chosen) were sometimes strained, always evolving, and ultimately negotiated. A queer materialist analysis of the experiences of Mexican immigrant men who have sex with men reveals the ways in which dimensions of family, migration, and sexual identity intersect and are embedded within a political economy. Many of the men interviewed felt marginalized by heteronormative definitions of masculinity reproduced through and embodied in the traditional family. These norms, reproduced in daily activities since childhood, marginalize not only men with "feminine" characteristics but also those able to pass, who were instilled with a fear of discovery. Associations of femininity with homosexuality created a sense of confusion in some men, who although attracted to men did not identify as feminine. The economic liability that derived from not creating a heteronormative family unit as an adult also influenced the immigration process. These strict gender/

sex regimes were powerful enough to drive many men to migrate to the United States in search of a more liberal environment.

A queer political economy perspective of migration also aids in unveiling how sexuality has shaped processes and strategies for adaptation such as social networks and household arrangements. Alternative relations to biological families, which serve as systems of support, are created on the basis of sexual orientation. The members of these "chosen families" assist one another through the trials and tribulations of being queer Mexican immigrant men. Such assistance takes a variety of forms, including helping with migration itself, sharing knowledge and resources such as job information, and even sharing households.

New economic arrangements mean that some men find that they are empowered to "come out" to their biological families as gay men and maintain a level of acceptance and respect from their loved ones. Shared space is also an important dimension linked to the futures of these gay men. Faced with a sense of isolation and a deep desire to form the stable relationships that they were prevented from having in Mexico, these men found space to be the base for adaptation, community, and shared futures. Thus, for many men who have come to identify as gay, new family structures become a means by which dreams may be realized.

Although my focus has been on Mexican immigrant men, there are larger implications that need to be explored. When we understand sexuality as a dimension of power (that intersects with other dimensions such as race, gender, and class) in which certain groups are privileged over others, then these implications become more visible. For instance, Argüelles and Rivero (1993) argue that some immigrant women have migrated in order to flee violent and/or oppressive sexual relationships or marriage arrangements. Little research has been conducted on Latinas in general; far less exists on the intersections of migration and sexuality (regardless of sexual orientation). While it is clear that biological families reproduce normative constructions of gender and sexuality, the ways in which these norms and power relations influence different groups of people in terms of migration and identity are not understood.

22. While my focus here has been Mexican MSNs, clearly globalization is influencing sexualities more generally as well.

CHAPTER 5

1. The web site has text in both English and Spanish. Interestingly, however, the messages are completely different. The text in English is extremely erotic; in Spanish, however, the discourse focuses on national treasures and seems to target tourism within Mexico (<http://www.mexico-travel.com>).

2. It is important here to note that the focus on this literature is both the label and the identity "gay." There are numerous historical and contemporary terms for homosexuality in Spanish, see Murray and Dynes (1995).

3. Although, to my knowledge, there are no statistics on the countries of origin of gay and lesbian Mexican tourists, one may assume (given the marketing tactics of the industry and Mexican tourism statistics) that their demographics reflect those of tourists in general, i.e., a majority are from the United States.

4. This phenomenon seems consistent with Chanuncy's discussion of homosexuality in pre-World War II New York, where marginal (racially segregated) areas became havens for different types of "deviance," including homosexuality, and a sort of playground for the more well-to-do. However, it is not clear how prevalent the *zonas* were in areas other than border towns and the urban center of Mexico City.

5. To my knowledge, there does not exist any literature on the demographics of this community. However, traditional Mexican culture makes it easier for unmarried men (as opposed to women) to live apart from their families, and both economic conditions and the growing popularity of the area are also factors that affect the demographics of its residents.

6. Sanchez-Crispin and Lopez-Lopez (1997) also argue that the liberalization of Acapulco for gays and lesbians was due to its popularity among international gay and lesbian tourists.

7. The satellite space status of Puerto Vallarta is supported by the fact that many (if not all) bars in Guadalaajara carry the Puerto Vallarta gay paper/flyer with all its ads and a map.

8. Even in the United States, the "gay" label fails to capture the numerous experiences and identities that are commonly grouped under it.

9. This terminology is reportedly also used by lesbians.

10. The Caribbean, particularly Cuba, is one area that is beginning to be studied. See, for instance, Davidson (1996) and Lumsden (1996).

11. International Gay and Lesbian Travel Association, 2000, <http://www.igla.com>. Tourism Industry Intelligence estimated the global market at \$10 bil-

lion (U.S.) dollars in 1994 (as reported in Holcomb and Luongo 1996), and an industry survey by Community Marketing (2008) estimates the American gay and lesbian market alone to be worth more than \$64.5 billion.

12. The IGLTA is represented in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and Costa Rica as well.

13. While Atlantis and RSVP advertise as open to both men and women, their main market seems to be men, while Olivia targets a lesbian clientele.

14. While the *Ferretti Guide* does have some information for women, the guide is aimed mostly at men. This is due in part, no doubt, to the greater visibility of gay men as opposed to lesbians in Mexico.

15. Madsen Camacho (2000), who has conducted research on the Mexican tourist industry in Huatulco, Mexico, reports that businesses in the hospitality industry, particularly hotels, often desire gay men as workers due to their perceptions that gay men have a "higher" cultural aesthetic and more cultural capital, which serves the hospitality industry's needs (personal communication).

