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Mexican queer influencers: corporeal-emotional social reconfigurations

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Abstract

Purpose: The proliferation of queer influencers is framed in various phenomena that connect celebrity culture, digital psychopolitics and historical LGBTIQ+ movements, resulting in what we can call a post-reality. This study analyzes the tensions of bodies/emotions that arise from the visibility of queer influencers in Mexico in terms of representation and subjectivation of the sex/gender system, comparing visual narratives and political positionings or the lack of these in a necropolitical context for the LGBTIQ+ community.

Design/methodology/approach: A descriptive approach was carried out to have a overview of the diversity of profiles, and subsequently the mediabiography methodology was applied to a case study, with the selection of texts and digital images on an analytical model of three axes: corporality, emotionality and visuality.

Findings: The presence of Mexican queer influencers reconfigures dominant gender narratives and opens possible scenarios to recognize non-hegemonic corporalities and corporal practices. The content they generate articulates counter-narratives, counter-visualities and counter-emotionalities, such as pride in the face of shame, and anger in the face of the neoliberal depoliticization of pride.

Practical implications: Queer Studies guide the enactment of public policies that recognize the rights of sex/gender diversity. Mediabiography opens creative avenues for the study of contemporary visual narratives on social media.

Social implications: Counter-narratives, counter-visualities and counter-emotionalities legitimize the dignified existence of corporalities systematically and historically marginalized by the dominant gender model, and de-hierarchize life.

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Originality/value: This is the first study that uses mediabiography for the analysis of visual narratives on social media. It contributes to new discussions for Communication Studies, Queer Studies and the Sociology of Bodies and Emotions.

Keywords: influencers; corporalities; emotionalities; queer; Mexico; mediabiography

1 Introduction

The proliferation of influencers in Mexico in recent years is framed in various phenomena that connect celebrity culture, digital psychopolitics and the cult of instantaneity, resulting in what we can call a post-reality as a contemporary experience of bodies/emotions, where the real and virtual world merge, reconfiguring the individual-body, the social-body and the subjective-body. In this context, queer influencers tension the construction of the individual-body, the social-body, and the subjective-body in the face of historical LGBTIQ+ struggles, since some activists point out that the content of queer influencers considered celebrities by the mass media vindicates the place assigned to sexual and gender diversity as an [exotic] product of consumption, which is detrimental to the spaces gained in terms of political subjects.

However, another perspective recognizes that the visibility of influencers who challenge the sexual binary makes it possible for society to normalize queerness (particularly homosexuality and transness), and allows other ways of understanding, managing and inhabiting the body. This study aims to analyze the tensions of bodies/emotions that arise from the visibility of queer influencers in Mexico in terms of representation and subjectivation, for which mediabiography is used, as a methodology that understands technology as a life nexus, to observe the transformation of everyday life through visual narratives from the social media of *Las Perdidas*, three trans women who rose to fame after a video went viral in 2017. Located in Mexico, one of the most violent Latin American countries for the LGBTIQ+ community, it is concluded that the escalation to fame of *Las Perdidas* represents both a corporeal-emotional reconfiguration of Mexican society that is hopeful, and a double standard where only media space is available to those who will not alter the neocolonial morality, vindicating the narrative of queerness as spectacle.

1.1 Influencers and Global South

An influencer is a person who has acquired moderate fame in a circuit of internet followers. They are mainly associated with influencing the lifestyles of their audience, from their way of thinking, behaving, speaking, their appearance and their consumption practices. This is achieved through an emotional connection in which

viewers identify with the content generated by the influencer, with their aesthetics, with their experiences, and their political positions. To a certain extent, an influencer is its own brand (Abidin and Ots 2016).

Credibility plays an important role in attracting followers, which is why influencers also involve their followers in their offline life through activities that they announce on their social media or, in some cases, by making themselves available for hire for an event. We can see how influencers are both a brand and a product.

Influencers are one form of microcelebrities who document their everyday lives from the trivial and mundane to exciting snippets of the exclusive opportunities in their line of work. Influencers are shapers of public opinion who persuade their audience through the conscientious calibration of personae on social media, as supported by 'physical' space interactions with their followers in the flesh to sustain their accessibility, believability, emulate-ability, and intimacy (Abidin and Ots 2016: 155).

This phenomenon is framed in a capitalist glocal post-reality of hyperconnectivity, in which the conquest of social energies implies the capture of emotions with seductive aspirational narratives of perfect lives. However, in the Global South the logic is a little different. Having a history of struggles, social conflicts, repressions and resistances, many influencers became such with counterhegemonic content, or at least with content that is not related to commercial matters. It seems that what is attractive is precisely what is most similar to everyday life, a life that can even be very precarious or that can be marked by many injustices. This is why the profiles of Mexican LGBTIQ+ influencers are so different from each other: While some seek the opportunity to achieve the success promised by metanarratives, others are eager to burn it all down.

This study seeks to answer *What does the rise of queer influencers¹ in Mexico mean in corporal and emotional terms and how does this presence configure counternarratives of gender and sexuality?* To achieve this, this article is divided into the following sections: the Mexican context regarding the life and death conditions of the LGBTIQ+ community and the variety of queer influencers; the theoretical discussion around the sex/gender system and its normativity as a politics of bodies and emotions; as well as celebrity culture and digital psychopolitics in the construction of a post-reality; the methodological approach of mediabiography applied to *Las Perdidas* as a case study; and finally the analysis based on the theoretical framework discussed.

2 Context

The contextualization of this study is divided into two sections: first, the national context of Mexico in terms of the life and death conditions of the LGBTIQ+ community, and second, a brief presentation of some Mexican queer influencers

describing the type of content and visuality. It is not intended to be an exhaustive record, since the analysis focuses mainly on *Las Perdidas*, and on one of its members: Wendy Guevara.

2.1 A necropolitical Mexico for queer community

The National Observatory of hate crimes against LGBT people, of the Arcoíris/Mx Foundation, reports only from January to June 2024, 25 hate crimes (which include murder and disappearance). However, it is known that the reported cases are fewer than those that occurred. In fact, in the context of the Pride March, the influencer Victoria Volkova published several InstaStories reflecting on violence against trans women, and in one of them she pointed out that there have been close to 60 murders of trans women so far in 2024. She wrote:

This pride day feels confusing to me. On the one hand, I will always be proud to be trans, proud to have the courage to inhabit this body and challenge the rules that are imposed every day on women in this patriarchal world and the invisibility, violence and cruelty with which my sisters² and I live daily. I would like to march because I love my community but I end up marching for those that are no longer here. There have already been more than 60 transfemicides known so far this year in Mexico, obviously all unrecognized because in this country we are not part of society. We are invisible (@vicovolkov IG, June 2024).

