

## Perception of body and corporeality in men practicing male prostitution in Guadalajara, Mexico

Giovane Mendieta-Izquierdo <sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** *Objective: To interpret the perception of the body and corporeality in a group of men practicing male prostitution in the center of Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico. Method: An interpretive phenomenological study from the perspective of Heidegger; the perception of the body is taken as a category of analysis based on 20 in-depth interviews with 13 males practicing prostitution. Results: The interpretation of the body and corporeality in men who practice male prostitution centers on the following categories: a) the dirty body, stigma, b) body-seeking opportunities, c) the body and corporeality, appealing to customers, d) the initial contact and body language, and e) the value assigned to the body, the rate. Conclusion: The perception of the body and corporeality is part of a strong social stigma of the activity, as is the recognition of a hegemonic discourse of masculinity; the body is the linchpin of its practice.*

**Key words** *Prostitution, Human body, Masculinity, Qualitative research, Sexuality*

---

<sup>1</sup> Facultad Educación y Humanidades, Universidad Militar Nueva Granada. Kilómetro 2 vía Cajicá, Zipaquirá. Bogotá Colombia. [giovane.mendieta@unimilitar.edu.co](mailto:giovane.mendieta@unimilitar.edu.co)

## Introduction

Male prostitution cannot simply be reduced to genitalia; the body as a whole enters into play, and understanding it entails recognizing experience and meaning. The body is a vehicle, a tool of the trade, a mode of socialization and of staging, and a reality that is rarely made visible<sup>1,2</sup>. Men who engage in male prostitution are considered to be a relatively small population, and their services are offered in sites that are displaced and suggest invisibility and clandestinity, with few health guarantees, increasing the health risks<sup>3-6</sup>.

The body of the male prostitute is analyzed from the perspective of Heidegger's interpretive phenomenology, aimed at "grounding theory in lived experience and revealing the manner in which the world is produced through the constituting acts of subjective experience"<sup>7</sup> among this group of men. The function of the living body can only be understood in terms of itself and its own experiences of the world<sup>8</sup>. The body, then, is an extension, a space characterized by volume and materiality that is subject to the laws of the cultural and social world<sup>8</sup>, the "I" in the phenomenological sense, and the perception and possibilities of the self as a corporeal extension. According to Butler, what is embodied is performativity, the reproduction of basic structures that allow the corporeality of subjects to be named<sup>7</sup>. The body of the *mayate* (a term used in Mexico to refer to male prostitutes who do not identify as homosexual) is a set of possibilities that signifies both its appearance in the world as something that can be perceived and its concrete expression in the world<sup>8</sup>.

The geographic spaces in which male prostitution is performed largely overlap with the gay scene<sup>1,2</sup>. These consist of the following: 1) closed spaces such as bars, nightclubs, saunas, pornographic movie theaters, establishments, private apartments, and clubs; found in these spaces are strippers, masseurs, sex workers in spas, and sex workers advertised in newspapers<sup>9-13</sup>; 2) virtual spaces<sup>14-18</sup>; and 3) public places such as plazas, parks, and streets. Different labels exist, such as strippers, transvestites, streetwalkers, and *mayates*<sup>9,11,13,16,19-23</sup>. Here, this last category is of interest. The perception of the body is determined by the place in which the prostitution occurs, the label that it is given, and the sexual role that is assumed<sup>1,2,9</sup>. *Mayates* signify their body with an exaggerated heterosexual compulsion, showing off their excessive masculinity<sup>1,2,9</sup>.

The body involves referents that locate it within a given context, and formulas for autonomy or subversion, as opposed to the generalizing labels that limit expressions of the plurality of human life, are found<sup>24</sup>.

Taking the body as a unit of analysis, it is possible to establish characteristics regarding rates, uses, sexual practices, and norms as sex is commercialized and materialized through the body<sup>1,2,9</sup>. It is the central element of prostitution, the source of sale and of desire; the philosophy and morphology of the body are conditioning elements of human sexuality<sup>25</sup>. A sexual body is recognized, about which it is important to understand the nature of bodily experience. More than "a natural species," it is a set of continually realizable possibilities<sup>8</sup>. Sexuality is established through a combination of two essential axes: 1) subjectivity, or who and what we are; and 2) society, or the growth, well-being, health, and future prosperity of the population. These elements are intimately connected, and at the center of both are the body and its potential<sup>26</sup>.

