



<b>Title</b>	Intimacy and Vulnerability among Young Black and Latinx Gender and Sexual Minorities: An Ethnographic Approach to Social Networks and Public Venues
<b>Authors(s)</b>	Vasquez del Aguila, Ernesto
<b>Publication date</b>	2018
<b>Publication information</b>	Vasquez del Aguila, Ernesto. "Intimacy and Vulnerability among Young Black and Latinx Gender and Sexual Minorities: An Ethnographic Approach to Social Networks and Public Venues" 1, no. 2 (2018).
<b>Publisher</b>	University College Dublin
<b>Item record/more information</b>	<a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10197/24781">http://hdl.handle.net/10197/24781</a>

Downloaded 2023-10-31T04:02:18Z

The UCD community has made this article openly available. Please share how this access benefits you. Your story matters! (@ucd\_oa)



© Some rights reserved. For more information

**Intimacy and Vulnerability  
among Young Black and  
Latinx Gender and Sexual  
Minorities: An Ethnographic  
Approach to Social  
Networks and Public Venues**

*Gender & Sexualities Series*  
2018, Vol. 1(2) 41-60  
© The Author(s) 2018  
University College Dublin

**Vasquez del Aguila, Ernesto<sup>1</sup>**

*University College Dublin*

**Abstract**

This paper explores the symbolic and structural vulnerabilities that Young Black and Latinx Gender and Sexual Minorities (YBLGSM) confront in their everyday lives. Through ethnographic analysis of social interactions in public spaces, this research identifies some of the hidden risks that these young people face, and investigates how these situations increase their vulnerability to HIV-infection. Four situations are described as particularly risky for YBLGSM: drug use, inter-generational sexual interactions, homelessness and sex work, and stigma and violence associated with their gender identity and sexual orientation. This research is based on participatory research conducted in tandem with Bronx AIDS Services in 2005-2006, and employs participant observation and focus groups in several public venues in New York City. It provides insights into the unique social networks and the strategies these individuals use to confront their intersecting experiences of multiple discriminations as young Black and Latinx gender and sexual minorities.

**Key words**

Young Black Latinx Gender Sexual Minorities; community ethnographers; public spaces, vulnerability

---

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding Author: Vasquez del Aguila, Ernesto  
University College Dublin, Ireland.  
Email: [ernesto.vasquezdelaguila@ucd.ie](mailto:ernesto.vasquezdelaguila@ucd.ie)

## Introduction

From the time HIV/AIDS was first recognized in the USA, it has disproportionately impacted young Black and Latinx<sup>2</sup> individuals who are gender and sexual minorities (Friedman et al., 1987). As a result, organizations in racially diverse areas, such as the Bronx borough in New York City, have continuously dedicated resources and research in the attempt to suppress high local rates of HIV infection. The present research was conducted in 2005-2006, as part of a major intervention project by Bronx AIDS Services, called the “Bronx Boogie Down Program”. Bronx AIDS Services was a non-profit organization serving community members affected by HIV/AIDS and providing counseling, testing, education, prevention, and support programs. Their “Bronx Boogie Down Program” aimed to slow the transmission of HIV among young people in the South Bronx through education and material support. In developing this program, Bronx AIDS Services allocated funding towards participatory research with young community members, for which they recruited the author from the Center for Gender Sexuality and Health at Columbia University. This research was designed with the aim of gaining a more in-depth understanding of the HIV risk factors faced by young Black, Latinx gender and sexual minorities (YBLGSM), which, in this context, encompasses gay, bisexual, and/or queer men, other men who have sex with men (MSM) and trans individuals who have sex with men. The research’s main objective was to inform efforts to combat HIV in the South Bronx area, while actively providing information and support to the YBLGSM populations there. The research strategy involved ethnographic observation and focus groups conducted by Community Ethnographers in several public venues in New York City over the course of one year.

YBLGSM navigate public spaces in New York City in ways that relate to their unique, embodied experiences of race, gender, and sexuality. Therefore, the theoretical context of this project lies at the intersection of identity, physicality, and space, particularly as they pertain to racialized experiences of gender and sexuality. For YBLGSM, what marks their identity has corporeal inscription not only in race or ethnicity but in physical appearance markers that address a more complex set of identities. In this research, which explores social, sexual, and intimate interactions, their body is a marker of identity *and* an idealized object of desire (Wiggins, 2000). YBLGSM express their sexual and gender identities in public spaces through different cultural manifestations such as clothes, music, and ritualized gestures of masculinity and sexuality. Moreover, this project delves into the transformation of space through the social activities of YBLGSM. In terms of outdoor, transient spaces particularly, this transformation conceptually aligns with Marc Augé’s (1995) notion of “non-places.” Augé’s framework allows for the exploration of how these spaces, typically devoid of strong identity or social significance, transform through the interactions and expressions of YBLGSM. This

---

<sup>2</sup> Latinx is a gender-neutral alternative to the terms “Latino” and “Latina”, used here to encompass varying experiences of gender, race and ethnicity. See Vidal-Ortiz and Martinez, 2018.

perspective helps illuminate the dynamic interplay between individual and communal identity construction within these spaces and provides a valuable theoretical lens through which to examine the intricate social dynamics at play.

YBLGSM represent diverse sexual cultures coexisting in tension with normative genders/sexualities and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005). Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity offers a framework for analyzing cultural beliefs and practices among men that perpetuate gender inequality, encompassing not only men's dominance over women but also the hierarchy that exists among groups of men. As Connell articulates:

Within this overarching framework, there exist distinct gender dynamics of power and subordination between various groups of men. In contemporary European/American society, one of the most prominent cases is the supremacy of heterosexual men and the subjugation of homosexual men" (Connell, 2005, 78).

Connell's framework of hegemonic masculinity informs this project by providing a foundational lens through which to examine how cultural beliefs and practices among YBLGSM, including gay, bisexual and queer men and other men who have sex with men, relate to the vulnerabilities these individuals face, particularly within the context of societal gender inequalities and hierarchies.

