Reynel Alexander Chaparro
Marco Aurélio Máximo Prado *Editors*

Latinx Queer Psychology

Contributions to the Study of LGBTIQ+, Sexual and Gender Diversity Issues

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About the Editors

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Chapter 1
Introduction: LGBTIQ+ Sexual and Gender Diversity Psychology from a Latinx Perspective

Reynel Alexander Chaparro and Marco Aurélio Máximo Prado

Latin America is located from different perspectives in the place from which it is conceptualized, outside or inside Latin America. The Latin American perspective is understood mainly from the geographical delimitation in which the characteristic of belonging to the countries that were Spanish, French and Portuguese colonies in the American continent is emphasized, including in this delimitation the countries between México, Argentina and the Caribbean (Gutiérrez & Landeira-Fernández, 2018).

Colonization, as one of the markers of the organization of Latinx histories, included a broad reflection on the transference and imposition of the characteristics of the colonizers, at the same time with mixture characteristic of the colonized. This combination/mixture has not been equitable/fair and rather has been a process of recognized tensions of what it is (as an object/subject of study and reflection) and what it belongs to the Latinx, its relationship with the Ibero-American (Spain and Portugal as countries where main axes of reflexive circulation are related to colonization) and other regions of the world, mainly North America and Europe (as regions with strong influence in actual understanding and knowledge about psychology (see Danziger, 2006)), as well as its own constant (re)organization as a Latin American region.

What do Latin American countries have to share and communicate with each other? Between regions that have undergone colonization processes such Africa and Asia? These questions are part of contemporary processes of decolonial reflection that involve privileged minority that reside in WEIRD (Western, educated, industrialized, rich, democratic) societies but also to the lives of the global majority of the

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world – especially those who live in marginalized cultures of the global South (Bhatia, 2018).

Latin American psychology has been characterized as a topic that is reflected mainly from within, that is, from psychology professionals who inhabit the territory and who have been participants in the growth of psychology since its beginning (documented since 1947) as students, teachers, and professional psychologist doing a situated research and practice. Therefore, the approaches are located in its beginnings, its local and regional development, as well as searching for characteristics that delimit its positioning at a local, regional, and global international level. All this process is in the middle of the construction of its own identity (see the compilations on the history of Latin American psychology by Arias (2011) and Ardila (2018)).

Searching for identity in Latin American psychology comes from the recognition of conditions of inequality that have involved dependence on "imported" models and theories (recent logical positivism, Anglo-American psychology, and European psychoanalytic currents), lack of originality, little participation in global agendas of knowledge, and low academic productivity. Other particular characteristics include the increasing number of psychologists per capita, the scientific orientation and the emphasis on applied psychology (related to the orientation toward the human being as the center of the reflection), and the need for a psychology oriented to respond to social demands that are linked with social activism (Alarcón, 2002; Castro, 2014; Ardila, 2018). This social emphasis has permeated the development of community psychology (Montero, 2018), since Latin America is in the midst of conditions marked by different democratic processes/dictatorships, the predominant influence of the Catholic church (and other such as Pentecostal and Christian movements), as so as economic changes (struggling with economic inequalities) in the particularities of the globalized world. Human sexuality in this context is another element that has historically been problematized in the understanding of Latin America.

Psychology provides scientific knowledge about sexualities and influences political decisions (APS, 2010, 2015; APA, 2010; Nel, 2014; IPsyNet, 2018) in a recent well-defined focus on LGBTIQ+ studies (APS, 2010; Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Concerns Office of the American Psychological Association, 2011; APA, 2012; BPS, 2012, 2019), which integrates an identity conceptualization and diverse experiences in sexualities. This last emphasis on sexualities can be widely located within the studies of sexual and gender diversities, which try to integrate epistemically emerging identities (new ways of naming outside of heterosexuality), in opposition to oppressive heteronormative schemes and homo/hetero dualism (Mogrovejo, 2008).

LGBTQ+ studies have gradually included the perspective of sexual and gender diversity, and they have been predominantly elaborated with a long tradition from American and European perspectives. The proposal of this book is to focus on the different understandings and practices constructed from Latin American researchers that contribute to a broader application of psychological knowledge in LGBTQ+/sexual and gender diversity issues. We understand Latin America as a place with possibilities to permeate other regions far from its geographical limits.

The recognition of violence against LGBTQ+ people, communities, groups, and families; the effect of post-Stonewall activism individualized in each country with its impact on policies for the inclusion of sexual and gender diversity; the effects of internal and external migrations; the particular political dynamics; conceptual resignification into all psychology areas; as well as the elaboration and production of new ideas and ways of doing psychology are elements that we consider relevant in the responses Latin American psychology has given to social transformations and demands for active participation in favor of the well-being of people, groups, and diverse communities. These responses from the Latin American psychology perspective have generated a new branch of reconceptualization in the field, as well as a new theoretical critique to the mainstream psychological theories. The LGBTQ+ studies from this critical psychology framework have been introduced gradually (and recently) in many under- and postgraduate psychology courses around the region as a new discipline, area, and/or theoretical perspective as a queer psychology.

This book reflects the contemporary comprehensive dynamic on gender and sexualities from the perspective of nine countries and the work carried out by different researchers around psychology that addresses LGBTQ+ and sexual and gender diversity issues. We grouped the chapters in three core components:

1. *Theoretical contributions.* From Spain, Rocío Garrido and Anna Zaptsi in Chap. 2 "Contributions of the Liberating Community Psychology Approach to Psychosocial Practice on Sexual and Gender Diversity" offer us an integrative conceptual framework from liberating community psychology in the understanding and research of LGBTQ+ issues; this chapter has the potential to influence other comprehensive ways of understanding the social phenomena that involve LGBTQ+ issues in psychology. From Argentina, Ariel Martínez in Chap. 3 "The Diaspora of Identity: A Cuir Look upon Identifications in the Photograph of Lariza Hatrick" incorporates the dialogue between the queer/cuir and psychoanalysis in a positioned reading in the interpretation and problematization of images/exhibitions/identities/places that involve the trans experience from the perspective of "abject bodies."
2. *Rethinking process of incidence. Histories in perspective*. We have the Chap. 4 of Jasmine Koech and colleagues, "Resisting by Existing: Trans Latinx Mental Health, Well-Being, and Resilience in the United States," where the understanding of Latinx is complemented with the visibility of geographical and identity issues, located in contexts that are considered problematic such as migration to the United States from Latin American countries. This point of intersection is relevant to consider in the dichotomous vision of Latin America (inside or outside the United States) and the implicit understanding of limits around migration and trans experiences. From Puerto Rico, the Chap. 5 of Caleb Esteban and colleagues, "LGBTAIQ+ Research in Puerto Rico: What Has Been Documented?", presents a review of specific literature that shows the advances in positioning, from psychology, the issues that have been relevant in addressing LGBTQ+ issues of sexual diversity in Puerto Rico. This chapter has the potential to be a reference in research on LGBTQ+ issues, both in Puerto Rico and in other

countries that are interested in the development of trends in research, impact, and historical-conceptual references on LGBTQ+ issues. From Brazil, Marco Aurélio Prado and Paula Sandrine Machado in Chap. 6 "Psychology and LGBTI+: Science, Power, and Politics on Queer Perspectives in Brazil" did a historical overview of central concepts linked to contextual changes in the way Brazilian social psychology understands and integrates dissident sexualities. From Uruguay, Paribanú Freitas de León in Chap. 7 "Psychology and the LGBTI+ Question in Uruguay: The Uruguayan Psychoanalysis Journal as a Case Study" complements Argentinian perspective, with a specific documentary exploration in highly influential psychoanalytical positioning in LGBTQ+ issues vs the realities experienced from LGBTQ+ people, groups, and families in the country.

3. *Research approaches*. From Chile, Jaime Barrientos and Joaquín Bahamondes in Chap. 8 "Homosexuality Justification and Social Distance: A Cross-Cultural Approach from Latin America Using World Values Survey Data" make an interesting comparison of attitudes toward LGBT people in several cohorts and countries. From Colombia, Reynel Chaparro and Javier Illidge in Chap. 9 "Psychology Training and Awareness of Heteronormativity: Understanding Emergent Strategies for LGBTQ+ Affirmative Care in Bogotá, Colombia," from a lexicographic/in deep qualitative approach, exposed how institutionalized heterosexism in psychological training showed different group strategies to implement LGBTQ+ affirmative healthcare. Finally, from Costa Rica, Daniel Fernández in Chap. 10 "Queering Psychology or Psychologists? Retrospective Reflections of a Performative Autoethnographic Intervention in the Costa Rican Psychology Association," an innovative methodological triad combining ethnographic performance, autoethnography, and archival queer perspective, shows us critically the role of "identity"/linked to the work of psychologist and the understanding of gender and sexuality issues. A lot of potential from a transgressional positioning and new ways to approach queer issues are addressed.

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Chapter 2
Contributions of the Liberating Community Psychology Approach to Psychosocial Practice on Sexual and Gender Diversity

Rocío Garrido and Anna Zaptsi

2.1 Introduction

Psychology has always been a relevant discipline for understanding sexual orientation and gender identity or expression. Nevertheless, it has been focused on an individual level of analysis, usually examining it from a negative approach (Garrido & Morales, 2010). For instance, numerous studies have been focused on internalized sexual stigma and minority stress (Shramko et al., 2018), mental health problems (Baiocco et al., 2014; Dürrbaum & Sattler, 2020), VIH and other health problems (Castilla & de la Fuente, 2000; Mustanski et al., 2011), homophobic bullying (Moyano & Sánchez-Fuentes, 2020), discrimination at work (Mara et al., 2020; Moya & Moya-Garófano, 2020), and suicide (Baiocco et al., 2014; Yıldız, 2018). These studies have made possible to document the multiple forms of violence that LGBTQ+ people suffer and how these impact their health and well-being, enabling the design of psychological treatment and prevention programs. Nevertheless, focusing on individuals rather than societies promotes victim blaming and does not address the causes of LGBTQ+ problems, limiting their liberation efforts (Harper, 2005).

The roots of sexual and gender discrimination are based on heterosexism (Herek, 1992; Harper, 2005; Russell & Bohan, 2007; Thompson, 2019), an oppressive force for LGBTQ+ people, regardless of their other factors of diversity (i.e., gender, ethnicity, social class), which maintains them as subordinate and powerless groups in almost all societies (Mendos, 2019). Heterosexism is defined as "the ideological system that denies, denigrates and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship or community" (Herek, 1995, p.321). In this chapter, the concept of heterosexism covers transphobia, as a way of including oppression

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towards trans people, although this would require greater depth, as they are different concepts.

Herek (1992) asserted that heterosexism is displayed in two primary ways. On the one hand, cultural heterosexism attacks LGBTQ+ people through culture, institutions, and sociopolitical structures. For instance, major institutions such as governments, army, legal system, religion, and healthcare operate through policies and norms that reinforce heterosexist attitudes and behaviors (Harper & Wilson, 2017). Furthermore, stereotypes based on negative images about sexual and gender minorities are still ongoing in mass media and on the streets (Harper, 2005; Hicks, 2020). In fact, nowadays, 37 United Nations Member States (35% in total) criminalize consensual same-sex acts, while hate speech, crime, or violence against sexual and gender minorities is frequent, even in countries with supportive legislation (Mendos, 2019).

On the other hand, psychological heterosexism is based on attitudes, emotions, and behaviors that maintain the discrimination of sexual and gender minority individuals, groups, and communities. Thereupon, violence and harassment are the major threat for people who belong to a gender and sexual minority, especially youth (Harper & Schneider, 2003). When this form of oppression affects LGBTQ+ people, they can negatively internalize their self-view and consider themselves undeserving of resources or participation in societal affairs. This effect, which is called internalized homophobia, generates personal dissonance, stress, shaming, and social invisibility (Szymanski et al., 2008; Newcomb & Mustanski, 2010). However, as Russell and Bohan (2007) observed, it does not reflect intrapsychic pathological self-hatred, instead the effect of heterosexism in an alienating environment; because of that, internalized homophobia is fundamentally sociopolitical rather than individual.

However, despite the high level of oppression that LGBTQ+ communities have suffered in history and are still suffering today—or maybe because of it—they have been models of resilience and empowerment from individual to collective levels (Harper & Schneider, 2003). From the Stonewall riots that took place in New York 50 years ago, there are multiple examples of civic demonstrations and advocacy for sexual and human rights over the world. These social mobilizations have provoked a great impact at sociopolitical fronts with the recognition of rights (e.g., same-sex marriage) or the ideological openness to sexual and gender diversity in, at least, most of the Western societies. Moreover, these movements have also a significant effect on science, achieving the progressive depathologization of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people and, more recently, transgender people. However, there is still a long way to go towards their inclusion and equity (Garrido et al., 2021).

Therefore, psychology and other social disciplines can learn a lot by observing how the basic tenets of the field are operationalized and implemented by LGBTQ+ liberation movements, while these movements can benefit from collaborations with these disciplines (Harper & Wilson, 2017). To achieve it, research and action should include approaches that allow to address heterosexism and its different forms of influence but also to put in value the multiple strengths and resistances understanding how LGBTQ+ people have succeeded to have a happy and healthy life in

challenging contexts. Consequently, in this chapter, we adopted a Liberating Community Psychology Approach (LCPA) (Montero & Sonn, 2009; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005).

The LCPA includes an ecological approach that emphasizes the dynamic interrelationship between people and their contexts on different interconnected levels (i.e., personal, relational, organizational, community, and macro-social). It also focused on the underlying power dynamics that characterize human relationships, trying to identify, analyze, and transform the oppressive conditions that legitimize inequity and sustain the status quo. Moreover, the LCPA adopts a strength-based approach understanding and promoting resilience, empowerment, and social equity.

This chapter assumes the premise that being LGBTQ+ people in heterosexist societies implies a liberation process to achieve well-being and integration. Following Montero and Sonn (2009):

> Liberation is a process entailing a social rupture in the sense of transforming both the conditions of inequality and oppression and the institutions and practices producing them. It has a collective nature, but its effects also transform the individuals participating, who, while carrying out material changes, are empowered and develop new forms of social identity. It is also a political process in the sense that its point of departure is the conscientization of the participants, who become aware of their rights and duties within their society, developing their citizenship and critical capacities, while strengthening democracy and civil society. Liberation is directed to these sectors in society suffering from oppression and deprivation, and also seeks the emancipation of the oppressors from their own alienation, so they can understand that a just and democratic society is a better place to live and develop. (p.1)

The structure of this chapter is the following: Firstly, we present the origin and the development of the LCPA. Secondly, its main values and principles are applied to understand LGBTQ+ experiences, struggles, and resistances. Thirdly, the LCPA contributions to psychosocial practice on LGBTQ+ issues are presented. Finally, some conclusions are stressed to guide future steps achieving social justice and sexual rights.

The Origins and Development of the LCPA: Between Latin America and the USA

Community psychology emerged in response to dissatisfaction of professionals working in the area of mental health—mostly, psychologists—with the prevailing biomedical model (Levine, 1981). They needed to contextualize the problems of their clients/users, thus broadening the focus from individual pathologies to community health (Montero, 1996). Both because of the nature of the interventions—individually and therapeutically—and their limited range to address psychosocial issues. In addition, the biomedical model was not able to reach all individuals suffering from mental health problems; paradoxically, those who needed the most

attention due to their vulnerable situation were those who had the least access to services (Levine, 1981).

Psychologist's criticism with professional psychology coincides with the emerging civil rights movement—including LGBT social movement—in the USA. This social agitation was reflected in a wave of activism within psychology, where many professionals sought for a science committed to social change and equity (Garrido et al., 2013). Likewise, the role of psychologists is reviewed, hoping to transcend the limits set by the medical hierarchy in hospitals to seek a place in other fields (i.e., health, education, justice, social welfare) and give professional meaning to their participation in social movements (Levine, 1981).

In response to the need for new paradigms, community psychology was officially conceived as such in 1965 at the "Conference on the Education of Psychologists for Community Mental Health" held in Swampscott, Massachusetts (Rappaport, 1977). It proposed that individuals' problems are related to the social context within they live, defending the need to increase preventive actions in the community, such as the sense of community, advocating for housing, labor opportunities, or access to community services (Montero, 1994). Similarly, it introduced the importance of social justice in health and well-being (Prilleltensky, 2012). Therefore, this discipline called for integrating multiple social actors in the approach to the complexity of social problems (Montero, 2012).

Despite the importance of the US contributions to the development and consolidation of the discipline, it is now widely recognized that the true origins of community psychology can be found in Latin America. Since the late 1950s, interdisciplinary community developments took place there, in which all the characteristics that later came to define community psychology were applied (Martín-Baró, 1983; Montero & Sonn, 2009): (a) the focus on oppressed people in order to facilitate their empowerment and well-being, (b) the orientation towards social change and social justice, (c) the introduction of a critical epistemology where knowledge is built from the base and validated in practice, (d) the implementation of participatory action-research methodology pursuing equity, and (e) the redefinition of psychology's practice as well as the role of researchers and practitioners, who conceive users/clients/participants as active persons with strengths besides weaknesses. For instance, these principles are found in Martín Baró's (1986) *Liberation Psychology*, Paulo Freire's (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and Fals Borda's (1959) *Commitment sociology*. All these socio-educational professionals supported oppressed communities in their struggle for liberation, connecting research to action (Garrido et al., 2013). For this reason, in Latin America this discipline was named liberation psychology.

According to Montero (1996), the development of community psychology has "parallel lives" in Latin America and in the USA:

> Although there was very little contact or communication between the first community psychologists in these regions, very similar principles and orientations evolved. These similarities are particularly striking given the many ways in which North and Latin American contexts and histories differ. (p.159)

Characterizing the LCPA: Values and Principles

The LCPA integrates the values and principles of community psychology (e.g., respect for diversity, ecology approach, strength-based approach) with the emphasis of liberation psychology on transforming oppressive social contexts in order to achieve social justice (Montero & Sonn, 2009; Paloma et al., 2016). These values and principles make the LCPA unique, integrating the influence of advocacy and liberation social movements developed in the USA and Latin America. Below, its main values are detailed, exploring how it has been applied to sexual and gender diversity issues.

Respect for Diversity

Attention and respect for diversity are included in the Ethical Principles of the American Psychological Association (2002) and considered to be imperative values from a LCPA, which advocates that "every person's right to be different without risk of suffering material and psychological sanctions" (Rappaport, 1977, p. 1). Following the definition of the Society for Community Research and Action (https://www.scra27.org/), diversity encompasses a full range of human characteristics (e.g., ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age, social class, physical and psychological abilities and qualities, geographical location, religion, etc.) that makes each individual/group/community unique and different from others within their socio-ecological, historical, and cultural contexts.

According to the Society for Community Research and Action, "without diversity, liberation from systems of power and oppression cannot be redressed, and the co-production/construction of knowledge cannot be achieved. Diversity requires the democratization and decolonization of knowledge through the centering of multiple perspectives, voices and lived experiences." Hence, diversity not only means acknowledging or tolerating sexual and gender difference but also recognizing the uniqueness and strengths of LGBTQ+ people. The respect for diversity is absolutely needed to foster the inclusion of minorities and to promote equity (Harper, 2005).

The main challenge of diversity is that, despite the theoretical consensus about the interconnection of multiple social locations and identities, in practice, both research and interventions are often focused on only one dimension (Trickett et al., 1994). In fact, the study of diversity from the LCPA has given precedence to racial and cultural issues (see Suárez-Balcázar et al., 2014). As Harper and Wilson (2017) documented, compared to other disciplines, community psychology has not paid much attention to research, theory, and action focused on LGBTQ+ issues. Despite the increasing interest to sexual and gender diversity within the field since D′Augelli's first call for attention in 1989, these works usually present some biases, for example, male-centered bias, the focus on negative elements (e.g., minority stress, violence, and HIV status), and the generalization of the most visible group characteristics—and often the most privileged, such as white gay men—in the entire

LGBTQ+ community (Harper & Wilson, 2017; Harper, 2005; Vaughan & Rodriguez, 2014).

In response, recognizing diversity within the larger LGBTQ+ community is highly important, regarding individuals who are members of other oppressed groups and suffer multiple minority status that would increase their difficulties (Harper & Schneider, 2003). For example, Follins et al. (2014), after a literature review, found that black LGBT individuals are more likely to experience violence than heterosexuals of any ethnic background. By a strengths-based perspective, they also foreground the factors that contribute to their resilience facing up heterosexism and racism (e.g., self-efficacy, active coping strategies, integration of multiple identities, and social support).

The focus on one identity category risks overgeneralization and oversimplification of individual and collective experiences of diversity (Harrell & Bond, 2006). According to Monro (2020), the term LGBTQ+ is also a double-edged sword in this matter. Moreover, she highlighted that if it is used in general terms, this can obscure the specificities of individual/group experiences and silence people who are not members of the dominant groups. For instance, bisexual people are usually ignored in this research field (Pollitt et al., 2018). Nevertheless, adopting a particularistic approach making visible and addressing specific needs of LGBTQ+ people could contribute to draw apart the collective—especially as a political agent.

Furthermore, focusing on a "single" identity category—for example, white gay men—does not reduce the necessity of considering diversity and the importance of personal experiences. As D'Augelli (2003) stated, the differences between people's sexual activities and desires, their self-labeled gender identity and sexual orientation vs. how they publicly presented them, similarly their way to face up heteronormativity or cisnormativity, offer a matrix of an extremely complex diversity. This complexity is increased when the multiple levels of contexts are introduced into the equation, because family, friends, workmates, neighbors, the community and sociopolitical context, etc., have a great impact on sexual and gender minorities' well-being and integration (Follins et al., 2014). Furthermore, it should be taken into account that they may exhibit their diversity in some settings but hide it in others—which could also impact variously on their well-being and integration (Garrido & Morales, 2010; Russell & Bohan, 2007).

In order to achieve this complexity, the intersectional framework has resulted very useful. It was developed within Black feminism and queer movements (Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 1981; Evans & Lépinard, 2019) in order to stress the interdependence of multiple identities, in terms of power and privilege hierarchies. Intersectionality assumes that gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and all categories are co-constructed and cannot be forcedly separated (Evans & Lépinard, 2019). Moreover, it allows to see the intersection of different systems of oppression and their consequences on LGBTQ+ people, being heterosexism the main obstacle for them, which takes place at different levels (Harper & Schneider, 2003). For that reason, psychosocial practice needs to combine intersectionality with an ecological approach.

The Importance of the Context as an Ecological Multilevel Environment

Martín-Baró (1983) claimed that "although psychological reality only acquires concreteness in individuals, its origin is in the social structure" (p. 98). Thus, this "people-in-contexts" perspective (Trickett, 1996) regards essential the inclusion of the multiple levels at which every context operates for the study and intervention on human behavior. The ecological approach introduces the analysis of interactions and mutual influences between people and social systems in which they enter during their daily activities. Likewise, the ecological approach includes how these levels affect one another and help shaping norms, values, and behavioral patterns and preferences that define culture and have impact on the individuals (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Kelly et al., 2000).

The ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005) allows us to explore how culture and dominant ideology in society influence people, contextualized in their neighborhoods, since this can determine their relationship with their family, friends, workplace, school, etc., and the relationship of these systems with each other. Moreover, it is an imperative to the advance on research and interventions related to sexual and gender diversity. Figure 2.1 grouped influenced variables identified in LGBTQ+ research, on the ecological levels: (1) individual, (2) relational, (3) organizational, (4) community, and (5) social/structural/macrosocial.

Firstly, on an individual level, LGBTQ+ people are formed of multiple intersected elements that determine their entering community settings, including gender identity, sexual orientation, ethnicity, cultural background, religion, behavioral preferences, etc. In case of sexual and gender minorities, internalized heterosexism has been identified as an important element for psychological well-being (Harper, 2005), endangering their physical and mental health, and their integration (Baiocco

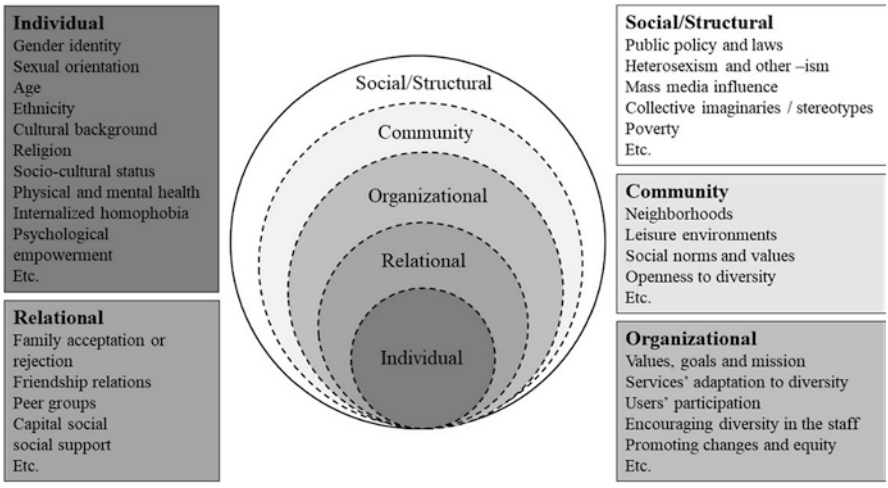

Fig. 2.1 Factors influencing LGBTQ+ people and communities

et al., 2014; Newcomb & Mustanski, 2010; Shramko et al., 2018). However, although it negatively affects LGBTQ+ people, most of them are models of resilience, since they cope with this situation positively (Garrido & Morales, 2010).

Secondly, on an interpersonal level, there are multiple relations influencing LGBTQ+ people, such family or peer groups. For instance, family acceptance predicts greater self-esteem, social support, and general health status in youth and adults being also an important protective factor of depression, substance abuse, and suicide (Ryan et al., 2010; Zimmerman et al., 2015). Additionally, peer support is fundamental providing sense of belonging and promoting resiliency in LGBTQ+ people, particularly when family support is absent (Zimmerman et al., 2015). In this way, the use of e-approach mechanism creating resilience and sense of community is increasingly used by LGBTQ+ people, especially by youth, becoming social media a source for social support (Chong et al., 2015).

Thirdly, on an organizational level, numerous studies focused mainly on two studies: education centers and workplaces (Mara et al., 2020; Moya & Moya-Garófano, 2020; Moyano & Sánchez-Fuentes, 2020). These institutions have a great potential to prevent homophobic bulling and mobbing, developing antidiscrimination policies and protection actions for LGBTQ+ people (Hall, 2017). Specifically, universities are also an interesting setting for promoting respect for diversity and sexual rights at multiple levels of influence (Garrido et al., 2021). Thus, community organizations and public services could become empowering community settings (Maton, 2008), which are defined by (a) the capacity to adopt a multicultural mission, embracing diversity and equity as values and goals; (b) the adaptation of services and organizational processes to the diversity and multiple needs of the users; (c) promoting horizontal and reciprocal relationships by including users in the organizational decision-making process and establishing strong partnerships with other institutions; (d) encouraging diversity and developing new roles in the staff; (e) fostering leadership among professionals and community members who are pluralistic and diverse; and (f) promoting changes in the organizational structures and services and, also, in society.

Fourth, the LCPA highlight the community level, where these interactions are taking place. Thereupon, it is interesting how—and why—sexual and gender minorities create their own neighborhoods where they can live freely and safely and interact frequently with other LGBTQ+ people (Harper & Schneider, 2003). These geographic communities could be understood as segregated areas or ghettos but also as enclaves of resistance where self-defined groups congregate as a means of protecting and enhancing their economic, social, political, and/or cultural development (Marcuse, 2001). LGBTQ+ people actively created these physical communities and their symbolic meanings, where they can cover some specific material, psychological, and relational needs, e.g., in bars and bookshops. Moreover, these neighborhoods reinforce their identities and sense of community, sometimes becoming the heart of sexual rights activism (Costa & Pires, 2019; Rosenthal, 1996).

Finally, the social level includes policies and structural elements that determine the accessibility to resources and equal opportunities. In the last decade there have been numerous legislative advances and positive changes in public attitudes towards

sexual and gender diversity around the world, especially in Western countries (Mendos, 2019). Nevertheless, heterosexism and negative stereotypes of sexual and gender minorities are still present in mass media and on the streets (Harper, 2005; Hicks, 2020). Moreover, there have also been signs of backlash against sexual rights and visibility of LGBTQ+ people in society. A clear example of this is the rise of political parties with an openly anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric, in defense of non-inclusive values. Against this, LGBTQ+ movements are growing in advocacy for sexual rights above all in countries where same-sexual relations are criminalized (Evans & Lépinard, 2019; Mendos, 2019).

Finally, it should be noted that the ecological approach implies incorporating growing numbers of variables in a multilevel way, increasing the complexity for developing context-specific research and action (Kaufman et al., 2014). Therefore, multisectoral and interdisciplinary collaborations are needed (Kaufman et al., 2014; Montero, 2012): psychology and medicine addressing individual factors; social psychology, sociology, anthropology, communication science, etc., to tackle interpersonal and community factors; and economics, political science, geography, etc., to reach the social and structural factors.

The Impact of the Distribution of Power on Well-Being and Social Justice

The main LCPA contribution to the ecological model is the recognition of the importance of social justice and power distribution within the contexts, hereby determining the relations between groups and people's well-being (García-Ramírez et al., 2014; Moane, 2003). Following Prilleltensky (2012), social justice is "the fair and equitable allocation of burden, resources, and power in society" (p. 362), so this involves an equitable distribution of rights, responsibilities, burdens, and privileges in society (distributive justice), as well as transparent and participatory decision-making processes in aspects that affect individuals (procedural justice).

The level of social justice at different ecological domains determines the satisfaction of material and psychological needs of people, which is translated into their well-being and power (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). In compliance with the intersectional framework (Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 1981), the access to power is determined by social and historical circumstances, as well as by structural and personal factors (e.g., gender identity and sexual orientation, social class, ethnicity). Afterwards, minority groups such as LGBTQ+ people suffer multiple oppressions that place them in a subaltern position in society (Evans & Lépinard, 2019; Harper & Wilson, 2017).

As already explained, heterosexism is the basis that define oppression over sexual and gender minorities, understanding oppression as the process of domination by which cis- and heterosexual people restrict personal freedom and limit the capacity of LGBTQ+ people to act and participate within the society (Evans & Lépinard, 2019; Harper, 2005). Therefore, the LCPA seeks to challenge heterosexism transforming the conditions that legitimize and support the status quo and inequity (Harper & Wilson, 2017). To achieve that, the LCPA aims to empower LGBTQ+

people and communities, as well as to promote social changes for social justice (Harper, 2005; Moane, 2003).

The Strengths-Based Framework to Put in Value Resilience and Empowerment Processes of Oppressed Communities

Adopting the LCPA implies a strengths-based framework, which helps to understand how gender and sexual minorities not only survive but also lead healthy and happy lives (Follins et al., 2014). The identification of these strengths and the forms of resistance are key assets for the success and sustainability of interventions (Montero, 2012; Zimmerman et al., 2015). In fact, a distinguishing strategy developed by the LCPA achieving social justice is the empowerment of oppressed and marginalized populations (Prilleltensky, 2012).

Particularly, the empowerment of LGBTQ+ people and communities could be defined as a process by which they gain and recover control over decisions that affect their own lives (Zimmerman, 1995). It implies a liberation journey that involves three phases (García-Ramírez et al., 2011): (1) increasing critical awareness, (2) gaining capacity to act individually and collectively (e.g., developing skills, establishing networks, assuming their capacity to promote changes), and (3) taking action to promote social changes for social justice in their contexts (e.g., promoting new ways of social organization, advocating for their rights). Then, empowerment involves a complex dialogical process which means a "dual reconstruction of selfhood and settings: at the citizenship level, from exclusion to belonging; at the interpersonal level, from isolation to participation; and at the intrapersonal level, from hopelessness to psychological wellbeing" (García-Ramírez et al., 2011).

From this perspective, it is very important to distinguish resilience and empowerment within psychological practice and research with sexual and gender minorities. Following Brodsky and Cattaneo (2013, p.333), "resilience and empowerment are fueled by unsatisfying states, but are differentiated by, among other things, internally (resilience) versus externally (empowerment) focused change goals." These goals are determined by the level of risk of the contexts (e.g., countries where sexual and gender diversity are penalized vs. countries that recognize sexual rights) and the resources that people/communities have to face up (e.g., self-efficacy, skills, organizations, and other support sources). Hence, "resilience consists of internal, local level goals that are aimed at intrapersonal actions and outcomes—adapting, withstanding, or resisting the situation as it is" and "empowerment is enacted socially—aimed at external change to relationships, situations, power dynamics, or contexts—and involves a change in power along with an internal, psychological shift" (p.338). Therefore, the first step to design community interventions and research regarding LGBTQ+ populations is reflecting about the context and social change.

Social change for social justice is a central value for a LCPA, which requires multisectoral and interprofessional working teams that advocate for the simple—and artificially complicated due to power interests—question of guaranteeing

human rights for every people (Montero, 2012). Likewise, these teams should integrate community agents, for example, creating community coalitions, from which to involve communities in research and social intervention processes (Garrido et al., 2013; Suárez-Balcázar, 2020). This implies counting on the communities that are the object of intervention in the design, implementation, and evaluation (Garrido et al., 2013).

Contributions of the LCPA to the Psychosocial Practice on LGBTQ+ Issues

A major contribution of the LCPA to the psychosocial practice–whether that is counseling, social intervention, teaching, or research—is the recognition that neutrality and apolitical professionalism are neither possible nor desirable (Montero & Sonn, 2009). It is particularly important when working with minority groups, such as LGBTQ+ people, whose lives are determined by the social justice of the context where they live (Russell & Bohan, 2007). From this perspective, try "to avoid explicitly addressing matters of politics is not to be apolitical; it is to condone by silence a particular political meaning: the political status quo" (Russell & Bohan, 2007, p.60). Therefore, it implies the development of new professional roles and competencies that allow psychologists to cope with it. Next, we present the community cultural competence model (Garrido et al., 2019), which could help professionals to work with sexual and gender minorities from the LCPA.

The community cultural competence is defined as a multilevel and multidimensional process through which professionals acquire capacities (i.e., critical awareness, responsiveness to diversity, capacity to act within the organization, and capacity to act within the community) and create opportunities that allow them to operate effectively across different contexts/levels with minorities (Garrido et al., 2019).

Firstly, on an intrapersonal level, critical awareness enables professionals to develop empathy and gradually decode their own sociocultural and sexual background and that of their users, analyzing differences and similarities and respecting them (Garrido et al., 2019). Critical awareness seeks to overcome the stereotypical limitations of knowledge provision-based models, gaining a deeper understanding of the multiple oppressions that LGBTQ+ people experience and address their sociopolitical roots. In this way, Harrell and Bond (2006) proposed three diversity principles that should be present in good practices linked to diversity: (a) community culture, implying a descriptive process that understands the composition and dynamics of diversity, coming from a position of caring, respect, and openness; (b) community context that defends the importance of historical, sociopolitical, and institutional forces to analyze diversity and its dynamics within a community; and (c) self-in-community, requiring a reflective process of becoming aware of one's

own identities, values, cultural lenses, and privileges that impact the work with diverse individuals and communities.

Secondly, on an interpersonal level, responsiveness to diversity includes cultural sensitivity and communication skills (i.e., abilities for decoding verbal and nonverbal communication, managing different communication styles, active listening). These skills also enable them to collaborate with other professionals and community gatekeepers, along with building new professional roles (e.g., counseling, mediation, advocacy) protecting their own well-being and increasing their influence on the community. In addition, responsiveness to diversity indicates diminishing power asymmetries in the relationship with the users/clients. Professionals should adopt a transactional approach, by which they can move away from stereotypes and out of their cultural framework by putting themselves in the place of the users, hence accepting them unconditionally. This perspective assumes that differences are not generated by "the other" (the user) but are implicit in relationships between people whose worldviews/experiences are different. Therefore, responsiveness to diversity acts as a bridge for professionals and users from different elements of diversity.

Thirdly, on an organizational level, professionals should obtain the skills to respond successfully to one's daily work demands, increasing their self-reliance and creating opportunities to influence their organizations. The capacity to act within the organization contributes to democratizing workplaces, making them more inclusive for LGBTQ+ users/clients. This may lead professionals to develop new roles beyond their daily tasks but linked to professional ethics, such as rights advocacy, which contribute to their institutions becoming empowering settings (Maton, 2008).

Finally, on a community level, Garrido et al. (2019) proposed the capacity to act within the community, which implies being embedded in the users' community and the development of a deeper knowledge and familiarity with the target community, as so the capacity to mobilize its resources. That means to become acquainted with the available LGBTQ+ community resources and gatekeepers, accompanying and, in addition, reinforcing the social movements promoted by sexual and gender minorities. From this perspective, providers take an advocacy stance by which they can affect policies and practices meeting the needs posed by sexual and gender diversity. They can play an important role empowering LGBTQ+ people to become capable citizens of transforming their societies, with the aim of collaborating with researchers, practitioners, and community members fostering social change (Suárez-Balcázar, 2020).

To sum up, in our work with LGBTQ+ people, we ought to develop multiple competences to deal with heterosexism and its consequences on different ecological levels. We have to assume that "one important route to addressing the psychological consequences of homophobia leads not through the therapy room but through the streets (…) changing oneself by becoming active changes the world; changing the world changes oneself" (Russell & Bohan, 2007, p. 71).

2.2 Conclusions

This chapter has argued how adopting a LCPA can contribute to practice and research in sexual and gender diversity. Its ecological perspective allows going deeper into the interconnections between individual, relational, community, and social factors that determine the well-being and integration of LGBTQ+ people. According to Suárez-Balcázar et al. (2014), "individual and group behaviors, norms, values, and traditions are intrinsically intertwined with the environments and settings that individuals encounter in their daily lives" (p.28). Therefore, psychologists, other social practitioners, and scientists must consider the context in their practices with sexual and gender minorities to avoid victim blaming and go to the root of their problems. They should develop spatially and temporally sensitive research and actions, emphasizing its ecological orientation with the purpose of creating useful tools that facilitate and promote action (Garrido et al., 2021; Suárez-Balcázar et al., 2014).

The LCPA calls for ecological research and actions that challenge the status quo and privileges maintained by cis-heterosexual people, as well as reinforce resilience and empowerment of LGBTQ+ people (Harper, 2005). We need to further discern the contextual factors that support and encourage equity and the ones that do not, so as the goals and resources of LGBTQ+ people and communities within their contexts. Developing strength-based strategies, psychosocial professionals could promote, accompany, and document the liberation process carried out in sexual and gender minorities. Moreover, efforts should be made to encourage the development of LGBTQ+-Straight Alliances in organizations and the community (D'Augelli, 2003).

