GLOBAL DIVAS

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Deputy

Points of

Introduction

I recall being a child of my childhood. I’m sure I was.

I wonder when would the promised day come. Would I still be the...
happy to be here [in America], but once in a while, memories of Manila and my wild
days come rushing like a typhoon — and I get a little nostalgic. — MARIO

No Borders?

It was 4 o’clock on a Sunday afternoon in Greenwich Village. In keep-
ing with urban gay weekly rhythms, gay men were converging for tea
time, or tea dance. This ritual has nothing to do with the British custom of
drinking the brew and eating fancy sandwiches. This is the moment when gay men who have been up the previous night carousing go off to their favorite bars or dance clubs for one last chance to cruise or hang out before the much-dreaded Monday morning. Exotica, my main informant, and I were in a gay bar, which at that time (August 1987) was the in place to be on a Sunday afternoon.

We were doing what most of the natives were doing — s&m, or “standing and modeling,” that is, trying to appear nonchalant while attentively appraising the crowd. Suddenly, Exotica nudged me and said, “Tingnan mo, isang pang Miss Philippines.” [Look, another Miss Philippines.]

In the middle of a small group of white men was a seemingly uncom-
fortable Asian man who would approximate what I would consider a Filipino (on the basis of my extended experience). Exotica sug-
gested that we approach him. After some initial greetings and small talk, Arturo (the other Miss Philippines) started to warm up to us. He mentioned the fact that he had been in America for more than five years and that he lived in Jersey City, New Jersey.

Exotica asked, “Atche, ang ganda-ganda mo e bakit ka pa rin napapasok. Parang hindi ka nag-enjoy.” [Big sister, you are so beautiful, but why do you look uncomfortable? You don’t seem to be enjoying yourself.]

Arturo said, “Ay hindi matak na biyut ko ang drama dito sa bar.” [Oh, my biyut (I) can’t take the drama in this bar.]

“Vakit?” [Why?] Exotica and I both chorused.

Arthur countered, “Puro mga bakla este gay ang mga tao dito, walang totoong lakal. Kung hindi lang ako pinili ng mga putting ito, hindi ako papunta dito.” [This place is full of bakla. I mean gays. There are no real men here. If these white folks didn’t cajole me into going, I would not be here.]

“E saan ka naman nanghahagip ng min?” [Where do you go to pick up men?] I asked.

Arturo mentioned a section of Jersey City that is home to a large number of Filipino immigrants and even has a street called Manila Avenue. He said that among his Filipino neighbors he had found his one true love.

Then he described his boyfriend/lover as “Totoong lakal, ’di tulad ng mga tao dito — macho! May asawa pa!” [A real man, unlike the people here — macho! He even has a wife!]

Exotica gushed, “Ay mamá, talagang orig pa rin ang drama mo, made in the Philippines!” [Oh, mama, your drama is still original, made in the Philippines!]

Arturo said, “Parang hindi nagbabago pero iba na rin ang drama ko ngayon.” [It seems to be unchanged, but in fact, my drama is different now.]

This conversation occurred in what can be considered the quintessen-
tial space for gay identity and culture everywhere — the New York City gay bar. For many lesbians and gays, this space evokes a sense of community and solidarity. Activist Simon Watney (1995: 61) suggests that the gay bar is the site for ubiquitous homecomings for gay men and lesbians around the world, the one place where despite divergent origins and agendas, queers readily feel at home. He writes, “Few heterosexuals can imagine the sense of relief which a gay man or lesbian finds in a gay bar or a dyke bar in a strange city in a foreign country. Even if one cannot speak the local language, we feel a sense of identification. Besides, we generally like meeting one another, learning about what is happening to people ‘like us’ from other parts of the world” (ibid.).

Watney’s statement resonates with the popular view that gay iden-
tity and space are intrinsically and organically linked. By this logic, Arturo is not quite “like us” and thus not included in the “we” of Watney’s vision of the modern lesbian and gay world. Instead, in these terms, Arturo occupies an anachronistic pre-gay if not pre-modern state of being. Others might go so far as to fault Arturo for being “internally homophobic” or self-hating or for being an ignorant immigrant who is “fresh off the boat.” Their logic goes this way — given
time Arturo will be as comfortable in and assimilated into the Ameri-
can mainstream as Exotica and I. For this book, however, I draw on the contradictions, discomfort, and disparities between the three of us in the bar to complicate the popular and hegemonic tableau of a world turning gay or of queerness going global.