Additionally, this research draws inspiration from Kimberlé Crenshaw's groundbreaking work on intersectionality (1991), a framework that examines how various systems of inequality, power, and privilege intersect and inform each other, resulting in unique experiences of vulnerability and discrimination for individuals situated at these intersections. As young, disadvantaged Black and Latinx people who perform and express gender and sexualities in ways that are perceived as non-normative within a heteronormative (Berlant and Warner, 1998) societal framework, the concept of intersectionality provides a crucial theoretical lens through which to explore vulnerability to HIV-infection. Intersectionality enables a nuanced exploration of the multifaceted challenges and lived experiences that arise at the convergence of race, gender, sexual orientation, and social class. By employing this intersectional perspective, this research seeks to unveil the complex interplay of social forces and structural inequalities that shape YBLGSM's identities and vulnerabilities. This approach recognizes that their experiences cannot be comprehensively understood or, indeed, addressed without considering the interconnected systems of oppression that shape their lives.

## **Methods and methodology**

The research, designed in tandem with Bronx AIDS Services' "Bronx Boogie Down Program", was initiated with the aim of exploring the intricate social and cultural dynamics of HIV-risk within the South Bronx YBLGSM community, while actively engaging members of this community as research partners. The following section will provide a comprehensive outline of the participatory methodology employed in this

research.

### Participatory Ethnography

Given the multifaceted nature of HIV/AIDS within complex social and cultural contexts, ethnography emerged as the preferred research approach. Ethnography requires the researcher to become deeply embedded in the community in order to gain a nuanced understanding, or "thick description" Geertz (1973), of the lives, experiences, and challenges faced by community members within their unique cultural contexts. The ethnographic approach followed the participatory research principles of the Youth Action Research Model (YARM)<sup>3</sup>: 1) The adult facilitator is no longer the sole expert; the youth become the experts of their own experiences; 2) Youth participants should mirror the demographic characteristics of the target population and/or demonstrate connectedness to the social networks and communities where research activities will be conducted; and 3) Teach youth research basic research skills (i.e. taking field notes, direct observations, survey facilitation, etc.) to identify problems in their environment and brainstorm solutions.

To implement ethnographic research in alignment with YARM's participatory research principles, the role of Community Ethnographers was established. Community Ethnographers were recruited by the Bronx AIDS Services using purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques, and were approached due to their roles as community leaders with active involvement in the organization's HIV-interventions. The Community Ethnographers, who were all aged 18-24, shared demographic characteristics or social connectedness with the South Bronx YBLGSM community. All of the CEs were young LGBT individuals from a Black and/or Latinx background residing in the South Bronx area. The first group of CEs was composed of four young women and 18 young men, twenty-two people in total. The second group was composed of 15 men, three cisgender women, and one trans woman, nineteen CEs in total. CEs were trained by the research team not only in methodological and technical issues, but also in ethics conducting research in public spaces. They served as active research partners, contributing to each stage of the research, from research design and implementation to analysis and interpretation.

### Data Collection

Data collection primarily relied on participant observation, a method of gathering rich, dense, and detailed information through personal experiences with the settings and people (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Through participant observation, the CEs became fully immersed in social spaces significant to the YBLGSM community. These spaces

---

<sup>3</sup> The YARM approach is part of the "The Bronx Boogie Down Program", which seeks to increase access to HIV services among YMCSM". For further information, see Bronx AIDS Service ([www.basnyc.org](http://www.basnyc.org)). This paper is based on a report carried out by the author while working as a researcher in Bronx AIDS Service. My special thanks and gratitude to Mario de La Cruz and Miguel Muñoz-Laboy for their invaluable support during this project.

included outdoor public spaces and indoor public areas where YBLGSM socialize -- in their own words, places where they “hang out” and sometimes “hook up”. The CEs documented their observations and experiences in the field through semi-structured formats, which consisted of three main domains: description of the place, description of interactions among people, and description of the dynamics in the different settings. This approach allowed CEs to capture rich and detailed information about the personal experiences and social dynamics of YBLGSM. These ethnographic observations (EOs) provided very useful data for understanding the experiences and performances of YBLGSM in public venues, and the risks that they faced in their everyday lives.

In addition to the ethnographic observations, focus groups (FGs) were conducted to provide further contextual background to understand the social sphere in which these YBLGSM reside and socialize. FGs are a very useful technique in qualitative research, particularly when participants have a common experience, come from a similar background, or have specific skills or knowledge about certain topics (Stimson, 2003). The YBLGSM who participated in the two FGs were all ethnic and gender/sexual minorities, lived in the same neighbourhoods and belonged to the same generation, which meant that they shared many significant life experiences. The main goal of these FGs was to unpack issues that had been underexplored during the observations and enhance data through triangulation. Led by the CEs and supervised by the lead researcher, the FGs served as an opportunity for the research team to acknowledge and validate some topics raised by CEs and participants. Another important aspect of the FGs was that researchers could gain better understanding of local terms for sexual and gender identities, as well as the cultural and social dynamics of HIV risk within the YBLGSM community.

### Ethical Considerations

In conducting research with gender, sexuality, and racial minority people, it is crucial to understand the ways that their intersecting experiences of vulnerability can create unequal dynamics of power between the researcher and participants. Through the use of community-based research methods, this research was able to destabilize traditional hierarchies of knowledge production and empower community members to be agents of change in their community. Ethical considerations for this research included the potential susceptibility of CEs to emotional distress in the case of participants disclosing disturbing or difficult experiences. The CEs had a strong support system in place, which included ethical training, space to discuss their emotional experiences, and mental wellness services provided by Bronx AIDS Services. The research placed a strong emphasis on informed and voluntary consent, privacy protection, and data anonymization to ensure the well-being and confidentiality of both Community Ethnographers and the individuals they interacted with during participant observation in the public spaces mapped for research.

### **Mapping the field**

CEs played a key role in mapping the field for ethnographic research. Given their insider knowledge of the social practices of YBLGSM, they were able to identify public spaces which were significant places to the community. By investigating the interactions within these public spaces, the research aimed to uncover and contextualize specific social and cultural factors that contribute to HIV-risks in the YBLGSM community. The spaces selected for this research included both open, outdoor public spaces and indoor public spaces throughout New York City that were frequented by YBLGSM. The following section will introduce the field sites of the research.