The analysis of sexuality within the framework of male prostitution is understood through the following: 1) the social margins-sex becomes merchandise, and the need for survival can transform it into a transaction, whether for money or for favors<sup>25,27</sup>; and 2) the hegemonic model of sexuality that has marked masculine traits, being phallogentric and focused on coitus, in which male sexualized desires are conceived of as being charged with elements of urgency that must be immediately satisfied<sup>28</sup>.

Men who sell their bodies are perceived as immoral<sup>29</sup> and endure a social stigma and the burden<sup>4</sup> of being judged as socially inferior and dishonorable, generating claims of protection and redemption<sup>5</sup>. Homoerotic contact calls into question the individual's identity and sexual orientation<sup>30-36</sup>, exposing the issue of homosexual behavior in our culture, inviting silence or rejection<sup>14,37</sup>, and perpetuating invisibility and an increased risk of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) – as well as being considered a vector<sup>4</sup>. The body is essential to understanding men who engage in prostitution. It is a tool of socialization, socially and symbolically charged, an articulating axis of comprehension of what it means, phenomenologically, to be a male prostitute. The objective of this work is to interpret perceptions of the body and corporeality among a group of men who engage in male prostitution in downtown Guadalajara, Mexico.

## Methodology

Is a qualitative phenomenological study from the interpretive perspective of Heidegger, utilizes Merleau-Ponty's perception of the body as a category of analysis. The fieldwork was performed in Tapatía Plaza in Guadalajara, Mexico, from September 2010 to June 2013 and concluded when data saturation was reached. The site is recognized as a space of male prostitution where men who are known as *mayates* can be found. The fieldwork occurred continuously over a period of eight months, during which the researcher directly interacted with men who engaged in male prostitution.

Here, Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenology is understood in terms of the existence of the self and the conception of the self in the world, immediate experiences, and everyday experiences of being immersed in multiple meanings in a social world that implies intersubjectivity<sup>38</sup>. The participants consisted of 13 men who engage in male prostitution in the Plaza and were willing to be in direct communication with the researcher. The selection criteria were as follows: 1) engagement in this type of activity; 2) the desire to participate in the study and the willingness to be interviewed; and 3) not being under the influence of drugs and alcohol, as determined by the researcher.

The research methods consisted of a combination of the following: a) doing *epoché*; b) the description and analysis of the intentionality and of being in the world; c) the reduction, through the descriptive moment, of structure to establish patterns; and d) constitution. The sampling was performed in two phases: a) purposive<sup>39,40</sup>: meeting the selection criteria, i.e., being a man who engages in prostitution; and b) convenience: agreeing to verbal contact with the researcher to be interviewed.

*Information-gathering techniques.* The following three techniques were used: 1) *Participant observation*<sup>41</sup>: This was performed during the initial phase of fieldwork to gain knowledge about how the activity is performed and the relations among peers and clients. This space provided pathways for in-depth interviews and a means of establishing initial contact. 2) *Informal conversations*: Held both individually and in groups, these allowed for the building of mutual trust to facilitate the in-depth interviews. These first two techniques were not used for analysis but provided tools for approach and access in the field and allowed group dynamics, sched-

ules, and relations among peers and clients to be identified. 3) *In-depth interviews*<sup>42,43</sup>: These were conducted entirely by the researcher in a direct manner in the Plaza through democratic conversations with no perks or financial remuneration; they ranged in duration from 30 minutes to two hours. This technique was essential to achieving the proposed objectives of the study. A total of 20 in-depth interviews were conducted with 13 men until data saturation occurred. The interviews were transcribed in full by the researcher in Microsoft Word with total fidelity to the audio recordings.

*Analysis and processing of the data.* An interpretive analysis of the perception of the body was conducted through the lens of Heidegger's phenomenology. The process involved thematic analysis drawing on intentionality, reduction, and constitution. Open coding was used for the interviews, grouping the codes according to the following five categories that emerged with regard to the body: a) dirtiness, b) the search for opportunities, c) corporeality and the attractiveness of bodies for clients, d) body language and initial contact and e) assigned value. The analysis was conducted using ATLAS.ti software.

*Ethical considerations.* The project was submitted to and approved by the research ethics committee of the Doctorate in Public Health Sciences at the University of Guadalajara in Jalisco, Mexico. Informed consent was obtained and, given the vulnerability of the subjects<sup>44</sup> and the possible consequences and negative repercussions resulting from the publication of the study, total confidentiality of the information and anonymity were maintained through the use of the names of superheroes as pseudonyms.