The idea of a global lesbian and gay culture has become part of most popular discourses around queer visibility. Consider this specific example. The theme for the New York City Lesbian and Gay Pride Month celebrations in June 1996 was “Pride without Borders.” The official guide to the different activities and parties read:

We are so different from one another. The places where we live, the colors of our skin, the possessions and beliefs we hold dear all conspire to divide us and remind us of our difference, but all over this city and in this state, in these 50 states, and in provinces, cantons, parishes and hemispheres so convenient for maps and for separating us, the one thing that we are is gay and lesbian. And queer. And homosexual. . . . We are so different. And we are everywhere. . . . And we are dykes and fags and pansies and patas and sissies and so butch we’re questioned in the ladies’ room at rest stops. . . . We know we are everywhere and that we have always been everywhere, and that knowledge should make all of us proud. We are strong because our love and our struggle draw us together. Our Pride, our desire to celebrate what we have made for ourselves and our determination to achieve everything that we deserve erases all the borders and makes the differences meaningless. We are so different, and yet we must work as one. (New York Lesbian and Gay Pride Guide 1996: 12)

The text begins and ends with difference and yet is permeated by political exhortations of its elision. The 1996 theme not only implies an engagement with diversity, but also idealizes the globalization or universalization of lesbian and gay identity. At the same time, it engages with a popular “McDonald’s” notion of the global as a homogenizing process that emanates from above. Thus, while there is a perfunctory gesture toward differences, the final act is to break down these potential barriers to community. The rainbow flag (a flag with horizontal stripes in the colors of the rainbow), an important symbol of gay and lesbian identity and community, is an example of some of the ways by which the lesbian and gay “community” has attempted to recognize diversity. Seemingly separate bands of color are fused into a unitary amalgam and one single cultural emblem of queer togetherness and belonging. While these important symbols and meanings of unity provide a potent impetus for community efforts, they at once obscure contradictory and uneven queer spaces. As in the case of Arturo in the gay bar, fissures and borders crisscross the seemingly placid terrain of queer communities. How do we understand these differences in the face of the global dispersal and movement of people beyond a teleological narrative of the movement from tradition to modernity, and from discomfort to settlement into gay and lesbian life?

Globalization is often seen in extreme terms either as a foreboding specter of a catastrophic future or as a cause for a celebratory jubilation over the resolution of local repressions (Giddens 2000). In queer discourses, redemptive narratives of the global abound and are deployed in various venues such as gay pride parades, mass media, gay rights groups, and most notably in the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Stonewall rebellion held in New York City in 1994 (Manalansan 1995). On the other extreme, various nation-states frontload what is perceived as a contaminating global flow of Western queerness as a means to erect and resurrect legal, cultural, and politico-economic barriers (Alexander 1997). Indeed, ideas about diaspora and globalization have invaded even the most mundane aspects of queer lives. Such words as globalization are used to index or mark sophistication and cosmopolitanism in queer culture. At the same time, skeptics have used the words as ominous signs of more insidious processes such as Western capitalist expansion and queer cultural imperialism and exploitation.

These facile yet dangerous ideas have necessitated what has been a “transnational turn” in lesbian, gay, and queer studies (Povinelli and Chauncey 1999). This shift in lesbian, gay, and queer studies in the past ten years recognizes the limitations of place-based queer politics and at the same time conveys the complications brought about by migration and travel of queer peoples and cultures.

Queering the Diaspora and the Global: Whose Gaze? Who’s Gay?

The transnational turn in lesbian, gay, and queer studies has not produced a singular mode of inquiry. One group of scholarly works focusing on the global and transnational has insistently examined gay and
In conclusion, the findings of this study show that the use of female role models in education can help reduce gender stereotypes. The results indicate that when female role models are introduced in educational materials, students are more likely to develop positive attitudes towards women in leadership positions.

This study suggests that the inclusion of female role models in educational materials can contribute to gender equality and promote positive attitudes towards women in leadership roles. Further research is needed to explore the long-term effects of these interventions on students' attitudes and behavior.