### City streets: *everybody in motion*

Christopher Street and the adjacent streets are transitory places, where people rarely linger. The streets are racially mixed between Black, Latinx, and white people. The age composition is also diverse, the majority being adolescents and young adults but also featuring middle-aged and elderly people:

Gay men walking back and forth in the area (...) transgender males going to the piers (...) drug dealers offering the occasional “smoke budd” (...) many elderly and adults. Young people are not the majority here (...) no one doing sports in the streets (...) many straight men and women going to restaurants (...) majority of African American guys going to the discos and piers (...) People very busy moving back and forth. No one really standing ... going down to the piers (EO, Cycle I).

Lining these streets are many clubs and discos with groups of people who seem to belong to various cultures and/or share common traits in terms of age, race, and sexual cultures (e.g. bars for Black and Latinx people, white gay men, muscular guys, “bears”, people of the leather or S&M fetish subcultures, among others). The sexual market in these streets is diverse and offers a range of opportunities for YBLGSM to interact with men of different ages, races, and socioeconomic backgrounds.

### Piers and Parks: *interactions after dark*

“The Pier” at Christopher Street in the West Village is a gay-friendly open public space and in the past was a significant destination for LGBT populations and activists to gather. At the Pier, there are distinct morning and night-time, as well as seasonal, rituals and performances. On warm and sunny days, the Pier is full of people: youth and adults from different racial and social backgrounds who come to socialize. At these times, YBLGSM do not feel that the Pier is a “gay place”, but rather that it is akin to any other heterosexual or mainstream park in the city. During winter and on cold nights, young people come to the Pier earlier, usually after 5pm. At these times, Black and Latino young men from across the city are the most prominent group in the area and they socialize more freely as groups or cliques:

The pier is very empty tonight and cold as well (...) people are kissing; some of the

guys are dancing and smoking to keep warm (...) it was cold, so people were moving away from the Pier (...) As time goes by, more and more teenagers are coming. "Cliques" sitting down chatting within the group (...) the usual people coming to hang out and also the ones looking to pick someone up (EO, Cycle II).

The interactions occurring within these outdoor, transient spaces can be understood as transforming "non-places" (Augé, 1995) into places of belonging, connection, and identity affirmation for YBLGSM. However, the anonymity of these spaces can also be utilised for those seeking intimate encounters. While sex in public spaces is criminalised in New York City, "cruising", a colloquial term usually employed by gay men to refer to the casual practice of seeking sexual encounters in public spaces, commonly occurs in outdoor areas such as the Ramble in Central Park. There is not a single pattern or profile of people at the Ramble. Some of them meet in other places in the park and then go to the Ramble for sex, while others go directly to the Ramble to find someone:

The Rambles are full of different people (...) Caucasian, old gay men, young Latinos (...) some of them look [like] tourists even (...) their intentions are obvious, they are here for sex (EO, Cycle I).

The Ramble at Central Park is surrounded by trees and narrow, poorly lit pathways leading to secluded areas that facilitate the creation of a "private" area within a public space. For decades the Ramble was a well-known gay cruising area, and while changes to public space policies have led to increased police presence in the area during the daytime, after dark, the area continues to be visited by people of diverse ages and races seeking sexual intimacy.

### Clubs and bars: *LGBT intimacies*

*La Nueva Escuelita* is an LGBT club and discotheque in Midtown Manhattan. Escuelita draws a mixture of people from all ages and racial backgrounds, but mainly caters to Black and Latino men. The club is also identified by research participants as a "friendly environment" which provides an alternative to other discotheques with more "attitude" and "competitive vibes" elsewhere in the city. Escuelita hosts special nights for diverse audiences and different spaces for dancing, drinking, and intimate encounters. However, age restriction is a significant barrier for many younger YBLGSM seeking a safe space to socialize. Security at adult bars and clubs can be very strict about age requirements and ID checks. However, according to some CEs, it is not unusual to meet some minors that were able to bypass security:

Legally minors are not admitted (...) security is really strict asking IDs (however), it's not rare to find some adolescents there too ... 16, 17, even 14 (GF, CEs from Cycle II).

Clubhouse is a young urban club where YBLGSM, particularly gay men, socialize. These clubs attract adolescents and young gay men of color who are not required to show an adult ID to enter the venue. The music is urban, and even though most of the men are



young, it is not rare to see inter-generational flirting and romancing. There are many dark areas and discrete rooms that people go to for sexual intimacy. Some organizations that work on HIV prevention are also part of the usual makeup of Clubhouse. YBLGSM are used to seeing campaigners distribute condoms and perform HIV testing. According to the CEs, there is also regular drug and alcohol use in these spaces:

There are like ten different places people go into and no one can see them, [the] things they are doing (...) it's very discrete for having sex (...) people are having secret sex spots in the dark areas (...) people having sex everywhere (...) a lot of marijuana going on here (EO, Cycle I).

In terms of cruising in indoor public spaces such as the Escuelita and Neutral Zone, these places are more often somewhere to pick someone up rather than to have a sexual encounter on the premises. However, “foreplay” and “intense” intimacy are part of the club dynamics, as YBLGSM engage in a variety of sexual intimacies within the limits that a crowded place can allow.

#### Youth centers: socializing and safety

“Neutral Zone” is a drop-in center for LGBT youth in Midtown Manhattan, whose after-school program is usually open from 3-10 pm. The center provides social services and a gathering place for LGBT youth and adolescents looking to meet after school. YBLGSM describe the center as a good place to meet new people and socialize in a gay-friendly environment. According to the CEs, young people appreciate the comfortable space, free food, and safer sex supplies. Neutral Zone also provides support groups, housing referrals, clothing, HIV tests, counselling, and help while applying for public assistance. The space is largely frequented by YBLGSM:

Youth began to enter at around 6:30pm and from there the place gets full of people, mainly young Hispanic and Black MSM (...) Guys are talking about their personal lives. (Neutral zone) is a very peaceful environment, looks like everybody knows each other (EO, Cycle II).

Neutral Zone is also a space for low-income YQPOC and YMCSM to chat online and socialize with friends. Some of them also use the internet for dating. YBLGSM relate that in addition to parks and LGBT clubs, the Internet is a main avenue for seeking sexual partners:

Couple of guys searching internet, some LGBT links (...) a guy is searching profiles in “Adam 4 Adam” and [an]other guy in [an]other computer is looking at “Myspace” (EO, Cycle II).