## Results

### Life experiences

*The dirty body and stigma.* The body of a *mayate* is stigmatized, and his sexuality is questioned. Hegemonic masculinity perpetuates this intrinsic stigma by recognizing social symbols, the *macho*, traits that run counter to what it means to be a *mayate*, because *fucking gays affects your self-esteem* (Superman, age 28). For some, engaging in prostitution makes them feel like *trash*, socially marked, with *low self-esteem*, which increases the perception of the stigmatized body<sup>45</sup>.

*I miss being a normal person. I don't want people to notice me for what I do.* (Superman, age 28)

Like *Superman*, *Flash* recognizes that society perceives his activities as immoral. This perception reflects the social stigma<sup>45</sup> that the activity carries. For *Batman*, working as a *mayate* makes him feel *degraded and disgusting*, discredited, and *gross*. The intrinsic stigma of the activity and the sense of homophobia toward his clients is apparent.

*No, this is denigrating, for me and for lots of others. I'll tell you how I feel: gross! Having relations with a man is gross! ... It's degrading and disgusting, but you do it out of need... To support yourself. Out of need. It is humiliating and degrading...* (Batman, age 25)

For *Thor*, the activity generates *remorse*, and he does it *out of need, not for pleasure*. It means *nothing* to him.

*Well, you're human. It feels hot, but after it's over, after you get horny and do all sorts of things, then you feel a kind of remorse for having done it. It's more out of need, not for pleasure. Doing this is not very enjoyable.* (Thor, age 25)

For *Captain America* (age 24), being a prostitute makes him feel *dirty* and *feel bad, with a guilty conscience*. Getting involved with other men is *immoral* because he likes *women* and *loves the beauty of women*. Having sexual contact with male bodies is associated with being *dirty* and *immoral*, which suggests elements of intrinsic homophobia and the denial of the work, a situation that is permeated by the discourse of hegemonic heteronormative sexuality.

On the other hand, *Moonlight Mask* perceives that people *look down on him*. *They look down on me, as if I were a... Mm, one more vice of the system...* (Moonlight Mask, age 34).

*The body in search of opportunities.* Due to stigma and social rejection, alternatives may be proposed as a way out. Vulnerability and the lack of opportunity suggest paths such as becoming involved in illegal activities.

*Batman* states that he has never stolen and has not joined any delinquent group to earn more money, although he has *thought about it, and I hope I get an opportunity like that*, in which *you just do it, all or nothing*. The reason is that his only hope is *to live well and for my family to live well, my children to live well*. For this reason, he waits all day in the Plaza for *someone to come along* so he can earn money, *get three hundred or one hundred pesos* to eat and support his family, a situation that reveals his condition as a provider (Batman, age 25).

For *Captain America*, *it's worth more than money, that's why you want to get out of this*. He

has no *guaranteed pay, this is no way to live*, constantly searching, questioning his *dignity*, which he says is more valuable than money. It is worth more than *two thousand, three thousand pesos* because *I'm a human being*. Meanwhile, *easy money doesn't make ends meet* (Captain America, age 24).

*The body and corporeality as a means of attracting clients.* The body and issues related to corporeality are central aspects of male prostitution. The body is merchandise, an object of desire and sale, and it is through the body that the agreed-upon, established, and contracted services materialize. There is a bodily plane from which attitudes and emotions enter into play; some use their corporeality as an element of sale, saying that they gain trust among their clients, establish closer emotional ties, and express elements that are typical of exaggerated masculinity. The body and corporeality are manifested through the following: language, trust, smiling, forms of dress, and company. These are converted into exchange value, elements that are configured through sexuality.

For *Flash*, the main draw is his body and the manner in which he speaks with clients, which is an important aspect of his activities as a *mayate*.

*I don't know? The way you talk! Your body! Because the way you talk matters a lot. If you're crude, then that scares people. The body has a lot to do with it!* (Flash, age 24)

According to *Thor*, his body and his height attract clients, in addition to the corporeality manifested in the manner in which he dresses and acts. The body is projected for monetary gain and is perceived as a whole.