Looking ahead, the lessons learned from feminist and decolonial studies can significantly help in the advance of research and practice in sexual and gender diversity from the LCPA (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2019; Reid & Frisby, 2008). These approximations could move towards contextualizing diversity within diversity and considering the role of culture in definition of sexual orientation and gender, beyond non-Western conceptualizations (Harper, 2005). For instance, listening the narratives from other parts of the world where same-sex relationships are not stigmatized or where gender roles and sexuality is broad instead of the dualistic Western notions of male/female or homosexual/heterosexual (Harper & Wilson, 2017).

Finally, regardless of terminology, what is clear is that the complexity of sexual and gender issues puts in evidence the necessity of working at multisectoral and interdisciplinary teams and also in collaboration with communities (Garrido et al., 2019; Suárez-Balcázar, 2020). To achieve it, we should democratize our work frameworks and relationships, in order to recognize, respect, and promote local knowledge, capacity, and positive outcomes, particularly in oppressed people and communities (Brodsky & Cattaneo, 2013; Suárez-Balcazar, 2020). As LGBTQ+ movements have showed, people can move from oppression to liberation through empowerment processes and changing sociopolitical circumstances (Prilleltensky, 2012). Hence, scientists and practitioners must be allies and sources to impulse their

own movements, becoming rights advocators within communities (Garrido et al., 2019; Suárez-Barcázar, 2020). Hence, as Harper and Schneider proposed (2003), "community development, prevention and intervention with LGBT communities cannot be separated from social activism." Only in this manner will we achieve real equity, ensuring human rights for all people, everywhere, regardless of sexual orientation and gender identity.

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Chapter 3
The Diaspora of Identity. A *Cuir* Look upon Identifications in the Photograph of Lariza Hatrick

Ariel Martínez

3.1 Introduction

Along the last decade of the twentieth century, the irruption of Judith Butler's ideas questioned the naturalness of the body as a stable and prediscursive foundation of identities (Butler, 2007, 2008). Since then, her concept of *gender performativity* has gained ethical, theoretical, epistemic, and political potential. Although the impact of her ideas has radically questioned the exclusionary logic of identities, queer thought runs a risk of universalizing its theoretical tools, closing its explanatory potential and destroying its critical force. On the basis of this concern, I would like to highlight the fact that no queer postulate – Butlerian or not – configures a transcendent principle able to establish its context of emergence (the epistemological Global North) as a universal and a historical a priori.

Judith Butler has pointed out the potential risks of linguistic imperialism. She has also emphasized that we must observe the torsion operation within any language or context (Cano & Fernández Cordero, 2019). The epistemological vigilance that reinforces criticism inherent to queer horizon demands that the situatedness of the production of knowledge be observed. In order to reflect upon our Latin American contexts, we must test the letter of the queer theory that emerges and is amplified in the Anglo-American context against local dissident aesthetic expressions. When Butler (2007) presents gender as a "stylized repetition of acts" (p. 273), we must understand that the stylized character of acts can only be apprehended in concretely situated contexts. The performative aesthetics that hold the potential of becoming subversive are always contextual.

Donna Haraway (1991) affirms that the biased and situated character of the statements of knowledge involves the material, historical, and social conditions under

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which they emerge. Following this approach, in our geographical and political South, the epistemological and ontological reformulations of the queer perspective must be deemed like general ethical-political keys aimed at radically critiquing any version of subjective localization that self-proclaims as an original, authentic, and stable version. Even Butler has affirmed that "normalizing the queer would be, after all, its sad finish" (Butler, 1994, p. 21).

To regard the queer in an abstract and decontextualized way poses, paradoxically, a threat to its critical force. This chapter aims to counteract the normalization of queer theory. With that purpose, we consider a local dissident aesthetic proposal that we will label *cuir*.[1] From the photographic itinerary of a local Argentinian artist, we can extract reflections that allow us to radicalize the criticism regarding queer (North American) thought. It is known that the queer Global North constitutes a sounding board that inevitably imposes on us the conceptual categories from which we view sex and gender dissidences. In our local contexts, queer theoretical tools can only become critical potential through a resistance of the Souths to any form of epistemicide. Subversive appropriations are a requirement when it comes to criticizing the geopolitical mark that the reception of northern theory entails. The interest in challenging the theoretical categories that come from queer theory against local *cuir* aesthetic proposals forces us to examine and restage the abstract letter of the concepts we resort to. *Cuirizing* the queer puts in motion the critical dynamic that detotalizes any pretension of unity, even, paradoxically, that of queer theory.

In this context, the present chapter departs from Judith Butler's – Foucaultian imprinted – critique of the notions of representation and identity. The concept of identification[2] is emphasized as a psychoanalytical conceptual resource that queer theory has used to conceive the possibility of dismantling the violence of the norm that imposes identities as supposedly essential, fixed, stable, and coherent constructs, with limits drawn by the rejection and exclusion of the other. Upon a photograph by the Argentinian activist Lariza Hatrick, we suggest *cuir* contributions that aim to indicate the deficiency of postulates that do not radically criticize the limits that organize the *one* and the *other*.[3] From some photographs, we speculatively offer

[1] From our perspective, adopting a *cuir* perspective does not imply abandoning any theoretical frame generated by hegemonic knowledge factories (located in the Global North). The incorporation of local intellectuals does not guarantee an epistemological overturn capable of subverting hegemonic takes (even within the field of queer studies). We trust the potential of challenging the theoretical categories that we count on with local aesthetical-political proposals. We cannot think outside of the prevailing categories – regardless of their geopolitical origin – but we can critically scrutinize said categories from aesthetic expressions stemming from epistemological Souths.

[2] Identification is a psychological process in which the self is constructed throughout life. The self assimilates an aspect of another subject. Kaja Silverman (1996) notes the frequent "incorporative logic" through which an "external" element is incorporated into the "internal" psychic organization. Silverman emphasizes the fact that identification also functions through an "excorporative logic" that allows the link with what is different and a transformation that shakes the permanence of *the same* in the heart of identity.

[3] Butler (2007, 2008) indicates the existence of a discursive space in which the intelligible – what counts as human – is articulated. This matrix of intelligibility has been called *one* -frame of refer-

the notion of *diaspora of identity*. This notion brings us to a more radical epistemological critique of the way in which representation organizes the way of looking. The *diaspora of identity* is an ontological critique of the notion of identity as identical to itself without disregarding the political dimension tied to the vulnerability of the materiality of the bodies marked as abject. We have selected a photograph of Shirley Bombón, a migrant Peruvian *trava*[4] that lived big part of her life in Argentina. This photograph allows the prioritizing of a *cuir* analysis off-centered of Shirley's *travesti* identity and centered on the way in which the photographs offer technical elements that suggest a pulsional dimension of pure negativity where the representational domain that underlies identities crumbles. Hatrick's work also brings us closer to a notion of *cuir* that does not reject canon queer North American conceptualizations but rather emphasizes the need to clash the abstraction of theory against situated, material, and embodied aesthetical-political expressions.

3.2 Representation and Identity

In the early 1990s queer theory began tackling the issue of identity and representation. Lorey (2017) notes the seminal place that the critique of the idea of representation gains in Butler's thinking that disassembles the idea of representation as a relation of copy with reality. This path leads Butler towards the conflictive relation between matter and sign. From an exclusively linguistic frame of analysis, Butler denies any bond between identities and essences outside language. Identities do not represent extralinguistic substances because they are not copies firmly sustained by natural or necessary foundations. No form of nature prior to signification brings authenticity to some identitary positions at the expense of others classified as illegitimate copies.

Butler dismisses the existence of any correspondence with a prelinguistic reality, and the consequence of this affirmation is the dismantling of any fixed and monolithic identity. There are no legitimate or true identities because no gender representation is an identical copy of reality, and this is due to the fact that reality does not preexist representation. In Lorey's words (2017):

> Representations operate here as a productive moment in the construction of reality because meaning is established through difference with other signs, with other representations, not through a relation with a referent prior to the process of signification. [...] language does not refer to a reality of previous objects or subjects. It rather produces a rupture with the phenomenological world. In this sense, language is non-representing representation. (p. 105)

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ence from which all differences are organized. All lives that do not meet the normative requirements of this (heterosexual) matrix are constituted as *other*, or *abject*.

[4] *Trava* is the short version of the term *travesti* but also covers the category of transgender. The *travesti* collective has appropriated this denomination as an identitary claim that positively resignifies its strong derogatory and injurious component.

As of Judith Butler's queer thought, no self-portrait can be deemed true copy of an authentic core – no (self)representation is copy of a substance or inner essence. Perhaps one of the main ethical and political actions of this set of theoretical-aesthetical inquiries (Newton, 1972; Butler, 2007) gathered under the political reappropriation of slurs and abjection (Butler, 2008) resided in noting that under the compact, realistic, and substantial surface of gender, a fluctuating, strictly unstable process effervesces.

Judith Butler highlights the fragile basis of identitary constructions. She also theorizes "the critical dimension of the unconscious which, as a site of repressed sexuality, reemerges within the discourse of the subject as the very impossibility of its coherence" (Butler, 2007, p. 90). Any pretense of coherence can only fail, since "the inadvertent reemergence of the repressed reveal not only that 'identity' is constructed, but that the prohibition that constructs identity is inefficacious" (Butler, 2007, p. 90). In this way, Butler denounces the radical instability of all identitary categories. An identity is articulated through repetition, and from this reiterative practice:

> acquires its naturalized effect, and, yet, it is also by virtue of this reiteration that gaps and fissures are opened up as the constitutive instabilities in such constructions, as that which escapes or exceeds the norm, as that which cannot be wholly defined or fixed by the repetitive labor of that norm. This instability is the reconstituting possibility in the very process of repetition. (Butler, 2008, p. 29)

The immutable and stony sense surrounding the conception of identity – too close to the metaphysics of substance or presence (Flax, 1990) – incited Butler's interest (2008) in explaining the subjective constitution without landing on essential substrates or necessary foundations. That is how the concept of identification – from psychoanalysis – offered an ironic counterpoint to the very notion of identity as well as to its political and ontological complement: the idea of representation.

Identifications point towards the destinies imprinted by the norm. Butler takes an interest in identifications because they never find rest. If identity is stable, like a plot of land, delimited and parceled once and for all, Butler notes that, beneath, multiple identifications gather under the effect of the normative force, consolidating, as a dim effect over time, the body limits and borders of conventional identities. On the other hand, Butler notes that the non-substantial character of identifications reveals the phantasmatic structure of any identity. On a subject level there are no stony identities but rather identifications that find a more or less stable arrangement through the normalizing source of normative schemata (Butler, 2007, 2008), also denominated discursive spaces (Silverman, 1983). In any case, it is a subjectivation matrix that, as such, provides a normative space that makes the subject consist of the alienation of a plausible identity. Butler remarks that "every identification, precisely because it has a phantasm as its ideal, is bound to fail" (Butler, 2007, p. 134).

Identifications that gather under hegemonic gender identities find their course through the imposition of a cultural taboo, a threat of punishment that signals certain identification destinies as sanctionable places (Butler, 2008). Butler states that due to their phantasmatic character:

> not all gender identification is based on the successful implementation of the taboo against homosexuality. If feminine and masculine dispositions are the result of the effective internalization of that taboo, and if the melancholic answer to the loss of the same-sexed object is to incorporate and, indeed, to become that object through the construction of the ego ideal, then gender identity appears primarily to be the internalization of a prohibition that proves to be formative of identity. (Butler, 2007, p. 147)

3.3 From Excorporative Identifications to the Diaspora of Identity

Kaja Silverman (1983) observes that Benveniste and – quite frankly – Lacan distinguish two forms referring to the subject in any discursive event: the *speaking subject* and the *subject of speech*. The first participates in discourse as speaker or writer. The second refers to the discursive element with which the first identifies, and in doing so is constituted as an identity, a place in discourse, an effect of a process of production of meaning. Although both forms can only be comprehended in relation to each other, they can never, Silverman states, be collapsed into one unit. They remain inevitably irreducible to each other, separated by the distance between reality and representation.

As a film theorist, Kaja Silverman has expanded the distinction between the *speaking* subject and the subject *of speech* to a variety of wider discursive formations. She differentiates between a level of enunciation and a level of fiction that directly involves photography – even more so if concerning self-portraits. The *photographing* subject is the agency responsible for the capturing of the image. The subject of the photograph, on the other hand, is the fictional character, that figure that irrupts within the narrative of the photograph equivalent to that occupied by the speaker using the first-person pronoun. As we have noted, the way in which modern representation organizes the world establishes the fantasy of a subject whose relation with its own image in photograph is of full identity – photography understood as capture, copy, or register of an original and authentic self.

As stated by Butler (2009), there is no recognition outside normative frames and their keys of intelligibility. Therefore, self-recognition before a self-portrait is a discursive event. Now, how does identification operate in this process? Recognizing oneself in an image (specular or photographic) requires identification with the image. That is how the image is one's own. Butler remarks that any discursive event through which we self-name, self-perceive, and self-recognize assumes the consolidation of an identity which must be understood as a normative frame that constantly regulates the direction of identifications towards the *same* and the *self-identical*. As a counterpart, this process exorcizes alterity and difference – realms that identity's own logic requirements exclude (Weir, 1996).

Silverman (1996) highlights the structuring role that the process of identification plays in identity. Just like Butler, she turns to Lacan's mirror stage to note that identity involves identification with a visual image (Lacan, 1988). Identity keeps its

frontiers insurmountable with the principle that Silverman calls *the self-same body*. Identification ties together the emergent image with the specular image. The normative logic that underlies identity closes the possibility of identifying with visual images that are incongruent with its form. This process constructs identities from the internalization of a limit that restricts mobility and the wide spectrum of identifications. Silverman suggests that the mirror image fulfills a role as limit – it is that which cannot be crossed. The unified sense of identity seems to be sustained in the propagation of this coherence. These identifications constitutive of identity, Silverman affirms, require a constant symbolic confirmation propagated by the normative hegemony that structures (self)recognition.

However, Silverman is interested in "the ego's 'otherness' and its peculiar insistence on 'self-sameness'" (p.14). She states that the image that identification directs towards implies alterity and fiction. Identification places the image where nothing has existed before and, in this way, enables the array of an identity constitutively clinging onto an image of self that can never be strictly its own. Between identity and the image that grants its existence, there is only an imaginary connection that the identification process upholds at every instant. The complexity of the process increases when Silverman confronts us with the normative dimension that controls the identification destinies that crystalize in identities. After all, normative frames operate as identities. Thus, the look is never one's *own*, and the dilemma lies in how the cultural look sees and perceives us.

The subject assumes an identity based on culturally constructed images. Identifications take as destinies those hegemonic versions that culture offers as ideals. Identity is articulated according to these ideals that *within* identity reinforce values like totality, unity, and narcissism. When the image is located within the spectrum of the idealized by the culture, identifications reinforce the coherence of identity taking the image as a reflection of self. On the contrary, when the image is deeply dis-idealizing, identifications are interrupted, and the subject experiences it as an external imposition. But let us recall that all images, ideal or not, are external. Aulagnier (2007) offers a psychoanalytical approach to the way in which the sociocultural register participates in the identificatory construction of the subject. The author states that:

> in adhering to the social field, the subject appropriates a series of statements that his voice repeats; this repetition brings him certainty of the existence of a discourse in which the truth about the past is guaranteed, with as its corollary a belief in the possible truth of predictions about the future. (p. 162)

The ideals offered by the discourse of the social set are places where the subject directs its identifications to. Under this dynamic, the subject acts and propagates the sociocultural senses in the same identificatory process through which it is constituted. In Aulagnier's words:

> The ideal subject [...] refers to the idea of itself that the subject demands of the group, as concept, a concept that designates him as an element belonging to a whole that recognizes him as a part homogeneous with it. In return, the group expects the subject to lend his own voice to what was stated by a voice now silent, to replace a dead element and ensure the immutability of the group. (p. 163)

The discourse of the group can be preserved only insofar as the majority of subjects cathect[5] the same ideal group. The subject needs to project himself into the place of an ideal subject. However, fortunately, those idealized places of language do not always become the normative frames that, through identification, are internalized as hegemonic subjective identities. Silverman (1996) affirms that it is possible to identify with what is culturally disprized. She states that "it is crucial that this identification conform to an externalizing rather than an internalizing logic—that we identify excorporatively rather than incorporatively, and, thereby, respect the otherness" (p. 2).

Before incorporative identifications, which carry idealized models towards a yet to exist self, Silverman suggests the dynamic of the excorporative identifications that opens the possibility for identifications to dissociate from normative circuits and thus embrace difference and alterity breaking the cultural ideal of coherence and unity (Martínez, 2018). It is possible, according to Silverman, to interrupt the *self-same identity*. The politization of identification can be a bridge built towards difference, towards outside ourselves.

Let us examine our local context to grasp the resonances of these postulates in *cuir* ways of life. Let us take some photographs by the Argentinian artist Lariza Hatrick, self-identified as a Third-World lesbian. Her photographic itinerary[6] is not concerned by technical and aesthetic requirements either – she photographs under the idea of *bursting into images*. This makes complete sense when she tells us that her identity is multiple and that, for some strange reason, she chooses to stand with all her uncertainties, social questionings, and insecurities behind a camera. Guarded by the 35 mm analog color film, she takes pictures to create her own historiography and find in that history a poetics of life. The way in which we understand *cuir* manifests in this local artistic expression tending towards building a refuge for the memory of dissident existences in the city of La Plata (Province of Buenos Aires, Argentina).

Hatrick, among her work, holds a photographic itinerary dedicated to portraying Shirley Bombón, a migrant Peruvian *travesti* determined to identify with abject places. Shirley clarifies for us the complex subjective transactions that occur when identifications distance culturally idealized places and manage to derail from the circuits that respect the normative terms and requirements. Butler (2007, 2008) resorts to the notion of identification, among other conceptual resources, to combat the density and solidity that gravitate around the substantial conceptions of identity, which is no surprise. The circuits of identification define subjective territorialities that can only be upheld through reenactment and repetition over time. There is no original substance that gender represents. Then again, Hatrick's intriguing photographic work, rich with portraits of *travas*, does not set out to portray Shirley

[5] The concept of cathexis refers to the psychic energy that connects with objects (other people, body parts, representations, etc.).

[6] Hatrick publishes part of her work on her Instagram account [https://www.instagram.com/larizablood/]. There, she describes herself as "Third-World non-binary Wittigian lesbian" and her work as "lesbian images, dissident to the cisheterosexual norm."

performing a part or putting on a mask with no authentic underlying face. Neither, as we have noted, does it seem to affirm that the identification with otherness is capable of subverting the normative division between the hegemonically legitimate and the hegemonically illegitimate. *Cuir* is not a positive identitary attribute – legitimized by the hegemony of normative frames or not. It is not an adjective. *Cuir* rather means that radical negativity that interrupts the normative circuits of identifications and invades identities with a form of alterity that radically escapes any fixed localization of the heterosexual matrix – "negativity that the logos of the subject represses" (Kristeva, 1984, p. 95) (Image 3.1).

Hatrick offers a series of experimental photographs achieved through the mechanical intervention of her camera. Among several portraits of *travas*, *maricas*, and *tortas,*[7] we will privilege Shirley's to further our speculations. Shirley faces her mirror, but she appears multiplied and dislocated herself. From the margins, Shirley observes us, invading and contaminating the image. Now her look seems capable of becoming a utopian space of resistance.

Silverman (1996) has made it clear: normative frames project axes of power that organize social differences. These normative frames are discursive spaces where subjectivities are constituted. This process implies the internalization of identities structured under a logic that rejects difference. But even as she emphasizes the possibility of an identification capable of ejecting the subject outside itself, Silverman seems to accentuate the possibility of affirming and reconciling with otherness within sameness. Just like Silverman, Hatrick's photography might suggest the irruption of otherness within sameness and thus, through the production of the other as implausible, hold the potential of disarticulating the intelligibility that constitutes us as *one* before the *other*. But this would mean continuing to emphasize the

Image 3.1 Photograph by Lariza Hatrick (personal archive). Untitled. Portrait of Shirley Bombón facing her hand mirror

[7] *Marica* can be roughly translated as *faggot* and *torta* as *dyke*. *Trava* was covered in footnote 2. However, we choose to name these identities in Spanish in order to preserve the several sociocultural and historical meanings that they convey. These reappropriations of slurs are deeply rooted in Latin American dissident history.

hegemonic terms that assign its plausibility to image and disregarding that which becomes alienness and radical alterity – the spaces repudiated and inhospitable for our identifications.

In the portrait, neither Shirley nor the spectator competes with one another or fight to be *locus* of representation. It is a dismantling of the terms that organize the point of view and any act of visualization structured by the terms subject/other. With a shifting and unpredictable maneuver, Hatrick's photography forces spectators to continually change their perspective and let go of any stable or absolute position. Shirley is unfolded disturbing the idea of a coherent referent. Inevitably, the point from where we observe Shirley is altered when her sameness spills out of the given identitary limits. Although Shirley crosses the abyss of difference, she is the difference that her own differing produces and embraces. Hatrick's experimental photography – that many would easily indicate as mistaken or flawed – highlights the fiction of in-out, internal-external. Through a small hand mirror, Shirley can see herself turned in the reflection behind her. It is the irruption of a spectral presence that contaminates the very limits between identity and otherness.

Shirley looks at herself in the mirror's reflection and, at the same time, irrupts in her margins and directly observes us. The risky superimposition that the artist accomplishes by manipulating the camera entices us to unfold ourselves – not becoming otherness within ourselves but rather becoming ourselves outside the limits that contain the sense of our identity. By disturbing the logic of identities and not their legitimate or illegitimate staging, Hatrick upsets the coherent comfort of the point we are at and from which we observe not only Shirley in the picture but ourselves. Our involvement as spectators does not need the mirror that Shirley holds in her hand – where she observes herself outside of herself. Hatrick confronts the subject of the photograph and the spectator in the same ontologic situation where sameness and coherence are impossible. The constant process through which identity identifies with herself is continuously undermined by an alterity that, paradoxically, constitutively involves us.

Hatrick leads us to the heart of *cuir*, because her photography confronts us with the implausible – not because it has Shirley, a migrant *travesti* whose gender is ruled as inauthentic under the principles of intelligibility of the heterosexual matrix (Butler, 2007), but because it radically disturbs the limits that conventions have sedimented in our gaze. The duplication of otherness exceeding its own limits reveals the constitutive fluctuation and instability of identifications that attempt to maintain any identity as fixed, stable, and under clear and exclusive limits.

Shirley is no longer the other herself – rather, her sameness unfolds into otherness. The image propagates a divided subject whose sameness is thrown outside. Hatrick shows us how Shirley's identity, like our, is continuously undone, and this revelation not only desecrates the rules of modern representation – which feeds the notion of a limiting and limited identity – but also highlights that a disturbing negativity constantly underlies any identity. And this nuisance that ignites the realization of the logic of identities does not refer to the potential malleability of the identificatory circles but to the limit that any attempt of subjective totalization under discursive categories inevitably hits.

Silverman proposes the concept of identity at a distance: the possibility to identify with the other and the difference as a means of contaminating the fixed limits of identity. In her words:

> the infant initially responds to the reflection of its body as a separate thing [...] that reflection provides an image in relation to which it somehow orients itself. The reflection offers what, for lack of a better expression, I will call 'identity-at-a-distance'. Such an identity is, of course, inimical to the very concept implied by that word, which literally means 'the condition or quality of being the same'. Identity-at-a-distance entails precisely the opposite state of affairs—the condition or quality of being 'other'. (Silverman, 1996, p. 15)

This is possible due to the – little explored – excorporative character of identifications capable of crossing the difference. However, as suggested by Hatrick's photography, this conceptual supply is not enough to radically question the criteria that organize exclusion. Before this requirement, I put forward the potential of conceiving a *diaspora of identity*. The idea of identifications in process – linked with Butlerian gender performativity – must be met with another implicated aspect: drive.[8] Silverman states that the aesthetic work is one which resists our attempts to assimilate the ideal image. Hatrick's aesthetic work embraces failure and thus opens the way for the irruption of the pulsional dimension that underlies the dispossession and loss of any ideal image of self capable of exorcizing otherness in an absolute way. Regarding this, loss of self in terms of *diaspora* must not necessarily evoke the sense of pain associated with forced and unwilling dispersion or confinement and exile (Gilroy, 1994). If we understand identities with the spatial metaphor of territory and accept the normative violence of operations that divide their plots into discrete exclusive identities, then the banishment of diaspora that we propose here from a *cuir* prism becomes positive dispersion. The diasporic territory involves agitation and dissemination of identifications.

Hatrick allows us to think about the agitation and dispersion of the multiple unfoldings that underlie the dominant and unsustainable fiction of unity and coherence. We are disseminated, fractured not only by an overwhelming difference. After all, any identity is constitutively implicated in otherness. The supposed identitary coherence erases the existence of "differences within" (Braidotti, 1994, p. 166). But this is not enough to fracture the normative terms that organize recognition, even less so to admit the loss of ourselves that it entails. Within this frame we propose *cuir* as that potential that dissolves and interrupts the logic that divides the intelligible and the unintelligible to the point that subjective localizations only count for the desiring potential of their situational singularity. This potential comes about in diasporic territory.

[8] Drive refers to a constant force whose source lies within the body. Through drive's path, sexual satisfaction is attained. According to Freud (1920), drive exceeds and ruins, from the interstices, the normative representations that the self imposes upon sexuality. Drive is a persistent call to a state of stillness and full satisfaction (unattainable), the backdrop that shakes all psychic life. Drive takes us, through the unstoppable realization of desire and fantasy, to a point where the self, its identities, and (hetero)normative mandates shatter.

The diasporic character of the failure of identities refers to the pulsional dimension that unhinges identifications. The *cuir* diaspora refers to a radical negativity that, as such, does not find a place in fixed and stable identitary territories. The dispersion that dissolves identities is attached to the logic of drive that does not exclude pain or death. Thus, *cuir* irrupts in our artist's photographic material with an antisocial characteristic of some contemporary theoretical positions.[9] If, as Freud (1905/1979) signaled, human sexuality implies the existence of a "polymorphously perverse" (p. 173) stronghold that the demand of sexual identities cannot conquer, then we must recognize the acephalous and antisocial character of these drives that overthrow the wishful ambition of rationally commanding our objects of desire.

The exquisite work of Bernini (2015) allows us to be in contact with those margins of queer theory that understand desire as overflow of the symbolic order. Resorting to the notion of death drive (Freud, 1920/1979), they conceive sexuality as what rationality and order stumble over. The radical uninterest in being assimilated – or even excluded from – a model of humanity appears as the hallmark of Hatrick's political-aesthetical view. Much has been written on this matter. de Lauretis (2008) comments that:

> Freud's notion of an unconscious death drive [...] conveys the sense and the force of something in human reality that resists discursive articulation as well as political diplomacy, an otherness that haunts the dream of a common world. [...] I want to recover Freud's suspicion that human life, both individual and social, is compromised from the beginning by something that undermines it, works against it; something that may transcend it not from above or beyond, but from within materiality itself. (de Lauretis, 2008, p. 9)

Freud states that drive is "a concept on the frontier" (Freud, 1915/1979, p. 117) capable of leading us, Teresa de Lauretis signals, to an odd, nonbinary place, a place where categorical oppositions between the psychic and the biological, between the level of the signifier and the materiality of the body, or between the organic and the inorganic no longer stand. Drive confronts us with what dismantles the pretension of coherence of any stable identity. Drives turn identities into heterotopic, nonhomogenous places, places of transit and transformation. The drive is located in an in-between, precisely where there is no room for the binary logic of exclusion (Grosz, 2001) and where we only find constant movement of discompleting fluctuation. Drive is not reducible to the normative pretense of homogenizing our erotic practices, it unhinges our gender identifications and any sedimentation of identitary categories. Therefore, the diaspora of identity marks a non-territorialized area where the death drive lies. There, the implicit or latent cadaver located in the absent core of our impossible identity is constantly insinuated.

[9] Theorists such as Leo Bersani (2010) and Lee Edelman (2004) subscribe to the antisocial thesis of queer thought (Bernini, 2015). They note that Butler heads for the utopian horizon of social rearticulation where multiple identities can legitimately coexist. In the eyes of a queer antisocial positioning, Butler's proposal is frustrating because it shatters the critical potential that the queer element brought along in its early 1990s version. If queer promised a frame to embrace all radical oppositions to the norm, its own unfolding degraded before the force of the taxonomies that Foucault well pointed out in the components that weave together the apparatus of sexuality.

Before the continuous pulsional distotalization, identities face the normative mandate of being reinstalled in a repetition that entails a constant differing, "it is difference as difference, a deferral of any resolution into self-identity" (Butler, 2008, p. 140). Like this, the idea of spatial permanence of the identitary territory with no interruptions or temporal scansions hides the existence of a continuous process of self-translation. The idea of permanent identitary banishment, typical of the idea of diaspora, dismisses the sacredness of the idea of an original. Alongside Butler, we affirm the nonexistence of an original substrate that petrifies the authenticity of normal subjective localizations. Thus, the diaspora of identity entails pure movement as, since there is no original identitary territory, the displacement becomes ontological condition – close to what Butler (1988) has named, in passing, "an ontology of present participles" (p. 521). Subjectivity is deterritorialization, so there is no *other* territory to appeal to widen or question one's own identity. The *diaspora of identity* allows us to demarcate a chaotic and strange instance for normative pretensions, a spectral area of turbulent pulsional flow that overthrows any pretense of territorialization in frailty and instability.

According to Kristeva (1984) the symbolic dimension where language and its sought after semantic totalization tumble upon the semiotic dimension. This

> semiotic chora is no more than the place where the subject is both generated and negated, the place where his unity succumbs before the process of charges and states that produce him. We shall call this process of charges and states a negativity. (p. 28)

Drives lie in that semiotic dimension where "a permanent negativity that destroys the image" (p. 47) that the normative frames impose occurs. The semiotic witnesses the "return of the drive functioning within the symbolic, as a negativity introduced into the symbolic order, and as the transgression of that order" (p. 69). It is impossible to represent the semiotic. The force of the drive is not reducible to any identity. Even when the process of constitution of the subject inevitably adopts the limits that sociosexual identities impose, it is not possible to suffocate the desiring flows. Drive acts as an underlying polymorphous perverse, acephalous, incapable of being organized under nominations proposed by identities.

The blind pulsional spot entails a perverse core, unacceptable for the heteronormative pretense of intelligible identities. Undisciplined drives expose the subject's defeat. Authors like Bersani (2010) project this disruptive perverse potential capable of even fostering the self-destruction correlating the desiring unfolding of fantasy, the loss of domain and diluted, deregulated meaning. Edelman (2004) suggests the adoption of a figurative identification with death drive as antisocial enjoyment, a figure capable of undoing the senses that integrate identity and heteronormativity (de Lauretis, 2008).

Pulsional negativity is capable of dismantling identifications from the display of the acephalous force that recognizes no ordering in the way of representation that organizes identities. This pulsional dimension that circulates in a hyperbolic manner in areas not legitimized by heteronormativity becomes allegory of the abject and of radical alterity regarding language. The drive underlies as unwanted surplus below all intelligible forms and, at the same time, recognizes no social order. The constant

kindling of the unarticulated in language leads to the failure of the identifications that intertwine conventional identities.

Freud confronts us with a radical dispossession. We have less control over ourselves than the *dictum* of the modern subject and its imperative of rationality and pretense of autonomy might be willing to admit. Affirming that we are pervaded by irrationality means wounding the pretense of totalization that the register of sense intends. Fantasy detotalizes and pulverizes what Deleuze (2002) names as the shackles of symbolic mediation. Identities, in any of their shapes are not exempt from fantasy. Even those identities that gravitate near the heterosexual norm cannot rid themselves of the perverse drama characteristic of fantasy and pulsion.

The categories of drive and unconscious fantasy confront us with the constitutive irrational stain of or subjectivity, as well as undermine the distinction between normal and pathological. This is one of its most important political implications. Every subjectivity must withstand the siege of the anti-communal component, perhaps the rawest form of irruption of the negativity that is intrinsic to death drive. If, as Silverman (1983) and Butler (2007) note, the subject is articulated as such when it finds a place in discourse that makes it intelligible, there is no place for drive there. Drive returns to us a vibrant bodily surface with flows that recognize no predetermined course. It dissolves not only any pretense of biological determinism but also of willfulness and rationality. Antisocial queer theory recognizes the polyvalent forms in which desire is produced, experienced, and expressed. The willful, rational, free, and autonomous self is disturbed by a multiple, polymorphous, perverse sexuality. Desire confronts us with the possibility of being thrown outside ourselves.

What is experienced as desire, fantasy, longing, pain, risk, incoherence, and irrationality does not respond to the logic of identities but to the overflow of drives. Thus, the *cuir* must be preserved as a signifier whose greatest value is recognizing its own limits – as any nomination – when it comes to capturing and totalizing desiring valences. *Cuir* does not mean the diverse identities of those who do not identify as heterosexual. *Cuir* confronts us with the stamp of that negativity that guarantees the impossibility of capturing desire. We must understand *cuir* as the field of dispossession where identities cannot control themselves, where desiring experiences and expressions of pulsional sexuality grow and manifest in those places where the subject collapses, in the shadows of *cuir* excess that slips past the identitary categories that try to produce, institute, discover, capture, and finally control the subject.

The collision between identity and drive is what we here name *diaspora of identity*. The diasporic identity challenges the inevitable emergence of the subject under normative identitary frames with the pulsional negativity that detotalizes the intention of diluting the subject in the level of sense. It also holds in itself the epistemological potential to suspend the idea of frontier. The way in which Butler (2007, 2008) and Silverman (1996) resort to the idea of identification does not question the binary structuration of inclusions and exclusions. Hatrick offers us an aesthetical-political support from which we can suspect the *cuir* potential that we are interested in signaling. Hatrick's art, as Kristeva notes on art in general, is the only means of transgressing and the way of maintaining the symbolic function under the assault of negativity. Her photographic itinerary offers local expressions that find deep echoes

in what Sedgwick (1993) understands as "the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or can't be made) to signify monolithically" (p. 8). In the same way, for Halperin (1995), the term "queer" does not define a person or substantial attribute, or particular identitary feature, but rather states a position, "whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant [...] demarcates not a positivity but a posicionality vis-à-vis the normative" (p. 62).

3.4 Concluding Remarks

Butler (2007) suggests thinking of identity as *fantasy of a fantasy* to emphasize the absence of an original that provides solid ground for the array of identities. Thus, "the original identity after which gender fashions itself is an imitation without an origin" (Butler, 2007, p. 269). As we have stated before, Hatrick is not interested in the processes from which our identities are produced and sustained over time but rather on their dispossession and annihilation. Hatrick's photographs captured Shirley's death on August 14, 2018. On this occasion, she crudely portrays a world too small, with no air and no room for aspects like desire, fantasy, contradictions, the instability of identifications, and the pain that flows throughout identities. But the rawness of a big part of her photographic record suggests that Shirley's death is a moment as poetical as it is political. And thus our *cuir* look must admit the material life of bodies – unquestionably diasporic as the habitat of drive. The *cuir* negativity that we have referred to is linked to the materiality of bodies as affluent of drive. Alongside Kristeva (1984) we regard "negativity as the very movement of heterogeneous matter" (p. 113).

Butler (2009) dedicated ample space in her recent production to the reflection upon the dispossession and vulnerability we are subjected to due to the materiality of our bodily existence. Cavarero (2009) states that every body is vulnerable given that it is always open to the other's wound. This ontological feature is redoubled when social norms exert violence upon the body and worsen its vulnerability. In Butler's (2009) terms, *precariousness* becomes *precarity*:

> a new bodily ontology, one that implies the rethinking of precariousness, vulnerability, injurability, interdependency, exposure, bodily persistence, desire [...]. The 'being' of the body to which this ontology refers is one that is always given over to others, to norms, to social and political organizations that have developed historically in order to maximize precariousness for some and minimize precariousness for others. [...] The more or less existential conception of 'precariousness' is thus linked with a more specifically political notion of 'precarity.' (p. 15)

Undoubtedly, lack of intelligibility ended Shirley's material existence. The idea of *diaspora of identity* is not reduced to a discursive trope to epistemologically and ontologically reflect upon identities. The idea of *diaspora* never abandons its sense of forced, unwilling dispersion and the ongoing, continuous pilgrimage or

nomadism that can jeopardize life itself. Shirley is nomadic in several senses. She incarnates the diaspora of identity whose normative consequences are coercion or desertion involving those who unfold the poetic existence of dissolving territorializations. The idea of *diaspora of identity* ontologically questions the notion of identity but, as its denomination evidences, still holds, within, the notion of identity in a political sense. Unquestionably, the course and material existence of abject people imprint political – not ontological – relevance on the notion of identity. The strategic appeal to essentialism is considered by Judith Butler when stating:

> My concern is that, if we accept the ruling norms that govern recognition, we might end up abandoning those who are in the margins [...] or creating a new series of margins [...]. I am in favour of 'becoming intelligible' and, at the same time, I am aware of the need to be critical about the ruling forms of intelligibility. (Cano & Fernández Cordero, 2019, p. 26)

Cuir, as we have posed, needs to operate as a political supplement and epistemic vigilance of this strategic essentialism. *Cuir* negativity alerts us about the naturalization/depoliticization of invariable identities covered in an exterior of change and transformation. *Cuir* reflections regarding Hatrick's photographic proposal alert us about the queer turned perfect camouflage for fixed and stable identities.

The political look that Hatrick proposes short-circuits the impregnable distance between identity and otherness, emphasizing that both otherness and identities are unfolded and out of themselves. On one hand, her portrait of Shirley unfolded and dislocated signals that, ontologically, the identification with culturally idealized or dis-idealized identitary frames inevitably fails. On the other hand, she invites us to face the experience of deficiency and disintegration of that diaspora that recognizes no identitary territory. In this diasporic non-place, drive disturbs identification, and our sameness scatters erasing the frontiers that separate us from otherness. Once again, this does not imply denying the relevance of those political keys that allow us to explain the demonization of certain abject destinies of identification.

Hatrick's photographs suggest that every identity is sieged by drive. The deadly aspect of drive confronts us with a rationality that stumbles upon sexuality (Freud, 1920/1979). It also marks our collective failure of creating space for abject aesthetics signaled as punishable places. Our photographer confronts us with the limits of every identity, with lacking, drive, masochism, desire, pain, fantasy, and the entire dimension of sexuality that locates us outside ourselves and dissolves every identitary frontier. In this sense, the notion of *diaspora of identity* refers to a spatial dislocation that annihilates the idea of frontier and, at the same time, denounces the obsession over an inexistent origin. The way in which, here, we prefer to interpret Hatrick's aesthetic proposal suggests that the illusion of domain, self-control, coherence, unity, and stability is culturally projected as a political operation that territorializes the social field in areas where recognition circulates and others where it is denied. In this sense, the notion of *diaspora of identity* highlights the need to recognize the material consequences of those identities that are confined to abject territories.