16. These dynamics are also transforming queer space in Los Angeles; thus my argument is not unilateral.

CHAPTER 6

1. Chavez 1992; Portes and Borocz 1989; Portes and Rumbaut 1990; Portes 1995.

2. Prior to 1980 "Spanish Origin" was the label used to capture the characteristics of those now referred to as of "Hispanic Origin." The term "Hispanic" is meant to refer to people whose ancestry is from Spanish-speaking countries.

3. "Natural increase" is a demographic term that refers to the excess of births over deaths and does not include migration in its calculation.

4. For a map of Latino residential concentration in the greater Los Angeles Area see William Bowen's Geographical Survey—Digital Atlas of California at <http://130.166.124.2/Capager.html>.

5. There have been a number of attempts to estimate the homosexual population. Perhaps the most famous is that of Kinsey and his associates, who estimated that 10 percent of the male population was "exclusively" homosexual (compared to 2–6 percent of females). "Ten percent" has become a sort of rallying cry for the gay and lesbian community despite the facts that other estimates have varied widely and that Kinsey's original estimate may well have been historically specific. For a summary of other estimates see Singer and Deschamps 1994, 9–12.

6. This urban migration generally occurred during the participants' childhood and was not a common experience of their adult life.

7. Distinguishing social class was a difficult task in large part because the Mexican middle class is quickly disappearing from the country's socioeconomic

landscape and also because of the international relativity of social class definitions. My measure of class is, therefore, informant defined and takes into account the men's educational and career backgrounds as well as those of their parents.

8. For ethical reasons, I did not pressure any of my interviewees to discuss traumatic experiences in more detail than they were comfortable with. I had informed all of them prior to the interview that if there were questions with which they felt uncomfortable, they could choose not to answer them and/or to end the interview at any time they so wished.

9. I do not mean to imply that there is some essential or "true" sexual nature that awaits "discovery"; rather, I utilize the term as a means to convey informants' expressed understandings of their sexual journeys.

CHAPTER 7

1. Cruising sites are places where people seek others for sex, in this case men who are looking, or cruising, for other men to have sex with. Such sites might be found anywhere but are commonly found in parks, adult bookstores, and public bathrooms.

2. Cyberspace is beginning to function as an alternative "space" for such needs, but access is limited by material resources and the fact that a majority of this media, such as *Quo Vadis* (QV) magazine, is written mostly in English.

3. EDITORS' NOTE: Unfortunately LLEGÓ, the national organization that provided seed funding and technical assistance to many of these organizations, closed its doors in 2004.

4. Santa Ana is the county seat of Orange County, California, a 782-square-mile area located in Southern California between Los Angeles, Riverside, and San Diego Counties. With 2,410,556 inhabitants counted in the 1990 Census, Orange County is the fifth largest county in the nation and the fifth fastest growing county in the state. Although Orange County's population remains less diverse than that of other metropolitan areas in California, such as Los Angeles or San Francisco, the ethnic composition of the county has changed dramatically since 1980—most notably in the proportion of those in the Asian/Pacific Islander and Hispanic categories. In 1990, approximately 23 percent of Orange County identified as "Hispanic" (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990 PUMS file).

5. Retreats have been held during the months of May and November each year since its inception.

6. In this respect it is important to note that gay enclaves in many urban areas have historical roots that arise from marginal areas, which have often been either African American or Latino neighborhoods. Thus, many contemporary gay enclaves not only border Latino neighborhoods but also, due to gentrification, force Latinos out of these spaces. The social relations that arise from

such dynamics as well as the way queer Latinos are positioned within them is a subject that to my knowledge has yet to be studied.

7. While Anderson (1983) uses the concept of "imagined community" in terms of the nation, the concept may also apply to those who form communities within and marginal to the nation, such as Chavez's (1994) application of the concept among undocumented Latino immigrants.

8. To what extent educational information from the retreat reaches beyond even these boundaries is unclear, but given the transnational social networks that many of the men maintain, it seems almost certain that some information is transmitted via these networks.

9. *¿Cómo calificas tu identidad sexual?*

10. The review referenced here is by John De Cecco, and was published on the back cover of Díaz's book (1998 edition).

CHAPTER 8

1. "*Cholo*" refers to people of Mexican mixed heritage (male: *cholo*; female: *chola*). It is generally used to reference contemporary dress codes and hair styles seen in urban spaces that are associated with Mexican gang members (or the equivalent of Chicano gangsters).

2. The linkage of "homosexuality" to leftist ideologies is, of course, not new and was a common strategy during the Red Scare of the 1950s.

EDITORS' CONCLUSION

1. See, for example, Ahmadi 2003; Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan, and Pessar 2006; Epps, Valens, and Johnson González 2005; Mahler and Pessar 2006.

2. See, for example, Arnfred 2005; Boellstorff 2005, 2007; Massad 2002; McLelland and Dasgupta 2005.

3. Miller 2005; Peña 2005; also see Granhag, Strömwall, and Hartwig 2005.

4. González-López 2005; Hirsch 2003; Zavella 1997, 2003; Zavella and Casañeda 2005.

5. See Gibson-Graham (1996) and Sassen (1988). Recent analyses and discussions of queer or gay tourism include books by Johnston (2005); Luongo (2004, 2007); Markwell and Wair (2006), and the special issue of GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies, edited by Paur (2002), which includes Canit's article on queer tourism that forms the basis for chapter 5.

6. Dasgupta 2006; see, for example, Eng 2001; Gopinath 2005; Manalansan 2003; Shah 2001; and Muñoz 1999.