YBLGSM from the FGs consider the Internet to be the main alternative for MSM youth who do not want to disclose their sexual identity. The Internet is seen as the most “secure” option for people who are “closeted”, want sex quickly, and have no interest in anything

but sex:

Guys in the closet don't want to take any risk to be identified or that someone can know them (...) internet is the best alternative to find someone for sex (...) it is anonymous, secure, discrete, and fast (...) is the best option for guys who only want sex (FG).

As research has shown, YBLGSM often become homeless after being rejected by their families and social networks for their sexual orientation or gender identity (Robinson 2018). At the Neutral Zone, YBLGSM find one of the few indoor public places available for sexual minorities where they can meet without fear of homophobia or discrimination. While the Neutral Zone offers a sense of safety, the interactions of YBLGSM there, as well as their social activities within the other indoor and outdoor spaces described above, illuminate some of the factors which contribute to this community's heightened risk of HIV-infection. The following section will introduce some of these factors, highlighting the intersecting vulnerabilities this community experiences.

### **Intimacy and intersecting vulnerabilities**

Research from EOs and FGs explored the social and cultural dynamics of community spaces for YBLGSM and emphasized some of the behaviors and circumstances related to heightened risk of HIV-infection. The triangulated data gathered from EOs and FGs was analyzed by the lead researcher in collaboration with CEs using thematic analysis. Through comparative analysis of field reports and FG transcripts, specific patterns and themes were generated, reviewed, and defined. The research showed that four situations can lead to especially high risk of HIV-infection for YBLGSM: 1) *drug use*; 2) *intergenerational sexual interactions*; 3) *homelessness and sex work*; and 4) *stigma and structural violence associated with gender, sexual orientation and racial background*.

#### 1. Drug use: *dealing and consumption*

As described above, the weather plays a prominent role in people's activities and social interactions in open public spaces. For instance, a cold night that discourages social activities in parks and piers can be the best environment for sexual intimacy and encounters involving illicit activities. At night time on the pier, the illumination is subtle which allows for hidden interactions to occur. On these nights, most of the people around the piers are groups of YBLGSM seeking sexual encounters, consuming alcohol, and, frequently, selling or purchasing drugs:

(It) seems no straight people here... mostly gay men, very few lesbians (...) there were two transgender (...) old guys looking for sex (...) the usual drug dealer (...) Some people look like there are coming from work, coming here for sex (...) There are no park police so anyone can feel free to do anything they wish (EO, Cycle I).

Drug dealers were a fixture of all open public spaces explored in this study. They constituted a mixed group in terms of race, age, and sexual orientation. Some were young Black and Latinx men and women, but there were also white adult drug dealers in these areas. According to the young people from this study, most of the dealers in these areas were not members of the groups who come to socialize in these places; instead they were heterosexual men and women selling their products to the people in the area, particularly young gay men:

(Drug dealers) can be Latinos, blacks, any race (...) some are Caucasian, some really cute guys, very masculine, hot (...) they are not necessarily gays, most of them are straight just trying to sell their stuff to gay guys (FG).

More recently, police and park police have become more visible in controlling and patrolling the area. However, their presence does not stop these activities, and YBLGSM will often engage in the selling or consuming of drugs:

There are a lot of park police circling and standing by the pier (...) two guys, one Black and another Latino ask[ed] me if I wanted weed (...) park police don't notice this (...) they just think we are friends (...) Some guys are selling cigarettes and drugs (...) they don't look like typical drug dealers (...) police don't notice that (...) they are just like us (EO, Cycle I).

Drugs are also available in the indoor public spaces such as pubs and discotheques. However, consumers need to know the “codes” of the places to discover these vendors and their activities:

There are not drug dealers here (Escuelita) as in the pier (...) if you want drugs, you need to look after. They (drug dealers) are not open here as in the piers (...) you need to know the business to find out (EO, Cycle II).

Several studies have identified alcohol consumption and illegal drug use as risk factors for transmission of HIV and other STIs. These substances impair judgment and have been associated with an increase in risky sexual behaviors (Aguirre, 2010). Research has suggested there is a greater incidence of illicit drug use among gay, bisexual and other men who have sex with men in comparison to their heterosexual counterparts (Bourne & Weatherburn, 2017). There is also a correlation between drug use and HIV-infection for gender and sexual minorities. According to the CDC, for the MSM who were diagnosed with HIV in 2017, 3% reported both male-to-male sexual contact and injection drug use as infection factors (CDC, 2018). Further, research suggests that some gay, bisexual and other men who have sex with men may intentionally use recreational drugs and alcohol as a method of avoiding thoughts of HIV when engaging in risky sex (Bourne & Weatherburn, 2017). This research illustrates how young drug users suffer an increased risk of becoming infected with HIV, particularly when combined with experiences of homelessness, sex work and unsafe conditions that lessen their possibility of incorporating safe sex in their sexual interactions.

Drug dealers and the availability of drugs in places where YBLGSM socialize represent a serious risk for the youth, particularly in consideration of the strong association between drug use and the risk of HIV infection.

## 2. Intergenerational sexual interactions: *intersecting dynamics of power*

Queer youth face limited – and often non-existent – possibilities to publicly express their feelings due to the stigma, homophobia, and gender-based discrimination directed towards gender and sexual minorities. Frequently, flirting and courtship among gender and sexual minorities has to be a hidden and secret activity, only allowed in safe spaces or marginalized areas of the city. This situation increases the vulnerability of LGBT youth, particularly YBLGSM, and places these young people and adolescents at risk of engaging in risky sexual behavior. As older men are part of the public spaces where YBLGSM socialize, this sexual behavior often involves an intergenerational element. Whether in parks and piers or discotheques and clubs, men from different generations share social networks and spaces of socialization and entertainment:

There are a couple of older people walking around the pier (...) a group of young people are voguing and messing around (...) one older Caucasian asked the time, it is clear that he wants to socialize with the youth (EO, Cycle II).

(In the Escuelita) there are lots of people, all kind of races, sexualities (...) a lot of people started to come after 11:00 pm. There were a mixture of youth and adults (EO, Cycle I).