*One of the things people like is chatting and someone big. I mean, I think people look at me because I'm tall, I have big feet, and if you've got big feet, you've got it all [makes a gesture indicating penis size], I mean, you've got it all – if you have big feet, you're big, right?* (Thor, age 25)

*Aquaman* believes his selling points are his *skin color* and that he is *nice*, adding that *my smile helps a lot*, and he does not consider himself *sexy*. Some clients tell him, *I like the thugs*, though he does not perceive himself as a thug.

*A lot of them tell me it's my skin color! That I'm really nice. Sexy, no. I don't feel handsome. My skin color, being dark skinned, thin, and my smile helps a lot!... and others say they like guys that are like thugs, violent guys, right? Some say they like them violent.* (Aquaman, age 28)

The bodily perception of *Moonlight Mask* is centered on gaining trust. This aspect plays a

central role in selling his services, establishing closer ties and greater emotional contact, which makes the relationship more durable and not just about *fucking* or *getting money* but rather making friends and gaining trust. The ties that are established go beyond sexual contact and become durable. He has even been able to offer his services *on credit*, allowing clients to *come back*. What is likeable about him is *chatting, just the way I am, I'm a polite person*, and he offers clients *another type of company*, something he says that *a lot of people in the Plaza don't have*. Moonlight Mask establishes better and more durable relationships over time; talking about different issues is what makes him different from the rest, and it is his sales strategy, the corporeality manifested through conversation, confidence, and company.

Robin states that, in his experience, his own appeal is his body, his *penis and way of being*. On a corporeal plane, it is the manner in which he dresses, which is something that Thor also notes. Dressing as a cholo would lower his appeal among his clients and generate fear, although he says, *I've seen a lot of cholos working as mayates* (Robin, age 19). Similar to Robin and Thor, Hulk believes that the manner in which he dresses helps the manner in which he is perceived. He begins his day by choosing the clothes that he will wear to visit the Plaza. He likes to be *as well put-together as possible* to exhibit, show and offer himself to clients (Hulk, age 17).

*Body language.* Corporeality and the body are tools for establishing the initial contact, and body language and non-verbal language are the mechanisms for establishing contact. The gaze and visual contact are initial elements and have been described by Carrier<sup>46</sup>. There is also the manner of walking: in an exaggerated and uncomplicated manner, in a line, with long steps and legs far apart, moving the arms and shoulders. Furthermore, there is the manner of sitting: with legs open or crossed and arms extended across the backrest of a bench, or sitting atop a window or stairway with legs open, arms resting on knees. The bodily disposition is key in identifying oneself as a *mayate*, putting on an act, as Butler explains<sup>7</sup>.

For *Moonlight Mask*, sitting on a bench (with legs open or crossed and arms extended across the back of the bench) and waiting for someone who is looking to *chat* is an everyday activity. There, he establishes the rate, the sexual acts to be performed, the limits, and the rules. During verbal contact, it is common for the client to ask about the size of the penis; this is the *hook*. A geography of the body is established and assigned

value, and interest is expressed in certain parts of the body, with the penis having particular value when the services are offered. Moonlight Mask shows off his erection. He has been in prostitution for 20 years, and showing an erection implies an appropriation of the task. He views it as part of his work and has no conflicts regarding his identity or sexual orientation.

*The client will ask, 'So, what's it like?,' and you get it up right then and there so they can see it through your pants. I do that regularly, and they're, like, 'Oh!' That's the hook. Yes! I, I get it excited so it gets erect, and I show off the whole thing so you can see the size, the girth.* (Moonlight Mask, age 34)

Robin sits on one of the benches to wait for clients. He uses non-verbal language and body language to guide the initial contact, and *some sit down right away*, whereas *others just walk by and look*. Then, he initiates a conversation about age, origin, and sexual practices (Robin, age 19).

For *Iron Man*, the gaze is important because he uses it to attract his clients, *drawing them in* and showing that he is *adventurous* and has a *good penis, cleanliness*. He knows what to ask according to the level of the client.

*Well yeah, having a way to get someone's attention. 'What's up? You want dick?' Or how you're going to talk to the guy, in English or in Spanish.... For example, 'What are you up to?,' 'Do you like the scene or not?,' 'What scene, the gay scene?,' and 'What do you do, do you prefer active or passive?' That's it, you know, topick someone up.* (Iron Man, age 20)

*The value assigned to the body, or the rate.* The body as the materialization of activity receives a monetary value; sex is commercialized and exchanged for money. The rate depends on supply and demand, agreed-upon sexual practices, and the use or lack of use of a condom and drugs. Maximum and minimum rates are established, and those who deviate from what is established are sanctioned.