Hatrick values and eroticizes failure – that thorn in the side of the pretense of coherence – and that is precisely where the potential of her photography lies. She

does not offer a set of subjective identities for us to identify with or redeem. She shows us that diversion, interruption, failure, incoherence, dispossession, and death are a part of the way in which we constantly and ontologically become, are done, and undone. In this sense, Hatrick's photographic work is *cuir*. It makes us look at ourselves from "where we are not," because "there" the fracture of our sameness is more evidently jeopardized – the forces that disturb the identifications that wander around foreign areas. The *diaspora of identity* notes that we simultaneously *are* there where we cannot *be* and *are* here where we are not – that area with no clear territory where we disintegrate in a constitutive failure.

Hatrick's photography allows us to reflect upon the *diaspora of identity* as it suggests more than the existence of identifications that escape the normative mandate that imposes hegemonic identities. Although capable of crossing the abyss of difference, identifications must struggle to recompose stable forms of identity facing the pulsional magma that makes sexuality a quest for pleasure that is acephalous, perverse, and polymorphous. The *diaspora of identity* confronts us with the incoherence, with the drive that dispels identifications from the fantasy of a stable, permanent, and coherent identity. *Cuir* aesthetic leads us, by the hand of Hatrick, to make contact with that negativity that dissolves us and marks the continuous dispossession of ourselves.

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Chapter 4
Resisting by Existing: Trans Latinx Mental Health, Well-Being, and Resilience in the United States

Jasmine M. Koech, Jules P. Sostre, Gabriel M. Lockett, Kirsten A. Gonzalez, and Roberto L. Abreu

Within the United States, the term Latino encompasses an ethnic identity noting descendants of those from Latin America and/or the Caribbean who have emigrated from their country of origin or whose ancestors have emigrated from their country of origin (Barerra & Longoria, 2018; Delgado-Romero, 2001). Importantly, the ethnic identity of Latino/ Latina is separate from racial identities though this is often conflated (Sandrino-Glasser, 1998). Following the gendered endings that occur in the Spanish language, Latino and Latina only are applicable to those who identify within the gender binary (male or female). Though the term Latino/Latina/Latinos/Latinas is widely recognized among Latin American and Caribbean descendants, a more inclusive term Latinx was introduced to allow those who identify outside the gender binary to identify their ethnic heritage (Scharrón-del Río & Aja, 2020). In an effort to be mindful and inclusive of all gender identities, we use the term Latinx throughout this chapter except when referring to individuals who self-identify as Latino or Latina.

Trans, an umbrella term that encompasses several identities (i.e., trans, nonbinary, agender, gender fluid, gender nonconforming), includes those whose gender identity does not match their assigned sex at birth (Jones, 2019). The term is used by individuals who have a wide range of gender nonconforming identities (Jones, 2019). Additionally, the term includes drag queens, aggressive/masculine women, and feminine men (Valentine, 2007).

For the purpose of this chapter, we will focus on those at the intersection of the two previously described identities: Latinx and Trans. Crenshaw (1989) denoted

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intersectionality as a tool to examine those with multiple marginalized identities in ways to advocate for their presence in law, politics, and academic theory. This perspective requires multi-angle axes to examine the experiences of individuals who commonly lack representation. By centering these voices, their narratives are heard, acknowledged, and respected, and scholarship can address how multiple systems interact to sustain the different levels of oppression these individuals experience (Crenshaw, 1989).

The authors of this chapter will be using the term "folx" to actively include people of color and Trans people, and the capitalization of Trans, Latinx/Latino/Latina, Indigenous, Black, and Immigrant occurs for the purpose of equality, respect, and the visibility these people are entitled to but are often denied through oppressive systems and scholarship.

4.1 Why the Focus on Mental Health?

When considering Trans Latinxs within the United States, their intersecting discriminatory experiences could include transprejudice/transphobia, ethnic discrimination, and/or colorism. It is important to highlight that Latinxs can be of any racial group, so the distinction between discrimination based on ethnicity and discrimination based on race needs clarification. Colorism is the systemic favoritism providing privilege to those with lighter skin tones in realms such as education access, income, employment, and housing and is influenced by the larger system of racism within the United States on individual, institutional, and systemic levels (e.g., Hunter, 2007). Ethnic discrimination is unfair treatment experienced due to belonging to a specific ethnic group (Lee, 2005). Transprejudice includes viewing in a negative way, stereotyping, or expressing discriminatory behaviors toward those whose gender appearance or identity is not expressed within traditional gender binary norms (King et al., 2009). Transphobia is the irrational fear, hatred, intolerance, and/or emotional disgust directed toward individuals who appear to not adhere to societal expressions of the gender binary (Hill, 2002; Nagoshi et al., 2008).

All of these mentioned factors can contribute to minority stress or the constant stressors experienced due to oppression, discrimination, and stigmatization of those with marginalized identities (Meyer, 1995, 2003). Individuals who hold multiple marginalized identities experience heightened stress that is connected to negative mental health outcomes and lack of access to quality mental healthcare (Cyrus, 2017; Seng et al., 2012). Preliminary work has indicated that for Trans Latinxs, perceived discrimination can negatively affect mental health in a myriad of ways such as unusually high rate of suicide attempts (Hendricks & Testa, 2012; Pachankis, 2015), substance use (Gilbert et al., 2014), and depression (Sun et al., 2016). Therefore, it is crucial to continue to examine factors that could influence the mental health and well-being of Trans Latinxs as well as offer potential solutions.

4.2 Immigration

According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2019), there are approximately 45.8 million Immigrants living within the United States, with over half migrating from Latin America. Latinx Immigrants come from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds resulting in unique, diversified needs within the context of the United States. While scholarship on Latinx Immigrants has grown, individuals within this community who are holding multiple marginalized identities are continually erased from these narratives; consequently, their needs are not discussed, and systems are not held responsible for failing to meet these needs. Cerezo et al. (2014) emphasized the importance of Trans Immigrant Latinas' lived experiences by making a call for more scholarship embracing this population while challenging the oppressive systems affecting them. Within this section, the unique experiences of the Trans Immigrant Latinx population will be explored.

Experiences of Immigration

Blackwell and Ford (2009) break down the immigration process into three separate stages: pre-migration, migration, and post-migration, whereby there is a potential for trauma within each stage. Pre-migration trauma encompasses experiences endured prior to the evacuation of the home country. Migration trauma includes experiences during the journey from the country of origin to the desired country. Finally, post-migration trauma experiences are those that occur after reaching the destination country. Regardless of the extensiveness of preparation involved in immigration, oftentimes Latinxs experiences are fraught with trauma (Blackwell & Ford, 2009). Specifically for Trans Latinxs, immigration trauma could include heightened exposure to sexual, physical, and/or emotional abuse (Anderson, 2010; Cerezo et al., 2014; Chávez, 2011).

Trans Acceptance and Safety

Trans individuals living in Latin America are exposed to much higher rates of violence compared to other areas of the world, with approximately 79% of murders of Trans and gender-diverse people worldwide occurring within Latin America between 2008 and 2019 (Transgender Europe, 2019). Trans Latinxs have shared stories of verbal, physical, and sexual victimization from family, community members, medical providers, and law enforcement in their country of origin; these experiences of pre-migration trauma were identified as important motivations for choosing to migrate to the United States (Cerezo et al., 2014; Salas, 2019). Adrianna, a Mexican Trans woman, spoke to the severity of persecution faced as a Trans

woman prior to emigrating, "*[In her country of origin] they will burn you alive because you are transgender. You would be hit, mistreated, your hair cut, they will burn you… it's horrible, it's hell on earth. [In the United States], I am free.…*" (Cerezo et al., 2014, p. 175). Throughout the transit from their country of origin to the United States, Immigrants witness and endure abuse, violence, and discrimination from "*polleros*" (migrant smugglers), gangs, armed forces, local police, and immigration agents (Bronfman et al., 2004; Infante et al., 2011). Latinx Trans Immigrants are even more vulnerable to experiencing verbal, physical, and sexual assault while en route (Cerezo et al., 2014).

Unfortunately, the experiences of violence and discrimination do not disappear upon arrival to the United States. As a result of Trump's continued poisonous rhetorics, the political climate post-2016 election has condoned an increased expression of xenophobia (the fear and negatively biased attitudes about individuals from other countries, cultures, or ethnicities; Yakushko, 2009), transphobia, transprejudice, racism, and colorism (e.g., Abreu, Gonzalez, Capielo Rosario et al., 2021). For recent Latinx Trans Immigrants, they are battling the combination of these heightened biases in novel social surroundings with a potential lack of social support (Keuroghlian et al., 2018). Undocumented Trans Latinas are disproportionately vulnerable to the negative mental health impacts associated with these experiences of discrimination and violence, such as higher rates of depression and suicidal ideation (Bazargan & Galvan, 2012; Yamanis et al., 2018).

Gender Identity Freedom

Trans Latinxs have experienced cultural, religious, and normative obstacles stopping them from expressing their gender identity in their countries of origins, such as denial of Trans existence, lack of matching identification and documentation post-transition, and societal norms forbidding them from coming out (Salas, 2019). Therefore, the potential for gender identity freedom in the United States is a motivating factor identified by several Trans Latina Immigrants (Cerezo et al., 2014).

The above narratives of gender identity freedom, however, are not fulfilled as Latinx Trans Immigrants are finding themselves further displaced by the current political rhetoric due to their intersecting identities. Specifically, they face rejection as Immigrants by the general American population, as Latinxs by the LGBTQ+ population, and as Trans from other Latinx Immigrants (Cerezo et al., 2014; Gleeson & Sampat, 2018). Trans Latina Immigrants lack socioemotional support due to their gender identity and presentation (Cerezo et al., 2014). Mental health can be negatively impacted as a result of coping with ostracism and a lack of social support for one's intersecting identities (Keuroghlian et al., 2018; Rhodes et al., 2013).

Economic Opportunity

Trans individuals face many barriers in their countries of origin including economic marginalization. Blatant discrimination in employment and education often results in a life of economic instability for Trans individuals (Cerezo et al., 2014; Salas, 2019). A prominent example of educational discrimination includes a Trans Latina, affirming her gender identity through apparel expression, being refused her degree for not dressing as a man during graduation photos; having a degree could have offered her more economic stability and a better quality of life (Salas, 2019). Consequently, some Trans individuals are motivated to migrate to the United States in hope of increased career opportunities, stable employment, livable wages, and improved living conditions (Cerezo et al., 2014).

Unfortunately, employment discrimination thrives in the United States for individuals who hold Trans, Latinx, and/or Immigrant identities through a lack of documentation. Lack of documentation is a pivotal factor in determining who will be able to obtain gainful, legal employment; this issue is further complicated for Trans Latinx Immigrants. While some Trans Latinx Immigrants may have a form of documentation from their country of origin, it oftentimes is mismatched from their name and gender identity (Cerezo et al., 2014), especially for Trans individuals who transitioned in their country of origin (Salas, 2019). Morales (2013) documents that some Trans Latinx Immigrants are forced to work under "false" identification that accurately reflected their name and gender identity; however, this can lead to complications in applying for, and being granted, asylum (Morales, 2013). Additionally, due to a lack of documentation, access to the legal protections provided by antidiscrimination laws are precluded, and therefore Trans-specific workplace violence goes unreported.

Intergenerational Immigration

Although this section highlights migration experiences, future US-born generations can also face rippling effects of immigration without the first-person experience of immigration. Latinxs maintain an "Immigrant" identity by resisting assimilating to the dominant US culture in favor of their own ethnic heritage (Smith, 2003). This lack of assimilation can be beneficial for a sense of ethnic identity (Gray et al., 2015), but also implies the vulnerability of experiencing the discrimination and stigmatization that accompanies Immigrant positionality within the United States. Similarly, traumatic experiences negatively alter mental health, especially if left untreated (Bombay et al., 2009), and can be transferred from parents to children through heightened responses to stressors (Lui, 2015). Therefore, Latinx parents can unknowingly transfer the negative mental health outcomes from traumatic immigration and assimilation experiences to future generations (Phipps & Degges-White, 2014). More research is needed to consider the intersecting identities of

Trans, Latinx, and Immigrants to explore relationships with intergenerational immigration trauma.

4.3 Interactions with Law

For Trans Latinxs, interactions with law enforcement can be a source of discriminatory and volatile experiences(Abreu, Gonzalez, Capielo Rosario et al., 2021). Research by Galvan and Bazargan (2012) has shown that Trans Latinas report being targeted by law enforcement officers and experience high levels of verbal, physical, and sexual assault. Seventy-one percent of Trans Latinas in this study reported they were not engaging in any type of illegal activity when stopped by law enforcement and were instead completing everyday tasks such as grocery shopping or waiting for the bus. Trans Latinas have additionally reported being misgendered in prison and jail cells, where police often force Trans Latinas to reside in male holding facilities (e.g., Bolivar, 2017). While in jail, Trans Latinas also report high levels of harassment and assault from other inmates without corrective measures taken by law enforcement personnel (Galvan & Bazargan, 2012). These interactions are traumatic and reinforce a fear of law enforcement leading to the underutilization of police services when needed (Galvan & Bazargan, 2012).

United States media relies on the stereotypical representations of Men of Color as being dangerous, specifically with Latinx Men of Color being portrayed as gang members, drug dealers, or other violent, evil characters (Mora, 2011; Oliver, 2003). These historic and current media representations infiltrate the criminal justice system and law enforcement through implicit and explicit biases (Lawson, 2015). Unfortunately, this disproportionately affects Black men and youth, as evidenced by the overwhelming amount of police violence toward this group even when unarmed (Lawson, 2015). Trans Men of Color are also prone to this danger. For example, after transitioning, Trans Men of Color report increased stigmatization, targeting, and hostility by law enforcement (de Vries, 2015).

Survival Sex Work

Law enforcement officers have commonly incorrectly assumed that any Trans Latina is a sex worker, which places all Trans Latinas at risk of being identified incorrectly as a lawbreaker (Woods et al., 2013). Some Trans Latinas are forced to engage in survival sex work due to lacking employment and other financial resources, and interactions with law enforcement may explain the inaccurate assumptions (Bolivar, 2017; Cerezo et al., 2014). Bolivar (2017) spent 14 months learning about the cyclical nature of Trans Latina survival sex work. In this study, Trans Latinas documented difficulty securing long-term, legal employment and as a result many turn to survival sex work. This increases their probability of receiving a

criminal record and reduces future possibilities of securing long-term, legal employment while maintaining reliance on survival sex work. Engagement in survival sex work leaves Trans Latinas vulnerable to experiences of trauma, such as sexual and physical assault from clients and police officers (in lieu of being arrested; Bolivar, 2017). The increased exposure to trauma, violence, and economic hardships that accompany survival sex work can contribute to negative mental health outcomes. The authors acknowledge that not all sex work is survival sex work, and some Trans Latinas engage in sex work as a conscious choice, not an economic necessity (see Canadian Observatory on Homelessness, n.d.)

Detention Centers

Detention centers are governmental facilities that have been used to target, imprison, and ultimately deport individuals from the United States for almost half a century, with a heavy focus on the deportation of Latinxs (Hernández et al., 2018). Detention centers are often run by private for-profit companies in a clandestine fashion whereby Immigrant detainees are treated as criminal offenders (Hernández et al., 2018). Prior to Trump's election, 150 detainee lives were lost while being held in Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detention centers (the circumstances of which remain largely unknown) (Hernández et al., 2018).

There is a documented history of a lack of resources and safety for Trans Latinxs held in ICE detention centers. Turney (2011) notes that detention centers often fail to meet the needs of Trans Latinxs. First, Trans Latinxs are often kept in detention centers that place them in cells according to their sex assigned at birth, which is especially dangerous for Trans women who are forced to reside in a men's holding facility. Second, Trans Immigrant detainees often have limited access to report acts of violence and often do not receive adequate protection. Third, Trans Latinx Immigrant detainees are frequently denied medically necessary hormone therapy treatments or other transitional care. This is a violation of human rights as mental health services are vital to Trans Latinx Immigrant detainees to address adjustment to detainment, forced cessation of hormone therapy treatments, traumatic experiences, exposure to violence, removal of social supports, and potential deportation.

Despite detention centers being legally used since the 1980s, a unit for Trans Latinx detainees was not opened until early 2017 (Collier & Daniel, 2019). This unit was created to attempt to solve the cisnormativity assumption that only male and female units are required within penal institutions. Trans detainees face sexual assault and other physical violence while detained, and prior to this unit, the solution to this violence was solitary confinement (Collier & Daniel, 2019). This is counterintuitive as solitary confinement has been consistently documented to be toxic for the mental health of individuals because such confinement exacerbates preexisting mental health issues, cases of delirium, and the onset of novel, acute mental health issues (Grassian, 2006). Trans individuals in detention centers thus

face an overwhelming increase in mental health symptoms due to the marginalization and abuse faced while detained.

Deportation

Deportation is a multistep process in which an individual undergoes forceful removal from the United States (USA Gov, 2020). The United States has deported over 57 million people since 1882 (Goodman, 2020) with Immigrants of Color, especially Latinxs (see Johnson, 2019), being a constant target under the facade of eliminating violence and drugs while maintaining safety and job security for US citizens (Freedom For Immigrants, n.d.). The Trump administration targeted Latinx Immigrants by expanding the deportation infrastructure while simultaneously eliminating avenues of defense for those detained (e.g., ability to seek relief from deportation) and narrowing legal immigration opportunities (Hernández et al., 2018).

Fear of deportation has intensified immensely for all Latinx Immigrants (undocumented, documented, and DACA receivers). For Trans Latinx Immigrants, this fear is further heightened by the experiences and/or witnessing of Trans-specific violence and discrimination in their country of origin (Salas, 2019). This pervasive fear of deportation for self and family members has been associated with increased psychological distress, depression, isolation, and alienation among mixed-status Immigrants (i.e., DACA receivers, or undocumented status; Alif et al., 2020).

4.4 Mental Health Barriers and Potential Solutions

Accessing mental health services still includes multiple barriers for Trans Latinxs. Some treatment-seeking barriers for Latinxs may include access to multilingual providers, accessing providers who are skilled and prepared to work with this population effectively and supportively, and accessing providers who are aware of cultural limitations. Additionally, there are ways to structure a mental health practice to be more accommodating for Trans Latinxs.

Barriers for Latinx Clients

Within the Latinx community, there are cultural norms that promote avoidance of seeking mental health services. One norm is that therapy is for *los locos* ("the crazies") and therefore is discouraged by family members and other social supports (Barerra & Longoria, 2018; Guarnaccia et al., 2005). Another cultural norm to consider is the use of services outside the Western mental health field to resolve symptoms, such as consulting a *curandero* (healer; Acosta & Evans, 1982) or religious

sources (Kouyoumdjian et al., 2006). These cultural norms are important to keep in mind when approaching potential Latinx clients about their openness to receive mental health treatment.

Barriers for Trans Clients

Research indicates that Trans individuals note barriers of seeking treatment to include cost of treatment, previous bad experiences with healthcare providers, fear of treatment, and stigma concerns (Abreu, Gonzalez, Mosley et al., 2020; Gonzalez et al., 2020; Shipherd et al., 2010). It is important to acknowledge that an additional deterrent of treatment-seeking could be a result of legislative discrimination in some states, referred to as conscious clauses (see review in Abreu, Sostre et al., 2021). Conscious clauses have been enacted to protect mental healthcare providers who elect to refuse clients who do not live within the counselor's sincerely held belief system (Grzanka et al., 2019). Though the conscious clause does not explicitly permit the refusal of Trans clients, the interpretation of the law is collectively understood to target the LGBTQ+ group as a whole (Plazas, 2016). As a result of the potential for refusal of care, gender minority clients may find it especially difficult to locate an affirming, nurturing mental healthcare provider or may avoid seeking treatment altogether (Grzanka et al., 2019).

Mental health providers are vital to the transition process. Yet transition-related care can be difficult to access for a multitude of factors, including low income, younger age, insurance coverage, low educational attainment, and healthcare discrimination (White Hughto et al., 2017). Despite this barrier, mental health professionals are required to provide letters of evidence to support readiness for gender transitioning, and without these letters of evidence, Trans individuals cannot receive hormone therapy or gender-affirming surgeries (Budge, 2015). This access is medically necessary for Trans individuals, and access to this care is associated with improved mental health, quality of life, and reduced gender dysphoria (White Hughto & Reisner, 2016; White Hughto et al., 2017).

Multilingual Providers

The population of Latinxs within the United States is a heterogenous group that utilizes multiple languages. While the majority of this population speaks Spanish (73% of Latinxs; Krogstad et al., 2015), other languages are also being used on a daily basis for Latinxs to remain connected to ethnic identities (e.g., Indigenous dialects, Garifuna; England, 1999). A present factor in avoiding mental health services for Latinxs is their interpretation of their English sufficiency (e.g., Kim et al., 2011). Research has shown that those who can engage in multilingual counseling

are able to benefit from the ability to express themselves more fully to their provider (Dewaele & Costa, 2013).

It is crucial to note that the field of Western mental healthcare is largely produced for English speakers, and simply translating these services or interventions into other languages will not always be seamless or successful due to the erasure of cultural-specific language cues such as figures of speech (Bradford & Muñoz, 1993). A simple, practical solution would be to train more diverse mental healthcare providers to include non-Western practices, encourage mental health practitioners to enroll in courses teaching languages and cultures outside their own worldviews or perspectives, and provide language interpreters so clients who cannot complete therapy in English can still access mental health services at no extra cost.

Cultural Humility

Legal requirements for mental health providers do not currently require multicultural training to provide services or receive licensure, though it is recommended (Patallo, 2019). Cultural humility is a two-part concept where the first is a willingness to self-reflect on culturally embedded personal experiences and the second is to consciously attempt to understand the culturally embedded personal experiences and identities of others (Hook et al., 2017; Patallo, 2019; Watkins & Hook, 2016). Though ethical guidelines exist to aid in the practice of cultural humility (see, e.g., American Psychological Association, 2017), mental health providers could be unaware of the specific needs of Trans Latinxs. The Trans and Latinx populations report facing biases from mental health providers in the forms of microaggressions, inaccurate attributions of symptomatology, and erasure of culturally relevant information, and as a Trans Latinx person these harmful experiences are compounded (Abreu, Gonzalez, Mosley et al., 2021; Hook et al., 2017). More research is needed to explore the relationship between mental health service barriers and Trans Latinx well-being.

4.5 Resilience

Research has also documented the positive influences on mental health and well-being in terms of resilience (e.g., Smith et al., 2010). Resilience, defined as an individual's ability to cope with stressful situations, is an important tool in mitigating the negative effects of minority stress to maintain positive well-being and good mental health (Harvey, 2007; Lee, 2005; Luthar et al., 2000; Masten, 2001; Meyer, 2015). Hobfoll et al. (2002) highlight two main types of resilience, community and individual. Community resilience is overcoming adversity due to close, nurturing social networks, whereas individual resilience is an internal strength used to overcome adversity. There is a complexity of developing individual and community

resilience for Trans Latinxs because of their multiple marginalized identities (Salas, 2019).

Community Building

Scholars have identified building/finding a supportive community as critical to developing resilience for Trans people (Singh et al., 2011), including Trans Adolescents of Color (Singh, 2013). Both Trans People of Color and White Trans folx have separately identified the Trans community, the LGBTQ+ community, micro-identities within the LGBTQ+ community, and the QTPOC community as a crucial source of resilience and support (Stone et al., 2019).

Trans Community

The Trans community provides affirmation in gender identity and expression, access to social support with other non-cis individuals, and role models for resilience and recovery (Stone et al., 2019). Cassy, a White Latinx woman, emphasized the importance of Trans community socialization, "*There's some things I just can't talk to [my cis friend] about … She's been with [me] through the whole transition and everything, but there's just some stuff that a cis person doesn't get*" (Stone et al., 2019, p. 12).

Due to the presence of racism and the domination of White Trans voices within the Trans community, Trans People of Color may feel displaced (Singh, 2013). Additionally, those with nonbinary identities are commonly misunderstood and find their gender is not affirmed within the broader Trans community (Stone et al., 2019). Stephanie, a nonbinary queer person, shared their hesitation in disclosing their gender identity with other Trans people. "*I found another volunteer who, he's a Trans guy. And, we were talking about Trans things. I'm Non-Binary so, it was an issue. It's hard to come out to people because people don't understand [Non-Binary gender identities]*" (Stone et al., 2019, p. 14).

LGBTQ+ Community

Pioneering activists Sylvia Rivera, a Trans Latina, and Marsha P. Johnson, a Black Trans woman, threw the first brick starting the Stonewall Riots and subsequently the Gay Liberation movement evolve (Evans, 2015; Terry, 2014). Due to this trailblazing work, the development of the LGBTQ+ community space within US culture began and remains increasingly present today. Unfortunately, the history of the LGBTQ+ community is continually whitewashed, and these women were not only pushed out of their founded movement by White, cis, middle-class men, but they also constantly experienced violence from other activists demonstrating the

presence of racism, transphobia, transprejudice, misogyny, and patriarchal values within the community (Terry, 2014). Even today, Trans individuals perceive at best a general ambivalence, resistance, and conditional acceptance within the LGBTQ+ community (Sumerau & Mathers, 2019), and more typically experience transphobia and hostility (Stone et al., 2019).

Micro-identity Groups

In response to the displacement within the Trans and LGBTQ+ communities, Trans People of Color are able to find belonging in micro-identity groups for queer and/or Trans People of Color (QTPOC; Stone et al., 2019). These micro-identity groups are created by acknowledging the existence of intersecting identities (e.g., ethnicity, gender) and creating intentional spaces for marginalized folx such as Trans Latinxs. These groups provide a stronger sense of belonging, a more authentic resonation with each others' experiences, and greater support for the development of resilience. These groups also create specific social capital that helps individuals heal from trauma and navigate intersecting marginalization (Stone et al., 2019). Unfortunately, Trans Latinxs with additional marginalized identities, such as Trans Latinx Immigrants, nonbinary Latinxs, or Trans Afro-Latinxs, face difficulty finding a micro-identity group that resonates with all of their experiences (Stone et al., 2019).

House and Ball Community

The original House and Ball Community (HBC) was intentionally created in New York City during the 1920s (Kubicek et al., 2012) to provide an extensive support network and recognition for local Trans People of Color (namely, Black, Latinxs, and Afro-Latinxs) and gay or bisexual Men of Color (Cahill et al., 2017). HBCs have since spread to major US cities to include Los Angeles, Oakland, Atlanta, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington DC and now are focused on providing stable, safe environments for homeless queer and/or Trans Kids of Color (Kubicek et al., 2012).

Despite documented barriers to accessing quality care for LGBTQ+ and People of Color (Gates, 2014; Hayes et al., 2015), for HBCs residents, recent research has documented they are engaging in self-agency, accessing routine care at an increased rate, maintain insurance coverage, are out to their healthcare providers, have stable housing, and report having not traded sex in the last 6 months (Cahill et al., 2017). Therefore, the HBC is contributing to a different narrative of increased well-being by bolstering community and resilience (Kubicek et al., 2012). It is important to acknowledge that the scholarship on HBCs is not exclusive to Trans People of Color. Therefore, more research should be dedicated to looking at the impact that HBCs has on all Trans People of Color, including Trans Latinxs and Trans Afro-Latinxs exclusively.

Mentorship

Accessible mentorship is predictive of academic success and, through social capital avenues, increased usage of community and social support for Latinxs (Cardoso & Thompson, 2010). Research not only supports the positive mental health effects of Trans individuals who have mentors but specifically notes the importance of Trans individuals having access to Trans mentors as a source of affirmation, support, and advice (Torres et al., 2015). On the mentoring side, some Trans Latinxs promote their resilience through their desire to be a source of social support for other individuals with less community resources and protections (Cerezo et al., 2014). Joanna, a Trans Latina Immigrant, expressed how helping other Trans women give her strength and a sense of purpose: "*I want to continue supporting my community. It makes me happy… to be helping the girls, even if we can't protect, we can help empower them to move forward, help them by giving advice*" (Cerezo et al., 2014, p. 177).

Erased Communities

Throughout the writing of this chapter, the authors identified two major communities that were widely erased from Latinx scholarship: the Latinx Indigenous community and the Afro-Latinx community. Therefore, investigation of Trans Latinx Indigenous and Trans Afro-Latinx experiences could not be represented. These communities and voices should be centered in research as their unique narratives matter, and the unexplored intersection of their multiple marginalized identities cannot be inferred or captured with the present literature.

Indigenous Latinxs

As a result of colonization and oppression, Indigenous populations have been displaced spatially, dehumanized, and erased (conceptually and literally) from history, research, politics, and social justice (Hall, 2008). By centering Indigenous voices, power can be restored to Indigenous people, and the decolonizing of higher education can begin. Therefore, this section will not only explore the experiences of noncisgender Indigenous Latinxs but also pose a call to action for more scholarship to be devoted to this population.

Prior to colonization's imposed gender binary on Indigenous Latinx communities, some held various labelling and understandings of fluid gender identities (Picq, 2019). For example, the Muxes of Juchitán are Zapotec individuals who self-identify as a third gender and adopt characteristics from each gender, with their gender expression being more feminine in dress and attire (Mirandé, 2016). Notably, the Muxes live within their society and culture very publicly demonstrating that a third

sex/gender category is neither male nor female. Muxes are generally accepted within their community, and some Zapotec parents view them as a blessing from God (Lacey, 2008; Mirandé, 2016).

Afro-Latinxs

Latinx culture is prone to colorism resulting in the displacement of Brown and Black experiences and narratives (Adames et al., 2016). Recent work has investigated the diaspora associated with navigating both Black and Latinx cultures and identities separately and noted the combination of identities (e.g., being Afro-Latinx) has served as a tool of empowerment (García-Louis & Cortes, 2020). Within US research, commonly race and ethnicity are conflated as a single question forcing participants to choose either Black, Latinx, or an identifier of multiple responses (e.g., multiracial). Therefore, Afro-Latinx narratives are commonly reported inaccurately (e.g., as either Black or Latinx), not clarified (e.g., identified as a Person of Color), or removed prior to quantitative analyses to bolster statistical power. With the focus on intersectionality within qualitative methodology, experiences can be adequately captured and supported with direct quotations.

In regard to Trans identity, some research has identified experiences of Black Trans folx (e.g., Brooks, 2016), though much research capturing these narratives are focused on HIV treatments (e.g., Frye et al., 2015) and therefore only report limited scopes in experiences for a subset of the Black Trans population. Additionally, this work often ignores the investigation of Trans Afro-Latinxs. Overall, scholarship needs to include more experiences of Afro-Latinxs in general and especially Trans Afro-Latinxs.

4.6 Summary

This chapter highlights the importance of using intersectionality to investigate the experiences of Trans Latinxs in the United States, including how these experiences influence mental health outcomes. Specifically, Trans folx and Latinxs each experience minority stress, and when these identities are combined, the stressful experiences of discrimination, marginalization, and stigmatization are magnified. Several experiences were thoroughly investigated – immigration, interactions with law, barriers and access to mental healthcare utilization, and resilience – to examine each unique attribution to mental health outcomes for Trans Latinxs. Overall, key findings support that there is increased psychological distress for Trans Latinxs within the United States without adequate access and resources to improve their mental health. Additionally, much more research is needed to center intersectional Latinx voices, especially Indigenous Latinxs, Indigenous Trans Latinxs, Afro-Latinxs, and Trans Afro-Latinxs in scholarship.

Appendix A

Resources for Providers Seeking to Work with Latinx and/or Trans Communities

1. *Guidelines for Psychological Practice With Transgender and Gender Nonconforming People* (https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039906)
2. *Multicultural Guidelines: An Ecological Approach to Context, Identity, and Intersectionality* (http://www.apa.org/about/policy/multicultural-guidelines.pdf)
3. *American Psychological Association Training Resources for Psychologists Working with LGBT Migrants and Victims of Torture* (https://www.apa.org/pi/lgbt/resources/refugee-training)
4. Migrant Clinicians Network (https://www.migrantclinician.org/)

   Migrant Clinicians Network is a 501(c)3 is a nonprofit organization that creates practical solutions at the intersection of vulnerability, migration, and health. They provide bridge case management, support, technical assistance, and professional development to clinicians in Federally Qualified Health Centers (FQHCs) and other healthcare delivery sites with the ultimate purpose of providing quality healthcare that increases access and reduces disparities for migrant farmworkers and other mobile underserved populations.

5. UCSF Prevention Science (https://prevention.ucsf.edu/)

   The Division of Prevention Science is a highly productive, vibrant, and innovative group of scientists conducting cutting-edge, significant, high-impact prevention research. As prevention scientists, they are committed to understanding the etiology and prevention of social, structural, physical, and mental health problems in order to translate that knowledge to the promotion of health and well-being.

Resources for Latinx and/or Trans Communities

Health

1. The Refugee Health Information Network (https://healthreach.nlm.nih.gov/)

   The Refugee Health Information Netwrok provides multilingual, multicultural health information and patient education materials about health conditions and wellness topics. Created for Refugees, Asylees, and Immigrants.

2. Translatinx Network (New York; https://translatinxnetwork.org/)

   Translatinx Network has both a local and national focus, with a mission to promote the healthy development of Trans people through the delivery of a

wide range of information. Through promotion, outreach in education, and capacity-building, they encourage and strengthen the creation of safe and productive environments for Transgender women.

3. The Trevor Project (https://www.thetrevorproject.org/)

   The Trevor Project provides crisis intervention and suicide prevention services to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and questioning (LGBTQ) young people under 25.

4. National LGBT Health Education Center (https://www.lgbthealtheducation.org/)

   National LGBT Health Education Center provides educational programs, resources, and consultation to healthcare organizations with the goal of optimizing quality, cost-effective healthcare for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, asexual, and all sexual and gender minority (LGBTQIA+) people.

5. Bellevue Program for Survivors of Torture (PSOT; New York City; https://www.survivorsoftorture.org/)

   Bellevue PSOT provides medical, psychological, social, and legal services to survivors of torture. They primarily serve people who have already applied for asylum in the United States or who plan to apply for asylum.

6. Survivors of Torture International (https://notorture.org/)

   SURVIVORS empowers torture survivors to reclaim the strength and vitality that were stolen from them by brutal dictators and governments. The specialized care SURVIVORS provides these vulnerable individuals helps them to become self-sufficient and healthy members of their families and of our community.

Legal

1. Transgender Law Center (https://transgenderlawcenter.org/)

   Transgender Law Center (TLC) is the largest national Trans-led organization advocating for a world in which all people are free to define themselves and their futures. Grounded in legal expertise and committed to racial justice, TLC employs a variety of community-driven strategies to keep transgender and gender nonconforming people alive, thriving, and fighting for liberation.

1. The Sylvia Rivera Law Project (https://srlp.org/resources/)

   The Sylvia Rivera Law Project works to guarantee that all people are free to self-determine gender identity and expression, regardless of income or race, and without facing harassment, discrimination, or violence.

2. Mariposas Sin Fronteras (Tucson, Arizona; https://mariposassinfronteras.org/about-us/)

   Mariposas Sin Fronteras is a group that seeks to end the systemic violence and abuse of LGBTQ people held in prison and immigration detention.

3. Lambda Legal (https://www.lambdalegal.org/issues/proyecto-igualdad; https://www.lambdalegal.org/issues/immigration; https://www.lambdalegal.org/issues/transgender-rights)

   Founded in 1973, Lambda Legal is the oldest and largest national legal organization whose mission is to achieve full recognition of the civil rights of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, transgender people, and everyone living with HIV through impact litigation, education, and public policy work. As a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization, they do not charge clients for legal representation or advocacy.

Advocacy and Community

1. The Latino Equality Alliance (Los Angeles, California; http://www.latino-equalityalliance.org/)

   The mission of Latino Equality Alliance (LEA) is to advocate for equity, safety, and wellness for the Latinx lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer + community.

2. The Audre Lorde Project (New York; https://alp.org)

   The Audre Lorde Project is a lesbian, gay, bisexual, two spirit, Trans and gender nonconforming People of Color community organizing center, focusing on the New York City area.

3. El/La Para TransLatinas (San Francisco, California; http://ellaparatranslatinas.yolasite.com/)

   El/La Para TransLatinas works to build a world where TransLatinas feel they deserve to protect, love, and develop themselves.

4. QLatinx (Orlando, Florida; https://www.qlatinx.org/)

   QLatinx is a grassroots racial, social, and gender justice organization dedicated to the advancement and empowerment of Central Florida's LGBTQ+ Latinx community.

5. Hispanic Black Gay Coalition (Boston, Massachusetts; https://www.tsne.org/hispanic-black-gay-coalition)

   Hispanic Black Gay Coalition (HBGC) is one of few nonprofit organizations in Boston dedicated to the unique and complex needs of the Black, Hispanic, and Latin@ LGBTQ community. They work to inspire and empower

Latin@, Hispanic, and Black LGBTQ individuals to improve their livelihood through activism, education, community outreach, and counseling.

6. Trans Lifeline (https://www.translifeline.org/)

   Trans Lifeline is a Trans-led organization that connects Trans people to the community, support, and resources they need to survive and thrive.

7. The National Center For Transgender Equality (https://transequality.org/)

   Advocates to change policies and society to increase understanding and acceptance of transgender people. In the nation's capital and throughout the country, NCTE works to replace disrespect, discrimination, and violence with empathy, opportunity, and justice.

8. TransLatina Coalition (https://www.translatinacoalition.org/)

   The mission of TransLatina Coalition is to advocate for the specific needs of the Trans Latina community that resides in the United States and to plan strategies that improve our quality of life.

9. Somos Familia (https://www.somosfamiliabay.org/)

   Somos Familia builds leadership in our Latinx families and communities to create a culture where people of diverse genders and sexual orientations can thrive.

10. The Wall-Las Memorias Project (http://www.thewalllasmemorias.org/)

    The Wall Las Memorias Project is a community health and wellness organization dedicated to serving Latino, LGBTQ, and other underserved populations through advocacy, education, and building the next generation of leadership.

11. PFLAG's Transgender Resources (https://pflag.org/search?keys=transgender&type=resource)

    PFLAG is the first and largest organization for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) people, their parents and families, and allies. PFLAG is committed to creating a world where diversity is celebrated and all people are respected, valued, and affirmed.

12. Gender Proud (https://genderproud.com/)

    Gender Proud uses media to elevate justice and equality for the transgender community.

13. TransYouth Family Allies (http://www.imatyfa.org/resources.html)

    TYFA empowers children and families by partnering with educators, service providers, and communities, to develop supportive environments in which gender may be expressed and respected.

