

Book Review

QUEERING LOVE AND GLOBALIZATION

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What's Love Got to Do with It? Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic

Denise Brennan

Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004. 280 pp.

Romance on a Global Stage: Pen Pals, Virtual Ethnography, and "Mail-Order" Marriages

Nicole Constable

Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. 283 pp.

Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy

Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild, eds.

New York: Henry Holt, 2002. 328 pp.

The Heart Is Unknown Country:

Love in the Changing Economy of Northeast Brazil

L. A. Rebhun

Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999. 297 pp.

The Intimate Economies of Bangkok: Tomboys, Tycoons, and Avon Ladies in the Global City

Ara Wilson

Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. 272 pp.

A recent *New York Times* article tells us that in reformist, modernizing China billionaire men are seeking virgin brides through a growing cottage industry in personal ads. One young woman's response to this phenomenon is to ask, "Isn't

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the purpose of saving our virginity to get a good price?" However, based on the broader public reaction, it appears that love outweighs the prospect of marrying into wealth for many Chinese youth, raising the question of how intimate lives and expanding economies are negotiated in an era of globalization.¹ This contest of commodified desire and enduring sentiment is being played out in many settings and with mixed results. Here, I consider some highly innovative work that has challenged us to examine love and intimacy in multiple sites in a time of market expansion on a global scale.

In fall 2005 I offered a new graduate seminar at the University of Florida titled *Sex, Love, and Globalization*. I wanted to design a course that would make use of the rich ethnographies now available that commingle analyses of globalization and affective relationships.² Most important, I wanted to develop a reading list that would feature feminist contributions to what is sometimes referred to as the anthropology of love. I imagined that I would present a mix of studies on both heterosexual and same-sex relations and put them into conversation through seminar discussion. In the end, I included more heteronormative case studies because I found that some of them offered exemplary analysis not only of the connections between love and emotion but also of shifting political economies under conditions of globalization.³ In class, the students and I found it productive to consider whether these ethnographies had been sufficiently inclusive of diverse sexualities and also to ask what gender and sexuality studies might find particularly salient in the works we were reading. In short, we attempted both a feminist and a queer reading of the texts.

In what follows, I want to suggest that scholars in queer studies may benefit from reading widely in the new literature on love and globalization, including that on heteronormative subject matter. Likewise, this recent body of scholarship stands to benefit from a feminist and queer critique.⁴ In some cases these works are particularly successful in opening new lines of inquiry into areas of heterosexual practice free of normative expectations of marital and familial love. Yet, often enough, the authors stop short of reimagining their field of analysis to include those outside the boundaries of conventional heterosexuality and love relations. There are certainly many other works that might have been selected for discussion here, and I mention some of them below. However, I find it both useful and stimulating to consider these recent works, even (or especially) if they may not be the standard fare of queer studies.

Toward an Anthropology of Love and Affect

Earlier work in psychological anthropology (or the culture and personality school) examined affective relations in family and society, but for my purposes I begin with a landmark study that appeared in 1990. A collection coedited by Catherine Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, sought to break away from the psychological approach to internal states to consider emotion as socially constructed. Their volume begins by observing that “emotions are one of those taken-for-granted objects of both specialized knowledge and everyday discourse now becoming part of the domain of anthropological inquiry.”⁵ To challenge the universality of the discourses and practices of emotion, their contributors turned to cross-cultural ethnographic analysis, the hallmark of anthropology. The result was a persuasive call for research that would better historicize emotions and situate their development squarely in terms of culture and power.⁶

As if in response to this call, the work reviewed here takes as its subject emotional intimacy and power, and, ultimately, love and globalization. L. A. Rebhun, in *The Heart Is Unknown Country*, most clearly embarks on the new terrain of the emotions. She maps her compelling sojourn in a town in northeast Brazil, a place where dramatic socioeconomic transitions and urbanization have been accompanied by shifting expectations for romance, courtship, and marriage. Her research settled on love as an emotion that held the interest of the townspeople of Caruaru; as she notes, “There is nothing more entertaining than other people’s love lives, except perhaps one’s own” (11). Her evocative account of the emotional texture of life in this area of Brazil illustrates the constructedness of emotion as described by Lutz and Abu-Lughod. Even so, she wishes to take a compromise position between the individualism of psychology and a more extreme social constructionism, arguing that “emotion is as much biological as social, but it is also as much interpersonal as psychologically individual” (21). Rebhun’s fluid approach relies on a wealth of interview material that she offers up in superb narrative form. By the end of her ethnography we have gained knowledge not only of the tensions these Brazilians are experiencing as they grapple with harsh local economic conditions and transnational (often Western) romantic ideals but also of national-level realities as the poor encounter “unloving” government responses to their predicament. Love is shown to be “political,” whether understood as physical intimacy or in the broader sense of caring and having compassion for others, both as neighbors and as citizens of the wider society.