In Robin's experience, the rate is *two hundred pesos*, although *to each his own*. The two hundred includes *everything, or for me to put it in them*.

R: *Yeah, all that!* [referring to *humping* and *oral sex by the client*] *Or for me to put it in them!*

G: *For you to put it in them? Oral sex? And what if they want to put it in you?*

R: *No! No-o! A lot of people do! Lots of people want it! You know! But some people charge more for someone to put it in them, [whispering] or some charge less!* (Robin, age 19)

*Spiderman* states that he charges no less than *fifty pesos, according to how the person looks*. The

same was true for Robin and *The Invisible Man*. On some occasions, the client might pay more than what was agreed upon. *Spiderman* remembers that, once, in a *service* for a *ruquito* (a term used in Mexico for older people), he was paid more than what was agreed upon and what he expected, a *rare* situation (*Spiderman*, age 26).

## Discussion

*Experience as it is*<sup>8</sup> is recognized in everyday life in the Plaza, the difficulties of obtaining money for reasons such as the effect of being a *caraque-mada* or “old hat”<sup>11</sup>; the financial situation of clients; the fear of robbery; the *mayate* not wanting to penetrate clients; and the general state of the country’s economy.

The perception of the male body that is prostituted involves corporeality and the body as a means of communication with the world<sup>8</sup>, an element of sale and of desire<sup>1,2</sup>, and a horizon of perception itself. Embodied sexuality is a mechanism of survival in the context of an economic relationship: a body exposed to risks, existing in a state of vulnerability, suffering upon recognizing his everyday situation, in crisis due to the search for obtaining money, the constant risk of contracting STDs<sup>6,16</sup>, and being socially rejected and stigmatized<sup>3,4,6</sup>. These have been called “the crisis of the *mayate*”, which is based on elements of corporeality and otherness, what Merleau-Ponty describes as a symbolic space in the cultural and social world in which the other is present in an impersonal manner, anonymously, representing a collective figure<sup>8</sup>. Common descriptions include *there are almost no customers around anymore*, *people don’t pay attention to them*, and *the mayate no longer wants to penetrate clients*. These statements demonstrate that the other is present in an impersonal manner, anonymously, representing the collective figure of the *mayate*<sup>2,9</sup>.

Another aspect that is added to the “crisis of the *mayate*”, of a body that suffers, is the alternative activities that are viewed as a way out of the crisis, something that has not been described in the literature. Among this otherness, two groups of *mayates* can be recognized: a) the *mayates* who are going to “rob” their clients, a situation that even further affects the crisis; and b) those that seek out clients to sell sexual services<sup>2,6,9,20</sup>. Alternatives to escape the crisis include *asking for money*, *finding someone to hook you up*, *spending more time in the Plaza*, and *arriving earlier*.

*The dirty body: stigma*. The body acquires a

symbolic burden and socio-cultural stigma<sup>26</sup>, a situation that causes it to be socially devalued<sup>25</sup> in light of hegemonic masculine discourse. The “profoundly discrediting” attribute recognized as stigma<sup>45</sup> is interpreted in the perception of the dirty body, an assailed and eroded masculinity, and the rejection of the activity and its sexuality, something that has been described in previous research<sup>28,30-32,47</sup>. This generates a heavy emotional burden and a constant struggle with the activity. The symbolic burden imposed by a social body on what it means to be a man increases the levels of vulnerability and generates undesirable responses in self-perception and acceptance<sup>3,4,6,45</sup>.

Hegemonic masculinity perpetuates the intrinsic stigma by recognizing the social symbols of what it means to be a man<sup>28</sup>, aspects that run counter to what it means to be a *mayate*. The perception of the stigmatized body is recognized along four lines: a) being a *mayate*; *fucking clients* calls the sexuality of the individual into question in the context of a hegemonic discourse of sexuality and masculinity<sup>28,46-50</sup>; b) homoerotic sexual practice, which is associated with disgust, and sexual contact between men raises questions about their identity and sexual orientation even though it occurs as part of an economic exchange, a fact that has been noted in previous studies<sup>30-36,47,50</sup>; c) being a prostitute; assigning economic value to the body and corporeality, engaging in an activity that is looked down upon socially<sup>14</sup>, that is associated with an attack on morals, that is a synonym of shame, humiliation, and disdain by the self and others; this situation perpetuates secrecy and invisibility as well as distancing from the family and society, which has been noted by other authors<sup>11,14,15,48</sup> and is an obstacle to studying this population and designing relevant public policies<sup>14</sup>; and d) the risk of contracting STDs, particularly HIV/AIDS<sup>27,30</sup>. This is all within the context of a society in which heterosexuality is the prevailing social norm<sup>27,28,49</sup>. Hegemonic masculinity is evident in the sexual relations between these men<sup>2,37,49,50</sup>, generating elements that stigmatize them and presenting a narrative that differs from what occurs in practice<sup>4</sup>.