In its report from 2020 to 2021, the Observatory indicates that the attacks recorded in terms of gender identity were 47 % against trans women, while in terms of sexual orientation they were mostly against gay men (37 %). According to the Observatory's statistics, each year is more violent than the previous one. Precisely one of the challenges of counting cases of violence in Mexico in general is that it has been increasing (González Enríquez 2022). This is even more difficult for LGBT-phobic violence since the state does not provide mechanisms for it, which perpetuates the marginal place assigned to queer lives.

An example of the above is that the rights for LGBTQ+ people have just begun to be recognized by the Mexican legislation. The story³ begins in 2006, but only in the capital (Mexico City) with civil unions for same-sex couples, although they were not called “marriages” but rather “coexistence partnerships,” which shows the willingness to continue distinguishing that the union of homosexual couples is a different situation from the “normal” union. In 2007 the state of Coahuila followed, calling it the “Civil Pact of Solidarity.” In 2008, the Gender Identity Law was recognized in Mexico City. By 2009, same-sex marriage changed to “equal marriage” also in Mexico City. Also in that year, crimes committed due to gender identity and sexual orientation were penalized as “hate crimes”, but only in the states of Colima and

Guerrero. Adoption was possible for homoparental and lesbomaternal families until 2010, but again only in the capital, until 2013 and 2014 when the states of Colima and Coahuila, respectively, reformed the laws in favor of adoption for same-sex couples. The states of Campeche and Chihuahua followed, in 2015 and 2016. Those same years, equal marriage became a reality for the states of Durango, State of Mexico, Guerrero, Nayarit, Tabasco, Tamaulipas and Veracruz (in 2015), and Campeche, Chihuahua, Colima, Jalisco, Michoacán and Morelos (in 2016).

As can be seen, the reforms to laws by state make progress on issues that benefit the gender/sexual diversity according to their orientation (homosexual couples) but little progress was made in terms of gender identity; specifically, the rights for trans community were not considered. It was not until 2017 when the Gender Identity Law was recognized by states other than Mexico City, in this case: Michoacán and Nayarit. Coahuila continued in 2018; Chihuahua, Colima, Hidalgo, San Luis Potosí, Tlaxcala and Oaxaca in 2019; Jalisco, Quintana Roo and Sonora in 2020; Baja California Sur, State of Mexico, Morelos, Veracruz and Puebla in 2021; Baja California, Sinaloa and Zacatecas in 2022. In addition to these advances, the Non-Binary Gender Identity Law was enacted in Hidalgo, also in 2022.

Equal marriage continued to add states, as it was recognized in 2019 in the states of Aguascalientes, Baja California Sur, Hidalgo, Nuevo León, Oaxaca and San Luis Potosí; in 2020 in the states of Puebla and Tlaxcala; in 2021 in the states of Baja California, Chiapas, Guanajuato, Querétaro, Sinaloa, Sonora, Yucatán and Zacatecas; in 2022 in Durango, State of Mexico, Tabasco, Guerrero and Tamaulipas.

And recently, the ‘Paola Buenrostro Law’ was passed in August 2024, classifying transfemicide as a serious criminal offense that can carry a sentence of 35–70 years. The law also introduced the term ‘social family,’ allowing the victim’s friends to claim their body. Previously, only biological family could claim the body, often leading to detransitioning their trans relative as a final act of transphobic violence. If the family did not claim the body, it would be donated to medical schools or end up in a mass grave. Thanks to the activism of Kenya Cuevas⁴, trans women victims of transfemicide can now have a dignified burial.

The lack of protection towards the queer community has not only been reflected in the slow recognition of their rights but also in the impunity of the crimes committed against them. The sociocultural explanation of this is found in the sex/gender system, which will be explained in the theoretical section. But here we can begin to point out that heterocissexism is an interpretive framework, of an ontological nature, that considers queer bodies as threats to the global gender order. That is why hate “does not necessarily refer to individual emotions, but also implies structural and social dimensions that generate this violence.” (Guerrero Mc Manus and Muñoz Contreras 2024: 636).

Hate crimes and their impunity reveal that queer lives are not considered lives worth defending. For this reason it is not an exaggeration to say that omission implies an action; In this case, the lack of access to justice and rights reveals a necropolitical action on certain bodies. The concepts *necropolitics* and *necropower* proposed by Achille Mbembe (2011) find precedent in the *biopolitics* and *biopower* of Michel Foucault (2000). Necropolitics and necropower refer to forms of power where politics is a form of war, where sovereign power has the ability to decide “who can live and who must die.” Although death has always been part of the domain of sovereign power, Mbembe’s emphasis in using the prefix *necro* seeks to allude to certain conditions at the state level: when the State of Exception has become normal, when the government continually appeals to a fictionalized notion of the enemy under the discourse of threat and when the material destruction of bodies judged as *disposable* predominates. We can bring this to the Mexican context by analyzing the number of hate crimes that are committed with total impunity. Death as a possible scenario for the queer subject and the lack of access to justice outline the necro character inscribed on their bodies.

2.2 Mexican LGBTIQ+ influencers

Queer influencers from Mexico generate very different content that does not necessarily have to do with queer topics. This tells us that queer lives are more complex than just their sexual or gender identity. Some of the LGBTIQ+ influencers with the largest number of followers are Victoria Volkova, Pepe y Teo, Ophelia Pastrana, Laurel Miranda, Mar Maremoto, Mikaelah Drullard, Manu Nna, L Club Seasion, Las Perdidas and Wendy Guevara. Here is a brief description of each one:

Victoria Volkova: Is a model, actress, DJ, speaker and author. She was a playmate in 2020 for Playboy Mexico. As a trans woman, she speaks about her gender identity with clear political positions in favor of rights and against violence towards the trans community, particularly trans women, expressing herself from a collective perspective. Her content shows aspects of her daily life, such as getting ready to go out, putting on makeup, being at an event as a DJ, running, being in a photo shoot. She also shows some brands that we can assume sponsor her for advertising purposes.

Pepe and Teo: It is a video-creating duo that uses humor as its main resource for its content. They frequently interact with television personalities so they are on the media frontier of the digital world of social media and traditional mass media. In their videos, the two of them talk about trending topics, mainly pop culture, and they also have guests with whom they play games such as trivia, or they simply conduct interviews about their lives in the format of a talk show. As gay men, they also

generate content about the queer knowledge of everyday life, explaining colloquial expressions such as slang from Mexican gay culture. Sometimes they advertise products or brands.

Ophelia Pastrana: She calls herself “The Explainer” because much of her content has a pedagogical-analytical purpose. She is a physicist and economist. She speaks on topics of scientific, technological and sociological interest, such as Artificial Intelligence, Climate Change, Transnational Identities. She even leads workshops on social media content creation. As a trans woman, what she addresses most are LGBTIQ+ issues from a Human Rights perspective. She generally does not interact with other people in her videos, but rather she speaks directly to her audience.