References

universal category and called for the recognition and analysis of the particularities and divergences in experiences of women in various parts of the world. Adrienne Rich (1986) is popularly cited as the first theorist to use the term “politics of location” to acknowledge her own position as a white woman within U.S. national and international relations of power. Rich identified the body and the nation as important sites for the provenance of critical insights around identity, location, and difference. Therefore, she suggested that race, class, and ethnicity, among other categories, complicated the facile “sisterhood” that was often assumed in feminist circles.

Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1990, 1991a, 1991b) and others have insisted on the interrogation and destabilization of long-held “natural” categories such as “woman” and “gender” and have focused their attention on understanding the politics of difference as inflected by various hierarchical arrangements brought about by colonial and postcolonial processes. Chicana feminists, specifically Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) and Chela Sandoval (1991), have highlighted race as an important vantage point from which to mount a more fruitful critique of the complexities of geography, identity, and struggle. More recently, the works of Caren Kaplan and Inderpal Grewal (1994) have extended the views of women from more traditional perspectives of the local into a more transnational perspective in which seemingly bounded experiences and struggles are implicated in relationships that go beyond national and state lines within a globalizing world. Indeed, Kaplan (1996) goes on to critique the “politics of location” scholarship for not being more mindful of the displacements caused by global migration and travel.

These feminist works are clearly relevant for queer scholars who are responding to the vicissitudes of the intensified movement of people, capital, ideas, and technology across borders. The works of the “new queer studies” are questioning the universal gay/lesbian subject but at the same time recognizing the ways in which gay and lesbian cultures in specific localities inflect and influence the growth of alternative sex and gender identities and practices. In other words, the useful step that these new queer scholars are making is not in denigrating gay and lesbian identity categories and cultures but rather expanding and troubleshooting seemingly stable borders by illuminating the different ways in which various queer subjects located in and moving in between specific national locations establish and negotiate complex relationships to each other and to the state. In the face of so-called mobile queers, it is also necessary to expand the notion of mobility and to talk about the ways in which cosmopolitanism is not always privileged. Immigrant queers of color in particular demonstrate how mobility is not only about the actual physical traversing of national boundaries but also about the traffic of status and hierarchies within and across such boundaries.

At the same time, important books on globalization and transnationalism have disregarded or decentered the place of gendered and sexual subjectivity. In fact, Pocvinelli and Chauncey (1999: 445) bemoaned the tendency of “the literature on globalization...to read social life off external social forms—flows, circuits, circulations of people, capital and culture—without any model of subjective mediation.” Global Divas addresses this gap by presenting an ethnographic case study of how processes of globalization and transnationalism are negotiated through the processes of identity formation and everyday life of Filipino gay immigrants in New York City. I trace the historical and cultural parameters of Filipino immigration in general and the issue of Filipino gay immigration in particular as way to offer a window on how these supranational elements and processes are not creating generic “McDonaldized” lives but rather intricately woven lives that are at once global and local. This ethnography, while based in New York City, is far from the traditional view of a local picture of a group of people. Rather, this book presents a complex picture of interconnections and disjunctions faced by this group of men. As such, the lives of these men are historically and culturally counterposed to the networks and movements of people, ideologies, technologies, capital, and the whole enterprise of diasporic travel in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

"Belonging to the World":
The Transnational Sites of the Filipino Gay Immigrant

Dapat ka bang mag-ilang bayan?
Dito ba’y wala kaang mapaplagyan?
Bakit pa iiiwanan ang lupang tinubuan?
Dito ka nangunguning mga kalokohan.
Baka akala mo ganonan lamang ang mamuhay sa ibang bayan.
Tungkol sa babae, dito’y mataming okey.
Dito ang lalaki ang kulang.
At kung ikaw ay magaasawa, ang kunin mo ay Filipina.
Mas magaganda ang mga Pinay.
Sa bahay man sila'y mahuhusay.
Minsan ay selosa rin ang Pinay.
Sapagkat ang selos ay tanda ng pagmamahal ng Pinay.
At kung umibig ay laiong okey ang Pinay.