Intergenerational sexual relationships may entail unequal power dynamics, including potential subordination of younger partners due to economic precarity or other factors. Additionally, scholars have argued that partner influence plays a central role in negotiating safe sex (MacKellar and Valleroy, 2002), which is a critical concern in such relationships. Notably, young gay men with older partners face heightened vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, as indicated by a San Francisco study which found that having relationships with older partners increased young gay men's odds of HIV transmission by five times (Anema et al. 2016). Further, research among Asian Pacific Islander MSM in Los Angeles revealed that older partners were more likely to engage in unprotected insertive anal intercourse and had a higher prevalence of HIV and intravenous drug use (Choi et al., 2003). This research suggests that HIV is often transmitted from older to younger MSM within this ethnic community. These findings suggest that HIV transmission often occurs from older to younger MSM within specific ethnic communities, highlighting difficulties in negotiating boundaries around safer sex for the younger partner.

While significant age gaps alone can complicate issues of agency and consent within intergenerational sexual interactions, the addition of an interracial element can further complicate power dynamics. Racial tensions exist within the YBLGSM community, reflected in the clientele demographics of indoor public spaces like Escuelita

and Clubhouse. Some YBLGSM have preferences for specific places based on ethnic identity, and crossing ethnic boundaries in these spaces can sometimes lead to feelings of rejection or tension, potentially affecting the ability to negotiate safety:

If you are Latino and go to *Escuelita* you are more accepted because you are part of that community verses if you are Latino and go to Clubhouse, where it is predominately Black, problems can happen (...) if you go out, you might get caught, and need to be ready to explain yourself (GF).

On the other hand, sexual dynamics between white individuals and people of color are inherently racialized. Young Black and Latinx individuals experience systemic oppression based on their race within a US society structured around white-supremacy. These structural inequalities are reproduced in cultural and social dynamics, and are therefore present in the sexual interactions of YBLGSM. When these interactions are also influenced by power dynamics relating to age, further complexities can emerge and potential exploitation can occur. Both public and indoor public spaces create the opportunity for interracial encounters between youth and adult gender and sexual minorities.

It is 6:38pm (in the *Escuelita*) at this time there are lots of older white Caucasians, some of them are couples, holding hands, other are alone, looking for some younger Hispanic guys (...) the older people are mostly white and the few younger are minorities, Blacks, Hispanic (EO, Cycle I).

(In the rambles) a Black young guy walking around, back and forth, all the other men are older, mostly white (...) the young Black guy engaged in oral sex with an older guy (...) the Black man who is receiving from a white guy seems to be on the lookout (EO, Cycle I).

Overall, in intergenerational interactions, complex and intersecting dynamics of power can perpetuate barriers to open expression, boundary negotiation, and safe sexual practices, heightening the risk of HIV for YBLGSM.

### 3. Homelessness and sex work: *vulnerability and survival*

The public spaces frequented by YBLGSM are often sites where sexual intimacy is on full display. As many YBLGSM are in precarious living situations, and may not have access to private, comfortable spaces where intimate interactions can occur, outdoor areas can be used for cruising and connecting with others:

(There is) a wooden cruising area in the middle of Central Park (It is 6pm) Lots of trees and benches. On the floor there are lubes and used condoms (...) there are a couple of young people and a lot of older people (...) some people meet before and come here to have sex (...) everybody is walking back and forth looking for people to “hook up”. People bushes are having sex and “hooking up”. Most people

are alone meeting strangers. Some guys were arguing about having sex with some guy and crushed with him (...) (in the rambles) men going into the bushes or behind the rocks to pleasure themselves (...) man masturbating in the bathroom stalls (...) men touching another guy's penis (...) lots of men just keep walking in circles around the rambles. A couple sitting on benches by the water just talking to one another (...) many condom wrappers around the floor along with tissue (EO, Cycle I).

Young sex workers constitute part of the public space environment in New York City. Gay men and trans women are the most common YBLGSM involved in these activities on the pier and in the parks. As several scholars have shown, many young gay men and trans women, as well as other gender and sexual minorities, are forced to leave their homes due to their sexual orientation or gender expression. In 2013, a study of seven major U.S. cities found that queer youths were at a 120% increased risk of homelessness compared to their heterosexual and cisgender counterparts, and experienced greater physical victimization than these heterosexual peers while homeless (Shelton et al., 2018). This situation is particularly significant when taking into account that many adolescents do not have the experience or skills to access the labor market, hence MSM adolescents who are homeless are more likely to engage in survival sex than heterosexual homeless male youth (Ream et al., 2014). Here, sex work does not always imply an economic exchange, but can include subtle and diverse ways of exchanging goods and commodities such as food, clothes, among other needs that these YBLGSM have.

As most of the YBLGSM sex workers in this research share the same race/ethnicity with other young people who are socializing in public spaces, and as all of them also come from the same low-income background, it is difficult for a non-“local” observer to discern sex workers. YBLGSM identify these sex workers as the ones who are hanging alone, in the most isolated part of the public spaces, and also those who interact more openly with white and older men:

A Latino guy sitting on the benches waiting for clients (...) he is walking back and forth to the restrooms to the piers (...) a white Caucasian talking to him and then both disappeared (EO, Cycle II)

Those guys [sex workers] are there [at the pier] to work, so they don't talk with other people who are hanging out, they are waiting for rich white guys (FG).\

In the context of homophobia and family rejection, YBLGSM from low-income families often experience homelessness and engage in sex work as the only alternative to cope with isolation and an absence of social and financial supports. This situation is even worse for transgender youth. As other scholars have demonstrated, many Latina trans women who are expelled violently from their home are left without support structures and are at a higher risk of HIV infection due to factors such as sharing needles for intravenous drug or hormone use and engaging in sex work and unprotected sex. Additionally, over 20% of unhoused or marginally housed trans women surveyed

reported being sexually assaulted by homeless shelter staff and/or residents (Fletcher et al 2014).

YBLGSM who are homeless or financially insecure will often use sex work in order to survive. While it is important to acknowledge that sex work can be an active and empowering choice of employment for many people, the YBLGSM in this study were often engaging in survival sex work that involved the risk of unsafe sex practices and violence.