The private and public faces of love and affect that are so well depicted in Rebhun’s book are evident in the other works reviewed here. In the sections that

follow, I discuss these works on their own terms as I track some common themes: gendered aspects of private and public expressions of love, new technologies of communication and romance, and the commodification of sex and love. Then, I turn to a consideration of queering love and globalization through a critical examination of this selection of writings.

The Gender of Love and Globalization

It is no surprise that nearly everywhere women have continued to perform the bulk of caregiving and emotional work. The field of women's studies emerged largely in response to a political movement devoted to challenging the unequal balance of women's work in the private sphere and men's work in the public sphere. While there is, of course, wide variation from one society to another, feminist scholars over the last three decades have documented the pervasive effects of this social and emotional division of labor. The books under review have taken this division as a given and have gone on to examine specific ways in which gender and power operate in diverse cultures — and the consequences of these gender differences in transnational contexts.

A new literature on transnational families has grown in recent years to consider the gendered and generational effects of a global economy that calls on women and men differentially to meet the needs of capitalist expansion.⁷ In many cases, women are expected to fill the need for cheap labor in informal trades such as domestic work, child care, marketing, and sex work. In their anthology *Global Woman*, Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild offer a selection of pieces that examine the forces that frequently lead women to leave their own families to meet the worldwide demand for maids and nannies. Certain parts of the world, notably the Philippines, are so closely associated with this phenomenon that Filipinas are often simply assumed to be service workers. Indeed, their government promotes their availability as a principal source of revenue through remittances sent home to the Philippines. The loss of intimacy with their own families is the sad outcome of the export of women's labor and energy — and often love — to receiving countries. Women's and children's suffering is the heavy price paid for this form of transnational exchange. As Hochschild puts it, "Love and care become the 'new gold'" (26) extracted under the terms of the "new emotional imperialism" (27).⁸

Other studies considered here focus on the trade in love and romance, which are similarly deeply gendered. Nicole Constable's *Romance on a Global Stage* challenges popular images of "mail order brides" by revealing the agency

of many women, who are often portrayed as “trafficked” through transnational matchmaking. She is among a number of scholars who question women’s victimhood in order to contest some feminists as well as conservatives who take a moral stance against contemporary forms of “sexual slavery.” Yet Constable would agree with the critics that there is evidence that the stakes held by women and men in such arrangements are often vastly different, as men generally have the economic and social advantage.⁹

Denise Brennan’s *What’s Love Got to Do with It?* also takes issue with those analysts who underestimate women’s roles in determining their sexual and romantic relationships in global contexts. Her study of sex tourism in the Dominican Republic reveals that although sex workers in the town of Sosúa rarely succeed in pursuing opportunities with foreign men to the point of marriage and migration, they nonetheless must be admired for their efforts to overcome poverty. Many have children and other family members to support and valiantly “perform” love and romance in an effort to live out a dream of transnational economic stability.

Love and New Technologies of Communication

The Internet has presented opportunities to those seeking love and romance, or simply sex, to communicate widely and quickly around the globe. As Constable points out, it also “presents new challenges for ethnographic research” and “blurs the boundaries between here and there” (4). Her multisited ethnography was in part “virtual” but was also on the ground in the Philippines, China, and the United States. Tracking some of the most dramatic changes in courtship and marriage brought about by Internet-arranged encounters of men and women seeking partners, she looks beneath the surface to understand cultural logics of desire that bring together Western men and (often) Asian women. In contrast to stereotypical notions of deferential women dominated by “loser” men, she claims to have found many individuals who enter these relationships with their eyes open, realistically assessing what they can expect from transnational unions. In her conclusion she writes, “The ethnographic challenge is how to take account of structural inequalities and sociocultural factors that circumscribe women’s and men’s options and inspire new opportunities and imaginings, while simultaneously conveying the richness and dignity of their choices without reducing them to calculating instrumentalists or naïve romantics” (225).