14. Allgo (http://allgo.org/qpocblog/)

    Allgo celebrates and nurtures vibrant queer People of Color communities in Texas and beyond. They accomplish this through cultural arts, wellness, and social justice programming by supporting artists and artistic expression; promoting health within a wellness model; and mobilizing and building coalitions among groups marginalized by race/ethnicity, gender/gender identity, and sexual orientation/sexual identity in order to enact change.

15. Farmworker Justice (https://www.farmworkerjustice.org/)

    Farmworker Justice is a nonprofit organization that seeks to empower migrant and seasonal farmworkers to improve their living and working conditions, immigration status, health, occupational safety, and access to justice.

16. Entre Hermanos (Seattle, Washington; http://entrehermanos.org/)

    Entre Hermanos promotes the health and well-being of the Latino gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and questioning community in a culturally appropriate environment through disease prevention, education, support services, advocacy, and community building.

17. Galaei: Trans Equity Project (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; https://www.galaei.org/programs#transequityproject)

    Trans Equity Project is a for Trans* by Trans* program that offers peer support and linkage to care. Trans Equity Project vision is to empower, educate, and connect the Trans* Community in Philadelphia and the surrounding areas.

18. The Brown Boi Project (Oakland, California; http://www.brownboiproject.org/)

    The Brown Boi Project is a community of masculine of center women, men, two-spirit people, transmen, and allies committed to changing the way that Communities of Color talk about gender.

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Chapter 5
LGBTAIQ+ Research in Puerto Rico: What Has Been Documented?

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5.1 Introduction

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is an archipelago on the Caribbean. It is the smallest island of the Greater Antilles. Puerto Ricans have a unique culture and identity through a strong preponderance of traditional Latin American values but the citizenship and influence of the United States as part of its unincorporated territory status. Among them more than 90% of its inhabitants identify as Christians, and there is an emphasis on "traditional family values" (Martínez-Taboas et al., 2018). Despite being a small conservative island, in the last decades it has remained at the forefront of psychological research with vulnerable populations, especially lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and gender nonbinary, and other sexual orientations and gender identities (LGBTAIQ+).

According to Martínez-Taboas et al. (2018) before 2002 there were no articles published about LGBTAIQ+ on Puerto Rican psychological journals. Also, the majority (>80%) of the articles published between 2002 and 2007 concerning LGBTAIQ+ were related to HIV/AIDS crisis. In 2007, the first task force to work with LGBTAIQ+ issues was created at the Puerto Rican Psychological Association (PRPA) the LGBT Community Issue's Committee, now called Sex, Gender, and Sexual Orientation Diversity Committee. At the same time, publications, dissertations, and PRPA convention presentations and sessions numbers continue to increase.

Lastly, according to Vázquez-Rivera et al. (2016), Puerto Rican psychology research has a focus on the consequences of the stigma and discrimination of

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LGBTAIQ+; however, it is time to move towards prevention models to reduce those disparities experienced by the community. For example, different studies have found bias and social distance from psychology professionals to the community, but psychology departments seem not to be addressing the problem; thus possibly this issue continues year after year (Esteban et al., 2016).

This chapter aims to summarize pioneers, books, and psychoeducational and research articles that have been published concerning the health and well-being of Puerto Rican LGBTAIQ+. This chapter will be divided into four main categories to complete these aims: pioneers, books, review articles, and empirical articles.

In order to develop this chapter, a qualitative literature review was conducted to identify scientific articles and books that addressed LGBTAIQ+ community in Puerto Rico. This search was guided by a list on LGBTAIQ+ publications in Puerto Rico which was last updated in November 2020 and provided by the Sex, Gender, and Sexual Orientation Diversity Committee of the Puerto Rican Psychological Association. Furthermore, additional search was conducted online in the following sites: Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO), EBSCO Host, ProQuest, PubMed, and ResearchGate to retrieve any unlisted publications and to add those that had been published between December 2020 and January 2021. The keywords used in this online search were LGBT, LGBT+, gay, bisexual, lesbian, trans, transsexual, transgender, and intersex + Puerto Rico. Articles that didn't have a Puerto Rican sample were not included in this chapter.

Pioneers

Contributions for Sexual Orientation: José Toro-Alfonso

José (Joe) Toro-Alfonso (1952–2015) was the best-known researcher and book author for the discipline of psychology on the Island (Martínez-Taboas, 2014). In 1988 he was the best graduate student in clinical psychology from the Caribbean Center for Advanced Studies, now Albizu University in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Among his professional career, he worked as director of various community organizations and primarily as full professor at the Psychology Department of the University of Puerto Rico until his decease. Since the 2000s, more than 80 research articles and 36 national and international books and books chapter have his name on it. Toro-Alfonso was distinguished with more than 30 prizes and awards, for example, in 2003 the APA's Society for the Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity awarded him the Distinguished Contribution to Ethnic Minority Issues Award. In 2006 he was named Psychologist of the Year by the Puerto Rico Psychological Association. In 2009 he obtained the Interamerican Psychology Award. And in 2014 he obtained the Distinguished Professional Career Award and in 2016 and the Distinguished Padrino Recognition for Outstanding Lifetime Achievement by the National Latinx of Psychological Association (Arias-Gallegos, 2016).

His research work started with the HIV/AIDS epidemic and its urgent needs (e.g., Toro-Alfonso, 2001; Varas-Díaz & Toro-Alfonso et al., 2001, 2002), but then he started moving to other urgent needs upon the study of homosexuality, bisexuality and men who has sex with men (MSM) issues (e.g., Toro-Alfonso et al., 2002), gender and masculinities (e.g., Toro-Alfonso & Varas-Díaz, 2006), sexual orientation issues (e.g., Toro-Alfonso et al., 2006), homophobias (e.g., Toro-Alfonso et al., 2007), eating disorders in LGB+ (e.g., Toro-Alfonso et al., 2012), and the trans community together with Dr. Sheilla Rodríguez-Madera (e.g., Rodríguez-Madera & Toro-Alfonso, 2002, 2003), among other topics.

Currently, the Psychological Research Institute (IPsi, its Spanish acronym) at the Social Sciences Faculty of the University of Puerto Rico creates, the first of its kind, the José Toro-Alfonso Collection. This Collection regarding gender and sexual orientation studies has over 948 books and 60 theses and dissertations (Psychological Research Institute, n.d.). Also, in his honor, the Sex, Gender, and Sexual Orientation Diversity Committee of the Puerto Rico Psychological Association has a scholarship for thesis and dissertation regarding LGBTAIQ+ (Diversidad, n.d.)

Contributions for Gender Identities: Sheilla Rodríguez-Madera

Sheilla Rodríguez-Madera is a social scientist and researcher who has dedicated her career to the study of social conditions affecting the health of vulnerable populations. Rodríguez-Madera completed her PhD in clinical psychology at the University of Puerto Rico in Río Piedras Campus. She was the executive director of the Puerto Rico's Commission for the Prevention of Violence and past president of the Puerto Rico Psychological Association. Rodríguez-Madera worked as professor and coordinator of the Doctoral Program in Public Health specializing on social determinants of health located at the University of Puerto Rico Medical Sciences Campus. Currently she is a professor at the Department of Global and Sociocultural Studies at Florida International University. Rodríguez-Madera has published more than 20 articles in peer-reviewed journals, published 6 books, and participates extensively on national and international academic forums. She has received multiple research grants from the National Institutes of Health to conduct her studies.

Rodríguez-Madera has been regarded as a one of the pioneers in the study and documentation of health disparities affecting the transgender community in Puerto Rico. Her contribution to the understanding of the health needs and experiences of trans women has been pivotal in informing policy development and further studies. Mentored by Dr. Toro-Alfonso, she was at the forefront of research studies about the trans population in Puerto Rico that began to emerge during the mid-1990s and were mostly focused on transgender women. These initial efforts were part of the research targeting the HIV epidemic which heavily affected LGBTAIQ+ (Rodríguez-Madera, 2009). Thus, research literature from the time aimed to include transgender women as part of the HIV prevention efforts (Toro-Alfonso, 1995; Rodríguez-Madera & Toro Alfonso, 2005). Findings from these pioneering efforts are, unfortunately, all too well known to date. That is, transgender women were found to

experience higher social vulnerabilities, including poverty, discrimination, violence, and high-risk sexual practices (Rodríguez-Madera & Toro Alfonso, 2003). The first book on the topic in Puerto Rico, published by Rodríguez-Madera in 2009, highlighted how the lack of visibility of the trans community in the Island hampered their quality of life. One key example is their neglect within the statistical reports of the Department of Health of Puerto Rico, something that unfortunately still happens to this date as trans women are still included in men who have sex with men group statistics of HIV incidence.

Literature on the topic has expanded during the past decade, and Rodríguez-Madera has been instrumental on this advancement. Research has since addressed several health issues ranging from injection practices (Padilla et al., 2018) to intimate partner violence (Rodríguez-Madera & Marqués-Reyes, 2006) but also regarding barriers and facilitators to access healthcare (Padilla et al., 2016; Rodríguez-Madera et al., 2017; Martínez-Velez et al., 2019) as well as the attitudes and competencies of healthcare providers and physicians towards the trans population (Rodríguez-Madera et al., 2019). However, it has only been recently that research has begun to address the health needs of trans men and gender nonconforming population (Ramos-Pibernus et al., 2016, 2020). The call for action for the reduction of health disparities among LGBTAIQ+ has led to an increase on studies targeting this population, which we will elaborate in more detail on this chapter.

Books

In the year 2007, an important piece of literature on civil rights was developed by Toro-Alfonso in collaboration with the Puerto Rico Civils Right Commission. They developed the book *Por la vía de la exlusión: Homofobia y ciudadanía en Puerto Rico* [By the way of exclusion: Homophobia and citizenship in Puerto Rico] (Toro-Alfonso, 2007b). This book intended to study the incidence of homophobic manifestations on the Island and offered evidence concerning the homophobic attitudes that propitiated discriminatory environments among the public entities sworn to protect the civil rights of every citizen. Highlighting some of the findings, regarding experiences in governmental agencies, 43% (n = 387) reported having experienced rejection while looking for services: 29.9% in the police department, 9.2% in the courtroom, and 7.9% in some of the agencies related to ADFAN. On the other hand, the results for the quantitative phase on governmental agency employees showed that 35% (n = 32) of the participants reported moderate levels of prejudice towards lesbian and gay people, while 45.7% (n = 53) reported low levels of social distance, 25% reported high levels of social distance, and finally 15.5% reported moderate levels of social distance.

A few years later, Rodríguez-Madera (2009) published the book *Gender Trans: Transiting the Gray Areas*. Through its chapters the author includes research experiences and personal reflections mainly on the trans issues in the Puerto Rican

context. This book is divided into six chapters, which the author calls stations which a review of the perspective theories that have tried to explain the concept of gender transgression; the body as a space of resistance for trans people and as a method in which people transmit who they really are; the stigma that persecutes this community; and a description of a research study about trans women in Puerto Rico.

Another milestone towards education on diversity was achieved almost a decade later when Vázquez-Rivera et al. (2016) edited the first comprehensive book on LGBTAIQ+ issues in Puerto Rico, titled *LGBT 101: An Introductory Look at the Collective*. Its purpose was to create an introductory book about LGBTAIQ+ issues that is available for everyone. This book is divided in five general topics: historical issues, development, life experiences, bisexuality and gender identities, and legal issues that impact the communities. Nonetheless, each chapter includes historical, legal, and scientific data to support their statements.

Following the publication of *LGBT 101*, Vázquez-Rivera (2019) wrote a therapy guide for professionals who work with LGBTAIQ+ individuals. This guide presents an introductory chapter where basic concepts on sexual orientation and gender identity are discussed. It also provides templates for interviews, psychoeducation, and exercises to include in therapeutic sessions.

Review Articles

Research on LGBTAIQ+ in Puerto Rico is a fairly young practice which has grown slowly through the last decades. In an attempt to summarize what had been published regarding the LGBTAIQ+ community in Puerto Rico, Martínez-Taboas et al. (2016) published a bibliometric analysis of all the published volumes (1981–2016) of the *Revista Puertorriqueña de Psicología (RPP)* and *Ciencias de la Conducta (CC)*, two active psychology peer-reviewed journals in Puerto Rico. According to his findings, not one article about the LGBTAIQ+ community or human sexuality was published before 2002, and it is not until the year 2008 when a significant representation of articles was achieved in both peered-reviewed journals. Below are some review articles which have been published and address LGBTAIQ+ in Puerto Rico.

Homosexuality

In 2005, Toro-Alfonso published a review article in which he examined different studies about homosexuality in the Caribbean and described the complexity of sexualities and methodological challenges related to these complexities. According to his data, some of the challenges faced where lack of a universal definitions for terms such as homosexual practices, little understanding on the perception of marriage among homosexuals, and misinformation related to what was called "normative behavior" among them. The author also questioned the inequity of the published

articles noticing that many of them documented data about gay men, but very few studies had been conducted with lesbian women. He also pointed out a tendency to develop research proposals with a quantitative methodology, which promoted insufficient qualitative data and, according to him, left out valuable information that would help better understand the definitions assigned to sexuality and to homoeroticism.

To offer a critical point of view towards reparative therapy for homosexuals, Santiago-Hernández and Toro-Alfonso (2010) described the basis of these therapies that intend to "cure" homosexuality and proposed that not only do they lack a valid empirical foundation, but many recognized organizations in the world had warned about the ethical implications on the use of these approaches. These arguments where again addressed after the resurfacing debate on conversion therapies in Puerto Rico almost a decade later. Esteban and Díaz-Medero (2019) published an article that promoted the reflection on ethical practices and the different social contexts, such as political, social, religious, and the individual's identity, which are attached to the discussion of conversion or reparative therapies. In saying so, the authors state that identities should not be treated as mutually excluding (i.e., a person should be either religious or sexually diverse) but should rather be strengthened and given equal amount of value.

As was previously stated, one of the main gaps in the studies about homosexuality identified by Toro-Alfonso (2005) was the lack of literature developed on lesbian women in the Caribbean. This was again confirmed a decade later by Esteban (2015) who carried out a systematic review on lesbian women in Puerto Rico; only four doctoral dissertations were found to explore this topic at the time of the review. Two of them focused on domestic violence and the other half on alcohol and substance use. Some of the findings of these studies were that the most common type of abuse among lesbian partners was emotional, followed by physical and sexual abuse. It was also reported that lesbian women could identify sources of help and thus were reluctant to access it because they wanted to maintain their sexual intimacy with their partner, they thought the police would not take them seriously, and they did not want to be seen as weak.

Lastly, Esteban et al. (2020a) summarized publications about gay men's health in Puerto Rico between the years 2000 and 2019 in a published bibliographic/descriptive literature review which included thesis, doctoral dissertations, and published articles in the field of psychology. The results showed that 41% of the studies generated about gay men during this time period focused on stigma, prejudice, social distancing, and discrimination, while some of the other published topics were sexual and gender identity, religion, spirituality, violence, alcohol and substances use, and life satisfaction. The authors concluded that there is much work to be done in highlighting positive aspects of the gay community on the Island.

Bisexuality

In Puerto Rico, probably one of the most invisibilized sexual orientation minorities is the bisexual individuals. On this matter, Esteban and Vázquez-Rivera (2014) carried out a literature review to document certain challenges faced by the bisexual community when they try to disclose their sexual orientation. Within the challenges for disclosing sexual orientation, they found double prejudice (from heterosexual individuals as well as other sexual minorities), discrimination, and stigma. According to their findings, these adversities increase the probability of them experiencing psychological symptoms such as depression and alcohol and drug abuse.

Vázquez-Rivera and Esteban (2014) published a literature review where they concentrated on bisexual people's mental health. They presented available interventions and recommendations for clinical and research work with this population. Concerning mental health issues, a higher prevalence of mental health disorders was shown in bisexual people than in the heterosexual population and also greater discrimination and a greater risk of suffering from mental health disorders. Therefore, the authors recognized the need to generate more research on mental health and mental health services access. Moreover, they highlighted the importance of attitudes towards the LGBTAIQ+ community in psychotherapy and developing adequate competence to serve community clients, through the use of the LGBTAIQ+ affirmative model.

Trans Identities

When searching for review articles about trans identities, two articles were found. The first by Toro-Alfonso (2007a) who elaborate on the sexual body, the transgression of gender, and of desire. According to him, the body, the principal reference we have from others, must be seen beyond the Cartesian model which separates mind and body. This model proposed that the body is only understood through physiology and anatomy, leaving out what he called the social body. To the author, the human body acquires meaning through socialization and is constructed and deconstructed with the subjective actions of individuals in a continued trance with social norms. He also presented a view of the body as a duality between the one that is received and the one that is desired. He states that what we call transgressive is not something other than the corporeal manifestation of diversity and how each person defines and redefines their body.

Rodríguez-Madera and Toro-Alfonso (2002) conducted a study in order to address the issue of trans community. They presented this concept as a phenomenon and an object of study through three models: biological essentialism, cognitivism, and social constructionism. The authors invite to evaluate and reflect on the role of psychology in this phenomenon.

Asexuality

In an attempt to attend the scientific gap on other sexual orientations that have been less studied in the Puerto Rican academia, Faris and Esteban (2018) published a literature review to discuss the concept of asexuality and provided recommendations for the clinical and research work. The authors exposed the invisibility of this identity and how it is viewed from different psychological and sexual theories.

Intersexuality

Another identity that has not been studied enough in Puerto Rico is intersexuality. Only one review article conducted by Esteban et al. (2018) was found. This review explored the quality of life and the health panorama of the intersex community through a descriptive literature review. The findings suggest that the intersex community presents a lower quality of life, especially in the sexual area and interacting with other people, present higher levels of psychological symptoms, and many of the conditions or symptoms that cause intersexuality present medical difficulties that worsen the intersex people's life circumstances.

Gender

Esteban (2018) published a review article in which he proposed a renewal of gender perspectives calling out the need for the development of a new paradigm based on equity and not equality. According to this author, although the gender perspectives aim to close the inequality gap between men and women, it creates a dualized panorama that ignores the constructs of sex and gender as diverse and not a dichotomous spectrum. He also states that a new perspective should advocate for (1) the inclusion of intersexuality, (2) gender as a spectrum, (3) gender identity separated form sex identity, (4) sexual orientation as a spectrum, (5) elimination of heterosexist and cissexist narratives, and (6) modification in the education of diversity.

Empirical Articles

Prejudice and Stigma

Homosexuality One of the most widely studied aspects with LGBTAIQ+ in Puerto Rico has been any variant of discrimination, stigma, prejudice, or social distancing. Toro-Alfonso and Varas-Díaz (2004) explored prejudice and social distance towards gay and lesbians among a sample of college students studying at University of Puerto Rico. The results showed moderate levels of prejudice and social distance towards gay and lesbians. These findings have been confirmed by a number of

studies (Fernández-Rodríguez & Calderón-Squiabro, 2014; Vázquez-Rivera et al., 2018; Rodríguez-Polo et al., 2018; & González-Guzmán et al., 2007). González-Guzmán et al. (2007) explored attitudes towards homosexual and lesbians among graduate students of General Public Health (GPH) and Health Education Program at School of Public Health, Medical Sciences Campus of the University of Puerto Rico. Their results show that 82.6% of the participants display prejudiced attitudes towards gays and lesbians, whereas 17.5% evidence a neutral or unprejudiced attitude. Other findings suggest 79.3% of participants reported low social distance towards this population, and 20.7% displayed high social distance.

Vázquez-Rivera et al. (2012) explored licensed psychotherapists and clinical psychology graduate students' attitudes towards gays and lesbians. Overall, grad students had more negative attitudes towards LG people than licensed psychologists in "anxiety towards psychotherapeutic intervention" and "self-evaluation of clinical competencies." Both students and licensed psychologists who had formal training on gay and lesbians in psychotherapy reported more positive attitudes towards them. Nonetheless, this did not impact their anxiety levels towards psychotherapeutic intervention. Participants who've had worked with various gay and/or lesbian patients in therapy before reported less anxiety and more clinical competencies than those who've worked less with this population.

Vázquez Rivera et al. (2018) explored attitudes of prejudice among licensed psychologists who were members of the Psychology Association of Puerto Rico (APPR) and worked as therapists towards lesbians and gays. Most participants (96.9%) exhibited positive attitudes towards gays and lesbians, while 3.1% exhibited neutral stances. Participants who identified as religious and assisted frequently to religious services had higher rates of negative attitudes towards offering their services to LG people. When exploring prejudice, 90.9% of participants exhibited low prejudice, 8.1% moderate prejudice, and 1% high prejudice.

Also exploring negative attitudes but towards men who have sex with men (MSM), Varas-Díaz et al. (2019) examined the behavioral manifestations of HIV/AIDS stigma among a sample of 100 physicians in training during simulated clinical interactions with MSM. The authors used an experimental design with standardized patient simulations, observational techniques, and quantitative questionnaires. The results showed that 95% of the participants provided the necessary physical contact and offered specific recommendations. Also, 89.8% did not explore social support, and 85% showed a condescending attitude. Significant positive correlations were found between stigma and HIV/AIDS and stigmatizing behaviors.

Trans Identities Regarding stigma and prejudice towards the trans community, Francia-Martínez et al. (2017) conducted a descriptive exploratory study to examine attitudes, knowledge, and social distance levels in graduate students and psychology professionals in Puerto Rico. With a sample of 233 participants, 85.1% indicated a low prejudice towards the transgender community, 14.9% indicated moderate prejudice, and 80.2% reported low prejudice. Meanwhile, 19.8% reported moderate prejudice towards the transgender community. The authors found statistically significant

positive relationships between religious services and prejudice levels towards transgender and transgender people.

Rodríguez-Madera et al. (2017) also published an article on experiences among transgender women in Puerto Rico. For this study, a sample of 59 self-identified transgender women were recruited in the time period from 2011 to 2013. Experiences of violence among participants were common, with more than one third being discriminated for their gender identity. One fourth identified to have been discriminated by social and/or medical services. Moreover, 35% had experienced verbal violence. Twenty-five percent of participants had experienced physical violence, while 16% had experienced sexual violence. Violence exposure levels were also common, with close to two quarters of the participants having known a transgender person who was killed. Half of the participants who were sex workers reported experiencing violence from a client.

Similarly, Ramos-Pibernus et al. (2020) explored trans men's stigmatizing experiences. These authors carried out a qualitative exploratory study where they performed focus groups, qualitative interviews, and ethnographic observations to a sample of 29 trans men. The findings were structured into three categories: structural stigma, interpersonal stigma, and individual stigma. Within the category of structural stigma, the authors found that participants experienced stigma in healthcare settings, workplaces, and traveling. In the interpersonal stigma category, they found that many experienced microaggressions. Regarding individual stigma, the participants indicated that they used avoidance as a coping strategy.

Moreover, Ramos et al. (2018) developed and implemented a pilot intervention to reduce stigma and increase knowledge about the health needs of trans women. The authors evaluated the intervention's acceptability and examined stigma and awareness levels before and after the intervention with a sample of 22 medical students from Puerto Rico. The results of the acceptability of the intervention showed that 95.5% of the participants were in total agreement with the importance of the material covered in the intervention. Also, 87.5% of the participants indicated that the intervention helped them increase their future doctors' skills when working with trans patients. As for the differences in the stigma levels, these were not statistically significant.

In order to measure psychotherapists' attitudes towards the trans community, Esteban et al. (2020b) developed and preliminarily validated two instruments. One instrument aimed to measure attitudes towards transgenderism; meanwhile, the second one measured attitudes towards transsexuality. Their aim was to evaluate whether there were differences in attitudes towards the trans community in a sample of 131 students and psychology professionals. The results indicated that both the Scale of Attitudes of Psychotherapists towards the Transgender Community and the Scale of Attitudes of Psychotherapists towards the Transsexual Community had acceptable values for internal validity.

Esteban et al. (2020c) developed and validated a scale to measure social distance towards the trans community in psychology professionals and graduate students. Furthermore, they evaluated whether there were significant differences in social

distance between a sample of 127 psychology professionals and psychology graduate students. The results showed that the scale obtained an alpha coefficient of 0.99 and the Spearman-Brown test, 0.98. Moreover, the authors deduced that the participants do not show closeness or unconditional acceptance of trans people.

LGBTAIQ+ Conjoined Studies Other empirical studies in Puerto Rico were developed using representation from different LGBTAIQ+. Rosario-Hernández et al. (2009) examined the relationship between the management of sexual identity at work, perceived organizational heterosexism, work attitudes, and LGB employees' psychological well-being. The sample consisted of 110 participants, of whom 70% identified themselves as homosexual, 20% identified as lesbian, and 9.1% as bisexual. These authors found that the management of sexual identity at work influenced work attitudes and psychological well-being. They also found that perceived organizational heterosexism seems to influence work attitudes but not psychological well-being.

Luiggi-Hernández et al. (2015) conducted a study to explore the discriminatory behaviors perceived by LGBTAIQ+ people during a recruitment phase or interview for employment. The team assessed the relation between these experiences and psychological well-being. The sample consisted of 157 Puerto Rican LGBTAIQ+ participants who were recruited through social media. Findings suggest that 62.2% reported having experienced discrimination in the recruitment process. The most reported experience was listening to jokes (48%) or any form of negative comments (37%) about the LGBTAIQ+ community, 34% reported being asked about their sexual orientation, and 21% reported sexual harassment.

Nieves-Rosa (2012) explored and described homophobic attitudes and social distance towards LGBTAIQ+ people among students from University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez Campus. Results showed that there is a negative correlation between how important religion is for the participant, how often they participate in religious activities, and low levels of prejudice. In addition, results showed a negative correlation between academic year and social distance level towards gays and lesbians and a positive correlation between prejudices attitudes and social distance towards gays and lesbians.

Lastly, using a community-based participatory research approach, Rodríguez-Díaz et al. (2016) explored the settings in which discrimination due to sexual orientation and gender identity occurred in a sample of LGBTAIQ+ people in Puerto Rico. Also, they evaluated the priorities and needs of this community regarding health services. The findings reflected that 50% of the participants had experienced discrimination in schools, 26% at work, and 19% in receiving government services. Among the priorities for social well-being, participants reported protection from discrimination at work, right for same-sex couples to adopt, and protection from violence. Regarding the participants' health priorities, they reported services related to HIV/AIDS, mental health, sexual health, sexually transmitted infections, and the management of partner violence and addictions.

Gender Identity

In regard to trans identities, Padilla and Rodríguez-Madera (2021) described both how the trajectories of trans women are marked by systematic violence and their resilient responses towards social challenges. These authors adapted Achille Mbembe's necropolitics notion to explore how the transgender body is systematically excluded and "designed to die." This research is derived from an ethnographic study and survey of transgender women in the San Juan metropolitan area between 2011 and 2013. Findings include the practices used in order to transition to the desired body, such as using informal medical practices like injecting silicone or the use of hormones.

According to Ramos-Pibernus et al. (2016), there is a scientific gap in studies about trans men in Puerto Rico. Therefore, they examined the effects the identity construction has over trans men and *buchas* on their bodily practices and health. Within the findings, the authors focused on two main domains that reflect the intersection and the social context of the gender and health identities of trans men and *buchas.* These were bodily representations and gender performance and meaning of female biological processes. Participants reported avoiding attending health services due to feeling uncomfortable having their bodies inspected by medical personnel or dissonance or bodily ambivalence.

Health

Trans Identities Puerto Rican researchers have also focused part of their studies on the health of trans communities. Rodríguez-Madera and Toro-Alfonso (2003) identified factors that make the transgender community vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infection in Puerto Rico. The results showed that 57% of the participants reported high levels of knowledge about HIV/AIDS. Additionally, participants associated safe sex with condom use, reduced sexual partners, and not exchanging bodily fluids. For the sexual behaviors practiced, 48% of the participants reported having permanent partners; 74% had sexual relations with *pargos* (clients of the sex industry); and 66% had sexual relations with casual partners.

Rodríguez-Madera and Toro-Alfonso (2005) carried out a mixed method study with a sample of 50 Puerto Rican trans women; only 2 of them participated in the interview process. The goal of this study was to explore the role of gender in HIV/AIDS prevention. Results showed that 57% of participants knew about HIV modes of transmission but still engaged in high-risk sexual practices and low perception of risk for infection, 14% of participants informed they were HIV positive, 24% had never been tested for HIV, 62% said that they have not gotten tested because they were sure of their seronegativity, and 18% reported to have had another type of sexually transmitted disease.

Meléndez-Sáez et al. (2015) explored trans people HIV/AIDS treatment adherence in Puerto Rico through a mixed method study. From a total of eight

participants who lived with HIV/AIDS, most of the participants were under hormonal treatment in combination with HIV/AIDS treatment. Half of the participants identified as adherent to treatment, while the other half did not. Some reasons for not keeping up with treatment were not taking their medication, stopping their medication because they did not feel good, and forgetting to take their medication during weekends. Some barriers for adherence were lack of accessibility to treatment, forgetfulness, lack of motivation, and not feeling good. The authors identified that adherence was influenced by the perception of social support and stigma. When participants were asked what helped them to be adherent to treatment, they mentioned "taking care of me" which was associated with a healthy self-esteem and a positive outlook of life.

Padilla et al. (2018) examined the social and political-economic context of the common practices of injecting hormones and silicone within the community of trans women in Puerto Rico. They reported data from ethnographic observations and interviews of 39 participants; these described ideologies and practices of hormone and silicone injection. Also, descriptive statistics of hormone and silicone injection practices from a quantitative survey of 59 participants were included. One of the greatest barriers that trans women face is the difficulty in accessing competent and culturally sensitive healthcare providers. The authors believe that this barrier contributes to the development of resilient social networks.

Rodríguez-Madera et al. (2018) carried out a study to document the feasibility and acceptability of collecting biomarkers of chronic stress and HIV in a sample of ten trans women in Puerto Rico. The authors used a rapid HIV test and a cortisol test simultaneously with a 25 open-question interview. The results indicated that 20% of the participants obtained positive results for HIV antibodies. Moreover, the cortisol levels of the participants ranged from 8.64 to 42.32 ppg/mg.

The last study found on trans heath described transgender and gender nonconforming (GNC) people's experiences when accessing or receiving healthcare services (Martínez-Vélez et al., 2019). Additionally, they wanted to know if this community has experienced discrimination in multiple social settings such as school, work, and accessing bathroom facilities. The results showed that 98.0% of the participants reported discrimination experiences, being school the most reported scenario (70.6%). Likewise, 67.4% of the participants reported discrimination at work, 63.0% in the work search, and 45.1% when using public toilets. Regarding violent experiences, 44.2% of the participants have been mistreated and harassed because of their perceived gender identity. More than half of the participants (65.4%) indicated that they had been verbally attacked in a public setting. Moreover, more than half of the participants (55.8%) documented that they have experienced physical, verbal, or sexual violence by their partner. However, 65.6% of the participants reported that they had the support of their family at the time of transition.

LGBTAIQ+ Conjoined Studies Colón-López et al. (2013) carried out a study to compare sociodemographic, behavioral, and clinical characteristics between men who have sex with men (MSM) and men who have sex with women (MSW). These authors used a sample from the cross-sectional study Epidemiology of Hepatitis C

in the Household, Adult Population of Puerto Rico, carried out between 2005 and 2008 in Puerto Rico. The results showed that MSM, compared to MSW, are more likely to report sexual practices at an early age, more lifetime sexual partners, more sexual practices with IDU, and more sexual practices with an HIV+ partner.

Another article published in 2019 evaluated whether having a partner was a protective factor against depression and suicidal ideations within the LGBTAIQ+ community in Puerto Rico (Gónzalez-Rivera et al., 2019). In order to do so, the research team designed a descriptive cross-sectional study where they administered the Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ-9) to 192 participants from the LGBTAIQ+ community. According to the authors, 23.4% presented mild depression, 12.5% moderate depression, 6.3% moderately severe depression, 6.3% severe depression, and 24.5% suicidal ideations. The authors conclude that significant differences in levels of depression were in fact identified among the participants that had a partner and those who do not. In addition, they report that having a partner halves the probability of suicide ideation and should be considered a protective factor.

Violence

Homosexuality López-Ortiz and Ayala-Morales (2011) explored domestic violence experiences among lesbian women in Puerto Rico and identified barriers and facilitating factors in the process of seeking help and support. The authors interviewed seven women, six of them had experienced domestic violence in their childhood. When the participants were asked about physical violence in their romantic relationships, they all mentioned to have experienced it. When asked about how they looked for help, these women mentioned to have delayed the process of seeking help and chose to talk about it with friends over family. The participants acknowledged several barriers when seeking for help like homophobic attitudes and a general lack of knowledge about LGBTAIQ+ people.

LGBTAIQ+ Conjoined Studies Reyes-Mena et al. (2005) analyzed domestic violence manifestations among LGB people. In a sample of 201 participants, 20.3% were gay men, and 19.3% were lesbian women, out of which 41.6% considered themselves to be a victim of domestic violence. Of the total sample, only 11.7% of the participants looked for help. When asked about the type of violence, 28.4% of participants reported that physical abuse happened when their partner had used alcohol or drugs, and 36% suffered from psychological abuse. The authors highlight that sexual violence was more common among gay men than among lesbian women.

Having a different perspective on perceived violence, Rivera-Quiñones et al. (2013) developed a nonexperimental study of quantitative design to explore the perception of security among the LGBTAIQ+ community in San Juan, Puerto Rico. They recruited 103 participants and administered a questionnaire. Their results suggest that 73% of the sample reported feeling unsafe, with 44% reported having feared for their lives in a public place and having felt or experienced intolerance

because of their LGBTAIQ+ identity. Some of the experiences reported were verbal harassment, fear of outing their LGBTAIQ+ identity with colleagues or authority figures, and fearing for their lives.

Use of Alcohol and Other Substances

Cabrera-Serrano, Felici-Giovanini, and Cases-Rosario (2019) published a study which intended to develop an epidemiological profile of tobacco use among LGBTAIQ+ communities in Puerto Rico and explore whether or not there are any statistically significant differences (in terms of health conditions and risk factors) between LGBTAIQ+ smokers (LGBTAIQ+-S), LGBTAIQ+ nonsmokers (LGBTAIQ+-NS), general population nonsmokers (GP-NS), and general population smokers (GP-S). To achieve their aims, the research team used the Puerto Rico Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System database (2013–2015). Their results suggest that during the period of 2013–2015, the Puerto Rico LGBTAIQ+ population was reported to have higher tobacco use than the general population had (21.6% vs. 10.8%). Also, the authors found that LGBTAIQ+-S were more likely to have depression than LGBTAIQ+-NS. The authors concluded that tobacco use is one of the most critical public health issues affecting the LGBTAIQ+ population in Puerto Rico, and specific interventions and treatments are needed for their members.

5.2 Discussion

In this chapter we did an effort to portray the current state of research about LGBTAIQ+ in Puerto Rico. We described what has been documented in the form of books and peer-reviewed articles in the past 20 years, including pioneers on this line of research. It is safe to say that Puerto Rican researchers have continuously worked on the understanding and documentation of the experiences and needs of LGBTAIQ+. However, is evident that some segments of the LGBTAIQ+ communities have been given more attention than others. Regarding LGB+, the majority of studies in Puerto Rico focus on the gay population, including men who have sex with men, leaving neglected other sexual minorities, including lesbian women and bisexual individuals who have been less studied.

In the case of gender minorities, especially the trans community, the majority of studies have focused on trans women, mainly due to the HIV epidemic. We recognized that this population experienced disproportionate health disparities that need to be documented. However, the focus solely on trans women has left understudied other gender minorities, including trans men and nonbinary populations. Until recently, there were no documented studies that included trans men and nonbinary population in their sample.

We can conclude that reviews and research with LGBTAIQ+ have been exhaustive; however, continuance, actualization, and new research are needed. There is a

lot of research work with descriptive or modest methodologies, but we think that this is a reflection of the lack of funds for research that exists in the Island. At the moment, the country has limited institutes or organization that provide funding to support research initiatives. The main viable alternatives are the health institutes and other organizations in the United States, and to reach these funds, training, mentoring, publication background, and excellent domain of English, among other skills, are needed to compete for available economic resources.

On the other hand, the majority of the studies are focused on problematic issues, stigma consequences, and other negative perspectives of the LGBTAIQ+. These studies are definitely necessary; however, research with positive and preventive factors are needed also to work with and address the health disparities experienced by this power minorities. Therefore, research in protective factors and intervention models are recommended.

Finally, having identified most of the needs of LGBTAIQ+ communities in Puerto Rico, it is crucial that researchers move from a descriptive approach to an intervention-based approach. Also, those approaches should address the identified needs and disparities from multilevel and transdisciplinary perspectives.

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Chapter 6
Psychology and LGBTI+: Science, Power, and Politics on Queer Perspectives in Brazil

Marco Aurélio Máximo Prado and Paula Sandrine Machado

6.1 Introduction

The history of Brazilian psychology can be seen as a piece of political change in Brazilian society. Even though the epistemological and methodological changes have been more internal than external, it is very real that the historic division is not able to grasp the movements and ruptures in psychological science in Brazil. We are aiming in this chapter to offer a vision of chances, ruptures, and challenges in a queer perspective on psychological studies from a dissident's subject position (Tonelli et al., 2013).

In the present text, we intend to highlight the tensions and changes in the field of psychology when it comes to observing the path of the constitution of a queer positionality in the scientific making of this science. Therefore, to understand the changes in Brazilian psychology is to consider a political process of positioning and decolonization of scientific thought in the context of the so-called crisis of social psychology in Brazil (Jacó-Vilela, 2007; Mancebo et al., 2003; Sandoval, 2000; Spink & Spink, 2007). Also, it is significant to concern that the approaches to LGBTI+ issues have also been the interpellation of subject's conception and the epistemological and methodological mainstreaming bases (Tonelli et al., 2013).

At different times, the notion of the subject of dissidence and positionalities seems to indicate, in recent history, several changes that go through the conceptions of sexuality and gender, specifically of LGBTI+ themes and identities in the psychological field. One of these crucial transformations is the so-called "objects"

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turning into "subjects." This change did not happen without a set of theoretical, political, and methodological changes within the production of knowledge itself.

The migration from the category of research object to the protagonists of psychology's production to the subjects of sexual and gender dissidence meant a gradual transformation of science that, attentive to issues of gender and sexualities in pathologizing and objectifying orders, went through countless revisions considering the diversity of LGBTI+ subjects' experiences. This migration expresses an effervescence of knowledge production no longer in the condition of abstract research objects but as a thought of psychology's episteme. Whether by considering the interpellations coming from society and social movements (or by the crisis in legitimating systems of conservative and retrograde social orders), slowly in the last two decades, psychology has had to provide answers that indicate to us a process of queerization of scientific practice.

Our argument in this chapter is that these internal spins in psychology happened as a function of local and transnational social as so as political changes (Freitas, 2000). However, it was the interpellation installed from the crisis of social psychology that fertilized the internal soil, which nourished the confrontation of epistemic and methodological questions, not without litigation, but through dialogical tensions between science, power, and politics.