*Body language and initial contact*. Bodies speak through corporeal language, which is an essential aspect of the initial contact<sup>1,2</sup>. The body is a source of sale and desire, and the philosophy and morphology of the body are conditioning elements for human sexuality<sup>25</sup>. The body and corporeality are necessary for establishing the initial contact because body language and non-verbal language provide the initial mechanisms of es-

tablishing contact<sup>1,2,46</sup>. Issues related to the body such as the gaze, ways of walking, sitting, or the bodily position are keys to identifying oneself as a *mayate*<sup>1,2</sup>. Masculinity finds its home in the body; it is projected through corporeality and puts into play a certain staging<sup>7</sup>. Bodily codes revolve around the gaze<sup>1,2,46</sup>, and following and holding the gaze is the first step, and ways of walking or sitting are mechanisms for seeking out a potential client<sup>1,2</sup>.

The ritual of contact is framed within the context of hegemonic masculinity, and dominant masculinity is put in play by the *mayate* in relation to the client. The latter is subordinate, whereas the *mayate* establishes a position that gives his power and economic value by offering his masculinity. According to previous studies<sup>30-35,46,47,50</sup>, it is once again demonstrated that men are dynamic in the construction of their sexual existence, and their behavior is influenced by the understanding of how their actions are related to the precepts of hegemonic masculinity.

### Final considerations

Among men who perform male prostitution in Tapatía Plaza in Guadalajara, Mexico, the body is

perceived through questionings that are marked by strong social stigmatization, in addition to the recognition of a hegemonic masculine discourse.

The perception is of a body that is dirty and stigmatized, a masculinity that is assailed by stigma, and a rejection of the activity and of sexuality. This situation generates an emotional burden and a constant struggle with the activity in the face of the symbolic burden imposed by a social body with regard to what it means to be a man, and hence, there is a heightened level of vulnerability and risk of mental health problems.

The perception of the body is interpreted as “a body that suffers,” and these men are engaged in a constant struggle to acquire money for subsistence, which is constantly expressed as something *that is difficult*, a fact that sharply contrasts with so-called *easy money*, understood as quickly and easily acquired.

The body is a tool of the trade. Aspects of hegemonic masculinity regarding the body and corporeality are recognized, and conversations underscore a lack of concern for maintaining a corporeal figure, with no reference made to specific practices related to maintaining a healthy body such as diet or exercise, as other priorities that are tied to the need for survival, such as food and shelter, are clearly established.