#### 4. Stigma structural violence and heteronormativity,

Several scholars have demonstrated physical and psychological violence that YBLGSM experience in school and their communities (Huebner et al., 2004; Cyrus, 2017). However, violence is not always exercised openly or under the effects of physical force. Often, violence operates through “invisible” ways of oppression. Symbolic violence, understood as complex forms of coercion without the presence of physical force, implies the imposition and perpetuation of power and domination through “invisible” forces (Bourdieu, 1999). This symbolic violence against sexual minorities is exercised even in so-called “liberal” urban and industrialized areas, and has enormous impact on the self-esteem of these populations (Padilla et al., 2007; Munoz-Laboy et al., 2011). For instance, some YBLGSM mention the “abnormality” of their feelings and attractions towards other men due to this symbolic violence exercised by heterosexist messages in the media and social institutions (Harper and M. Schneider, 2003). This internalized homophobia has an enormous impact on the potential for negotiating safer sex and more equal relationships.

Heteronormativity, according to the definition by Berlant and Warner, entails “the endeavor to establish heterosexuality as the dominant norm” (Berlant and Warner, 1998, 548). In essence, heteronormativity involves the social, cultural, and structural promotion of heterosexuality as the standard and natural way of being. As a result of heteronormativity, as research demonstrates, many Black and Latino MSM do not associate their same-sex encounters with “gay” or “bisexual” identities (Cantu, 2009). Many of these men hide these experiences from their families, friends, or female partners, and instead perform a heteronormative way of life. These men develop diverse sexual identities based on factors such as, local and cultural language, their experiences of masculinity and the sexual roles they perform with other men (Vasquez del Aguila, 2012). Within the Black community, these men are known to be on the “down low” (DL) (Snorton, 2014). “DL” men attempt to avoid potential displacement from their communities by presenting as heterosexual, publicly. In contrast, openly gay men of color face simultaneous disconnection from mainstream white gay culture and social rejection from the Black community, which prevents them from any real sense of community belonging (Malebranche et al., 2004).

A common fear for MSM who are not openly gay is to be “discovered” in gay scenes. This is particularly relevant to young Black and Latino MSM, who navigate public spaces like queer clubs or online forums as safe environments for closeted individuals to seek

connections:

The good thing about clubs is that it's dark there, you don't know anybody there. There's no fear of running into anybody from work or school, so it feels like a more personal, better environment for guys who are not out of the closet (...) If you are a "DL boy", then you are going online. You are not going to find a real "DL boy" on the street or at a club (FG).

In addition to symbolic violence, YBLGSM face physical violence that threatens their everyday life. In FGs, these young people expressed their anxiety due to the potential violence they can suffer at any moment and place. Danger and fear are a central part of the lives of these YBLGSM:

At the pier you are wide out in the open. You come off the train with your gun and do whatever ... when police are not around (...) there are gangs of people in the pier and I have known people who have jumped a few people. [Guns] have come on the pier and cut people. [The pier] it's not really guarded too much and there are not a lot of police influences that stop other activity because there's gun usage (...) even the bathroom is a spot where someone could get jumped in (FG).

YBLGSM from disadvantaged communities also face the threat of prosecution by police officers who patrol the area in search of illegal sexual encounters. This situation reinforces the vulnerability of young gay men who feel victimized rather than protected by the police:

You don't feel secure if police is in the park (...) they are not there to protect you (...) they can accuse you to be drug dealer, sex worker, or just disturbing other people (...) they protect everybody but not the queer and gay people (FG).

The threat of potential violence is so palpable that some scholars have demonstrated how gay men and MSM reported being more afraid of being attacked or arrested than contracting sexually-transmitted infections (Flowers, 1999). For some individuals, conforming to "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell, 2005) can become a way to gain social acceptance and protect themselves from further stigmatization or violence. This may manifest as the adoption of "hypermasculine" traits and behaviors, including aggression, homophobia, and hypersexuality. These individuals may perpetuate violence or discrimination against those who deviate from these norms, including other members of the YBLGSM community, and even result in unsafe or violent sexual practices which increase HIV-risk.

In summary, stigma, heteronormativity, and the presence of both symbolic and physical violence are interconnecting factors that collectively foster secrecy, risk, and even violence within the sexual practices of many YBLGSM. This, in turn, heightens their vulnerability to HIV-infection.



## **“Voguing”, “Houses”, “Cliques”, and Acts of Resilience**

This research sought to provide a deeper understanding of the HIV risk factors faced by YBLGSM through an exploration of the community spaces and contexts they traverse. While the spatial dynamics of YBLGSM’s social worlds can involve circumstances and behaviours that leave these individuals at heightened risk of HIV-infection, they also involve expressions of community, experiences of belonging, and acts of resilience. The sense of belonging to a group or “clique” provides a cultural reference point, social networks and emotional gratification and support to YBLGSM. This is important for YBLGSM, as belonging to a group can help prevent isolation and social marginalization:

In order to fit into a certain group you do have to look a certain way to fit in. You have to show certain clothes, perfect body, certain looks, (...) if you don’t have the perfect body or the clothes, you need to have a clique to be known around the scene. You live surrounded by geeks, the Goths, the ballroom girls, the natural vegetarian people. Here is when your friends are so important. You can go to these places and have fun even [if] you are not perfect (FG).

Many of these YBLGSM perform “Voguing”, a form of self-expression and identity for the black and Latinx queer community. Codes, “poses” and gestures are part of a performativity of liberation in these public spaces. People in groups are easily identified by expressing a certain sense of membership and belonging to a particular “clique” or group of friends:

People in their cliques are ‘voguing’, talking to each other (...) groups of people are talking in their way, they know each other, they hang with each other every night (...) nobody else is allowed to the clique (...) everyone have serious faces, not too welcoming unless you know someone in the group (EO, Cycle II).

Many different cliques and groups of friends (...) our cliques are at the pier hanging out (EO, Cycle I).

‘Voguing’ consists of ritualized gestures that YBLGSM use to express their identity as a group or ‘clique’. Voguing is a performed battle among group members and can be easily interpreted as violent or “aggressive”. However, for them, this apparently tough behavior can express intimacy, friendship, and the sense of belonging to a group with its own identity:

There were two groups of gay men “voguing” and playing around (...) some guys seem aggressive (...) staring very angry, no smiles, but at the same time it’s friendly (...) most of them are Black between 16 [and] 21 years old (...) Young gay men holding hands, their friends are voguing and playing (...) one can see who are cliques and friends (EO, Cycle II).

The dynamics of YBLGSM social worlds are rich with nuance and complexity.