This analysis, therefore, will pursue this movement locating three political and epistemological turns in Brazilian social psychology, which erupted in the scientific scenario with specificities and crossings among them, although we can underline some idiosyncratic characteristics of each time as analytical keys that allow us to understand the queerization process of psychology:

1. The Latin American Marxist turn or the entry of dissident subjects into the analyses of social psychology
2. The feminist turn and LGBTI+ identities or the encounter of the subjects of sex and gender dissidence as an object
3. The ethical-epistemological turn or queer and transfeminist positions as an epistemic turn for social psychology: the insurgency of the "objects"

The decolonizing meanings (Tonial, Maheirie, & Costa, 2020) present in distinct facets of these changes that are aligned in our arguments, with a possible analysis of a process of autonomization and critical questioning of the scientific thought of Brazilian psychology and the visibility of the heterogeneity of the subjects of dissidence at the epicenter of these reflections, research, and professional practices, stand out especially from the 1980s in Brazil (Sandoval, 2000).

In this sense, positionality is a key concept because it refers, on the one hand, to the fact that the notion of dissidence operates in relational terms, as an effect of hierarchical distinction of normative positions. On the other hand, it inscribes dissidence in dynamics of unstable arrangements that involve heterogeneous elements in articulatory practices. We deal here with the construction of the subjects of dissidence among sciences, power, and politics. Based on Sheila Jasanoff (2004), the idea of dissidence has pointed how, in such articulations, subjects are situated and coproduced.

6.2 The Latin American Marxist Turn: Subjects of Dissidence as Social Class Oppression

Since the mid-1970s, the crisis in the Brazilian and Latin American social psychology becomes evident (Silva, 2019), although this has been a more general movement of several areas of scientific knowledge in many parts of the world: the critique of decontextualized theoretical-epistemological models regarding local realities and the political crisis of legitimization systems of the social order seen as scientific neutral (F. A. Costa, 2014; Lane, 1984).

We can perceive as nodal point of this crisis the appearance of dissident subjects of history: working class, poor, women, etc. In a movement to give visibility to the history of the defeated, for so long objectified and invisibilized, Brazilian social psychology produced its deepest crisis in that historical period (Silva & Veras, 2013).

This movement installed in the bases of psychological thought in the final years of the last century signified the emergence of the epistemological crisis of Brazilian (Costa, 2014; Lane, 1984) and Latin American social psychology. The crisis developed from the field of social psychology, it was a critique of psychology itself, which included the denunciation of false scientific neutrality, the totalization of pretended universalizations of theoretical models distant from the local complex reality, and the discursive legitimacy with the forms of power of the social order. That criticism/crisis was central to the field and had immeasurable effects (Spink & Cordeiro, 2018).

The center of the crisis was social psychology as a science (but its effects could be perceived in many other areas), since the epistemic criticism produced in the displacement of the naturalistic proposition about subjectivity dislocated the bases of psychological science, shaking even the most resistant areas in questioning their own practices. The nub of the crisis occurred from the articulation of the critique about the bases of psychological thought and the relation of science with functionalist and positivist perspectives of scientific and social thought that dealt, not without naivety, with conceptions of subjects with nothing to say about the contextual, local, and situated conditions. Thus, crisis and critique were responsible for new subjects, scientific problems, and methodologies.

Beyond the theoretical and methodological crisis instigated by the criticism to the colonialism of psychological thought and the ideology of scientific neutrality (Freitas, 2000; Sandoval, 2000), the crisis of psychology in Brazil also meant the emergence of the experiences of dissidence within psychological thought. From this perspective, it is possible to consider that political issues were fundamental to the twisting of psychology towards the inclusion of the working class as subject of its concerns. Social class issues become central to the development of critical social psychology in Latin America by putting the coloniality on the agenda and the idea of a latinoamericanization as a reference of thought (Mignolo, 2005).

Concerning this, it is important to underline that the crisis of Brazilian psychology meant more than an epistemic and methodological critique but a political turn in the basis of psychological scientific knowledge (Costa & Prado, 2016).

In this sense, the crisis was a critique of science, but also it dared to be an ideological and political critique against the legitimacy of the colonization process in scientific thought and the naturalizations of psychosociological processes. Although the consequence of the crisis was quite plural (Sandoval, 2000), a highlight about the field of interest of this chapter was the shift in the subject-object relationship in the very basis of psi knowledge (Parpinelli & Fernandes, 2011). At that moment, the possibility of considering dissident experiences was given from the notion of social class, which became one of the central markers to understand psychosociological processes and modes of subjectivation of the workers' movement (Sandoval, 1994).

The critique emerged from the crisis of social psychology, and spilling over many boundaries between areas in psychology was mainly psychology as a science. Although the notion of the subject is a contention of different conceptions (Prado & Toneli, 2013), the critique is based on a nonhistorical and dislocated conception of subjectivity from the set of its social, political, and economic relations (Lane, 1984).

The appearance and visibility of the experiences of dissident subjects at the center of psychology was the effect of a complex turn, since this change had epistemic and methodological consequences of various densities, meaning the bet on the development of sociohistorical theories, of participatory and qualitative methodologies, as well as of an intense debate on the epistemic bases and the subject-object relationship within the production of knowledge (Costa & Prado, 2016).

Issues such as power relations, social movements, the processes of political awareness, political engagement, and the effects of social class oppression become keys to a new view of psychological science on dissident experiences (Hur & Lacerda, 2016). The appearance of these themes and the complexity of thinking about the subjects in their concreteness in social reality put in focus critical questions to theoretical and methodological positions before the crisis (Silva & Veras, 2013).

The visibility of these subjects in psychological theories was crucial to review their epistemic and political positions, as well as to understand social class as a complementary analysis of the polymorphic positionalities of the dissident subjects.

The recognition of the working class as subjects of rights and subjects of change did not encompass the immediate recognition of other forms of oppression and subordination within Brazilian society, delegating to the centrality of scientific and discursive production a representation of the working class as masculine, binary, white, and heterosexual. This movement signified the entry of several fundamental themes on dissent but not always in a position more complexified by social and intersectional markers or even as a dialogical intervening field of differences.

Thematizing power relation forms of subordination and the effects on the construction of subjects indicate to us that the turn in psychology was relevant to politicize science. The denser link between science and politics became visible and essential to answer the question: for who is scientific knowledge intended?

This period of psychology was marked by the importance of Marxism's thoughts to the production of a sociohistorical perspective of psychology. This perspective undoubtedly brought power relations into the field of psychology as a field to be thematized and, at the same time, implied an epistemic and methodological revision

in several areas of research and intervention in psychology, particularly in social psychology. We consider that in this critical turn becomes a vast terrain of disputes, dissident positions, and themes that put at stake the articulation between scientific knowledge, the forms of legitimated social order, and interpellation dissent to power.

Although this revision was important for the politicization of psychology, this perspective simultaneously reduced the notion of the historical subject to a social class determination. That is, its protagonism from dissidence would be linked to the experience of economic oppression from the condition of social class.

This alignment was responsible for considering historical and economic conditions for the construction of subjectivities, as well as it condensed from the unified notion of social class as a social-economic category, all the dissident experiences, not counting other markers such as gender, sexuality, and race, as intersecting in the experiences of dissidence. The idea of unity of dissidence around the social class category was determinant in the delimitation of the idea of the subject in this context of Brazilian psychology.

This first turn (more characterized as the crisis of social psychology) was extremely important for the visibility of the relationship between science and politics, because of the addition of the working class as a social and political agent; however, the issues of gender and sexuality were not thematized, and a certain erasure of this corporeal and gendered subject was given from the unification of the notion of social class, identity, and social category. The debt that remains from the politicization of psychology is with the urgent answers that should be given to the interpellations by the feminist and LGBTI+ movements that, in the context of the late twentieth century, had the scientific field as a fundamental field of disputes. It is only in what we characterize here as the safe turn of Brazilian psychology towards a feminist agenda that we will perceive the multiplicity of dissidents being discussed in the field of psycho-science.

6.3 The Feminisms Turn and LGBTI+ Issues or the Encounter of the Subjects of Sex/Gendered Dissidence as an Object

As pointed out, the opening for dissident experiences from a politically situated engagement raised important effects for the psychological sciences. It not only produced displacements in the boundaries between subject and object, but it also required a complexification of the notion of dissidence, as well as an expansion of what this field encompassed. If the centrality of social class to understand the constitution of subjects was unquestionable, the debates around identities, social movements, the relations between difference and inequality, and especially the criticism of the unitary subject of dissidence require new revisions in what was constituted as social psychology in Brazil (Costa & Prado, 2016).

The interpellation of heterosexist logic and gender binarisms, markedly influenced by feminists and by the LGBTI+ fights, is inscribed in this interpellations to the psychological sciences, linking what we identify as the second political and epistemological turn in Brazilian social psychology: the encounter of the subjects of sex/gender dissidence as an object.

This turn comprises two main movements: on the one hand, the critical turn in social psychology opened the way for approaches sensitive to essentializations and naturalizations in the field of gender and sexuality and committed to the debates around the various forms of oppression and prejudice in which heteronorm dissident subjects were submitted. On the other hand, despite the important political turn, the politically positioned and critical approach towards sex-gender dissidents did not necessarily represent epistemological twists in social psychology beyond those that had been foundational to the previous crisis.

Thus, the entry of the subjects of sex-gender dissidence into the debates also corresponded to a specific arrangement between science, power, and politics: the entry of LGBTI+ issues and subjects as objects to be known, subjected to intervention, and assimilated by psychological science.

It is important to emphasize that the novelty, in what we called as turn two, concerns the understanding of gender and sexuality from a sociohistorical perspective founded mainly through power relations. Although sex and gender have been categories present in psychological knowledge, here these categories will be invested with a more polemical alignment, thought from specific historical contexts, with constructionist perspectives, and always involved in power relations. This kind of theoretical consideration about analytical categories had effects on later theorizations that were extremely fruitful about the notion of subjects of dissidence. However, the themes of gender and sexuality become objects of analysis in psychology, this is not immediately and not linearly accompanied by the rupture of the logic of classifications in the psychological field and to the strengthening of gender and sexuality hierarchies, which are as long as the history of this discipline.

Therefore, the regulatory distinction that was established between heterosexuals and homosexuals is inscribed in this classificatory and normative ideal. It was erected placing heterosexuality as the order of nature and, in this sense, as the only experience capable of expressing human sexual desire in a healthy and balanced way. Scientific institutions reveal themselves as spaces of production, reproduction, and updating of a whole set of dispositions, through which heterosexuality is instituted and experienced as the only legitimate possibility of sexual and gender expression (Warner, 1993).

This set is called heteronormativity, and at its basis is the belief in the natural existence of two sexes that would be automatically and correspondingly translated into two complementary genders and modes of desire equally adjusted to "compulsory heterosexuality," constituting a normative sequence sex-gender sexuality (Butler, 1990).

The scientific bias of this new conception transposed homosexuality, non-heterosexually oriented behaviors, and even less traditional sexual behaviors from the category of crime or sin to the category of diseases and perversions (J. F. Costa,

1995). The scientists of this period, mainly in medicine, physiology, and psychology, were crucial in the construction of this new discourse, playing a central role in the construction of conceptions and normalizations that affected the classificatory hierarchies of sexualities and genders.

From the second half of the twentieth century, feminism and LGBTI+ movement emerged as two political movements that challenged normatization processes denouncing their violent and rights-violating nature, with international and national repercussions. Both influenced a series of changes in science, culture, and society (and, although they are not analogous movements they have similarities, constituted by numerous phases, ruptures, continuities, and unique history), with a strong impact on the psychological field, one of the most normative scientific fields regarding the expressions of sexualities and genders in the social sciences, humanities, and health.

In the field of sciences in general, but especially in psychology and psychoanalysis, the sexual difference has been a key to understanding how science has been established as a new technology of production of gender binarism. It has historically established itself as its technology to become a system of legitimating social norms, particularly gender norms to regulate gender positions and expressions, the functions and places of bodies, and the expectations we have of the other. In this respect, Márcia Arán (2009), analyzing the field of psychoanalysis in the debates around gender norms and sexuality, demonstrates how psychoanalysis acts reiterating "device of sexual difference," reintroducing, according to the author, what Thomas Laqueur (1992) described as the "model of the two sexes," essentially binary, incommensurable, and qualitatively distinct, which starts to constitute itself as a norm from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Arán, 2009).

Psychology, in a sophisticated way, has historically been complicit in the heterosexism of sexual differences and gender inequality. With a scientific garb the social norm of gender/sexual binarism (named as gender norm) has been present in prescriptive and scientific explanations, often in an unquestionable way. In this way, perhaps one of the greatest impacts of the feminist movement in psychological science has been the discussion about sexual differences, evidencing the macho and heterosexist character of scientific thought (Nogueira, 2001), as well as the denaturalization of conceptions that were built with high scientific collaboration, such as the myth of maternity, care, and intelligence differences. The reaction to criticism was not necessarily unison, but it opened cracks so that feminist thought found in the bastion of sexual difference in the psychological field, one of its main adversaries to be deposed (Nogueira, 2001).

From a feminist perspective, several authors denounce the logic of sexual differences in the passage of Western ideology about the masculine and feminine, producing what has been called the "new" science in the twentieth century (Nogueira, 2001). With this, they call attention to the fact that the scientific discourses on sexual differences and gender binarism (supported on the logic of the genital complementarity of heterosexism) involved the production of institutional mechanisms of control, laws on sexual education of children, elements of maintenance of the

existing power and classifications, and normative ordinances of the inferiority of the feminine and non-heterosexually oriented sexual practices (Nogueira, 2001).

In turn, the LGBTI+ movement, besides contributing equally to the denaturalization of the so-called "normal" behaviors concerning gender positions and sexuality, introduced new levels of cultural and social values to think a less heteronormative science. In the political field, LGBTI+ movement put sexualities to the center of the public and political scene.

From the dispute for the legitimization of sexualities as a right, the denunciations of heterosexism as a social norm produced by gender binarism, and by the ideology of the complementarity of bodies, the LGBTI+ movement deconstructs the social norm as a necessity, producing legitimacies for us to understand its actions. In this scenario gender norms appeared as its most nodal expression "heteronorm," which reveals itself as compulsory and mandatory, therefore, naturalized, instead of presenting itself as articulated by social practices and institutions.

As Maria Juracy Toneli-Siqueira (2008) points out, the first turn of social psychology had facilitated the incorporation of gender studies in its ethical, political, theoretical, and epistemological horizon. From studies centered on the harassment and male oppression through critical focus on the denaturalization of sexual difference (Toneli-Siqueira, 2008), it becomes evident how scientific knowledge – in psychology but not exclusively – about gender and sexuality issues, during the twentieth century, becomes a disputed field, a scenario of battles in which science, power, and politics were far from establishing well-defined boundaries. On the contrary, the subjects of dissidence, or the positionality of dissidence in the scientific universe, made multiple possible interfaces and blurring between science and society.

The dialogue of the feminist and LGBTI+ movements with psychology in Brazil in 1990s imposed the need for psychological knowledge to enter in the conflictive dispute in which the field of gender norms is inscribed. The outbreak of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1980s in Brazil also appears as an important element that demanded displacements in the way of thinking about sexuality, gender, and collective health (Paiva, 2008), in addition to driven large financial contributions from international agencies – in the field of research and intervention – as well as demand for prevention programs (Russo et al., 2011), in which the place of social psychology was paramount.

Especially since the 1960s, two distinct problematic fields corresponded to two approaches that were constituted in the field of sexuality: the sexological approach and the constructionist approach (Paiva, 2008). The first is an older enterprise (dating back to the late nineteenth century) and "asserted itself by responding to demographic or health (mental or sexual) 'problems', contributing to producing the discourses that Foucault called bio-power" (Paiva, 2008). As pointed out in the research by Russo et al. (2011), which aimed to characterize the professional field of sexology in five Latin American countries, psychology was very active in the birth and movements of sexology in Brazil.

In the two main journals of the area, the *Revista Brasileira de Sexualidade Humana* (*Brazilian Journal of Human Sexuality*), first edited in 1990, and the *Revista Terapia Sexual* (*Sexual Therapy Journal*), created in 1998, psychology

appears as the area of graduation/titling most common among the authors (Russo et al., 2011). Among the main themes of the *Brazilian Journal of Human Sexuality* were sex education, sex therapy, professional ethics, professional training, pharmacological treatments, teenage pregnancy, STD/AIDS, homosexuality, and female sexuality. Regarding the *Sexual Therapy Journal*, the themes most addressed by psychologists were sex education/orientation, STD/AIDS, sex therapy, and sexual dysfunctions (male and female), focused on the following groups and topics: couples and family, children and adolescents, disabled, elderly, homosexuals, and transsexuals. The editor-in-chief psychologist of the journal, who used to introduce himself only as a sex therapist, started to use the term "sex psychotherapist" from the late 1990s (Russo et al., 2011).

On the other hand, the constructionist approach "defined as a question to understand sexuality as a social phenomenon, the inequality between the sexes, the subordination of women, the sexual discrimination; in the last three decades it was strongly dedicated to understanding the HIV/AIDS epidemic and the violation of sexual rights" (Paiva, 2008). Such approach, aligned to socioconstructionist psychology, and responding to the critical theoretical, methodological, and political call that constituted the crisis of psychology in Brazil of the 1970s, not only received influences from feminist, gender (Borges, 2014), and gay, and lesbian studies but also constituted important alliances with feminist and LGBTI+ movements.

As Borges (2014) points out, in an article where he (re)accounts the relations between feminisms, queer theory, and critical social psychology (especially regarding the debates around sexualities), these articulations were strengthened from the common criticism to essentialisms, naturalizations, and universalistic assumptions of the production of scientific knowledge. In this sense, although feminisms, queer theory, and critical social psychology each comprise a variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives, they share the understanding that science, society, and politics are not separate fields and that they act, therefore, actively, in the construction of reality (Borges, 2014). Thus, if it is true that scientific practice is not detached from politics and the structure of privileges in society, an important contribution of social psychology supported by feminist and LGBTI+ critique in Brazil was its engagement in the critique of a science taken as neutral and in the visibility of sexist, heterosexist, and racist assumptions naturalized in the ways of doing science.

In the wake of this process of dislocations in social psychology, it is worth highlighting the emergence of four working groups (WG), in the history of the National Association for Research and Post-graduation in Psychology (ANPEPP), particularly focused on the axes of gender and sexuality in psychology as central, from the critical perspective already presented: (1) GT "Psychology and Gender Relations" (started in 1992 in the IV Symposium of Research and Scientific Exchange of ANPEPP, and closed in 2000); (2) GT "Women, femininity and female sexuality" (started in the Symposium of 1994 and gathered for the last time in 1998)[1]; (3) GT

[1] For a history of these first two WGs and an analysis of the role of ANPEPP in the academic production on gender in Brazilian psychology, see Adriano Nuernberg (2005).

Psychology and Gender Studies (which started its work in 2006, at the XI ANPEPP National Symposium); and (4) Psychology, Politics and Sexualities (started in 2012, at the XIV ANPEPP National Symposium).

As stated on its institutional webpage,[2] ANPEPP was created in 1983, with the objective of "bringing together graduate programs linked to Brazilian higher education institutions to foster and stimulate the training of professionals for research and graduate studies in Psychology." Since their inception, all the WGs have had participants from universities in several Brazilian regions. The ANPEPP Symposia take place every 2 years and are organized around thematic working groups.

Among the aforementioned groups, the WG "Psychology and Gender Studies" aims to "consolidate the space for dialogue among researchers from different higher education institutions in the country, which produce in the field of gender studies in Psychology and dialogues with other areas." The WG "Psychology, Politics and Sexualities" has as its objective "the reflection about the different ways of thinking about sexualities, politics, and science, as well as to understand how the transformations related to practices, discourses, and moral codes configure them in distinct sociocultural and intersubjective contexts. These contexts produce identities, as well as a hierarchization of the sexualized bodies and the discourses and practices related to them. The work of the WG points to a research/training relationship marked by interdisciplinary practice and political positioning in defense of sexual rights."[3]

Since the first works and collective scientific organizations around the themes of gender and sexuality assumed the existence of political implications of the knowledge produced by psychology in this field, it can be stated that there has been an expansion regarding the objects of research, as well as multiplication and ramification of theoretical and methodological perspectives and political positionalities incorporated. Despite the dislocations brought by feminist theory and politics, the logic of sex differences in the scientific field has remained as a common ground among many theoretical and methodological perspectives in psychology. In nonlinear ways, social psychology has engaged politically in this field of genders and sexualities, allying with social constructionist perspectives, some of which did not widely question sexual difference as a unique and persistent reality, and sometimes producing more forceful dislocations in such entrenched notions of nature and identity.

The set of social problems indicated in this chapter added to sensitive changes in the debate of power relations, forms of subordination, and the effects on the construction of subjects, the crisis turn and the subsequent turn in psychology were relevant to politicize science and disseminate notions of dissident subjects and their positionalities.

[2] (https://www.anpepp.org.br/)

[3] Information taken from the Thereza Mettel WG Directory (https://www.cadastro.anpepp.org.br/grupotrabalho/public) may, 2021

However, many experiences of subordinate and dissident forms were treated much more as objects of investigation from already established and unquestionable theoretical assumptions or as an interventional field (which required instruments of therapies and intervention from psychology), without considering the recognition of these subjects as producers of their discourse, knowledge from their experiences with the body, their sexuality, and their subjective positions. These tensions between the criticism of gender binarism, heteronormativity, and science were a full dispute about the directions of the pressure of social movements, which were fundamental to the effervescence of works on LGBTI+ movements and gender and sexuality in psychology (Ferrão et al., 2019), configuring new forms of power relations, science, and politics.

6.4 The Ethical-Epistemological Turn or Queer and Transfeminist Positions as an Epistemic Turn for Social Psychology: The Revolt of the "Objects"

As we have already highlighted, turns 1 and 2 point to processes of politicization of psychological science, something that in Brazil was strongly embraced by social psychology. In turn 1, we highlight social class as an important articulating element for the appearance of subjects of dissidence, calling into question the notion of the abstract subject of certain previous formulations. This is a profound ethical-political dislocation that accompanies the crisis of psychology and corresponds to a critical turn in the field.

Turn 2 sharpened this shift, demanding another one, which entailed the broadening of the notion of dissidence and the recognition of the insufficiencies in social class category to capture the complexity of the arrangements between the production of difference and inequality. Inscribed in this movement are (1) the emergence of gender and sexuality issues – more specifically, in a first moment, the experiences of cisgender women and cisgender gay men – as the object of study of a psychology not only attentive to the ways society produces social inequalities but also willing to critically and actively reflect about the power relations involved therein, as well as (2) the expansion of the gaze to other subjects of sex-gender dissidence, such as the LGBTI+ population in general.

In common, these two turns share a disagreement with the notion of scientific neutrality. Power, besides being a crucial element in addressing the issues and objects of research that social psychology addresses, will also be taken as an inherent factor in the very production of knowledge in the sciences, broadly, and therefore in the psychological sciences. Feminist debates around positionality in knowing and thus concerning the recognition of the partiality of knowledge (Collins, 1997; Haraway, 1988) will gain increasing strength in the debates.

If the feminist politics and theory of the 1970s and later on the LGBTI+ movement, as well as gay and lesbian studies, will drive the ethical-political critique

undertaken in turn 2, in turn 3 intersectional feminists, queer, transfeminist, and decolonial positions, as well as the debates on the depathologization of transsexualities, will provide support for the ethical-political displacements. This scenario will also drive an epistemic turn, marked by the displacement of those who are commonly figured as research objects to protagonists in psychological science. This meant not only that the subjects of sex-gender dissidence began to enroll and be recognized in the spaces of knowledge production but required more broadly transformations in the modes of research and advances in debates about situated knowledge (Haraway, 1988) as an element inscribed in a problematic of power and the economies of credibility (Fricker, 2007) of the sciences.

Numerous works within gay and lesbian studies in Brazilian social psychology (Bussinger, Menandro, & Padilha, 2017; Perucchi, Brandão, & Vieira, 2014), many of which were conducted by gay and lesbian researchers, figure in this turn, assuming the transition between turns, between studying LGBTI+ experiences and constituting a perspective of epistemic critique (Pacheco et al., 2017), as well as some productions of cisgender people that not only aligned themselves with depathologizing assumptions but also tensioned the hegemonies in the field of knowledge production, preponderantly biomedical, on transgender issues. In this perspective, there were recurrent works that impacted the psi field focused on issues linked to the logics of knowledge production from the depathologizing frameworks of gender and psychological practices in healthcare (Almeida & Murta, 2013; Bento & Pelúcio, 2012; Lionço, 2016; Prado, 2018; Teixeira, 2013).

It also highlights the growing protagonism of trans and transvestite[4] people in productions, as described by numerous authors, such as Almeida (2012), Favero (2020a), Jesus (2014), Sales (2018), and Vergueiro (2016), as well as the consolidation process of Brazilian transfeminist strands.[5] According to Jaqueline Gomes de Jesus and Hailey Alves (2010), transfeminism is a movement led by trans and transvestite women, which "emerges as a critique of cissexism or dimorphism," and the naturalizations operated by essentialist-based feminisms regarding the sexual difference.

Thus, cisgenerity as a concept and the performance of the cisnorm gain an important place in the analyses (Bagagli, 2016, Bonassi, 2017), expanding the approaches on normativity related to gender and sexuality beyond the heteronorm. Concerns to interpellate psychology from the notion of cisnormativity (Bonassi, 2017) have important effects by questioning psychological listening and its procedures directed to the naturalization of cisgenerity as an element of its interventions (Favero, 2020b; Leal, 2016; Stona & Ferrari, 2020). This effect has produced an important epistemological critique of psychological science denouncing the naturalized relationship

[4] There is also a production by cisgender and transgender authors on topics relevant to the field of depathologizations of the body and transsexualities (Tenório & Prado, 2016; Sales et al., 2016), trans childhoods and aging (Favero & Machado, 2019; Camargo & Machado, 2020).

[5] For a historicization and analysis about the production of knowledge about transgender and transvestite people in Brazil and the transformations and political-epistemological clashes provoked with their emergence as protagonists in the field, see Coacci (2018).

between body, gender, and sexuality that often structures the forms of psychological listening and care of the LGBTI+ population (Prado, 2018).

From a theoretical and political point of view, transfeminism aligns itself with black and intersectional feminisms and with the critique of the existence of a universal subject of feminism (Vergueiro, 2015). It also establishes positions that question the positions of power in the production of knowledge: blurring or inverting ironically consecrated places of subject and object (as do some productions led by trans people who will take cisgenerity as an object of study, as observed in the work of Vergueiro (2015)). In this way, the transfeminist thought invades the academy but also puts into dispute the notion of legitimacy of knowledge production, denouncing the dynamics of the relationship between science, power, and politics identified therein.

In Brazil, transfeminism emerges in the early 2000s and gradually gains strength and consolidation in blogs, social networks, and spaces of political activism (Coacci, 2018; Jesus, 2014; Mattos & Cidade, 2016). We highlight, here, the analyses and texts published on the social network Facebook (in a group and page named "Transfeminism") and on the blog http://transfeminismo.com/, which emerged in 2011 under the responsibility of Hailey Kaas. As Coacci (2018) points out, in what he calls the third wave of the Trans Movement in Brazil started in 2011, there is also an explosion of pre-vestibular courses aimed at transgender and transvestite people and the increase in their inclusion in higher education (undergraduate and graduate), as well as the demand for quotas in universities at different levels of education. It is also worth highlighting the emergence, in the national territory, of works on intersexuality in the field of human and social sciences, from a critical perspective to the pathologization of intersex bodies, as well as to unnecessary, non-consented, and mutilating early interventions, as highlighted by Machado (2008, 2014). Productions on intersexuality have been growing in Brazil, as well as the protagonism of intersex people or their family members in the production of knowledge (A. G. Costa, 2018; Santos, 2020), and, since its emergence, the field has produced important provocations not only to psychological science but also, in general, to gender studies, sexuality, the sexed body and social studies of science and technology. In this regard, two collections stand out, containing articles authored by intersex and endosex people, the first in the context of Latin America (Cabral, 2009) and the other from Brazil (Barreto, 2018).

All this movement happened not only within psychology but in frontier areas that produced strong political and theoretical interpellations to psychology, which was called to face a series of tension points and ambiguities, as well as to question positions and hierarchization of knowledge within its fields of action, marked by theoretical, political, and methodological assumptions already consolidated.

In psychology, we can also think of this process as a "queerization" of social psychology in Brazil. As highlighted by Oliveira, Costa, and Carneiro (2014):

> In recent decades, queer theory has helped to establish a distinct agenda for the social sciences, the humanities and the investigation of sexualities, showing itself able to investigate and denounce how identities are discursively produced and unstable but also how social and gender orders are established on heteronormative terrain (Gramson & Moon, 2004).

> Hegemonic heterosexuality (Butler, 1993) constitutes coherence between gender, sex, and desire and legitimizes and approves heterosexuality in repudiation of homosexuality. The latter remains forbidden but necessary to the cultural barriers for that one to maintain its stability. Other hegemonic norms of "race" and ethnicity, of social class, of functional diversity, or postcolonialism have also been in the sights of queer theory, constituting an immense body of work based on the critique of the normative. In a Foucauldian sense, this critique precisely allows for the de-subjugation of the subject within the confines of the politics of truth (Oliveira et al., 2014, p. 70).

For Oliveira et al. (2014), therefore, critical psychology establishes interlocution with other critical and political perspectives, such as feminism, Marxism, and queer criticism, to produce shifts not only in psi science but in the modes of production and legitimation of knowledge in general. From this understanding, we can affirm that queerizing psychology presupposes revisiting the schemes of truth production, the hierarchies of privilege and power on which such enunciation is based, and those that it (re)produces.

As we pointed out at the beginning of our analyses of the third turn, intersectional feminists, queer, transfeminist, and decolonial positions, from international and national references, were fundamental to the theoretical, methodological, epistemological, and political shifts and twists have undertaken.

As with the other twists, the approach to a series of complexities, nuances, and crossings between them has limitations, largely due to the effort to offer an expanded perspective of the field. What we highlight, however, as the mark of what moves in turn 3, are the responses that psychology in Brazil has been provoked to offer in face of the "revolt" of those populations and themes historically placed in the position of objects, in the sense of hierarchization between subject and object, of the debates about what will be considered legitimate knowledge, how it is produced and who may enunciate it, and of the ethical-political effects of the positionality of those productions. Revolt, here, can be translated as a political and epistemic movement, which will require a series of fundamental revisions in the approach to genders, sexualities, and the subjects of dissidence in this field of knowledge and practices.

6.5 Science, Power, and Politics: Queer Perspectives on Psychology

The argument in this chapter points to a movement of the relationship between science, power, and politics from the three twists of psychology. It is important to emphasize that these turns do not mark watertight changes and reforms in certain periods but are characterized by singularities that coexist intersectionalized often in the same context and temporalities. Although they corroborate certain particularities of the moment, the twists reveal themselves to be much more interconnected and diffuse in dynamic transformation movements of science itself. They do not mark a gradual sense of development, nor an escalation to an evident protagonism. On the contrary, they spin, they move the field of production of gender and sexuality in psychology, changing theories, object-subject, methodologies, and politics.

To express more clearly the singularities and the movement of psychology with LGBTI+ identities and the themes of gender and sexuality is that the gyrations become important because they allow us to glimpse the movements of change, tensions, and conflicts that draw distinct relations between sciences, power, and politics. It is in this sense that we understand that LGBTI+ themes are no longer like a field object to be applied an interventionist theoretical model, but, quite the contrary, they are, in some cases, a field of production and analysis of dissidents that imply above all in an interposition to the social dimensions of sciences, power, and politics: emerging issues for the democratization of societies and contemporary knowledge.

It is through the production of subjects from the constitution of regimes of truths and scientific problematizations, by the forms of regulation and hierarchical legitimacy, and by the conflicts and disagreements that the dissidents are constituted as possible subjective positions in different positionalities.

These are possible arrangements in different economic, political, and social contexts that allow articulations between science, power, and politics in very heterogeneous orders of dissidence. In this sense, it could be understood that the twists of psychology do not configure a chronological sense but are polemical arrangements between the scientific framework and its problematized truths, the forms, and structures of regulation and legitimacy of social orders, and the conflicts and tensions given by the emergence of the change of visibility criteria of certain subjective experiences that were not counted as subjects in the visible of the scientific grammar (Rancière, 2015).

These (dis)articulations summarized here as twists of psychology allow us to engage in an externalist and internalist debate of social psychology itself (Cruz & Stralen, 2012), thus opening spaces to insert scientific knowledge in a field of dispute between the legitimacies of the social order and the disagreements about this same form of organization of powers.

In this context of problematizations, the entry of political subjects of dissent in the recent history of Brazilian psychology helps us to think about the conflict and the disputes on the production of knowledge itself. The effects of this entry are many and transform the relationship of psychology with the queer perspective in gender and sexuality studies.

Not only by the internalist turns itself but above all by the externalist elements of the political, social, and economic context, there are historical moments that the boundaries between science, power, and politics seem to move in accidents and processes of mutual influences, revealing tensions between the spheres that strain the positionalities of dissident subjects in the articulation of scientific production.

Psychology has been a very intense field of dispute, in this sense, and has nodded to a movement of queerization of its production despite movements that seek to restore a traditionalist position of putting the subjects of dissidence back as an object.

The perspective of a queer positionality allows us to underline elements that in contemporary times make explicit this movement of psychology science in Brazil: (a) theoretical and methodological; (b) ethical and institutional; and (e) political and ideological.

(a) Theoretical and methodological: the critique of the psychological field produced in the context of the historical turns was undoubtedly important for the revision of theories and methodologies. The influence of queer/LGBTI+ perspectives in the field of research in psychology allowed new themes to enter the research agenda with the development of innovative theoretical-methodological perspectives with more participatory elements, as is the case of auto-narrative, studies of sexual practices, bodies, and identities. Thematic studies such as the construction of clinical listening from the perspectives of gender and sexuality, queer political participation, embodiment, and sexual practices, prejudice, and homophobia, the contestation of cisheteronormativity as a naturalized regulatory ideal, and others enter the agenda of psychology. The most important thing to emphasize here is that the production of psychology from the positionalities of gender and sexuality dissent has undoubtedly produced displacement in the history of psychology itself.
(b) Ethical and institutional: it is relevant to highlight that psychology as a profession has also undergone changes following the historical turns. Two resolutions institutionalize good practices in the relationship between psychology and LGBTI+ people. These resolutions are, namely, the first a punitive restraint on any practice of therapy to reverse or cure homosexualities and the second a guiding punitive measure for practices that pathologize transgender. The Federal Council of Psychology in producing these regulatory actions[6] also took an important step towards the recognition and legitimacy of LGBTI+ rights for the practices of psychology.
(c) Political and ideological: psychology and its practices, although with tensions and confrontations, have played a role in emancipator policies of the LGBTI+ community. It has participated on several fronts with emancipatory political positions that have installed within its scientific and professional institutions a perspective of recognition of the agendas and rights of LGBTI+ people. Here we also highlight political and ideological positions that are antagonistic to emancipator processes and present themselves in collaborationist positions for the regulation of power and often to attack dissident positions, especially on the production of the field of gender and queer sexualities. A depuration of the field of gender and sexuality that has implied collaboration with forms of governing power marked by attacks on minorities and the stripping of LGBTI+ rights. It can be found new studies[7] on anti-gender and anti-queer offensives by psychology, seeking to understand the forms of mobilization and moral panic that these attacks generate and their effects on LGBTI+ inclusion policies.

The relationship between science, power, and politics in this context has been a very intense dynamic of arrangements and disarray, revealing the nodal points of tensions, disputes, and confrontations both inside and outside psychology. But these

[6] Resolution 01/99 e 01/18 by the Federal Council of Psychology

[7] See *Political Psychology Brazilian Journal* http://pepsic.bvsalud.org/scielo.php?script=sci_issuetoc&pid=1519-549X20180003&lng=pt&nrm=iso

movements have only been possible considering a fundamental exercise: the possibility of understanding the articulations between scientific knowledge, forms of governance, and dissent in a field of gender and sexuality long entangled in all psychological knowledge.

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Chapter 7
Psychology and the LGBTI+ Issue in Uruguay: The Uruguayan Psychoanalysis Journal's Discourse as a Case Study

Paribanú Freitas De León

7.1 Introduction

Uruguay has historically been seen as a progressive country in terms of civil, political, and social rights since the beginning of the twentieth century. This is how the English historian Eric Hobsbawm remembers when describing the "collapse of the values and institutions of liberal civilization" (Hobsbawm, 2018, p. 116) at the beginning of the last century, and he points out that only a very small list of solidly constitutional states existed in occident: "Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, the United States and the now forgotten *Switzerland of South America* and its only real democracy: Uruguay".(Hobsbawm, 2018, p. 118).

However, as in any other case, the deep analysis of any social reality returns complex and often conflicting panoramas in which multiple perspectives confront each other, sometimes without the possibility of synthesis.

About the relationship between psychoanalysis and what — to paraphrase the argentine sociologist Ernesto Meccia (2006) — I will call like *LGBTI+ issue*,[1] much ink has been flowing for a long time. However, for the Uruguayan case, the systematic review of the literature, as a procedure to understand the discursive production of this current of psychology, has not been approached with rigor or published, beyond the fact that the oral account and the evidence repeatedly report the existence of deep reactionary conceptions and iatrogenic practices developed under the protection of Freudian doctrine.

[1] Following the tradition of social studies in sociology, history, and political science, I will use the term *LGBTI+ issue* to refer to a specific dimension of the *social issue* (Cortazzo, 1998), linked to the set of political, social, and economic problems linked to the emergence of movements and demands around the situation of LGBTI+ people.

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For that, I selected an especific documentary repository, the Revista Uruguaya de Psicoanálisis[2] (hereinafter RUP, by its acronym in Spanish), published by the Asociación Psicoanalítica del Uruguay[3] (hereinafter APU, by its acronym in Spanish), in this chapter I will try to analyze the discussions, protagonists, conflicts, transformations, and continuities the national psychoanalysis—and with it, a piece of the national psychology—has gone through in the first two decades of this century.

7.2 Background

Psychology in Uruguay emerged, as a discipline of reference, at the beginning of the twentieth century, along with profound political reforms, mainly in the construction and modernization of The Uruguayan state, known as Batllista progressivism, linked with educational interventions (Chávez, 2016; Chávez & Freitas, 2014). This is why some specialists in the history of psychology in Uruguay relate the emergence of psychological practices in the country with processes of disciplining bodies and souls. Within these disciplining processes, the control of sexuality and the installation of a new sexual morality are one of the distinguishing elements of Batllista progressivism.