## References

- Mendieta-Izquierdo G. *Prostitución viril. Significado de la experiencia vivida de cuerpo en hombres que ejercen la prostitución en la Plaza Tapatía de Guadalajara, Jalisco, México* [tesis]. México: Universidad de Guadalajara; 2013.
- Mendieta-Izquierdo G. *Prostitución viril: un estudio fenomenológico del cuerpo*. Bogotá: Fundación Universitaria del Área Andina; 2015.
- Díaz R, Ayala G, Bein E, Henne J, Marín B. The impact of homophobia, poverty, and racism on the mental health of gay and bisexual Latino men: Findings from 3 U.S. cities. *Am J Public Health* 2001; 91(6):927-932.
- Teutle LA. Entre la práctica y la identidad: hombres bisexuales en México y una revisión de la teoría sobre la bisexualidad masculina en América Latina. In: Careaga G, organizador. *Memorias del 1er. Encuentro Latinoamericano y del Caribe. La sexualidad frente a la sociedad*. Fundación Arcoíris por el Respeto a la Diversidad Sexual - Grupo de estudios sobre sexualidad y sociedad & Fundación Arco iris. México 2008.
- Bimbi DS, Parsons J. Barebacking among internet based male sex workers. *Journal of gay & Lesbian psychotherapy* 2005; 9(3-4):85-105.
- Weinberg MS, Worth H, Williams CJ. Men sex workers and other men who have sex with men: How do their HIV risks compare in New Zealand? *Archives of sexual behavior* 2001; 30(3):273-286.
- Buttler J. Actos performativos y constitución del género: un ensayo sobre fenomenología y teoría feminista. *Debate feminista* 1998; 9(18).
- Merleau-Ponty M. *Fenomenología de la percepción*. Barcelona: Ediciones Península; 1975.
- Córdova Plaza R. Vida en los márgenes: la experiencia corporal como anclaje identitario entre sexoservidores de la ciudad de Xalapa, Veracruz. *Cuicuilco* 2005; 12(34):217-238.
- Jackson JD. The Closing of Atlantis. *Journal of Homosexuality* 2007; 53(1-2):153-172.
- Zaro I, Peláez M, Chacón A, Rojas D, Del Romero J. *Trabajadores masculinos del sexo: aproximación a la prostitución masculina en Madrid en 2006*. Madrid: Fundación Triángulo; 2007.
- DeMarco JR. Power and control in gay strip clubs. *Journal of Homosexuality* 2007; 53(1-2):111-127.
- Boden DM. Alienation of Sexuality in male erotic dancing. *Journal of Homosexuality* 2007; 53(1-2):129-152.
- Koken JA, Bimbi DS, Parsons JT, Halkitis PN. The experience of Stigma in the lives of Male Internet Escorts. *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality* 2004; 16(1):13-32.
- Parsons JT, Koken JA, Bimbi DS. Looking beyond HIV: eliciting individual and community needs of male internet escorts. *Journal of Homosexuality* 2007; 53(1-2):219-240.
- Amador-Soriano K, Arroyo-Arcos L, Segrado-Pavón R. Turismo sexual, prostitución varonil y VIH-SIDA en Cancún. *Teoría y Praxis* 2010; 7:115-127.
- Parsons JT, Koken JA, Bimbi DS. The use of the Internet by gay and bisexual male escorts: sex workers as sex educators *Aids Care* 2004; 16(8):1021-1035.
- Logana TD. Personal Characteristics, sexual behaviors, and male sex work: a quantitative approach. *American Sociological Review* 2002; 75(5):679-704.
- Calhoun TC, Weaver G. Rational decision-making among male street prostitutes. *Deviant Behavior* 1996; 17:209-227.
- Kaye K. Sex and the Unspoken in Male Street Prostitution. *Journal of Homosexuality* 2007; 53(1-2):37-73.
- Belza MJ, Llácer A, Mora. Sociodemographic characteristics and HIV risk behavior patterns of male sex workers in Madrid Spain. *AIDS Care* 2001; 13(5):667-682.
- McCouns DL, Minichiello V. Exploring the interpersonal relationships in street-based male sex work: results from an Australian qualitative Study. *Journal of Homosexuality* 2007; 53(1-2):75-110.
- Atkins M, Laing M. Walking the beat and doing business: exploring spaces of male sex work and public sex. *Sexualities* 2012; 15(5/6):622-643.
- Guardado G. Contexto sociocultural del sexo entre varones. In: Cáceres CF, Pecheny M, Terto VJ. Organizadores. *SIDA y sexo entre hombres en América Latina: Vulnerabilidades, fortalezas, y propuestas para la acción - Perspectivas y reflexiones desde la salud pública, las ciencias sociales y el activismo*. Lima: UPCH/ONUSIDA, 2002.
- Tirado M. Creencias y comportamientos socio-culturales de jóvenes del género masculino prostituidos homoeróticamente en Bogotá. *Revista Colombiana de sociología* 2005; 24:93-113.
- Weeks J. *Sexualidad*. México: Paidós, UNAM; 1998. p. 21-46.
- Aráuz R, Ortells P, Morales A, Guevara M, Shedlin M. *Sexo inseguro: Investigación cualitativa sobre comportamiento sexual de alto riesgo respecto al SIDA en Nicaragua*. Managua: Fundación Nimehuatzin; 1997.
- Lancaster R. That we should all turn Queer? Homosexual in the making of manhood and the breaking of revolution in Nicaragua. In: Parker R, Aggleton P, organizadores. *Culture, society and sexuality*. London: UCL Press; 1999. p. 97-115.
- Britos P. ¿Por qué la prostitución debe ser un trabajo sexual? *Revista de filosofía* 2009; 66:1-12.
- Finlinson HA, Colón HM, Robles RR y Soto M. Sexual identity formation and AIDS prevention: An exploratory study of non-gay-identified Puerto Rican MSM from working class neighborhoods. *AIDS and Behavior* 2006; 10:531-539.
- Lapinski MK, Braz ME, Maloney EK. The down low, social stigma, and risky sexual behaviors: Insights from African-American men who have sex with men. *Journal of Homosexuality* 2010; 57:610-633.