Brennan acknowledges a debt to Constable and shares with her a healthy disregard for accounts of victimization as the only compelling narratives of encounters between Third World women and Western men. Her research on sex

tourism in the Dominican Republic reveals the fantasies of exotic, racialized “others” held by both women and men, but like Constable she challenges the idea that the women are inevitably the ones being “played.” Many sex workers cultivate relationships with men that endure beyond a brief Caribbean vacation, relying on e-mail, fax service, and Western Union in order to keep the men interested and to receive remittances that support the women and their families. A very few women are lucky enough to receive an offer of marriage and a visa enabling them to migrate. Without these technologies of communication and finance, they could not sustain these romances or depend on economic support. As a feminist ethnographer, Brennan, along with Constable, does not overlook structures of gender inequality, but is interested in women’s “creative responses to them” (24). Even if the new technologies of globalization do not always work in women’s favor, they nonetheless give women room to maneuver in ways that were not possible a generation earlier.

Ara Wilson’s engaging and provocative ethnography, *The Intimate Economies of Bangkok*, considers capitalist development from the vantage point of multiple sites, including a department store, go-go bar, commercial mall, cable TV outfit, and direct sales. She argues that intimate relationships have not disappeared but instead remain central in the city’s modern, global markets. Two of her research sites, a cable television office and direct sales industries like Amway, are based on global communication and financial networks, as well as transnational flows. In the former site, the demands of international media require flexible citizenship and subjects who are knowledgeable about global culture. The latter responds to transnational regimes of consumption and deploys transnational ideals of self-help to motivate armies of direct sales representatives. As such, globalization calls for new forms of intimacy among workers, in the media, and in the marketplace—all assisted by new technologies.

Commodifying Desire

The commodification of love and desire under conditions of global capitalism is well documented in these case studies. Ehrenreich and Hochschild bring together many accounts of Third World women’s caregiving, mothering, and other domestic services as these services travel from women’s homes and across continents to become commodities in First World women’s homes. The sex workers described by Brennan respond to the desires of male tourists for inexpensive holidays, sex included, in which “love” may be performed so as to mask the economic exchange that is being negotiated. Even if gifts are offered in place of cash, the economic

value is clear. In Constable's correspondence marriages the price paid for women's affection and services may be the promise of lifelong economic support, presumably something unattainable for women in their home countries. Of course, those fortunate enough to migrate and marry may still be mistreated or abandoned at a later time. If economic security rather than love is the motivation for many of these women, they gamely play the part of loving partners and caregivers.

Wilson's study, more than the others, is intent on examining a variety of economic venues, and the commodified desires she describes are the broadest in scope: desires for "modern" goods in the marketplace, for the latest in cultural capital that the media can offer, and for new forms of self-understanding as refashioned by capitalism (192). Her work, examining Bangkok's globalized economy, is perhaps the clearest in showing that "people's ability to use particular market resources is constrained by class and also by gender, sexuality, and status" (192). Indeed, Wilson is also exceptional among the authors whose work is reviewed here for her prominent inclusion of same-sex desire and sexuality, in both noncommodified and commodified forms.

Queering Love and Globalization

Up to this point, I have resisted the impulse to ask at every turn, but what of same-sex love and desire? What have these authors neglected that others with a queer sensibility might have included? What conceptual frameworks would have been adequate to the task of questioning heteronormative categories of analysis? I have held off such discussion until now for several reasons. First, of course, there is no scholarly agreement about what a queer sensibility or a queer reading applied to studies of love and globalization might mean. In my view, an openness to discovering instances of same-sex sexuality and homosexual love would be a worthy, though not necessarily sufficient, starting point. But what if open-minded researchers find no evidence of expression of same-sex desire, even in places undergoing change as a result of transnational economic and cultural flows? This was a question that emerged often enough in our seminar discussion, as students felt that something had been left out but were not sure whether the authors ought to be held accountable for any specific omissions.