As Uruguayan historian Diego Sempol describes:

> In the "nine hundred" local medicine labeled same-sex attraction as an "*invertido*",[4] differentiated between tops and bottoms, and particularly pathologized the latter.
>
> For medical knowledge, as Barrán (2002, pp. 181-182) points out, the origin of the "invertido" lay in biological problems ("physical monstrosities") or in the influence of the environment ("education" and "bad company"). This vision was widely extended in the Río de la Plata area, from the European academic sources of those years. (2013, p. 23)

In this context, this author highlights that "A key part in the normalization of this mechanism of domination was played by medical and psychoanalytic discourses, which in Uruguay during almost the entire twentieth century, censored and pathologized homoerotic sexualities and dissident generic identities" (Sempol, 2013, p. 23).

Regarding psychoanalysis, the author points out that "he accepted the construction of homosexuality as a disease, but instead of appealing to the category of '*invertido'* he almost always preferred that of 'perverse,' emphasizing problematic processes of identification and the arrest or deviation in the psycho-affective growth

[2] Translation: Uruguayan Journal of Psychoanalysis.

[3] Translation: Uruguayan Psychoanalytic Association.

[4] "Invertido" was a word used to signal effeminate or homosexuals, emphasizing the "deviant" characteristic from hetero/cisnormative understanding of sexualities.

of individuals" (Sempol, 2013, p. 24), even when homosexuality was decriminalized in Uruguay in 1934.

In contrast to the poor progress of the national LGBTIQ+ issue throughout the twentieth century, the twenty-first century will be characterized by constant mobilization and generation of social, political, legal, and public policy development agendas toward this population and their living conditions, progressively recruiting different sectors of the population under this cause, which is part of the so-called new rights agenda.

This "new agenda" allowed the enactment of laws such as the reform of the regulations on the commission and incitement of hate crimes (2003), concubine union (2007), homoparental adoption (2009), law of change of name and registered sex (2009), equal marriage (2013), and recently the Integral Law of Trans Persons (2018). Those advances in normativity changed many of the ideological and relational bases of the old previous social contract of the Uruguayan society.

7.3 Contemporary Psychology in Uruguay: Notes to Understand the Institutional Context of the Discourses

What I can call "national psychology" is a very complex network of institutions of different sizes, with views and interests not always shared collectively and inherited of different views and paradigmatic approaches on the place of psychology in the social world.

Actually, there are two universities with training in psychology—the University of the Republic (UDELAR) and the Catholic University of Uruguay—and one institute (different recognition in undergraduate national education standards), the Francisco de Asis University Institute.

At another level, outside the university structure, national psychology is organized around other types of actors. On the one hand, there are scientific societies, such as the Uruguayan Psychology Society, the Uruguayan Society for Analysis and Behavior Modification, the Uruguayan Society of Analytical Psychology, the Uruguayan Society of Medical Psychology and Psychosocial Medicine, the Uruguayan Sports Psychology Society, and the Association of Psychopathology and Psychiatry of Children and Adolescents, among others. On the other hand, and as a result of the last civil-military dictatorship (1973–1985), when the institutional processes of conformation of the discipline were roughed up as subversive (Baroni, 2006), there is a very wide network of institutions and small private training groups that address different topics of professional practice, mainly focused on permanent training activities for graduate students, mainly at the level of clinical practice.

In this context I will focus on APU (founded in 1956), because it's the second oldest scientific society in Uruguay (after the Uruguayan Psychology Society).

7.4 The *Uruguayan Journal of Psychoanalysis* (RUP) as a Case Study

An analysis of LGBTIQ issue discursive productions of APU in RUP is relevant, first because APU is one of the oldest national psychological institutions with an important relevance in the Uruguayan academics, with an extensive impact in the society, for example, the continuous edition of the RUP, published since 1956, APU foundation year.

Second, Uruguayan psychology has and still has a strong psychoanalytic influence that permeates the theoretical background of almost all the fields of psychologist professional work.

As an example, the analysis of the current curriculum of the bachelor of psychology of the Faculty of Psychology of the University of the Republic shows that 35% of the courses have contents associated with psychoanalysis, and 27% of these courses have exclusively psychoanalysis as a theoretical background.

In addition to the historical weight of APU in Uruguay, APU is the only psychoanalytic institution in the country that officially integrates the International Psychoanalytic Association (IPA).This allows the institution to function as what Foucault (2017) called *delimitation instance*, an institutional instance that through different procedures of power (such as the power of tradition) marks hierarchies and borders with respect to the contours of an object that delimit an interior and an exterior of it. In this case, what psychoanalysis is and what is not.

To understand the weight of the APU's power in terms of psychoanalytic tradition, the IPA recognizes only three training models that the different national associations can apply: the Eitingon model, the French model, and the *Uruguayan model* (International Psychoanalytical Association, s/f).

Finally, the discussion on the relationship between psychoanalysis (as a subdisciplinary field and theoretical background of psychology in all its diversity) and the LGBTIQ+ issue is presented as an active and current problem, as evidenced in the conference of the contemporary philosopher Paul B. Preciado made at the École de la Cause Freudienne (Preciado, 2020).

7.5 Sampling

A corpus of analysis included all the articles of the RUP published between 1999 and 2020. This corpus integrates the issues ranging from number 89 to number 127 inclusive. A search for the keywords, i.e., homosexuality, gay, lesbian, bisexual, transsexual, transgender, transvestite, intersexual, hermaphrodite, queer, and diversity, was conducted on the digital editions of RUP. As a result, 69 articles were analyzed.

7.6 Results

Foucauldian orientations for discourse analysis (Foucault, 2017) involve the analysis of elements that allow the emergence of a discursive formation and its social function in a given historical and cultural context, which are grouped in four general dimensions:

- The (social) emergence of the discursive object
- The subjects of enunciation
- The associated domains
- The materializations of the utterances

Each of these dimensions involves the analysis of specific vectors of discourse organization. For this study five elements will be addressed:

I. Emergence of discourses on the LGBTIQ+ issue in APU
II. Frequency and periods of enunciation of the LGBTIQ+ issue in the corpus analyzed
III. Subjects of reference
IV. Associated domains
V. Specification grids

7.7 I. Emergence of Discourses on the LGBTIQ+ Issue in APU

The relationship of the APU with what I called in *lato* sensu the LGBTIQ+ issue goes far beyond the social and historical emergence of the LGBTIQ+ issue *stricto* sensu in Uruguay.[5] In fact, it is a foundational relationship.

In this sense, two articles in the RUP, written by Alba Busto de Rossi (1999, 2008), reported an experience of group psychoanalytical psychotherapy developed by Juan Carlos Rey and Juan Pereira Anavitarte in 1956. There's no report of the objectives, evaluation, and procedures of the intervention.

Beyond this anecdotal detail, the first appearance of an LGBTIQ + issue, in the RUP and in the selected period, belongs to Nadal Vallespir (1999), who reflects on the difficulties of clinical neutrality in psychoanalytic care; for example in front of the homosexuality of a patient. Thus the author states that "The neutrality of the

[5] I will define the LGBTIQ+ issue lato sensu as the link to discourses, subjects, and theories linked to LGBTIQ+ people in general, regardless of the approaches and practices that are assumed, reserving the term LGBTIQ+ stricto sensu to refer to the emergence of the LGBTIQ+ issue as part of the social course, with agents and processes of social and political dispute aimed at building agendas of rights and social transformations that result in the improvement of the quality of life of LGBTIQ+ people in the country, as well as their framing within parameters linked to the respect for human rights and the expansion of citizenship.

psychoanalyst, perfect, absolute neutrality, without hesitation, is not possible. It is a legitimate but unrealizable aspiration" (Vallespir, 1999, p. w/p). Exposing that "Our resistance prevents us from listening to the unconscious of the patient by preventing us from hearing the same unconscious in ourselves" (Vallespir, 1999, p. w/p), exemplifying "what happened to J. McDougall, who he could not see his homosexual patient desire by virtue of his difficulty in recognizing his own" (Vallespir, 1999, p. w/p).

This problem, associated with the axiological differences between psychoanalyst and client, will be explained in more detail by Dr. Marcelo Viñar (2000), based on what he will call "civilizational mutation." Expression through which social changes will be presented, among which are the historical and social transformations of sexualities at the end of the 20th century, and particularly the advances in rights of "homosexuals"; and that for the author it requires paradigmatic and theoretical transformations oriented to "what to do" with homosexuality and homosexuals in psychoanalysis, facing a new social context.

7.8 II. Frequency and Periods

From the analysis of the variations in the frequency of publication of articles with the qualitative identification of themes and perspectives of analysis linked to the treatment of the LGBTIQ+ issue strictu sensu, I identified three different paradigmatic periods (see Fig. 7.1):

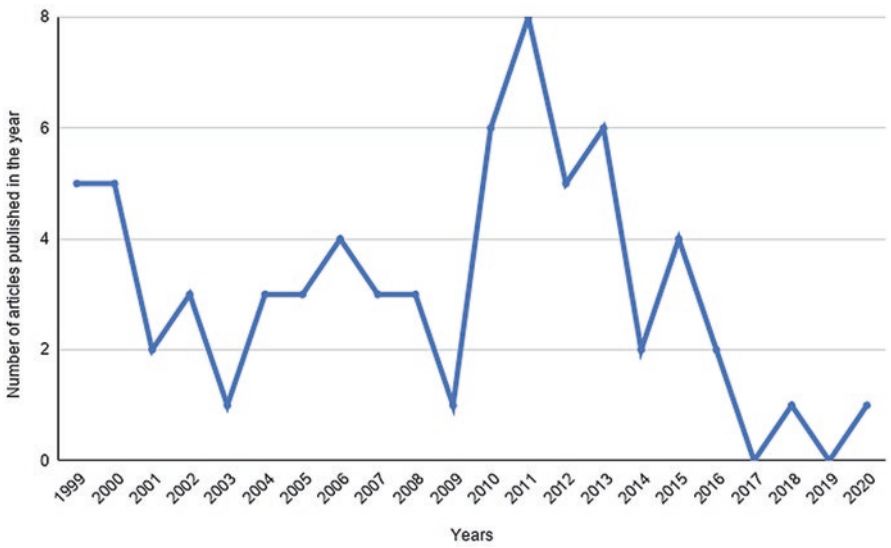

Fig. 7.1 LGBTIQ+ issue lato sensu, 20 years evolution in the RUP

1. A first period, developed between 1999 and 2009, I called "traditional normative period," is characterized by the use of homosexuality and bisexuality as adjectives of pathology psychic process described by Freud. Terms and concepts such as constitutive bisexuality, homosexual identification, and invasive homosexual transference appeared frequently.

As an example, the article by Stella Yardino (2002), entitled "The Mecedapa Forest: About the (Re)actualization of Early Injuries" describes the psychic impact that different early losses produce on the subjects and the difficulties of repairing the injuries, mainly with the arrival of adolescence.

Evolutionary stage that would be more difficult for this type of patient to pass, although:

> … even the most normal adolescent crisis imposes a series of losses and grief in the transition to maturity: mourning for the child's body, *for the bisexuality that must be renounced*, loss of the child's place and its privileges and mourning for the parents childhood that serve the adolescent as a refuge and protection against the unknown. (s/p)

Renounces that for psychoanalysis it does not imply either solely or mainly "the assumption" of a specific sexual orientation but can be extended to meanings such as the loss of omnipotence and the non-consideration of the limits of infantile thought. This understanding of the adolescence (by theory conceptualizations) implies the negation of the possibility of lesbian or gay childhoods (Kort, 2008), where such sexual orientations are manifested early and exclusively from the first moments of childhood and reinforce a political economy of the sexes, genders, orientations, and sexual practices, typical of psychoanalysis, according to which everything that does not compose the hetero-cis-allosexual norm can be used as impunity as a synonym for immaturity, primitivism, stagnation, or lack of principle of reality.

2. A second period located between 2010 and 2015, I called the emergency of the LGBTIQ + strictu sensu issue in psychoanalysis, explicitly inaugurated by the article "Human Rights and Psychoanalysis" by Marcelo Viñar (2008)—several times president of the association—linked to the relationship that psychoanalysis has with social reality and its changes, declares that:

> The place of women, their emancipation, which some authors consider as the most relevant societal fact of the 20th century, the notion of family, sex, filiation, paternal and maternal role, does not have the same validity and value today as they had in the historical conditions of production of classical theory. How are courtship and sexual initiation rites conceived today? Or our position in relation to homosexuality, divorce, adultery? If in Freudianism bisexuality and the difference between the sexes is the fundamental difference, how do we adapt our ideas or not? We can keep talking about maternal and paternal role in the traditional and contemporary family? What historical variation can we see in these concepts? These are issues that also concern the hinge between society, human rights and Psychoanalysis. (p. 54)

These questions are the basis for which the author affirms:

"include human rights as a topic to think about from psychoanalysis implies resign or affirm some certainties of the theoretical edifice of our discipline" (Viñar, 2008, p. 53), making a deep institutional appeal to assume this task.

Undoubtedly, I understand that this position, coming from a figure of institutional authority in the APU, will give rise to a real discursive explosion in the pages of the RUP. An example of this are two specific issues of the RUP: (a) issue 111, entitled " Challenges of contemporary psychoanalysis", edited in 2010 and (b) issue 113, edited in 2013, entitled "Perversion revisited". In them, almost all of the articles published refer, directly or indirectly, to topics on sexual diversity. However, it is necessary to emphasize that said discursive explosion does not necessarily refer to an inclusive perspective on LGBT rights, such as that proposed by Viñar".

In this sense, it is important that between 2009 and 2013 two important legal transformations were processed: the modification of the adoption law and equal marriage, processes that involved great debates in multiple sectors of society. Surely the same thing happened in his own way in the field of psychoanalysis.

During this period, references to the LGBTI+ issue (although mainly reduced to the consideration of homosexualities) are deployed in association with other topics, basically three: (1) the relationship between psychoanalysis, society and historical transformations, clearly illustrated by Viñar's statements; (2) the problem of the ahistoricity of Freudian discoveries and the relationship between analytic neutrality, the values and ideology of analysts, and the values and ideology of psychoanalytic theories; and (3) the problem of theoretical transformation of psychoanalysis, i.e., the problem of eliminating traditional concepts of Freudian theory and the problems derived from eventually replacing them or not by others without seriously affecting the hermeneutic and practical capacity of psychoanalysis.

The problems associated with ahistoricity of Freudian discoveries and the relationship between analytic neutrality are summarized in some issues that Javier García (2007) asks himself when he writes:

> … the oedipal structure is outside or inside? the difference of sexes is outside or inside? Can we think today that the oedipal structure and the destiny of identifications and sexual object choices has a psychic determinism, linked to the psychic determinism, linked to proto-fantasies, independently of socio-cultural changes? (p. 193)

The third type of productions can be referred to several works, many of which have as their main problem the gap that remains between the action of divesting oneself of the old pathologizing categories of different aspects of the human (among which sex and gender issues stand out) and the emergence of new categories and perspectives with which to listen, understand, and operate psychoanalytically.

A clear example of this is the concerns reported in 2016 by the group "Forum" by APU: "Does the term perversion still serve us as a concept to think with or does it become an obstacle by the very force of the concept?" (de Mello et al., 2016, p. 137).

Adding further:

> What effects does the reception in the consultation room of children who arrive with a (psychiatric) diagnosis of gender identity disorder (for example) have on us? Do I still think

> that the object is contingent? Is an adequacy of a supposed convenience of object choice imposed? What effects does the psychiatric discourse of the present have on the thought and language of analysts? What effects do the conceptual modifications that come hand in hand with social conquests have on us? For example: How does the depathologization of the concept of homosexuality affect us? Why, apparently, is it not possible to deep the discussion of this topic? (de Mello et al., 2016, p. 138).

Questions that are asked three years after the approval of equal marriage in the country, five years after the approval of the legal name change for the trans population, and three years after the category of "Gender identity disorder" was suppressed of the fifth edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. And mainly, to more than twenty-five years after the elimination of homosexuality, from the ICD by the World Health Organization, and more than 30 years after in the DSM, by the American Psychiatric Association.

3. Once the equal marriage and the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy were sanctioned in the country, between 2012 and 2013, both the Uruguayan LGBTIQ+ movement and feminist movements began to dispute what would only be achieved in 2018 with the enactment of the *Comprehensive Law for Trans People*: a package of legislative resources with a strong administrative impact in the live conditions of trans people in the country.

This movement had several important milestones:

First, the inclusion of trans people in an economic transfer program that until now had as beneficiaries households with dependent children.

Second, the eradication of "Gender Identity Disorder" category from the 2013 of the DSM V, in 2013, promoting the international campaign Stop Trans Pathologization.

Third, the creation of specific health services for trans people for medical and psychological care, which functioned mainly within the University of the Republic.

Due to the strongly endogenous characteristics of the APU, the epistemic debates developed within the framework of such programs remained outside the access of the institution.

Thus then, the path that the UDEALR School of Psychology develops from friendly attention to the registration of some of its services within the framework of affirmative psychology is an element that the psychoanalytic association does not incorporate into its debates.

It is even possible to think that the prominence that university psychology will have in this period displaces that the APU has had over the years, at least in this thematic field and professional performance and with it the social relevance of these speech.

Finally, and in relation to the prominence and independence that the psychology developed by the UDELAR as of 2013, the participation of openly gay, lesbian, and trans psychologists in this study could also be pointed out more and more frequently. The type of services leaves them in a complex position regarding being able to speak at the same time from the psychology and from the LGBTI + community, given their heteronormative and cissexist policies.

7.9 III. Subjects of Reference

Although the search was carried out taking into account a variety of terms and identity categories, I must report that almost all of the articles only refers to homosexuality and homosexuals, particularly gay men.

Regarding the rest of the categories that compose the LGBTI+ front, lesbian issues appear linked to Freud's clinical cases, mainly to the history of *The Young Homosexual Girl* and to Dora's lesbian desires toward Mrs. K. that Freud could not tolerate countertransferentially.

The same occurs with the consideration of bisexuality: we do not speak of bisexual people, reducing the use of the term to the theory of bisexuality in Freudian work.

About homosexuality, it mainly appears to refer to (1) a specific type of transference and (2) a particular phase of the Oedipus complex. Without incorporating elements such as a specific sexual orientation, or even less, a particular trait of the identities of gay people.

Finally, the various trans identities are presented unidimensionally flattened in the category "transsexualism" and "transsexual," in only two articles: initially in an article called "The Body in the Transsexual" written by Brum (2010) and later in an article commenting Brum's paper (Moguillansky, 2010), misgendering the trans people (Brum, 2010), treating transsexuality as an "extravagance"(sic) (Moguillansky, 2010) and always referring to the "theoretical contributions" provided by researches of the psychoanalyst Robert Stoller, an article in which the author proposes as a depathologizing perspective, to stop considering transsexuality as a perversion to only understand it as an *extravagance* (sic).

7.10 IV. Associated Domains

In the RUP the consideration of LGBTIQ + issues focused almost exclusively on male homosexuality and inhabited different domains of reference: the domain of the social issue (as an emerging political discourse), the theoretical formulation (as a descriptive category of psychic processes), the gnoseography (as the basis for the delimitation between normal and abnormal behaviors), and very remotely the experience of clinical practice (as "specific clinic" with "demographically specific people").

Care for gay patients is only approached in six articles (de León, 2010; de Urtubey, 2000; Fernández, 2004; Flechner, 2006; Gabbard, 2000; Rimano, 2010). In all of them, it is presented the difficulty for analysts to imagine their gay patients as safe, proud, and happy.

It is the case of a teenager abandoned by his parents who comes to live alone in a foreign country and at some point raises fear of becoming gay (Flechner, 2006); the story of a single older adult, educated, who never was "sexually active," beyond some erotic games with his brother that gave rise to an "suppress homosexuality" on

which the analyst has not been reported to have been able to deepen (Fernández, 2004); or a 24-year-old patient who frequents pornographic bookstores where he watches both straight and gay films to masturbate, and he explains to his analyst: "in pornographic films, the most exciting thing is the deep suction in oral sex," stating that "That's what I like" (de Urtubey, 2000; Gabbard, 2000). In those cases, talking about client's homosexual desires never was a possibility for analysts.

The possibility of enabling the consideration and/or exploration of a possible gay identity is always restricted by interpretations where homosexuality is only a defensive symptom that protects the subject from living more archaic anguishes. Subtly, the approaches observed by psychoanalytic therapists focus on analysis to the efforts to modify sexual orientation.

The first and only one paper that is not judgmental is from 2010. Here the analyst outlines a timid statement according to which "The Freudian conception of homosexuality as a perversion is turning out to be limited or perhaps wrong" (de León, 2010, p. 5). Also, she points out the gap she remains sustaining her practice to the extent that "The subject requires a reformulation, mobilizing transference relationships with figures from my training and with the father of psychoanalysis, which leaves me partially orphaned of my identity" (de León, 2010, p. 5).

Elements that demonstrate the scarcity of friendly clinical attitudes from analysts, as well as the lack of openly affirmative approaches in training and practice.

7.11 V. Specification Grids

The analysis revealed very important terms like "sexual orientation" or "gender identity" not appearing in APU. In substitution of these, the authors always refers to the Freudian category "choice of object," mixing concepts that cannot be unified.

Although critical movements can be observed within the APU discourse, mainly associating the LGBTI + issue with human rights, their treatment is very limited, and the epistemic transition processes—characterized by an effort to abandon pathologizing categories—are not helped by the acquisition of new concepts taken from affirmative perspective. Even when concepts such as sexual orientation or gender identity were widely used in the social context of debates related to the struggles for the recognition of the rights of LGBTI + people. It is even surprising that in a professional community such as that of the Uruguayan Psychoanalytic Association, there is an absolute absence of specific concepts from the psychological field from affirmative psychology, such as minority stress, internalized homophobia, among others. Since this institution is one of the most prestigious professional associations in the country, deeply linked to international academic exchange networks and with members who are perfectly fluent in languages other than Spanish.

However, over the second period reported, new "friendlier" concepts appear, mainly from the reading of authors like Jean Allouch and Joyce McDougall.

One of these concepts is that of "neosexualities," from which homosexuality is separated from perversion, limiting the use of the concept of perversion to sexual situations in which there is no consent and situations with unequal power relations.

An important aspect to consider regarding this phase of the (non)transition of APU psychoanalysis in our country is the error that the concept of neosexuality generates, (1) when assuming sadomasochistic practices, gayness (read exclusively as a coital variant), or the current sexting and (2) consolidating the view on LGBTI + issues as new social (and psychological) phenomena, ignoring the long historical processes of struggle on the matter.

7.12 Some Summary Conclusions

Although much of the data collected reveals the strong difficulties of APU psychoanalysis to modify points of view with very important heterosexist and cissexist biases (Barrientos & Radi, 2021), it is possible to identify some internal institutional movements aimed at reversing this tradition.

Seen in the light of the theoretical advances promoted by social movements and international psychology, the critical movements generated by the APU within it seem to be excessively rhetorical.

The debate on the transformations necessary to adapt psychoanalysis to contemporary societies does not reach any substantive transformation, presenting a panorama where maintenance of many conservative voices and theoretical resources does not allow an institutional resolution of the conflict. For example, displaying a supposed positive plurality, the journal is used to make explicit any institutional pronouncement regarding the institution's long homophobic tradition (Gil, 2012).

As can be seen in the only institutional discussion memorandum (de Mello et al., 2016), which is extremely lukewarm in defending the rights of LGBTI + people, their dignity and their subjective equivalence with respect to the heterosexual and cisgender population.

In relation to this, there are three elements to highlight:

1. Beyond the intentions of transformation, in none of the articles of the RUP they considered/analyzed the social conditions of life of LGBTI+ people, focusing all the intellectual efforts on determining the normality or abnormality of LGBTI+ people, and hence their ability to exercise full citizenship, for example, to adopt children or become legally recognizable couples. There is no analysis of the contexts of discrimination and institutional violence in which LGBTI+ people live, ignoring these fundamental factors in clinical care for LGBTI+ people.
2. Following Barrientos and Radi (2021), standardization biases of LGBTI+ experiences and radical alterization are observed. The problematization of the LGBTI+ issue is reduced to the problem of our psychic architectures in relation to the psychic architectures of heterosexual, cisgender, and allosexual people. In addition, it is problematic that psychoanalytic explanations about any aspect of

psychic functioning always require or allude to elements related to the ups and downs of sexual identity.

3. An enormous historical and theoretical lag is observed in the dialogue with critical concepts developed by emancipatory social and academic movements, like lesbian and gay studies, queer studies, trans studies, and even some feminists studies. Returning to Barrientos and Radi, it is observed the lax use of the relevant concepts associated with research in this field, identifying that "usually, the concepts of 'sex,' 'gender' and 'identity' are used as if they were categories self-evident and ahistorical, ignoring the way in which knowledge about these issues has advanced in the last 60 years at least. Without recognition of their social and constructed character" (Barrientos & Radi, 2021, par. 16), ignoring classical theoretical debates, such as the idea of "the homosexual role" as a social construction, developed by Mary McIntosh (1968), even when some articles summarily refer to lesbian gay studies and some of their authors like Judith Butler.

In the same direction, the permanent and exclusive internal dialogue with the psychoanalytic community and the absence of dialogue between the psychoanalysis of the APU and other international scientific societies in the field of psychology did not provide key issues discussed in the period, preventing such issues from being incorporated into the institution's agenda.

Topics like the depathologization of trans identities, the discussions about the efforts to modify sexual orientation or gender identity (OPS, 2012), the dispositions such as the guidelines elaborated by the American Psychological Association for working with gay LGBTI+ people (American Psychological American Psychological Association, 2012; American Psychological Association, 2015), or the public apologies of the American Psychoanalytic Association (Tene, 2019) for having promoted discrimination and trauma to LGBTIQ+ people are not reported in the articles of the RUP.

Although there are efforts to develop an epistemic transformation that dialogues with the emerging rights agenda in the country, it is observed that due to the constant self-reference to psychoanalytic theory as the main—or only—theoretical reference system, transformations are very limited yet. In this sense, a question that should be asked is: is it possible to transform psychoanalysis into a non-patriarchal theory?

Much of the grid of categories on the theory holds ideas based on heteronormative, binary, and cissexist biases, categories from which hypotheses, points of view, and ways of working are formulated. It is very difficult to imagine a substantive transformation of the theory in its political aspects, without touching in depth the shape of the pieces with which the puzzle is assembled. And the roots in theory, sometimes over and above the consideration of empirical reality, do not seem to be a facilitating element of such transformations.

I observed that there is no participation of LGBTI+ people in debates. Even all the texts assume the heterosexuality and cisgenderism of the participating psychoanalysts, reinforcing the place of "objects" of discourse that is intended for LGBTI+ people.

In many passages of the revised texts, the identity and existence of LGBTI+ people are harshly challenged, leading me to ask myself some questions: Would the analysts who write the texts about some LGBTI + patients give you such texts to read? Are LGBTI+ clients granted citizenship and authorship of such speeches? What might an LGBTIQ+ person feel who enters the institution as a psychoanalyst candidate? Even more, what might an analyst who is not only an analyst but also a father, mother, uncle, or has some kind of emotional relationship with an LGBTI+ person feel when reading several of the texts analyzed?

For me, as a member of the LGBTIQ+ community and a psychologist, the virulence of many of the texts is evident when referring to us, our life situations, and our wishes. Identities, life situations, and desires that always pass through the interdiction of the heterosexist and binary gaze of the analysts, whether to recognize ourselves as subjects with the right to life, expression, identity, or to treat us as a whim or a transient trend. Even when the will in the background is something so crazy saves us from ourselves and arms ourselves to its measure, noting a culture of homophobia and amounts of institutionalized homophobia that no other institution in contemporary psychology currently has.

There are many challenges that psychoanalysis has when it comes to rethinking itself in relation to the LGBTI + issue, and possibly the pressure to empiricism and the abandonment of the preservation of theoretical purity are some of the first steps to take, even in the face of the possibility of discarding the theory, something common in science.

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Chapter 8
Homosexuality Justification and Social Distance: A Cross-Cultural Approach from Latin America Using World Values Survey Data

Jaime Barrientos Delgado and Joaquín Bahamondes

8.1 Introduction

In the last decade, the defense of the civil and social rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people (LGBT) improved in South America and some countries in Central America (Barrientos, 2015, 2016). The International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association's (ILGA) annual report on state homophobia (2020) shows that an increasing number of countries in the region are becoming more inclusive regarding issues related to sexual diversity rights.

However, the LGBT population continues to be a target of stigma, prejudice, and discrimination in Central and South America. For example, police violence, violence at school, and violence against transgender individuals are still important issues in Latin American countries (Barrientos & Lovera, 2020; Boglarka et al., 2020; Infante et al., 2016; Movilh, 2019; Sentido & Colombia Diversa, 2016).

In addition, data reveal a disparity between the favorable scenario for the regional LGBT population, based, on the one hand, on laws pointed to increase their social and civil rights and, on the other hand, the persistence of negative attitudes toward LGBT individuals. Added to this is the recent emergence of reactionary movements and anti-gender policies resisting advances in sexual and LGBT rights (Corrêa, 2018).

However, scarce comparative data from Central and South America have been available so far to monitor the attitudes toward LGBT people over time. The most relevant data that allow the comparison of several countries and observing the evolution of attitudes over time on a regional basis come from the World Values Survey

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(WVS). The WVS has conducted seven measurement waves worldwide (1981–1984, 1990–1994, 1995–1998, 1999–2004, 2005–2009, 2010–2014, and 2017–2020) concerning different issues of social, political, and economic interest, including several Latin American countries. These issues include attitudes toward LGBT people, among others. These measurements, conducted periodically since the 1980s, allow comparing several countries in the region with the use of two items concerning attitudes toward LGBT people. One item refers to homosexuality and the other one to social distance from homosexual neighbors: (a) "Please tell me whether you think that homosexuality can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between," and (b) "On this list are various groups of people. Could you please mention any that you would not like to have as neighbors? Homosexuals." However, WVS data have been used for both reports on a global basis (Valfort, 2017) or across regional areas or countries mainly within Europe (Andersen & Fetner, 2008). Thus, information from those items have been scarcely used for describing attitudes across Latin American countries (Navarro et al., 2019). This chapter intends to describe the attitudes toward LGBT people from Central and South American countries, using data available from the seven waves conducted by the WVS.

8.2 Attitudes Toward LGBT People from Central and South America

Studies on attitudes toward LGBT conducted in the region are scarce. As a whole, attitudes are measured in different ways in a local perspective. As a consequence, results cannot be compared with findings from other countries (Cárdenas et al., 2018; Costa et al., 2015; Lodola & Corral, 2010; Moreno et al., 2015). Additionally, these studies do not allow seeing the evolution of attitudes toward LGBT people in a certain country or region over time. Also, these measurements have an uninclusive group target, often including gay or lesbians but neglecting other populations (e.g., bisexuals or transgender people). Lastly, these studies generally do not allow determining what factors, either individual, relational, or social, are associated with these attitudes.

The WVS is used on a worldwide basis to compare attitudes toward LGBT people across several countries, with the possibility to measure changes in these attitudes and understand the social and relational correlates. For example, some studies conducted on a world basis, using data from WVS, have shown that some sociocultural aspects are related to negative attitudes toward homosexuality (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009; Inglehart & Baker, 2000). Accordingly, results from Adamczyk and Pitt (2009) reveal that the levels of self-expression in different countries moderate the relationship between the importance attributed to religion and attitudes toward homosexuality.

However, fewer studies (e.g., Dion & Díez, 2017) evaluate the general level of attitudes toward homosexuality in Central and South America, comparing different

countries and describing the evolution of these attitudes over time, observing their regional standing and future challenges.

Hence, to advance in these objectives, this study uses data from WVS seven measurement waves available to analyze the attitudes toward LGBT people in Central and South America, particularly the responses to the questions on homosexuality justification and social distance from homosexual individuals.

8.3 Method

Data Source

This study analyzed national data from the seven measurement waves conducted by the WVS Association (Inglehart, et al., 2020; World Values Survey, N/d), collected in 1981–1984, 1990–1994, 1995–1998, 1999–2004, 2005–2009, 2010–2014, and 2017–2020. WVS is a high-quality survey conducted on a representative national sample in almost 100 countries worldwide. WVS measures issues such as cultural values, attitudes, beliefs, and experiences about gender, family, religion, poverty, education, health, and cultural differences and similarities between regions and societies. In this chapter, we used data available from 11 and 6 (depending on the analysis) major Central and South American countries (Table 8.1).

Concerning sampling, a research team in each country aims to obtain as many primary sampling units as possible, regardless of whether the sampling method is that of full probability or a combination of probability and stratified. Each country has a representative national sample, informants being then interviewed face-to-face by using uniformly structured questionnaires designed by professional organizations or phone interviews in remote areas (Inglehart, et al. 2020). Data are anonymous, and interview files show no data to trace informants.

Sample

We selected two main samples including (a) waves 1–7, considered data from 60,389 adult respondents from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru (i.e., countries with ≥4 waves of data available) (Inglehart et al., 2020), and (b) specific 7 waves with data from 15,221 participants included in wave 7 (Haerpfer et al., 2020) were used for subsequent comparisons between countries: Argentina (6.59%), Bolivia (13.58%), Brazil (11.58%), Chile (6.57%), Colombia (9.99%), Ecuador (7.88%), Guatemala (7.90%), Mexico (11.43%), Nicaragua (7.88%), Peru (9.20%), and Puerto Rico (7.40%). Ages range between 16 and 97 years ($M = 40.62$, $SD = 16.74$), with 52.24% respondents being women and 47.75% men. Table 8.1 shows data for each wave by country.

Table 8.1 Sample size for each wave by country

	World Values Survey Wave						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	1981–1984	1989–1993	1994–1998	1999–2004	2005–2009	2010–2014	2017–2019
Argentina[b]	1005	1002	1079	1280	1002	1030	1003
Bolivia[a]							2067
Brazil[b]		1782	1143		1500	1486	1762
Chile[b]		1500	1000	1200	1000	1000	1000
Colombia[b]			6025		3025	1512	1520
Dominican Republic			417				
Ecuador[a]						1202	1200
El Salvador			1254				
Guatemala[a]					1000		1203
Haiti						1996	
Mexico[b]	1837	1531	1510	1535	1560	2000	1739
Nicaragua[a]							1200
Peru[b]			1211	1501	1500	1210	1400
Puerto Rico[a]			1164	720			1127
Trinidad and Tobago					1002	999	
Uruguay			1000		1000	1000	
Venezuela			1200	1200			

Note: blank boxes indicate that country was not sampled in that particular wave
[a]Country included in ANOVA and mean geolocation analyses
[b]Countries included in wave comparisons, ANOVA, and mean geolocation analyses

Variables

Homosexuality justification. This variable was measured with the following question: "Please tell me for each of the following actions whether you think it can always be justified [10], never be justified [1], or somewhere in between, using this card." This item was assessed in a scale from 1 ("never justifiable") to 10 ("always justifiable"), 10 showing the highest tolerance to homosexuality. In general, any score ≤ 9 would indicate some degree of questioning a homosexual orientation.

Social distance. This variable was measured with the following question, "On this list, there are various groups of people. Could you please mention those you would not like to have as neighbors?" This item was assessed using "mentioned," "not mentioned," "don't know," and "no answer." In this chapter, we focus on the proportion of those who do mention homosexuals as a group of people they would not want as neighbors.

Data Analysis

Descriptive analyses emphasized the visual inspection of available data. Specifically, the means for all available waves by country were estimated, displaying changes in line plots over time, as well as geolocated scores for visual comparisons across countries—such differences were statistically tested with ANOVA. Their corresponding distributions were subsequently examined by density ridges to observe distinctive response patterns.

8.4 Results

Figure 8.1 shows homosexuality justification evolution since the 1980s in six countries. In this chapter, homosexuality justification and attitudes toward LGBT people are used interchangeably. Figure 8.1 also shows that attitudes toward LGBT people have slowly improved in most countries analyzed over time, yet none of them show a mean over 6, according to WVS data. The country with the highest acceptance is Argentina, followed by Chile, while lower acceptance is observed in Peru and Colombia, which also report the least improvement over time. Additionally, Argentina, which shows the most favorable attitudes toward LGBT people, remains stable in the last two measurements. In Peru, there is no observable change in attitudes since the 1990s, as an improvement is followed by a decline in homosexuality justification. Overall, long-term patterns suggest that attitudes are improving (except for Peru), regardless of year-to-year changes in the data, which may be due to sampling error.

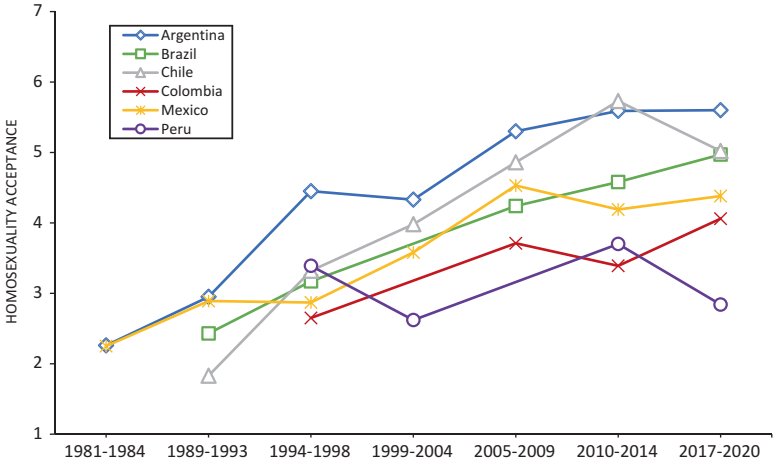

Fig. 8.1 Homosexuality acceptance, according to different WVS waves

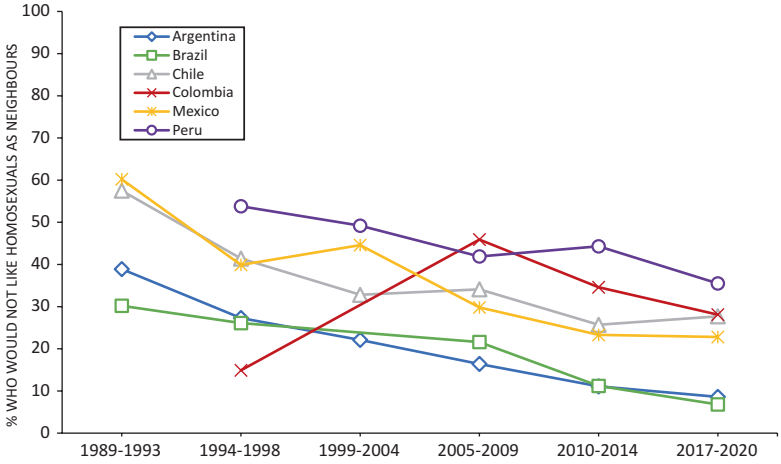

Fig. 8.2 Social distance across different WVS waves

The WVS second measurement assessing attitudes toward LGBT people relates to the question about homosexual neighbor rejection (vs. acceptance). In line with the previous set of results, Fig. 8.2 shows that attitudes toward LGBT people are slowly improving in all six countries, and Argentina and Brazil are the countries with the highest acceptance (i.e., lowest rate of rejection). Additionally, Brazil is an interesting case, because the mean of homosexuality acceptance has been slowly increasing, while homosexual neighbor acceptance is the greatest of the six countries measured. In other countries, such as Peru, rates of acceptance are lower compared to the other countries, as well as in Chile, which shows one of the highest levels of homosexuality acceptance on a regional basis; however, the ratio of Chileans accepting homosexual neighbors does not seem to increase at the same rate as homosexuality justification.

