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*J Transcult Nurs* 2007; 18: 12
DOI: 10.1177/1043659606294195

The online version of this article can be found at:
http://tcn.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/18/1/12
Family and Community Influences on the Social and Sexual Lives of Latino Gay Men

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The purpose of this study was to explore the effect of family and community on the social and sexual lives of a group of Latino gay men living in a metropolitan area. A secondary analysis of four focus groups with 28 Latino gay men was conducted. Families had a difficult time acknowledging and supporting participants’ homosexuality. Participants experienced racism, discrimination, and physical and verbal abuse as a result of their ethnicity and homosexuality. These negative effects contributed to their marginalization and made them vulnerable to depression and suicide. Health care professionals should be aware of the effect of family and culture on the social and sexual lives of Latino gay men so that they can intervene and direct the client to the services needed to manage depression, suicidal ideation, and high-risk sexual behavior.

Keywords: Latino; gay men; family; community

Family and community strongly influence the social and sexual development of individuals (Ballard, 1996; Bozett & Sussman, 1990). In doing so, individuals are socialized into the cultural values and beliefs of the social world they inhabit. The human interaction that occurs within a family and community allows family members to come to understand and value themselves as members of these social groups. It is also within the context of family and community that a person learns about sexuality, with its norms and expression.

Family and community can have a negative effect on the social and sexual lives of Latino gay men. Family and community provide a context for gay men to experience their “otherness” from their heterosexual counterparts and internalize the familial and community beliefs about homosexuality (Bozett & Sussman, 1990). The purpose of this study was to describe and explore how family and community affected the social and sexual lives of a group of Latino gay men living in a large metropolitan area of the western United States. Nurses must be able to understand the influence of family and community on the lives of their patients. In particular, nurses must be able to assess, plan, and implement care that is sensitive to the needs of Latino gay men.

LATINO GAY MEN—THE CONSTRUCTION OF HOMOSEXUALITY IN THE LATINO CULTURE

The work of Marín and Marín (1991), although published more than a decade ago, continues to form the basis for our understanding of the Latino culture. Latinos are characterized as allocentric—that is, they place emphasis on the group rather than the individual, avoid confrontation, and prefer respectful and nurturing relationships (Marín & Marín, 1991). Several researchers (Marín, 1993; Marín & Triandis, 1985; Miranda, Azocar, Organista, Muñoz, & Lieberman, 1996; Skaff, Chesla, Mycue de los Santos, & Fisher, 2002; Triandis, Lisansky, Marín, & Betancourt, 1984; Triandis, Marín, Hui, Lisansky, & Ottati, 1984) have suggested that Latinos strive for conformity when interacting with others, making an effort to appear simpático (simpatía), exhibiting a willingness to take on another person’s point of view. Conformity and conflict reduction are considered to be key elements in Latino interpersonal relationships. Ideally, the concepts of allocentrism and simpatía work in concert with each other to produce a social group that strives for group harmony and conflict reduction.

Latinos living in the United States exhibit varying degrees of acculturation into the dominant American culture. In the process of acculturation, cultural values are reorganized (Foner, 1997). For example, familialism, considered by researchers to be a defining concept in the Latino culture...
(Marín & Marín, 1991), undergoes change. Family and kin are sources of emotional and economic support. Traditionally, Latinos are expected to feel pride in their family name, to behave in a dignified manner, and to maintain trust in the family. The family is grounded with a sense of orgullo (pride), dignidad (dignity), confianza (trust and intimacy), and respeto (respect; see Marín & Marín, 1991). Yet research indicates that the process of acculturation into the dominant culture changes some aspects of familialism (Hondaener-Soteleo, 1994; Hurtado, 1995; Williams, 1990). For example, economic and sociopolitical issues, such as economic instability and advanced education, may influence family members to move away from family (Williams, 1990). Nonetheless, the family ties are still present and continue to exert influence on family members (Hurtado, 1995).