A second reason for my delayed discussion of "queer" questions is that I am quite certain that readers stand to gain much of significance from what these authors offer, notwithstanding any omissions, and I have wanted to suggest (as I did repeatedly in the seminar) that we engage the work on its own terms. I began by noting that these studies are breaking new ground in the anthropology of love and

affect, something that can usefully inform work in queer studies. Lesbian studies, more than LGBT studies as a whole, has often traced histories of women's intimate friendships and love as precursors to more fully expressed and openly acknowledged lesbian relationships. However, it is reasonable to suggest that queer studies has had a tendency to emphasize sexual identity and practices over affective relations and commitments.¹⁰ Moreover, it is rare to find works that undertake to examine both globalization and affect in everyday lives.

The work under review may help steer queer studies, and social research in general, toward more serious attention to emotional lives and love. For those concerned about how globalization affects personal life—presenting new obstacles or new opportunities—this work offers important signposts that we would be wise to heed. Significantly, these writings extend the scripts of courtship, love, reproductive sexual exchange, and family life by offering cases of commercialized sex, dislocated love, and positive alternative relationships that are not based on normative meanings and practices. In other words, the authors take us beyond a single plotline as they tell their tales of love and romance.

Yet it is also fair to say that while the authors are in general alert to diverse forms of love and sexual expression, they may have overlooked certain key questions. As Martin Manalansan so aptly puts it, even scholarly work by politically progressive feminists can “often privilege, if not exclusively promote, heteronormative ideas, practices, and institutions. One of the tasks then for queer studies scholars is to expose these privileging and normalizing tendencies in institutions and texts.”¹¹ This call for disrupting the normalizing move toward reinscribing heteronormativity, parenthood, and nuclear family relations echoes Lauren Berlant's words in the introduction to a special issue of *Critical Inquiry* on intimacy:

Rethinking intimacy calls out not only for redescription but for transformative analyses of the rhetorical and material conditions that enable hegemonic fantasies to thrive in the minds and on the bodies of subjects while, at the same time, attachments are developing that might redirect the different routes taken by history and biography. To rethink intimacy is to appraise how we have been and how we live and how we might imagine lives that make more sense than the ones so many are living.¹²

The collection by Ehrenreich and Hochschild falls back most frequently on conceptions of maternal love and traditional family relations as it examines cases of globalized nannies and maids, many from the Philippines. While women who migrate in the new international economy are often young and single, there tends

to be an almost exclusive emphasis on displaced working mothers, with husbands and children left back home. Only Wilson's work devotes special attention to how same-sex desire and expression intersect with globalization, specifically in Bangkok under the terms of neoliberal commercialization in a free market economy. Most notably, in two chapters devoted to economies of intimacy in a go-go bar and a modern shopping mall, she offers tantalizing ethnographic details relating to the lives of toms (masculine females) and dees (femmes).

Unfortunately, even in this work by a scholar in gender and sexuality studies, we are given too little to go on, in the form of passing references to queer lives. The opening narrative in the chapter on a go-go bar relates Wilson's experience of inviting a Thai woman (short-haired, but was she a tom? a femme?) to a gay bar and a series of apparent misunderstandings that occurred. We are left to wonder if the author felt she had overstepped cultural or ethical boundaries when the woman seemed to expect that the encounter would be a commercial one. In fact, such confusion is common in fieldwork, but it would have been helpful for the author to elaborate further on the social and sexual cues that were exchanged. Similarly, the next chapter includes interesting but somewhat sketchy details about the toms and dees who favor spending time in a popular mall in Bangkok. We are never sure how much these women's gender and sexual identities mirror Western butch-femme identities or whether the toms may be regarded as transgendered.¹³ Moreover, Wilson comments in passing that a lesbian group met regularly at a Wendy's in the mall, but it is only in an endnote that we learn that she herself was a member of the group. Perhaps such details are not entirely germane to her book's primary purpose, but insofar as she appears to have had inside knowledge, readers are deprived of learning more about how modern, urban gender and sexual identities connect with the globalized economy in Thailand.