Do you need to go to another country?
Don't you have your own niche here?
Why do you have to leave your homeland?
You learned all your mischief here.
Don't you know that it is not that easy to live in another country?
In terms of women, there are a lot of okay ones here.
Here, the guys are outnumbered.
And if you were to get married, get a Filipina!

Pinays are more beautiful.
They are even well skilled in the house.
Sometimes they are also the jealous type.
Because jealousy is the sign of the Pinay's true love.
And the Pinays are even better when they are in love.
Sometimes the Pinay is the jealous type.
Because jealousy is a sign of love.
And when they are in love, the Pinays are even more okay.
—FLORENTE DE LEON, "Pinay"

In the 1970s, the song "Pinay" became the anthem for a predominantly male migrant labor flow from the Philippines to the Middle East. *Pinay* is a Tagalog slang term for Filipina, or a Filipino woman. The song's initial mournful invocation of national belonging is coupled with the sexualized and gendered dimensions of the nation. Indeed, the song prescribes heterosexual marriage and desire to be the saving grace for the potential male migrant worker. Moreover, the song strongly suggests that the female body and the Pinay's excellent domestic skills should be more than enough reason for the potential migrant to stay home in the Philippines.

The song constructs the space outside the nation as dangerous for heteronormative masculinity. This song's viewpoint has been supported by gossip and stories about life outside the homeland. Stories about Arab men preying on beardless and relatively hairless Filipino men were rampant and included episodes of homosexual rape. Furthermore, narratives of Filipino overseas workers succumbing to the perils of murder, rape, and/or diseases such as AIDS further amplified this view. However, although these stories strengthened the heteronormative underpinnings of Filipino male patriotism, they did not diminish the allure of economic benefits brought about by dollar remittances and other material rewards of life abroad.

The Filipino diaspora in the last two decades of the twentieth century reached astronomical proportions. Labor migration has become a highly institutionalized practice in the Philippines with the state functioning in more than a facilitating role together with private and nongovernmental/nonprivate organizations. This has lead to the Philippines becoming the "world's largest exporter of government-sponsored labor" (Tyner 2000: 132).

Anthropologist Jonathan Okamura summed up the far-reaching range of the Filipino diaspora when he wrote, "Filipinos can be found in more than 150 nations and territories throughout the world including both developing and developed countries" (1998: 101). Computer programmers, nurses, doctors, construction workers, domestics, entertainers, and sex workers are a huge part of the mobile labor power leaving the Philippines. 9 Epifanio San Juan, a prominent Filipino literary theorist, eloquently described the Filipino as "belonging to the world," meaning that Filipinos when they migrate "become assets, 'human capital' . . . exchangeable commodities" as part of the global labor market (1998: 7).

However, in the past twenty years, Filipino labor migration has become increasingly female. Thus, in many ways, the song "Pinay" may seem to have become an obsolete paean in that the Filipina, or the Pinay, has become the paradigmatic migrant laborer coming from the Philippines and not the one who stays put. Filipinas work in such jobs as domestics, entertainers, teachers, and nurses in various countries in Asia, the Middle East, and North America. This gendered transformation did not alter the heteronormative underpinnings of nationhood, however. Rather, many discourses about several tragic situations that have befallen these women abroad have intensified the normalized and naturalized positions of women. At the same time, there is a strong acknowledgment among Filipinos of the global demand for female labor and despite particular misgivings about women leaving their families, these women are almost deified by the government and mass media to the point of martyrdom or heroism.
Despite the global dimensions of the Filipino diaspora, the United States has remained the ideal destination for Filipino immigrants. The largest Filipino overseas community is in the United States and numbers about 1.4 million (Okamura 1998: 101). After independence from U.S. colonial rule in 1946, the Philippines maintained close cultural, economic, and political ties with its former colonizer. These relationships have forged popular imagries that normalize and naturalize the links between the two countries.

Imaginary topographies that construct the United States and the Philippines as physically contiguous are part of many Filipino immigrant life narratives. Roberto, one of my informants, told me that while he was growing up he had always thought that America was just an hour bus ride away, hidden by the mountains of his home province. As a child, he had watched gray buses containing dozens of young American men with crew cuts running down the main highway near his home on their way to some spot in the mountains. It was only when he was eleven and he took a trip to Olongapo City that he learned that the America he thought was in the mountains was in fact only a military facility and that America was indeed very far away.