Consequently, WVS data from wave 7 (2017–2020) was analyzed, including 11 countries. Results from a one-way ANOVA show that the levels of homosexuality justification vary significantly across countries ($F(10, 14{,}370) = 115.34$, $p < 0.001$). Argentina and Puerto Rico show the most favorable attitudes toward LGBT people in Central and South America, followed by Chile and Brazil with scores close to 5 (see Fig. 8.3). Additionally, in countries such as Mexico and Colombia, attitudes are not so positive, and much progress is needed. In the other countries, the situation is particularly worrisome, since the levels of justification are quite low, particularly in Peru, which makes up the lowest homogeneous subset on its own (see Fig. 8.3 for homogeneous subsets indicated by superscripts). Countries with the highest mean scores in the Central and South American region show levels that reflect, at best, mild support instead of acceptance.

A more nuanced look at the distribution of attitudes toward LGBT people, using data from WVS wave 7 and the same homosexuality justification measurement, supports the pattern in Fig. 8.3, although it also reveals some peculiarities. Figure 8.4

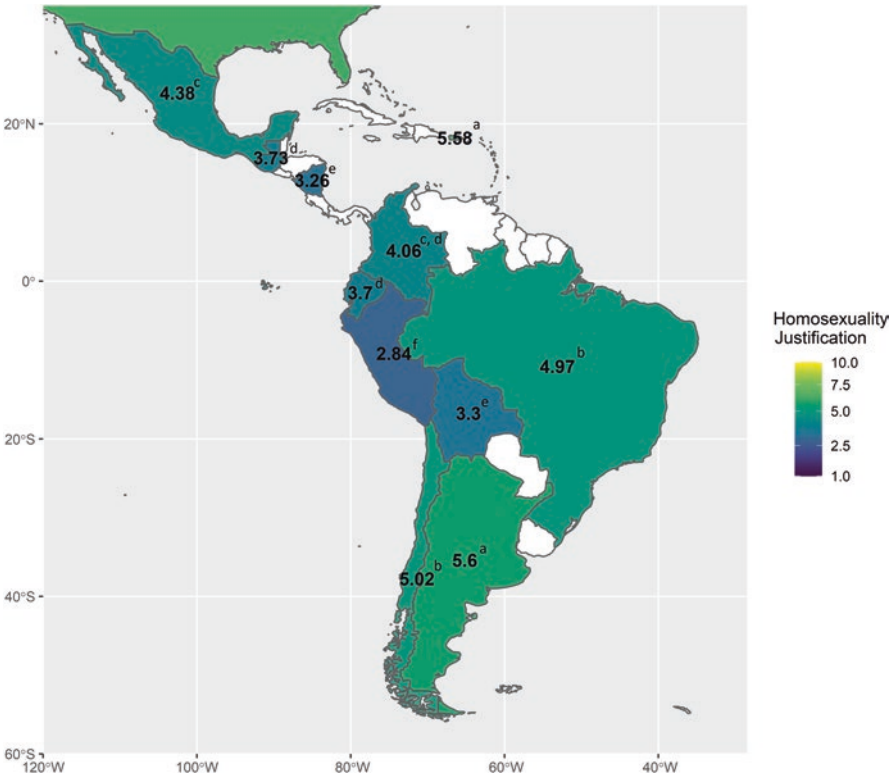

Fig. 8.3 Homosexuality justification in Central and South American countries, according to WVS wave 7 (2018–2020)
Note: Superscripts indicate homogeneous subsets.

(including countries in other world contexts, apart from those included in this analysis) shows that in Germany, Australia, and New Zealand, most answers are found on the upper end of the scale, that is, on the uppermost end of homosexuality acceptance. Closer to this acceptance pattern in Central and South America—yet far from developed countries—we found Argentina, Puerto Rico, and Chile. On the lower end, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Bolivia, and Peru showed attitudes closer to countries such as Ethiopia, Lebanon, and China, which are characterized by great hostility toward homosexuality and LGBT people.

Interestingly, the distributions in Fig. 8.4 reveal a highly relevant phenomenon far from the reductionism of each isolated mean. Particularly, countries such as Argentina, Puerto Rico, and Brazil tend to heavily concentrate on the lower end (hostile rejection), in the middle (moderate rejection), and on the upper end (acceptance) of the scale. This indicates that there are within-country subdivisions regarding attitudes toward LGBT people. These differences are probably explained by sociodemographic and ideological factors such as educational level and religiousness (e.g., see Navarro et al., 2019).

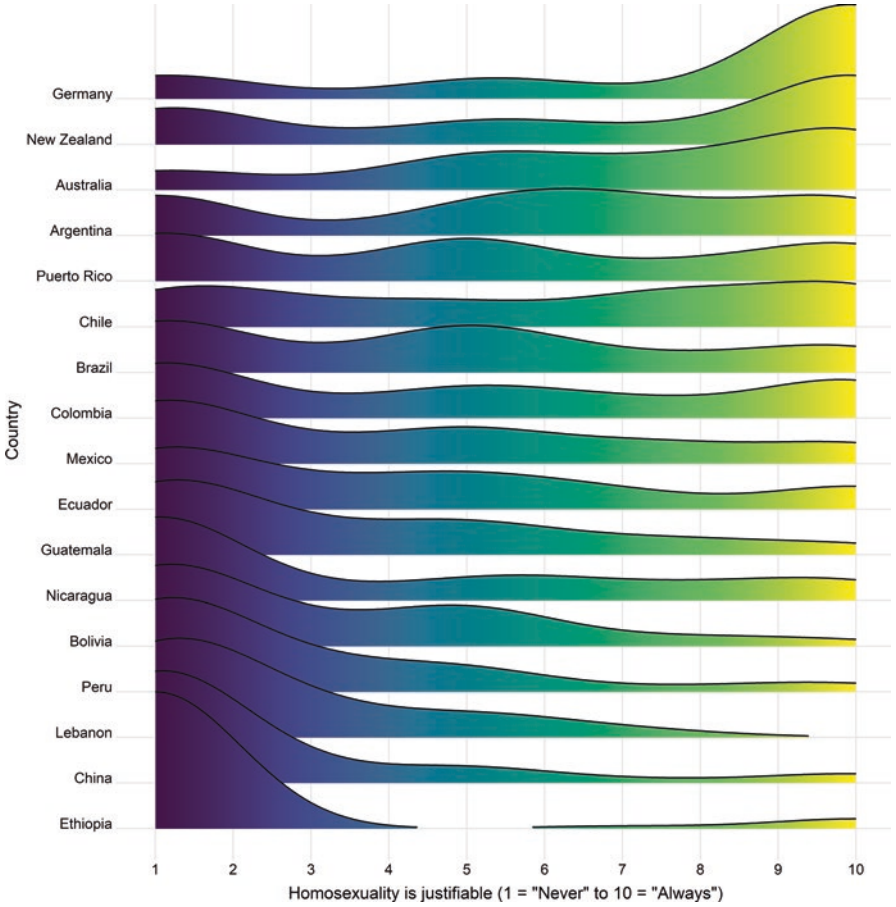

Fig. 8.4 Density ridges of responses to homosexuality justification, according to WVS wave 7

8.5 Discussion

Negative attitudes toward LGBT people are a form of violence and a specific type of stressor that negatively affects the physical and mental health of this population (Meyer, 2003) (see minority stress model). For this reason, data on attitudes toward LGBT people are so important.

However, unlike other research on a world basis delimitation, such as Europe and Africa (Dulani, Sambo, & Dionne, 2016; Eurobarometer 2015, 2019), which specifically measure to LGBT acceptance, few studies in Central and South America measure attitudes toward LGBT people. In addition, the available studies usually deal with just one country, use specific samples (e.g., college students), are limited to just one measurement (cross-sectional), and used measurement scales that do not allow for intercultural comparison. Hence, these studies are unable to provide

insights on the evolution of LGBT attitudes over time or cross-country comparisons. Thus, the situation in the region can only be described broadly, without projecting the challenges of LGBT issues explored on a regional basis over time. Along these lines, this chapter provides a retrospective inspection (through secondary analyses of WVS data) of attitudes toward LGBT people across several Central and South American countries, as well as their patterns of change over time.

The data at hand confirm that attitudes toward LGBT people have improved in Central and South America over time, although at a slow pace, and seemingly approaching relative levels of acceptance. Argentina, Puerto Rico, and Chile, the countries with the highest homosexuality justification, show a mean of 6 at the highest, quite far from the countries at the top of the measurement on a world basis, with means closer to 9. In addition, data showed that attitudes toward LGBT people vary among countries. While some of them are in a relative better situation in LGBT attitudes, others such as Peru, Nicaragua, and Bolivia report little acceptance, more similar to countries such as Ethiopia and Lebanon, countries where attitudes toward LGBT people remain hostile (Fig. 8.4). These data strengthen the idea that it is important to continue advancing toward producing data on attitudes toward LGBT in the region, to contribute to data-based decisions, with an emphasis in local- and regional-based studies from a Latin American perspective, also oriented to track and improve specific attitudes, which will help enhancing the well-being of LGBT people overtime. In addition, while these data are used as equivalent to LGBT people as a whole, in practice, WVS measurements refer exclusively to gays and lesbians (homosexuals), due to the target population within the questions. Therefore, progress should be made by the WVS, including new measurements or questions relative to other populations such as transgender individuals—a key population of interest for researchers, as well as healthcare workers and policy makers.

Data analyzed show situations that are interesting to discuss. For example, Brazil reports a rather slow increase in homosexuality acceptance levels, yet it shows a high level of LGBT neighbor acceptance. This situation, which may seem contradictory, is an interesting topic for research. Redman (2018) indicates that legislation favoring sexual minority rights does not uniformly favor attitudes toward this specific population within the general population by itself, but it does in individuals who already support homosexuality. This is due to the different factors that take part in the equation for accepting differences, which correspond to each country's specific history of development. Ironically, homosexuality rejection could be even stronger due to the effect of increased legislation protecting homosexuality, the opposite occurring among those who do support homosexuality. This is an interesting point, which seems to concur with the observed multimodal distributions, indicating the presence of a fair number of people who share openly hostile attitudes, while others show moderate rejection and others a certain degree of acceptance. Indeed, one of the main challenges faced by future research is clearly characterizing within-country subpopulations and what factors (global, regional, and local) may explain these concentrations in the population distribution of homosexuality justification in Central and South America.

Another important issue to discuss is the focus on homosexual population in WVS data. It is important to highlight two main aspects of LGBT research: (a) transgender population are still a target of repeated violations of their rights in different parts of Central and South America, which makes them a special group of analysis, and (b) although this paper does not generalize the results of the study into other populations, due to the gender differences existing between them, data can be analyzed as a proxy for attitudes toward LGBT people overall. Therefore, research with these specificities on a regional basis becomes particularly necessary on a world basis perspective (Worthen, 2013).

There are gender asymmetries in attitudes toward homosexual population. Kite and Whitley (1998) show that heterosexual men report more negative attitudes toward gays, while heterosexual women report similar attitudes toward gays and lesbians or even more negative attitudes toward lesbians (Raja & Stokes 1998). However, this study did not address these asymmetries. Accordingly, future studies must include gender-based comparisons when analyzing these patterns across different countries. Furthermore, studies acknowledging diversity in terms of gender identity within the LGBT population should be conducted (Worthen, 2013).

In addition, data analyzed highlight the comprehensive work that needs to be done in activism, professional, and academic practice within the humanities and social sciences in Central and South American countries, on a political, activist, and governmental basis. Data also suggest that, although advances in legislation to favor LGBT population rights are important, this effort will be unsuccessful if these issues are not shared at different social levels and aimed at improving attitudes toward LGBT people.

Finally, we recognize some limitations in this study. For instance, only data from some Central and South American countries were used. To overcome this limitation, it would be interesting to collect or review data from other countries such as Guyana, Suriname, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela, to have a broader view of attitudes toward LGBT people in the region.

In addition, the questions used in the survey to access data about attitudes toward homosexuality are not thoroughly appropriate because they only ask for extent to which the phenomenon is justified (tolerated) but not the degree of acceptance. Despite being broadly used in most surveys on this issue on a world basis and often used in similar studies, the measurement of the variable "homosexuality justification" can be ambiguous and even strange for some, because homosexuality by itself should not be conceived as an object of justification. Also, other approaches that could provide more comprehensive data on attitudes toward homosexuality continue to emerge (see Flores & Park, 2018). Other studies should use complementary measures such as opinions about same-sex marriage or other more specific measures regarding attitudes toward homosexuality.

Additionally, social distance, though a useful proxy measure of attitudes, evaluates disposition, not actual and effective acceptance behavior. Therefore, the answers could be biased, given their conative—instead of truly behavioral—character. For this reason, future research on attitudes toward LGBT people in Central and South America will face the following challenges: (a) use suitable measurements to detect

the levels of LG population acceptance; (b) keep these measurements to make comparisons over time; (c) extend their use to countries often scarcely represented in public opinion surveys; (d) include other populations such as bisexual or transgender individuals (this article refers to attitudes toward LGBT people using data that refer exclusively to homosexual people), (e) develop measures not only to heterosexual attitudes toward LGBT people but also those related to LGBT people's own perception of the violence exerted against them; and (f) increase efforts to characterize the rejected populations, as well as those accepting homosexuality and sexual dissidence, identifying regional factors proper of Latin America and dynamics in each country.

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Chapter 9
Psychology Training and Awareness of Heteronormativity. Understanding Emergent Strategies for LGBTQ+ Affirmative Care in Bogotá, Colombia

Reynel Alexander Chaparro and Javier Illidge

An extensive mental health research on LGBTQ+[1] issues emphasizes on stigma, discrimination, and minority stress, with the negative effect they have at the individual level on LGBT population (Moradi, 2016). From a positive mental health perspective, the effect of recognizing as LGBTQ+ has been emphasized due to its relationship with good physical and mental health, as well as community participation in social justice activism (Riggle et al., 2008; Rostosky et al., 2010). Analyses with a social emphasis are aware of the effect of heteronormativity[2] and its negative impact on health, while highlighting strategies of resistance to this oppressive system from LGBTQ+ people and communities (Prado & Chaparro, 2019).

Heteronormativity implies a way of understanding, and much of the knowledge is and has been heterocentric. Heteronormativity is linked with two central elements

[1] Anachronic used to group lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans (and other denominations such as transvestite, transsexual, and transgender), queer, or sex and gender diverse identities that can include nonbinary people, + indicates that emerging identities are included, as well as orientations and identities that may not be under the anachronic LGBTQ (IPsyNet, 2018). LGBTQ+ has achieved a wide discursive synchrony and is easily identifiable, particularly in the political arena that involves affirmative actions of social inclusion and activism.

[2] Heteronormativity is an oppressive system in which the organization of the social world only recognizes or widely benefits heterosexuality, and an extensive comprehension includes cisnormativity for gender identity issues and gender essentialism. The impact of this structure extends to other social subsystems such as education and health, both help to naturalize the experience of heterosexuality in the relationships between people, groups, and communities. From queer theory, the emphasis on social oppression and the explicit naming of heteronormativity are emphasized to highlight the discrepancy, hierarchy, privilege, and polarity between heterosexuality and homosexuality (Warner, 1991; Seidman, 1991).

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of contemporary debate around LGBTQ+ mental health, the dichotomy in sexual essentialism and the sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression change efforts (SOGIECE); both are linked to mental health practice and the application of psychological technologies (or that are masked in psychology) to direct people to a heterosexual essentialism as a valid, acceptable, and unique experience in sexuality (Diamond & Rosky, 2016). SOGIECE promotes harm, and some of its practices include torture (Bishop, 2019); hence it has been progressively banned in several parts of the world (ILGA & Mendos, 2020). SOGIECE are a mixture of strategies, some of them rebranding with a halo of sophisticated knowledge, in which negative behaviors and attitudes are aligned towards LGBTQ+ people, families, groups, and communities.

More than 50 years of affirmative LGBTQ+ psychological, medical, and social research (post Stonewall) are incorporated in affirmative psychological guidelines (APA, 2012a, b, 2015a, b), culturally competent (Martínez et al., 2018), adapted to local needs and languages (APPR, 2014; BPS, 2019; PSSA, 2017; APS, 2010; Vázquez-Rivera, 2019; UNODC, 2020), with a common ground in healthcare based on human rights perspective. However, new forms of pathologization still understand disparities in mental health reports of LGBTQ+ people as a confirmation of their maladjustment (see the review of this topic in Yang and Íñiguez-Rueda (2020) in Ibero-Latin American psychological research).

In Colombia, recent changes in psychological discourse on LGBTQ+ issues can be found in four different moments: first in the 1960s of the twentieth century oriented to the pathologization of homosexuality and transgender identities from the psychoanalytic perspective of that time (Restrepo et al., 2017); second in the 1970s and 1980s with psychosocial-sociocultural clinical sexology that included the first nonpathological studies of homosexuality (Giraldo, 1971) that was connected and influenced with medicine and sexology studies (Brigeiro & Facundo, 2013; Chaparro, 2021); a third moment comprised the 1990s and the beginning of the twenty-first century, with a first dissemination of the titles of the APA LGB guidelines (Ardila, 1998/2008); and finally in the last decade, an emerging and extensive research and participation of psychology that still needs to be comprised.

Changes oriented to increase LGBTQ+ affirmative practice and training happened in the last 50 years. Psychology professional training in Colombia is completed in 5 years average, so there are at least ten cohorts of psychologist in which training is mixed from pathologization to more affirmative positions.

These changes in the understanding of LGBTQ+ issues in psychology are intertwined with violence (Colombia Diversa, 2005, 2008, 2014; Lleras & Noguera, 2011; Albarracín & Rivera, 2013) and positive social changes in recognition of LGBTQ+ rights in Latin America (Chaux et al., 2021), Colombia (Ministerio del Interior, 2016) and Bogotá (Agreement 371, 2009; Decree 149, 2012; Decree 608, 2007). Likewise, the participation and visibility of activists oriented to promote social changes, with adherence to human rights perspectives, are part of the favorable reaction of psychological institutions in different parts of the world to be inclusive/affirmative in LGBTQ+ issues (Horne et al., 2019), as well as university efforts

to be in synchrony with these changes in psychology training and education (Garrido et al., 2021).

The role of training in psychology is important in the middle of these changing contexts towards LGBTQ+ issues, since specific knowledge about human sexuality is assumed with implications for mental health practice. With this in mind, we wonder about how was psychology professional training and education on LGBTQ+ mental health issues. A qualitative perspective approach was selected to address this issue in our proximal context, Bogotá.

9.1 Methodological Procedures

With data of an extensive research on mental healthcare providers and LGBTQ+ issues (reviewed by the Research Ethics Review Committee of vice dean of research and extension of the Faculty of Human Sciences of the National University of Colombia), we selected 27 interviews of psychologist (ages between 27 and 65, M = 36, SD = 9.31) who met the following criteria: (a) a completed bachelor's (professional studies) in psychology with postgraduate studies in psychotherapy, health-related issues, psychosocial intervention, or community social psychology[3] and (b) at least 1 year full-time work experience as a psychologist in mental healthcare scenarios. The sample comprised 12 women and 15 men; 13 self-recognized as heterosexual (10 women/3 men) and 14 in other identities (2 women/12 men; 10 gay, 1 lesbian, 2 gender fluid/different from heteronormative and 1 none). Participants were selected from a call for research which included universities recognized and approved by the Ministry of National Education that offer a degree in psychology involved the Colombian Association of Schools of Psychology (Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Psicología ASCOFAPSI) database; specific professional groups in the call included Bogotá network of counselling teachers, LGBT Community Centers, as well as social media groups related with psychology and mental health in Bogotá. All participants were provided with a written introduction to the study, including the informed consent form. The informed consent form was reviewed with the first author and signed before the interview began. The first author conducted in-depth interviews[4] lasting a total of 48 h. We focus on the topic "construction as a professional in psychology who specializes in mental health," who questioned main aspects of training and education with

[3] The specificity on this postgraduate emphasis is based on Colombian College of Psychologist and nationwide health psychologist practice regulations, Law 1616 of 2013.

[4] Interviews were carried out in different contexts facilitating the decisions and convenience of the participants, which included a room in the Psychological Attention Service of the National University of Colombia, private offices, a private room in a public library, and participants/researcher homes. In all contexts, privacy and comfort were guaranteed to promote dialogue, motivating examples of experiences in specific situations, identifying actions, feelings, and attitudes in each case. All the interviews were conducted between June and July 2017.

emphasis on LGBTQ+ issues. The interviews were transcribed and later reviewed by two judges who contrasted the correspondence and accuracy between audio and transcription.

Interviews were analyzed using two lexicographic techniques with IRaMuTeQ software,[5] the descending hierarchical classification (DHC) and the correspondence factor analysis (CFA). DHC and CFA are in the level of content analysis and categorical recognition (Chartier & Meunier, 2011).

IRaMuTeQ allows the distinction of classes of words that represent forms of a speech on a certain topic. These classes are made up of the grouping of the general corpus that contains the texts (e.g., the number of participants in each group) according to the predetermined topic that needs to be analyzed, in this case construction as a professional in psychology who specializes in mental health. The segments of text (ST) is a delimitation made by the software based on the size of the corpus, i.e., the higher the percentage of use of the ST, the greater the inference capacity of the information in the analyses carried out.

In DHC, ST are classified according to their respective vocabularies and are subdivided according to the frequency of their reduced forms in matrices that cross the information through X^2 (for a detailed statistic based on lexicographic procedures, see Chartier & Meunier, 2011). DHC dendrogram illustrates the relationships between the classes (grouping of the general corpus containing the texts) with the percentage value distributed for each one; IRaMuTeQ also shows prominent ST of each class (Camargo & Justo, 2013). In CFA, the information is presented on a factorial diagram, allowing contextualization between classes and detailed analysis according to the theoretical background of each research (Reinert, 1990).

The naming of the classes was carried out through an open coding inductive analysis procedure (Strauss, 1987), reading ST from DHC associated with each class. In this process, the ST that referred to similar topics were selected and grouped into subcategories that together comprised a general category. Class nomination procedure was evaluated by reading the most representative ST throughout deliberative dialogue between the authors in 24 all-day meetings along 1 year, reviewing content and meaning of each category with contrast and content-analytic summary strategies (Miles et al., 2014).

[5] Interface de R pour les Analyzes Multidimensionnelles de Texteset de Questionnaires; http://www.iramuteq.org/). IRaMuTeQ is free open-source software that uses Python programming language (http://www.python.org) and R statistics (http://www.r-project.org). IRaMuTeQ uses the same algorithm of ALCESTE (Analyze Lexicale par Context d'un Ensemble de Segments de Texte) that was developed by Reinert (1990), to perform lexical analyses (or text statistics) of the content of large volumes of written information, reducing the complexity of text sets with a short description of their characteristics and allowing the construction of indicators (Bauer, 2008).

9.2 Findings

DHC from Heterosexual Group

The general corpus was made up of 13 texts, separated into 484 text segments (ST), with a use of 381 ST (78.72%). 16,643 occurrences emerged (i.e., words or simple linguistic forms), being 2481 different words. The analyzed content was categorized into five classes (see Fig. 9.1).

Five classes are organized into two complementary groups. On the one hand, in classes 5 and 2, there is an awareness of inequality in terms of visibility of different sexualities in a heteronormed context; on the other hand, classes 4 and 3 are grouped into a broad concept of vocational decisions that, together with class 1, complement a predominantly heterocentered topic oriented to education and training. Characteristics of each class are described with excerpts contextualized from prominent ST.

Class 5: Self-Learning in LGBTQ+ Issues

Topics related to the experience of confrontation and self-learning on LGBTQ+ issues are noted, all of them presented in training and practice without having previously explored or discussed these topics.

> *At school we are five friends, and two of them are gay, but they kept it secret all the time, instead I came here to the university and I see that they are people who no longer have a problem with that.*

In training, LGBTQ+ issues are invisible or are left to personal criteria to handle clinical cases.

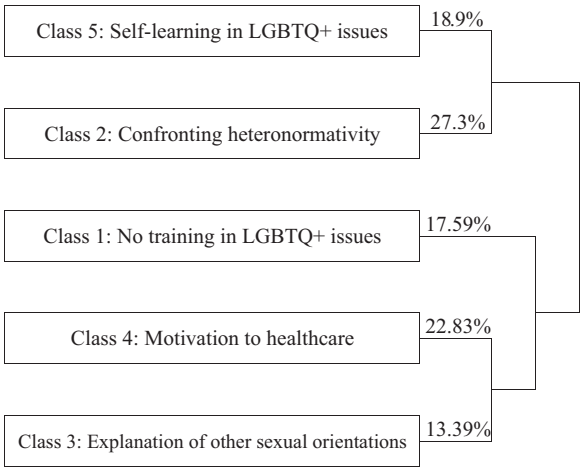

Fig. 9.1 Dendogram DHC in heterosexual group

What differences do I have on this? How does it affect my work? What would I do differently if this client, in the case of LGBTI clients, if this client was not LGTBI, would I treat them differently? They have anything different?

There is a logical chain in the lack of training and discussion on these topics in training and the need to confront individually the ethical dilemmas that could arise or personal conflicts when addressing and trying to understand LGBTQ+ issues.

No, either, it's not that I really feel we could even say it was a taboo topic that you could imagine asking yourself the question of, this is a problem of acceptance. The moment they are accepted, all those problems are over, and they (university teachers) did not name it, it did not appear, and no work was done on it.

Self-learning is based on the demands of the context (the client is just there in consultation) and the evaluation of the experience in this situation. In some cases the experience is remembered distally, since LGBTQ+ issues are outside of the heterosexual experience.

Class 2: Confronting Heteronormativity

LGBTQ+ issues are understood as a sexual need-oriented part of the sexual act, but little seems to be expressed in other components oriented to the establishment of links and broader experiences of sexuality. Heterosexuality is thought in binary as an implicit norm that permeates the lack of training (heterosexism largely monopolizes sexuality issues when they are scarcely addressed) and experiences. The need to do something in practice triggered approaches to LGBTQ+ issues, such as search for complementary training or ways to understanding in a heterocentric perspective.

I don't know anything about this. I don't know what a homosexual couple will be like. I don't know anything about this, and well, at the end it is not different. This is a couple relationship, it is a couple relationship and that's it.

What happens is that if it is not that they talk to you about sexuality (in training), but sexuality is always framed between a man and a woman in the university.

There are several distal experiences. They never had or have experienced a sexual orientation other than heterosexual. Some anecdotes are from other people, and LGBTQ+ issues are thought from that "other" experiences; LGBTQ+ knowledge seems distant.

Class 1: No Training in LGBTQ+ Issues

There is a tendency to select specificity in training and education with general interests in techniques and epistemologies (cognitive, behavioral, psychoanalysis, psychodynamic, sexology).

Interviewer: (…) in your clinical practices, did the (LGBTQ+) topic appear?

R: Never, ever, in my internship (…) during a year of systemic psychology, no, I never had a case of a couple with a sexual orientation different from mine, and I never heard any case from another colleague.

When LGBTQ+ experiences are distal, these issues are not delved into.

Class 4: Motivation to Healthcare

In this class an emphasis is seen on the component associated with vocational decisions, the motivation to help and listen to others, as well as the comparison of the expectations of training and the reality they had to live in.

Universities really have these curricula, that is, with (my current) experience, I realize, hey no! Many things were missing, right? I wanted to see the whole issue of sexuality.

Sexuality issues were present or absent in some experiences.

Class 3: Explanation of Other Sexual Orientations

In this class other sexual orientations are presented in context, and there is a concern about that. The explanations from training and education generate an idea of other sexual orientations from a psychological point of view, which are understood as predominantly history-centered approaches that link LGBTQ+ with pathology. Or that they are presented without further reflection.

(Talking about homosexuality in psychopathology and psychoanalysis courses) "Well, I don't know, I remember that, but it's something like it already exists, nobody touches it, nobody looks at it, nobody talks about it, that's all."

CFA from Heterosexual Group

Classes 5 (purple) and 3 (green) are shown to be interrelated considering their related content, since reflection on the explanation of other sexual orientations goes hand in hand with self-learning strategies. On the other hand, the location at the extremes of classes 2 (gray) and 4 (blue) shows the separation between the motivations to care that are present in the vocational issues, and having to confront heterosexism, this distance can be understood as something unexpected to resolve during the training and that were not expected in professional expectations. The four grouped classes show a continuum from a cognitive predominance (more reflective) in classes 3 and 4 towards a more practical orientation (do something) in classes 2 and 5. On the other hand, the isolation of class 1 (red) shows the specificity in which the lack of training is separated, especially in specific training that appears at the extreme (psychoanalytic, psychodynamic, systemic) (see Fig. 9.2).

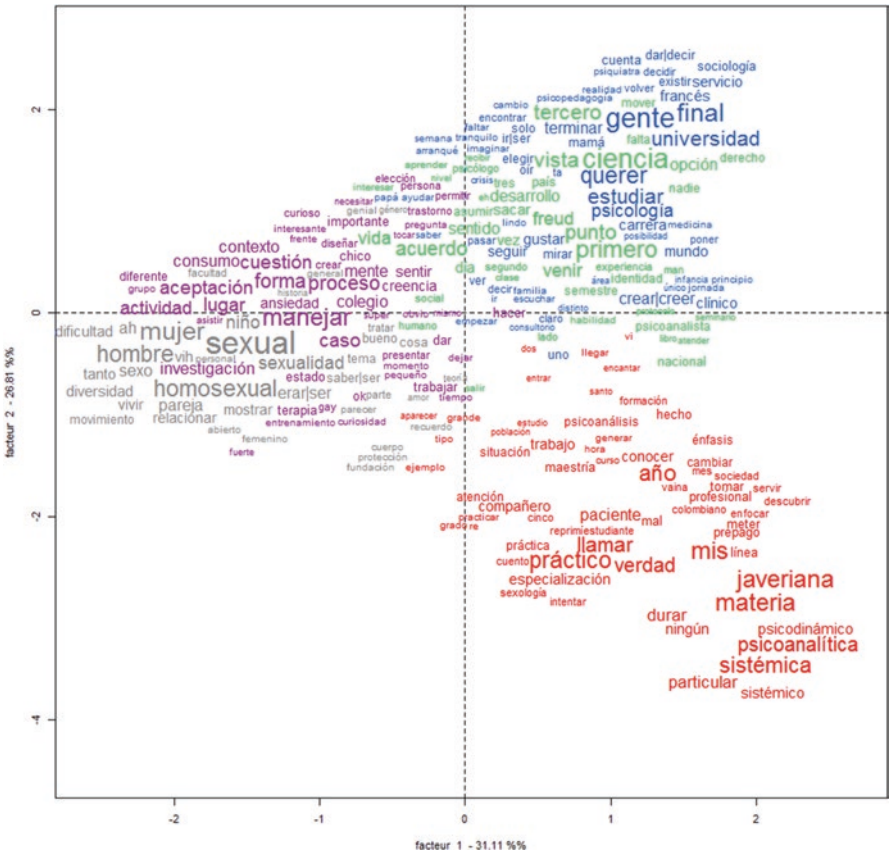

Fig. 9.2 CFA in heterosexual group. Source: output graphic result generated by IRaMuTeQ

DHC from LGQ+ Group

The general corpus was made up of 14 texts, separated into 624 ST, with a use of 507 ST (81.25%). 21,855 occurrences emerged, being 3043 different words. The analyzed content was categorized into five classes (see Fig. 9.3).

Two main themes identified pointed a change towards the positive affirmation of LGBTQ+ issues. This comes mainly from a path of reflection in which heterosexism is recognized and confronted in education and a need to go deepen on LGBTQ+ issues. On the other hand, proposing a change in training comes from the recognition of a context of increasing visibility of LGBTQ+ issues and actions aimed at the search for specific knowledge on that.

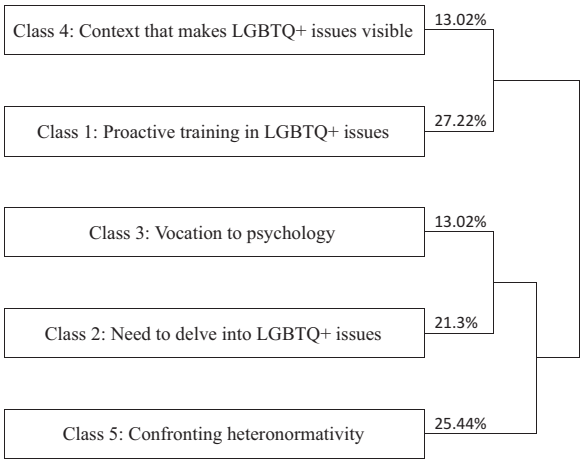

Fig. 9.3 Dendogram DHC in LGQ+ group

Class 4: Context that Makes LGBTQ+ Issues Visible

The experiences included personal changes in openness when speaking, discussing, and establishing new spaces for socialization and encounter of LGBTQ+, which go through this period of anonymity, closet, and openness in the midst of a context that is contrasted between violence and social changes oriented to new ways to understand sexual/gender expressions and identities. The sensitivity to injustice, violence, and social changes are mediated by firsthand experiences.

> *…, from there the study began to take shape, the claim for rights. I think that …, when people began to come out of the closet, one of the most repressive governments in that sense was the government of Turbay Ayala. The army and the police entered the bars, mistreating people, beating them, etc.; when the Gaviria government came, the situation changed a bit, in the sense of openness.*

Class 1: Proactive Training in LGBTQ+ Issues

Facing the lack of specific training in LGBTQ+ issues, proactive strategies of research, training, self-training, and establishment of study groups end up becoming spaces for activism and intervention. These strategies make their way from individual and collective motivations where they are recognized positive models (openly gay), as well as different experiences from anonymity, from the closet, and the effect of heterosexism.

> *Rubén Ardila had groups, here there were homosexuality study groups, and that's when it arose, that's when the magazine Ventana Gay emerged, which was about topics, precisely about topics…, from there the study began to take shape, the claim for rights (…) at the University (…) movements began to take shape, for example, the Beloved Disciple.*[6]

[6] A faith-based organization to LGBQ+ people in Bogotá

Class 3: Vocation to Psychology

Vocational decisions and the definition of psychology as a career include the recognition of heterocentrism in training and, therefore, the search for affirmative knowledge on one's own.

Yes, psychology at the University (…) at the time that I studied they had a great difficulty about those issues of sexuality, if you wanted to see them (in Psychology) you had to self-taught. Well, you had … in clinical psychology you also had to train yourself.

Class 2: Need to Delve into LGBTQ+ Issues

In this class, a reflection about what is spoken and taught in LGBTQ+ issues is noted. The decisions and vocational emphasis in some cases show the need to deepen these issues, to question the heterocentered education and training that negatively presented LGBTQ+ people.

I fought a lot with psychoanalysis, because I thought that psychoanalysis did not provide the tools that were needed to understand diversity, and it seemed to me that this psychoanalytic training contradicted a lot what I was hearing in (LGBTQ+ University) support groups

Class 5: Confronting Heteronormativity

Training and education in LGBTQ+ issues are not addressed and those of sexuality are heterocentric. The reflection on the invisibility of LGBTQ+ issues motivates the proposal of spaces for their study and specific research, particularly in mental health.

Because most of the work with mental health, it's like that issue couldn't be articulated, it wasn't recognized that this is part of, normal development, the sphere of the possibilities that people can have as a human being, it is not recognized.

… Well, I was developing several related (LGBTQ+) research topics, then it was a well-positioned topic, well recognized, as a necessity, recognized the issue of social stigmatization that had to be move forward, investigate it, show it what it was like.

CFA from LGQ+ Group

Classes 2 (gray) and 3 (green) are combined because vocation to psychology is closely linked to the need to delve into LGBTQ+ issues. This need for deepening is contrasted with class 1 (red) where this specific and self-taught training is located. Classes 4 (blue) and 5 (violet) are opposites, since the confrontation with heterosexism is more to specific actions oriented, while the experiences and thinking about the visibility have a more reflective component (see Fig. 9.4).

9.3 Discussion

This research contributes to the way psychological community is assumed and often imposed (in this case psychological community that works in mental health). We are not a homogeneous group, and rather we are articulated by forms of expressions, feelings, and action in connection with other identity characteristics that concern us (our identity location in sexualities in this case).

From the characteristics of the participants, an interest in research from middle-aged heterosexual women is noted. This characteristic of feminization of psychology in Colombia is consistent with data reported in local statistics (Ocampo et al., 2011). There are no Colombian data characterizing professional psychologist in different sexual orientation and gender identities.

The predominant participation of gay men (as well as other identities under construction outside heterosexual scheme) in feminized care-oriented professions is a little explored issue in psychological research and may be related to the core

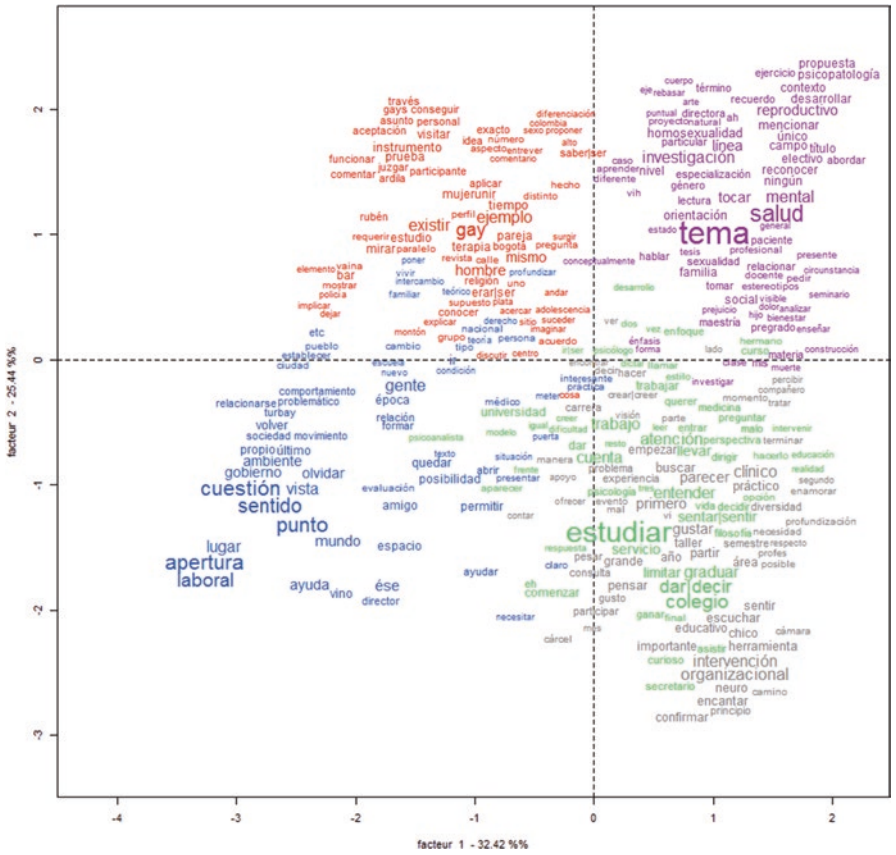

Fig. 9.4 CFA in LGQ+ group. Source: output graphic result generated by IRaMuTeQ

conceptions of the structures of care (mainly a feminine characteristic) and stereotypes associated with gender and sexualities that are present in the profession.