At times these studies of intimacy, love, and political economy reveal less than might be expected about the sort of intimacy that generally develops during extended periods of field research. There is every reason to think that the authors of these excellent ethnographies had strong and positive relationships in their field settings, but occasionally I found myself wishing for a more reflexive approach to the material presented. Thus when Wilson evidences a sophisticated queer sensibility in her discussion of gender-transgressive cultural identities and practices, she leaves us eager for more; we have to comb the endnotes for a bit of elaboration on toms and dees, and on homosexuality more generally.

Rebhun's textured writing on love and sentiment in northeast Brazil describes intimate secrets shared with her in the field, yet we read as far into the book as page 74 before learning that the author, "L. A.," is Linda-Anne. The old-

fashioned professional practice of using initials rather than first names has served female authors in the past, but here it seems out of step with the close relationships under discussion in the text. When Rebhun does reveal her gender identity, she also delights readers with a superb story of her discovery of the ingenious ways that interpersonal maneuvering can succeed in exposing fraudulence—a story in which she figured centrally. Later, she shares some advice she received during an interview with a woman who equated marriage with housework and “servicing” her husband. She was told, “Never marry, Linda-Anne! Never, never, never! Oh my God, what horror!” (119). Given that this was not the only woman who expressed the view that “putting up with a man’s requirements for time, attention, and affection may not be worth the trouble” (122) and that this book focuses on love and marriage, it is disappointing that Rebhun does not comment on the exclusively heterosexual relationships that are her subject. Nor does she suggest any awareness of alternative sexual arrangements in northeast Brazil. Only in her final chapter does she write, “In Brazil, interpretations of sexual intercourse between two males or two females are as structured by notions of masculine and feminine as is heterosexual congress” (210). Aside from this singular remark, it is only in brief endnotes that she comments further about same-sex desire and, in the very last note, about homosexual couples.

Constable’s book begins with a somewhat more personal account of the factors that led her to the subject of correspondence relationships, and she goes on to relate how her identity as a woman from the United States influenced her research with U.S. men and Asian women seeking marriage partners. Like Rebhun, she set out to examine romance in heterosexual relationships. Although she does discuss both hetero- and homosexual identities and practices early on in her work, it is largely in the context of assessing Western feminist perspectives. We are well into the book before we read this brief remark on most partners’ conservative outlook on correspondence marriages: “A strictly gendered domestic-public division of labor within the nuclear family and ‘appropriate’ sexuality restricted and contained within heterosexual marriages are often espoused by these couples and reinforced by government policies” (92). Thus we learn that the men Constable came to know through the Internet and in person sought wives who would conform to traditional, heteronormative family values and who would accept the men as strong heads of household. This unsurprising revelation halfway through the book could have provided an opportunity for a more substantive treatment of how such heteronormative Western male expectations are formed and consolidated and how Filipinas and Chinese women responded to them.

In Brennan’s work on sex tourism in the Dominican Republic, she cites the

work of several queer studies scholars, including Dennis Altman's contributions on sex and globalization, though not his attention to nonheteronormative sex (16). Again, only isolated comments well into the book give readers a sense that there may be an occasional transvestite in the town of Sosúa (159) or that lesbianism and bisexuality might be known to sex workers, even if viewed negatively as transgressive (196–97). In an endnote, Brennan mentions the work of Mark Padilla on Dominican male sex workers who attract a gay tourist clientele,¹⁴ but her own work gives no indication about whether she encountered gay sex tourism in Sosúa. Is this an oversight in a work, like others discussed here, that is otherwise nuanced and attentive to gender, race, class, and national identity? Would a work that examines how exoticized bodies are implicated in complex fields of power, and that questions the ways that love is performed to further economic aspirations, not pause to consider how heterosexuality is constructed as the norm and why so little evidence of same-sex sexuality appears on the scene?

I can only conclude that these wonderful ethnographies of love, sex, and globalization would be enhanced by greater self-reflection, further attention to gender and sexual identity, and more dialogue with the growing scholarship in queer studies. Only then, after a broader engagement with these questions, will we have a better sense of the complex ways in which market expansion and new communication technologies are both reinscribing and undermining heteronormative love and romance—or of the ways individuals find to make alternative kinds of love. Nonetheless, scholars in queer studies ought to read these works for their powerful and innovative ethnographic approaches to affect, love, and emotion in rapidly changing societies and economies. We all become somewhat myopic as we enter specialized areas of study—queer studies being no exception—and the wider conversation among scholars wishing to understand more about love and globalization is necessary and waiting to happen.