Díaz (1998) indicated that respect for family and the need to avoid confrontation can, in many instances, hinder the ability of Latino gay men to engage in an honest dialogue with their families regarding their homosexuality. This hindrance contributes to the isolation that many Latino gay men experience in their lives. Latino families, especially more traditional families, attach a negative connotation to homosexuality. The negative connotation is rooted in the cultural notion that a homosexual man is less than a man. Latinos traditionally expect homosexual men to exhibit flamboyant behavior, dressing and living as women. The popular press often characterizes homosexual men as degenerate, immoral, effeminate, and a danger to the moral fabric of society (Carriere, 1995).

Just as for White gay men, language provides a means for denigrating a male homosexual in the Latino culture. In the Spanish language, certain words are used to describe the male homosexual. Afeminado describes a man with effeminate characteristics (e.g., swishes). Joto (faggot) is a much stronger pejorative word used primarily in Mexico to designate an effeminate man. Parjarro (bird), manita caída (limp wrist), mariposa (flighty queen), and maricon (queer) are other words that convey the disdain that Latinos have for homosexual men. Other words used to describe homosexual men are loca (crazy girl) and otro/los otros (those other ones). Vestida usually designates a cross-dresser or transvestite. The words, which symbolize a deep sense of loathing and denigration, reveal the negative connotations ascribed to the role of male homosexual (Murray & Dynes, 1995). The Latino culture inextricably links homosexuality with effeminacy, thus creating an atmosphere of intolerance, fear, and shame for Latino gay men. Rigid familial and societal expectations in the form of masculine expectations and language contribute to the marginalization of many Latino gay men, especially those who exhibit effeminate behaviors. These words or characterizations are often used to shame a Latino homosexual man into silence.

In cultures that conceive the man as the provider, in charge, and in control, such as the Latino culture, male homosexuality is considered the antithesis of masculine behavior. The Hispanic male homosexual is perceived as a national traitor to his culture and religion because his sexual acts do not contribute to the reproduction of the family and community (Almaguer, 1997). Male penetration is synonymous with domination and power over a submissive partner (e.g., male homosexual or a woman; Almaguer, 1993). A homosexual man allows himself to be penetrated much as a woman is penetrated in sexual intercourse. For the dominant masculine male, the role of “penetrator” infuses him with a sense of power and establishes his dominance over the submissive partner (Alonso & Koreck, 1989). The “macho” partner uses his power to maintain control over the submissive partner.

Kurtz (1999) reported that the Latino gay men in his study placed great value on masculinity. It was important for them to present a masculine demeanor before family and friends and to be aggressive in their sexual encounters. Researchers indicate that if a masculine Latino male engages in homosexual behavior, his masculinity will not be called into question as long as he remains the dominant partner (Almaguer, 1993; Carballo-Díeguez et al., 2004; Carrier, 1995; Díaz, 1998; Kurtz, 1999; Murray, 1995). Many Latino men who have sex with men will label themselves heterosexual, and in many instances, marry and raise a family. Although maintaining a semblance of heterosexual life, many of these men also have male sex partners with whom they will secretly socialize. These men value their masculinity and will protect it at all costs, some to the point of violence (Carrier, 1995).

Alvarez (1997) suggested that the Mexican homosexual is much like the Malinche, the Aztec woman who some feel betrayed the Aztec nation to the conquering Spaniards. She opened herself to be seduced by the conquering invaders and in the end destroyed the nation. The Mexican (Latino) homosexual opens himself up to be conquered by another man; thus, the homosexual contributes to the subjugation of the community. The homosexual sex act is seen as an act that does not contribute to the reproduction of the Hispanic community; therefore, it warrants condemnation. Masculine behavior is privileged or valued in the Latino community (Almaguer, 1993). Any behavior that denigrates masculinity is seen as detrimental to the existence of the family and community. This mindset can prove devastating to the self-image of Latino gay men (Díaz, Ayala, Bein, Henne, & Marín, 2001; Zen, Reisen, & Díaz, 2003). The stigma associated with being gay forces some Latino gay men to assume the trappings of masculinity and pass as heterosexual (Kurtz, 1999). The phenomenon of “passing” also encompasses the ability to “pass” as White, with the ability to move into areas of society that are usually closed to darker-skinned Latinos (de Kokal Parilla, 1999).