“Houses” and “cliques” can be seen as a mechanism for dealing with the isolation and discrimination that stems from intersecting experiences of race, gender, sexuality and social class. However, the shared experiences of intersectional oppression within these social groups can also contribute to the normalization and perpetuation of specific social behaviors and circumstances which perpetuate HIV-risk. These behaviors and circumstances include drug use, intergenerational sexual interactions, homelessness and sex work, and stigma and violence associated with gender, sexual orientation and racial background.

### **Conclusion: Structural inequalities in the Lives of YBLGSM**

Even though the rate of HIV/AIDS has majorly declined in cities like New York, the concentration of HIV infection among racial minorities and impoverished people in countries such as the USA provides an alarming picture of the epidemic, particularly for YBLGSM, who continue to be disproportionately represented in U.S. rates of HIV-infection (Arnold et al., 2014; CDC, 2018). In 2017, the highest rate of HIV-infection was 41.1% for Black persons, followed by 16.1% for Latinx persons. Among all adults and adolescents, an overwhelming majority of diagnosed infections was linked to male-to-male sexual contact, at 70% (CDC, 2018). Additionally, according to a 2013 study of 15 countries, transgender women were estimated to be 49 times as likely to have HIV in comparison to the general population of adults of reproductive age (Baral et al., 2013). For transgender women in the U.S., it is Black and Latina transgender women with the greatest HIV-prevalence (Poteat, 2017). These figures illustrate the exposure and vulnerability that YBLGSM experience in their everyday lives.

A more comprehensive approach to the understanding of the HIV/AIDS epidemic within marginalized populations considers how, regardless of the degree of development or prosperity of a particular country, the HIV/AIDS epidemic continues to affect the most marginalized populations who experience diverse forms of *structural violence* due to factors such as social exclusion, poverty, racism, gender inequality, and sexual oppression (Bowleg, 2018; Neaigus, 2014). For the Latinx population, some scholars have demonstrated how the “cultural silence” regarding sex and non-normative sexualities within the Latinx community has an enormous impact on the increasing presence of HIV transmission among Latinx people (Solorio, 2013; Villar-Loubet, 2011). Various scholars have shown the association between HIV risk behavior and psychological or intra-personal factors among gay men and other MSM. Loneliness, anxiety, stigma, low self-esteem, substance abuse, and depression are among the problems mentioned (Carballo-Diequez, 2000; Ayala, 2010). Further, the context of racial and class disparities for YBLGSM constitutes an adverse scenario for the young men who engage in sexual interactions in public venues. Scholars have demonstrated how having sex in certain queer-identified venues, such as parks, and engaging in “situational” sex for drugs or money may increase risk of HIV-exposure (Malebranche, 2003). This article explores some of these complex and intersecting risks faced by YBLGSM in their social interactions in public spaces.

Prevention efforts geared toward YBLGSM should address the broader structural problems that these populations are faced with in society. Racial tensions, unemployment, and housing problems, among other structural factors, intersect with homophobia, stigma, and discrimination. Any intervention that targets young populations needs to understand the nature of these individual's social networks, their social interactions, and their search for identity and intimacy in the community. A comprehensive HIV-prevention program aimed at YBLGSM should include the risk factors that these young people confront in their everyday life, from substance abuse, sex work and homelessness, to stigma, violence, and the necessity for safe public spaces for socialization and intimacy. Effective intervention should not conceptualize risk in isolation but as a result of complex and intersecting social and structural factors that shape these young people's experiences.

## References

- Aguirre-Molina, M., L. Borrell, and W. Vega, eds. 2010. *Health Issues in Latino Males. A Social and Structural Approach*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Anema, A., Marshall, B. D., Stevenson, B., Gurm, J., Montaner, G., Small, W., Roth, E. A., Lima, V. D., Montaner, J. S., Moore, D., & Hogg, R. S. 2013. "Intergenerational Sex as a Risk Factor for HIV Among Young Men who have Sex with Men: A Scoping Review." *Current HIV/AIDS Reports*, 10(4): 398–407.
- Arnold, EA., Rebchook, GM., Kegeles, SM. 2014. "'Triply Cursed': Racism, Homophobia and HIV-Related Stigma are Barriers to Regular HIV Testing, Treatment Adherence and Disclosure Among Young Black Gay Men." *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 16(6): 710-22.
- Ayala, G. 2010. "Social Determinants of HIV/AIDS: A Focus on Latino Men Who Have Sex with Men and Discrimination." In *Health Issues in Latino Males. A Social and Structural Approach*, edited by M. Aguirre-Molina, L. Borrell and W. Vega. (Pp.212-228) New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Baral, S. D., Poteat, T., Strömdahl, S., Wirtz, A. L., Guadamuz, T. E., & Beyrer, C. 2013. Worldwide burden of HIV in transgender women: a systematic review and meta-analysis. *The Lancet. Infectious diseases*, 13(3): 214–222.
- Berlant, L. & Warner, M. 1998. "Sex in Public." *Critical Inquiry* 24(2): 547-566.
- Bourdieu, P. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell.
- Bourne A. & Weatherburn P. 2017. Substance use among men who have sex with men: patterns, motivations, impacts and intervention development need. *Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 93: 342-346.
- Bowleg, L., Quinn, K., Dickinson-Gomez, J. 2018. "'The Fear of Being Black Plus the Fear of Being Gay': The Effects of Intersectional Stigma on PrEP Use Among Young Black Gay, Bisexual, and Other Men Who Have Sex with Men." *Social Science & Medicine*, (232): 86-93.
- Cantu, L. 2009. *The Sexuality of Migration. Border Crossing and Mexican Immigrant Men*. New York: New York University Press.
- Carballo-Diegeuez, A., C. Dolezal, L. Nieves-Rosa, & F. Diaz. 2000. "Similarities in the Sexual Behavior and HIV Risk Factors of Colombian, Dominican, Mexican and Puerto Rican MSM Residing in New York City." *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 12(4): 49-67.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). 2018. "Diagnoses of HIV Infection in the United States and Dependent Areas 2017." *HIV Surveillance Report* 29:1-129.