32. Lichtenstein B. Secret encounters: black men, bisexuality and AIDS in Alabama. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 2000; 14:374-393.
33. Reback CJ, Larkins S. Maintaining a heterosexual identity: sexual meanings among a sample of heterosexually identified men who have sex with men. *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 2010; 39:766-773.
34. Wheeler DP. Exploring HIV prevention needs for non gay-identified Black and African American men who have sex with men: A qualitative exploration. *Sexually transmitted diseases* 2006; 33:1-6.
35. Williams JK, Wyatt GE, Resell J, Peterson J, Asuan-O'Brien A. Psychosocial issues among gay- and non-gay-identifying HIV-seropositive African American and Latino men. *Cultural diversity and ethnic minority psychology* 2004; 10:268-286.
36. Schrimshaw EW, Downing MJ y Siegel K. Sexual venue selection and strategies for concealment of same-sex behavior among non-disclosing men who have sex with men and women. *Journal of Homosexuality* 2013; 60(1):120-145.
37. Bohan JS. *Psychology and sexual orientation: Coming to terms*. New York: Routledge; 1996.
38. Heidegger M. *Ser y tiempo*. Santiago de Chile: Trotta; 2006.
39. Bernard R. Nonprobability sampling and choosing. In: Bernard R. *Research methods in anthropology. Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Press OA Ed.: Lanham; 2006. p. 186-209.
40. Morse J. Qualitative nursing research. A contemporary dialogue. In: Morse J. *Strategies for sampling*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications; 1991. p. 127-145.
41. Bernard HR. Unstructured and semistructured interviewing. In: Bernard HR. *Research methods in cultural anthropology*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications; 1998. p. 203-224.
42. Taylor SJ, Bernard R. La entrevista en profundidad. In: Taylor SJ, Bernard R. *Introducción a los métodos cualitativos de investigación*. Barcelona: Paidós; 1996. p. 100-132.
43. Mella O. La entrevista cualitativa en profundidad. In: Mella O. *Metodología cualitativa en ciencias sociales y educación*. Santiago de Chile: Primus; 2003. p. 147-173.
44. Cáceres C. Epidemiología de la infección por VIH entre los hombres que tienen sexo con hombres en América Latina y el Caribe: situación actual y recomendaciones para la vigilancia epidemiológica. In: Cáceres CF, Pecheny M, Terto JM, organizadores. *SIDA y sexo entre hombres en América Latina: vulnerabilidades, fortalezas y propuestas para la acción*. Perú: UPCH/ONUSIDA; 2002. p. 25-56.
45. Goffman E. *Estigma. La identidad deteriorada*. Buenos Aires. Amorrortu; 1989. 1963.
46. Carrier JM. *De los otros. Intimidad y homosexualidad entre los hombres del occidente y el noroeste de México*. Guadalajara: Editorial Pandora. S.A. de C.V; 2003.
47. Córdova-Plaza Rosío. Universos paralelos: Turismo sexual comercial entre hombres en el Puerto de Veracruz, México. *Estudios y perspectivas en turismo* 2015; 24(4): 848-866.
48. Garaizabal C. ONG y derechos humanos: la experiencia de Hetaria. In: Osborne R, organizador. *Trabajador@s del sexo*. Barcelona: Bellaterra; 2004. p. 25-56.
49. Anderson E. Orthodox and inclusive masculinity: Competing masculinities among heterosexual men in a feminized terrain. *Sociological Perspectives* 2005; 48(3):337-356.
50. Higgins M, Coen T. Rompiendo esquemas. El retrato etnográfico de una familia de travestis en Oaxaca urbano. *Desacatos* 2002; 9:89-95.

---

Article submitted 08/03/2015

Approved 22/08/2016

Final version submitted 24/08/2016