



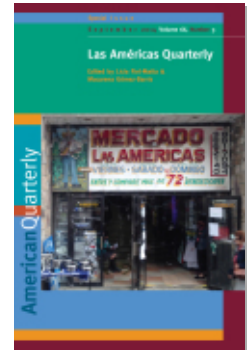
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Deborah R. Vargas

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Ruminations on *Lo Sucio* as a Latino Queer Analytic

Deborah R. Vargas

Based on queer of color critique's theories of surplus populations in conversation with the special issue theme of *Las Americas*, I propose some initial ruminations of *lo sucio* or, and by extension, the *sucias* associated with *suciedad*—a Latino vernacular for dirty, nasty, and filthy—as a Latino queer analytic.¹ *Lo Sucio* is also informed by José Esteban Muñoz's theorization of *chusmería*, a form of behavior that refuses bourgeois comportment and suggests that Latinos should not be too black, too poor, or too sexual, among other characteristics that exceed normativity.² Moreover, I situate the queer analytic of *lo sucio* in relation to contemporary neoliberal projects that disappear the most vulnerable and disenfranchised by cleaning up spaces and populations deemed dirty and wasteful: welfare moms, economically impoverished neighborhoods, and overcrowded rental dwellings. As Christina Hanhardt suggests in *Safe Space*, neoliberal economic agendas' scapegoating of undocumented immigrants and the poor has found a powerful partner in the gay and lesbian campaigns to decontaminate queer sexuality from the obscene, offensive, and diseased.³ Accordingly, *lo sucio* is aligned with Roderick Ferguson's assertion of how sociological discourses of pathology become central to how surplus populations, especially poor women of color and racialized genderqueers, are not merely viewed as violators of race and nation but “are made to feel surplus, to occupy the place of the dehumanized inferior.”⁴

I draw on queer of color theorizations of “surplus populations” because I believe the dirty and obscene of surplus holds some potentiality of sustainability and persistence for queer sex and sexuality. Accordingly, queer surplus tastes and smells *sucio* and cultivates a presence and lingering perseverance of queer sex and joy within neoliberal hetero- and homonormative violences. By extension, the queer surplus of *sucias*—dirty and filthy nonnormative genders—demonstrate capital's contradictions. *Lo sucio* gives rise to what Ferguson describes as “the polymorphous perversions that arise out of the production of labor.”⁵ “As capital disrupts social hierarchies in the production of surplus labor,” he argues, “it disrupts gender ideals and sexual norms that are indices of racial difference.”⁶

Thus the analytic of *lo sucio* operates in conversation with three racialized discourses of difference, with attention to queer genders and sexualities: first, lewd, obscene, offensive hypersexual undisciplined bodies; second, darkened, suspect citizens perpetually untrustworthy, impure, and nonloyal to the state; and third, diseased “cultures of poverty” subjects overdetermined to fail to arrive to normative womanhood and manhood. Likewise, racist and classed discourses of *sucias* operate through the ways in which phenotypic characteristics such as darker skin color and hair texture exceed what is visually inoffensive. Underclass cultural sensibilities are also racialized through the senses, such as being too loud and dressing in excessively larger jewelry or bright colors. Racist discourses of the obscene and undisciplined also operate through large body shapes of women of color. So, for example, Fred Moten reminds us of the ways that “the big mama” or larger-size Black women’s bodies were key to racist discourses of deceit and suspect citizenship during the mortgage foreclosure crisis.⁷ Moreover, *lo sucio* operates through the racialized references of the smells of otherness in residential spatialities like “el barrio” or “the ghetto.”⁸

Filth or *lo sucio* has persistently fastened itself to social and cultural constructions of brown genders and sexualities. Social scientific studies, particularly ethnographies, throughout the twentieth century have been especially effective at constructing pathological models that cast feminine-presenting genders of color as dirty and diseased.⁹ For example, at the turn of the century—when the United States was adjusting to an unprecedented influx of poor, darker Mexicans escaping the Mexican Revolution—concerns over ensuring *appropriate* Mexican girls’ womanhood was the objective of projects such as the 1929 teacher manual *Americanization through Homemaking*, which suggested that “sanitary, hygienic, and dietetic measures are not easily learned by the Mexican. Teach Mexican girls the importance of durable and clean underwear. They are apt to be lax in this respect. Impress it upon the girl’s mind that a clean body and a clean mind are the attributes of a good citizen.”¹⁰ In 1955 *Science Newsletter* warned of the public health threat posed by Mexican immigration through a study titled “Wetbacks Bring Insects.” And we are all too familiar with the damaging impact of recycled versions of Oscar Lewis’s “culture of poverty” theory, based on his 1959 ethnographic study *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty*, which went on to become the basis of the Moynihan Report’s policy addressing poverty in Black and Puerto Rican communities in US urban areas.¹¹ (Lewis would go on to publish *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty* in 1966.)¹²