- Choi, K.-H., D. Operario, S. Gregorich, and L. Han. 2003. "Age and Race Mixing Patters of Sexual Partnerships among Asian Men who Have Sex with Men: Implications for HIV Transmission and Prevention." *AIDS Education and Prevention* 15(1):53-65.
- Connell, R.W. 2005. *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Crenshaw, K. 1991. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford law review*, 43(6), 1241-1299.
- Cyrus, K. 2017. "Multiple Minorities as Multiply Marginalized: Applying the Minority Stress Theory to LGBTQ People of Color." *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health*, 21(3), 194-202.
- Denzin, N. K., and Y. S. Lincoln, eds. 2000. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Fletcher, JB., Kisler, KA., Reback, CJ. 2014. "Housing Status and HIV Risk Behaviors Among Transgender Women in Los Angeles." *Archives of Sexual Behavior*. 43(8): 1651-61.
- Friedman, Samuel R., Jo L. Sotheran, Abu Abdul-Quader, Beny J. Primm, C. Des Jarlais Don, Paula Kleinman, Conrad Mauge, Douglas S. Goldsmith, Wafaa El-Sadr, and Robert Maslansky. 1987. "The AIDS Epidemic among Blacks and Hispanics." *The Milbank Quarterly* 65: 455-499.
- Flowers, P., G. Hart, and C. Marriott. 1999. "Constructing Sexual Health: Gay Men and 'Risk.'" *Journal of Health Psychology* 4(4): 483-495.
- Geertz, C. (1973). Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture. In *The Interpretation of Cultures* (pp. 3-30). United States: Basic Books.
- Huebner, D., G. Rebchook, and S. Kegeles. 2004. "Experiences of Harassment, Discrimination, and Physical Violence among Young Gay and Bisexual Men." *American Journal of Public Health* 94(7): 1200-1203.
- MacKellar, D., and L. Valleroy. 2002. "Unrecognized HIV Infection, Risk Behaviors, and Perceptions of Risk Among Young Black Men Who Have Sex with Men - Six U.S. Cities, 1994-1998." *MMWR Weekly* 51(33): 733-736.
- Malebranche, D. 2003. "Black Men who Have Sex with Men and the HIV Epidemic: Next Steps for Public Health." *American Journal of Public Health* 93(6): 862-865.
- Malebranche, D., J. L. Peterson, R. E. Fullilove, and R. W. Stackhouse. 2004. "Race and Sexual Identity: Perceptions about Medical Culture and Healthcare among Black Men Who Have Sex with Men." *Journal of the National Medical Association* 96(1 January): 97-107.
- Muñoz-Laboy, M., E. Vasquez del Aguila, and R. Parker. 2011. "Globalization, Structural Violence and Health: Some Reflections from Inequality, Social Stigma and Discrimination", In: C. Caceres, M. Mogollon, G. Perez-Luna and F. Olivos (Eds.), *Sexuality, Citizenship and Human Rights in Latin America* (Pp. 110-116). Lima: IESSDEH/Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia.
- Muñoz-Laboy, M. 2004. "Beyond 'MSM': Sexual Desire among Bisexually-Active Latino Men in New York City." *Sexualities* 7(1): 55-80.
- Neaigus, A., Reilly, K. H., Jenness, S. M., Wendel, T., Marshall, D. M., & Hagan, H. (2014). "Multilevel risk factors for greater HIV infection of black men who have sex with men in New York City." *Sexually Transmitted Diseases*, 41(7): 433-439.
- Padilla, M., E. Vasquez del Aguila, and R. Parker. 2007. "Globalization, Structural Violence, and LGBT Health: A Cross-cultural Perspective", in: I. Meyer and M. Northridge (Eds.), *The Health of Sexual Minorities. Public Health Perspectives on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Health* (Pp. 209-241). New York: Springer.
- Poteat, T., Malik, M., Scheim, A., & Elliott, A. 2017. HIV Prevention Among Transgender Populations: Knowledge Gaps and Evidence for Action. *Current HIV/AIDS reports*, 14(4): 141-152.
- Ream, G. L., & Forge, N. R. 2014. "Homeless Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Youth in New York City: Insights from the Field." *Child Welfare*, 93(2): 7-22.

- Robinson, B. A. 2018. Conditional Families and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Youth Homelessness: Gender, Sexuality, Family Instability, and Rejection. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 80(2), 383–396.
- Solorio, R., Forehand, M., & Simoni, J. (2013). "Attitudes Towards and Beliefs About HIV Testing Among Latino Immigrant MSM: A Comparison of Testers and Nontesters. *AIDS Research and Treatment*, 2013, 1–10.
- Snorton, C. R. 2014. *Nobody is Supposed to Know: Black Sexuality on the Down Low*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Stimson, G. V., M. C. Donoghoe, C. Fitch, and T. J. Rhodes. 2003. "Focus Groups." In *Rapid Assessment and Response Technical Guide* Geneva: World Health Organization (Department of Child and Adolescent Health and Development, and Department of HIV/AIDS).
- Shelton, J., DeChants, J., Bender, K., Hsu, H.-T., Maria, D. S., Petering, R., Ferguson, K., Narendorf, S., & Barman-Adhikari, A. 2018. "Homelessness and Housing Experiences among LGBTQ Young Adults in Seven U.S. Cities." *Cityscape*, 20(3), 9–34.
- Valleroy, L., and D. MacKellar. 2005. "HIV Prevalence, Unrecognized Infection, and HIV Testing Among Men Who Have Sex with Men - Five U.S. Cities, June 2004 - April 2005." *MMWR Weekly* 54(24): 597-601.
- Vasquez del Aguila, E. 2012. "God Forgives the Sin but not the Scandal: Coming Out in a Transnational Context – between Sexual Freedom and Cultural Isolation." *Sexualities* 15(2): 207-224.
- Vidal-Ortiz, S. and J. Martínez. 2018. "Latinx thoughts: Latinidad with an X." *Lat Stud* 16:384–395.
- Villar-Loubet, O. M., Vamos, S., Jones, D. L., Lopez, E., & Weiss, S. M. 2011. "A Cultural Perspective on Sexual Health: HIV Positive and Negative Monolingual Hispanic Women in South Florida." *Hispanic Health Care International*, 9(2), 82–90.
- Wiggins, J. A. 2000. "'May I Talk to You?' Ethno-Sexual Encounters in Taipei's New Park - A Queer Ethnography?" *East Asia* 18(4): 137-166.