Laurel Miranda: Is a genderfluid trans person whose content is almost exclusively about trans lives. Her approach is journalistic given her background, providing analysis and historical data on various events and topics around LGBTIQ+ issues, sex work (as a social stigmatized matter and also as a personal activity), feminism, and legislative work. In particular, makes visible trans people who have paved the way for others, and takes a firm stance against hate crimes and hate discourses, pointing out the presence of transphobia in media content, political speeches and in everyday life situations that go viral. She shows aspects of her daily life and shares recordings of her participation in various events, both social and political.

Mar Maremoto: She is a queer illustrator whose content focuses precisely on making visible through drawing what has been conferred to concealment, such as corporal diversity. She also talks about pop culture, such as series, or offers tutorials on using social media app’s features. She shows activities from her daily life, focusing more on her work as an illustrator and muralist.

Mikaelah Drullard: She is Dominican-Mexican heterodissident, anti-colonial voguer “marika” transvestite (or, as she calls herself, a *travestinegra*). She is the author of the book “El feminismo ya fue” (“Feminism Already Was”) (2023), and she conducts workshops on sexual dissidence. In her book and in her workshops she describes herself as “pretty, trans woman, non-human mule, Afro-descendant and frontier, she is a black transvestite inhabiting the third world.” She even takes a stand against the term queer, saying, “I’m not queer, I’m a transvestite. I’m not queer because I’m not human.” Her content is more in the field of anti-racist, decolonial and trans activism. In her videos she addresses her audience directly. She also shares aspects of her daily life, such as the books she reads, her look before going out, voguing, or recordings of conferences, public speeches at protests and marches, and book presentations in which she participates.

Manu Nna: He/She is described as an actor and actress, stand-up comedian and cabaret artist. He/She is gender fluid and uses his/her aesthetic as a constant and obvious statement of queerness. In his/her videos he/she has a series called “Cook me

something Manu Nna”, in which he/she prepares different dishes. Although visually the content seems much more focused on the fashionista character, Manu Nna touches on personal situations that speak of collective queer experiences, such as the difficulties of breaking into comedy being a field dominated by heterosexuals.

L Club Season: This is a space that brings together several lesbian influencers, such as: Elisa Galina, Brenda Arriaga (BwithaCamera), Nelly Ortiz (Nelly Roon), Marcela Alcalá and Diana Espinosa. Each one has their own social media where they generate content with a different focus (some as gamers, others as photographers, online radio hosts, comedians) but always making their sexual identity the central theme. In this space, they collaborate, generating content collectively aimed at “lesbians, lesbianenas, lesbianillas, lesbian gentlemen, Allied Ladies, bisexuals sapphic women and curious girls” such as short videos and podcasts, where they address lesbian knowledge from everyday life. L Club Season outside of social media is a show that is presented in nightclubs in Mexico City. Its style is more in the realm of comedy, giving a humorous and casual conversational treatment to lesbianism.

Las Perdidas: *Las Perdidas* are three internet personalities who rose to fame after a video of theirs went viral in 2017. They are Paola Suárez, Wendy Guevara and Kimberly Romero. Paola and Wendy were the protagonists of the video in question, which gave them the name “*Las Perdidas*” (“The lost ones”) since they recorded themselves on a hill, in the middle of nowhere, saying that their companions had left them and they did not know where they were. At some point they say “If you are seeing this find us,” and then they shout “we’re lost!” The entire narration is between laughs from both, so the matter does not seem serious. Wendy shouts “we are lost!” (“*¡estamos perdidas!*”) and Paola simulates the echo of the desolate place by repeating “lost... lost... lost...” (“*perdidas... perdidas... perdidas...*”). From there, the videos that each one uploaded to their social media (where other friends of them appeared) acquired a large number of viewers. In their videos you can see them interacting with each other in a very natural way in their everyday environments, without production of any kind. They could be classified as low-budget home videos. Although several of the influencers mentioned do not have a great production either, it seems that they take greater care of the visuality they seek to project. But in the videos of Wendy, Paola and Kimberly they are seen in everyday and popular situations as eating, putting on makeup or simply talking to each other while checking their cell phone. The camera is placed at a fixed point while they talk, without it being the focal point of their interaction. They do not have specific content, they are only seen telling anecdotes that sometimes reveal intimacies, many of a sexual nature. As trans women, they share their trans knowledge acquired through the experience of living and surviving. While most of their conversations may seem banal, they recount situations of transphobic violence they have experienced. Its popularity

is currently so great that on Instagram the accounts created by fans have more followers than the official accounts of many other influencers.

Wendy Guevara: She is one of *Las Perdidas* who stood out even more for her participation in “The House of the Famous”, a reality show similar to “Big Brother” broadcast on national television. Wendy became the first trans woman to appear on a Mexican reality show and, not only that, she won. After that, her fame grew exponentially, so it is common to see her as a guest on television shows, in commercials, magazine covers, as the image of advertising campaigns and at exclusive social events. As for content, it is evident that she uses each social network differently. For example: Instagram is to showcase the success achieved; while YouTube is to continue with her self-managed videos.

This brief tour seeks to provide an overview of the diversity of Mexican queer influencers towards the analysis of what they mean in terms of reconfiguring narratives, subjectivities, emotionalities and corporalities. As can be anticipated from this description, some influencers use their platforms to transmit social awareness about LGBTIQ+ lives while others assume themselves as a product that can be purchased and consumed for commercial purposes, consciously or unconsciously. Some positionalities are anti-capitalist and others entirely neoliberal. These poles are presented without the intention of moralizing the content of any influencer. The objective is to understand them as narratives that enable ways of being, in the midst of a heteronormative and cissexist paradigm.

3 Theoretical discussion

In this section, the structuring concepts of this study are discussed, starting with gender as a hegemonic narrative and as a system of social differentiation that produces at least two binaries: the feminine and the masculine, and the normal and the abject. Subsequently, it is linked to the politics of bodies and emotions to understand the distribution of social energies imposed by the sex/gender system. The counternarrative is then addressed as an emotional, corporal and visual possibility of dissent and hope. And finally, we come to the discussion about celebrity culture and digital psychopolitics in order to relate the role of social media in the emergence of new post-reality subjectivities.

3.1 Gender as a hegemonic narrative and as a system

For the purposes of this study, hegemonic narratives are conceptualized as frames of meaning, which can also be called *plots*, that delineate the politics of bodies in terms

of hierarchical categorization. These narratives possess multiple dimensions, encompassing symbolic, discursive, visual, emotional, and material elements. These narratives influence the distribution of bodies within social space and the signification of lives in the collective imagination. That said, gender has been a dominant narrative in terms of the production of meanings about bodies and the distribution of emotionalities based on the construction of two binarisms: masculine/feminine, and normality/abjection (Butler 2002). However, it doesn't operate alone: it interacts with other categories like race, class, sexuality, nationality, and functionality. These categories create a hierarchical system of meaning around bodies, establishing superior-inferior logics. By defining what is considered normal, this system regulates bodies in terms of health/illness, productivity/unproductivity, and legitimacy/illegitimacy, which constitutes a body policy.