Moreover, we recognize these social science race discourses operating in varied popular cultural forms throughout the twentieth century, from cinema

to journalism. So, for instance, in 1956 *Giant* became the first Hollywood movie to feature Mexican protagonists through scenes of poor Mexican families knowing no better than to live with illness and in squalor. And, as Frances Negrón-Muntaner recalls in the introduction to her book *Boricua Pop*, journalists have often depicted Puerto Ricans attending Puerto Rican Independence Day parades as “fat, squat, ugly, dusky, and dirty.”¹³

To be sure, none of these references to poor Latinos as dirty and diseased are unfamiliar. Yet my attempts in returning to some of these master ethnographies is to place them in conversation with the ways that homonormative projects similarly require the cleansing of nasty, filthy, and obscene sex *out of* queer sex and sexuality. Such projects desire that same-sex sexuality be reproduced through, for instance, notions of love produced through normative family formation and, in doing so, rely on neoliberal economic projects to clean up and clear out suspect and dirty genderqueers of color. In other words, both projects require remedies to the surplus that is *lo sucio* and by extension their *sucia* inhabitants. With that said, developing a queer analytic of *lo sucio* is initiated by my devotion to those persistent figures in queer’s *suciedad*, figures, and spaces that, I contend, keep the queer in sexuality nasty, obscene, and dirty. One such figure is the *sucia* or feminine-presenting genderqueers who claim space, love, and intimacy in the surplus of *lo sucio*.

The *sucia* is considered here a trope for feminine-gendered subjectivities associated with seedy working-class Latino spaces including queer femmes, nonnormative working- and underclass women of color, and transvesti and transgender Latinas. In her photographic series of the iconic lesbian bar, titled according to the bar name, “Plush Phony,” Laura Aguilar describes such *sucias* as “working-class dykes and femmes, some having been jailed, some on welfare,” thereby exemplifying the particular class and racialized gender productions addressed by the analytic of *lo sucio*. *Lo sucio* is thus understood as the sensory registers of genderqueer sexualities that come to be defined as *sucia* subjectivities, including the ways that the smell of cheap cologne marks the arrival of queer femininity, or fried food registers racialized class status.

I propose a constitutive relationship between subjectivities and space. In other words, the *suciedad* of queer sexuality does not fulfill the normative gay or lesbian subject and is a continual site of cleansing and decontamination by increasingly violent moves to normalize queer gender and sexuality. Yet these disenfranchised *sucias* maintain queer’s association with abjection by reconfiguring spaces deemed inferior as a way to sustain strategies for their own surplus—what Michel de Certeau has referred to as tactics, in this case, tactics

for sustaining queer worlds within hetero- and homo-normativity's structural violence.¹⁴ Such tactics pertain to what I understand Kara Keeling to be arguing in her theorization of "surplus populations" when she refers to "the simultaneity in the constitution of nonheteronormative racialized social formations and the proliferation of racialized discourses of gender and sexuality [with] attempts by the state to produce and regulate heteronormativity as a universal category of citizenship."¹⁵ By extension, *sucias* are surplus subjectivities who perform disobediently within hetero- and homonormative racial projects of citizenship formations, projects that seek to rid their sanitized worlds of filth and grime. *Sucias* can be understood to "mess" with normative citizenship, following what Martin Manalansan refers to as "queer as mess" as the "spoiling and cluttering of the neat normative configurations and patterns that seek to calcify lives and experiences."¹⁶ And even within these ongoing brutal projects, *sucias* boldly commit to making filthy love and creating new modes of transactions that refuse capital's self-disciplining. In other words, if dominant ideologies of love can be understood as a currency based on perpetual debt capital—as reduced to dual-partnership, monogamy, and reproduction on normative time—then a Latino queer analytic of *lo sucio* may offer a productive engagement with sites and performances of queer sex and sexuality that persistently violate, and at times, willfully fail to arrive to sexual intimacies produced through capital.