In this sense, it is relevant to have two groups of analysis according to their own identity location, since sexual orientation of psychologist is understood as fixed (generally and implicitly located from heterosexuality) and sexual orientation of the clients are in the process of construction, revelation, or facing the dynamics and effects of institutional heterosexism. Clients are the object of discussions, reflections, and applications of theoretical/practical knowledge of sexualities, but this does not occur in the opposite way.

This assumption, in essence heterocentric, ignores the diverse experiences from psychologist who are also affected by the same heteronormative context, which makes them reflect based on experiences of prejudice and discrimination and act on this institutionalized heterocentrism. Not recognizing LGBTQ+ as something typical of the professional field, of those of us who are part of psychology, is to maintain and perpetuate an explicit heterocentrism through invisibility processes.

As identity mediates in social relationships and allows people to engage with their social world (according to their knowledge of themselves, others, and relational dynamics), identity is linked to action and participation (Andreouli & Chryssochoou, 2015) from content markers that will be different in people participation in social life.

From the methodology we used, this work contributes to show how an identity positioning marks similarities and differences through two meaning configurations.

We understand identity location as a way in which participants think the effects of the heteronormativity system, that is, in what way do you belong/participate or not in different ways in the heteronormativity system on a personal and professional level.

What is noted in the content of the classes is the insertion/proximity or not to a recognized oppressive system. The identity (the self) is the known or unknown object; it is the object of knowledge, the object/subject that has experienced social changes at the individual and group level. Their own sexuality reflection put possibilities and limitations that each group has in making more global, interactive, and complex readings in their own professional participation. Sexuality approached from its identity positioning has the particularity of being a reflective referent for contextual aspects in conditions of well-being at the individual, social, professional, and cultural level.

Professional identity in psychology, specifically in mental health area, is the shared characteristic that all the participants highlight in vocational motivations oriented towards mental health and care of others. On the professional identity, there is a wide synchrony.

The main implication about the macro-identity category at the professional level, that is, psychology professionals with a specialization in mental health, is the contextual demanding change on knowledge and practices between LGBTQ+ affirmative and ECOSIG extremes. At the identity level of a group immersed in a

professional subgroup, there are interesting implications in the way they question heteronormativity, with or without personal implications.

LGQ+ psychologist have something to say from a clearly identified places, and these places have the potential to be affirmative actions, synchronized with more macro perspectives of social action such as human rights and sensitive ethics, oriented to care and not harm.

Although heteronormativity is recognized and questioned, it is the position outside heterosexuality that marks differences in specific actions that impact knowledge and practice, which emerge and synchronize/form a link with contextual aspects that facilitate/forge a change. All this when healthcare and the vocation move towards mental health, the well-being of others is a value (shared elements of professional representation). In this sense, when the shared feeling of belonging to a group becomes politicized and becomes a cause, a motive for collective action, commitment to the cause is the source of political activism (Parales, 2020).

Different actions and forms of LGBTQ+ activism have been understood as negative in professional fields, but nonaction translates into heteronormative inertia and, ultimately, negligence or a clear action to harm in some cases. The claims to discard these active positions as a central element of advocacy and to promote a positive change on dignified conditions and well-being of vulnerable people, groups, and communities are apparently one of the axes of debate in which several tensions circulate (and will circulate) about affirmative/non-pathologizing actions (training and practices). In this sense, we highlight that this study shows the possibilities of influence of a group in the implementation of professional changes, insofar as issues of affirmative actions towards diverse sexualities are addressed. According to Parales (2020), minority influence increases when the majority lack reference groups and the minority can provide frameworks for interpretation and action. This minority group is framed in the consciousness of oppressive conditions and their personal commitment mediated by self-recognized positioning, in this case their sexual identity self-location.

9.4 Recommendations

Psychology must go from reactive to a proactive role in training and education in LGBTQ+ issues. An affirmative LGBTQ+ perspective needs to resolve that education and training gap since several cohorts of psychologists have had to respond in different ways (in some cases precariously) to this specific lack of training and education. A change in the way in which LGBTQ+ issues are understood in Colombian psychology is an increasing demand from the context including the professional psychologist working in mental health.

Professional LGBTQ+ education and training in three core components are suggested: (1) LGBTQ+ psychological information is updated and accessible in which pathology and deficit perspective of vulnerable groups are not reproduced. This information is found in specialized guidelines developed from different

international, regional, local, and theoretically specific contexts (e.g., see Cuevas (2020) for particular guidelines in systemic clinical training); (2) inclusion of community-based LGBTQ+ perspectives, which strengthen the link between psychology, community, and society, as well as professional perspectives reinforced by their work within the realities of local LGBTQ+ people, groups, and communities (see, Garrido et al., 2021); and (3) reflect on personal, group, and institutional effects of the heteronormative/cisnormative systems with the inclusion of specific actions oriented to curricula and research. These actions can be combined in a transversal (with links with other health professions such as medicine, nursing, and those socially oriented such as gender studies, sociology, education, and anthropology) and specific way (in educational emphasis such social, clinical, and health psychology) in which the different members of the university (students, teachers, administrative) participate articulated with the main components of the universities (teaching, research, and impact on the community) (see Garrido et al., 2021).

Those three suggested core components have the potential to highlight Colombian psychology (as science and profession) to social changes that contribute positively to health and well-being of specific communities and general population.

Finally, this research has the particularity to combine lexicographic techniques and deep analysis of qualitative information. As a characteristic of qualitative studies with wide and dense information to analyze, complementary strategies are suggested that can capture other elements that may be outside the initial statistical grouping that is done through the DHC. Infrequent, novel themes and actions may be part of complementary elements that could not be captured through the methodology we used in this study. Also, LBTQ+ need to be studied with a purposeful sampling to have a more comprehensive/specific understanding of their experiences.

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Chapter 10
Queering Psychology or Psychologists? Retrospective Reflections of a Performative Autoethnographic Intervention in the Costa Rican Psychology Association

Daniel Fernández-Fernández

10.1 Introduction

In this chapter, "psychology" is not simply conceived as a professional practice, neither as a scholar field; it encompasses a *system of knowledge* more extensive than those schematic arrangements. I understand psychology is part of what Foucault defines as a "dispositif." According to Macey (2019), for Foucault, "the term refers to a heterogeneous body of discourses, propositions (philosophical, moral philanthropic and so on), institutions, laws and scientific statements; the *dispositif* itself is the network that binds them together, that governs the play between the heterogeneous strands. It is a formation which, at a given historical moment, corresponds to a dominant strategic function" (p. 355).[1]

From a Foucauldian genealogical perspective, psychology is inscribed in a strategic and ubiquitous function called the *psy-function*, which, arising from the psychiatric power, is "the function of the intensification of reality, [that] is found wherever it is necessary to make reality function as power" (Foucault, 2006, p. 189). Going a step further, Foucault asserts that "the fundamental role of the psychological function, which historically is entirely derived from the dissemination of

[1] I take the definition provided by Macey (2019), which is based on an interview conducted with Michel Foucault, published in 1977 by the journal *Ornicar* and later in *Dits et Écrits*. The text in its original version is as follows: "un ensemble résolument hétérogène, comportant des discours, des institutions, des aménagements architecturaux, des décisions réglementaires, des lois, des mesures administratives, des énoncés scientifiques, des propositions philosophiques, morales, philanthropiques, bref: du dit, aussi bien que du non-dit, voilà les éléments du dispositif. Le dispositif lui-même, c'est le réseau qu'on peut établir entre ces éléments" (Foucault, 2001, p. 299).

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psychiatric power in other directions beyond the asylum, is to intensify reality as power and to intensify power by asserting it as reality" (p. 190).

Historically, *psy-function* has been the core of psychology and, consequently, the *matter* that underpins its intelligibility and nourishes its functioning; in other words, it has been what deeply *matters* in terms of the sociocultural implications of psychological practice. Due to the power relations acting in-between, the *psy-function* is inevitably embedded in psychological knowledge and its practitioners. In the same way, I affirm that this function is part of any staging of psychology, and the act of affiliation to its professional guild is no exception.

Thus, I propose a critical reading of the embedding that enacts the sex and gender binary system in professional psychology. For this purpose, I analyze a performative intervention made some years ago in my titling event at the Costa Rican Professional Psychologists Association, CPPCR (for its acronym in Spanish: Colegio de Profesionales en Psicología de Costa Rica).

Methodologically, the research process combines *autoethnography* with *ethnographic performance*, linked with the epistemological perspective of the *archival queer*. Theoretically, this work is supportive of queer theory's critique of the field of psychology. In this way, the performative intervention is inscribed in the logic of *the auto-guinea pig principle* described by Preciado (2013), "as a mode of the production of 'common' knowledge and political transformation" (p. 352), the body represents a privileged experimental platform, whereby it is not only desirable, but imperative, to try to (re)think power and discourses. To subvert the ways in which knowledge is created implies "the academic might be the archivist, a coarchivist, a full-fledged participant in the subcultural scene that the scholar writes about" (Halberstam, 2005 p. 159), and in terms of method, in this chapter, it implies to use my own body as data collection instrument about the discourses of the body.

As Hook and Hüning (2009) point out, the effect of Foucauldian genealogy is to destroy the individual psychological subject as the primary focus of explanation. My purpose is, following the preceding statement concerning the principle highlighted by Preciado (2013), to try to exemplify, through a retrospective reflection of a performative intervention, how the body could be a source of elucidation of *psy-function.* Considering that the body is reflected in the social mirror (Le Breton, 2018), the body we are aiming at here is not an individual body but a collective one and, therefore, the center of a possible common knowledge. That is to say, the reactions that are directed toward that individual body (my body) that appears on stage concern the collective conception of what a feminine and masculine body is.

10.2 Queer Theory and Psychology

In Costa Rica, the development of professional psychology dates to the 1970s, with the creation of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Costa Rica. The fact that the training in psychology was from the beginning linked to the social sciences and not to the health sciences historically gave it a humanistic and critical

character (Flores, 2010). However, the influence of positivism, largely associated with the development of neoliberal policies, has meant that since the beginning of the new millennium, critical approaches have been less and less present (Cordero & Salas, 2003).

In terms of gender and sexuality, it is undoubtedly the feminist debates and theorizations that have contributed the most to the development of a critical vision of Costa Rican psychology. In this sense, in the country there has been a long tradition of studies in psychology on gender violence, which provide critical views about machismo and patriarchy (Rodríguez & Akoka-Rovinski, 2019). On the other hand, in the last 20 years there has been an increase in research in psychology on LGBTIQ+ populations, which has implied a greater presence of the discipline in this field.

Queer theory has been gradually gaining ground in academia, a presence that has been particularly permeated by the psychoanalysis of the *École Lacanienne of Psychanalyse* (ELP), especially by the work of French psychoanalyst Jean Allouch. In 2005 the ELP organized a seminar with the participation of the American literary theorist Leo Bersani, after which the debates around queer theory began to increase. Psychology, on the other hand, remained on the sidelines of queer discussions for a longer period. It seems to coincide with a generalized tendency (Downing & Robert, 2011), since the social mandate of mainstream psychology has been more on the side of reproducing the status quo.

Psychology shares with psychiatry a long history of pathologizing sexual diversity, especially of homosexuality and transsexuality (Di Segni, 2013). This background has caused that "queer theory is often positioned in opposition to psychology". (Johnson, 2015, p. 172). Despite the gender role stereotypes that permeate the DSM diagnostic criteria, in the Costa Rican context, adherence to the DSM diagnostic criteria is still very present today (Fernández, 2012). This suggests the reasons why the queer vision still has little impact on local psychological practice.

Otherwise, as Ellis et al. (2020) point out, "psychology has been slow to engage with queer theory, and until recently psychological studies employing this approach have been rare" (p. 24). This is equally valid with respect to the academic field of psychology in Costa Rican universities. Although references to queer theorists are increasingly frequent in psychology dissertations, such mentions are not really integrated into the theoretical field of psychology.

The discursive hegemony of the so-called evidence-based practice in psychology has been another constraint to the development of critical perspectives that integrate the theoretical grounding of queer theory in psychological knowledge, which in turn has considerable practical implications, such as the devaluation of any type of knowledge that does not fall within the narrow margins of what is considered evidence. Following Riggs (2011), "the history of the application of 'evidence-based practice' to LGBT people would suggest that what counts as 'evidence' (and the practice that follows from it) will always be historically and contextually specific, and that this can result in extremely negative outcomes for individuals who do not conform to a particular set of societal norms" (p. 89).

There are some initiatives that have been able to generate a better integration of these knowledge fields (Clarke et al., 2010; Burnes & Stanley, 2017). The article of Henry Minton, "Queer Theory: Historical Roots and Its Implications for Psychology," is usually quoted as an incipient and unavoidable reference concerning the relationship between queer theory and psychology. In his work, Minton (1997) identifies the incorporation of emancipatory interest, identity politics, social ethics, and participatory research as four post-positivists trends in psychology that, according to his view, reflects aspects of queer theory and therefore stablishes a link between them:

> Queer theory has relevance for psychological theorizing and practice because it adopts a position of inquiry that is decentered from the norm. Consequently, it is concerned with the agency of identities that reinvent themselves to effectively resist to social regulation. Queer theory thus directs psychological inquiry toward issues of subjective agency. (Minton, 1997, p. 349)

In this sense, I fully agree with the approach of Johnson (2014), for whom "queer theory challenges psychological understandings of sexuality" (p. 1620). In the current Costa Rican context, to speak of a "queer psychology" is perhaps a rather hasty formulation. The present moment can be described as a stage of gradual integration of queer notions into the field of psychology. In this sense, queer analyses represent a critical pillar of the more orthodox versions of traditional psychology, but they do not yet constitute an integrated field of research.

As Hegarty (2011) suggests, even if it is clear that currently there are important developments in which psychology and queer theory are becoming closer fields, it is necessary to not lose the sense of *unfamiliarity* that subsists between them. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight these disparities to discern some possible analytical crossroads to keep building a common ground.

10.3 Methodological Approach

A common claim about methodological arrangements that take queer theory as the axis of inquiry process is their nonconformity with traditional research approaches and a clear refusal of epistemological orthodoxy. To a certain extent, to speak of queer methodologies may look as a contradiction itself and to transfer this conjunction to the field of psychology could seem almost an oxymoron. Such divergence is that:

> Scholars in the social sciences, their argument goes, emphasize the systematic, coherent, orderly, modal, normative, positivist, and generalizable while queer theorists in the humanities champion the fluid, flux, disruptive, transgressive, interpretivist, and local knowledges. Hence, conjoining "queer" with "method" can present a paradox. (Ghaziani & Brim, 2019, p. 4.)

Even thought, a growing number of scholars have undertaken the task of bringing the two perspectives closer together. Taking care not to subsume one viewpoint into another and following again Ghaziani and Brim (2019), I agree with the

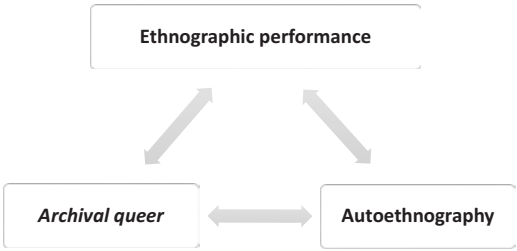

Fig. 10.1 Methodological triad

proposition that queer methods can offer critical and pedagogical ways of studying social phenomena, including those that mainstream psychology can only conceive under the aura of evidence-based practice, a notion that paradoxically is often equated with speculative notion of "truth." Having this purpose as a teleological orientation in mind, we will describe the components of the methodological triad (Fig. 10.1) that underlies the present paper.

Archival Queer I put this notion in the first line, since the performative intervention on which this chapter is based took place 10 years ago, so that some reflections that are derived from it are the product of a retrospective analysis. Indeed, "the significance of being 'archival queers' is deepened further when we acknowledge the stakes in recognizing, engaging, accumulating and speaking these traces, these holdings, *these embodiments of queer pasts for self and communities*, for transformation" (Morris & Rawson, 2013, p. 79). In my view, taking these traces of self-performativity is a procedure to cross-examine the reception of queerness by psychologists and such a way to interrogate the relation between past and present.

Ethnographic Performance Plummer (2005), starting from the Butlerian propositions in which gender is seen as performative construction, points out that much of the work in queer theory has been *playing around with gender*, in some cases as subversive interventions with the aim of generating curiosity, critical reflection, or desires of emancipation. The performance under study is precisely a ludic intervention that aims to generate an impact on an audience and thus to generate different types of reactions in order to discuss the relationship between queerness and psychology.

Autoethnography As Holman and Adams (2010) assert, autoethnography and queer theory have considerable similarities, as their interest in subjectivity and the contextual analysis of particularities. However, resemblances do not make autoethnography a queer method itself; it is necessary "a differential, oppositional, performative and above all transformative, queer approach to autoethnography is one which recognizes that bodies are immersed in, and fixed by, texts, but also recognizes these bodies as doing, speaking and understanding beings, forthrightly incomplete, unknown, fragmented and conflicting" (Holman & Adams, 2010, p. 211). Emphasis on the link between texts and bodies will be decisive for the analysis of the reactions generated by the performance.

Thus, this chapter develops an analysis of a performative intervention, bringing together two different methods with a specific epistemological perspective. The application of the methods as well as the inclusion of such perspective was carried out at different times and with different paths. Hence, the *ethnographic performance* represents the basis from which the fieldwork started, while the *autoethnography* constitutes a complementary perspective that seeks to emphasize the autobiographical character of the intervention. Meanwhile, the *archival queer* view provides an epistemic basis for retrospective analysis.

10.4 In-*Corpo*-Rating Me as Psychologist

> "Anyone wishing to be a political subject will begin by being the lab rat in her or his own laboratory." (Preciado, 2013, p. 353)

This section will be written combining the description of the performance itself with theoretical and methodological personal considerations about the experience. Due to the autoethnographic nature of the experience, the writing of the chapter emphasizes the use of personal pronoun "I," in the same political and ethical realm of what Pollock (2007) calls the "performative I," in which, by "performing displacement by error, intimacy, others, it moves beyond the atomization, alienation, and reproduction of the authorial self toward new points of identification and alliance" (p. 252).

This part of the text is the synopsis of what could be described, to a *certain extent*, as a process of *participant observation*, a research process that, according to Taylor and Bogdan (2009), involves social interaction between the researcher and informants in the milieu (social setting, environment, or context) of the latter and during which data are collected in a systematic and nonintrusive way. It is worth weighing the illocutive value of the expression "to a certain extent," since it is necessary to discern what being an "observer" implies in this case and what else the qualifier "participant" entails. Meanwhile, I'll leave this problem in abeyance and turn to the main results of the fieldwork. But, before I begin, I will give some contextual data, first, characterizing myself and who I was at the time of the intervention that will be analyzed. Secondly, we will describe the place and the context in which the performance took place.

Me Inevitably, making an autoethnography entails referring to the person who writes it. In this case, this would imply at least alluding to those biographical aspects that have a clear relationship with the intervention carried out. Like Fournier (2015), I consider that this exercise constitutes an intersectional task, necessary to make interlocution with readers.

I define myself as a cissexual man, even though in some parts of my life, especially in childhood, femininity was not an issue without implications for me. The fantasy of being a girl and erotic games related to cross-dressing were recurrent as

a young boy and in adolescence. Later, as an adult, many of these feelings began to surface again, this time linked to certain readings of gender studies, queer theory, and psychoanalysis.

At the time of the CPPCR performance, this feeling of inadequacy with respect to sexual identity, as well as the rejection of the cissexual canon, manifested itself especially through my research interests, as well as through political actions, which included collective apostasy and participation in the media. I can say in this sense that the trans/cis opposition is a subject that crosses me at different levels; hence it is not only an object of academic reflection but also a personal one.

Psychology The Costa Rican Professional Psychologists Association (CPPCR) is the institution the certifies and regulates the work of psychologist in the country. To be accredited as a psychologist, it is necessary to make a workshop of professional ethics in the CPPCR and then to participate in a ceremony to formalize the affiliation; usually both activities take place the same day.

In Costa Rica, several politicians, especially those associated with evangelical sectors, have promoted "restorative therapies" for sexually diverse people. Even though these interventions clearly contravene human rights, when the performance took place, the response from the CPPCR was quite passive and could even be classified as supposedly "apolitical."

In the same way, the university training I received to become a psychologist in the University of Costa Rica (from my point of view, the university that offers the psychology career with a more critical vision in the country), I cannot say that it actively promoted any kind of discrimination, it was still conservative, concerning sexual and gender diversity. At that moment (and frequently even today), my perception was that psychology is not a real diversity allied discipline, especially concerning queerness and sexuality.

Observation Log:

- Day: September 27, 2011
- Time: From 8:00 AM to 5:00 PM
- Place: Costa Rican Professional Psychologists Association (CPPCR)
- Activity: Incorporation Process to the CPPCR

I use the form "Incorporation Process," in order to capture a particular meaning derived from the Spanish expression, even knowing that it does not necessarily correspond to the most appropriate way to express the same idea in English, which could be said using the words "affiliation" or "membership." I want to emphasize a pun with the term "incorporación" (incorporation). The Latin root of the word, *corpos*, *corporis*, means body, while the prefix "in" means "inward." In this sense, the word means to put anything inside a body or structured whole and make it form a body/corps with it. In this case, "incorporation" has another meaning, insofar as the body constitutes a privileged object of attention, an object *rated* by others glance, and therefore – and this is part of my retrospective reading – the act of *incorporation* becomes a queer subjective embodiment.

Events The activity began with a breakfast at 8:00 o'clock. I arrived at the facilities of the CPPCR earlier, accompanied with a friend of mine, who was responsible for containing my anxiety during the first minutes. Research ethics demand to report as accurately as possible everything that happened during the observation process, and that is why I must confess that the product of the first minutes of my field work must be considered diffuse, because a certain agitation did not stop accompanying me for a certain period.

As a result of this initial nervousness, the handling of the 10 cm of heels became more difficult than usual, revealing a certain clumsiness of body movement in general and of the hips, which ended up causing that part of my breakfast to fall on the floor. Concerned about picking up the fruit scattered on the floor, I left my purse in the middle of a passageway (about 2 m), while a future colleague stood in front of the bag and said to me in a tone that denoted her obvious annoyance: "That bag is in my way!" Since this was the only direct interpellation I received during the whole activity, it is appropriate to affirm that it was an exhortation in which the bag becomes a metonymic figure of the nonconformity produced by the sex ambiguity, an interpellation orchestrated with the rhythm of the sex/gender binary system.

After this slight outburst, deontological training begins. Several talks and dynamics were held with the main emphasis on the following question: *How to be a good psychologist?* Among the main possible answers, aspects such as the following were highlighted: Reminders of the importance of adhering to the more positivist versions of psychology and DSM logics, an apology of the so-called social doctorate,[2] an emphasis on the importance of adhering to the minimum fees as a way of not "vulgarizing" the profession, as well as the instructive presentation of the appropriate ways to advertise yourself in the new competitive world.

Throughout these presentations, my presence in that place was not received as something "normal"; from the beginning, multiple glances made a stealthy – and at times strident – scrutiny of my figure. So it was that a young girl colleague walked from the opposite side of the auditorium to stand next to me and stare at me for some time. A moment later, she returned to her original location to engage in conversation with her companions amidst laughter and murmurs, which seemed to confirm that she had an emissary function, which consisted of bringing information about that silent person sitting at the back of the auditorium.

These reactions, coming from a group of cis women, in my opinion, foreshadow the reaction of nonconformity in the face of the subversion of bodily limits. The effect of a woman's likeness on a body that was no rated as a woman's body. A liminal appearance that functions based on what Butler (1999) recognizes, analyzing Julia Kristeva's concept of abjection, as the revalorization of something that was

[2] In Costa Rica, it is common to refer to a physician as "doctor," even though he/she does not have the corresponding academic degree (PhD). For this reason, the CPPCR enabled the option of placing the acronym "Dr." on the identification card of psychologist, with the aim of homologating the social denomination used for those who practice medicine. This option, in addition of being meaningless in relation to academic degrees, reflects the persisting desire of many psychologists to acquire the social status of medicine, also evident in the act of wearing white coats everywhere.

originally part of the identity in a dishonorable alterity. A gaze that marks an effect of "expulsion" from which emerges a "repulsion" that establishes and reinforces hegemonic identities on axes of differentiation.

The same pattern was maintained throughout the activity, except for the stay in the bathroom in which the scrutinizing glances became particularly insidious. This makes sense if we understand that the bathroom constitutes a privileged instance for the labeling of bodies; the normativity that continually governs our actions in these aseptic enclosures operates on a basis that cancels out the slightest hint of ambiguity, which is reinforced by a series of spatial arrangements, institutional regulations, as well as implicit agreements and tacit arrangements (Fernández & Pluchino, 2019).

In general terms, I can identify three types of reactions: those in which I was thoroughly scrutinized with the gaze, those in which I was just perceived as any other girl, and those in which I was erased or suspended from the visual field. As for the last type of reaction, the empty chair next to me throughout the day in a completely full auditorium served as a spatial metaphor for the abjection produced by diffuse corporeality. Here the *empty chair* is no longer an artifact on which a disturbance of the past is acted upon but rather an object in which a discomfort of the present is manifested.

Afterward, one of the speakers, who had been observing me for a long time in the workshops, seems to have personified the same reaction of abjection. While giving a talk in which she recalled the importance of professionals in psychology having the ability to provide adequate care to their patients, she stated that "it is dangerous for an unstable person to practice psychotherapy," a phrase she uttered "fortuitously" directing her gaze toward me. A subtle but emphatic message that I summarize in these terms: Transgender people should be patients but not psychotherapists.

The crowning moment was the final presentation of the diploma that certifies me as a psychologist in this professional association. In the same way as in a university graduation, one by one the future members of the great psychology family were called in alphabetical order. I experienced the passage from letter A to letter F with great expectation, since I did not know the reactions that the representatives of the institution might have upon discovering the incongruity that my name produced in relation to my physical appearance. I reached the podium at the same time as another guy, reason why the person in charge of handing out the certificates got confused, awarding my diploma to the one who seemed more in accordance with the enunciated name. Subsequently, the following dialogue took place:

Guy: No, I am not Daniel.
Me: I am Daniel.
Certificate clerk: Ah!?!?!?! Are you Daniel?
Me: Yes, I am Daniel.
Certificate clerk: Ah…congratulations…

Despite the doubts and uncertainties, I finally joined the professional association that enables me to practice psychology. In my case, the subsequent toast was more related to the possibility of incorporating something of me in an institutional

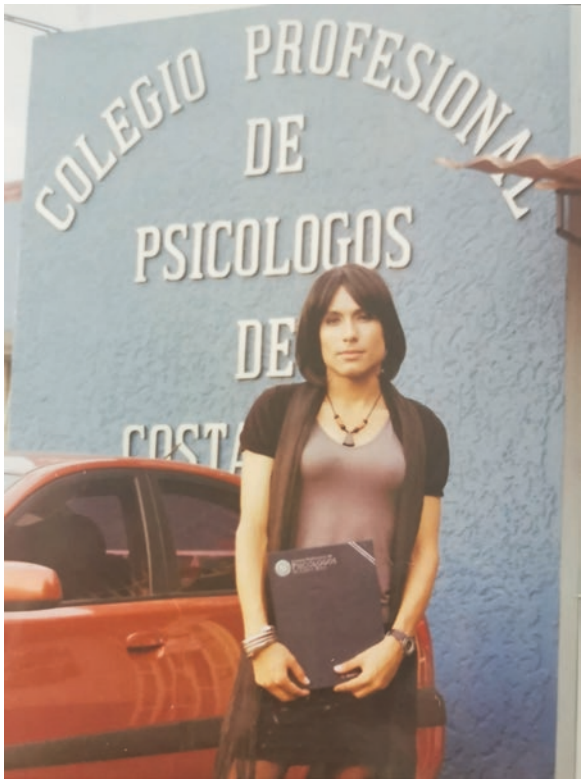

Fig. 10.2 Photo of me after the CPPCR incorporation ceremony

framework that either by action or omission resolves to proscribe that "something" by systematically adhering to the cissexual un heterosexual normativity. Once again, this "something" to which I refer does not only involve me, but all those people who, due to their sexual orientation or gender identity, have been discriminated or psychopathologized by conservative psychology (Fig. 10.2).

10.5 Performance Post-reactions

> "There is never one geography of authority and there is never one geography of resistance." (Pile, 2009, p. 23)

A few days after the incorporation, I wrote a press release,[3] narrating the experience in similar terms to those used in this chapter. At the time, this text had a good

[3] *Boletín Costarricense de Psicología de la Liberación*, a self-managed publication that no longer exists but was a collective effort to promote a critical and committed psychology. The title of the text was "Incorporando(se). De la observación participante al deseo" (Incorporating[itself]. From participant observation to desire).

reach, especially among people related to psychology. If we consider that generating discussion and positioning the issue of sexual diversity was an essential part of my initial objectives, it must be said that the goal was achieved successfully.

In this section, I propose to discuss some of the reactions produced by that text, especially those that allude to the *speaking body* that was identified as part of the performance. Perhaps a point that may seem too obvious is to say that this text and the performance itself were provocations from the beginning, since they were aimed at the encounter of certain discursivities, especially those more reluctant to diversity. It is convenient to anticipate that reactions generated by the intervention come from opposing paths in principle, an aspect that, beyond astonishing, reveals how difficult it is to untangle certain knots of truth, regardless of where they come from.

These appreciations are in some cases the product of informal conversations with colleagues, friends, and family, and others perhaps were even more informal, because they were captured by third parties and subsequently discussed with the author of this chapter. In other words, these brief notations arise from informality and from an unpublished informant figure that I will call "Keys-Ears," whose heuristic potential is based on a research method no less novel, known as *nonparticipant listening*.[4]

Most of the negative reactions were in favor of describing the intervention at best as the product of some emotional imbalance and others even as the result of a psychiatric disorder. In the same direction, I will now emphasize a conversation in which two university psychology professors participated. The incident took place on a bus between two university psychology professors and was recorded by the key-ears of a colleague who was there at the time. One of them pointed out that the person subscribing the text was a certain "Daniel," to which his interlocutor suddenly say: "that guy is split," "he is a psychotic."

Hearing such a diagnostic opinion is an extraordinary milestone commemorating almost 70 years since the first version of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-I) was published. Just as the US military associated psychosis with "homosexuality" (Briki, 2009) – at the time a generalizing category that included various "sexual deviations," including transvestism – this clinical opinion seems a reminder of psychologists' opposition to sexually diverse people being part of the "psychology regiment." This diagnostic furor is a clear indication that the misrepresentation that turned psychoanalysis into a prosaic ensemble of psychopathologic labels in the United States and subsequently elevated psychiatry as the supreme deity of normalcy is more prevalent than ever.

The key that marks the term "split" reveals a static vision of identity, supported by the essentialist reason that sustains the sex/gender binary, quite close to religious dogma. As Da Silva (2008) points out, this identity, which opposes good and evil, good and bad sexuality, seeks to sustain itself in a binary interpretation of the world

[4] "Nonparticipant listening" and "Key-Ears" do not refer to data collection methods per se but are allegorical allusions to the figures of "participant observer" and "key informant" which are used here to explain that the reactions analyzed in this section were collected thanks to the report of third parties who were able to capture (to listen) them.

and of gender relations. It has its borders established, delimited, and allows the controlled coexistence between the masculine and the feminine, a controlled and subordinated coexistence, in which the mixture between the masculine and the feminine can never be imagined. In the face of such a blunt "clinical" verdict as "he is psychotic," it is not surprising that at that time and even today there are "restorative" psychological therapies for sexually diverse people.

In another field, I had some conversations with different people, especially psychologists, from whom I received certain questionings (some of them with more theoretical consistency than others) that took queer theory as a reference. In general terms, some of these people argued that my performative proposal was normative, arguing two types of reasons, which I will highlight below:

1. *Misrepresentation of Queer Identity*

   Supporting reasons:

   - Use of the self-designation "Gigi," instead of the legal name that appears on my identity card.[5]
   - Use of an overly stylized dress, conceived as a type of "transsexual cliché".[6]

2. *Forgery Queer Identity*

   Supporting reasons:

   - My proposal was not valid, because this does not represent my everyday life experiences, unlike transgender people who are "on the street," whose experiences are truly queer.[7]

Both types of objections allow to discuss two important aspects, the first concerns the question of authenticity, that is, distinguishing what is an originally and truly queer representation from what is fallacious or adulterated one. Concerning this allegation, I consider that turning queer into an identity, if it is not a contradictory operation, is at least problematic one. In this sense, many of the objections referred were based on the factuality of this presumed identity.

The second aspect is an allegation of consistency with respect to "queer militancy" and the need for authentic and coherent activism. These invectives (especially the one corresponding to the second objection), in my opinion, configure a

[5] The text I published after the performance was signed with the nickname "Gigi," which is a reference to the main character of an anime series of the Mahō shōjo genre called *The Adventures of Gigi*, created in 1982. The main feature of this character is that she could transform into different characters. Undoubtedly, a more in-depth discussion regarding nomination policies is still pending. I would like to suggest that the question of "Am I that name?" (Norris & Tanesini, 2005) is pertinent not only with respect to identity categories but also, and perhaps more pressingly, with respect to one's own name.

[6] In the photo that appears in the publication, I wore a black evening dress and pink feather boas.

[7] The certainty that emerges on this point is striking, since the text did not provide more information about what I do or do not do daily.

kind of *queer panopticon*, a form of gender court, which, paradoxically, dictates a certain queer axiological code. An idea that could be summed up this way: Be queer, but do it the right way!

It should be made clear that I do not intend to say that my proposal is exempt from criticism, since, as the term "proposal" indicates, it is an unfinished product, an incomplete execution, open to a future never fixed in advance, and perhaps it is not superfluous to say that it is a proposal without any aspiration to be coherent. One of my main interests is to visualize the blurred lines that often divides discourses with a critical vocation from those that clearly do not, as in the case of religious fundamentalism or the conservative psychopathology we have just seen.

10.6 Final Considerations

I would like to close this chapter by returning to some methodological aspects, which I consider relevant to understand the relationship I propose between psychology and queerness. Going again to the discussion on *participant observation*, it is worth asking how this performative approach differs from other traditional research work. There seems to be a certain consensus (Delgado & Gutiérrez, 1999; Taylor & Bogdan, 2009), regarding the fact of conceiving participant observation as a practice in which:

- The researcher must be a stranger or foreigner to his or her object of research.
- The researcher must coexist as an integral part of the system to be studied.
- This system has its own definition of its boundaries.
- The integration of the researcher will be maximized and functional while remaining an external analyst.

In this case, the researcher becomes an object of study, carrying out a self-immersion in a system with well-defined boundaries. Therefore, the system becomes an object of observation thanks to the actions of the researcher. In other words, the action of the others who observe the researcher becomes what the researcher observes. This disposition can be understood by referring to the concept of *reflexivity* (Dobles, 2018), insofar as the research per se affects and modifies the context in which the process takes place and those who act in it. The main difference with reflexivity inherent to any research process is that most researchers try not to alter the environment they pretend to comprehend, while in this case, an intentional alteration is produced.

Thus, we are confronted with a tension between interiority and exteriority, which reveals an epistemic position in which corporeality and subjectivity are implicated as active platforms in the process of construction of thought. Following Preciado (2013):

> "a philosophy [and I add: a psychology] that doesn't use the body as an active platform of technovital transformation is spinning in neutral. Ideas aren't enough. (…). All philosophy

> is intended to be a form of autovivisection—when it isn't a form of dissection of the other. It is an exercise in self-cutting, an incision into subjectivity." (p. 359)

In this case, my case, as a researcher I was not a stranger to my object of research, first because of the obvious fact that my own body was the epicenter of the study, and then, because for me, the performance was not only a research exercise or a political praxis but also – and perhaps more predominantly – an *incorporation* of desire, where makeup, heels, petticoats, lingerie, and hip movements were the raw material of my own subjectivation process.

The tacit question that initially mobilized this intervention, as well as the elaboration of this chapter, is: How permeable is psychology to diversity when diversity ceases to be an object of study to become a critique emanating from its own core? If we consider the fact that discursive formations determine, at a certain moment and state, what can and cannot be said, it is because they imply a moment of suture (centering) of meaning (Figari, 2009). The task of a queer psychology, therefore, is to intervene not only in relation to what is considered diversity but also in the terms that define diversity itself.

The existence today of various hegemonic discourses that seek to subsume the sex-gender pair in the restrictive male/female binary is a persistent fact. While facing this unflattering panorama, it seems the attempts to subvert the gender binarism should not be subordinated to rigid schemes of action. To choose diversity implies understanding that there are also diverse ways of sustaining such a choice. Interrogating how our psychological practice relates with diversity is a fundamental key to elucidate what kind of psychologists we are and how our practice can influence the maintenance or subversion of the *status quo* of gender and sexuality.

In a traditional context such as that of Costa Rica, which is not very different from that of other countries in the region, the development of a critical and committed psychology is essential. The proliferation of conservative discourses that take as their emblem the so-called gender ideology makes it necessary to develop practices of resistance and transformation, regarding different forms of oppression.

Although the CPPCR currently seems to have a more active role in the promotion of human rights, the fact is that its impact is still limited. On the other hand, the performative experience analyzed in this chapter shows how certain stereotypes about gender and sexuality are reproduced within an institution that is supposed to counteract them. In this sense, I conceive that to generate changes, it is necessary to act on oneself, so that to queerize psychology, it is necessary to queerize the place one occupies in this disciplinary field, and from my point of view, it requires a queer approach to queerness.

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