These narratives are supported by a series of cultural devices (such as cinema, advertising, literature) and institutional devices (such as laws, medicine, school) (Preciado 2008). These devices use strategies of repetition and massification, and in this way they pedagogize visibility in two senses: with respect to *how-bodies-should-look* according to each assigned category or each available category, and with respect to *how-to-look-at* (how to look at feminized bodies, racialized bodies, pathologized bodies), as well as dictating what to interpret from each bodily category. This is related to the spatial distribution of bodies, where certain categories are assigned specific spaces. For example, public spaces are often associated with male bodies, while private and domestic spaces are associated with female bodies. In this logic, some corporalities, like those that don't conform to the gender binary, are marginalized or hidden since they are given the space of nonexistence or concealment ("the closet" as the place of sexual dissidence). In such way, the politics of bodies is also a politics of spaces. This pedagogization of bodies also influences how we interact with them, with discriminatory or violent behaviors often justified towards certain groups. This creates peripheral bodies, those that deviate from the ideal of the desirable, productive, healthy, and normal body.

Gender as a system, conceptualized as the sex/gender system by Gayle Rubin (1996), involves the coordination of a series of mechanisms that reaffirm it. These mechanisms are disciplinary and regulatory and are culturally linked, building the mythology of the normal, the healthy and the intelligible (Fausto-Sterling 2006). In this way, gender is a social imposition, not a scientific fact, that constrains the possibilities of life; and the body is the result of discourse, it is not an essence (Fausto-Sterling 2006). Therefore, we can think of gender as a politics of body-emotions in which a differentiation is assigned to inferiorizes bodies classified as female, giving them the meaning "subordinate" within productive logic, while unintelligible bodies (those that cannot be clearly read in the feminine-masculine binary given their transgression of the boundaries of gender and sexuality) are

pathologized and classified as unproductive. We are talking about queerness, embodied in subjects whose lives must be hidden or, on the contrary, must be exhibited as a spectacle to satisfy the cisheteronormative gaze.

3.2 Gender as politics of bodies-emotions

The politics of sensibilities, understood as “the set of cognitive-affective social practices tending to the production, management and reproduction of horizons of action, disposition and cognition” (Scribano 2022: 7), delineates the contours of individual, subjective and social bodies, and guides social interactions, where some bodies are classified as more vulnerable as they can be transgressed with impunity (discriminated against, excluded, mocked); but they are not “vulnerable”, they are violated. As a policy, it regulates bodies differently according to categorical intersections. Thus, the queerness embodiment is crossed by categorizations of inferiorization -within the dominant model of corporal hierarchization- such as the object, the deviant, the abnormal, the sick. These categorizations, supported by heterocissexism, are meanings endowed with negative emotionality towards those who exist outside the binary gender norm.

Political emotions, such as disgust, contempt and hatred, play a fundamental role in the dehumanization of trans people and the conversion of their bodies into despicable objects lacking dignity. These emotions are not exclusive to transphobia, but are also found in other forms of violence, such as homophobia, biphobia, lesbophobia, and serophobia (Guerrero Mc Manus and Muñoz Contreras 2024: 639).

The body-emotion policy of the sex/gender system also assigns *shame* to queerness as the feeling that corresponds to its status outside the binary gender norm. *Shame* is constructed, assigned and imposed to sex-gender dissidence (to queer bodies) as the emotionality in which their lives are framed due to their inability to reproduce the gender norm. Shame will also reach those around them, since the silencing of family members is expected through euphemisms that hide queerness.

Queer desires become an injury to the family, and to the bodily form of the social norm [...]; something to be concealed from the view of others. Shame becomes both a domesticating feeling and a feeling of domestication. The domesticity of shame is telling. Family love may be conditional upon how one lives one's life in relation to social ideals. (Ahmed 2014: 107).

This is how the politics of bodies establishes the geometry of bodies and the grammars of action (Scribano et al. 2012), which we can understand as social dispositions that respond to the biopolitical (Foucault 2000) imperative of control:

Every society constructs a geometry of bodies, imposing relationships of distance and proximity on them. This implies a grammar of action, where individual energy and social energy are combined with the logic of social domination characterized by their expropriation (Scribano et al. 2012: 8).

The geometry of the bodies that comes from the sex-gender system has forced the queer community to generate its own spaces, but also has validated that these spaces and these bodies must be hyper-surveilled by anyone who considers that they must protect the symbolic goods of gender. This is what we call the *gender police* (Halberstam 2008, Coll-Planas 2010, Doan 2010), where anyone can assume the role of the authority that guards “normality.” But we’re not just talking about a metaphor: police forces have historically inflicted great violence and repression on the LGBTIQ+ community. The most emblematic case is Stonewall, San Francisco, California, in 1969, due to its media dissemination (Petersons et al. 2018).

3.3 Counternarratives: corporal-emotional resistance and re-existence

Counternarratives, according to Andrews (2002), are disruptive and fragmentary stories to offer resistance -implicit or explicit- to those whose voice and perspective have been marginalized, devalued, suppressed by dominant narratives. Mahmud (2018) adds that counternarratives emerge to resist hegemonic forms of representation and constitute the archive of stories told from the margins. Regarding the sex-gender system, counternarratives enable the presence of other discourses, other bodies and other realities that, perhaps timidly, counterbalance the dominant narratives about legitimate subjects, about the lives that deserve to be represented. Gender counternarratives enable the denormalization of the stereotype (Amao Ceniceros 2021) and stigma, and reconfigures the individual body, the subjective body and the social body.

The individual body is a phylogenetically elaborated construction that indicates the places and physio-social processes through which the naturalized perception of the environment connects with the subjective body. The subjective body is the self-perception of the individual as a space for perceiving the context and the environment as a “locus” of the vital sensation rooted in the experience of “self” as the center of gravitation of its practices. The social body consists of the incorporated social structures that vectorize the individual and subjective body in relation to its connections in the life-lived-with-others and for-others (Scribano 2013: 101).

Counternarratives make available other plots of meaning (other codes and other symbols) and foster environments in which the dominant social body is resisted,

that is, the incorporation of structuring metanarratives. This, at the same time, reconstructs the individual body as a material singularity, and the subjective body as thoughts-emotions-experiences that shape the self. Counternarratives understood in this way open possibilities of re-existence (Albán Achinte 2013) for bodies and lives whose existence had been ontologically cancelled.

Shame becomes the dominant narrative associated with the sexual diversity community. Therefore, *pride* stands out as a counternarrative from LGBTIQ+ movements.