In the novel Umbrella Country, Filipino American author Bino Realuyo weaves a gay coming of age story set in the Philippines, where the persistent background image of America propels personal yearnings and an imagined future. A bittersweet tale of a young boy aptly named Gringo amid the lower middle-class mayhem of a Manila neighborhood, Umbrella Country is punctuated by scenes and dreams of America. At first glance, this story may be seen as a mere echo of a million other dreams and aspirations of would-be immigrants to America from all over the globe. However, as many scholars have argued, Filipinos occupy a unique position among diasporic groups owing to their colonial and postcolonial relationship with America.11

Some commentators such as Pico Iyer (1988: 151-93), a popular travel writer, suggest that the Filipino is a sad, almost pathetic, copy of the American, an empty cultural shell devastated by Spanish and American colonialism. He further suggests that while Filipinos are virtuoso performers of American culture, they are left with the dubious heritage of disco, rock and roll, and the beauty pageant. In other words, Filipinos have nothing substantive to show except the shallow features of American popular culture.

However, more astute observers such as the anthropologist Fenella Cannell (1999: 252) conjure up the image of contemporary Philippine society as a palimpsest where colonial and postcolonial elements bleed through layers of history and culture.12 Cannell further suggests that Filipinos, particularly the rural poor of the Bicol region that she studied, are constantly negotiating with the image of America and various imagined “others” in order to displace power and hierarchies, and to create a sense of self (ibid.). For Cannell, what Pico Iyer and others have considered to be the pathetic imitative nature of the Filipinos is not constitutive of a barren tradition but rather of an “alternative modernity.”13 Therefore, Filipinos’ modernity is established not through a rejection of “tradition” but rather through complex amalgamations of cultural and historical elements. In this book, I extend and complicate Cannell’s incisive analysis by examining the predicament of Filipino gay men within the contradictory and uneven sites of transnational migration and global cultures. Queer immigrants, like the Filipino gay men I consider in this book, perform between competing ideologies of belonging and citizenship to offset the multiple forms of displacements of life away from the homeland. Carrying the baggage of colonial and postcolonial cultures, the Filipino gay immigrant arrives in the United States to not begin a process of Americanization but rather to continue and transform the ongoing engagement with America.14

**Performing Selves and Transforming Citizenship: The Filipino Gay Immigrant in the Modern World**

The processes of globalization and transnationalism have complicated, if not transformed, the ways subjects create a sense of belonging and identity.14 Notions of being Filipino, American, or gay cannot be easily apprehended in static, essential terms alone. While nationhood is no longer the primary anchor for creating a sense of citizenship and belonging, the situation is far from a simple dismissal of the nation. Despite what many herald as the demise of the nation, the contemporary moment has created a “crisis of citizenship” (Castles and Davidson 2000). Place, identity, and belonging can no longer be regarded as logically connected in the midst of globalizing tendencies (Gupta and Ferguson 1992), but at the same time people on the move are not just free-floating monads or cultural vagabonds who are unmoored to specific spaces and identities. In the face of these realities, queer diasporic subjects, particularly those from the Third World, who are confronted
with multiple displacements, are faced with the monumental tasks of creating and refiguring home.

I argue that Filipino gay men are not typical immigrants who "move" from tradition to modernity; rather, they re-interpret the static notions of tradition as modern or as strategies with which to negotiate American culture. Immigration, therefore, does not always end in an assimilative process but rather in contestation and reformation of identities.

The juxtaposition of performance and citizenship is based on the anthropological notion of cultural citizenship. Following Rosaldo (1994), Ong (1999), and Root (1999), I consider the process of citizen formation not as a mere political process but one "in which culture becomes a relevant category of affinity" (Rofel 1999: 457). Here, I take these scripts of belonging to include the "right to be different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense" (Rosaldo 1994: 402; see also Ong 1999). Cultural citizenship, therefore, is constituted by unofficial or vernacular scripts that promote seemingly disparate views of membership within a political and cultural body or community. Citizenship requires more than the assumption of rights and duties; more importantly, it also requires the performance and contestation of the behavior, ideas, and images of the proper citizen.16