Sucia genders signal possibilities of a queer sustenance within rapidly aggressive moves to destroy alternative imaginaries of joy, intimacy, and care. Such sustenance requires a dedication to labor, love, and loss in *lo sucio*: socialities, kinship, and nightlives that cultivate daily divestment and sustainability of what Muñoz has described as "what is not yet here" within the worlds of hetero- and homonormative fictions of comfort and inheritance.¹⁷ *Sucias* love in surplus, in turn, within a world that aggressively desires to dispose of them like bad debt.¹⁸ Consequently, they rarely own much, but they never lack possessions: lovers, credit cards, outfits, homes, and dreams.

I offer two examples that exemplify how neoliberal racialized projects aim to make queer sex and sexuality palatable and manageable through my proposed analytic of *lo sucio*. In this essay I focus on two aspects of how I am considering *lo sucio* as a Latino queer analytic, that is, through sensory dimensions of waste: waste as temporal and waste as sensorial. In the case of the figure of "la malandrina" performed by Jenni Rivera, I propose that *sucias* create waste matter through modes of unproductive labor. I also consider queer smell with some initial consideration of the closing of San Francisco's iconic Latino gay bar, Esta Noche.

Sucio Time

At the time of Rivera's shocking passing, her femininity was a commanding iconicity among working-class, mostly immigrant, undocumented Mexicanas residing in the United States. At the time of her untimely death, Rivera—born Dolores Janney Rivera Saavedra—was known as regional Mexican music industry's "diva de la banda" and had amassed a remarkable following among Mexicanas who were drawn to her brash outrageous antics. Rivera lived her life in public, often granting interviews to entertainment television programs about her love life, tensions with her eldest daughter, and her past survivals of domestic violence.

The song "La Chacalosa" drew a huge following among Rivera's women fans that Internet social groups sprang up generating networks of those who identified with the themes of being a bad girl, a partier, and a troublemaker, including the Facebook page called "Las chacalosas de Jenni Rivera" and the website MySpace that invited interested persons to join. Another gendered representation given life through Rivera's music was "la malandrina," loosely translated as one who is a criminal, delinquent, or hoodlum. The song eponymously propelled what would become one of the most iconic figures of her musical career and one that resulted in her Mexicana fans self-identifying as *malandrinas*.¹⁹ The music video—a very low-tech production released in 1999—became one of Rivera's first music videos.²⁰ Drawing from several key scenes in the video, I propose that the representations of *malandrinas* in the 1999 music video "Las Malandrinas" is an example of the superfluous wasted time configured by *sucias*.

Malandrinas waste time. *Malandrinas* are the waste of neoliberal time. This is demonstrated in "Las Malandrinas," which opens with a shot of a tattoo on the back shoulder of a young woman. As the camera pans out, we see the young woman looking over shelves of compact discs and cassettes at a record store with a group of her friends. The young woman with the tattoo, wearing a tube top, is then seen stuffing several cassettes into her cleavage. The friend beside her then proceeds to stuff some cassettes under her shirt, soon after greeted by "hey, wassup?" as they are joined by more friends who walk up to them. We then see a separate set of young women at the counter asking the clerk if the store has any Luis Miguel music while the other set of women who were busy shoplifting music react with disparaging looks. Here, Luis Miguel's sanitized masculinity, normatively fashioned romantic Mexican music, is clearly intended to reflect the representation of Mexicana femininity of this other group of young

women. The clerk returns and says that there is no Luis Miguel available but offers them music by Lupillo and Jenni Rivera, to which the women reply, “No, eso no nos gusta.” “Las Malandrinas” then begins to play as the scene proceeds. The young Luis Miguel fans exit the store to find themselves kidnap victims of the young shoplifting crew who, I argue, symbolize the *malandrinas* figures produced in the song. The song follows the *malandrinas* as they shove the young women around and then tie them up and place them in car trunks. We then see Rivera as the driver of the car, now loaded up with the kidnap victims, as she sings the opening lyrics of “Las Malandrinas”:

Nos dicen las malandrinas	The call us the delinquent women
Porque hacemos mucho ruido	Because we make lots of noise
Porque tomamos cerveza	Because we drink beer
Y nos gusta el mejor vino	And we love the best wine
En los salones de baile	In the dancehalls
Siempre pedimos corridos	We usually request corridos

The camera then turns to a sedan and Ford Ranger loaded up with what is understood to be a crew of *malandrinas*. They join in a toast with their bottled Corona beers, then drive off in vehicles with license plates that read “MLANDRA” and “LACHACA,” referencing the songs “Las Malandrinas” and “La Chacalosa.”

The video narrative then turns back to Rivera—wearing a black cowboy hat, black button-up shirt tied at the midriff exposing her belly, black jeans, and boots—now standing at an outside location that we soon learn is a backyard pool party, singing directly to the camera:

No somos como las popis	We’re not like the arrogant ones
Que se paran mucho el cuello	Who keep their collars upright
Nos gusta la rancherada	We enjoy ranchero culture
De nada tenemos miedo	We don’t fear anything
Y le damos gusto al gusto	And we do what we please
Aunque otras no esten de acuerdo	Even if others don’t agree

The video theme is one that configures the *malandrinas* as partiers, thieves, and thugs. As Rivera sings to them, the *malandrinas* drink, mostly beer, out of red plastic cups. The *malandrinas* are also shown at poolside having fun, drinking bottled Coronas, and at times forcing beer into the mouths of their kidnap victims, now forced to join the party at poolside. The video ends with Rivera taking one kidnap victim by the hand and having her join the rest of

the *malandrinas* now standing together, symbolizing the successful recruitment of new *malandrinas* into the crew. *Las malandrinas*, as represented in the video and through Rivera's song lyrics, performed their nonnormative gender through what I consider *lo sucio*, as that produced through superfluous time. Part of what I would like to further consider is how *suciedad* is configured through the superfluous waste in surplus time. *Suciedad* operates through waste as time or the time devoted to nonessential acts that fail to fulfill capital reproduction. *Lo sucio* as waste is understood here as a dimension of time excreted from bodies laboring in pointless doings. *Sucia* bodies, such as *las malandrinas*, are unprofitable bodies.

Sucio Scents

One of my most vivid memories of being a young brown butcha coming in to my queer sexuality was venturing into my first lesbian bar. I don't recall the name, but I still remember the details, and the ways all my senses took in the marvelous experience. You really had to know where you were going to get to this bar because it was a real hole in the wall. There was no signage, barely any outside lights, and definitely no rainbow flag. It was a place we might refer to, in Latino vernacular, as a cantina, a working-class neighborhood bar. They only sold cans of beer, Bud and Bud Light. There was a jukebox, a worn-out pool table, a small space for dancing, and an even smaller space for standing. Unlike many conventional narratives about first experiences in queer bars, what marks this early memory of queerness for me was not feeling at home, safe, or liberated. Neither did I feel as if I had found my whole self. What I do recall about my connection to some notion of queerness in this early bar moment was the sensate dimensions of *suciedad*. In other words, I came to comprehend queer through tastes, smells, and the aural. Queer, in this initial lesbian bar scene, smelled funky, tasted shoddy, and felt grimy. It makes sense, then, that my favorite queer social spaces are often measured by the level of *suciedad* or tackiness and what, drawing from Tomas Ybarra Frausto, we might recognize as convivial spaces assembled through *rasquache* aesthetics, places like the Plush Pony in the Los Angeles neighborhood of El Sereno; 'Bout Time, located way out on the edge of an Austin highway; Esta Noche in the Mission barrio of San Francisco; and The Boss on the west side of San Antonio, among others, whose characteristics are what Ramón Rivera-Servera describes in his ethnography of Club Zarape in Tucson, Arizona, as places that embrace a working-class, regional aesthetics.²¹ Queer tastes *sucio*. *Suciedad* holds traces of queerness.