That said, the counternarrative of pride as an emotionality that dignifies queerness emerged in the United States in the 1960s prior to Stonewall, as gay resistance in the context of the constants raids. “For just one example: in Los Angeles the raid of the Black Cat bar and other Silver Lake bars led to the formation in 1967 of the organization called Personal Rights in Defense and Education (PRIDE).” (Petersons et al. 2018: 18).

Although pride can be analyzed in its origin as a counternarrative, it has currently become a dominant narrative thanks to the appropriation that neoliberalism has made of the concept through what is called rainbow whashing, queerbaiting or gaypitalism (Rice 2023; Rusch 2023; Johns et al. 2022; Lily 2016), a corporate practice to simulate LGBTIQ+ inclusion during June (“The Pride Month” because commemorates the Stonewall resistance), where brands only seek economic benefit. Given this, in Mexico and other Latin American countries, artists, activists and artivists have raised their voices criticizing the commercial meaning that today has pride. They stand against pride, not only because it has been depoliticized but because in a necropolitical context for the LGBTIQ+ community, rather than celebrating diversity, they must fight for their rights with pain and anger. That is why during June their standpoint is from other emotionalities: they shout “I don’t feel pride, I feel rage!” An example of this can be seen in the work of mexican non-binary performance artist *Lechedevirgen*. Rage appears as a counternarrative to the commercial and depoliticized meaning of contemporary pride.

As we see, emotions are embedded in spatio-temporal contexts that are both local and global. The *glocal* is understood, for the purposes of this study, as the local reinterpretation of global imperatives, a reinterpretation adaptive to the specific cultural conditions of their production. This is where we can think about the role that social networks play in the construction of contemporary subjectivities, since they configure a “discursive, economic and epistemic conglomerate that reprograms our sensitivity based on the fabrication of aestheticized realities.” (Valencia 2018: 235).

3.4 Post-reality: celebrity culture and digital psychopolitics

The mass media and the Internet or, more specifically, its content, massify dominant meanings and serve as legitimizers of success through fame, whether it is the rating of a tv show or the number of followers of an account. From the boom of social media in Western culture (which begins in the first decade of the 21st century with the launch of Facebook in 2004), we can say that new frameworks of perception are born based on instantaneousness, and on transforming everyday life into something extraordinary. At least in appearance. Valencia (2018) names this the *live regime*,

which is based on the fabrication/spoofing of reality through visual devices (that challenge and rework the regime of truth), and whose main characteristics are: the visual elimination of the public-private division, the reification of time as something without duration (pure adrenaline, instantaneity and forgetfulness), the extreme cosmeticization of images and their critical depoliticization (Valencia 2018: 236).

However, more than a fabrication of reality, we can say that we are in times of a juxtaposition of realities in the form of post-reality, that is to say: it is not that what happens on social media (or from these) is less real than what happens outside of them (online and offline life) but rather that the virtual merges with the non-virtual. Multiple screens with their multiple visual and emotional contents produce this. In the words of Muñoz and Martí (2018):

The abundance of images that invade the screens of our smartphones has ended up forming a new virtual reality that is superimposed on our real and physical world until practically its total dissolution, in what would become a new state of consciousness, which we could define as post-reality. (2018: 133).

In this post-reality, fame and success through visibility seem attainable for everyone. The instant celebrities phenomena from reality shows had already built this social fantasy for Western culture since the 1990s. Now, the rise of social networks such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and TikTok fuel this fantasy with the apparent accessibility of fame at our fingertips, through smartphones. This fantasy is embodied in influencers, who can be considered post-reality celebrities. The attractive thing about these celebrities is that they are “imbued with, or drenched in, feelings, qualities, or [...] values that induce us to desire things, particularly the things we associate with them” (Cashmore 2014: 6–7). And furthermore, the range of personalities is so wide (in relation to what they represent) that it is easy to find an influencer that suits us, an influencer whose life makes us identify.

Peeking into the everyday lives of people with whom we coincide and to whom we react by liking, replying, donating or purchasing the product they advertise

makes celebrity culture grow. Although it is not necessary to have direct participation, given that celebrity culture is with us:

it surrounds us and even invades us. It shapes our thought and conduct, style and manner. It affects, and is affected by, not just hard-core fans but by entire populations whose lives have been changed by the shift from manufacturing to service societies and the corresponding shift from plain consumer to aspirational consumer.” (Cashmore 2014: 10–11).

Influencers are precisely part of a network of apparent content consumption options on social media, but their connection with our cyber-browsing is anything but fortuitous: certain content is suggested to us based on what is interpreted from our profile based on age, gender, sexuality, style, aesthetics, social class, education, nationality, ethnicity... even type of device used. Interaction with the cyber world, even if we are mere consumers, requires a type of participation that is not completely free but falls within certain frameworks. Han (2014) calls this *digital psychopolitics*:

Today, we are entering the age of digital psychopolitics. It means passing from passive surveillance to active steering. As such, it is precipitating a further crisis of freedom: now, free will itself is at stake. Big Data is a highly efficient psychopolitical instrument that makes it possible to achieve comprehensive knowledge of the dynamics of social communication. This knowledge is knowledge for the sake of domination and control [...]: it facilitates intervention in the psyche and enables influence to take place on a pre-reflexive level. (Han 2014: 31–32).

The so-called trends are actually consumer seductions through emotional conquests “appropriate” (and adequate) to the audience profile. These conquests appeal to an emotionality that is accompanied by an alluring visuality, whether due to its aspirational nature, the identification of what is being shown, or even the pleasure of looking at marginal lives (which may be similar or different to one’s own). A kind of *pornomiser*y: obscenely aestheticizing poverty for voyeuristic consumption without any commitment (Dalmazzo and Pulgar 2018). In Latin America there are influencers who talk about and show the everyday life of precariousness, but without necessarily aestheticizing it for consumption but simply showing common and popular activities. Particularly in Mexico, humor is identified as a characteristic of the people and it is also reflected in this type of content, where the tragedy of precariousness is narrated in a comical way. Even the mockery is directed at the privileged classes, pointing out that they are those who do not understand real life and live on pretensions and falsehoods.

By linking digital psychopolitics with gender we can identify that there is a *gender world order*, as defined by Connell (2006), which operates globally thanks to cybernetic hyperconnectivity. The massification of the contents of normality within the logic of sexual binarism as an hegemonic narrative configures this *world gender order*, which can be defined as “the structure of relations that, on a global scale,

connects the gender regimes of institutions with gender order of local societies” (Connell 2006: 188). This gender order “is an aspect of a broader reality: the global society” (2006: 188), in which a racial, geopolitical and, of course, economic order is also articulated. In this way, it is possible to explain that gender as a system characterized by asymmetry, since its main function is to maintain a capitalist social order, which in itself is based on inequality. In this social-global framework, Preciado identifies the *pharmacopornographic* system or regime that operates imperceptibly: “somatic representation machine where text, image and corporality flow within a cybernetic circuit” (Preciado 2008: 83), this in the context of global interconnectivity possible thanks to various technological resources.