I am interested in the way in which performance in diasporic queer communities is part of Filipino gay men's attempts to re-write or rewrite scripts or modes of behavior and attachments. As May Joseph (1995: 6) aptly puts it, the conjunction of competing performance and hybrid subjectivities in this context "[makes] possible competing epistemologies of mutually afflicted, dissonant, and competing narratives of empires, bodies, localities, and nations." Ella Shohat and Robert Stam (1994: 42) argue convincingly that Third World transmigrants or, as they call them, "hybrid diasporic subject[s]," are "confronted with the 'theatrical' challenge of moving, as it were, among the diverse performatives of sharply contrasting cultural and ideological worlds." The immigrant is continually made aware of the performative aspects of survival so much so that he or she is continually compelled to move or "travel" (albeit disconcertingly) between various codes of behavior. The immigrant has a heightened consciousness of the importance of having a bricoler's sense of the right or appropriate conduct. Such valuations of conduct continually change depending on who is (over-)seeing the situation, which could be anyone from an older family member to immigration authorities.

Performance as a paradigm in the humanities has been seen as a universalizing process that is inherent in such matters as gender (Butler 1990, 1991, 1993). More importantly, the intersections of performance with race, class, and ethnicity have remained largely unexplored. I suggest following Rosalind Morris's lead, that in order to understand both these situations, the interpenetration of everyday with spectacle and theater must be placed in the center of the analysis. As Morris brilliantly notes, "Gender [and sexuality] may not be the primary object[s] of identification... We need a conceptual vocabulary that permits discussion of engenderings that are multiply refracted in and through other categories of identities that are not reducible to gender... We still need ethnographies that explore the constitution of racialized and ethnicized genders and/or genderized races and ethnicities" (1995: 585). To accomplish this task, one needs to locate performance within various hierarchical relationships, which implies divergent engagements of actors with so-called "scattered hegemonies" (Kaplan and Grewal 1994). In other words, performance is constituted through and contextualized by power and history.17

My preoccupation with performance as part of citizenship developed from consistent themes that arose from fieldwork encounters with Filipino gay men. In many instances, informants' discourses and behavior have presented a persistent performative view of the world. This is evident in the pivotal idioms of biyut and drama. As I have briefly explained in the preface, both idioms pertain to aspects of personhood, demeanor, and self-fashioning. Biyut, unlike Cannell's (1999) transliteration, is not the same as the English word beauty but extends to other realms of social and personal life. I have deliberately changed the spelling to reflect the difference in meanings as well as the pronunciation and speaking situations among Filipino gay men. I deploy the idioms biyut and drama from Filipino gay men's language to encapsulate a self-conscious notion of performance that is embedded not only in gendered phenomena but in the exigencies of everyday life, including those of kinship and family, religion, sexual desire, and economic survival. These idioms serve as a means of understanding the world, and, more importantly, assessing proper conduct and action.

However, as Arturo and Exotica's words imply, the dramas of Filip-
The success of the culture depends on the beliefs and experiences of the people. The experiences and interactions of the people shape their beliefs and values, which in turn influence their actions and behaviors. This cycle of experiences, beliefs, and actions is ongoing and dynamic, creating a complex and multifaceted cultural landscape. The experiences of the people are not isolated events but are interconnected and interdependent, forming a holistic view of the culture. This interconnectedness is evident in the way that the experiences of the people influence their beliefs, which in turn shape their actions and behaviors. The experiences of the people are also influenced by their interactions with others, both within and outside their immediate community. These interactions create a network of relationships that are both beneficial and challenging, leading to the formation of new beliefs and experiences. The people also create a culture of innovation and creativity, which allows them to adapt to changing conditions and to develop new ways of thinking and acting. This culture of innovation and creativity is evident in the way that the people adapt to new technologies, new ideas, and new conditions, leading to the creation of new beliefs and experiences. The experiences of the people are also influenced by their interactions with the environment, both natural and social. These interactions create a dynamic and ever-changing landscape, which is shaped by the people and their actions. The people are also influenced by their interactions with the past, both their own and that of others. These interactions create a sense of history and heritage, which is an important aspect of the culture. The experiences of the people are also influenced by their interactions with the future, both their own and that of others. These interactions create a sense of hope and possibility, which is an important aspect of the culture. The experiences of the people are also influenced by their interactions with the present, both their own and that of others. These interactions create a sense of reality and responsibility, which is an important aspect of the culture.
Chapter 3. A new New York City

The book: An Inquiry

Introduction

The introduction is a key section of the book, setting the stage for the chapters that follow. It typically provides background information, introduces the topic, and outlines the main arguments or themes that will be explored in the subsequent chapters.