I consider Esta Noche, a Latino gay bar that opened in the Mission District of San Francisco on 16th Street in 1980, as an example of the different queer potentialities of worlds that come to life through sensory modes of *lo sucio*. Esta Noche is a key example to consider here because it is the most recent victim of the extremely violent pattern of gentrification occurring in poor immigrant/communities of color across the country. The obvious pattern includes the cleaning up of residences and businesses deemed waste, including those bodies associated with such places. The big blow to Esta Noche's existence was the over \$9,000 it failed to raise to pay city permit fees. "It's a gay dive, in the central Mission, with a largely Latino clientele. It's been on borrowed time awhile."²² Esta Noche is what many would recognize as a dive, a vernacular for disreputable, sleazy, shady. It is a bar space that is small, badly ventilated, and dark. Its endurance for nearly three decades is marked by queer senses taken in and excreted by the countless bodies who have inhaled its "aromas of stale beer, dried up piss, sweaty men, and even sweatier drag queens."²³ Similar comments could always be found on media sites such as yelp.com, for example, "this place is nasty, smells like pee, and generally [one should] fear for their lives, If you like being around people who are dirty, out of shape, and ghetto, this is the place to go."²⁴ Thus my ruminations on developing a queer analytic of *suciedad* considers how references to smells of pee and the sticky bodily sensations are structural metonyms for nonnormative constructions of queer intimacy, sex, kinship, and love in surplus.

Surplus love has endured in Esta Noche through the sweaty sexual acts, loud accoutrements, and dank bodily orders representative of the sensorial configurations of queer. Queer *suciedad* is the target of sexuality foreclosures in projects that seek to rid their gay and lesbian worlds of poor/immigrant Latino queer surplus, in desires for pleasant inhalations of capital's comfort and ease. Soon after the closure of Esta Noche became public, it became known that the new owners planned to renovate the space—surely filled with the stench of queer generations past—into a stale-sensory experience, that is, "a cocktail bar with a comfortable environment."²⁵ There is no queer trace in the comfortable, consumable, pleasant sensorial environment of a cocktail bar.

This typical homonormative project relies on cleansing *lo sucio* of its racist and class legacies of exploitative labor, *chusmería* aesthetics, and low taste sensibilities. And yet, I want to imagine that the new scene that will now refresh the space that once was Esta Noche will maintain the scents of *sucio* surplus, a "yet to be," in the Muñozian sense, lingering persistently in spritzes of too much cologne and cheap beer breath.

Lo Sucio the deficit citizenry of institutional regimes of normative love and intimacy, such as marriage, fidelity, and commitment. *Suciedad* allows us to follow traces of queer life through smells, tastes, and sounds, the sensorial detections of racialized queer femininities—the queer femmes who leave their children at home with the cousin so they can hit the bar during the week, the butch queens “up in pumps,” and the transvestis working the corners and bath stalls to earn their participation in the informal economies of medical transitioning supplements.²⁶ *Sucias* love aggressively and cynically with no commitments to a life promised by an “American scam” based on brightening up, cleaning up, and clearing out visible and sensorial traces of exploitation, sterilization, and disposability. *Sucias* are devoted to being off time, to an anticipation of their arrival, and to leaving their *sucio* vestiges—the muskiness of brown sweat, the overabundant sprays of cheap cologne, and the scent of Fabuloso detergent. *Lo sucio* smells like underclass ghettos and barrios, Spanglish-speaking street corners, and racialized genders at the washeterias at midnight, those persistently targets of neoliberal gay capital and middle-class feminism’s queer cleansing.²⁷

In queer *suciedad*, there remain splendid enactments of nasty love that defy heteronormative limits of intimacy and affection. It is the kind of love that is nourished through dank smells of the working-class bar, tastes of fried food, and the stickiness of bathroom stalls. *Lo sucio* smells like a splendid surplus always weary of the heteronormative temporality of love as defined by guarantees, for-sures, and forever.²⁸ Unlike women whose feminine gender garners entitlement through whiteness and economic class privilege, *sucias* must consistently cultivate clever tactics to avoid dispossession and disappearance. To avoid being the loser in or being the loss of structural systems to normalize gender and sexuality, queerness learns to lag behind, opt out, and move around the promises known too well that were never intended for subjects of disenfranchisement. The surplus of *sucias* configures a different calculus for love and new narratives constructed outside economic reserves such as biological reproduction and safety. To make life and love in the surplus of *lo sucio* means cultivating different ledgers based on past lovers and fleeting kinship formations that create dazzling traces of themselves. That’s why *sucias* always know “what time it is” and “what’s going down.” In other words, they know to leave before being left, and they know how to remain when others leave them.