The name *pharmacopornographic* merges two areas of “body management” (Preciado 2008: 93): the hormonal (*pharmaco-*) and the surgical-audiovisual (*-porn*). Thus, the production of gender is the result of a regulatory model that makes the body an archive – a *somateca* in Preciado’s terms – of a multitude of discourses with specific normative registers, visible in corporality (aesthetically and prosthetically), subjectivity and practices. Embodied gender is, in this logic, a “somatic-media” (2008: 93) product. Its success lies in its pedagogical power: doing, displaying or performing gender.

4 Methodological exercise

In this section I explain the methodology of mediabiography and apply it to *Las Perdidas*, as an exercise to rewrite their biography in media based on digital visual culture. Mediabiography is an interdisciplinary methodology proposed by Virginia Villaplana (2010) that expands experimentation with narratives that involve word and image. The term was coined by Villaplana in 2002, before the boom of social media and the existence of influencers. Based on the idea of cinematographic montage, this is a methodology that now seems appropriate for the analysis of influencers given its intrinsic relationship between visuality and multimedia as content producers.

4.1 Mediabiography: the construction of postmemory

The purpose of this methodology is to exalt the tension between the real and the imaginary by highlighting that all memory resources (such as images, sounds, stories) come from a selection, which in the case of mediabiography not only it is conscious but deliberate. That is to say: memory becomes a manipulable product that can be rewritten based on our access and organization of elements to build it. These

elements are textual, visual, sonorous, but also experiential, corporal, sensorial and affective-emotional. That said, mediabiography makes the production of a postmemory possible. In the author's words:

Mediabiography is a concept that would try to make conscious in practice the processes of construction of stories, starting from real or fictional events described in the images and their negotiation. The production of images in the past called amateur and today amplified by technologies for personal use proposes the convergence of video recordings, photographs and sounds. Its post-production is part of that process. A post-production of memory, a sampling of the experience that definitively nullifies the idealization of memories. We speak then of a post-produced memory, in the form of life stories that give way to fictions or shared life stories. We speak of a postmemory of the everyday, of an ethnography of the minimum. (Villaplana 2010: 91).

According to Villaplana (2010), mediabiography is a “post-poetic proposal in which technology is shown as a nexus of life and as part of its recording, archiving and sampling” (2010: 90), which seeks to create “collaborative stories that observe the transformation of everyday life” (2010: 90). The collaborative component of this methodology is based on the implementation of participatory workshops. In this case, the collective nature will be omitted since the workshop is dispensed with, but images are taken up that -due to their public status in the media and social networks- brings us closer to a collective view of the influencers in question.

I use this methodology as a strategy to approach the trajectory in visual, corporal and emotional terms of *Las Perdidas*, reconstructing the process of their fame in a highly transphobic context such as Mexico, and at the same time inscribed in visual narratives that demand for the Global South hegemonic aesthetics of desirability through whitening and hypersexualization.

4.2 Mediabiography applied to *Las Perdidas*

The selection of images corresponds to the ascending chronological criteria in which it seeks to show various moments of *Las Perdidas* that have been published on some of their social networks, with the purpose of temporally and visually representing their path. To do this, I use the digital collage technique and add texts that are related to the images as a description of them. The texts are extracted from their Instagram and YouTube accounts, and translated for the purposes of this study.

It should be noted that when searching for images in the press, many transphobic publications appear that show photos of them prior to their transition with sensationalist headlines about “their true identity.” That’s why they were discarded. We see that the conservation of the symbolic goods of the sex/gender

system, specifically sexual binarism, continue to be defended as the dominant narrative and as body policy through these types of publications.

Because the mediabiography in some way rewrites “a movie” that has already been made, it is decided to rewrite the plot of *Las Perdidas* from their own accounts (Instagram and YouTube) with the understanding that these are publications approved by them, who are considered for this analysis as the scriptwriters of their own story.

It was decided to make two collages: one of *Las Perdidas* (Figure 1) with screenshots from their videos and a selection of some of their photos, and another only of Wendy Guevara (Figure 2) given her visibility in the mass media.

In the collage of *Las Perdidas* (Figure 1) the selection of images shows Wendy, Paola, Kimberly and Karina (one of their friends). A memory sampling was made (Villaplana 2010) connecting the beginning of their story from their 2017 viral video to Wendy’s triumph in the 2023 reality show, going through her usual publications. Posts were selected that show their participation in red carpets, trips they have made together, recovery processes from plastic surgery, and ordinary interactions while putting on makeup or eating. As can be see, the arrow connects two photos with texts, in which it says: “One day you record a video with your best friend lost on the hill”/ “And the next day you are the most loved person in Mexico”. The intention is to highlight two key moments: the video that begins their story as influencers and Wendy’s participation in a Mexican reality show, as the first trans woman to achieve this.

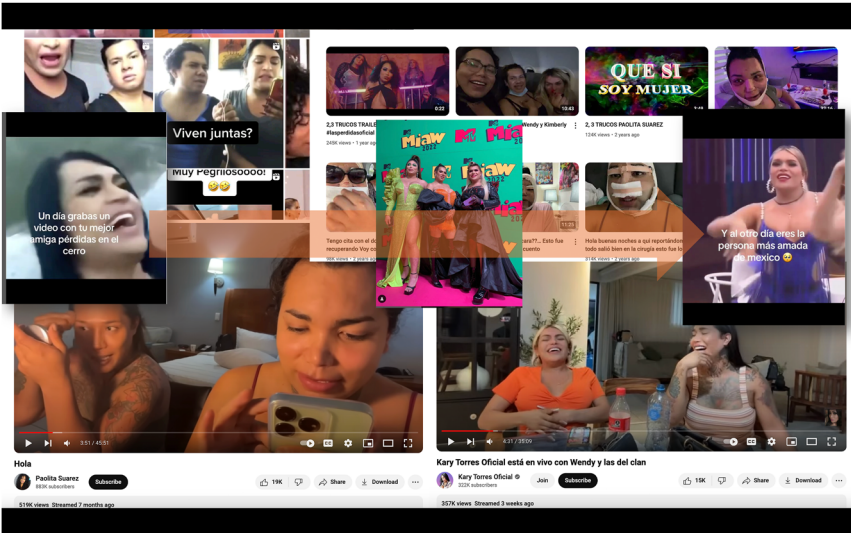


Figure 1: Mediabiography of *Las Perdidas* created for this study.