Many of the men in this study experienced a sense of betraying the family because of their homosexuality. The lack of discussion or acknowledgement of a son’s homosexuality contributed to that marginalization.
METHOD

The findings reported in this article are from a secondary analysis of four focus groups with 27 Latino gay men (see Table 1). The original study, which took place in 1993, used six focus groups that consisted of Latino gay and bisexual men and a group of transgendered persons. Two focus groups of bisexual and transgendered persons were excluded from the secondary analysis. The purpose of the original study was to obtain Latino gay and bisexual men and transgendered persons’ perspectives on family, community, and HIV prevention. Advertisements were sent out to several local organizations known to have a large Latino gay, bisexual, and transgendered clientele. The advertisements stated that a 2-hour focus group would take place to gather information about the issues facing Latino gay and bisexual men. The focus groups were guided by a structured interview guide developed in English and Spanish. Questions addressed issues such as the comfort the men had with identifying as gay or bisexual, their experiences of acknowledging their homosexuality, their concerns about AIDS, their risk of HIV transmission, the advantages and disadvantages of safe sex, the use of drugs and alcohol in sexual situations, family knowledge that they were gay, and their likes and dislikes about HIV and AIDS education. The original study had continuous approval from the Committee on Human Research at a large research university, and all participants signed informed consent forms prior to their participation in the focus groups. Each focus group was audio-taped (Díaz, 1998).

Szabo and Strang (1997) suggested that a secondary analysis of qualitative data is useful when a researcher in collaboration with the original researcher wishes to further explore and describe certain aspects of the participant’s interaction with a key issue without further burdening the participant. The purpose of the secondary analysis was to describe and explore how family and community affected the social and sexual lives of a group of Latino men living in a metropolitan area of northern California. The secondary analysis also had approval from the Committee on Human Research at a large research university. The underlying assumption, based on a symbolic interactionist perspective (Blumer, 1969/1986), was that the Latino gay man, his family, and his community were not static but lived in a dynamic interaction. Each influenced the other’s beliefs, values, and behaviors. Meaning was created within the dynamic interaction they shared. It was the participants’ stories that allowed for an understanding of their world, which was derived inductively from the lived experiences of the participants, as described in the focus groups. The men were able to relate their experiences of rejection and perceptions of self as a Latino gay man. The four focus groups used in the secondary analysis consisted of men who self-identified as gay.

Qualitative latent content analysis is a technique to discover the meaning within each passage of the textual material (Catanzaro, 1988). A word or group of words within a section of text is coded and compared with other like codes. Codes are gathered into themes, with the aim of obtaining the widest range of possibilities within each theme (Catanzaro, 1988; Wilson, 1989). Data analysis consisted of reading the textual material, questioning what was occurring and what was being described by the participants, and rigorously examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing the textual material (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Comparing and questioning the textual material allowed the creation of themes such as perceptions of rejection and self-definition. Establishing trustworthiness is important in any qualitative study. Various techniques were used to enhance the rigor of the study. Among these was the use of a reflexive journal in which the author recorded his feelings and insights about the data and his discussions with the original researcher. In addition, memos were used to analyze emerging hunches, themes, and codes. Peer debriefing consisting of the original researcher, Hispanic gay men, and nurse researchers was employed to critique the themes created from the data.

RESULTS

Although several themes were created from the data, this article focuses on two themes that the author believes are the most salient. The themes selected are (a) perceptions of rejection from family and community and (b) perceptions of self as a Latino gay man. These two themes summarized the experiences of the majority of the men who participated in the original study.

The quotes provided in the following sections are exemplars that are taken from the perspective of the study participants. The quotes represent the experiences of most of the study participants.

Perceptions of Rejection From Family and Community

The participants’ experiences of rejection by their families and communities were multifaceted and permeated the lives of many of the men who participated in the study. The common

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>No. of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Spain</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 1: Number of Participants and Country of Origin Among the Study Sample (N = 27)
element in their experiences was the sense of silence, homophobia, and discrimination found in the multiple worlds they inhabited. These experiences of rejection created internal conflict for many of the participants. Many felt that their families tended to shroud the issue of homosexuality in silence. In many instances, families were not able to recognize and positively affirm the participants’ homosexuality. Any effort at discussing the issue of homosexuality was usually met with silence, disbelief, and hostility. The following participant, speaking in Spanish, reported that his acknowledgement of his homosexuality to his mother was met with what he interpreted as stereotypical notions regarding male homosexuals:

*Yo le dije hace años le dije yo a mi mamá, yo no lo podía creer. Me dijo: “No, no estás bromeando.” Dije: “No no estoy bromeando.” Me dijo: “¿te vas a empezar a vestir de mujer?” Y le dije: “No.” “¿Pero sera que tu, tu abrasas de niños?” Y le dije: “No tampoco.” [I told a few years ago, I told my mother [I was gay]. And who would believe it? She said, “You are joking.” I said, “No.” And she said, “Are you going to start dressing like a woman?” And I said, “No.” And she said, “Do you abuse children?” And I said, “No.”]*

Another participant described an encounter with his ex-fiancé, in which he acknowledged his homosexuality. The ex-fiancé’s initial response displayed rejection by casting blame on the environment or friends around him. She was not at all prepared to accept his homosexuality because they had sexual relations. Moreover, acknowledging that she had sexual relations with a homosexual man may reflect negatively on her, and she was not ready to deal with that reality.

*Estás equivocado, estás confundido si vos sos, vos me hazies bien el sexo. Esta gente de acá de San Francisco te han hecho cambiar de idea. [You are mistaken, you are confused, you do sex well with me. It is people here in San Francisco that have changed your mind.]*

Another display of rejection was when a participant’s family attempted to control the man’s homosexual lifestyle or effeminate behavior. One of the participants related a story in which his father would control his access to friends and lovers by answering the telephone and screening his calls.

*Es muy dificil porque cuando yo vivía con mi padre a mí no me podia llamar ni un hombre. Sí era una mujer si me pasaba la llamada, pero hombres ningunos. El agarraba el teléfono, yo nunca estaba para ellos. [It was difficult when I lived with my father and no man could call me. If it was a woman, yes, he would pass the call to me, but no men. He would answer the phone and indicate I was not available.]*

One participant’s father threatened physical violence against his son for displaying what was perceived as nonconforming or effeminate behavior. The participant reported he had no interest in engaging in manual labor, such as working in the fields, and chose instead to work inside the home, washing dishes, making tortillas, cooking beans, mopping the floors, and feeding the family animals. The participant indicated that these household chores were usually reserved for women. As a result of his nonconforming behavior, he experienced rejection and the threat of physical violence.

*Vela que él afirmaba el machete. Y, pues le decía a mi mamá, soltaba las palabras. Le decía a mi mamá, “Me lo voy a llevar a traer leña y de allá lo vas a ir a descoger de un palo porque de lo voy a dejar ahuyentado o que me iba a dejar hecho picadillo” [I would see that he would sharpen his machete. And he would tell my mother, he would let go a diatribe of words. “I am going to take him to get firewood and there you will go and get him down because I am going to hang him” or “I will make mince meet out of him.”]*

An English-speaking participant described his feeling of rejection as “feeling like a freak” with name calling and teasing by his brothers and cousins. He further described his experience with his father in the following words:

*I finally came out and told my parents, and that was kind of difficult because my father never really accepted it. But when we would go down the street in the car, he would see some people. He would say, “There is a bunch of queers,” and he’d say those kind of remarks knowing that I am gay and I am in the back seat.*

Rejection was not limited to family members but was also felt within the larger context of the local community. Public humiliation, verbal abuse, and, in some instances, physical abuse appeared to be a common occurrence in the lives of several participants. One Mexican American participant reported the following:

*I grew up in southwest Texas, and my experience was very negative, very verbally abusive, both within my family and in the barrio. I guess I was pegged as a kid. Kids are vicious, and if they see something different in someone, they zero in.*

He indicated that he was constantly harassed at school, being groped by other boys, and publicly humiliated by classmates, which sometimes included the teachers.

Another Mexican participant described what he experienced as rejection as follows:

*However, socially it was always very repressive, everyone pointing at you. In Mexico, it was very easy to laugh and pick at gays. They were always whistling at me or doing things as I walked down the street. It was hard when I was going to leave the house with my mother and sisters, because I was always blushing inside because I was afraid they would whistle in front of my family.*

Some participants felt a need to move away from an environment that was viewed as rejecting and not supportive to
a place that provided a more stable, safe, and gay-positive environment. Several participants saw parts of northern California as a safe haven where they could be “themselves” and participate openly in the gay community. However, even in northern California, some experienced discrimination and racism from the dominant heterosexual and gay White community.