My ruminations on *lo sucio* and by extension the performativity of *sucia* genders and sexualities intend to offer a different temporality of sustenance, existence, and resilience for queer lives, what Muñoz refers to as a temporality of queer performativity. In other words, *lo sucio* is imbued with a sense of

potentiality not merely in the present but also on the horizon of futurity.²⁹ Following Manalansan's notion of "mess as queer" as the "sensorial funk-ing-up dimensions of queering and the possibilities it opens up for unraveling or exfoliating the layers of normative expectations, values, desires, and bodily stances," I believe there is potential in considering *lo sucio* as a queer analytic for Latino queer sex and sexualities through the dimensions of the smelly, messy, and sticky.³⁰ To be sure, the filthy and dirty have historically operated within structural discourses of racism; yet such smells, tastes, and touch may also offer different modes and techniques of perseverance for queer lives, loves, and lays within and in relation to intolerable racist projects of citizenship so reliant on consuming, repairing, and calculating our tomorrows, our joys, and our dirty traces. The gritty, nasty *sucia* subjectivities along with the cultivation of nonnormative sex and genders create different temporal and sensorial traces of surplus love within neoliberal capital's projects.

Lo sucio is an undeniable queer vestige. *Lo sucio* smells, acts, and tastes like those deemed collateral genders within a social world invested in the fiscal benefits of normative sexual intimacies. As such, a queer analytic of *lo sucio* may offer a way to theorize the performative tactics that genderqueer feminine sexualities enact to remain the magnificent refuse of surplus while in refusal of vanishing. What I mean to suggest here is that there is a durability and sustainability in what is deemed filthy, soiled, and foul that is worth pondering in further transformations of queer Latino studies and in thinking differently about the relationship between underproduction and overconsumption being performed by *las malandrinas* or the resilience of queer lingering in the stank scents of bars like *Esta Noche*. Moreover, in further developing this analytic, I want to contemplate differently the structural processes aimed at sanitizing and cleaning up the class disenfranchised queers of color by considering alternative configurations of presence and existence, such as through dimensions of depth and breadth. For instance, decontamination (of queer genders, spaces, acts) requires continual labor that necessitates dissolving layers and removing residue. On the other hand, what is dirty remains so through ephemeral detections of doings that do not abide by capitalist ledgers of productive labor. Messy and smelly traces of *lo sucio* sediment through inheritances of the sensorial traces of everyone and everything that creates a splendid accumulation. The whiffs of Downey at the washeterias, overly cologned sweaty bodies of brown genderqueers, and *tripas* (intestines) sizzling on the grill, I believe, are sensorial refusals of racist structural and discursive attempts to make queer bodies and worlds undetectable. There is a power of lingering and traceability in *lo sucio* and the

sucias that make life and make love in relation to hetero- and homonormative projects of sanitized citizenship. As such, *lo sucio* may offer a different queer tracing of persistent sustainability through those dirty, defiant determinations still holding down the filth and nastiness of *lo queer*, where *sucia* surplus keeps our senses craving for the queer, not yet here stench on the horizon.