Notes

I am grateful to the students in my fall 2005 graduate seminar, *Sex, Love, and Globalization*, for the lively discussions we had in class and for critiquing this essay. Jessica Burstrem, Sanam Dolatshahi, and Kendra Vincent offered ideas that I have incorporated. Trysh Travis, my colleague in women's studies, read the work and made a valuable suggestion that has strengthened the review. Martin Manalansan was extremely helpful in pointing me toward important sources and encouraging me to write this piece. As always, Victoria Rovine offered excellent suggestions and helped make my writing possible.

1. This article in the *New York Times* (Howard W. French, "In a Richer China, Billionaires Put Money on Marriage," January 24, 2006) was brought to my attention by Kendra Vincent, a graduate student in women's studies at the University of Florida.
2. I found inspiration for my course and for this review essay when I participated in a conference on love and globalization held at Columbia University in May 2003. I thank Mark Padilla and Richard Parker for inviting me to this stimulating gathering.
3. In addition to the works reviewed here, my class also read Martin F. Manalansan IV, *Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). This was the sole work in the course to focus principally on the lives of same-sex-identified individuals, in this case Filipino gay men in New York City. While this ethnography would make a wonderful addition to this review essay, it has already been reviewed in this journal (see Tom Boellstorff, "Queer Studies under Ethnography's Sign," *GLQ* 12 [2006]: 627–39).
4. A recent review essay in the feminist journal *Signs* offers a related argument, calling on feminists to "apply the lessons of queer studies" to research on gender and sexuality (Sharon Marcus, "Queer Theory for Everyone: A Review Essay," *Signs* 31 [2005]: 213).
5. Catherine Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, eds., *Language and the Politics of Emotion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1.
6. It goes beyond the scope of this essay to discuss all of the work of the past fifteen years that has called for a rethinking of intimacy, but here I wish to note the following: Anthony Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love, and Eroticism in Modern Societies* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1992); Arlie Hochschild, *The Commercialization of Intimate Life: Notes from Home and Work* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); and a special issue of *Critical Inquiry* on intimacy, edited by Lauren Berlant, *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 2 (1998).
7. An excellent ethnography of transnational families in Mexico and the United States is Jennifer S. Hirsch, *A Courtship after Marriage: Sexuality and Love in Mexican Transnational Families* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). Another important recent work that examines courtship, love, and marriage during a time of rapid social change is Laura M. Ahearn, *Invitations to Love: Literacy, Love Letters, and Social Change in Nepal* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).
8. For further discussion of Filipina domestic workers in the global economy, see Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration, and Domestic Work* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001). For a critical examination of the "care chain" in which Filipinas have come to be viewed as the "Mercedes Benz of domestics," see the video *Chain of Love* (dir. Marije Meerman, First Run Icarus Films, New York, 2001).
9. The video *In the Name of Love* (dir. Shannon O'Rourke, New Day Films, New York, 2002) complements Constable's work as it humanizes Russian "mail order brides,"

interviewing women who have (and some who have not) pursued transnational relationships and marriages with men seeking wives.

10. Women writers have contributed significantly to the discussion of love and commitment among lesbians and gay men. For example, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1 (1975): 1–29; and Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991). See also the recent literature on gay marriage and commitment, notably Ellen Lewin, *Recognizing Ourselves: Ceremonies of Lesbian and Gay Commitment* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
11. Martin F. Manalansan IV, "Queer Intersections: Sexuality and Gender in Migration Studies," *IMR* 40 (2006): 226.
12. Berlant, "Introduction," *Critical Inquiry* 24 (1998): 286.
13. For work focused more directly on toms and dees, see Megan J. Sinnott, *Toms and Dees: Transgender Identity and Female Same-Sex Relationships in Thailand* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), also reviewed in Boellstorff, "Queer Studies under Ethnography's Sign." Sinnott describes toms as having transgender identities.
14. On gay male sexuality, AIDS, and tourism in the Dominican Republic, see Mark Padilla's forthcoming *Caribbean Pleasure Industry: Tourism, Sexuality, and AIDS in the Dominican Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

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