Even though some of the participants were born in the United States, their Latino surname appeared to set them apart. As a result of being Latino, a participant with “good references” was not able to obtain employment. He indicated that his prospective employer seemed skeptical at his ability to do the work for which he was applying. Latino participants who “did not have accents” or “spoke Spanish” believed they were more acceptable to the local White community. Several of the participants were able to pass as “White” or “straight,” which allowed them to move in and out of venues that were often closed to their Latino counterparts, who could not or would not pass. One participant described his experience as follows: “Within the culture, you find this welcoming open arms of the gay White community that, okay, you know, they think I am White, you know, I can have it easy.’ Another participant talked about his desire to date bisexual White men because “they reminded me of that, of the fact that they are White and bisexual, and bisexual is a way of getting into a community I was excluded from: the straight and White community.”

Rejection occurred at multiple levels and in many forms. For instance, many of the participants’ families felt uncomfortable discussing the issue of homosexuality. Families, although aware of the “signs” of the participant’s homosexual lifestyle, chose instead to maintain silence. Although not explicit in the participants’ stories, silence became a subtle form of rejection. A participant described the silent rejection in the following words:

“What is funny is I think they know … I have been living with a man for 13 years and so how can they not … so I think my family is just living in denial, but I think that they know but they don’t want to deal with it and I think it is safe not to discuss it.

Community rejection in some instances occurred within the context of religion. One participant described it as follows:

La gran influencia que tiene la religión sobre el aceptar el homosexualismo o rechazarlo. Yo como nuestras culturas se basan…mucho en la religión ha estado por años…por siglos…influenciando toda esa ideología que es la principal; yo pienso que es la principal…aplastante…homosexualismo. [Religion has a great influence over whether homosexuality is accepted or rejected. Our cultures base themselves on religion, and much of religion has been influencing ideology for years … for centuries. And I think that religion is the rock that crushes homosexuality.]

Perceptions of Self as a Latino Gay Man

The experiences of rejection by family and community were closely linked to the second theme of perceptions of self as a Latino gay man. Rejection by family and community negatively impacted the participants’ self-perceptions. Rejection increased the participants’ sense of alienation from themselves and contributed to a sense of disconnect from self, family, and community.

Exhibiting effeminate behavior was usually met with negative reactions from family and community. The taunting that many of the participants experienced created a deep sense of insecurity and shame, and devastated them as children and adolescents. One participant described his experience in the following way:

From the moment I wasn’t starting to do the things machos are supposed to do, I was pegged, like you said, from age 5, no, earlier on, you know growing up with that kind of self-image is really devastating.

Engaging in nonmasculine behaviors was severely sanctioned and negatively affected the participants’ self-perceptions. For one participant, the experience of feeling different evoked a strong feeling of self-hatred to the point of taking his own life. A participant described his experience as follows:

Yo odiaba mi personalidad, yo lo que más deseaba era no haber nacido, morir, esto y el otro; intenté como dos veces quitarme la vida. [I hated my personality; the one thing I desired most was not to have been born, to die, this and that. I tried to kill myself twice.]

Being invisible and inconspicuous became the norm for many participants. Although invisibility allowed these participants to avoid being publicly humiliated, it contributed to living on the periphery of the family and community. Maintaining silence and invisibility became a way of life for the participants. One man stated, “Yo no hablaba, trataba la manera siempre de quedarle en los últimos asientos terminaba atrás de la gente. [I wouldn’t talk, I would always try to stay in the last seats, I would end up behind people.]”

Another participant blamed God for his homosexuality and expressed anger, self-loathing, and a desire not to be a homosexual. He reported that his prayer was that he would be delivered of the scourge of his homosexuality.

Yo culpaba a Dios, culpaba. Yo decía bueno te pido tanto que me quite esto, yo quiero que me gusten las muchachas, no! no quiero ser así!” [I blamed God, blamed Him. I would say, “I ask you to take this away. I want to like girls—I don’t want to be like this!”]