Notes

- I thank Licia Fiol-Matta for encouraging me to place the conversation I am having in my head on to paper and as well to Richard T. Rodriguez, Ricardo Abreu Bracho, and Fred Moten for comments and conversations.
1. I italicize the terms *lo sucio*, *sucias*, and *suciedad* throughout the essay to represent my interest in them as queer analytics. My initial interest stemmed from the “sucias” in Yunior De La Casas’s world in Junot Díaz, *This Is How You Lose Her* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2012).
 2. José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 182.
 3. Christina B. Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).
 4. Roderick A. Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 110.
 5. *Ibid.*, 14–17.
 6. *Ibid.*
 7. Fred Moten, “The Subprime and the Beautiful,” in “Cedric Robinson: Radical Historiography, Black Ontology, and Freedom,” special issue, *African Identities* 11.2 (2013): 237–45.
 8. For essays engaging the term “el barrio” through the politics of color, class, sexuality, and gender see Gina M. Pérez, Frank Guridy, and Adrian Burgos Jr. (eds) *Beyond El Barrio: Everyday Life in Latino America* (New York: New York University Press, 2010).
 9. See, for example, Steven Bender, *Greasers and Gringos: Latinos, Law, and the American Imagination* (New York: New York University Press, 2003); and John Mckiernan-Gonzalez, *Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas-Mexican Border, 1848–1942* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).
 10. Pearl Idelia Ellis, *Americanization through Homemaking* (Los Angeles: Wetzel, 1929), 26.
 11. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington DC: Office of Planning and Research, US Department of Labor, 1965).
 12. Oscar Lewis, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty* (San Juan: Random House, 1966).
 13. Taki Theodracopulous, “Why Should We Pay?,” *Spectator*, June 14, 1997, 62–63; quoted in Frances Negrón-Muntaner, *Boricua Pop: Puerto Ricans and the Latinization of American Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), xi.
 14. de Certeau refers to tactics as those clever tricks and turning of the tables that “the weak” take up against “the strong.” See Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Timothy J. Tomasik (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).
 15. Kara Keeling, *The Witches Flight: The Cinematic Black Femme and the Image of Common Sense* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 104.
 16. Martin F. Manalansan IV, “The ‘Stuff’ of Archives: Mess, Migration, and Queer Lives,” *Radical History Review* (forthcoming), 2015.
 17. José Esteban Muñoz, *Queer Utopias: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), xx.
 18. Ferguson, *Aberrations*, 15.
 19. “Que Me Entierren con la Banda” (Fonovisa, 1999).

20. "Las Malandrinas," directed by Danny Suarez, produced by Pedro Rivera (Cintas Acuario).
21. Ramón Rivera-Servera, *Performing Latinidad: Dance, Sexuality, Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012). See Tomas Ybarra-Frausto's "Rasquachismo: A Chicano Sensibility," in *Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation, 1965–1985*, ed. Richard Griswold Del Castillo, Teresa McKenna, Yvonne M. Yarbro-Bejarano (Los Angeles: Wright Art Gallery, 1991).
22. Peter Lawrence Kane, "Esta Noche Is the Next Gay Bar to Close," February 30, 2014, www.thebold-italic.com/articles/4521-esta-noche-is-the-next-gay-bar-to-close.
23. Raúl Coronado posted this description on a Facebook thread, of what he will miss most after Esta Noche closes.
24. Kane, "Esta Noche Is the Next Gay Bar to Close."
25. Jamilah King, "San Francisco Says Goodbye to Iconic Latino Gay Bar," Color Lines, February 27, 2014, http://colorlines.com/archives/2014/02/san_francisco_says_goodbye_to_iconic_gay_latino_bar_esta_noche.html.
26. Marlon Bailey, *Butch Queens Up in Pumps: Gender, Performance, and Ballroom Culture in Detroit* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013).
27. See Horacio N. Roque Ramirez, "That's My Place!: Negotiating Racial, Sexual and Gender Politics in San Francisco's Gay Latino Alliance." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12.2 (2003): 224–258 and Juana María Rodríguez, *Queer Latinidad: Identity Practices, Discursive Spaces* (New York: New York University Press, 2003).
28. See Carolyn Dinshaw, Lee Edelman, Roderick Ferguson, Carla Freccero, Elizabeth Freeman, Judith Halberstam, Annamarie Jagose, Christopher Nealon, and Nguyen Tan Hoang, "Theorizing Queer Temporalities: A Roundtable Discussion," *GLQ* 13.2–3 (2007): 175–95; Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); and Shane Vogel, "Closing Time: Langston Hughes and the Queer Poetics of Harlem Nightlife." *Criticism* 48.3 (2006): 397–425.
29. Throughout this essay I use the term *potential* in the Muñozian sense, that is, as distinct from "possibility" and as having temporalities not in the present but gesturing to the "not here" or "not now" in the performance of a kind of futurity. See José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 99.
30. Martín R. Manalansan IV, "Queer Worldings: The Messy Art of Being Global in Manila and New York," *Antipode* (2013): 2 (doi: 10.1111/anti.12061).
31. In his talk at the University of California, Riverside, on May 13, 2013, "On the Brown Commons" José Muñoz drew from his forthcoming book, "The Sense of Brown."