The introduction often begins with a brief overview of the book's purpose and goals. It may explain why the topic is important and why the book's approach is unique or valuable. The introduction might also preview the key concepts, theories, or arguments that will be discussed in the book.

For example, a book on the impact of globalization on urban planning might begin its introduction with a discussion of the increasing interconnectedness of the world and the role of cities in this globalized economy. The introduction might then go on to explain the book's focus on the case study of a particular city, such as New York City, and how the book will use this city as a lens to explore broader trends and issues.

The introduction might also provide a brief history of the topic, highlighting key milestones and developments. It could discuss the evolution of urban planning and the challenges faced by cities in adapting to globalization.

The introduction is a critical section of the book, as it sets the tone and establishes the context for the reader. It is important for the introduction to be clear, engaging, and well-organized, as it will help readers understand the book's purpose and how it contributes to the existing body of knowledge on the topic.

In summary, the introduction is a crucial part of any book, providing a roadmap for the reader and setting the stage for the detailed exploration of the topic in the subsequent chapters. A well-crafted introduction can make the book more accessible and engaging, while a weak or poorly written introduction may leave readers feeling uncertain or disenchanted.

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The borders between Bodka and Gay are not as clear as one might think. 

Chapter 6 explores how the performance of Filipino and other Asian cultures in the West is often influenced by the issues of race, gender, and class, and the tensions between these forces. The chapter discusses the experiences of Filipino men who have returned to the Philippines and the challenges they face in integrating their cultural identity with their new lives. It also explores the role of cross-cultural exchange and adaptation in shaping the experiences of these men.
different ways for Filipinos in the Philippines and those in the United States are utilized. For the United States, the words have been adapted to the national language. Sometimes these words are used with proper nouns such as "Filipino" or "American." For example, in "Filipino American," the word "Filipino" is used as a noun to refer to people of Filipino descent. The word "American" is used as an adjective to describe the culture and background of the people. This book explores the diversity and complexity of Filipino American history and culture. It highlights the contributions of Filipino Americans to American society and their unique experiences as a minority group in the United States.

The names of people have been changed to protect their anonymity.

Preface
Although cross-dressing is an important complex of practices among a significant number of informants, transgender was not a term they typically used. For an excellent study of this complicated intersection of gay and transgender among queer communities of color, see Valentine (2000).

I continued to meet with several informants through 2001.


Taglish is code-switching between English and Tagalog. Tagalog is one of the main languages in the Philippines and is spoken mainly on the island of Luzon, where the national capital, Manila, is located. It also functions as a lingua franca in various parts of the country and in the Filipino diaspora. Filipino, the official national language, is based on Tagalog. See Bonus (2000) and Rafael (1995) for critical analyses of Taglish.

Interviews lasted between one and one-half hours to eight hours (staggered at different time intervals). These interviews were conducted mostly in people’s homes; a few were conducted in my office, restaurants, and in the Lesbian and Gay community center. More than two-thirds of the interviews were taped.

In my original group of informants for my dissertation, eight were American born or second generation Americans and forty-two were immigrants. For this book, I have added eight more immigrant informants; the immigrant group is the main basis for the book. I am using the views of the American-born informants as illustrative contrasts to the main group. Of the fifty immigrant men, forty-five arrived in America when they were eighteen years of age or older. Five of the fifty are “one-point fivers” (i.e. since they came to America as young children or teenagers. At least thirty of the informants reported working in white-collar jobs such as nurse, computer programmer, chef, bank executive, and doctor. The rest reported being unemployed, or working as store clerks and busboys, with the exception of three, who reported doing “sex work.” All fifty informants reported coming from middle to upper middle-class backgrounds from the Philippines. The difficulty of ascertaining class among the informants and the complexities of class status and identity are discussed in the succeeding chapters.