The lack of acceptance by family and community created an identity crisis for participants. They felt that they had not experienced an adolescent period in their development. The
incongruence between the realities they experienced inside their minds and the external world did not allow them to experience their gay identity in a positive fashion. Not being accepted as a homosexual man contributed to being unsure of who “I am as a Latino gay man.”

One participant suggested that Latino gay men had a difficult time integrating their ethnicity and their homosexuality because of the lack of positive role models. This participant believed that, although there were a lot of positive White gay role models, there was a double-negative effect of being Latino: being a minority and gay. One participant addressed it by saying,

We don’t have the cultural social reinforcers that affirm who we are, role models of healthy relationships among gay men or Latino gay men. We start out not feeling good about ourselves because we are Latino and then not feeling good about ourselves being gay.

Living on the periphery of family and community, the lack of positive role models and relationships contributed to a deep sense of disconnect among many of the study participants. Many felt a need to hide their homosexuality from their families. Everything had to be done “far away from the home and friends.”

**DISCUSSION**

The results of this study suggest that, in general, family and community negatively impacted the lives of the Latino gay men who participated in the study. Some family members espoused stereotypical notions about homosexual men—namely, that they would engage in cross-dressing and child molestation. In some instances, verbal and physical abuse was used to control and belittle nonnormative behavior. Being identified as a *joto* or *maricon* had a devastating effect on many of the participants. The words carried great import, as they called into question the participants’ sense of masculinity. Living in the periphery of the family and community, combined with the lack of positive role models and meaningful relationships, contributed to a poor sense of self.

An important limitation of the study is that it was a secondary analysis of qualitative data, thus limiting its generalizability to other groups of Latino gay men. Nonetheless, the study did provide some important insights into the social and sexual lives of Latino gay men. The study allowed for the exploration of the impact of family and community on the lives of a group of Latino gay men.

**NURSING IMPLICATIONS**

**Practice**

The findings from this study can help nurses to understand some of the issues that are faced by Latino gay men. Several researchers have suggested that the sense of shame and alienation that Latino gay men experience places them at high risk for sexually transmitted diseases and substance abuse (Díaz, 1998; Díaz & Ayala, 2001). Nurses who work in community health settings should assess the degree and strength of family support. They should ask whether the family talks openly about the Latino gay man’s homosexuality. Nurses should also assess the level of openness the man maintains with his family and who within the family system is aware of his sexual orientation. They should explore the language that the individual and family uses to discuss sensitive issues. During an interview, the nurse should adopt a nonjudgmental and caring attitude that will allow the individual to engage in a frank discussion of sensitive issues, such as high-risk sexual behaviors.

**Research**

Future nursing research should include larger samples of Latino gay men at varying stages of assimilation and acculturation. Greater effort should be made to include 18- to 29-year-old Latino gay men to explore and describe their experiences as they negotiate and integrate their sexual orientation into their lives. Another area of research is to explore the changes in cultural scripts, such as allocentrism and familism, as Latino gay men assimilate into the dominant culture. For instance, as Latino gay men assimilate, how important do the families of origin remain in their daily lives? A phenomenon that warrants more exploration is the notion of passing as White or as heterosexual. One should explore the motivations and benefits of passing and how it contributes to self-perception.

Latino gay men living in rural areas or in parts of the country that do not have a significant gay/lesbian population should also be a focus of nursing research. Among the issues that warrant exploration is the development of social support systems in rural areas where gay support services are not readily available. In addition, Latino families with gay sons should also be the focus of nursing research endeavors. Taking a cue from the work of Savin-Williams and Dubé (1998), how Latino families initially react to a young Latino gay man acknowledging his homosexuality and how they incorporate the son into the family system should be examined. Although there is anecdotal evidence that more Latino gay men are acknowledging their homosexuality at a younger age, total acceptance by the Latino community remains elusive. Two reports by the Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation (2002, 2004) indicate that, in general, Latinos do not look favorably on sex between two adults of the same sex and favor a constitutional amendment prohibiting same-sex marriage. The overall impact of this lack of acceptance is currently unknown, but if the study results are any indication, then much work remains to be done. Almaguer (1993) indicated that although Latina/Chicana lesbians have made strides in articulating and discussing their life stories, Latino gay men lag behind in articulating their life experiences.
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