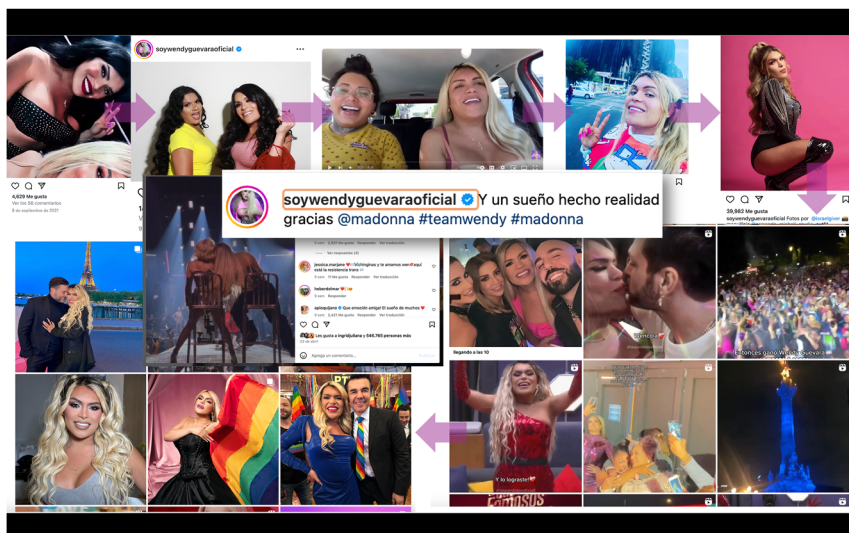


Figure 2: Mediabiography of the influencer Wendy Guevara created for this study.

For Wendy Guevara's collage (Figure 2), images were selected that reflected her rise to fame and her incorporation into mass culture. In this case, the sampling of memory is her upward trajectory through key moments such as winning the reality show and being invited by Madonna to participate in her concert in Mexico. The text in the center of the collage says "And a dream come true, thanks Madonna". Overall, the selected images seek to offer a glimpse into Wendy's life, including some of her international travels, a romantic relationship within "The House of the Famous" and her role as an icon of Pride Month in Mexico. It is worth noting that a change has emerged in her aesthetic, characterized by a tendency towards hypersexualization and whitening.

As an experimental methodology, mediabiography uses elements of digital ethnography (Pink et al. 2016), focusing on virtuality as the object of study. However, it deviates from the documentary aspect by manipulating selected elements of personal archives, disrupting linear narratives. This manipulation allows for a reinterpretation of these archives as subjective documents that produce new subjectivities (Villaplana 2010). In essence, while influencers' network records can be read as documentary representations of their everyday lives, mediabiography offers the possibility of playing with memories. This can involve deconstructing idealized narratives, fictionalizing them, or, as in this study, amalgamating the ordinary and extraordinary aspects of the case study.

5 Analysis

The analysis is grounded upon three primary axes: corporeality, emotionality, and visibility. Corporeality is examined through the lens of self-management of the mediated body as it intersects with dominant gender narratives. Emotionality is explored in relation to affective gender dichotomies and the differentiated distribution of *virtuous emotions* as shaped by the politics of emotions. Finally, visibility is addressed through the concept of the dislocation of the gaze in relation to what queer counter-visualities provides to social media.

5.1 Corporality

In his work “The Ritualization of Femininity” Goffman (1991 [1976]) noted that social analysis can use photography, and, after analyzing advertising images from the 1970s in Western culture, he concluded that they can reflect the ritualization of social ideas, with poses that we want to externalize to conform to the same idea of ideal representation. When the ideal representation of gender is read from a queer perspective, we understand that the representation of femininity and masculinity adopts poses that allow us to understand their social role: dominant man, submissive woman and, at the same time, erotic.

We see in Wendy Guevara’s posts that she addresses a sexualization imposed as a mandate for women, in general, and trans women, in particular. In other words: there is a dominant narrative about feminized bodies as objects of desire; and this narrative falls as a stigma on trans women by assuming that transition requires reaffirming the “eroticizing attributes” of women through surgical procedures, the use of prostheses, and body postures. But something that must be clear to move away from moralization is that the reproduction of mandates such as the sexualization of feminized bodies is not what creates the narrative, but rather it is already conventionalized. Goffman (1991[1976]) explains that hyperritualization consists of conventionalizing our conventions, stylizing what is already stylized, giving frivolous use to images out of context.

Laura Mulvey (1992 [1975]) creates the concept *to-be-looked-at-ness* to refer to the construction of the image of women through cinema. This consists of women being exhibited as a sexual object, where their value is in what they provoke. The female body is shown as a fragmented body (sometimes not even the face is shown, only some parts of the body), with visual narratives as a device of the *show girl*. Mulvey (1992 [1975]) identified that female bodies in cinematic narratives are exhibited as erotic objects for both the characters in the films and for male viewers. She

conceptualized this as *the male gaze*, that (Ahmed 2014) is, the production of images for the ocular pleasure of men in their dominant sense: cisgender, white, heterosexual.

We can say that Wendy Guevara is a co-producer of her body as she arranges it for the male gaze, as the global gender order has dictated, and at the same time, she pedagogizes about these symbols, since as emitter or receiver “the body produces meaning continuously and in this way the subject is actively inserted into a given social and cultural space” (Le Breton 2002: 8).

5.2 Emotionality

Although the pride originated by the LGBTIQ+ social struggle has currently become a “registered trademark,” it is an emotionality that can also tell us about a person’s success.

Shame and pride have a similar affective role in judging the success or failure of subjects to live up to ideals, though they make different judgements. The possession of an ideal in feelings of pride or shame involves a performance, which gives the subject or group ‘value’ and ‘character’. We ‘show’ ourselves to be this way or that, a showing which is always addressed to others. It is the relation of having as being – of having ideals as a sign of being an ideal subject – that allows the ‘I’ and the ‘we’ to be aligned (Ahmed 2014: 109).

The pride that *Las Perdidas* embodies in their achieved fame also has an effect on their followers, as it feeds the fantasy that success and status are attainable for everyone. Their case presents more convincing arguments than other influencers, since they continue to show a daily life quite similar to that of the working class. Here pride is also dignity, collective joy and hope.

Their success is also linked to the emotionalities they represent by generating sympathy in their social media followers and television viewers. Unlike what some activists and artists criticize regarding the commercialization of “pride” by embracing rage and anger as a response, Wendy Guevara not only does not cause discomfort with emotionalities that question transphobia, for example, but rather embodies from a humble place the pride of being a socially visible trans woman. The plot of emotionalities in which she narrates her life through social media is what is considered virtuous emotionalities (Wenning 2009), which are those that from a dichotomous perspective are considered good or positive.