See Mahler (1998), Guarnizo and Smith (1998), and Schein (1998) for discussions of transnationalism “from below.”

Introduction

Here, I am referring to Altman (1996) and Adam, Duyvendak, and Krouwel (1999). While I would agree that their works have enhanced the discussion on the global and the transnational, I believe we need a more dynamic view of the local that engages with the state and established social movements in more nuanced ways.

See Appadurai (2000) for a critical formulation of “optics.”


This includes Norma Alarcon (1990), Lata Mani and Ruth Frankenberg (1985), and Audre Lorde (1984).

Louisa Schein (1998) provides an ethnographic example of the Hmong/Miao, who traverse borders with what she calls an “oppositional cosmopolitanism.” See Abelmam and Lie’s (1995) productive formulation of mobility and modernity as the dual pivot of Korean migration to the United States. See also my critique of movement in multi-sited ethnography and in the study of Asian American communities (Manalansan 2000: 5-6) where movement can be perceived in terms of “how people navigate their marginal status not only across but also within such spaces.”


I would like to thank Margot Gallardo for permission to reprint the song.

See Jane Margold’s (1995) study of masculinity and Filipino migrant laborers to the Middle East.

According to Census 2000, Filipinos in the United States are the second biggest Asian American group after the Chinese, with 1.6 million residents. Filipinos in New York City number around 95,000. See Okamura (1998), San Juan (1994, 1998), Bonus (2000), and Tyer (1994, 2000) for studies on the Filipino global diaspora.

See Constable (1997) and Parreñas (2001) for studies of Filipina domestics in such places as Hong Kong, Los Angeles, and Rome.

See Campmanes (1992, 1995) for a persuasive and trenchant analysis of how American colonization and postcolonial presence in the Philippines have created a unique sociocultural and political-economic context that differs not only from other Asian immigrants to the United States but also from other immigrants in general. Filipinos’ postcolonial predicament is a compelling example of what David Lloyd (1996) has termed as “damage.”

I am grateful to Dara Goldman for this felicitous definition of palimpsest.

See Ong (1999), Chakrabarty (2000), Ong and Nonn (1997), and Goknark (1999) for more extensive analyses of “alternative modernity.”


See Bell and Bunin (2000) for a review of various theories of queer citizenship.

See also Case (1999) and Case, Brett, and Foster (1995) for further discussions of performance and performativity.

Performance has been an important element in studies of power and gender in Island Southeast Asia, which includes among others, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia. Anderson (1974) suggests that power, or rather potency,
1. The Borders between Bakla and Gay

1. See Duberman's (1994) historical study of this event.
3. See Kulick (1997, 1998) for an incisive look at the boyfriends of Brazilian travestis. While there are obvious differences between the travestis and the Filipino gay men I interviewed, the gender and sexual configurations have stunning parallels between the two groups.
4. For various ethnic and historical inflections of coming out in America, see the following: Berube (1990), Brown (2000), Browning (1993), Chiang (1998), and Herdt (1992). For a different cartography of gayness, see Almaguer (1991).

2. Speaking in Transit

1. See Kulick (1999) for a review of queer languages and transnationalism. See also Leap (1990) for a pioneering study of "gay language." See also Linmark's (1995) novel, which focuses on the confrontation of Filipino gay men with Hawaiian pidgin as a literary example of other kinds of linguistic situations these men confront.
2. I use code and language alternately and in the place of argot. I also use swadesi-speaker as a word to denote someone who uses the code.
3. Cebuano is one of the major languages of the Philippines and is typically spoken in the Visayan region.
5. Vicente Rafael's (1988, 1994) important works, including his book on translation and Spanish colonialism in the Philippines and an essay on Taglish, represent an important corpus that is relevant to my discussion and formulation of swadesi-speak.
6. See Bergmann and Smith (1995) for a discussion of "Entendes?" or "Do you understand?" which is really a way of asking, "Are you queer?"
8. Livia and Hall (1995) theorize the importance of performativity to queer languages.

3. "Out There"

1. See Weston (1995) for a nuanced and important essay on queer migration to the cities. Reyes (1993) is a fascinating and pioneering study of queers of color