Anger and rage, on the other hand, as the emotionalities that mobilizes some people to fight for rights, are identified as problematic. Kenya Cuevas, a trans woman and activist, has expressed⁵ that she has had to learn to modulate her anger in order to be heard, which has opened some doors for her. This leads us to the question of

who has the legitimate right to anger? In Mexico, feminist protests tend to be moralized when they commit acts of iconoclasm in public spaces under the phrase “those are not the ways.” The same happens with other groups when they mobilize politically, such as workers, indigenous people, and the LGBTQ community. It becomes clear that emotions are differentiated and that historically oppressed groups are expected to express their discontent with actions that do not cause discomfort to privileged groups.

5.3 Visuality

The visibility of queer influencers not only expands the market for internet personalities for consumption purposes, it also allows us to imagine other ways of inhabiting our own bodies. The presence of queerness constitutes acts of counter-visualization, since they “disturb the concept of representation authoritatively implemented by the colonial panoptic gaze of gender” (Romero 2015: 15).

Countervisualization can be a deliberate act of visibility in certain spaces, such as staging through artistic performance or protest. But countervisualization also occurs with the mere presence of certain bodies in spaces where they are not considered to “belong,” or whose presence is considered unexpected or non-natural. This leads to what Lozano (2010) calls *visual mismatch*, which consists of what we see not corresponding to what is expected of certain corporalities.

Having diverse visual narratives at our disposal opens the door to reimagining the skin-body, the image-body and the movement-body:

The image-body is an indicator of the process of how “I see that they see me.” [...] [T]he skin-body signals the process of how I “naturally feel” the world, and the movement-body is the bodily inscription of the possibilities of action. The interactions between image body, skin-body and movement-body are taken as markers (indicators) of social domination and as locators of classification. (Scribano 2013: 99).

Thinking about this liberation regarding the sex/gender system is hopeful. Although the body aligns itself with a social order by being disciplined in its functions, its representations and its spaces, regulated in positions, dispositions and orientations, the body is also the place of autonomous reconquests through other ways of being socially and politically. The countervisuality that queer embodies is both aesthetic and political.

Even if the content of *Las Perdidas* does not seek to be political, the representation of their everyday life through the social media is in itself a rupture of the dominant narrative around trans lives, which repoliticizes the representations through

narrative strategies “operating on notions of autobiography, material culture, memory, performativity and cultural processes of representation” (Villaplana 2016: 71). This, in turn, decolonizes the imaginary of univocal narratives around gender, the place of queerness, and trans lives.

6 Conclusions

Given what has been analyzed here, we can say that Mexican queer influencers are diverse in their content, some even abysmally opposite. However, its presence in social and mass media reconfigures the dominant narratives of gender and opens possible scenarios to recognize non-hegemonic corporalities and corporal practices. Regardless of their content, Mexican queer influencers enable counter-narratives, counter-visualities and counter-emotionalities, such as pride versus the imposition of shame, and anger in the face of the neoliberal depoliticization of pride.

In the case of *Las Perdidas* there are several paradoxes: apparently they represent the perpetuation of the global gender order since they exalt a hypersexual femininity. However, as trans women who speak about their lives in the midst of transphobia, it is clear that they are disobedient to the sexual binary.

Added to this, its rapid rise and incorporation into mass culture seems to correspond to the fact that its presence does not threaten the dominant narratives, since its content does not seem political in any sense. For some activists, the spaces gained by the LGBTIQ+ movements (spaces of political and media representation) receded with the fame of *Las Perdidas*, since they reaffirm the meaning assigned to the trans body as a body exhibited to entertain. It is easy to assume that it is a mere spectacle. But the truth is that no influencer or queer person owes activism to anyone. With this, it can be stated that the body is the place of conflict and order in which collective action and social fantasies are connected (Scribano and Jingting 2019). Although hegemonic narratives are global, their interpretation is local and their effects are situated.

As a post-poetic proposal, the mediabiography exalts technology as the nexus of life. In this case, we can say that life acquires validity insofar as its possibility of being recorded, edited and shown on certain platforms, which is socially approved through the reaction of followers. The narrative reconstructed in this mediabiography emerges from a collaborative effort between the influencer, who serves as the author of their own script, and the mediabiography creator, whose work is similar to a VJ orchestrating audiovisual elements to captivate an audience. The resultant artifact can be a collage, a temporal reorganization of events, a cartography of key moments, or a visual anagram, where the interplay of word and image configures postmemory. Drawing on Hirsch (1997), Villaplana (2010: 91) points out that the power of

postmemory lies in “its mediated connection with its object or source, established not through mere collection but rather through installation, investment and creation.” By embracing this interventive approach, mediabiography departs from objectivist pretensions, foregrounding the creative agency inherent in the act of representation.

Mediabiography, as a micropolitical intervention, offers “to give back to private narratives a potential for resistance” (Villaplana 2010: 92). Particularly, for marginalized groups, such as gender non-conforming people (disobedient, transgressive, dissident, queer, non-human), resistance is articulated from existence, fostering a hopeful horizon of re-existences. Both mediabiography and the visibility of LGBTIQ+ influencers engage in a critical interrogation of the hegemonic narratives and its effects, shaping the future by opening up diverse emotional horizons, leaving shame as an emotionality that is increasingly cancelled for queer people, redirecting shame towards those who emit LGBTphobic behaviour. The body-emotions relationship historically conferred on queer lives is increasingly dislocated, and LGBTIQ+ influencers participate in this dislocation.

Notes

- [1] In this work, I refer to the identities of LGBTIQ+ diversity as *queer* taking up what Queer Studies has theorized about subjectivities, corporalities, political positions and sexual practices that dissent or transgress the hegemony of the sex-gender binarism, as body policy and social order. However, it is important to note that this enunciation is problematized from the Global South as a Western term and concept with which populations otherized by coloniality do not identify. Therefore, referring to the analyzed influencers as *queer* is done in order to group the diversity of forms of dissent to the dominant gender norm, but not as an identity imposition or an erasure of particularities in an attempt to homogenize them. In the description of the context of influencers in Mexico self-enunciations are recognized, some of which oppose the concept *queer*.
- [2] In the original publication she wrote “hermanxs”, not “hermanas” (sisters) because in Spanish the grammatical gender masculinizes the plural, so the use of the X to replace the vowels “o/a” is considered a grammatical dissidence to question the binarism in language. Furthermore, the X includes not only feminine and masculine but also non-binary identities.
- [3] The timeline presented is based on information from Between LGBT (<https://www.betweenlgbt.com.mx/>), a website that provides and systematizes information about the LGBTIQ+ community in Latin America and the Caribbean.
- [4] The activist Kenya Cuevas is a trans woman who began fighting for justice for the murder of her friend Paola Buenrostro in 2016, a transfemicide she

- witnessed but which to date has gone unpunished despite the fact that the murderer was found red-handed next to Paola, who was dying after being shot.
- [5] On September 5, I participated in a virtual conversation with Kenya Cuevas as part of the screening of a documentary about her, where I had the opportunity to ask her about the emotions that underlie the activism she leads.

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